

The Study Of The Dutch Language In Japan
During Its Period Of National Isolation (ca. 1641-1868).

A Thesis
submitted in fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree
of
M.A. in Dutch Language and Literature
of the
University of Canterbury

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New Zealand
May 2005

ABSTRACT

From the middle of the seventeenth century until 1853, the Japanese shogunal government virtually isolated Japan from the rest of the world. Only the Chinese and the Dutch were allowed to maintain a trading post in the harbour of Nagasaki. All dealings with the Dutch traders were subject to strict controls, and the interpreters that were trained to liaise with them had to swear a blood oath to secrecy.

Nevertheless, information regarding the scientific and technological advances that were made in the West during this period managed to penetrate this barrier, and eventually grew, to some extent with official sanction, into a popular branch of scholarship known as *rangaku*, literally 'Dutch learning'.

Since nearly all of the academic knowledge that reached Japan from the West arrived in written Dutch, the Dutch language became the language of science in Japan during this period, and a necessary subject of study for all *rangaku* scholars.

This thesis is the first study in English that examines the development of the study of the Dutch language in Japan during the period through an analysis of the textbooks and dictionaries that were produced in Japan. The works selected for this study are those considered to be representative of, or significant to, the development of the study of Dutch and attendant increase of awareness of Western linguistic concepts, many of which were imposed, for better or worse, on the Japanese language. Other, less influential documents, are occasionally also discussed, to demonstrate the false trails and misunderstandings that can emerge when a foreign language is presented to students without the benefit of demonstrated current and practical usage.

Initially Dutch language study was restricted to the development of skills among the Dutch interpreters in Nagasaki, who compiled word lists for personal use. These lists developed from primitive and limited glossaries into relatively sophisticated Chinese-style lexicons and finally evolved into the large-scale *Haruma* dictionaries of the early nineteenth century.

Early attempts at understanding the structures of the Dutch language, both by interpreters and academics, failed to provide practical insights. An important

breakthrough was achieved when retired interpreter Shizuki Tadao (1760-1806) began to produce translations of *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst* ('Dutch Grammar') by William Séwel, and applied Western linguistic concepts to the Japanese language. This new understanding gave rise to a consistent structural approach to the study of Dutch, as a result of which language study became more consistent and translations more sophisticated.

Although the end of national isolation in the middle of the nineteenth century meant that the study of Dutch was soon abandoned in favour of other European languages, many words in the Japanese language, particularly in relation to science and technology, are of Dutch origin. More importantly, many of the principles and terminology the Japanese use to define the structures of their language stem from the insights into Western linguistics gained during those final decades of the period of national isolation.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

大事は力によりて成るにあらず
たゆまざる努力によりて成る

The above Japanese saying can be translated as: "Great works are accomplished not by force, but by persistent effort". The fact that this thesis was completed at all bears witness to the truth of that statement. Over seven years, I have had to field many interruptions to the progress on this study, both as a result of work related demands and because of family circumstances. All the more reason then to be pleased at being able at last to submit this volume to the examiners.

Of course, the production of a study such as this cannot succeed without the assistance, generosity and patience of many people. Not all of them can be mentioned here, but I would like to take this opportunity to recognise the contributions of those kind souls who really made a difference.

First of all, my gratitude goes to my two supervisors, Dr. Edwina Palmer and Dr. Christopher Seeley for their expertise, generosity, patience and understanding. The kind efforts of Dr. Remmelink and the late Professor Emeritus Kanai Madoka of the Japan-Netherlands Association made it possible for me to gain access to indispensable primary resources in the libraries of several major Japanese universities. This was further facilitated by Professors Yokoyama and Matsui at the Historiographical Institute of Tokyo University and Mr. Kaneko Masatsugu of the Waseda University Library Special Collection of Works on Western Learning of the Edo Period. Furthermore, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to Dr. Reinier Hesselink for generously in allowing me to use the results of his own research, and for guiding me through some of the trickier aspects of dealing with Japanese institutional conventions. Prof. Willem Boot kindly opened the libraries of Leiden University to me, and provided me with office

space while I was there. Dr. Guita Winkel, also of Leiden University, was there with friendship and advice, and after my return to New Zealand did not hesitate to go in search of information for me. My gratitude also goes out to Professor Kon Kuiper of the University of Canterbury for his continuing interest, support and technical advice.

A special mention must go to Dr. Jan Noordegraaf of the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam, who always immediately responded to my cries for help, and on many occasions shortened the distance between New Zealand and the Netherlands. Dr. Noordegraaf also facilitated the publication of two of the chapters of this dissertation.

A final and heartfelt thank you goes to my wife Yasuko, who over all these years unquestioningly accepted the stress and constraints that this study imposed on our lives. Without her support this would not have been possible.

Although all these people made significant contributions towards the success of this study, the responsibility for the quality and accuracy of what is stated within is of course mine alone.

Christchurch

May 2005

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Preamble

In the year 1922 a small and unremarkable site measuring some 200 by 70 metres in Nagasaki's harbour district was designated an important historic site by the Japanese government. The area, now a collection of industrial buildings and car parks next to a main thoroughfare, had been the site of Dejima,¹ where for over two hundred years, from 1640 to 1853,² a small Dutch trade mission provided Japan with its only contact with the Western world.

The unification of Japan in 1600 under Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616) saw a new sense of nationalism emerging. Hitherto virtually unquestioned acceptance of the superiority of Chinese culture became somewhat tempered by a new national pride. At the same time suspicion grew that the Portuguese, who had been active in Japan since the middle of the sixteenth century, might be more motivated by political and religious ambitions than merely by opportunities for lucrative trade. Finally in 1639 the shogunate, increasingly alarmed at the spread of European colonial power in Asia and the lack of civil obedience among Japanese converts to Christianity, expelled the Portuguese from Japan. This was the last in a series of edicts that had, over a period of six years, progressively isolated Japan from the rest of the world. From that point on, no foreign ships were allowed to enter Japanese ports, and no Japanese subjects were allowed to leave the country, on pain of execution upon their return. It was the start of the so-called *sakoku jidai* 鎖国時代, or period of national isolation, which was to last for well over two hundred years, until the arrival of American Commodore Perry's 'Black Ships' in Tokyo Bay in 1853. During this time, only the Chinese and the Dutch were allowed, under strict controls, to trade with the Japanese. The Dutch had exploited the situation successfully by persuading the Japanese that the Portuguese were a common enemy and that their own intentions

¹The spelling of *Decima* in contemporary Dutch documents indicates that the island's name was pronounced 'Deshima' at the time. This study, however, will use the spelling of 'Dejima', representing the modern pronunciation.

²The period from 1600 to 1868 is often referred to as the Edo period, since the Japanese shogunal government during this period was based in Edo (now Tokyo).

were purely based on business.³

Suspicion in Japan with regard to European ambitions remained strong throughout the Edo period, and the Dutch presence in Japan was subject to very strict conditions. Late in 1640 they were forced to demolish the warehouses of the VOC⁴ on the island of Hirado off the coast of Kyushu, and they were subsequently moved to Dejima, a tiny purpose-built peninsula in the bay of Nagasaki, in Japan's remote south-west,⁵ where only a small number⁶ of representatives were allowed to stay through the year.

Visits by Dutch ships were permitted only once a year, and these ships (on average three) were normally not allowed to stay longer than two months. The Dutch trading post on Dejima remained operational for more than two centuries. In 1860 it was finally closed and replaced by a vice-consulate in Nagasaki.⁷

In order to establish control over communication between the Dutch and Japanese society at large (and thus prevent a recurring of the problems of religious and political 'contamination' experienced with the Portuguese), the bridge that connected Dejima with the mainland was permanently guarded, and the Dutch were normally not allowed to leave Dejima. Only officially appointed interpreters and prostitutes with special dispensation were allowed to have direct contact with them. In the spring of every year the *opperhoofd*, or director of the Dutch trade mission, and two or three assistants made an annual journey to Edo, to pay their respects to the Shogun at his court.⁸ That during these journeys the rules of isolation from the population were not enforced quite as strictly as they were normally in Nagasaki is shown by the fact that some Japanese scholars were given permission to meet the Dutchmen during their stay in Edo, and ask them questions about their country, their culture or the Dutch language.⁹

Study of the Japanese language by the Dutchmen was prohibited, and an Interpreters

³The English, the only other Europeans that had trade relations with Japan at the time, had closed their trading post in southern Japan in 1623, because of insufficient profits.

⁴*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, the Dutch East India Company.

⁵Dejima was built in 1636, originally for the Portuguese traders, in an attempt by the Japanese authorities to curb the increasing political and religious activities by the Portuguese in Japan. (Numata et al. 1984: 468).

⁶As a rule about fifteen to twenty persons (Blussé et al. 2000: 48).

⁷Kanai 1976: 221.

⁸After 1799, reduced trade resulted in the court journey being held only every four years.

⁹Famous examples of this are Arai Hakuseki and Aoki Kon'yō (see Chapters III-3 and V-1 respectively below).

Guild¹⁰ with a hereditary system of appointing interpreters was established. For reasons discussed below, few members of the Guild ever mastered the Dutch language sufficiently for a career as a true interpreter, and most merely assisted in the administration and trade associated with the annual arrival of the Dutch ships. Daily contact with the Dutchmen tended to be limited to a small number of interpreters who had reached sufficient language skills to make useful communication possible. In addition, most Guild members regarded their Dutch language skills as professional expertise, not to be shared with outsiders.

Since the Interpreters Guild officially had a monopoly on these skills, it was initially among the members of the Guild that an interest grew in Western science and technology. Some requested the importation of Dutch books on topics outside their immediate needs as interpreters, and produced translations and adaptations of these. In addition, the Dutch surgeon stationed on Dejima would from time to time donate books to the Guild.¹¹ Gradually a small library of Western books came into being in the rooms the Interpreters Guild occupied just outside the gate that gave access to Dejima. However, ownership of such books by the wider public remained prohibited until 1720.

Over the years, a wider awareness grew in Japan that the coarse 'barbarian' foreigners on Dejima represented a sophisticated culture that might in fact have something to offer.¹² Naturally, since only very few of the Dutchmen posted on Dejima ever achieved more than the most elementary level of Japanese language proficiency, the passing on of information regarding the West depended entirely on the Dutch language expertise of the Japanese. From time to time Japanese intellectuals, often under official orders, established contact with members of the Interpreters Guild with the purpose of obtaining information about Western culture and technology. Arai Hakuseki's contact with interpreter Imamura Gen'emon is the first known example of such an exchange.¹³

The ban on the importation of Western books was lifted in 1720, but it was not until the 1750s that Dutch books began to find their way into the hands of the small but

¹⁰The body of interpreters was called *tsūji nakama* 通詞仲間 in Japanese, and is referred to in the Dutch traders' diaries as *Tolkencollege* ('College of Interpreters'). In keeping with the nature of the interpreters' association, and to conform with other English language studies in this area, the term Interpreters' Guild will be used in this thesis.

¹¹MacLean 1974: 33.

¹²Blussé et al. 2000: 87.

growing group of scholars interested in learning from the West.¹⁴ While the importation of tangible examples of Western technology, such as telescopes and barometers, served to further this interest, the contents of books remained elusive to almost everyone until the late eighteenth century. The tale of Sugita Genpaku's heroic struggle to translate a Dutch book on anatomy is told at Japanese high schools as a triumph of resourcefulness and persistence. However, Genpaku's initial translation was riddled with inaccuracies and omissions. Its significance lay in the symbolism of a respected scholar devoting so much time and effort to a barbarian book. The translation itself remained quite unreliable until it was corrected by Ōtsuki Gentaku and former interpreter Baba Sajūrō some years later.¹⁵

It was not until Shizuki's 'discovery' of Western linguistics at the beginning of the nineteenth century, coinciding with the compilation of the first two accurate and comprehensive Dutch and Japanese dictionaries (the so-called *haruma* dictionaries), that finally, in the last few decades of two centuries of isolation, it became possible to produce accurate Japanese translations of European books. It seems paradoxical that although medicine and astronomy had been of interest as a scholarly pursuit to various individuals throughout the period of isolation, a truly scholarly approach to the Dutch language, which after all was the vehicle by which all information from the West arrived in Japan, was not begun until the early nineteenth century, a full century and a half after the establishment of the Dutch trading post on Dejima.

In 1811 the Astronomical Bureau in Edo, which had been investigating and translating various Dutch texts for several decades, became an official bureau for the translation of foreign books, initially with the specific aim of translating a Dutch version of Chomel's seven-volume *Dictionnaire Oeconomique*. Although the translation bureau more or less maintained a monopoly on *rangaku* studies in Edo, a number of Nagasaki interpreters began to find it lucrative to resign from the Guild and establish themselves as physicians or set up language schools around the country, thus contributing to a spread of language and other skills in the main centres.

After Japan opened itself to the world in 1858, Dutch lost its position as the language of science and technology within a few short years, to be replaced by German, Russian, French and above all English. However, while the changes that lay ahead for Japan as it rejoined the world at large would overwhelm the trickle of information that had been allowed to penetrate the isolation in the name of *rangaku* studies, it is fair to say that these transitions were facilitated to a significant extent by the struggles that

¹⁴MacLean 1974: 10.

¹⁵See p. 125 below.

had gone beforehand to come to an understanding of the barbarian tongue of the small group of traders on Dejima.

Aims of this study

A great number of studies have been done and books written on how, when and why scientific and technological knowledge found its way into Japan via Dejima during the period of national isolation. However, while definitions of the term *rangaku* usually include the study of the Dutch language itself, this key element in this tenuous flow of information has long been treated somewhat superficially, often as no more than a brief chapter or series of remarks within a larger study on *rangaku*. Usually these observations relate how those wishing to learn the secrets of Western knowledge struggled to overcome the language barrier, or spent years painstakingly compiling vast dictionaries.

More recently some studies have appeared that have listed the location and origin of early Japanese works on the Dutch language, and attempted to analyse their contents. Sugimoto, Katagiri, Saitō¹⁶ and others have produced important historical investigations on the subject of the study of the Dutch language in Japan, but these studies are mostly of a biographical or historical nature. Moreover, their authors tend to have little or no proficiency in the Dutch language, with the result that their works do not adequately address the purposes of serious linguistic analysis.

Languages change over time. Dutch during the period from the middle of the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth century was no exception to this, and this period was moreover a formative time for Dutch linguistic thought. Various attempts were made during this time to unify spelling and syntax rules, usually based on the treatment of the grammar of Latin or that of neighbouring European languages. The result of these efforts entered Japanese awareness at intervals, often after decades of delay, and sometimes not at all. For a thorough investigation into the study of the Dutch language in Japan during the Edo period therefore, it is necessary to have an understanding not only of the language itself, but also of the changes that it underwent during this period.¹⁷

¹⁶Earlier studies on this topic are reviewed in the chapter Literature Review, p. 12 below.

¹⁷A good example of this occurs in Katagiri's analysis of a small eighteenth century Dutch-Japanese phrasebook (further discussed in this study in Chapter III-2 below). Katagiri seizes upon the flawed phrase *ja, ik ben zeer bemind* ("Yes, I do like her very much."), and suggests that its correct

In addition to serving as a vehicle for the introduction into Japan of European science and technology, the Dutch language, as it was studied, had a profound influence on the way the Japanese analysed and defined the structures and functions of their own language. While the methods used for acquiring the Dutch language in Japan were quite basic at first, they eventually evolved into a serious study of Western linguistics, finally eclipsing and supplanting native Japanese linguistic thought and concepts. Many terms coined by eighteenth and nineteenth century Japanese scholars of Dutch survive in Japanese linguistic terminology today. For this and other reasons, the study of the Dutch language in Japan merits investigation and deserves to be acknowledged as an important area of *rangaku* study.

It is therefore the main purpose of this study to investigate how and when Dutch language skills were introduced through an analysis of the contents and context of the material on the Dutch language that was produced in Japan during the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the effect this had on the way the Japanese analysed their own language.

What this study does not do is provide a great deal of sociohistorical information on the reasons for the development of *rangaku*, or the motivation of individuals to take up such studies, since this has been amply investigated already by a number of very able scholars. The reader is referred to Dore (1965), Goodman (1967), Numata (1992), Rubinger (1982), Blussé et al. (2000) and others.

This is the first English-language study entirely dedicated to the development of Dutch language studies in Japan during the Edo period. It is also the first extensive study by a native speaker of Dutch of the manuscripts and publications on the Dutch language that appeared in Japan during the Edo period.¹⁸ This thesis introduces and analyses a selection of primary materials that have either been central to the evolution of Dutch language studies in Japan, or representative of an aspect of these studies that is of interest either because of its pedigree or its subsequent influence.¹⁹ It also re-evaluates research done by previous scholars, in an attempt to add insights and corrections from the perspective of a native speaker of Dutch.

Thesis statement

Since this study traces describes and analyses a selection of writings and in the

the development of the study of Dutch in Japan, it is not a thesis in the sense of a 'thesis statement', in the sense of a challenge to scholarship, therefore does not immediately spring forth. Although others have commented on these works and described their contents, many opinions on this have been more of a speculative nature rather than serious analysis. The descriptive nature of this study means that it will provide, it is hoped, a basis for further analysis and discussion.

There is, however, another aspect to this corner of history, one that has certainly been discussed and evaluated at length by everyone who has produced anything at all on the development of *rangaku*: that is the protagonists, the people who produced the works analysed here, their ability, role and influence. However, particularly in the area of Dutch language studies, as a rule estimations of the expertise and significance of these individuals have been based on their reputation, from what their contemporaries and followers were saying about them, rather than on their actual work. That such evaluations, based on secondary and often less than objective sources, is not always correct can be demonstrated by means of one or two conspicuous examples.

Ever since the appearance in 1815 of the work *Rangaku kotohajime* 蘭学事初 ('The Beginnings of *Rangaku*') by Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白 (1738-1817) it has been widely accepted that *rangaku* began with the study of a corpse and the translation of a Dutch anatomical work by Genpaku in the 1770s. There is no doubt that Genpaku's status in Japanese learned society accorded the study of things barbarian a considerable amount of respectability. However, not only was the translated text of the first edition of *Kaitai shinsho* of a quality so unreliable as to render it virtually useless for any real medical purposes, it has long been clear that the study of Dutch language, science and technology began soon after the beginning of the period of national isolation, well over a hundred years earlier. Genpaku's reputation, it seems, was mainly based on his own touching description of the struggles he had to overcome in order to produce his translation. Yet even in recent publications Genpaku is described as the founder of *rangaku*.²⁰

A second example of overestimation of ability is the case of Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 (1757-1827), who in some ways could be deemed to be more deserving of the title 'father of *rangaku*' than Sugita Genpaku ever was. He is the author of a number of

provided a major impetus to creation of the influential *Edo haruma* dictionary, and later became the first head of the new official translation bureau. It is on the basis of this, rather than on his actual translation work, that Gentaku is often praised for his linguistic skills and knowledge of the Dutch language. In fact, Gentaku never produced a translation from Dutch by himself, and would not have been capable of doing so.

One cause for this optimism regarding the abilities of the *rangaku* scholars in Edo was that the true source of Dutch language expertise in Japan during this period, namely the Nagasaki interpreters, has long been ignored. It is only in recent decades that the significance of the contribution of these interpreters to Dutch language studies to the study of Western science and technology has been recognised in a non-patronising manner. Interpreters were producing creditable translations long before Sugita Genpaku embarked on his famous project. In the area of language skills too, the interpreters have only recently been credited with introducing understanding of Western language structures and the principles of Western linguistics to Japan.

It is now routinely acknowledged that a reclusive former interpreter called Shizuki Tadao 志筑忠雄 (1760–1806) and one of his students, Baba Sajūrō 馬場佐十郎 (1787–1822) played a key role in this process. However, here too, in particular evaluations of Shizuki's contribution to the development of Dutch language studies are invariably based on the opinions of his contemporaries, that is, secondary sources. This is because the primary materials, that is, Shizuki's own writings on the Dutch language, have been difficult to access. None of Shizuki's works on the Dutch language was published. In addition, his work is at a very advanced level in both languages, making it difficult to follow for anyone, even today, who does not have a sound understanding of eighteenth century Dutch and Japanese. Finally, with the exception of *Rangaku seizenfu* and *Joshikō*, much of his work appears to have been scribbled down for personal use, and was hard to decipher even for his own students. Furthermore, much of it survives in handwritten copies riddled with errors. A small number of Shizuki's followers brought his work to Edo and developed it into more digestible forms, at the same time acknowledging Shizuki as their master. Foremost among these was Baba. However, a lack of awareness of the exact nature of Shizuki's linguistic work has meant that the roles of Shizuki and Baba in the development of Dutch language studies have not been clear.

By analysis and description of the books and manuscripts produced during the Edo period in Japan about the Dutch language, this thesis therefore hopes to shed some extra light on the roles and significance of some of the major players in the development of *rangaku*, thus adding to the body of knowledge regarding this significant aspect

of Japanese history.

The primary resources examined for this study

Collections of Edo-period Dutch language materials exist in a number of university libraries, mostly in Japan; Tokyo, Waseda and Kyoto Universities have the largest collections of manuscripts and printed works relating to Dutch studies. Other works are in private collections. A modest number of works found their way to the Netherlands in the first half of the nineteenth century, after the 1798 dissolution of the VOC, when Dejima came under direct control of the Dutch government.²¹ In 1806 the Dutch regained their independence from the French; and the new kingdom renewed its interests in trade with East Asia. In 1823, the German scientist Philipp Franz Von Siebold (1786–1866) was sent to Japan with the instruction to find out as much as possible about Japan, and the materials he brought back occupy a significant proportion of the Japanese collections in the library of Leiden University and the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde.²²

An inclination of members of the Interpreters Guild to be secretive about their language skills is one reason why very little material on the Dutch language was published in Japan before the nineteenth century. Instead, handwritten copies of word lists and model sentences were passed on to trusted successors, or copied by hand. As a result, few manuscripts from the hand of interpreters remain in existence today, while those that do are often unreliable copies of long-since lost originals. However, where more than one copy is available, some conclusions can be drawn regarding content and format of the original document by comparing manuscripts, and eliminating copyists' errors and restoring omissions. Furthermore, most of what was produced by Edo scholars during the eighteenth century on the Dutch language was based on what they had learned directly from Nagasaki interpreters. Insights can be gained from these works about the interpreters' skills and methods.

Little progress was made in the development of methods and sophistication of Dutch language teaching and learning until the end of the eighteenth century, when, as a result of both a relaxation of censorship as well as an increase in popular interest in Western learning, a greater number of Dutch-produced books found their way into Japanese hands. Among these were several standard works on Dutch grammar. This had a considerable influence on the nature and quality of the works produced by the Japanese themselves.

Two names that recur in the development of Dutch language studies in Japan from the end of the eighteenth century onwards are those of Pieter Marin (1667–1718) and François Halma (1653–1722), two Dutch linguists of the late seventeenth century. Both men produced popular and influential Dutch and French dictionaries, and it is these works which, after they had been brought to Japan by Dutch traders, provided the Japanese with a valuable source of Western linguistic information until the very end of the period of national isolation. Both receive a mention in Shizuki Tadao's early work *Rangaku seizenfu*, and Shizuki clearly obtained much of his early knowledge of Western grammar from their dictionaries. Another influential work of his, *Joshikō*, was based almost exclusively on sample phrases Shizuki had found in Marin's dictionary. The uncompleted dictionary of Nishi Zenzaburō was reportedly based on Marin, while the two great Dutch–Japanese dictionaries of the early nineteenth century, the *Doeff haruma* and *Edo haruma*, were both based on Halma's work.²³ In 1810, ex-interpreter and prominent teacher and translator Baba Sajūrō wrote that all *rangaku* scholars owned and used the Marin and Halma dictionaries.²⁴

It is ironic that Halma and Marin, whose names are so closely interwoven with Dutch language studies in Japan, had an intense and public dislike for each other. Initially Marin had worked for Halma on the latter's preparation of his first Dutch and French dictionary. Later, however, Marin embarked upon his own dictionary, and a feud grew between them, which was aired at length and with great animosity in successive prefaces to their respective works. Halma in particular went to extremes in his campaign to discredit his former employee; in the second edition of his dictionary (1729) he referred to Marin as "that conceited producer of gibberish" ("*die verwaande taalbrabbelaar*") and, employing a pun based on a French interpretation of Marin's name, proclaimed him to be "*un nouveau Monstre Marin*" ("a new Seamonster"). He was clearly very pleased with this latter *trouvaille*, because he went so far as to commission an artist to visualise his insult in the frontispiece, a magnificent etching depicting a victorious knight in armour (presumably Halma himself) standing triumphantly atop a defeated sea monster, while the surrounding onlookers hold their noses to ward off the stench that is still emanating from the monster's mouth (See Fig. 1).

Eventually, the work of the pioneer linguists brought about a level of Dutch language skills that allowed *rangaku* scholars direct access to Dutch grammar textbooks. The last few decades of Dutch language studies in Japan were dominated by a small text

²³These works are examined in detail in Chapter IV-3 below.

²⁴*Jirui yakumeishō* intro. See Chapter V-3 below.

Dutch primary schools, called *Grammatica*. This work became the favourite of many students, and was copied, translated and adapted in a bewildering variety of ways.⁸⁰ However, the days of Dutch language studies in Japan were all but numbered, and the *Grammatica* copies and translations mark the end of Edo period Dutch language studies.



Fig. 1.

The frontispiece of the second edition of François Halma's *Woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Fransche Taalen* (Amsterdam 1729), depicting the odious 'monstre Marin'. See p. 10 above.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The focus of this study is the analysis of the primary sources, that is, the publications and manuscripts about the Dutch language that were produced in Japan during the Edo period, but secondary sources on *rangaku* and the study of the Dutch language in Japan have also been widely consulted. This chapter traces the development of those historical accounts of *rangaku*, giving particular attention to Dutch language studies, in order to place the present study in its historical context and to evaluate the extent to which they have provided insights and information for the present study.

Most of the original information regarding Dutch-Japanese relations during the period of national isolation is to be found in documents such as reports and rescripts by officials in Japan on the one hand, and the diaries, letters and personal memoirs of the Dutch traders on Dejima on the other. These records naturally almost invariably found themselves stored on opposite sides of the globe: Japanese documents in Japan, and Dutch documents in Holland. Thus both language and physical distance provided formidable barriers to early investigators, and the fruits of their research consequently often reflect only one side of the story. In this way to some extent the policies of national isolation in Japan during the Edo period are still affecting the research of Dutch-Japanese relations of this period.

The language barrier is further raised when the research is about the study by Japanese of the Dutch language itself, since this involves to some extent the 'nuts and bolts' of the two languages involved, and therefore requires more than a superficial knowledge of both languages. It is not surprising then, that the dozens of Edo period manuscripts and published works dedicated to this aspect of *rangaku* have long been neglected. The emphasis of *rangaku* studies has almost always been on the paths by which Western knowledge was introduced into Japan and the effect this had on Japanese art, science and technology, usually with the main focus on the achievements of the *rangaku* scholars in Edo. Investigations into the Dutch language *per se* in Japan during the Edo period was limited mostly to the presence and origins of Dutch loanwords in the Japanese language, and by and large other aspects received little attention until the work of Sugimoto Tsutomu in the 1970s.

During the Edo period, two influential first-hand accounts of the development of *rangaku* were published in Japan itself. The earliest of these is found in Part One of

Rangaku kaitei 蘭学階梯, 'Steps to Dutch Learning' by Ōtsuki Gentaku (1757–1827), published in 1788. *Rangaku kaitei* is a two-part introduction to *rangaku* and the Dutch language for beginning students.¹ Part One outlines the history of *rangaku* to date and provides suggestions on how to approach the study of the Dutch language, based on what Gentaku had learned during his stay with the interpreters in Nagasaki two years earlier. It contains a valuable and oft-quoted description of the way in which the Nagasaki interpreters studied Dutch.² Part Two of this work is an introduction to the alphabet and to the Dutch language itself. This work is analysed in chapter V below.

The next important work to appear on the history of *rangaku* was *Rangaku kotohajime* 蘭学事始 ('The Dawn of Western Science in Japan'), by Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白 (1733–1817), published in 1815. Sugita, together with Maeno Ryōtaku 前野良沢 (1723–1803), translated *Ontleedkundige tafelen* ('Anatomical Tables'), a Dutch version of an anatomical work by the German physician Johannes Kulmus (1689–1745) into Japanese in the 1760s. Sugita and Maeno were respected scholars, and their efforts helped give *Rangaku* and Western medicine the academic credibility it had lacked for so long. For decades *Rangaku kotohajime* was seen as the definitive source of information regarding the history of Western learning in Japan. Although Sugita was an influential and respected *rangaku* scholar, his perspective is a limited and subjective one, and not always accurate. For example, he suggests that a Dutch ship which had "drifted ashore" in Japan in 1643 had carried a surgeon called "Casper so-and-so", who was to become the inspiration for the well-known 'Casper school' of medicine. In fact, no such person was on the *Breskens* when it visited Yamada Bay in July of 1643. The originator of this early school of Western medicine in Japan was Caspar Schamberger, a German physician who spent two years on Dejima (from 1649 to 1651) in the employ of the VOC.³ However, while vague and unreliable when it comes to historical facts, *Rangaku kotohajime* contains a famous first-hand account of the trials of Dutch–Japanese translation by a central figure in the development of Western studies in Edo.

In Europe, Hendrik Doeff (1777–1835) provided some interesting insights into the characters, activities and language skills of the interpreters in his memoirs of the time he spent on Dejima. As a result of the English takeover of the Dutch colonies in the Far East, Doeff was forced to stay on as trade mission chief on Dejima for an

¹A transcript of the entire work can be found in Numata et al. 1976: 357.

²See p. 28 below.

³Schamberger did have some involvement in this curious incident. The story of the hapless crew of the *Breskens* is told in Hesselink 2001.

unprecedented eighteen years, and published his *Herinneringen uit Japan* ('Memories of Japan') in 1833. He gives vivid character descriptions of a number of individuals involved with language study in Japan, and provides a good example of Dutch as it was written by Nagasaki interpreters at the time.⁴ He also provides valuable insights into the enormous task that was the compilation of the influential *Dūfu haruma* 『フー・ハルマ』 Dutch-Japanese dictionary he and several interpreters compiled over a period of several years. This dictionary and its compilation are discussed in chapter IV below.

Leiden University's first professor of Japanese, J. J. Hoffmann (1805–1878), compiled a catalogue of a collection of one hundred and twenty Japanese works that was taken back to the Netherlands from Japan in 1858 by J. H. Donker Curtius (1813–1879), last of the Dejima trading post chiefs and subsequently the first Dutch consul in Japan. The Donker Curtius collection, which is housed in the library of Leiden University, includes some twenty dictionaries and works on Dutch grammar. Although Hoffmann's catalogue remained the sole reference work of this collection for over a hundred years, it is a good example of the difficulties academics faced when the material they had to work with was located on opposite sides of the globe and in two languages with such different ancestries. Hoffmann never visited Japan himself, and he learned his Japanese from Von Siebold, who had spent six years (from 1823 to 1829) on Dejima as the resident physician. Hoffmann's habit of applying, seemingly at random, Japanese (*kun*), Sino-Japanese (*on*) or Chinese readings to characters renders his romanization of names and book titles quite unreliable. He misses the phonetic application of characters in the title 挿訳俄蘭磨智科 (*Sōyaku guramachika* or 'Grammatica with translations inserted'), representing it as *Sau yeki Oran Matsikwa*, even expressing some wonder that this is "supposed to mean 'Dutch Grammar with an Inserted Translation'".⁵ A lack of knowledge of the history of *rangaku* leads him to refer to Shizuki Tadao variously as "N. Riuho", "Yagisono Nakano Sensei" and "Sitsik Reōfu",⁶ apparently without realising that these are all one and the same person, and a major one in the field at that. Hoffmann manages nevertheless to present as knowledgeable an appraisal of this collection as would have been attainable in Europe at the time, and, despite being based almost entirely on only the Dutch elements in the works, his evaluations are not far off the mark. Despite its limitations, Hoffmann's catalogue was a useful tool in locating and identifying important works for the present study.

⁴See Chapter III-1.

⁵Hoffmann 1878: 37.

⁶Hoffmann 1878: 34, 36 and 57 resp.

...er, who had published Hoffmann's catalogue posthumously, a comprehensive catalogue of the entire Japanese collection of Leiden titled *Bibliothèque Japonaise*. While this includes Hoffmann's listings, many flaws are not corrected, and each item is accompanied by only a very brief description. The Serrurier numbering still applies to the Japanese collection of Leiden University library today.

Hoffmann's and Serrurier's catalogues were finally superseded when the Donker Curtius collection was incorporated in H. Kerlen's *Catalogue Of Meiji Japanese Books And Maps In Public Collections In The Netherlands*, published in 1996. Each entry is listed, where available, with the names of its author and other contributors, publisher and date of publication, its structure, and any other information as it might appear on title pages or covers, as well as a concise description of the work's composition and a brief remark regarding the nature of its contents. In the case of the Donker Curtius collection, a cross reference number to Serrurier is also provided. Kerlen's meticulous catalogue is indispensable for anyone conducting research into Japanese history in Europe, and certainly greatly assisted the author of the present study in the locating and identifying of several key works.

In Japan, from the middle of the nineteenth century to the 1960s, few studies were produced that contained useful information regarding the Dutch language during the Edo period. In 1878, Ōtsuki Nyoden 大槻如電 (1845–1931), grandson of Ōtsuki Gentaku, published a work entitled *Shinsen yōgaku nenpyō* 新選洋学年表 ('Revised Chronological Tables of Western Learning'), largely consisting of a chronological listing of Edo period works by *rangakusha*, interspersed with bibliographical information from sources such as Sugita Genpaku's *Rangaku kotohajime* 蘭学事始, or Ōtsuki Gentaku's *Rangaku kaitei* 蘭学階梯. The focus is on Edo scholars, and only casual attention is paid to the Nagasaki interpreters or Dutch language studies.⁷

In 1877, Mitsukuri Kakichi 箕作佳吉 (1858–1909) presented a paper entitled *The Early Study of Dutch in Japan* to the Asiatic Society of Japan in 1877. The text of this paper was subsequently published in the society's journal.⁸ Unfortunately the paper is rather short, superficial and almost entirely based on hearsay and Sugita Genpaku's less than reliable accounts in *Rangaku kotohajime*. For example, Kakichi contends that the interpreters were forbidden to learn Dutch until the reign of Shogun Tokugawa

⁷An English translation of part of this work can be found in Krieger 1940.

Yoshimune (regnat 1716–1745),⁹ a claim that is patently incorrect, as will be seen in this study. However, as the first English-language publication by a Japanese on this topic, the work did find its way into the bibliographies of some Western historians.¹⁰

In 1898, an article titled *Oranda jiten bunten no yakujutsu kigen* 和蘭字典文典の訳述起源 ('Origins of the translation of Dutch grammars and dictionaries') by Ōtsuki Fumihiko 大槻文彦 (1847–1928), younger brother of Ōtsuki Nyoden, appeared in the historical journal 史学雑誌 *Shigaku zasshi*. Despite its promising title, it too contains information mostly of a biographical nature. It does, however, contain a brief but useful table showing the evolution of Japanese linguistic terminology employed in six Edo period learning manuals and grammatical works on the Dutch language, namely: Baba Sajūrō's *Teisei rango kuhinshū* 訂正蘭語九品集 ('The Nine Parts of Speech of the Dutch Language; Revised', 1814), Fujibayashi Fuzan's *Gohōge* 語法解 ('On Dutch Grammar' 1812), *Rokkaku zenpen* 六格前編 ('The Six Cases, Volume One'), Ōtsuki Genkan's *Rangaku han* 蘭学凡 ('An Overview of *rangaku*', 1816) and Tsurumine Shigenobu's *Gogaku shinsho* 語学親書 ('New Treatise on Linguistics', 1833). As such it is the first post-Edo work that gave attention to the actual contents of Dutch language teaching manuals of the Edo period. It was to take another seventy years before another scholar, Sugimoto Tsutomu, attempted a serious analysis of the contents of such works (see below).

In the Netherlands, an important study appeared in 1921 by J. Feenstra Kuiper under the title *Japan en de buitenwereld in de achttiende eeuw* ('Japan and the outside world in the eighteenth century'). It was the first time a Western scholar produced a serious study of Japan's international relations during the eighteenth century. He was also the first scholar to make extensive use of the records kept by the Dutch traders on Dejima, i.e. the *Dagregisters* and letters to the VOC, stored at the *Rijksarchie* in The Hague. For information regarding Japanese resources, however, Feenstra Kuiper relied mostly on material in the Leiden University Japanese collection and studies in English language journals, notably Mitsukuri's article *The Early Study of Dutch Japan*. Nevertheless, Feenstra Kuiper's work represents a breakthrough in European academic awareness of this aspect of Japanese history, and it became a key referer for many later European studies on *rangaku*. It contains a section on Dutch language studies in Japan¹¹ that demonstrates how during the forty or so years since

⁹*Ibid.*: 208.

¹⁰See for example Feenstra Kuiper, below.

¹¹Feenstra Kuiper 1921: 251–259.

publication of Hoffmann's catalogue, knowledge in Europe regarding historical aspects of such studies in Japan, while still limited, had improved considerably. In an uncharacteristic stumble in his only description of a Japanese work on the Dutch language, Feenstra Kuiper gives a description of *Kaisei zōho bangosen* 改正增甫蛮語, mistakenly assuming that it is almost identical to Morishima Chūryō's *Bangosen* 蛮語, which had been published fifty critical years earlier.¹²

During the 1930s in Japan, Itazawa Takeo 板沢武雄 produced a series of articles regarding Japanese international relations during the Edo period. It was the first time the contents of the historical Japanese documents in this field were subjected to modern scholarly scrutiny. Itazawa was also the first Japanese scholar to conduct research into Dutch documentation, such as the *Dagregisters*. Pertinent to the present study are his *Tsūjika no orandagogaku* 通詞家の和蘭語学 ('The study of the Dutch language by the interpreters', 1932), *Rangaku no hattatsu* 蘭学の発達 ('The development of Dutch learning', 1935) and *Jisho oyobi bunpōsho no hensan to rangaku no hattatsu* 辞書及文法書の編纂と蘭学の発達 ('The compilation of dictionaries and grammars and the development of Dutch learning', 1939). Itazawa challenges Sugita Genpaku's contention¹³ that the Nagasaki interpreters were unable to read or write Dutch,¹⁴ and appears to have been the first post-Edo scholar to recognise the pivotal role of Shizuki Tadao in Dutch language studies. However, he focuses mainly on biographical and historical facts, and his evaluation of Shizuki's linguistic achievements does not go beyond a listing of the Dutch parts of speech as Shizuki had presented them in *Rango kuhinshū* 蘭語九品集 ('The Nine Parts of Speech of the Dutch Language', n.d.).¹⁵

Although Itazawa's work has been overtaken to some extent by subsequent more comprehensive investigations, his studies, together with Feenstra Kuiper's findings based on European documents, made it possible for international scholars to begin constructing a more complete understanding of the development of *rangaku* and the study of Dutch in Japan. An example of this is the book *Jan Compagnie in Japan* by C. R. Boxer, which appeared in 1950. This was the first study in English to present a comprehensive account of the activities of the VOC in Japan. Feenstra Kuiper is quoted frequently here, and Boxer devotes a short chapter of nine pages to the

¹²*Ibid.*: 256. See chapter IV below for a description of these two works.

¹³Sugita 1969: 8.

¹⁴Itazawa 1932: 19.

¹⁵Itazawa 1939: 600. *Rango kuhinshū* is discussed in chapter V.

Nagasaki interpreters and Dutch language studies,¹⁶ based largely on Itazawa's work. Although *Jan Compagnie in Japan* was published in the Netherlands, Boxer relied entirely on Itazawa's investigations for information from the *Dagregisters*. The chapter includes a tiny annotated bibliography of eight Edo period textbooks and dictionaries.

Surprisingly, although Boxer appears to have consulted Hendrik Doeff's *Herinneringen uit Japan* ('Memories from Japan'), he suggests that Doeff may have used the *Edo haruma* as a source for his compilation of the *Dūfu haruma*.¹⁷ Even as late as 1833 Doeff appeared to have known only of the existence of the *Edo haruma* through hearsay, and he explains unequivocally, both in his memoir¹⁸ and in his foreword to the dictionary itself, that he used François Halma's Dutch-French dictionary and the assistance of some Nagasaki interpreters.¹⁹ Boxer's work on Dutch language studies again demonstrates that although scholarship regarding the development of *rangaku* was making great strides forward, Edo period manuscripts and publications on the Dutch language were not given a great deal of attention.

G. K. Goodman's 1967 study *The Dutch Impact on Japan* is perhaps the single most important English language reference to the present study. For the first time a scholar presented a wide-ranging, well organised and authoritative history of Japanese-Dutch relations based on an impressive list of Japanese and European sources. Also for the first time, Goodman took concrete steps to correct what Boxer had called the exaggeration of the *rangaku* scholars' achievements at the expense of the Nagasaki interpreters.²⁰ The interpreters are dealt with in their own chapter and make frequent appearances throughout the book. The study of the Dutch language itself, however, is restricted to a description of the genesis of the two *haruma* dictionaries, and translation of a key passage from Ōtsuki Gentaku's *Rangaku kaitei* regarding the interpreters' language study methods.²¹

Another useful resource for the present study was J. MacLean's *The Introduction of Books and Scientific Instruments into Japan, 1712-1854*. Although far from complete, the lists of imports provide a certainty at least as to when certain works were available to the Japanese, and give an idea of the manner in which some volumes may have

¹⁶Boxer 1950: 58-66.

¹⁷Boxer 1950: 66.

¹⁸Doeff 1833: 264.

¹⁹These dictionaries are discussed in chapter V below.

²⁰Boxer 1950: 63.

²¹Goodman 1967: 121.

to be in the possession of certain individuals.

In the 1970s, Waseda University professor Sugimoto Tsutomu 杉本つとむ produced an monumental five volume study on the development of Dutch language studies in Japan under the title *Edo jidai Rangogaku no seiritsu to sono tenkai* 江戸時代蘭語学の成立とその展開 ('Dutch Linguistics, It's [sic] Formation, Growth and Development'). The five volumes, each of around a thousand pages, were the first to present a wealth of valuable information concerning the study of the Dutch language both in Nagasaki and in the rest of Japan, and as such were indispensable to the present study. The volumes divide the field into the following topics:

- Vol. I.: The study and research of the Dutch language by the Nagasaki interpreters.
- Vol. II.: The study and research of the Dutch language by the *rangaku* scholars.
- Vol. III.: Translated word lists and dictionaries.
- Vol. IV.: The human element in the study of the Dutch language.
- Vol. V.: Investigations into, and resources and indexes to, techniques of translation.

Unfortunately, Sugimoto often seems to have favoured quantity over quality. A positive consequence of this is that he provides extensive typeset renditions of many manuscripts important to the present study. His bibliographies, which provide the location of these manuscripts, are also a valuable resource, as are his tables comparing linguistic nomenclature in various manuscripts.²² However, his analysis of the contents of such works is verbose and superficial, and not always accurate.

For example, in Vol. I, Sugimoto quotes the following from *Shihō shoji taiyaku* 四法諸時対訳 ('A Translation of the Various Tenses in the Four Moods'), an anonymous copy of Shizuki Tadao's Sewel-based work:²³

(???)
○ tweed onvolmaakt voorleden tijd²⁴

Here, Sugimoto has singled out as wrong the word *voorleden*, which, albeit archaic, is perfectly correct, while at the same time overlooking the spelling error in the first word of the phrase, *tweed* (which should be spelt *tweede*). It may seem a little

²²E.g. Sugimoto 1976: 559-561.

²³This work is examined in chapter IV below.

²⁴Sugimoto 1976: 454.

...ous to highlight small failings like this, but Sugimoto's five volumes are littered with them, rendering his liberal use of ママ (the Japanese equivalent of 'sic') all but meaningless.

Sugimoto updated his *magnum opus* in 1991 with a more modestly-sized book called *Kokugogaku to rangogaku* 国語学と蘭語学, ('Japanese Linguistics & Dutch Linguistics'). Particularly useful in this work are the tables which trace the evolution of linguistic nomenclature during the Edo period, and the complete facsimiles of *Kuhinshi myōmoku* 九品詞名目 ('The Nomenclature of the Nine Parts of Speech'), *Ryūho sensei kyoshi kō* 柳圃先生虚詞考 ('Master Ryūho's Thoughts on Adjectives'), *Shihō shoji taiyaku* 四法諸時対訳 ('Translations of the Various Tenses in the Four Moods'), and *Zokubun kinnō* 属文錦囊 ('A Brocade Bag of Interrelated Phrases'), all of which are manuscripts reported to be based on the work of Shizuki Tadao. They are discussed in chapter V below.

The year 1972 saw the publication of *Yōgaku* 洋学 ('Western studies'), two volumes in the series *Nihon shisō taikai* 日本思想大系 ('An Outline of Japanese Thought'), edited by Numata Jirō 沼田次郎, Matsumura Akira 松村明 and Satō Shōsuke 佐藤昌介, and published by Iwanami Shoten. The two *Yōgaku* volumes provide typeset versions of works by major *rangaku* protagonists Aoki Kon'yō, Maeno Ryōtaku, Sugita Genpaku, Ōtsuki Gentaku, Shizuki Tadao and others. Copious explanatory notes in modern Japanese greatly facilitate understanding of these works, and they are referred to throughout this study.

At present, a number of historians, both in Japan and in Europe, are involved in ongoing research into aspects of Japan's international relations during its period of national isolation. Foremost among these in Japan are Katagiri Kazuo 片桐一男 and Numata Jirō 沼田次郎. Katagiri has produced work of a very high standard on the Nagasaki interpreters. In 1985 he published *Oranda tsūji no kenkyū* 阿蘭陀通詞の研究 ('Research into the Dutch Interpreters'). Katagiri's approach bypasses the secondary (and, as has been shown, often unreliable) sources by earlier historians, instead working directly from historical records in Nagasaki and elsewhere. The work contains complete and useful tables listing the names of senior ranking interpreters over the years. Although not a linguist, Katagiri does dedicate a chapter to the interpreters' understanding of Dutch grammar, which, although more accurate than Sugimoto's work, is again long on typeset versions of manuscripts and somewhat short on analysis.

Numata Jirō's *Yōgaku* 洋学 (1989) was translated into English under the title *Western Learning* and provides a general introduction to the development of Western

knowledge in Japan from the establishment of the first Dutch trading post on Hirado in 1609 to the late nineteenth century. In contrast to Katagiri's methodical presentation of facts and figures, Numata provides a social and political backdrop to the gradual introduction of the new European knowledge as it trickled into Japan.

A small but useful work for the present study was *Nihon ni okeru orandago kenkyū no rekishi* 日本におけるオランダ語研究の歴史 ('The History of Dutch Language Studies in Japan', 1985) by Saitō Shin 齋藤信. Much as Sugimoto had done in his five volume series, Satō systematically presents a collection of works written about the Dutch language during the Edo period, starting with Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725) through to the *Grammatica* publications of the 1850s. Satō, however, limits himself to a description of each work against a brief backdrop of historical context. The result is a small but reliable work of reference that adds a concise and convenient resource to the scant literature available on this topic.

Katagiri and Numata were also editors of, and Saitō a contributor to, another valuable resource: the *Yōgakushi jiten* 洋学史字典 ('Dictionary of the History of Western Learning'), published under the auspices of the Japan–Netherlands Institute in 1984. As the name suggests, the *Yōgakushi jiten* provides a listing of, and detailed information about, major persons, organisations and documents related to the development of European knowledge in Japan during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In addition, it contains several tables listing events, names, Dutch ship arrivals, and Dutch language schools. The *Yōgakushi jiten* has been a key source of biographical information for the present study.

The year 2000 marked four hundred years of relations between Japan and the Netherlands. The preparations for commemorating this milestone engendered a new wave of interest, which culminated in the simultaneous publication in three languages of *Bridging the Divide*, a compilation of essays written especially for the occasion by sixty-seven of the world's foremost scholars in various aspects of Japanese–Dutch relations to the present day. It contains a chapter that, while by no means comprehensive or extensive, presents up-to-date research regarding the Nagasaki interpreters and Dutch language studies.²⁵

Traditionally scholars who examine the influence of Dutch on the Japanese language have limited their investigations to Dutch loanwords and their possible origins. In 1963, Frits Vos first addressed the topic of the influence of Dutch on Japanese language

²⁵Blussé et al.: 117–137.

structures.²⁶ Written Japanese underwent considerable changes following the abandoning of classical written forms from the second half of the nineteenth century. More recently, attention has been given to the problems accompanying the introduction into Japan of Western concepts, particularly legal and scientific terms, and the linguistic and political issues involved in the creation of Japanese versions of such terms. F. B. Verwayen contributed an article in *Monumenta Nipponica* on the problems arising with the translation of legal concepts that were unknown in Edo period Japan.²⁷ More recently, the evolution of scientific terminology has been discussed by S. L. Montgomery in a chapter in his book *Science in Translation*.²⁸ The influences of the Dutch language on Japanese are discussed in chapter VI-2 below.

With the exception of the research by Sugimoto Tsutomu, Katagiri Kazuo and Saitō Shin, none of the studies discussed above has examined to any meaningful extent the contents of the dozens of manuscripts and publications that were produced in Japan during the Edo period about the Dutch language. In addition to the language barrier mentioned earlier, another possible cause of this neglect may have been the wide range of quality of such works. They range from meticulously prepared textbooks to anonymous manuscripts riddled with errors, possibly copied by beginning students by way of an assignment. Many students of the Dutch language in Edo period Japan were unable to evaluate them and, particularly during the 1850s and 1860s, when popular interest for things Western reached a peak, they appear to have accepted anything that had the appearance of a Dutch language textbook as a serious object for study. The subsequent sudden switch, following the opening up of Japan to the outside world, from Dutch to other, more widely spoken European languages, saw many such works abandoned, neglected, and no doubt in some cases destroyed, in favour of the now freely available materials and tutors in these new languages.

Scholars such as Itazawa and Sugimoto have been pioneers in the rediscovery and evaluation of the diverse collection of Edo period Dutch language materials. However, this is a task that is still in progress.²⁹ This thesis is the first comprehensive study in a European language to investigate these primary sources to date.

²⁶Vos 1963.

²⁷Verwayen 1998.

²⁸Montgomery 2000: 227-250.

²⁹Significant works are still being discovered. The present author recently found a dilapidated manuscript copy of *Grammatica* in a second hand bookshop in Osaka, while in 2001 historian Herman Moeshart discovered a complete hand-written Dutch-Japanese dictionary compiled in the 1850s, in the basement of a public library in Arnhem in the Netherlands (see chapter IV-3 below).

CHAPTER III

EARLY STUDIES AND DEVELOPMENTS:

FROM 1642 TO 1736

The study of the Dutch language in Japan began of course with the interpreters in Nagasaki. However, a gradual relaxing of censorship during the eighteenth century combined with a growing curiosity with regard to Western science and technology gave rise to a desire among scholars elsewhere to learn more about the Dutch language. These scholars were mostly based in Edo, and either through personal interest or because they understood the importance of accurate and thorough interpretation of Western books, attempted to come to terms with the European writing system and the structures of European languages. Since they were geographically far removed from the Dutch trading post in Nagasaki and had little or no direct contact with either the Dutch traders or the Nagasaki interpreters, their goal remained frustratingly elusive until the second half of the eighteenth century, when Edo scholars such as Aoki Kon'yō, Maeno Ryōtaku and Ōtsuki Gentaku brought the fundamentals of the Western alphabet and some simple Dutch phrases to a wider audience.

1. The Nagasaki Interpreters

Since the Dutch traders, confined as they were, brought their language only as far as the tiny island of Dejima, the main channel through which the language spread to other parts of Japan was via the interpreters, the only Japanese who were allowed—or indeed were able to—communicate directly with the Dutch traders. From the time when the VOC first established its factory at Hirado in 1609 until the forced move to Dejima in 1641, both the Dutch VOC and the Japanese government had interpreters in their employ. However, soon after the move to Dejima the Nagasaki magistrate refused to grant permits to interpreters in the employ of the VOC. It became clear that henceforth all interpreters were to be selected and employed by the office of the magistrate of Nagasaki.¹

Over the next few years a hierarchical body of interpreters, the Interpreters Guild, gradually came into being. Membership of the Guild was formally passed on from father to son, although it has been estimated that about half of the Guild members were adopted into an interpreter family for succession purposes.² Portuguese remained

¹Katagiri 1985: 14.

²Imamura 1996: 10.

the *lingua franca* for communication with the Dutch for several decades after the expulsion of the Portuguese themselves in 1639, and formal Dutch language studies appear not to have begun until 1673, when in the *Dagregister* of 9 November the following entry is found:

On the 9th, the interpreters came to announce that the Governor has decided and ordained that certain Japanese boys aged about 10 to 12 were to come here to the island for instruction by one of the Company's servants in the Dutch language as well as in reading and writing of the same.³

During the first half of the nineteenth century the notion came about that for most of the Edo period interpreters had not been allowed to study Western writing, and were forced to learn Dutch through the rote learning of Dutch phrases only.⁴ While it is true that rote learning played a major part in Guild members' Dutch studies, and that most interpreters were unable to write or even read the alphabet, the above *Dagregister* entry shows that this was certainly not the result of an official policy regarding the study of the alphabet, but rather evidence of poor study practices within the Guild itself.

As befits a Japanese organisation, ranks were minutely defined within the Guild, but interpreters were ranked within three main groups: *ōtsūji* 大通詞 (senior interpreters), *kotsūji* 小通詞 (junior interpreters) and *keikotsūji* 稽古通詞 (apprentice interpreters). Although ostensibly the purpose of the Guild was to facilitate communication between the Dutch traders and the Japanese authorities, members of certain rank were also charged with keeping an eye on their Japanese interpreter colleagues and on the Dutch. This function became official in 1695, with the establishment of a new senior rank, that of *metsuke* 目附, or inspector.⁵

The number of senior and junior interpreters appears to have varied over the years. German physician Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716), who was on Dejima from 1690 to 1692, records that this was set at four each,⁶ but Itazawa mentions seven senior interpreters and as many as thirty-two junior interpreters.⁷ Initially

³*9en Comen de tolcken ons bekent maecken dat den Gouverneur gaet gevonden ende geordonneert hadde, seeckere Japanse jongen van omtrent 10 a 12 Jaeren out, dagelijcx hier op het eijlandt te laeten comen om door een van 't Compt. dienaeren in de Nederlantse taal, mitsgaders int lesen en schrijven deselve onderwesen te worden.*

⁴See, for example, Baba Sajūrō's quote on p. 141 n. 91 below.

⁵This rank was routinely referred to in Dutch documents as *dwarskijker*, an unflattering term for spy.

⁶Bodart-Bailey 1999: 201.

⁷Itazawa 1935: 17.

only one inspector was appointed; later this became two.⁸ Apart from these ranks, there was a large group of interpreters, the so-called *naitōji* 内通詞, who only became active during the two or three month period each year when Dutch ships were in port. This meant that the number of interpreters in Nagasaki periodically grew to as many as one hundred and fifty, despite the number of Dutch traders on Dejima never exceeding twenty.

Although the Nagasaki interpreters were the sole medium through which knowledge of the Dutch language entered Japan, they were certainly not always an efficient or even willing channel, particularly during the first hundred years of national seclusion. There are a number of examples of this reticence. Interpreter Imamura Gen'eimon's 今村源右衛門 (1719–1773) dealings with Confucianist scholar Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657–1725) are a good example of an interpreter managing to keep his skills largely to himself, even when under official pressure to pass on some of his knowledge to a respected scholar.⁹ Edo scholar Sugita Genpaku (1733–1817), describes in his recollections of the development of Dutch learning, *Rangaku kotohajime* 蘭学事始, how he was discouraged from studying Dutch by Nagasaki interpreter Nishi Zenzaburō 西善三郎 (1717?–1768), on the grounds that it was too difficult.¹⁰ Baba Sajūrō 馬場佐十郎 (1787–1822), a talented young interpreter who was called to Edo by the government to work as a translator with Ōtsuki Gentaku, developed his considerable Dutch language teaching resources virtually entirely without the cooperation of Guild members, instead largely relying on materials collected by Edo-based *rangaku* scholars. He expressed his frustration in this regard on several occasions.¹¹

There are a number of reasons why the interpreters, who were after all the holders of the key to the Dutch materials that arrived in Japan, were so slow in passing Dutch language expertise on to others in Japan. In the first place there is the fact that Guild members were sworn, in writing, to secrecy regarding 'national secrets'.¹² Since the authorities had gone to such great pains to isolate the Dutchmen from the general population, it is reasonable to assume that the Dutch language was to be treated as such a secret. In addition, the interpreters knew that by keeping a monopoly on their expertise, they were protecting their own position and their

⁸Katagiri 1982: 4.

⁹See Chapter III-3 below.

¹⁰Sugita 1969: 16.

¹¹See Chapter V-3 below.

¹²Blussé et al. 2000: 117.

livelihood.

Interestingly however, Western medicine seems not to have been subjected to such controls. German physician Caspar Schamberger (1623–1706), who was posted on Dejima from 1649 to 1651, was allowed to teach medicine to outsiders, even spending ten months in Edo (the longest any foreigner was allowed to remain in the capital during the Edo period),¹³ possibly because he had cured the *daimyō* of Odawara, Inaba Masanori, of his gout.¹⁴ The interpreters who were the conduit for these teachings, however, managed to avoid passing on information regarding the Dutch language by providing students with a mixture of Dutch and Portuguese vocabulary written in *katakana* only.¹⁵

Restrictions on the spread of Western knowledge eased somewhat when the prohibition on importing Western books was lifted around the middle of the eighteenth century. Shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune (regnat 1716–1745) took an interest in Western learning, and from 1745 some scholars were allowed to possess European books. The first official record of the importation of Dutch books dates from 1754.¹⁶ It is from around then that we see evidence of interpreters beginning to pass on some of their skills to outsiders. Even so, the acquisition of Dutch language skills in Edo was mostly thanks to the efforts of interpreters who had retired from the Guild. Noteworthy examples are Ishii Shōsuke 石井庄助 (1743–?), who played a key role in the compilation of the *Edo haruma* dictionary, and Baba Sajūrō 馬場佐十郎 (1787–1822), who brought Shizuki Tadao's new understanding of the structures of Dutch to the *rangaku* scholars.

There is, however, another important reason why practical knowledge of the Dutch language did not reach the wider population in Japan for such a long time, despite the large number of interpreters. This was that, with the exception of a relatively small number of talented individuals, Guild members as a rule did not reach a mastery of Dutch that could be called useful. One reason for this can be found in the four-tiered Confucian-based class structure of mainstream Japanese society, at the top of which was the samurai warrior class, followed by farmers, artisans, and finally the merchants at the bottom. Although the status of the interpreters had declined somewhat since the transition from Portuguese to Dutch,

Wolfgang Michel's Schamberger website <http://www.rc.kyushu-u.ac.jp/ngmichel/serv/cs/cs-chronology-engl.html>

¹³Bluné et al. 2000: 105.

¹⁴These lists are discussed in Chapter IV-1 below.

¹⁵MacLean 1974: 13.

dropped to previous levels.⁴⁶

Motoki Ryōei

The earliest known work from the hand of a Nagasaki interpreter, or indeed of any Japanese, which deals with Dutch in terms of linguistics and translation techniques is called *Wage reigon* 和解例言 ('Examples of Dutch-Japanese translation'), which is an appendix to a translation of a work on astronomy by senior interpreter Motoki Ryōei 本木良永 (1735-1794). This work appeared in 1792, a full one hundred and fifty years after the establishment of the Interpreters Guild.

In *Wage reigon*, Ryōei struggles to represent the sounds of the western alphabet in *kana*, conceding that *katakana* is ill-suited to this task.⁴⁷ With the exception of the five short vowels and the syllabic nasal *ん*, each *kana* represents a consonant-vowel (or semi-consonant-vowel) combination, and the idea of a consonant in isolation was therefore unfamiliar. Ryōei employs the Chinese term *hansetsu* 反切⁴⁸ to explain the concept of consonants.

To make matters even more confusing to novice learners of Dutch, he provides the pronunciation of each letter as it is said when reciting the alphabet. For instance, the letter B, when reciting the alphabet in English, is pronounced as 'bee' (/bi/); in Dutch this would be something similar to the English sound of 'bay' (/bei/). To demonstrate how letters work in combinations, he employs a table that first provides a small group of letters in isolation, with the last letter a consonant:

A	A	B
ア(A)	ア(A)	ベ(BE)

He then shows how they would sound in combination:

A A B
アアブ(AABU)

⁴⁶A number of Titsingh's own letters from this correspondence turned up in a voluminous teaching manual called *Rangaku teikō* 蘭学梯航 compiled in 1816 in Edo by Baba Sajūrō. More on *Rangaku teikō* in Chapter V-3 below.

⁴⁷Katagiri 1985: 499.

⁴⁸*Hansetsu* is a system of indicating pronunciation used in pre-modern Chinese dictionaries. The initial consonant of one known character combines with the final vowel, tone and any final consonant of another to represent the pronunciation of another —perhaps unfamiliar—character. (See also Chapter V-1 below on Maeno Ryōtaku's work).

Since in Japanese script words cannot end in a consonant (except for the syllabic nasal ん), the letter B, which is first represented in isolation by its appellation, ベ (bu), is here represented as ブ (BU). This is because the less prominent vowel *u* was (and still is today in *katakana* representations of foreign words) thought to be a closer approximation of the consonant ending. This insistence on representing the letters of the alphabet by their appellations shows that at some stage a Dutch school textbook or some such must have been involved, and must have been the source of some confusion for novice learners of Dutch.

Motoki Ryōei's attempts to represent the alphabet and pronunciation of Dutch in *katakana* and his discussion of syllables are very similar to what appears in the work of Edo scholars Aoki Kon'yō and Maeno Ryōtaku.⁴⁹ However, although Ryōei accompanied the Dutch trade mission head on his annual visit to Edo on three occasions,⁵⁰ his name is not among the five interpreters Aoki lists in his work *Oranda moji daitōji tōsho* (阿蘭陀文字大通詞答書, 'Answers from the senior interpreters regarding the Dutch script'). Maeno Ryōtaku even travelled to Nagasaki to study Dutch, but again Motoki Ryōei's name does not feature among those who are said to have taught him.⁵¹ The similarities between the material these three men recorded about the Dutch language therefore suggests that what Motoki Ryōei recorded in his *Wage reigon* was part of the standard study material for members of the Interpreters Guild.

Motoki Ryōei, however, also provides a few interesting remarks regarding the difficulties of translation, lamenting the fact that the two languages cannot be matched consistently word for word. The example he gives here is that of numerals:

While there are matching words for the numbers 1, 2 and 3, and Dutch also has words for 10, 100 and 1000, it has no word for 10,000.⁵² *Man* in Dutch is called TIEN MEGYUISEN,⁵³ which is properly 'ten thousand'. Thus, *man* is called 'ten thousand', ten *man* is 'a hundred thousand', and a hundred *man* is MIRIYUUN.. [...] Therefore, not all of the many words have an equivalent, which is a difficulty.

⁴⁹The works of Aoki and Maeno are discussed in Chapter V-1 below.

⁵⁰In the years 1785, 1788 and 1790 (Numata et al. 1984: 705).

⁵¹Numata et al. 1984: 670.

⁵²The number ten thousand is represented in the Japanese language by a single word, *man* 万.

⁵³The Dutch word for 'thousand', *duizend*, is represented phonetically in the manuscript as 無逸扇 (MITSUSEN), with メギユイセン (MEGYUISEN) added as *furigana* (a reading aid). As a phonetic approximation of the Dutch word, both the Chinese characters and the *furigana* are well off the mark.

What is most striking is that Ryōei does not refer in any of his works to Dutch syntactical structures or parts of speech and, as Katagiri notes in his analysis of the work, appears to have had no knowledge of Dutch linguistic principles. Since Ryōei attained the rank of senior interpreter within the Guild, and was a translator of some renown, it seems clear that as late as the final decade of the eighteenth century, a full one hundred and fifty years after the Guild was established, the Nagasaki interpreters had still acquired little understanding of Dutch grammar structures.

3. The role of Engelbert Kaempfer, Imamura Gen'eimon and Arai Hakuseki in the development of Dutch language studies

The first true Japanese scholar to show an interest in the Dutch language itself was Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657–1725), Confucian scholar and shogunal advisor. His source, Imamura Gen'eimon 今村源右衛門 (1671–1736), was one of the most talented and knowledgeable interpreters of the Edo period, who provided Arai with a considerable amount of information on Europe. Yet Arai never obtained more than the most superficial information about the Dutch language. To understand how this came about we must first take a closer look at two individuals in Nagasaki around the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Imamura Gen'eimon and German scholar Engelbert Kaempfer.

Imamura Gen'eimon learned Dutch under circumstances that differed somewhat from the way in which interpreters traditionally received language instruction. Unlike the members of the Interpreters Guild who, once they had completed their teenage apprenticeships, were trained by their seniors within the Guild, Gen'eimon had the opportunity to study directly under a European mentor for two years as an adult. Gen'eimon was not from a family of hereditary interpreters, but belonged to a family of so-called *naitōji*, or private interpreters. Private interpreters worked on a commission basis during the busy periods when there were ships in port, and did not belong to the Interpreters Guild. When at age twenty Gen'eimon entered into Kaempfer's service, therefore, he was not a member of the Interpreters Guild, and under no obligation to attend the classes organised by the Guild seniors.

Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716), a German scholar, was stationed on Dejima for two years from 1690 to 1692 as resident physician to the Dutch trade mission. In contrast to most merchants, who volunteered for a posting on Dejima because it tended to make them independently wealthy, Kaempfer came to Japan with the

specific aim of learning as much about it as he could. He collected a large amount of information which he took back to Europe, where he was awarded a doctorate on his Japanese studies at Leiden University in 1694. Kaempfer obtained much of his information from or through his 'servant' Gen'emon. In return, Kaempfer describes how he himself instructed this "clever fellow" in reading and writing as well as grammar, ". . . so that he could write the language and speak it far better than any Japanese interpreter before him".⁵⁴

Thus it came about that in 1695, after passing a Dutch language test with flying colours in the presence of several Dutch traders and Japanese officials, Imamura Gen'emon entered the Interpreters Guild as junior interpreter. There are no other examples of anyone entering the Guild as an adult, much less as a member of a family not belonging to the traditional interpreter families.⁵⁵ Gen'emon went on to a brilliant and influential career of some forty years in the Interpreters Guild, during which he rose to the rank of senior interpreter, and combined this with an appointment as Shogunal messenger. He features prominently in the daily diaries of the Dutch trade mission, and *Dagregister* entries show that in later life he was usually affectionately referred to by the Dutch as "Father Gennemon".

In the Seikadō collection there is a Dutch-Japanese notebook which identifies Kaempfer as the source of some of the information it contains. The work, entitled *Oranda shōi* 和蘭稱謂 ('Dutch Words and their Meanings'), is anonymous and undated. However, only Gen'emon spent any time systematically studying under Kaempfer, and it seems safe to assume that he provided at least some of the information contained in it. Furthermore, the inclusion in the work of the term *metsuke* 目付,⁵⁶ a new rank of interpreter that was established in 1695, places the manuscript post-1695, in other words, at least four years after Kaempfer's departure from Japan.

Oranda shōi has already been described in some detail by Katagiri,⁵⁷ but a number of aspects are worth noting in the context of this study. The work lists in both Dutch and Japanese a number of functions within the ranks of the Dutch traders themselves, such as 'senior merchant', 'accountant', 'carpenter', followed by a similar list for the ranks held by the Japanese that were likely to emerge during dealings with the Dutch, such as the various official functionaries of the city of Nagasaki, and of course

⁵⁴Bodart-Bailey 1999: 28. This connection between Kaempfer and Imamura Gen'emon was not understood until recently. See Van der Velde 1995 for details of this discovery.

⁵⁵Katagiri 1985: 32.

⁵⁶'Inspector', or 'spy'. See p. 24 above.

⁵⁷Katagiri 1996: 55-66.

the ranks of the interpreters. Although many of these words had been used in both languages in and around Nagasaki for half a century, it has been suggested that some translations were probably coined by the partnership of Gen'emon and Kaempfer.

What the list does make clear is that, sixty years after the expulsion of the Portuguese and almost a hundred years after the beginning of trade with the Dutch, there were still Dutch rankings and professions that were indicated in Japanese with loan words from Portuguese (such as *kapitan* 加比丹, a phonetic rendition of the Portuguese word *capitão*, for the chief of the Dutch trade mission), while others simply had no equivalent and had to be paraphrased. An example of this is *dispencier*, a French word used within the VOC to indicate 'storekeeper', which is paraphrased as *kattegata shozatsuhi wo tsukasadoru mono* 勝手方諸雑費ヲ主ル者 (lit.: 'person in charge of the various kitchen expenditures'). In contrast, the Dutch words for the various Japanese functionaries and interpreters' ranks were clearly already well established, and remained in use as listed in this document until the end of the Edo period, indicating that while the latter occupied an important place in the day-to-day communications between the Dutch and the Japanese, the ranks and functions of the individual Dutchmen (with the exception of the head and the surgeon) were probably of little or no importance to the Japanese.

Oranda shōi, however, is much more than a mere word list. It also presents descriptions of European terms and names within historical or religious contexts. The Dutch word *keizer* ('emperor') is followed by a brief description of how Julius Caesar, after uniting a number of European countries, devised the term 'caesar' in order to place himself above the kings of the territories he had conquered. Mention is made of the fact that Johan Hübner (1668–1731), author of a geographical treatise called *Algemeene Geographie of beschryving des geheelen aardrijks*,⁵⁹ described Japan as a '*groot keizerrijk*' ('great empire'). A distinction is made between the *geestelijke erfkeizer* ('hereditary spiritual emperor'), translated here as *mikado* 帝 ('emperor'), and the *wereldlijke keizer* ('secular emperor'), indicating the shogun, giving us an indication of Dutch understanding at the time of the respective roles of the emperor and the shogun.

Given the attitude of the Japanese authorities towards Christianity at the time, the detailed information the document provides about religious concepts and biblical events is surprising. There is an explanation about the difference between Christians

⁵⁸Katagiri 1996: 56.

⁵⁹'General Geography, or Complete Description of the Earth', Amsterdam, 1769.

and Jews; mention is made of Moses, the ten commandments and Mohammed; and Socrates is likened to Confucius. This last comparison also appears in Kaempfer's writing,⁶⁰ and links him unmistakably to the material presented in this work. Of interest is also the morsel of Protestant propaganda embedded in the explanation given for the Dutch word *heiden* ('heathen'): *zō o tatematsuru* 像ヲ立テ祭ル ('erecting and worshipping images'). Although nowhere in the work is there any reference to the New Testament, and therefore specifically Christian information is absent, the author nevertheless took a considerable risk in committing this kind of information to paper. Thus, although *Oranda shōi* is essentially designed as a vocabulary list, its contents leave us with little doubt that many entries were the result of exchanges between Kaempfer and Imamura Gen'emon, and provide us with some revealing insights into the kind of information that was traded.

Some time after Kaempfer's departure from Japan, Imamura Gen'emon got the opportunity to pass his knowledge about Europe on to Confucianist scholar Arai Hakuseki. In 1708 a Portuguese ship secretly dropped an Italian missionary called Giovanni Batista Sidotti on a small island near Kyushu. Following his capture, Gen'emon, who knew some Portuguese, was summoned to question him, but communication difficulties soon prompted the Japanese to call in the help of the Dutch on Dejima. The latter understandably felt reluctant to get involved in any dealings between the Japanese and a captive 'papist', but eventually offered the services of senior merchant Adriaan Douw, whose knowledge of Latin greatly improved the flow of information. Some apprentice interpreters were subsequently sent to Dejima for instruction in Latin in 1708 and 1710, but the Dutch again showed little enthusiasm for this⁶¹ and, although Latin features prominently in the work of one of the first Edo-period scholars to take an interest in Western writing systems, Kitajima Kenshin (see below), the interpreters' Latin classes did not otherwise lead to the acquisition of any useful skills.⁶²

Reports on these interrogations eventually attracted the attention of Arai Hakuseki, who received permission to have Sidotti moved to Edo for further questioning. It was during these sessions that Hakuseki made the acquaintance of Imamura Gen'emon, who had escorted Sidotti to Edo. Communication between the missionary and the

⁶⁰Bodart-Bailey 1999: 109, 130.

⁶¹Van der Velde and Bachofner 1992: 105 and 117.

⁶²Katagiri (1995: 114) conjectures that Douw was not allowed to go to Edo during the Court Journey of 1709 so that he could continue teaching the interpreters Latin. However, a memo from opperhoofd Jasper van Mansdale to Douw prior to departure makes it clear that Douw was required to stay behind to assist with possible further interrogations of Sidotti (Van der Velde and Bachofner 1992: 108.).

Japanese cannot have flowed easily without the benefit of Douw's Latin, but Gen'emon and two apprentice interpreters, presumably with the aid of a Latin dictionary, still managed to help Hakuseki extract a considerable amount of information from the Italian.

It seems likely that it was the meetings with Gen'emon that eventually whetted Hakuseki's curiosity with regard to Dutch matters. Hakuseki subsequently met with the Dutch merchants on four occasions during their court journeys to Edo, and wrote several works reporting what he had learned about Europe, including some startlingly candid information about Christianity.⁶³

Similarities in the information contained in Gen'emon's *Oranda shōi* (discussed above) and Hakuseki's subsequent writings on Europe suggest that Gen'emon supplemented the information obtained from Sidotti and the Dutch traders with the knowledge he himself had acquired during his years in the service of Kaempfer. Katagiri notes that several parts of Hakuseki's *Gaikoku no jichōsho* 外国之事調書 ('A Record of Foreign Matters'), a series of seven manuscripts which Hakuseki produced progressively between the years 1712–1716, particularly the word lists, are written in two different styles, and suggests that these may be the respective hands of Hakuseki and Gen'emon.

⁶⁴ It appears that in most cases Hakuseki entered Japanese words or phrases, and then had Gen'emon add foreign renditions underneath. The inclusion of phrases that bear no relationship to the daily activities of the Nagasaki interpreters is a further indication of this.

However, while Gen'emon appears to have been happy to assist Hakuseki in his research regarding European history, geography, politics, customs, and even religion, he was considerably more reticent when it came to his linguistic skills. The 570 'foreign' words in *Gaikoku no jichōsho* are a mixture of Dutch, Portuguese and Latin, without any indication as to which word is in which language.⁶⁵ One section of the work deals with Dutch pronunciation, but since this is done entirely in *katakana* and without the use of Dutch examples, the exercise is largely academic, and meaningless in a practical sense.

Hakuseki believed the various European languages to be no more than dialects based on one European language, stating that it would be "simpler for a Dutch interpreter

⁶³Goodman 2000: 47.

⁶⁴Katagiri 1995: 152.

⁶⁵The same phenomenon is found in the various so-called *Kuchi* word lists discussed in Chapter IV-1 below.

to understand Italian than for a Nagasaki man to speak to one from Oshu.⁶⁶ He was not alone in this belief, and this view persisted in some circles until the end of the Edo period. Although Gen'emon knew Portuguese and at least some German and Latin, and therefore must have known better, he appears to have made no attempt to dissuade Hakuseki from this somewhat optimistic evaluation.

In the introduction to *Tōonpu* 東音譜 ('A Record of Eastern Sounds', 1719) Hakuseki devotes some attention to Western writing, explaining that it uses 24 letters, but that there are two different styles: Greek and Italian, the latter being a cursive script. He notes that the five vowels are the same as those occurring in the Japanese *kana* system, but that the other *kana* signs are expressed by groups of two or three letters of the alphabet.⁶⁷ However, no specific letters of the alphabet are investigated, and nowhere in the entire work or in any of Hakuseki's works does a single example of the letters of the alphabet occur. Nor is there any evidence of the grammar that Kaempfer states he taught Gen'emon, or examples of phrases or sentences, despite the fact that Hakuseki's earlier work on the Korean and Chinese languages indicate that he was interested in the structures and writing systems of other languages. It can therefore be surmised that Gen'emon withheld much of his Dutch language expertise from Hakuseki.

Gen'emon's linguistic prowess found unanimous acclaim, both with the Dutch and with the Japanese. Yet there are no manuscripts extant which give any indication of Gen'emon's abilities in these areas. Nor did he pass on any of his linguistic knowledge to Arai Hakuseki, other than his contribution to the above-mentioned jumbled collection of vocabulary in three languages, written only in *kana*. The *Dagregister* of 30 June 1731 shows that Gen'emon came to Dejima that afternoon with a request to the Dutch for the letters of the alphabet to be written on a piece of paper for the *daimyō* of Hizen,⁶⁸ a task which he would have been perfectly capable of performing himself. So did Gen'emon keep his literacy skills secret? If he did, why? We have seen above that he did not hesitate to pass on other knowledge he had learned from Kaempfer, including information about Western religions, which must have carried with it some considerable risk of incurring the wrath of the authorities.

It is likely that the solution to this apparent paradox lies in Gen'emon's loyalty towards the Interpreters Guild. Whereas generally speaking the more talented among the interpreters tended to leave the Guild at an early stage in order to pursue a career

⁶⁶Sugimoto 1977: 16; Goodman, 2000: 46.

⁶⁷Krieger 1940: 15.

⁶⁸*Dagregister* 30 June 1731.

vertical script, with the foreign words written in katakana only and their Japanese equivalents below, in Chinese characters and *kana* (see illustration). In some cases the words are arranged in semantic categories such as colours, parts of the body, medicines, tools and such, while other manuscripts present the foreign vocabulary in *iroha* order. Sugimoto provides a lengthy analysis of the contents of several of these manuscripts,¹⁰ and concludes that the majority of the vocabulary contained in the works he investigated is related to medicine: herbs, anatomy and the like. They are therefore not related to the word lists containing goods of trade or nautical terms described above, and are unlikely to have been the kind of lists interpreters would have compiled for their work.

In *Oranda nanban hitokire no kuchiwa* there is a third row in between the top and bottom rows. The top row contains Portuguese vocabulary, the centre row Dutch, and the bottom row the Japanese renditions. However, at times the compiler appears to have got confused, and entered Dutch words in the Portuguese row, and *vice versa*.

There are only two manuscripts that are not entirely anonymous. One of them is *Orandakuchi iroha wake* 阿蘭陀口伊呂波分, which bears the name Yoshio 吉雄, suggesting a connection to the Yoshio family of interpreters.¹¹ The other work, *Oranda wagoshū iroha yori* 阿蘭陀和語集以呂波寄, is discussed in greater detail below.

It appears that the words recorded in these documents were transmitted orally, and that the Roman alphabet was not involved at any stage. For example, the Dutch word for 'turtle', *schildpad*, is represented in *Rangokai* as シキルバット (SHIKIRUBATTO OR SHIKIRUPATTO¹²). Note that the first 'd' of the Dutch word is not represented in its *katakana* version. This letter is dropped in colloquial pronunciation, but would very likely have appeared during a transition from the written version, which would have resulted in the word the form of シキルトパット (SHIKIRUTOPATTO).

The works in this group were thus produced in more or less the same format until well into the nineteenth century. However, until now no clue as to a date of the original work has been discovered.

¹⁰Sugimoto 1976: 76–233.

¹¹Numata et al. 1976: 644.

¹²The use of diacritic marks with *kana* was inconsistent throughout the Edo period. It is likely that the SHIKIRIPATTO was intended here.

The manuscript *Oranda wagoshū iroha yori* 阿蘭陀和語集以呂波寄 deserves a closer look, since it contains five names:

Kawaguchi Ryōan 河口良庵

Itō Genchō 伊藤玄澄

Yamaguchi Gentazaeimon 山口源太左衛門

Fukuoka Jun'etsu 福岡春悦

Fukuoka Junkō 福岡春孝

One of these, Kawaguchi Ryōan 河口良庵 (dates unknown), is known to have been a student of Caspar Schamberger (1623–1706), a German physician who taught medicine both in Nagasaki and in Edo during his two years in Japan from 1649 to 1651, and whose teachings inspired the widely influential 'Caspar School' (*Kasuparu ryū*) of medical studies.¹³ Here then, for the first time, is an indication of the origin of the *kuchi* word lists.

Although Kawaguchi is presented in the manuscript as a resident of Nagasaki, his and the other names appearing in the manuscript do not appear in the traditional lists of interpreters' families, and we can surmise that none of them was a member of the Interpreters' Guild. Interestingly, the two students of Caspar Schamberger's who were interpreters, Inomata Denbei 猪股伝兵衛 (dates unknown) and Nishi Genpo 西玄甫 (?–1684)¹⁴, are conspicuous by their absence here. The compilers of this vocabulary are therefore likely to have been doctors or students who were interested in Western medicine, and who had been officially appointed to study under the Dutch doctor. Certainly during his stay of ten months in Edo, Schamberger was teaching medicine to senior officials, and receiving money from the *Bakufu* for his services.¹⁵

The manuscript shows two dates: the second year of Taishō (1913) and the third year of Enkyō (1746). However, the appearance of Kawaguchi's name places the origin of the work squarely in the middle of the seventeenth century, and these dates no doubt indicate when a new hand-written copy was made from what was probably a terminally decayed manuscript.

¹³Numata 1992: 20.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

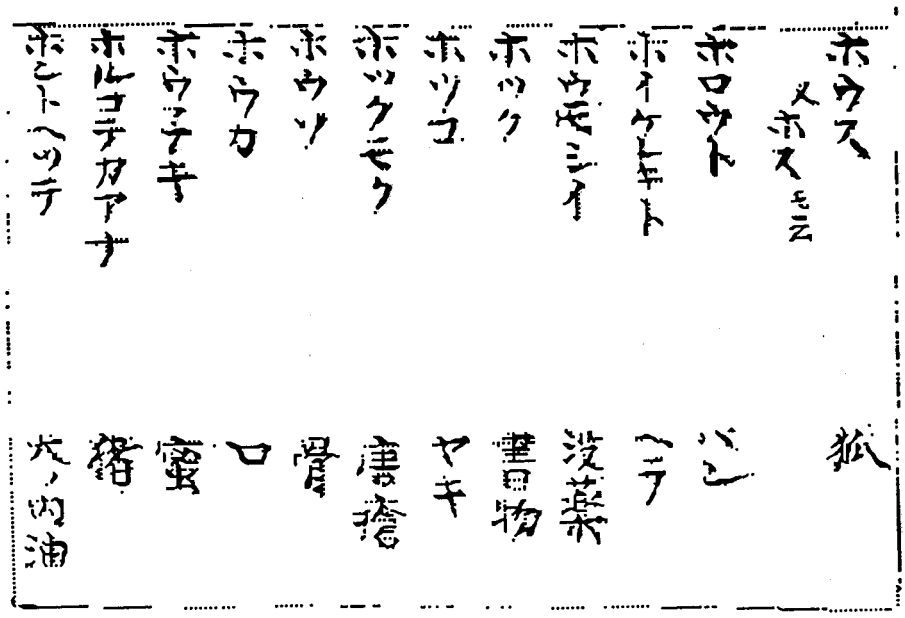


Fig. 3

A page from *Oranda wagoshū iroha yori*.

The above illustration (Fig. 3) shows part of one page of *Oranda wagoshū iroha yori*. The top row shows a list of European words represented in *katakana*, while the bottom row provides their Japanese versions. The following table shows the *katakana* words (from right to left) in Hepburn spelling, followed by their modern spelling, language of origin (D=Dutch, P=Portuguese) and an English translation of the Japanese entry respectively:

<i>Katakana</i>	Hepburn	Original word	English
ハウス	HŌSU		
also: ホス	HOSU	vos (D)	fox
ホロウト	BORŌTO	brood (D)	bread
ホイケレキト	HOIKEREKITO	?	spatula
ホウ also シイ	HŌ / SHĪ	?	myrrh
ホック	BOKKU	boek (D)	book
ホッコ	BOKKO	bok (D)	billygoat
ホックモク	HOKKUMOKU	?	唐瘡 ¹⁶
ホウソ	HŌSO	osso (P)	bone

¹⁶Defined in Morohashi as a prostitute's disease brought to Nagasaki by the Chinese.

ホウカ	BŌKA	<i>bocca</i> (P)	mouth
ホウ子キ	HŌNEGI	<i>honig</i> (D)	honey
ホルコテカアナ	PORUKODEKĀNA	<i>porco de carna?</i> (P)	pork
ホントヘッテ	HONTOHETTE	<i>hondvet</i> (D)	dogfat

The upper row (shown left in the table) contains a mixture of Dutch and Portuguese words, without any indication as to which word is represented in which language.

Communication with Schamberger would have taken place with the assistance of interpreters, and at that early stage of the Dutch presence in Japan Portuguese was still the *lingua franca* on and around Dejima. The Portuguese were denied access to Japan from 1639, and the Dutch factory was moved to Dejima two years later. We know that the transition from Portuguese to Dutch as the language the Japanese used to communicate with the foreigners was a process that took well over fifty years. Schamberger's teachings took place at the very beginning of this transitional period. The mixture of Portuguese and Dutch words in this manuscript seems to indicate that his students had already acquired a certain amount of knowledge from the Portuguese and, with Schamberger's cooperation, opted for a melange of words that they could feel comfortable with among themselves, rather than re-learn the vocabulary they were already familiar with.

It is clear that these word lists were not designed to assist anyone who was involved with the study of either Dutch or Portuguese. The consistent use of *katakana* to represent the foreign words would have made it almost impossible to use a list such as this in conjunction with any texts in the Dutch or Portuguese language. Their usefulness was further limited by the many errors that occur in all of these manuscripts. Furthermore, as the above excerpt shows, the selection of words was also often haphazard and did not follow any identifiable purpose.

Why is it then, that such a large number of these seemingly useless manuscripts have survived in various collections in Japan, suggesting not only frequent copying, but also widespread distribution throughout the Edo period? The answer to this question may lie in its very ubiquitousness. The fact that so many versions of this word list were produced in various locations suggests that the interpreters themselves understood that works of this nature posed no threat to their linguistic monopoly. Indeed, they may even have encouraged their copying (we have seen that the interpreter family name Yoshio even appears on one of the manuscripts),

as a relatively harmless way of satisfying the ever-growing demand in Japan for information regarding Dutch studies. That their confidence was justified is shown by the fact that copies of this list were produced without any significant improvements for at least a hundred years.

2. The *Bangosen* Series

Although the beginning of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of the large-scale alphabetical dictionaries that were to give translation of Dutch works in Japan a great boost, this did not spell the end of the word list in a more traditional format. *Bangosen*, a work that, like the *kuchi* word lists discussed above, represented foreign words in *katakana* only, did not appear until the late eighteenth century. Indeed, the last of the *Bangosen* versions, *Kaisei bangosen* 改正蛮語箋, was published near the end of the period of national seclusion, in 1850.

There are three publications in this series, two of which were compiled by *rangaku* scholars of considerable repute and influence. A period of almost fifty years elapsed between the publication of the first one, *Bangosen* 蛮語箋, and its revised and enlarged version, *Kaisei zōho bangosen* 改正増補蛮語箋. The period in question, from 1798 to 1847 represents a crucial period in the study of Dutch in Japan. At the time of *Bangosen*'s publication, Shizuki Tadao was just beginning his investigations into Dutch grammar. By the time of the publication of *Kaisei zōho bangosen*, understanding of Western grammar and its relation to the Japanese language had spread throughout *rangaku* circles, and the study of the Dutch language had reached its peak of popularity.

Bangosen and *Kaisei zōho bangosen* thus provide us with two snapshots of the state of Dutch language studies at either end of this important period. Both works are examined here in some detail and compared as a measure of the considerable extent to which Dutch language studies evolved in the intervening fifty years.¹⁷

The third work in this series, *Kaisei bangosen* 改正蛮語箋 ('Revised *Bangosen*') appeared in 1850, three years after the publication of *Kaisei zōho bangosen*. It is a smaller work that was certainly not an improvement on its predecessors. It is discussed briefly at the end of this chapter.

¹⁷While the present author concedes that a similar comparative analysis of more influential lexical works such as The Edo and Nagasaki *haruma* dictionaries would yield more comprehensive results, such a project would be of disproportionately large dimensions for a study such as this.

Bangosen 蛮語箋 (1798)

Although *Bangosen* ('A List of Barbarian Words') was not the first work about Dutch to appear in print in Japan,¹⁷ it was the first work of reference to do so. It first appeared under the title *Ruiju orandago yaku* 類聚紅毛語訳 ('A Categorized Collection of Translated Dutch Words'¹⁸) in 1798, but its title was changed to *Bangosen* soon after.¹⁹ Its compiler, Morishima Chūryō (1754–1810), was a member of the distinguished Katsuragawa family of physicians and *rangaku* scholars in Edo, and was himself a physician as well as a prolific and influential writer of academic works and comic poetry.

Morishima's elder brother, Katsuragawa Kuniakira (1741–1809), himself an influential *rangaku* scholar, was a personal physician of the Shogun, and as such had obtained permission to meet with the Dutch trade mission whenever it visited Edo. He also had contact with a number of Dutch scholars and doctors (among them Titsingh and Doeff), and had over the years been given a considerable number of Dutch books.²⁰ Based on his brother's knowledge and books, Morishima wrote the widely-read and influential 紅和雜話 (*Oranda zatsuwa*,²¹ 'Miscellaneous stories about Holland', 1787), a series of essays describing the world outside Japan.

Bangosen, a pocket-sized volume measuring only 18cm by 12cm, was obviously intended for convenient use in a variety of situations. Its format is similar to that of the earlier word lists described above, to the extent that Dutch words are represented in *katakana* only, and classified under various categories.²² It is worth noting that the selection of categories here bears a resemblance to those of a Dutch–French glossary for schools, a fifteenth edition of which was published in 1832.²³

¹⁷That distinction goes to Ōtsuki Gentaku's *Rangaku kaitei* (1788). See Chapter V-1 below.

¹⁸The Chinese characters 紅毛 in the title of this work literally mean 'red hair', and were commonly used to refer to Dutchmen, as distinct from the dark-haired 'southern barbarians', the Portuguese. The title is usually transcribed, conforming to the common readings of these characters, as *Ruiju kōmōgo yaku*. However, in the work itself, under the category Geographical Terms, the author makes it clear that 紅毛 is to be read as *Oranda*.

¹⁹Sugimoto 1991: 267.

²⁰MacLean 1974: 39.

²¹For reasons stated above, this work is commonly referred to as *Kōmō zatsuwa*.

²²This classifying of words in glossaries was, however, not an invention of the *rangaku* scholars, but a Chinese tradition. Its application here does not necessarily indicate a connection between *Bangosen* and the earlier word lists.

²³Namely Cazelles, Charles, Van Bemmelen J. and Van Lingen W., *Nouvelle Méthode Familiale*, J. Noman & Fils, Zaltbommel, 1832.

The absence of a representation of the Dutch words in the alphabet is the major drawback of this work, for at least two reasons. In the first place it is impossible to produce more than an approximation of the accurate pronunciation of a Dutch word in *katakana*. Secondly, without the Roman spelling of the words this work would have been of little use as a reference work in conjunction with texts written in Dutch. It is likely, however, that this little book was intended to be used not so much as a work of reference, but rather as an aid for memorisation of Dutch vocabulary.

Exploring the reasons for the use of *katakana* in what was clearly a work of ambitious scope in other aspects, Feenstra-Kuiper suggests that many Japanese would have been intimidated by the prospect of learning and using the Roman alphabet.²⁴ That, however, raises the question why Japanese scholars who did not balk at the memorisation of thousands of Chinese characters would be intimidated by the prospect of learning a mere twenty-six Roman letters. The answer, of course, lies in the fact that the nature of the letters in the Roman alphabet is quite different from the signs in the *hiragana* and *katakana* syllabaries, most of which each represent a consonant-vowel combination. Dividing these syllables into their constituent vowel and consonant was a practice which was foreign to the Japanese, and understandably provided one of the greatest hurdles in the study of the Dutch language.

The phenomenon of the *kuchi* word lists (discussed above) has already shown us that during the height of its popularity *rangaku* studies saw large numbers of ambitious students dedicating themselves to the memorisation of Dutch words and phrases with the aid of *katakana* word lists, either because it was fashionable or perhaps in the vain hope that it would enable them eventually to decipher the spoken or written word in Dutch. Against this background, it is tempting to suggest that Morishima's objectives with respect to the production and publication of *Bangosen* may have been commercial rather than academic. If so, his aims appear to have been met, since numerous printings of *Bangosen* were made, and copies can be found in several collections both in Japan and in the Netherlands.

The introduction to *Bangosen* is quite specific as to *kana* usage:

Where two letters represent a single sound,²⁵ *kana* are combined as クワ (*kwa*), チャ (*cha*) and such. Lengthened vowels are indicated with a line, thus: ハー (*haa*), マー (*maa*). Assimilated sounds²⁶ are written with a small *tsu*, as follows: ハツ, ヒツ and

²⁴Feenstra-Kuiper 1921: 257.

²⁵That is, when they occupy a single mora.

²⁶Where the vowel of a *kana* is silent and its remaining consonant forms a cluster with that of the following *kana*. Thus, the first /k/ in the word *hakken* is represented by a small *tsu*: ハツケン

no on. Words in combinations are separated by a large circle. 'Gathered' *kana*²⁷ are written applying a small circle, thus: ハ^oウ, カ^oウ, and should not be confused with the pronunciation of ホヲ and コヲ.²⁸

Nevertheless, there are numerous inconsistencies in the work with regard to *kana* usage. The verb *haten* ('to hate') is listed three times in the final 'Language' category, once as ハアテン, (HAATEN, with the /a/ vowel lengthened by the *kana* for a) and twice as ハーテン (*ha-ten*), which conforms with the instructions in the introduction. While such inconsistencies may not have confused students, other infelicities range from confusing to unhelpful. For example, the double L combination in *vallende ziekte* is represented as ハッレンデ・シイキ (HARRENDE SHIIKI), that is, with a small *tsu* ッ indicating the double consonant.²⁹ In *dolle hond beet*, on the other hand, we find the first /l/ represented by ル *ru*: ドルレホンド・ベート (DORUREHONDO BEETO). Even less logically, the double consonant in *winnen* ('to win') is expressed as a *mu+ne* combination: キム子ン (WIMUNEN), despite the availability of the consonant *n* in the *kana* syllabary. Yet, *dommekracht* is transcribed as ドンメ カラクト (DONME KURAKUTO), with the first /m/ represented by the *n* consonant. A rendition such as オントステルレン (ONTOSUTERUREN) for *ontstellen* shows how difficult it would have been for a student to reconstruct the original Dutch word in alphabet script.

As noted above, the *katakana*-only notation for the Dutch words made it impossible for Morishima to produce more than an approximation of their true pronunciation. In addition to what was explained in the introduction to *Bangosen*, the small circle was also used to mark the Dutch double vowel sounds such as *au* and *eu* (e.g. ラ^oウ リイル RA^oURIIRU for *laurier*, デ^oウル DE^oURU for *deur*). However, Morishima appears to have had an imperfect understanding of the pronunciation of Dutch vowel combinations. For example, although the combination *oe* is pronounced in the same way as the letter *u* in the English 'put', (/u/), the word *moeilijke* ('difficult') is represented in *Bangosen* with the *katakana* equivalent of MŌREIKI (モーレイキ), with the letters *o* and *e* pronounced as separate vowels. On the other hand, the *katakana* rendition of *hoer* ('prostitute') does show the *oe* combination as /u/ - ウール (*uuru*). Similar inconsistencies can be observed in the renditions of the *eu* combination.

(*hatsuken*).

²⁷*Hiroigana* 拾ヒ仮名 is the application of a vowel *kana* to determine and lengthen the vowel sound of a preceding *kana*. The examples in this sentence are pronounced as *hō* and *kō* respectively. This usage remained standard until the writing reform of 1946 (Seeley 1991: 154).

²⁸The distinction between these sounds no longer exists in Japanese.

²⁹In modern Japanese, the small *tsu* is only used to indicate clusters of unvoiced vowels.

It is important to understand that while Morishima had access to Dutch books, he had no direct contact with Dutch native speakers. What he understood to be correct pronunciation had been conveyed to him via interpreters. Many of the errors in *Bangosen* would have been the result of corruption that had entered the language through generations of interpreters passing Dutch language expertise on among themselves.

Such shortcomings would have rendered *Bangosen* all but useless for anyone wishing to achieve a useful level of proficiency in the Dutch language or to consult Dutch books. It is nevertheless a work of considerably greater sophistication and accuracy than its predecessors and the work achieved considerable popularity and influence, as evidenced by the fact that it went through numerous printings. Copies can still be found in various collections all over Japan and even in Europe. It spawned two follow-ups. In 1847 Mitsukuri Genpo published a revised and enlarged version of the work under the title *Kaisei zōho bangosen* 改正増補蛮語箋 ('Revised and Enlarged *Bangosen*'), while 1850 saw the appearance of a work called *Kaisei bangosen* 改正蛮語箋 ('Revised *Bangosen*').

In common with certain early Chinese dictionaries (and the *Kuchi* word lists discussed in the previous chapters), *Bangosen* presents its entries in categories, as follows:

1. 天文 (*tenmon*) Astronomical and meteorological names (79 entries).

Included here are the words for sun, moon and stars as well as the names of various meteorological phenomena, such as 'rain' and 'frost', and the twelve signs of the zodiac.

2. 地理 (*chiri*) Geographical terms (78 entries).

This is a collection of general geographical terms. They are loosely grouped according to associated meaning, such as 'district', 'country', 'town', 'village', etc., or 'well', 'pond', 'fountain', 'spring', 'waterfall' etc. The word for 'fire' is listed here, together with its associated words 'soot' and 'dust'.

The final eight entries in this category are the names of Japan, Miyako, Nagasaki, Woest Eijland, China, India, Korea and Holland, in spite of the presence of an extensive list of place names in the appendix. Interestingly, however, here alternative Chinese character representations are given to those in the appendix. Thus, Japan is shown here as 日本 (日本 in the appendix), Miyako 京都 (彌垂可), Nagasaki as 長崎 (崎?), China 唐 (支那), and India as 天竹 (印度, also 庇帝垂). Holland is written here as *Horurando* ホルランド, with the first *l* of the double consonant represented as *ru* ル. Its Japanese equivalent is

given as 紅毛, ('red hair'), an indication that Morishima intended this combination of characters (which also appears in this work's original title; see p. 55 above) to be read as the Japanese name for Holland, that is, *Oranda*, a Portuguese loanword that is still in use today. It does not feature in the appendix, but *Nederland* does, phonetically represented as 業謁桎尔蘭杜.³⁰ A note directing the reader to further place names in the appendix closes this category.

3. 時令 (*jirei*) Expressions of time (53 entries).

This briefest of categories presents the names of the seasons, months and days of the week, as well as various times of day. Curiously, although mention is made of the four seasons as a group as *shiki* 四季, they are not listed individually.

4. 人輪 (*jinrin*) Human relations (166 entries).

Here we find the words which describe humans in terms of age, gender and their position in society and the family. Thus, entries such as man, woman, son-in-law, niece and concubine can be found here, but also poverty and wealth, as well as a list of positions in society ranging from emperor to prostitute. Although the Dutch traders in their diaries and letters generally used the word *keizer* ('emperor') when referring to the Shogun, here *keizer* is shown to mean *mikado* 帝, that is, not the Shogun, but the emperor of Japan. The word *shōgun* does not appear among the various Japanese official rankings listed.

The Japanese word for *glasblazer* ('glassblower') is given here as 硝子匠 with a reading of *biidoroya* ビードロヤ. The 硝子 combination is still used today to express 'glass', and normally has the reading of *garasu* ガラス, derived from the Dutch *glas*. Here, however, its reading is shown as *biidoro* ビイド, which is a loan word based on the Portuguese word for glass, *vidro*. The Dutch-based *garasu* survives in modern Japanese with the meaning of the material glass, not to be confused with *gurasu*, which refers only to a glass drinking vessel, and is of English origin. A vestige of the Portuguese *vidro* survives in the modern hybrid *biidama* ビー玉, which is a combination of the first part of *biidoro* and *tama*, the Japanese word for 'orb'. *Biidama* are molded glass beads.

Other entries worth noting are:

- The Japanese representation of the word 'son' (男児) is translated into Dutch as *kind* ('child'), whereas its female equivalent (女子) is translated as *dochter* ('daughter').

³⁰It is unclear how this combination of characters was arrived at, given that the reading for 業 is *gyō* (or Ch. *ye*) and for 桎 *shitsu* (Ch. *zhì*).

- The word *opperhoofd*, which was the title used for the leader of the Dutch trade mission, is represented in Japanese with the characters 加比丹 (*kapitan*), a loan word based on the Portuguese *kapitão*.

- *Marsman*, an obsolete Dutch word for 'pedlar' or 'hawker', is translated as 讀賣 *yomiuri*, a term which today survives only in the name of one of Japan's major national newspapers, the *Yomiuri Shinbun*.

- The rendition of *toneelspeelster* ('actress') as 旦 with the reading *onnagata* ヲンナガタ ('a male player of female roles'), while inaccurate, is not surprising considering the government's 1629 ban on females appearing on the stage, and is another indication of the political prudence that researchers of Western culture observed when making their knowledge known to the public.

5. 身體 (*shintai*) Anatomy (109 entries).

Parts of the human body. Morishima failed to include entries for 'arm' and 'leg', but did consider the lines in the palm important enough to be included, as 手文, *streep van de hand* ('stripe of the hand'). The character 腕 (which in Japan today means 'arm') does appear as an entry, but its original Chinese meaning was 'joint', and Morishima applies it here to the meaning of 'elbow'. The Dutch word *pols*, which can mean both 'wrist' and 'pulse', is translated with the character 脉, indicating that the meaning of 'pulse' is intended here.

6. 疾病 (*shitsubyō*) Diseases (80 entries)

Since medical studies were a major motive for Dutch studies in Japan, and considering Morishima's own medical background, this list is surprisingly short. A number of alternative Japanese translations of the same word can be seen here. Thus, diarrhoea appears in three different versions, 下利 (*geri*), 痢病 (*ribyō*), with the 利 in the first term an abbreviated form of 痢, and 泄瀉 with the reading given as *kudarihara*. Another example is *vlek* or *vlekken* ('spots'), which is translated as 癬 ('ringworm') and 黒痣 ('birth mark'). The terms 出血 (*shukketsu*, 'haemorrhage') and 癰疽 (*yōso*, 'carbuncle') are entered without a Dutch equivalent. The Dutch translation for 'afterpains', 兎枕痛 アトハラ *atohara* appears here as NANREENEN ナンレー子ン. This appears to be a misspelling of the word *naweeën*, meaning 'afterpains'.

Other unidentified Dutch words in this category are:

Japanese	Dutch
下血	ブレード
(<i>geketsu</i> , 'bloody bowel discharge')	BURAADO ³¹

³¹A misreading of the *oe* in the Dutch word *bloed* ('blood') is possible here.

暈阻
(*tsuwari*, 'morning sickness') -

クワアド フロウリュス
KUWAADO FURORYUSU
(*kwade florijs*?)

骨節痛 ホネガラミ
(*honegarami*, 'arthritis'?)

フレルセイ
FURERUSEIN
(?? *zijn*?)

謡乱
(*yōran*, 'chanting disorder'?)

コロル シイキテ
KORORU SHIHKITE
(*krol ziekte*)³²

Fifty years later, when Mitsukuri Genpo compiled his improved version of this work under the title *Kaisei zōhō Bangosen*, he appears to have had difficulty with these entries as well, and supplied his own versions.³³

7. 神佛 (*shinbutsu*) Gods and Buddhas.

This category appears in the table of contents only, with the added remark that it has been 'omitted for the time being'. It has been suggested that there may have been political reasons for this, since the appearance of Western religious terms and names might have been seen as prohibited Christian propaganda.³⁴

8. 宮室 (*kyūshitsu*) Palaces (81 entries).

Though the heading of this category is 'Palaces', included here are the names of various kinds of buildings (house, temple, prison, etc.), spaces within buildings (guestroom, kitchen, treasure room, etc.), parts of buildings (wall, beam, stairs, window, etc.) and a variety of shops and markets. Of interest here is the word *garderie* to represent 'barred window', since it appears to have since vanished from the Dutch language.

9. 服飾 (*fukushoku*) Attire (80 entries).

Includes not only items of clothing, but also jewellery, several kinds of cloth, and a selection of colours.

Of particular interest here is the entry *grofgrein* ('grogam', a kind of coarse material), which in its Japanese rendition is presented here as the loanword

³²The Dutch entry is in *katakana* only, but the same affliction is listed in the *Edo haruma* dictionary, which confirms the spelling of this unidentified word. The word *krols* is used for cats that are in heat and disturbing the peace of the night with their song, hence perhaps the 'chanting disorder'.

³³See p. 74 below.

³⁴Numata et al. 1984: 766.

in *katakana*: *gorofukuren* ゴロフクレン. This word made its first appearance in 1661, and was usually written in character phonograms, as 呉紹服連 or 呉紹福林. Over the years it appeared in a variety of forms, including abbreviations such as *gorofuku*, *goro* and *fukurin*, the last of these no doubt a back-formation from the writing 福林.³⁵ *Perpetuaan* (a kind of material made of wool; now obsolete) appears in its Japanese rendition in the truncated form *perutoan* ペルトアン.

The entry for 茶字 (*chau*, a kind of silk) is translated as PORUTOSŌI ポルトソーイ, which may be derived from a combination of *Porto* and the French word for silk, *soie*.

The presence in the list of some seventeen different kinds of cloth as well as an extensive array of colours including such delicate hues as 'royal green', 'apple blossom' and 'olive' may be explained by the lively trade in textiles that regularly erupted in Nagasaki. In fact, at the end of the category the compiler refers readers who are interested in the names of even more dye colours to a work called *Ransetsu kibun* 蘭説記聞 (unknown).

10. 飲食 (*inshoku*) Food and drink (50 entries).

This is a relatively short list of foodstuffs, alcoholic beverages, ingredients, flavours and cooking methods.

Most items in this listing were known in both cultures ('tea', 'sugar' etc.), and were matched without difficulty. For 'bread', the term *mushimochi* 蒸餅³⁶ was used, but the reading given is *pan*, the Portuguese loan word which is still the common word for bread in Japan today. In other cases, some creativity is evident. For *Spaanse wijn* ('Spanish wine'), *budōshu* 葡萄酒³⁷ ('alcoholic drink made from grapes') was used, while the word *koekje* ('biscuit' or 'cookie') was approximated with the term *anmochi* 餡餅, which is in fact a kind of rice bun with a soft sweet filling. *Banket* ('fancy pastry') is simply translated as *higashi* ('confectionery').

In the opposite direction (Japanese to Dutch), the entry *abura-age* 油揚 ('fried bean curd') is given only in Japanese, Morishima perhaps having been at a loss to produce a satisfactory Dutch equivalent. Japanese rice gruel, *kayu*, is translated as PURUMENTYUMU プルメンテユム, which remains unidentified. The entry BYUISUBAKKEN ビュイスバッケン for 手製ノ菓子 *tezukuri no okashi* ('handmade confectionery') was no doubt intended to represent *huisbakken* (home baking).

Dutch pronunciation again proves to have been a problem for Morishima when he represents the pronunciation of *versche* ('fresh') in *katakana* as

³⁵Arakawa 1967: 450-1.

³⁶lit. 'steamed rice cake'.

³⁷Morishima has in fact mistakenly used the character 蒲 here.

FURESUKE フレスケ, including the (now largely obsolete) silent *ch* in the combination *-sch-* as a *k*.³⁸

11. 器部 (*utsuwa-bu*) Tools and instruments (276 entries).

Looking over this rather extensive category, one can envisage the compiler listing literally what he saw around him. Although Japanese items such as 'chopsticks' and 'fan' are included, the vast majority of entries are of objects of Western origin, and the list gives the impression of having been compiled during a visit to a household occupied by Dutch people. It starts off with a variety of objects one might find lying on a table, such as 'book', 'paper', 'pen', 'ink', and so on. The list then goes on to mention the table itself, followed by other pieces of furniture and items one might find in a European's living quarters, such as 'tobacco tin', 'brazier', 'spittoon'. The word 'clock' then leads to 'sundial', whereupon the compiler finds himself out of doors, noting objects relating to horse riding and warfare. In the latter category the Dutch word for the Japanese term *chōjū* 鳥銃 ('fowling piece') is given as *sunappan* スナツパン, which is a representation of the Indonesian word for rifle, *senapang*. The Dutch translation for *shirushi* 印 ('seal', or 'stamp') is *siap*, a term derived from Hindi, and only used in the Dutch East Indies.³⁹ Another example of colonial influence is the translation for *hago* 羽子 ('shuttlecock'), which is given as *ūrangū* ウーラング, possibly derived from the Indonesian *ulang*, 'to return'.

Among a small group of words related to ships and sailing, we find 'rope' and 'net' both translated as *tō* トウ, representing the Dutch *touw* ('rope'). The entry *AAFU* アーフ for 轂 *koshiki* ('wheel hub') is likely to be a misspelling of *naaf*.

Our compiler once again moves indoors and, perhaps because dusk had set in, resumes his explorations with items associated with candles. A series of carpentry tools then leads us on to kitchen paraphernalia and household items. Interesting here is the use of the word *YUFFURUCHII* ユツフルチイ (*juffertje*, lit.: 'little miss') for *kendama*, a Japanese cup-and-ball game. The word 'saucer' is listed under the Dutch words as *PIIRINGU* ピイリング, clearly a rendition of the Indonesian word for saucer, *piring*.

We are then taken to a more technological area, where we find items such as 'marine map', 'telescope', 'thermometer', and 'magic lantern'. Of particular interest here are the more advanced products of Western technology. Thus we find here *donker kamer* (lit. 'dark room'), which is translated as *shashinkyō* 寫真鏡 (lit. 'optical instrument that projects reality'). The term *shashin* is used today for 'photograph'; however, since the publication of *Bangosen* preceded

³⁸Also occurs in *Indiaansche wonderboom* (no. 30).

³⁹*Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*.

the invention of photography by more than twenty years, it is clear that this 'dark room' is a *camera obscura*, a box with a lens which projects an image of the outside world on a pane of frosted glass.⁴⁰ Under the entry *brandsteenkracht* (an obsolete Dutch word for electricity), we find the Chinese characters 野礼機天爾, applied phonetically to represent *erekiteru* エレキテル. This is an abbreviation of EREKITERISHITEETO エレキテリシテート, from the Dutch *electriciteit*. There appears to have been no single Japanese word yet for *weerglas* (an archaic Dutch term for barometer), and it is paraphrased as 天気ヲ候フ器 (*tenki o uranau utsuwa*, 'an instrument for predicting the weather'). Another word which is presented in Japanese only, indicating perhaps that no Dutch equivalent could be found, is 火齊珠, with the reading *kizumimegane* キヅミメガネ, suggesting eye protection, perhaps goggles worn by mining engineers.

The Dutch entry KOMUBUREERU コムブレール for *kasa* 傘 ('umbrella') appears to be a corruption of the obsolete Dutch *sombreel* ('sun umbrella', derived from the Portuguese *sombreiro*). The list continues with a number of medical words corresponding to 'pill', 'lancet', 'antidote' and so on.

The final listing in this category is the word *paternoster* for 'rosary'. Rosary beads were of course a common object in Buddhist Japan at the time, but the use of such an overtly Catholic word as *paternoster* here is a little surprising, and could be the result of the compiler's being unaware of its etymology.

12. 金部 (*kanebu*) Metals (22 entries).

Metals accounted for a considerable amount of trade between the Dutch and the Japanese during the Edo period, so it is perhaps surprising that this list is so much shorter than, for example, that of clothing materials. Here too, a number of Dutch words remain unidentified. There is SAWASU サワス, which is translated as *shakudō* 紫銅, or 'alloy of copper and gold'. Yet, two lines later, another unidentifiable word, TANPAKA タンパカ, is defined as *akagane to kogane wo mazetaru mono* 銅ト金ヲ合セタル物, "a mixture of copper and gold". The Dutch word for 'white lead' is written as SERŪZA セルーザ. No Dutch equivalent is given for the entry *keifun* 軽粉, which is a white cosmetic powder made from mercury and alum.

Worth noting here is the inclusion of an entry for 'tin'. Rather than a word, Morishima supplies a paraphrase for this entry, which states that it is "thin metal used for making containers". However, the Dutch word for tin (*blik*) is given as BURIKI ブリキ, which is the popular name for tin in Japan today. It is likely that the entry in this work represents the first recorded use of this word.⁴¹

⁴⁰Two of these objects are listed among the items sent to Japan in 1747 (MacLean 1974:13).

⁴¹The suggestion has been made (Arakawa 1967: 1141) that the loan word *buriki* first occurred in

寶石 (*hōseki*) Precious stones (26 entries).

This section includes not-so-precious materials such as coral, chalk, sulphur and fossilised shells. The first entry, 玉 ('precious stone'), is translated here with the word EDEKU エーデク EDEKU, which appears to be a corruption of *edelsteen*, 'gemstone'.

'Glass' is represented by the Chinese characters 玻璃, but it is given the reading ビイドロ *biidoro*, a loan word based on the Portuguese word for glass, *vidro*. The Japanese equivalent of *toetssteen* ('touchstone') is shown here as *shikinseki* 試金石 (lit.: 'gold-testing stone'), which is the word still in use for this mineral today. However the reading given here is ツケイシ, which is a literal translation of the elements 'touch' and 'stone'.

The Dutch entry PEETERU BEZOARU ペーテル・ベソアル is translated into Japanese as *basaru* バサル, the latter appearing to be a loan based on the word *basalt*. The WNT lists *steen bezoar* as a kind of stone,⁴² and PEETERU is clearly based on *petra*, the Latin word for rock.

14. 鳥部 (*toribu*) Birds (54 entries).

Entries in this category include indigenous and exotic birds. The inclusion of 'bat' here shows that the term 鳥 to Morishima did not indicate merely birds so much as 'small flying creatures'. Mis- and non-translation of a number of words shows some confusion regarding the identification and translation of certain species.

No Dutch translation is given for the entry 踵. Morohashi defines this character as meaning *washi*, or 'eagle'.⁴³ The reading given here, however, is *kumataka* クマタカ, which in modern day dictionaries is translated as 'Hodgson's hawk eagle'. *Washi*, however, is also shown, in the form 鷲, with its Dutch equivalent *arend* ('eagle'). *Inko* 鸚哥 ('parakeet') is translated as RŪRI ルウリイ, possibly a corruption of the Dutch colloquial term for parrot, *lorre*. A corrupted form of *parkietje*, the diminutive of the Dutch word for 'parakeet', PARUKECHI パルケチー, is shown here with the Japanese *satōdori* 砂糖鳥, lit.: 'sugar bird'.

The Dutch word *ekster* ('magpie') is rendered as *sekirei* 鶺鴒, normally the written representation for 'wagtail'. The Chinese character for magpie, *kasasagi* 鶺鴒, does appear, but no Dutch equivalent is given.

The list finishes with a short collection of associated words, such as those corresponding to 'nest', 'beak', 'egg', and 'wing'. In a surprising slipup, physician

Mitsukuri Genpo's 1847 revised version of this work *Kaisei zōho bangosen* (discussed below). This assertion, however, is based on the assumption that Mitsukuri intended his rendition of the word (鉄葉, lit. 'metal leaf') to be read as such, although Mitsukuri supplied no *furigana* reading to the word. Furthermore, Mitsukuri's *kana* version of the Dutch word *blikis burikki* ブリッキ, whereas in fact it was Morishima's *buriki* which gained common acceptance.

⁴²*Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*.

⁴³Morohashi 1990, Vol. 12, p. 842.

and *rangaku* scholar Morishima renders the character 肉 ('flesh') as BŌTO ボウ ト, which looks suspiciously like *bot* ('bone'). Certainly there is no word resembling BŌTO in Dutch which has a meaning related to flesh or muscle.

An indication of the difficulties that were experienced in the rendering of Dutch vowel clusters can be seen in the entries for 'kite' and 'chick'. An archaic Dutch word for 'kite' is *kuikendief* (lit. 'chick thief'), and Morishima gets it partly right with his entry KOIKEN コイケン. The same word, however, is shown in a nearby independent entry as KYUIKEN キュイケン.

15. 獸部 (*kemonobu*) Mammals (52 entries).

Here too, wild and domesticated animals are included from around the world as it was known at the time. All animals listed here were already known to the Japanese through contact with the Chinese, and there is no confusion as to which animal is which. Of interest is the Dutch entry for 'giraffe' which is listed as KĀMERO PARUDARYUSU カーメロ・パルダリユス. An obsolete Dutch expression for giraffe is *camelo pardalis*, a pseudo-scientific name derived from the words *kameel* ('camel') and *paard* ('horse').⁴⁴ The Dutch for 'squirrel' is given as SHURIKATTO シュリカッタ. *Surikat* is an obsolete Afrikaans word for 'meerkat'.⁴⁵ Yet 'meerkat' has its own entry, and is translated as *onagazaru* 尾長猿, which is a cercopith, a small monkey.

This category too finishes with a small selection of associated words, viz. those for 'horn', 'claw', 'paw', 'wool', 'tail' and 'glue'.

16. 魚介虫 (*gyokaichū*) Marine creatures (52 entries).

Besides fish, many other aquatic creatures are included here, such as 'whale', 'prawn', 'turtle', 'lobster', 'crab', 'oyster' and 'crocodile'. In spite of the importance of seafood in the Japanese diet, this section is riddled with errors, and is perhaps the least reliable in the entire work.

Funa 鮒 ('carp') is mistranslated as *baars* ('perch'), *saigyo* 豺魚 ('shad') as 'herring', *kamasu* 梭魚 ('barracuda') as 'pike', *kisu* 橈魚 ('sillaginoid') as 'smelt' and *rogyo* 鱸魚 ('sea bass') as 'cod'. Although the Dutch word for 'shark' is *haai*, it is given here as ROHHE ロツヘ, which appears to be a rendition of the Dutch word *rog*, 'stingray'. However, 'stingray' is included later, where it is presented as ROGGU ロツク.⁴⁶ Since there are certain visual similarities between some of the original species and those they became in translation, it is possible that Morishima worked from a book with illustrations.

⁴⁴*Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal.*

⁴⁵In his 1847 corrected version of this work, Mitsukuri Genpo includes *surikat* but adds the correct Dutch word for squirrel, *eekhoorn*. MacLean notes that five 'suricates' were imported into Japan in 1800 (Maclean 1974: 22).

⁴⁶Strictly speaking, the pronunciation of ロツク is *rokku*. However, the use of voiced-consonant marks was inconsistent at the time, and there is little doubt that ロツグ *roggu* was intended here.

Again, a list of associated words, such as 'shell', 'fins' and 'scales' closes this category. Near the end the entry 航魚 appears, with a reading of *tarobune* タロブ子 and its Dutch rendition *HISSENĀCHIKUSU* ヒッセナーチクス (*vissen...?*). The entry remains unexplained in either language, but is likely to refer to a kind of fishing vessel.

An intriguing entry is that of the narwhal, which is translated into Japanese as 一角魚, with a reading *UNIKŌRU* ウニカウル. Clearly, the confusion between the narwhal and the legendary unicorn continued.⁴⁷

17. 虫部 (*mushibu*) Worms, insects and reptiles (28 entries).

Although the heading for this category is 虫 *mushi*, a character usually understood to represent insects, worms and small reptiles, the inclusion here of dragons, snakes and lizards makes it clear that larger reptiles were also thought to belong to this class.⁴⁸ To be sure, the first entry in this category is a variant of the *mushi* character, 蟲, which is translated as *wurmen*, *ongedierte* ('worms, vermin').

Of interest here are the archaic Dutch renditions of 'dragonfly' (*koorenboot*) and 'cicada' (*knoopmaker*). The Dutch version for 'millipede' has been erased. Interesting also is the entry *KŌSHIN NIIRU* コーシン ニール, which is paraphrased as *shōjōhi o someru mushi* 猩々緋ヲ染ル虫 ('a bug that is imbued with scarlet'). Mitsukuri, in his revised version of this work spelled this word as *kosenille*, which is no doubt a version of the French word *cochenille*, a Mexican insect that was used for the manufacture of a scarlet dye (viz. Engl. 'cochineal'). For 'flea', a variant character is used, which is a combination of 夆 and 虫 (usu. 蚤).

18. 草部 (*kusabu*) Plants (138 entries).

This is a large list, which reveals a number of interesting linguistic sources and influences. A considerable proportion of the Dutch names in this list cannot be traced, possibly because they are obsolete, corruptions or local variants.

For example, the entry for 'carrot' presents as its Dutch equivalent the word *NINJINGU* ニンジング. This is clearly a variant of the Japanese word for carrot, *ninjin*. This word was never adopted into the Dutch language, nor did it get as far as the East Indies.⁴⁹ However, it is an interesting possibility that *ninjin* achieved common usage among the Dutchmen in Nagasaki, giving the Japanese the mistaken impression that it was also a Dutch word.

⁴⁷Mitsukuri was still using this entry in 1847 in the corrected version of this work. For more on the narwhal and the unicorn, see Aoki Kon'yō's work, in Chapter V-1.

⁴⁸That is, with the exception of turtles and crocodiles, which are classified under 'fish'.

⁴⁹The word for 'carrot' in modern Indonesian is *bortol*, which is derived from the Dutch *wortel*.

The weed *gishigishi* 羊蹄 ('sorrel'), is given in Dutch as PAJIKU AZETŌSA パジクアゼトーサ. The botanical name for sorrel is *Rumex acetosa*, which leaves PAJIKU as unidentified. In Dutch, however, sorrel is *zuring*, and an entry JŪRINGU ジューリング, is represented correctly in Japanese as *sukanpo* 酸模.

Mitsukuri Genpo, in his 1847 corrections, gave this section a thorough overhaul, and many of *Bangosen's* entries were deleted and cannot be identified through his romanised versions.

The unidentified word *zom* is given as the Dutch equivalent for 西洋参, which is given the reading カンタウニンジン (*kantōninjin*, lit.: 'carrot of the Kanto region').

The Dutch entry UEINRŌTO ウエインロート (the medicinal plant *wijnruit*, L. *Ruta graveolens*) is represented as 芸香, with the accompanying reading *henrūda* ヘンルウダ, the loan word still in use today, based on the Dutch name for the plant.

The Japanese *nasu* 茄子 ('eggplant') is equated with the Dutch DŌRUAPPURU/HOKIHOKII ドールアップル・ホキホキイ. The first word appears to represent something like *doorappel*,⁵⁰ and a look at Mitsukuri's 1847 alphabet renditions reveals that the second word is *vokvokje*, a word that remains unidentified.

Peterselie ('parsley') is shown in Japanese as 芹菜 with the reading セリ *seri*. Though opinions vary as to the origin of this word, the modern Japanese word for parsley is パセリ *paseri*, which is probably a hybrid loan word derived from English and Dutch origins.

19. 木部 (*kibu*) Trees and fruits (82 entries).

This section is considerably less chaotic than the previous one, but nevertheless presents several puzzles and points of interest. Trees from the tropics, such as cinnamon, nutmeg, date, fig, and clove, figure prominently. *Saboten* 霸王樹 ('cactus') is equated with the Dutch *Indiaansche vijgeboom* ('Indian fig tree'), even though a little further along, *vijgeboom* ('fig tree') is correctly identified as *ichijiku* 無花果.

The entry 柑 (the reading given: *kunenbo* クニンボ shows that a bergamot orange is meant here) is translated as *zoet appel* ('sweet apple'), while 橙 (reading given: *daidai* ダイダイ, Seville orange) is shown to mean *zuur appel* ('tart apple'). Although the list features a variety of fruit trees, the apple itself does not make an appearance.

A number of botanical terms ('branch', 'leaf', flower, 'fruit', 'thorn' etc.) close this category.

⁵⁰*Doornappel* comes to mind, but that is an alternative name for the highly poisonous *datura*, certainly not egg plant.

20. 数量 (*sūryō*) Numbers and quantities (49 entries).

This very short list features numbers and measurements. Morishima takes his 'no foreign script' policy to extremes here by showing the Dutch entries of the numbers in *katakana* only, without supplying arabic numerals.

The entry for the measure 一撮 ('a pinch') is given the reading ミツユビ (*mitsuyubi*, lit.: 'three fingers'), which in modern Japanese means the term for a respectful bow executed with three fingers of each hand touching the floor. The entry 一撮 ('a pinch') is translated as *POGIROSU* ポギロス, an unidentified word which may be related to the Portuguese word *pegar* ('to take', 'to grab').

21. 言語 (*gengo*) Language (303 entries).

This, the largest category of the work, would have been more appropriately headed as 'Abstract', since it consists of over three hundred words arranged in loose groups of associated abstract meanings. Many are paired with their antonyms, such as 'large' and 'small', 'front' and 'back', 'float' and 'sink'. Although adjectives make up the bulk of the list, little consideration has been given to word classes, and examples such as the adjective *waar* ('true') being paired with *lieg* (the first person form of the verb *liegen*, 'to lie'), and the verb *stilstaan* ('to stop') as a partner to the noun *beweging* ('movement') may be an indication that Morishima either had little or no knowledge of such classes, or considered them unimportant.

The verb *haten* ('to hate') makes no fewer than three appearances, translated into Japanese once as *nikumu* 憎 (to detest), and twice as 忌, a character that means 'to shun', 'to abhor', with a nuance of ritual taboo. It is, however, given the reading *kirau* キラフ here, which again simply means 'to dislike'.

Although personal pronouns were not widely used in premodern Japanese, they are scattered throughout this category, and are represented in Japanese by terms one would use in conversation. Thus, the first pronoun 'I' is translated as a deprecatory *funei* 不佞 (lit. 'sincere') and 'you' is *sokka* 足下 (lit. 'at your feet'). *Hem* ('him') and *haar* ('her') are both represented by the character *kano* 彼 ('that person'), but in smaller characters the entries are followed by the explanatory notes *otoko ni iu* 男ニ云 and *onna ni iu* 女ニ云 ('said of a man/woman') respectively.

The Dutch definite article *de* is translated as 此 ('this'), accompanied by *kore* コレ and *kono* コノ readings to indicate both the pronoun and the determiner. The second case of the definite article (incorrectly given as *den/des*; should be *der/des*) is represented by the possessive particle *no* 之, reflecting the practice to equate Japanese particles with case.

Other interesting entries include the suffix *-achtig* ('-ish'), represented by 似 with the reading *gotoshi* ゴトシ ('like'), and a rather laconic *ja* ('yes') to represent *henji* 諾 ヘンジ ('assent').

The category closes with eleven short phrases:

1. 爰へ来レ (*koko e kore*)
 コムト ヒール (*KOMUTO HIIRU, 'Komt hier.'*)
 'Come here'
2. 是ハ不思議ナコト (*korewa fushigina koto*)
 ダアツ ウワンデルレイキ (*DAATSU UONDERUREIKI, 'Dat is wonderlijk.'*)
 'That is miraculous.'
3. 此名ハ何ト申ス (*kakuno na wa nanto mōsu*)
 ウーイス ナーム (*UUISU NAAMU, 'Uwes naam?'*)
 'Your name?'
4. 夫ハ何デゴザル (*sorewa nan de gozaru*)
 ワートイス ダート (*WAATOISU DAATO, 'Wat is dat?'*)
 'What is that?'
5. 夫ハ高直ジヤ (*sorewa takane ja*)
 ダーツ チュールコープ (*DAATSU JYURUKŌPU, 'Dat is duurkoop'*)
 'That is expensive.'
6. 夫ハ下直ジヤ (*sorewa shitane ja*)
 ダーツ グーデコープ (*DAATSU GŪDEKŌPU, 'Dat is goedkoop'*)
 'That is cheap.'
7. 遅 (*osoi*)
 ヘットイス ラート (*HETTOISU RAATO, 'Het is laat.'*)
 'It is late.'
8. 遅クハナイ (*osokuwa nai*)
 ヘットイス ニート ラート (*HETTOISU NIITO RAATO, 'Het is niet laat.'*)
 'It is not late.'
9. 何ヲナサルル (*nani o nasaruru*)
 ワート ツート ゲイ (*WAATO DŪTO GEL, 'Wat doet gij?'*)
 'What are you doing?'
10. 何ヲ見サツ シヤル (*nani o misatsu shiyaru*)
 ワート ソークト ゲイ (*WAATO SŌKUTO GEL, 'Wat zoekt gij?'*)
 'What are you looking for?'
11. ナセ笑口シヤル (*naze waraguchi shiyaru*)

ワール ヲム ラクト ゲイ (WAARU OMU RAKUTO GEI, 'Waarom lacht gij?')
'Why do you laugh?'

The rendition of structures such as *dat is* ('That is') in the colloquial contracted form *ダアツ* or *ダーツ* DAATSU (for *da's*) suggests little understanding of the structures of Dutch sentences. The representation of the short vowels in *dat* and *wat* as lengthened vowels may be the result of miscopying at an earlier stage, but in turn is an indication of how little Morishima really knew of Dutch pronunciation or spelling.

Several of the phrases relate to the buying of goods, and their Japanese versions are colloquial. Their likely source is a Nagasaki interpreter.

Appendix

萬國地名箋 (*bankoku chimeisen*) Geographical names (233 entries).

This appendix contains representations in both Chinese characters and *katakana*-Dutch of the names of countries and cities around the world, sub-classified under Asia (81 entries), Europe (66), Africa (44), North America (26) and South America (16 entries). The Asian section is preceded by a note which states that the Chinese character renditions of the place names are those used by the Chinese on their world maps.

Kaisei zōho bangosen 改正増補蛮語箋 (1847)

Mitsukuri Genpo 箕作阮甫 (1799–1863) was a well-known and influential physician and *rangaku* scholar of the late Edo period. He was engaged by the government as an interpreter for international negotiations, and his translation of a Western work on steam engines was used to build Japan's first steamboat.⁵¹ He published a woodblock version of *Grammatica* by the *Maatschappij tot Nut van't Algemeen* in 1842, under the title *Oranda bunten zenpen* 和蘭文典前編.⁵²

Mitsukuri produced 'Revised and Enlarged *Bangosen*' in 1847. In the Foreword he explains that it had been necessary to revise *Bangosen* because Western studies had become more sophisticated since its publication, and also to correct errors, particularly in the section for geographical names.

Kaisei zōho bangosen contains improvements in almost every aspect: its two volumes number almost twice as many entries as the original one-volume *Bangosen*. Many of the Japanese entries have been corrected or updated. It also presents three versions of the Roman alphabet as well as 72 syllables shown both in *katakana* and in Roman

⁵¹Kodansha 5, p. 213.

⁵²Described in more detail in chapter VI-1 below.

alphabet. Most significant, however, is the appearance of the Dutch words of the main text in the Roman alphabet, although their *katakana* renditions are retained.

Mitsukuri deletes Morishima's 'empty' category of religious terms, but retains all other categories that were used in the original *Bangosen*. He also adds a new category under the heading of 火器 (*kaki*, 'firearms'), containing 154 words pertaining to the construction and use of everything ranging from pistols to cannon. The remaining categories are not only corrected, but thoroughly updated. The last category, language, is so enlarged that it occupies almost an entire second volume.⁵³

1. 天文 (*tenmon*) Astronomical and meteorological names (84 entries).

Although *Bangosen* already lists the words for the seven planets that were known at the time as well as the entry *hoshi* 星 *sterren* ('stars'), Mitsukuri indicates the contrast between planets and stars by adding *wakusei* 惑星 *planeet* (planet) and *kōsei* 恒星 *vaste ster* ('fixed star').

Morishima had translated the *Bangosen* entry for *kasumi* 霞 quite correctly as *damp* ('haze', or 'mist'), but Mitsukuri appears not to have been happy with this interpretation, instead giving the character the reading of *yūyake* ユフヤケ ('sunset glow') and translating it, apparently for want of a suitable Dutch word, into the rather longwinded *rood wolk met ondergaande zon* ('red cloud with setting sun'). He puts *damp* in a separate entry, with the Japanese *yamagawatō* 山川騰 ('rising [mist] over mountains and rivers').

The entry *shimo* 霜 ('hoar frost'), which in *Bangosen* was translated as *vriezen*, ('to freeze') is presented more correctly here as *rijp*, *rijm*. A little further along, Morishima's entry *vorst* ('frost'), which he had translated into *shimobashira* 霜柱 (lit. 'ice columns'), is interpreted by Mitsukuri as *daikan* 大寒 ('midwinter'). For good measure, he adds *ijzel* ('glazed frost' or 'black frost'), but imagines this to mean *arare* 霰 ('hail').

2. 地理 (*chiri*) Geographical terms (74 entries).

Mitsukuri adds no extra entries of significance in this category, but does make a few changes. Inexplicably, he decides to change the Dutch word for *saka* 阪 ('hillside') from *opgang* ('rise') to *trap* ('stairs'). The Japanese 市街 (given the reading here of *machi* マチ), a word that can be taken to mean both 'town' and 'streets', had been translated by Morishima as *staad*, a word that does not exist in Dutch, but which hovers somewhere between *stad* (town) and *straat* ('street'). Mitsukuri corrects it to *straat*.

⁵³ Although Feenstra Kuiper purports to describe Morishima's *Bangosen* (Feenstra-Kuiper 1921: 256–257), his listing and description reveals that, in fact, he was examining a copy of Mitsukuri's 'expanded and improved' 1847 work.

More significant changes were made in the Japanese entries, however. The entry *lusthof* ('pleasure garden') had been translated by Morishima as *niwa* 庭 ('garden'). Mitsukuri, however, feels that *bessō* 別荘 ('country residence') is more appropriate here. For 'waterfall', he changes the character 瀧 to the more poetic *bakufu* 瀑布 (lit. 'cascading veil of water'). The Japanese translation for 'brackish water' is changed from *shio* 潮 ('tide', 'salt water') to *kansui* 鹹水 ('brackish water'), and the Chinese characters for *schoon tuin*⁵⁴ ('beautiful garden') are changed from a literal *bien* 美園 to the more common term *meien* 名園 (lit. 'garden of note').

Kanaal ('channel') had been translated by Morishima with the Chinese characters 迫門, which is an incorrect rendition of the Chinese characters *hazama* 迫間, meaning 'ravine'. His addition of the *furigana seto* セト ('channel') shows that he nevertheless understood the meaning of the original Dutch word. Mitsukuri, however, chose to interpret Morishima's Chinese characters without taking any notice of either the Dutch word *kanaal* or the *furigana*, and came up with 峡谷 (*kyōkoku*), which again means 'ravine'. Morishima's brief list of place names in this category is deleted.

3. 時令 (*jirei*) Expressions of time (54 entries).

This section is virtually identical to that in *Bangosen*. Of interest is the entry *ima* 今 ('now'), which in *Bangosen* had been given the simple Dutch equivalent *nyū* (*nu*, 'now'), but is translated here as *tegenwoordig tijd*, a term that can be interpreted as meaning both 'the present time' or 'present tense'. It is the first indication in this work of the influence of the Dutch grammatical books that were circulating in *rangaku* circles at the time.

4. 人輪 (*jinrin*) Human relations (180 entries).

Although he has rearranged the listings of a large number of entries, Mitsukuri has not changed or added many words in this category.

The Japanese rendition of the word *gouverneur* ('magistrate' or 'prefect'), which had been represented in *Bangosen* by *kanshi* 官司 ('government official'), is given here as *sōtoku seidai* 總督制台 ('governor's office'), although in both works they are accompanied by a *furigana* reading of *bugyō* ブキヤウ. Mitsukuri instead applies the term 官司 to *opperhoofd*, the term for the chief of the Dutch trade mission in Nagasaki, abandoning Morishima's Portuguese loan word *kapitan* 加比丹.

He reverses Morishima's interpretations of *omi* 臣 ('retainer') as *knecht* ('man-servant') and *yakko* 奴僕 (man-servant) as *dienaar* ('retainer'), perhaps because he understood that *knecht* was an unsuitable designation for servants of high-ranked persons. He also corrects Morishima's translation for *kwakzalver*

⁵⁴Although the correct form of this combination is *schoon tuin*, Mitsukuri does not correct this error.

('quack') from *kōyaku-uri* 膏薬売 ('seller of ointments') to *sōi* 艸醫 ('bush doctor' or 'quack').

身體 (*shintai*) Anatomy (113 entries).

Mitsukuri adds eleven new entries to this category. The most obvious ones are, of course, Morishima's glaring omissions 'arm' and 'leg'. The other additions are 'corner of the eye', 'throat', 'uvula', 'larynx', 'upper arm', 'lower arm', 'calf' and 'heel'. He changes the Dutch word for 'little finger' from *oorvinger* to *pink*, and corrects the translation of *sōkotsu* 裝骨 from *halswervelbeenderen* ('neck vertebrae') to *heiligbeen* ('sacrum'), although the reading given in both works, *koshihone* コシホネ ('hip bone'), leaves some doubt as to which bone was originally intended.

6. 疾病 (*shitsubyō*) Medicines and diseases (96 entries).

Three of *Bangosen's* entries are deleted in this category, but seventeen new ones are added. The Japanese term for 'diarrhoea' is replaced by something called 泄瀉 with a reading provided of *kudarihara* クダリハラ, even though Morishima's earlier 下利 had been closer to the modern term *geri* 下痢. The less-than-scientific (and by the middle of the nineteenth century perhaps perceived as offensive) *Spaanse pok* ('Spanish pox') for syphilis, and the unidentified *krolziekte* are deleted. Mitsukuri adds *epidemie*, and the nuance *hardhoorendheid* ('being hard of hearing') next to Morishima's simple *doof* ('deaf'). The term *sotchū* 卒中, which in modern Japanese means 'cerebral stroke', but had been translated by Morishima as *SURAAPU SHIHKITEN* スラープ シイキテン (*slaapziekte*, lit. 'sleeping sickness') is correctly interpreted here as *beroerte*. Morishima's unidentifiable Dutch entries noted above⁵⁵ are corrected as follows:

Japanese	Dutch
下血 (<i>geketsu</i> , bloody bowel discharge)	<i>bloedloop</i>
悪阻 (<i>tsuwari</i> , morning sickness)	<i>afkeer van spijzen in zwangerheid</i> (dislike of food during pregnancy')
骨節痛 ホネガラミ (<i>honegarami</i> , arthritis?)	<i>beenpijn</i> (sore bones')

⁵⁵See table on page 60-1 above.

7. Gods and Buddhas.

This category is omitted by Mitsukuri.

8. 宮室 (*kyūshitsu*) Palaces (86 entries).

Mitsukuri only adds a small number of entries, and makes a few minor adjustments in this category. His addition of the words *slot* ('castle'), *vesting* ('fortress') and *geschutpoorten* ('turret holes') are perhaps an indication that during the half century since the publication of *Bangosen* there had been a considerable growth in interest in Western military strategy. To the Dutch translation for *tera* 寺 ('temple'), *tempel*, he adds *kerk* ('church'). Morishima's translation in *Bangosen* of *yakusho* ヤクシヨ ('government office') as GŌHURUNEMENTO ゴーフル子メント ('gouvernement') is changed to *staathuis*, a corruption of *stadhuis*, 'town hall'. The shortcomings of *katakana* representations of non-Japanese words are demonstrated again in the Dutch rendition of *hitoya* 獄 ('prison'), which Morishima had translated as GEHANGEN HOISU ゲハンゲン ホイス ('*gevangenhuis*', lit. 'prisoner's house'). Mitsukuri fails to interpret the ambiguous ハ as *VA*, and represents the term as *gehangenhuis*, which changes its meaning to 'house of the hanged'.

Finally, for reasons known only to him, Mitsukuri has moved *plas* ('puddle') from its listing among the meteorological phenomena, to a place among buildings and related structures.

9. 服飾 (*fukushoku*) Attire (88 entries).

The additions here are mostly items which were perhaps too Western at Morishima's time to have Japanese equivalents as yet, such as 'pocket', 'lining', 'glove' and 'boots'.

The new entry *nankinlinnen* ('Nanking linen') is shown in Japanese as 紫花布 (lit. 'purple cloth'), but the *furigana* tells us that its reading is *nankinmomen* ナンキンモメン. The Arakawa dictionary of loanwords asserts that the hybrid loan *nankinmomen* is based in part on the English pronunciation of the Chinese city Nanking.⁵⁶ However, *nankinglinnen* was a common Dutch term for a durable, light-brown cotton, and its inclusion here indicates that English is unlikely to have been the source of this loan word.

The name for the silky material which Morishima had called PORUTOSOI⁵⁷ has been changed to *fornuis*, which in fact means 'kitchen stove', even though its Japanese version is still *chau* 茶字, which is a kind of silk.

The translation of *santome* 聖徳黙 (a cotton material named after São Thomé⁵⁸ as *taffaseras* is possibly a corruption of *taffetas*, 'taffeta'.

⁵⁶Arakawa 1967: 884.

⁵⁷See p. 62 above.

⁵⁸Arakawa 1967: 507.

10. 飲食 (*inshoku*) Food and drink (61 entries).

The small collection of words about alcoholic drinks is amended, and coarse and old-fashioned designations such as 'sweet wine', 'Spanish wine' or *zopie*⁵⁹ are deleted. Instead, we find such fine distinctions as red, white, and Rhine wine. Other additions here (there are thirteen) include cheese and cream, white and brown sugar, *beuring* for *chōkan* 腸干 ('dried intestines') and phrases for 'rich and tasty food' and 'simple food'. Cheese and cream did not play an important enough role to have brought about the adoption of loan words until after the arrival of English language and the birth of the English-based loan words that are in use today, and they are paraphrased here rather than translated. 'Cheese' is translated as 'dried whey', but is accompanied in *furigana* by the phrase *ushi no chi no katakarimono* ウシノチノカタマリモノ, lit.: 'a solidified substance made from milk'. 'Cream' is given the Chinese characters 牛左油 with the *furigana* phrase *ushi no chi no abura* ウシノチノアブラ, both meaning 'cow's milk fat'.

Morishima's reading for 臘乾 (the Cantonese term for 'ham'), *buta no aburiji* ブタノアブリジ (?), is corrected to *rakan* ラカン, a loan word based on the Portuguese *lacão*. Morishima's mysterious Dutch entry *purumentyumu* プルメンテユム for 'rice gruel' is replaced with *brij* ('porridge'), while *boekwijtmeel* ('buckwheat flour') and *huisbakken* ('home baking') have been deleted.

11. 器財 (*kizai*) Tools and instruments (294 entries).

This category has been amended considerably. Several terms relating to firearms have been moved to the new category *Mistukuri* added on this subject. A number of nautical terms are added, reflecting perhaps a growing Japanese awareness of ocean navigation:

隊艦 (<i>taisō</i>)	<i>linieschepen</i> ('ships of the line')
軽快大軍艦 (<i>keikai taigunkan</i>)	<i>fregate</i> ('frigate')
三...疾走軍艦	<i>korvette</i> ('corvette')
小海舟 (<i>shōkaishū</i>)	<i>advijstjagt</i> ('dispatch boat')
小軍船	<i>briken</i> ('brigs')
甲板 (<i>kanban</i>)	<i>verdek</i> ('deck')
半甲板 (<i>katakanban</i>)	<i>half verdek</i> ('quarter-deck')

In addition to Morishima's 'quill', the steel pen makes its appearance here, as 鉄筆 (*teppitsu*). New entries *galvanismus* and *dageurotijpen* also show that attempts were made to keep abreast with the latest overseas technological developments. Of interest here is the German word *galvanismus* ('galvanism', chemically generated electric current), which is shown in its truncated Japanese

⁵⁹An archaic Dutch sailors' term for alcoholic beverages.

form by means of a phonetic equivalent in Chinese characters and *furigana*, as *garuha* 瓦爾華. *Dageurotijpen* is, of course, a corrupted rendition of the French word *daguerrotype*. The Dutch pronunciation in *katakana*, DAGEYUROTEIPEN ダゲユロテイペン, suggests that Mitsukuri reversed the *e* and *u* vowels because he was unaware of the word's French origin and mistakenly thought that they represented the Dutch *eu* diphthong. This is the earliest record of this word appearing in print in Japan.⁶⁰ Its Japanese translation is given as *inshōkyō* 印象鏡 ('optical instrument for images'). The word *barometer* was inserted as a Dutch alternative next to *weerglas*, and instead of Morishima's paraphrase we find as its Japanese translation the word 晴雨儀, which, apart from the final character,⁶¹ is identical—at least in the Chinese character writing—to the modern Japanese word for this instrument, viz. *seiukei* 晴雨計. *Vochtmeter* ('hygrometer'), on the other hand, apparently still presented some problems. Morishima provided a paraphrase in *Bangosen*, *mizu no kōo o miru utsuwa* 水ノ好悪ヲ見ル器 (lit.: 'instrument which indicates partiality to water'). Mitsukuri has not managed to produce a proper term for the instrument either, but re-words the paraphrase to *yakusuishusei no keichō o miru utsuwa* 薬水酒精ノ軽重ヲミル器 (lit.: 'instrument which indicates the proportions of water and chemical in alcoholic liquor').

Mitsukuri has improved or corrected a number of awkward *katakana* renditions of Dutch words,⁶² eliminated double entries, and deleted or replaced words considered to be obsolete. Medical and technical sections in particular are updated, although not always successfully. For example, the word *yakuhō* 薬方 ('medical prescription') had been translated accurately by Morishima as *ordonnantie*, a term that by Mitsukuri's time had become obsolete. His replacement, *remedie*, however, does not quite fit the bill.

11a. 火器 (*kaki*) Firearms (385 entries).

This is a new category, that represents one of the major additions to *Kaisei zōhō bangosen*. This extensive listing of various types of small arms and artillery as well as their constituent parts and related paraphernalia using sophisticated and accurate technical terminology shows that considerable knowledge had been acquired in this field well before the end of the period of national seclusion. MacLean notes that the importation of books on artillery began in 1835.

⁶⁰Arakawa 1967: 716.

⁶¹The character occurs in the Japanese word for astrolabe, where it is applied in the sense of 'model', or 'pattern'.

⁶²For example, the pronunciation of 'tobacco' is changed from Morishima's *tabako* (which was based on the Portuguese word) to *tabakku*, a more logical approximation of the Dutch *tabak*.

12. 金 (*kane*) Metals (26 entries).

Mitsukuri has added six new entries here. *Kalomel* ('mercury chloride') is represented in a phonetic Chinese character equivalent as *karomeru* 加呂蔑兒, but is also given another entry as *zoete kwik* and translated by its literal meaning of 'sweet mercury' as *kankō* 甘汞, which is the modern Japanese term for mercury chloride. The other additions here are *sublimaat* (*shōkō* 昇汞, 'bichloride of mercury'), *zilverdraad* ('silver wire'), *gouddraad* ('gold wire') and *goudgrit* ('gold dust'). The word *tanpaka*, which Morishima had defined as having the same meaning as *sawas* (*shakudō*, an alloy of copper and gold), is deleted. Morishima's Dutch word for *SERŪZA* 'white lead', セルーザ(?) is corrected to *loodwit*. The paraphrase that Morishima gave for 'tin' in *Bangosen* is replaced with a proper technical term, *teppa* 鐵葉, lit.: 'iron leaf'.

13. 宝石 (*hōseki*) Precious stones.

Mitsukuri has added seven new entries to this category, 'mother of pearl' (which he terms *parelscherpen*, a corruption of *parelschelpen*, 'pearly shells'), 'emerald', 'amethyst', 'magnet' (the last of which he calls *zeijlsteen*, lit. 'sailing stone'), 'kaolin' (*creta*, in *katakana* represented as *sereta* セレタ), 'burnt alum', and, in an amusing juxtaposition, he translates *yakōkyū* 夜光球, a luminous gem of Chinese legend whose name means 'evening light jewel', into the rather unpoetic Dutch *karbonkelsteen* ('garnet').

14. 鳥 (*tori*) Birds.

Few changes have been made to this section. Mitsukuri has added 'chick' and 'swallow', deleted *Bangosen's* untranslated Chinese characters for 'magpie' and the corruption *RUURII* ルウリイ for 'parakeet'. As the Dutch word for sparrow ('*mus*'), he has entered *moisie*, which is probably a corrupted version of the diminutive *musje*. Morishima's Dutch entry for this word had been *MOSSHII* モッシイ. There may have been some confusion between this word and the Dutch word for 'mouse' ('*mus*' vs. '*muis*'), and this is a good example of the correlative influence the use of *katakana* could have on the transmission of spoken and written Dutch.

For 'turkey', Morishima's Chinese characters have been retained, but alongside we find *karakunchō* カラクンチャウ in *furigana*, a part loan word construction from the Dutch word for turkey, *kalkoen*, and a Japanese suffix, *chō*, indicating 'fowl'.

15. 獸 (*kemono*) Mammals.

Mitsukuri has added 'polar bear', 'lamb', 'bull' and 'ox'. For the Japanese rendition of 'polar bear' he uses the Chinese characters *kōriguma* 氷熊 (lit. 'ice bear'), which is a direct translation of the Dutch *ijsbeer*. He deleted 'giraffe' (possibly because he couldn't come to terms with the by then obsolete *camelo-*

pardalis), and, inexplicably, 'fox'.

16. 魚介 (*gyokai*) Marine creatures (47 entries).

In contrast to the care that was taken with the correction of errors in other sections, Morishima's mistranslations in this category were simply copied uncorrected. Furthermore, although throughout this work Mitsukuri has shown a propensity for transposing the letters *l* and *r*, he really outdid himself with this remarkable little sequence: *steenblassem*, *kalper*, *haaling*, *spieling*, *saldijn*, *galnaar* and *nalwar*.⁶³ 'Abalone', 'lamprey eel', 'fish eggs' and Morishima's unidentified HISSENÄCHIKUSU 航魚 ヒッセナーチクス have been deleted.

17. 虫 (*mushi*) Insects (29 entries).

Only 'dragonfly' was deleted here, and 'sow-bug' and 'mite' were added.

18. 草 (*kusa*) Plants (151 entries).

A considerable number of changes have been made in this category. Mitsukuri's method here was to replace items he wished to delete with new entries in the same location. In all he has deleted 36 words and added 45 new ones. The incidence of both Latin and common names among these indicates that Mitsukuri probably used a variety of sources for his information.

The fact that despite overhauling this category Mitsukuri retains Morishima's *ninzing* as the Dutch word for 'carrot' reinforces the notion that this may have been the word in common use on and around Dejima for a considerable period. He has changed the word *banana* to *pizang*, a Malay word that also gained some currency in Holland itself.

19. 木 (*ki*) Trees and fruits (88 entries).

Compared to the previous section, Mitsukuri has made relatively few changes here. He has added thirteen species he obviously deemed to be important, and deleted nine.

20. 數量 (*sūryō*) Numbers and quantities (50 entries).

This category is virtually identical to that in *Bangosen*. Mitsukuri has changed the unidentified *pogirosu* ポギロス for 'a pinch' to *een vingersvat*, and has corrected the reading of its Japanese rendition to *hitotsumami* ヒトツマミ. He has also changed Morishima's Chinese character for 'a handspan' from 咫 to 籍, and added one extra entry: ten *monme* 十匁 (about 37.5 grams), translating it into Dutch as *een thijl*.⁶⁴ Besides writing the Dutch words in the Roman

⁶³Properly *steenbrasem*, *karper*, *haaring*, *spiering*, *sardijn*, *garnaal*, *narwal* respectively.

⁶⁴A silver-based value originating from China, that was used as a unit of currency for trade between

alphabet, he also provided Arabic numerals.

Here the first volume of the work finishes. Volume Two contains the sections 'Language' and 'Geographical names'.

21. 言語 (*genko*) Language.

Mitsukuri completely rewrote this category, incorporating to some extent the advances that had been made in grammatical knowledge during the intervening fifty years or so. There are three sections to this category, *genko* 言語 ('grammar'), *nichiyōgohō* 日用語法 ('language for everyday use'), and *kaiwa* 會話 ('conversations').

In the first category, single words are presented in separate word categories, adjectives and adverbs (164 entries), verbs (130 entries), pronouns (50 entries), prepositions (96 entries), conjunctions (18 entries) and interjections (six entries). The adjectives and adverbs are mostly listed in pairs of opposite meaning. The Japanese terms for these categories are given as *irai meiji* 依頼名字 (lit. 'dependent name word') and *tenji* 添字 (lit. 'accompanying word'), more or less direct translations of the original Dutch terms *bijvoegelijk naamwoord* and *bijwoord* respectively.

Mitsukuri divides the verbs into three categories: transitive (*bedrijvende*), intransitive (*onzijdige*) and passive (*lijdende*). This corresponds with the categories and terminology specified in *Grammatica* published by the *Maatschappij Tot Nut Van 't Algemeen*, of which Mitsukuri published a woodblock reproduction in 1842.⁶⁵ Intransitive verbs are identified by the character 自, which is the first character of the modern Japanese term for intransitive verbs, *jidōshi* 自動詞. For transitive and passive verbs he applies the characters 能 and 所 respectively. These two characters represent the Buddhist idea of duality, where 能 represents the subject and 所 the object of an action. In Chinese and in *kanbun* style Japanese, the character 所 is used to denote passive voice. The character 能 is still used in modern Japanese to denote the active voice of verbs: *nōdōtai* 能動態.

No source has been identified for the listing of adverbs, adjectives and verbs. They are grouped together with opposites and associated meanings, rather than according to kind. The presentation of the pronouns, on the other hand, is identical to the sequence and spelling used in *Grammatica*. However, while the heading informs us that the list contains personal, demonstrative, relative and interrogative pronouns, the list provides no information as to which is which, and the words are listed without further instruction or explanation

the Dutch and the Japanese. Sometimes also *thael*, *tael* or *theil*.

⁶⁵See Chapter VI-1 below.

other than their Japanese translations.

The prepositions are presented within the context of short model phrases, in much the same way as Shizuki Tadao used in his work *Joshikō* 助詞考.⁶⁶ Thirteen prepositions are presented, each with a small number of examples of their use. Each phrase is provided with a *katakana* guide to its Dutch pronunciation and two translations. The main translation is in *kanbun*, while alongside the Dutch phrase is also a translation of each word, its place in Japanese phrases indicated with reverse order reading marks. Here again, no clear source has been identified. The sequence of the conjunctions, however, again has the appearance of having been selected from *Grammatica*.

The second section, *gemeenzame spreekwijzen* ('language for everyday use'), contains 124 brief expressions which might be used in spoken exchanges. Here again, each Dutch phrase is accompanied by a *katakana* pronunciation guide as well as two translations, complete with reverse order reading marks. Most phrases are simple and predictable enough, such as *wie zijt gij?* ('Who are you?'), the ubiquitous *ik ben uw dienaar* ('I am your servant'), as well as a number of remarks about the weather and various social situations. Although most of these might be found in any Dutch language phrase book, there are one or two entries which appear to relate specifically to local situations. Thus the pair *treed op, ga op* ('step up, go up', here presented in Japanese as *agarikitare* 上り来レ) and *treed af, kom af* ('step down, come down', *orisare* 下り去レ) have very much the appearance of commands used to instruct Dutch traders during audiences with persons of high rank, while a command such as *spreek geen nederduitsch* ('Do not speak Dutch') clearly belongs in a situation where another language is available.

The third section, 'conversations', is again sub-divided, very much in the tradition adopted in the middle of the eighteenth century after Marin, into an *eerste zamenspraak* ('first conversation') and a *tweede zamenspraak* ('second conversation'). These two model conversations have been taken in part from the work *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Japansche Rijk* by Van Overmeer Fisscher.⁶⁷

Appendix 改正増補萬國地名箋 (*kaisei zōho bankoku chimeisen*) Revised and Enlarged List of Geographical Names (388 entries).

In his Foreword, Mitsukuri mentions that one of his motives for revising *Bangosen* was an overhaul of the list of geographical names. This final category is certainly considerably more extensive than the original. Mitsukuri arranged the names into ten sections: Asia (72 entries), Asian Islands (46 entries),

⁶⁶See Chapter V-2 below.

⁶⁷Hoffmann 1882: 31.

Mediterranean Sea and islands (15 entries), Europe (63 entries), European Islands (18 entries), Africa (36 entries), African Islands (13 entries), North and South America (65 entries), American Islands (16 entries), and Australia (44 entries). The Australian section includes place names of New Zealand, New Guinea and a number of Pacific Islands as well.

Mitsukuri abandoned Morishima's use of markings to indicate special Dutch pronunciations of certain vowel combinations, but continued the use of word separator marks. His use of *katakana* for Dutch words remained inconsistent. For example, he used a vowel-lengthening mark for the word *vriend* ('friend'): フリーンド (FURI-NDŌ), but in the next entry, *vriend in woorden* ('friend in words') inserted an extra *い* (*i*) to indicate the longer vowel: フリインド・イン・ウオールデン (FURIINDŌ IN UO-RUDEN).

Inconsistencies also appear in the spelling of Dutch words. For example, he corrected Morishima's Dutch entry MEDESEN メデセン to MEJISEIN メジセイン, which is a satisfactory enough approximation of *medicijn* ('medicine'), and provided the correct Roman spelling. Right next to it, however, in the entry for 'pharmacological book', he wrote the same word as MEDICEIN メヂセイン, and *medezijn* in alphabet.

In addition to his abysmal performance when it comes to getting the letters *l* and *r* right, Mitsukuri also seems to have been confused as to the correct form of Dutch adjectives. *Zwanger vrouw*, *gebraad vis*, *donker kamer*⁶⁸ are examples of many incorrect forms, although many others do appear in their correct form.

Mitsukuri published his book at the very end of the period of national seclusion, and so still includes certain Dutch and Portuguese loan words which were soon to be replaced by English imitations or neologisms made up of native Japanese or Sino-Japanese elements. Thus we have seen that the Portuguese loan words *biidoro* ビイドロ for glass and *rakan* ラカン for 'ham' as well as the Dutch-Japanese hybrid *karakunchō* カラクンチャウ ('turkey') appear to have been still in use towards the middle of the nineteenth century.

The nineteenth century collector of Japanese books Hoffmann has little to say about Mitsukuri's work that is positive. Despite the fact that the copy in the Leiden collection was a personal gift to him from Mitsukuri, he scathingly, and somewhat unfairly, calls it a "reheated edition" of *Bangosen*. His sarcastic comment that the compiler is "one who still belongs to the ranks of those who cannot distinguish *l* from *r*" is

⁶⁸Properly: *zwangere vrouw*, *gebraden vis*, *donkere kamer* respectively.

certainly more justified.⁶⁹ Although he appears to have consulted appropriate technical books and atlases or maps for the firearms and place names sections, for the remaining vocabulary his main source for many of the Dutch words appears to have been Morishima's *katakana* rendition. This presents us with something of a puzzle. As an employee of the *Bansho wage goyo* translation office, Mitsukuri would have been able to consult the library of the *Tenmongata* astronomical bureau, which possessed copies of both the *Edo* and *Dūfu haruma dictionaries*. Yet, the many errors of the *versus-r* variety suggest that Mitsukuri availed himself of neither of these for the production of his revised *Bangosen*.

It is tempting to be derisive, as Hoffmann was, about the many flaws that these two works show. In accuracy and usefulness they were certainly no match for the *Dūfu* and *Edo haruma* dictionaries, which were compiled more or less around the same time. However, Morishima's original *Bangosen* must be placed within the context in which it was compiled. It is the product of a scholar who lived and worked in Edo, far from the Dutch trading post in Nagasaki. The closest Morishima Chūyrō got to meeting a real Dutchman was reading about his brother's brief sessions with the traders during their infrequent visits to the Shogun's court. Mitsukuri may have had some direct contact, but there would have been precious little time for such details as going over the correct spelling of hundreds of words. At any rate, the topic of conversation during such meetings is more likely to have been the same as the objective of learning Dutch in the first place: medicine, technology and cultural differences.

Many of the errors found here most likely had their origin at an earlier time in a different place, and had been handed down over generations, with each passing on from father to son, or from teacher to student, gaining a little more credibility, until they assumed a correctness that was quite irrelevant to the language as it was used in Holland. In this context, since both Morishima and Mitsukuri were recognised *rangaku* scholars who were at the centre of Western studies as they were conducted in Edo, these works give us interesting insights into the standards and methods of Dutch language learning at the time.

Kaisei bangosen 改正蛮語箋 (1850)

Three years after the appearance of Mitsukuri Genpo's 'Revised and enlarged *Bangosen*', a concise version of the same work was published under the name *Kaisei bangosen* 改正蛮語箋 ('Revised *Bangosen*') by Morita Goichirō 森田伍一郎 (dates

⁶⁹Hoffmann 1882: 31.

Measuring only 18cm by 7cm, it is even smaller than its already pocket-sized predecessors. Several categories were merged, and a considerable number of entries deleted. It appears that items which were either not understood or perhaps thought to be of little relevance ('daguerrotype', 'magic lantern', 'bread'), were dropped. The entire firearms category was deleted, as were the second and third sections of the 'language' category. The place names category was reduced to 35 major Asian and European entries. No attempts were made to correct any errors or inconsistencies in the *kana* renditions of the Dutch words, although some minor adjustments were made in the Japanese versions.

Although the work is based on Mitsukuri Genpo's 'Revised and Enlarged *Bangosen*', Morita deleted Mitsukuri's key improvement on the original *Bangosen*, viz., the Roman alphabet representations of the Dutch words. Instead, he added cursive *hiragana* renditions next to those in *katakana*. Since the *hiragana* renditions give exactly the same information as the *katakana*, it is difficult to understand the reason for this rather labour-intensive addition. Why anyone would want to go to the trouble of manufacturing woodblocks for a completely new publication that was so much less useful than its predecessor is unclear. It may have been a commercial decision, in response to an increasing demand for books on the West among an as-yet largely uneducated public.

Although the works presented above reflect a considerable step forward in the sophistication of Dutch vocabulary dissemination in Japan, their *iroha* sequencing severely limited their usefulness. These works, therefore, should be seen not as reference works for translation purposes, but rather as aids for vocabulary memorisation. The interpreters in Nagasaki would have been well served with this kind of listing, and no doubt this approach was influenced by their 'expertise'. Elsewhere, however, the emphasis was on reading, comprehension and translation of Dutch texts, and for this, Dutch to Japanese reference works were needed. As we shall see, once these arrived, they almost immediately generated their own demand.

3. The *Haruma* Dictionaries⁷⁰

As shown above, during the Edo period Dutch word lists and glossaries were drawn up at various times by a number of individuals. However, serious attempts at the compilation of a true Dutch-Japanese dictionary based on an existing European

⁷⁰The content of this section was previously published in the journal *Voortgang*, Vol. 22 (2004), 161-176.

work did not begin until the second half of the eighteenth century. This is not entirely surprising, since a ban on the importation of European books was in effect until 1720, and the first recorded importation of books by the Dutch did not take place until a shipment arrived from Java in 1754.⁷³ In that year the Interpreters' Guild was presented with two copies of Halma's Dutch–French dictionary, one of Marin's and a Latin–Dutch lexicon.⁷⁴

A First Attempt

Exactly how the interpreters used these dictionaries is not known,⁷⁵ but no thought of compiling a Dutch–Japanese dictionary based on them apparently occurred until the late 1760s, when interpreter Nishi Zensaburō 西善三郎 (?–1768)⁷⁶ began compiling a Dutch–Japanese dictionary based on Pieter Marin's Dutch–French dictionary *Groot Nederduitsch en Fransch Woordenboek* (1717). He did so alone and in secret, reportedly pretending that he was too ill to turn up for work.⁷⁷ Unfortunately, he died before he could complete even the letter D, and no trace of the work remains.⁷⁸

The Edo *haruma*

The next attempt at the creation of a dictionary proper occurred in Edo. There appears to be a connection between Nishi's pioneering attempt and this project. In 1792, after reading Ōtsuki Gentaku's *Rangaku kaitei* 蘭学階梯 ('Steps to Dutch Learning'), a physician of Inaba province (in the eastern part of Tottori Prefecture) called Inamura Sanpaku 稲村三伯 (1759–1811) obtained permission to take three years of leave to go and study *rangaku* at Ōtsuki Gentaku's Shirandō school in Edo. Sanpaku soon realised that he would need more than three years to learn the Dutch language, and requested that Gentaku compile a dictionary which Sanpaku would be able to use for further study after his return home. Gentaku felt that he was not qualified enough, and anyway was too busy to undertake such a project. However, Sanpaku's idea reminded

⁷³The Portuguese produced a number of printed books on the Japanese language in the early seventeenth century, and a Japanese–Portuguese dictionary appeared in 1603. However, these works were produced by and for Portuguese missionaries, and played no role in language acquisition or translation by Japanese after their banishment from Japan.

⁷⁴MacLean 1974: 14.

⁷⁵MacLean suggests that a number of biology books may still have been kept by the interpreters, which would explain their interest in a Latin dictionary (MacLean 1974: 14).

⁷⁶This was the same interpreter who dissuaded Sugita Genpaku from learning Dutch, on the grounds that it would be too difficult. See p. 23 above.

⁷⁷*Dagregister* 13 July 1767.

⁷⁸Katagiri 1985: 491.

him of a retired interpreter called Ishii Shōsuke 石井庄助 (1743-?), who had accompanied him on his way home from a study trip to Nagasaki in 1786. Ishii had told Gentaku of Nishi Zensaburō's uncompleted project, and had expressed a wish to continue with Nishi's work. Gentaku introduced Ishii to Inamura Sanpaku, and the two borrowed Gentaku's copy of Halma's *Woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Fransche Talen* (first edition, 1717)⁷⁹ and began the long task of translating it.⁸⁰ Before long, Ishii was called back for duties by his master in Shirakawa (Fukushima Prefecture), but he obtained permission to take Gentaku's Halma dictionary with him, and returned to Edo with a draft in the following year. Exactly to what extent Nishi Zensaburō's initial efforts are connected with this work is unclear. In his preface to the *Edo haruma*, as the dictionary was eventually called,⁸¹ Ōtsuki Gentaku claims to have seen Nishi's work, and tells us how Ishii had a wish to "continue with Nishi's work". This appears to imply that Ishii simply continued where Nishi had left off. However, Nishi had based his translation on Pieter Marin's dictionary, whereas the *Edo haruma* is based on that of François Halma.⁸² It would seem, therefore, that Ishii started anew with his own translation, merely taking up the idea, and perhaps employing some of Nishi's approaches and methods. Since it is not known what became of Nishi's unfinished manuscript, we do not know to what extent, if at all, Ishii relied on Nishi's translations for his entries of the first few letters of the alphabet.

⁸³

Once Ishii had completed his draft, Inamura Sanpaku, Udagawa Genshin 宇田川玄真 (1769-1834) and others proceeded with corrections and additions. Ishii's draft had contained some twenty to thirty thousand entries, but by 1796 Sanpaku and his team, often working through the night until dawn, had extended this to about eighty thousand. They then used wood-carved movable type letters to print thirty copies of the dictionary containing the Dutch entries only, and wrote in the Japanese translations by hand.⁸⁴ It must have been an enormously time-consuming task, but as a result of

⁷⁹Kerlen 1996: 86.

⁸⁰*Ran'yaku teikō*, in Numata et al. 1976: 384. See also Krieger 1940: 108-9.

⁸¹*Haruma* is a Japanese rendition of the name Halma.

⁸²The question has been asked why French-Dutch dictionaries were imported into Japan, and not a descriptive Dutch dictionary, which surely would have been more useful. The answer is that such a dictionary did not exist. The original purpose of dictionaries was to provide equivalents of words in different languages. The first proper Dutch language dictionary was the *Nederduitsch taalkundig woordenboek* by Pieter Weiland, which was published progressively in eleven volumes between 1799 and 1811.

⁸³A translation of Gentaku's preface to the *Haruma wage* can be found in Goodman 2000: 140.

⁸⁴Saitō 1985: 58.

These students and translators of Dutch texts in Japan on the threshold of the nineteenth century finally had a proper dictionary to work with.

There are two versions of the *Edo haruma* in the library of Leiden University, a partially-printed copy and a handwritten one.⁸⁵ Although they are both identified as such on their respective title pages, they have from time to time been attributed to Hendrik Doeff. The confusion seems to stem from a description provided by Von Siebold in his Latin treatise on Japan, *Isagoge*, which shows that he was under the impression that the *Edo haruma* was Doeff's work.⁸⁶ Serrurier, in his catalogue of Japanese books in the Leiden University library, copied the mistake,⁸⁷ and it has from time to time been repeated until the present day.⁸⁸

The Nagasaki *haruma* or *Dūfu haruma*

The *Edo haruma*, although it was the first of the great Dutch–Japanese dictionaries, did not quite gain the widespread acceptance that was accorded the *Nagasaki haruma*, or *Dūfu haruma* ツーフ ハルマ dictionary.⁸⁹ Hendrik Doeff (1777–1835) first arrived on Dejima in 1799 in the capacity of chief bookkeeper, and became *opperhoofd* in 1803. As a result of events in Europe the Dutch were unable to dispatch ships to Japan for an extended period, and Doeff found himself stranded on Dejima without a successor until the arrival of Jan Cock Blomhoff in 1817.⁹⁰ The lack of trading activities left him with a great deal of spare time, and he eventually embarked on the project of compiling a complete Dutch–Japanese dictionary.

In the postscript to his book *Herinneringen uit Japan* ('Memories from Japan') he describes his motivation and approach:

⁸⁵Kerlen (1992: 86) mentions only one, the handwritten copy.

⁸⁶Von Siebold 1841: 21.

⁸⁷Serrurier 1896: 20.

⁸⁸A major Dutch television documentary series marking 400 years of Dutch–Japanese relations in the year 2000 is a recent example. The same error probably led Sugimoto (1991: 88) to believe that a romanized dictionary in the Leiden collection is a manuscript from Doeff's hand (it is in fact Blomhoff's—see below), and apply this as proof that Doeff used romanized Japanese in his original manuscript, later to be transcribed into Chinese characters and *kana* by the Nagasaki interpreters. It is not known whether or not Doeff used *rōmaji* in his first draft.

⁸⁹*Dūfu* is a Japanese rendition of the name of Hendrik Doeff (the main compiler of the dictionary). Later, the work also came to be referred to as the *Dōyaku haruma* 道訳ハルマ. *Dōyaku* is a combination of the first character in the Chinese character rendition of Doeff's name, 道布 or 道富 (*Dōfu*) and a character meaning 'translation'. The title means: 'The Halma dictionary translated by Doeff.'

⁹⁰The VOC, and later the Dutch government, were responsible for the living expenses of the Dejima traders. Doeff survived his lengthy period of isolation through a combination of loans from the Japanese (Doeff 1833: 177) and frugality (*ibid.*: 70, also Numata 1992: 113–4).

The experience that the Dutch language is spoken very poorly by the Japanese interpreters, and that many words in translation are assigned an incorrect meaning, made me adopt the notion of compiling a Dictionary of both languages. I was of the opinion at the time that I had progressed sufficiently in the Japanese language to take on this labour, for which no precedent existed as yet, with good results. There were a number of booklets to assist the Dutch functionaries and interpreters, giving the most essential interpretations, but these were small and deficient. As my guide I therefore took the *Nederduitsch en Fransch Woordenboek* by François Halma.⁹¹

Doeff states that he started on his dictionary twelve years after his arrival in Japan, that is, in 1811.⁹² When he left six years later, he had completed a first draft of the work. Initially he worked on it largely on his own, but in the year before his departure he was informed that the shogun wished to obtain a copy of the work. In his introduction to the dictionary, he relates:

For the preparation of a copy for His Majesty, His Excellency the Governor of Nagasaki has appointed eleven interpreters. However, if the work were to be sent off in its present state, errors would certainly be found, which in a work of this size is unavoidable. Therefore, being of the opinion that the work needs correction, I have employed as first correctors junior interpreter Nakayama Tokujūrō and junior interpreter Yoshio Gonnosuke, the latter of whom, as the most proficient in the Dutch language among the members of the Interpreters' Guild, is indispensable to this work.

In addition to the eleven interpreters, the Dejima ward headman was also appointed to the project, because, Doeff writes:

...he had a very good understanding of the Japanese language (something which was not always the case even with the interpreters).⁹³

Although in the introduction to his dictionary Doeff makes reference to "several [other] Dutch-Japanese dictionaries", the comment in his 1833 memoirs regarding "small and deficient [...] booklets to assist the Dutch functionaries and interpreters" quoted above indicates that, while he may have heard of the *Edo haruma*, he appears at least not to have been aware of its format or scope. This is contrary to Boxer's

⁹¹Doeff 1833: 263-4. All quotes from Doeff's work are my translation. In his introduction to the *Dūfu haruma*, Doeff identifies Halma's second edition (1729) as his source.

⁹²Doeff first visited in Japan briefly in 1799, but did not begin his posting on Dejima until 1800. This has given rise to speculation that "twelve years after my arrival" indicates the year 1812. However, in the foreword to his dictionary, which is dated 1816, Doeff states that he had begun his project "5 or 6 years earlier". The two statements combined unambiguously identify 1811 as the year when Doeff began compiling his dictionary.

⁹³Doeff 1833: 264.

theory that Doeff's dictionary was based on the *Edo haruma*.⁹⁴

Unlike the *Edo haruma*, the Dutch part of which was printed, Doeff's dictionary was entirely handwritten. At the time of Doeff's departure, there were officially two copies in existence: the work itself, deposited with the Interpreters for further development, and a draft, which Doeff publicly donated to the son of the *dwarskijker* as a farewell present, in order to allay suspicions that he might attempt to smuggle a copy of his work out of the country. That, however, is exactly what he did: as the work progressed, Doeff secretly produced a second draft, which he hid among his luggage. Unfortunately, on the way home his ship sank in flames, and he lost most of his possessions, including his dictionary.⁹⁵

After Doeff's departure for Holland in 1817 the interpreters continued with the development of the work, and completed the work in 1818 or 1819, possibly with the assistance of Blomhoff.⁹⁶ At the behest of the Japanese authorities, the interpreters subsequently embarked on further corrections and additions, and finally completed the work in 1833.⁹⁷ Copies were then presented to the Shogunate, the governor of Nagasaki and the governmental bureau for translation of foreign books, the *Bansho wage goyō* 蕃書和解御用, in Edo. None of these original manuscripts of the work appears to have survived, but the work is said to have contained over 100,000 entries.

The *Dūfu haruma* was copied by hand several times, and eventually published (see below). In his autobiography, Fukuzawa Yukichi describes how he and his fellow students at the famous Tekijuku school in Osaka waited in the "Doeff room" for their turn to be allowed access to the work,⁹⁸ and relates how some *daimyō* would pay students of Dutch sixteen *mon* per page to write copies of Doeff's dictionary.⁹⁹ Doeff

⁹⁴Boxer 1950: 66.

⁹⁵Initially, following his return to Holland, Doeff made only passing mention of his dictionary in his book *Herinneringen uit Japan*. It was not until controversy arose over the authorship of his dictionary (see below) that he added a somewhat heated postscript to his book, in which he describes the reasons and circumstances of the compilation of the dictionary, offers proof of his authorship, and demands credit for his labours. The implication of this is that, although the compilation of such a work must have been a mammoth task indeed, Doeff did not at the time think that he and his assistants were doing anything that would be of much interest to anyone in Holland, certainly not as momentous as the many political and commercial events and transactions which form the main topic of his book *Herinneringen uit Japan*. Thus, Numata's claim that Doeff wrote his memoirs primarily for fear of not having his achievements as the compiler of his dictionary recognized (Numata 1992: 116) is not correct.

⁹⁶See pp. 94ff. below.

⁹⁷Koga 1966: 85.

⁹⁸Kiyooka 1966: 82. The building that housed the Tekijuku Academy in Osaka is now a museum., and a copy of the *Dūfu haruma* is on permanent display there.

⁹⁹Kiyooka 1966: 83.

had employed what he termed "vulgar Nagasaki style"¹⁰⁰ for his Japanese model *haruma* so that all the interpreters, both old and young, would be able to understand it.¹⁰¹ This style was also used in the copies and also employed in later, *haruma*-based published dictionaries. According to Sugimoto, Doeff thus unwittingly provided a major impetus to a growing trend in Japan towards unification of the written and the spoken language.¹⁰²

Numata describes the *Dūfu haruma* as "both the largest and the best Dutch-Japanese dictionary available [at the time]".¹⁰³ It remained the standard such dictionary until well into the twentieth century.¹⁰⁴ Thus, although the *Edo haruma* appeared over thirty years earlier, and was initially produced in larger numbers, it was the *Dūfu haruma* which became the staple reference work in most language schools. The reasons for this are likely to have been the larger number of entries, the inclusion of example phrases and its use of colloquial Japanese.

Some controversy surrounded Doeff's dictionary in the Netherlands. J. F. van Overmeer Fisscher (1800–1848), a clerk and subsequently warehouse master on Dejima from 1820 to 1829, chanced upon the dictionary in 1823, and spent the next six years quietly copying the entire work.¹⁰⁵ In 1825 Von Siebold praised Van Overmeer Fisscher for his single-handed work on the dictionary in a report to the Governor-General of the Dutch East-Indies. When Van Overmeer Fisscher, upon his return to the Netherlands, presented his dictionary to King William I without mentioning that he had copied it from Doeff's, Doeff was sufficiently incensed to contact the incumbent *opperhoofd* on Dejima and request a copy of the introduction to his dictionary, signed by fourteen interpreters and sealed, as proof that the work was his. This document, he stated in the epilogue to his book *Herinneringen uit Japan*, was 'available for inspection' at his home.¹⁰⁶

Hendrik Doeff died in 1835, two years after the interpreters in Nagasaki completed his dictionary, and never knew the extent of the acclaim that his work received among the students of Dutch in Japan subsequently. The postscript of his book gives

¹⁰⁰ 'In de platte Nagazakij stijl...'. Doeff, Introduction to the *Dūfu haruma* dictionary.

¹⁰¹ Doeff, Introduction to the *Dūfu haruma* dictionary.

¹⁰² Blussé et al. 2000: 125. See also p. 259 below.

¹⁰³ Numata 1992: 115.

¹⁰⁴ Goodman, along with other historians, implies that since Doeff's dictionary was not published until 1835, the *Edo haruma* was a more influential work (Goodman 2000: 141).

¹⁰⁵ Van Overmeer Fisscher 1833: 93.

¹⁰⁶ Doeff 1833: 167.

the impression of a frustrated man, angry at the attempts by others to claim credit for his dictionary and bitter at the fame and recognition Von Siebold, who was twenty years his junior, received on his return after a mere six years in Japan, while the tangible results of his own achievements lay in a shipwreck at the bottom of the Indian Ocean. Had he known that as a result of his dictionary his name was later to become a household word in *rangaku* circles, he might have died a happier man.

Since only thirty copies of the *Edo haruma* were produced, and in the case of the *Duttsu haruma* initially no more than a few handwritten copies existed, they were inaccessible to most people. In response to this problem, both works were used as the basis for a number of later published dictionaries.

Yakken

Inamura Sanpaku, who had got himself into financial difficulties through his efforts to have his dictionary printed,¹⁰⁷ eventually left Edo, and moved to Kyoto in 1806, where he taught more than a hundred students, and became a major force in the development of *rangaku* in the Osaka and Kyoto area.¹⁰⁸ One of his students, Fujibayashi Fuzan 藤林普山 (1781–1836), published a concise version of the *Edo haruma*, called *Yakken* 訳鍵 ('A Key to Translation') in 1810. Having witnessed many attempts by new students to hand-copy the *Edo haruma*, only to see them give up because of the time it took to produce a complete copy, Fuzan and a friend, a medical student called Komori Genryō 小森玄良 (1782–1843), assembled some thirty thousand entries from the *Edo haruma* into a new compilation. When they found that this new work was quite useful, they obtained permission from Inamura Sanpaku to publish their work.¹⁰⁹ Initially a hundred copies were printed, and the work was reprinted in 1824. In addition to selecting only a portion of the complete *Edo haruma* entries, Fuzan also added a considerable number of corrections to the translations and some new entries. The work contains an appendix for medical words, and a companion volume in the form of a brief treatise on the Dutch language and script and some symbols, entitled *Rangaku kei* 蘭学逕 ('A Path to Dutch Learning').

A revised version of *Yakken* appeared under the title *Kaisei zōho yakken* 改正増補訳鍵 ('Corrected and Enlarged *Yakken*') in 1860.¹¹⁰ Its editor was Hirota Kenkan 廣田憲

¹⁰⁷ Hesselink 1995: 216.

¹⁰⁸ Saito 1985: 68.

¹⁰⁹ Fujibayashi Fuzan in his foreword to *Yakken*, quoted in Numata et al. 1984: 713. For more information on Fujibayashi Fuzan, see pp. 216ff. below.

¹¹⁰ Although dated 1857, the work is not thought to have been completed until 1860 (Saito 1985: 175). This work is listed at the Waseda University Library as *Zōho kaisei yakken*.

寛政 (1818–1888), who had earlier collaborated with Sakuma Shōzan in the 1840s on the revision for publication of the *Dūfu haruma*, which was eventually published under the title *Oranda jii* (see below). Hirota in fact based many of his improvements and some nine thousand new entries on this latter work, as a result of which *Kaisei zōho yakken* is a hybrid work that can justly and uniquely claim to be based on both the great 'rival' dictionaries *Dūfu haruma* and *Edo haruma*. Unfortunately, by the time of its arrival the great switch to German, French and English had begun in earnest, and *Kaisei zōho yakken* faded into obscurity, its qualities unrecognised.

Oranda jii

The *Dūfu haruma* in turn became the basis for two further dictionaries, *Oranda jii* 和蘭字彙 ('Dutch vocabulary') and *Rango tsū* 蘭語通 ('Understanding the Dutch Language').

Oranda jii had originally been revised for publication in the 1840s by Sakuma Shōzan 佐久間象山 (1811–1864), a samurai intellectual from Shinano whose concerns about foreign invasion had brought him to the study of Dutch gunnery and military strategy, particularly coastal defence. Ironically, he was unable to get official permission for publication because the judiciary in Edo at the time was dominated by anti-foreign elements, and publication and study of Dutch materials by the public at large was discouraged.¹¹¹ It was Katsuragawa Hoshū 桂川甫周 (1827–1880), a member of an influential family of *Rangaku* scholars, who finally succeeded in obtaining official permission to publish.¹¹² The work appeared in four volumes between the years 1855–1857, during a wave of publications on the Dutch language which followed the arrival of Commander Perry's American warships off the coast of Japan in 1853.¹¹³

Although the Foreword states that the work is based on Doeff's dictionary, Sakuma also consulted Marin's dictionary for revision purposes.¹¹⁴ The presence of different writing styles and copying errors indicates that a number of people, not all of them experts, were involved in the preparation of the manuscript. For example, in some places French elements have inadvertently been included among the Dutch entries.

At least four copies of *Oranda jii* found their way to Holland. Of the three in the Leiden University collection, two look unused, but the third shows a certain amount of wear and tear, and has handwritten notes added. These notes generally concern

¹¹¹Sansom 1950: 258.

¹¹²Numata et al. 1984: 127.

¹¹³See chapter VI-1 below.

¹¹⁴Koga 1966: 87.

themselves with the readings of Chinese characters, suggesting that they have been added for the benefit of students of Japanese in the Netherlands. The works were no doubt bought with this purpose in mind. A small red stamp on one of the wrappers reveals that the purchase price was 12 *tael*.

Rango tsū

In 1857 a second publication based on the *Dūfu haruma* appeared. This work, published under the title *Rango tsū* 蘭語通, was the result of the efforts of *Rangaku* scholar Maki Bokuchū 牧穆中 (1809–1863), who had been a student of Mitsukuri Genpo.¹¹⁵ In the introduction, the compiler states that he has attempted to produce a corrected edition of the *Dūfu haruma*. Only three parts are extant, containing the entries for A–D, E–K and L–O respectively. It is not known whether a volume of entries for the remaining letters of the alphabet was ever produced.

It has been suggested that *Rango tsū* may have been combined with Sakuma's work to form Katsuragawa's publication of *Oranda jii*.¹¹⁶ However, the two works are quite different in format. Furthermore, the first volume of *Oranda jii* appeared in 1855, two years before the publication of *Rango tsū*.

In his introduction, Maki relates that he obtained the *Dūfu haruma* "from the hands of someone from Nagasaki". According to that person,¹¹⁷ this work was "a manuscript [of the dictionary] for Doeff to take back to Holland". Apparently the fact that Doeff smuggled a copy of his dictionary out of the country was by then no longer a secret, and indeed may have been known by the Japanese all along. That Maki had access to this manuscript is not altogether surprising, since his mentor, Mitsukuri Genpo, was attached to the *Bansho shirabesho*, where one of the *Dūfu haruma* manuscripts had been deposited after it was handed over to the authorities in 1833.

Basutaado jisho

In 1822, a translation of part one of L. Meijer's *Woordenschat, bevattende in drie delen, de verklaring der basterdwoorden, kunstwoorden en verouderde woorden*¹¹⁸ (12th ed. Dordrecht 1805) was published in Edo under the twin titles *Nieuwe-Gedrukt*

¹¹⁵Numata et al. 1984: 671.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.* 1984: 753.

¹¹⁷The identity of this person is not known.

¹¹⁸'A Vocabulary in Three Volumes, Containing the Explanations of Loan Words, Technical Terms and Obsolete Words'.

*Basutaardt Woorden-Boek*¹¹⁹ and *バスタード辞書 (Basutaado jisho)*. The translation was based on the first volume of Meijer's dictionary, which contained loan words. Published by the Nakatsu domain lord Okudaira Masataka, (1781–1855), (who had sponsored the publication of a Japanese–Dutch glossary called *Rango yakusen* 蘭語訳撰 some twelve years earlier),¹²⁰ this work was compiled and translated by Masataka's personal physician Ōe Shuntō 大江春塘 (1787–1844), who had studied under Maeno Ryōtaku and had spent some six or seven years studying in Nagasaki. The preface in Dutch from the hand of Masataka himself states that the work was subsequently checked and corrected by Baba Sajūrō. The Dutch in the *daimyo's* preface itself, however, is poor even by Japanese standards, and was clearly not corrected by anyone with any Dutch language expertise. The work is in two volumes and contains well over seven thousand entries. Although it has no connection with the *haruma* dictionaries, its alphabetical arrangement places it firmly within the family of proper dictionaries. Furthermore, it was based on a much more recent Dutch work than the *haruma* dictionaries had been, and there can be no doubt that it played a useful role alongside the great dictionaries in the final decades of the Edo period.¹²¹

Further dictionaries compiled by Europeans

Three other Europeans compiled dictionaries during their stay in Japan during the latter years of the Edo period: Blomhoff, Von Siebold and Van den Broek. However, there is an important difference between their work and that of their predecessors. Their motive was not to provide the interpreters with an effective tool to help them improve their performance, or to facilitate access for the Japanese to Dutch books. They compiled their dictionaries either for themselves or for the benefit of students of Japanese in the Netherlands.

Jan Cock Blomhoff (1779–1853), who succeeded Doeff as *opperhoofd* on Dejima in 1817, used the same Dutch–French dictionary by Halma that Doeff had used, to compile a forty-volume Dutch–Japanese dictionary with the Japanese entries in romanised script. Blomhoff enlisted the assistance of two young interpreters, Araki Toyokichi 荒木豊吉¹²² and Kikutani Yonezō 菊谷米蔵 for the Japanese translation.

In connection with this work too, a misunderstanding has persisted since the days of

¹¹⁹'Newly Printed Dictionary of Loan-words'.

¹²⁰See p. 188 below.

¹²¹See also Blussé et al. 2000: 126.

¹²²Toyokichi is perhaps better known as the artist of a portrait of Hendrik Doeff, which he made in 1810 or 1811 (Boxer 1950: 108–9).

Von Siebold, who reported that a dictionary by Weiland had provided the basis for Blomhoff's work.¹²³ Although this notion has been adopted by bibliographers and historians to the present,¹²⁴ on inspection it is clear that Blomhoff's source was certainly not Weiland, but either the second or the third edition (they are very similar) of Halma's Dutch–French dictionary. It seems likely that Blomhoff used the same (second edition) copy that Doeff had used, since it would have been in the permanent collection of the *opperhoofd* on Dejima. Occasional similarities in the Japanese entries indicate that the *Dūfu haruma* may also have been consulted, but Toyokichi and Yonezō clearly had their own ideas regarding many of the Japanese translations.

Blomhoff was on Dejima from 1809 to 1813 as warehouse master, and from 1817 to 1823 as *opperhoofd*. His dictionary was probably compiled during his second posting. He would have had considerably less spare time on his hands than Doeff had had during his many years of isolation from the Netherlands, and the dictionary was never completed. Nevertheless, he still managed to compile well over thirty thousand entries. One clue as to how he accomplished this lies in the work's handwriting styles. Other dictionaries in manuscript generally show that the Dutch entries were listed first, with the Japanese translations added later. Often this would be in a different hand, indicating that the tasks were divided among various collaborators. Thus, in the case of the *Dūfu haruma*, Doeff himself copied most of the Dutch entries from Halma, after which he left it to the interpreters to fill in the Japanese translations.

In Blomhoff's work, however, although two writing styles are apparent, these never occur on the same page. The Dutch and Japanese entries have clearly been written side by side by the same person. Several errors in the Dutch which are unlikely to have been made by a Dutch native suggest that the two writing styles belong to the young interpreters Toyokichi and Yonezō, and that Blomhoff's role was limited to a supervisory position.

Thanks to a short note signed by Toyokichi attached to one of the volumes we know his handwriting, and can therefore identify the sections written by him, and subsequently infer which were entered by Yonezō. Almost the entire first half of the work was written by Toyokichi, and it may be that Yonezō was not recruited until a later stage to help out. The two interpreters appear to have disagreed initially on some aspects of romanisation. Yonezō preferred to employ the letter *v* where normally the letter *f* or *h* is used before vowels in Hepburn spelling. Thus, where Toyokichi wrote *fito* for 'person' and *fune* for 'ship', Yonezō would write *vito* and *vune*

¹²³Von Siebold 1841: 22.

¹²⁴For example Kerlen 1996: 243.

respectively.¹²⁵ Later on in the work, however, Yonezō conformed to Toyokichi's spelling conventions.

The use of Dutch instructions (such as referrals to other entries) among a number of the Japanese entries suggests that it was Blomhoff's intention to provide Dutch students of the Japanese language with a romanised dictionary. Unfortunately, the market for Blomhoff's dictionary was limited. The work is stored in the library of Leiden University in an almost pristine condition, and was obviously never used to any great extent.

In addition to the attempt by Van Overmeer Fisscher to claim credit for his dictionary, Doeff experienced further anguish through rumours which were circulating to the effect that Von Siebold¹²⁶ had also compiled a Dutch and Japanese dictionary. In the foreword to his book he expresses the fear that Von Siebold too might take credit for his (Doeff's) years of work.¹²⁷ He need not have worried. Von Siebold did indeed compile a word list, but it has nothing whatsoever in common with Doeff's dictionary. In a single binding of no more than eighty-four pages he arranged his entries in the Japanese *iroha* sequence. In his *Isagoge* he describes how the work was compiled. A samurai scholar from Hizen province whom he names as 'Totoroki Buhitsiro' [*sic*] compiled an initial list of Japanese words for him, taking care to select only those words which would be of the greatest use. The "Chinese elements" (presumably the kanji) were then verified by Oka Kenkai 岡研介 (1799–1839), a Dutch-style physician from Suō province (present-day Yamaguchi Prefecture), who had travelled to Nagasaki to study at Von Siebold's Naritaki school. Finally, Von Siebold enlisted the help of interpreters Yoshio Gonnosuke and Tsūjirō, who helped him with the Dutch translation and suggested many of their own entries, which were written on small strips of paper and glued into the book at the appropriate places.¹²⁸

Von Siebold had a reputation as a conscientious and systematic scholar, but he freely mixed Dutch and German in the entries to his dictionary, suggesting that he compiled the work purely to assist him in his own private study of the Japanese language. Serrurier records this work under the title *Oranda jisho* 和蘭辞書 ('Dutch dictionary'), but no such title is visible on the work itself. It is dated Bunsei 11 (1828), the year the so-called Von Siebold Affair brought Von Siebold's many activities in Japan to an

¹²⁵Note that Ōtsuki Gentaku, in *Rangaku kaitei*, transcribed *hana* ('flower') as *vana* (see p. 132 n. 78 below).

¹²⁶Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796–1866) was a German scientist who spent several years in Nagasaki as the physician on Dejima, and established an academy for Western studies in Nagasaki.

¹²⁷Doeff, 1833: vii.

¹²⁸Von Siebold 1841: 23.

abrupt halt.¹²⁹

Finally, in 1854, J. K. van de Broek (1814–1866), who was posted on Dejima as physician from 1852 to 1857, began a series of attempts to compile a dictionary. He was assisted by interpreter Shizuki Ryōta 志筑龍太 (1802–1868),¹³⁰ who gave him a copy of Mitsukuri Genpo's glossary *Kaisei zōho bangosen* 改正增補蛮語箋.¹³¹ Van den Broek's motivation was to give himself the opportunity to communicate with Japanese authorities more directly, without the intervention of the interpreters, whose services he had come to distrust. He began with a Dutch–Japanese glossary, of which he got as far as the letter R. He appears to have used the *Dūfu haruma* as well as works on Japanese grammar by Rodriguez and Léon de Rosny as resources for this project. Later, after his departure from Japan, he seems to have changed his mind as to the format of his dictionary, and eventually produced a complete Japanese–Dutch dictionary in *iroha* sequence. Plans for publication were never realised, and Van den Broek's manuscripts were discovered in the basement of a public library in Arnhem, the Netherlands, in 2001 by historian Herman Moeshart.¹³²

While it is fair to say that the great dictionaries formed a key component of the accelerated progress that was made in the area of Dutch language studies during the first half of the nineteenth century, the issue of cause and effect is not so simple. We have seen that the first Dutch dictionaries were donated to the Interpreters' Guild in 1754. Some ten years later interpreter Nishi Zensaburō began working on his translation, but he did so without the blessing or cooperation of the Guild. Rumour of Nishi's abortive attempt reached Ōtsuki Gentaku in 1786, but it apparently did not occur to him to pursue the matter himself or set such a process in motion until Inamura Sanpaku approached him with the same idea more than six years later. Even then, the *Edo haruma* only came about because Sanpaku was faced with the prospect of having to continue his studies in his home town, that is, far removed from his mentors and others who might be able to assist him, and felt that such a dictionary would be useful to him. Doeff, on the other hand, had little awareness of, or interest in, the academic pursuits of the *Rangaku* scholars in Edo, and merely wished to fill in his abundance of spare time with something productive. He stated, as noted above, that the deficient proficiency of the interpreters' Dutch prompted

¹²⁹When Von Siebold was about to leave Japan for Java, a contraband map of Japan was found among his personal goods. He was interrogated, imprisoned, and finally expelled in January 1830. He did, however, return in 1859 and spent a further two years in Japan (Rubinger 1982: 117–8).

¹³⁰Moeshart 2003: 68.

¹³¹For a description of this work, see ch. IV–2 above.

¹³²Moeshart 2003: 193–197.

him to take on the project. Both initiatives, therefore, were born of ambitions that were fairly narrow in proportion to their outcomes.

The two great dictionaries, the *Edo haruma* and the *Dūfu haruma*, can therefore hardly be said to be the products of great vision. Both began as an initiative on a personal level, but took on a life of their own as the scale and consequences of the respective projects became apparent. In the case of the *Edo haruma* this resulted in the decision to manufacture thirty copies of the finished work. By the time news of Doeff's little enterprise reached the authorities, almost twenty years had elapsed, and *Edo haruma*'s obvious usefulness had created a demand that far exceeded availability. As a result, Doeff's dictionary became the object of a requisition order from the authorities in Edo, and a dozen people were officially assigned to its completion. Subsequent growing demand prompted the production of several handwritten copies and a number of published condensed versions. Despite their somewhat small-minded beginnings, there can be no doubt that these works contributed immeasurably to the speed and accuracy of the translations that were being produced at the time, and must be seen as a significant factor in the spread of Western knowledge in Japan in the first half of the nineteenth century.

While not entirely within the scope of the present study, it is perhaps useful to mention here the Japanese–Dutch dictionary compiled by J.J. Hoffmann (1805–1878) in Leiden. Hoffmann began working on the dictionary in 1839. He based his work in the Japanese thesaurus *Shogon jikō* 書言字考, which he rearranged in a kind of hybrid sequence that placed the vowels of the initial syllables in alphabetical order, but kept the preceding consonants in *gojūonzu* sequence. When Hepburn published his Japanese–English dictionary in 1867, Hoffmann realised that he too should have compiled his work in conventional alphabetical order, and immediately began a re-ordering. By 1875 his health had deteriorated to such an extent that his labours were transferred to Serrurier, his successor at Leiden University. The work was published in part in 1881, while a final instalment appeared in 1892.

CHAPTER IV

THE STUDY OF SCRIPT AND GRAMMAR

This chapter describes and discusses a selection of manuscripts and publications on Dutch grammar and the alphabet, produced by a variety of individuals and groups that operated largely in Edo, but also to a smaller extent in other main centres in Japan. The works have been selected either because they signalled or introduced a key transition in the development of Dutch language studies in Japan, or as a representative of some significant trend in this process.

As noted earlier, the controlled and secretive environment in which the Nagasaki interpreters conducted their Dutch language studies has resulted in a dearth of historical resources by which their methods and proficiency can be investigated.¹

On the other hand, the study of Dutch outside Nagasaki interpreter circles largely emerged after official attitudes had relaxed, and furthermore was not restricted by policies of confidentiality. As a result, there is a considerably greater amount of historical materials available pertaining to this aspect of the development of Dutch language studies. Indeed, the researcher at times suffers from overload, since during the heyday of *rangaku* studies in the first half of the nineteenth century a relatively large and undisciplined number of students were creating, translating, copying or editing a variety of works of Dutch and Japanese origin.

Although the Japanese showed an interest in Western medicine from the earliest days of the Dutch presence on Dejima, the study of these matters, particularly in the earlier years, occurred almost exclusively through the services of interpreters or retired interpreters, while the Dutch language itself remained the exclusive domain of the interpreters for a considerable time. We have already discussed the policies of the Interpreters' Guild which promoted this exclusivity. Furthermore, since access to Western books was officially prohibited until the 1720s² those few Western books

¹See Chapter III-1 above.

²MacLean reports that the first record of the importation of Dutch books is dated 1754 (MacLean 1974: 56). Although Dutch books were certainly brought into the country before this date, this was a rare occurrence, usually as a gift to the Shogun or other high-ranked person. Until the middle of the eighteenth century these works were kept and admired as exotic curiosities rather than potential sources of knowledge. Dutch traders had their belongings searched upon arrival in Japan, and written material, particularly if their contents were thought to be of a Christian nature, was routinely confiscated or held until the owner's departure from Japan. (See Bodart-Bayley 1999: 39). As a result, Western books were a rare and precious commodity in Japan, certainly before the middle of the eighteenth century.

which did find their way into Japan were held in the collections of either the Interpreters' Guild or of the Dutch traders themselves, and were generally not accessible to outsiders. Thus, while Western medicine in particular gained steadily in acceptance and popularity around the country,³ knowledge of Western medicine was initially communicated primarily as a practical art. A lack of wider access to Western books, in combination with the interpreters' code of secrecy and the 'alphabet barrier' described on p. 55 above saw to it that the study of the Dutch language itself did not receive any academic interest for more than a century after the establishment of Dutch–Japanese trade relations.

Unlike the word lists and glossaries the Nagasaki interpreters prepared and passed on within the Interpreters' Guild, the first works to provide information on the Dutch language to those outside the Guild were of a more scholarly nature, and did not provide the reader with skills to utilise the Dutch language, written or spoken, in any practical context. Arai Hakuseki's study of the Dutch language is an early example of this.⁴ The two main hurdles to achieving such practical skills were a lack of direct contact with the Dutch traders themselves and the unfamiliar nature of the Roman alphabet. During the second half of the eighteenth century, Edo *rangaku* scholars such as Maeno Ryōtaku and Ōtsuki Gentaku took steps to introduce some practical value in their works on the Dutch language by visiting Nagasaki and studying with the Nagasaki interpreters for extended periods.

However, there remained a tendency to treat Dutch as a kind of code that existed in a rarefied academic environment, to be analysed and reconstructed by collecting and assembling bits of information like a jigsaw puzzle. Thus, neither the specialised word lists of the interpreters on the one hand, nor the scholarly efforts of the *rangakusha*, preoccupied as they were with syllables and writing styles, could provide students with the key to the scientific secrets locked in the strange writing they found in Dutch books. Paradoxically, it was the scholarly approach of Shizuki Tadao, rooted as it was in his grounding as a Nagasaki-based interpreter and translator, that finally brought the practical and the theoretical together at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and gave Dutch language studies in Japan the resources it needed for a true understanding of the structures and interpretations of the Dutch language. Once his discoveries were introduced to students of *rangaku* outside the Interpreters

³Nishi Genpo (?–1684) and Narabayashi Chinzan (1648–1711) are early examples of Nagasaki interpreters who made a name for themselves as Dutch-style physicians following their retirement as interpreters. However, although both men were admired for their written and oral language skills and left translations and treatises, no extant works of either of them contain any information on European languages.

⁴See chapter III-3 above.

Guild, they had a dramatic effect on the way the Dutch language was analysed and studied.

In order to reflect this watershed in the development of Dutch language studies, this chapter is divided into three sections: 1) the works of those who attempted to explain the Dutch language before Shizuki made his discoveries; 2) Shizuki Tadao's own works on the Dutch language; and 3) the developments following the introduction of Shizuki's work to the outside world.

The works of Aoki Kon'yō 青木昆陽 (1698–1769)

The first non-interpreter Japanese scholar to make a significant contribution to Dutch language studies was Aoki Kon'yō. Although he was the only son of a fish merchant's family in Edo, Aoki was apparently so fond of study that he left his home town at age 22 to further his education in Kyoto. He was nevertheless of a practical disposition, and in 1734 attracted the attention of the authorities with a short paper on the cultivation of the sweet potato, which he thought to be a potential safeguard against famine. His wide range of interests included the world outside Japan and in time he became convinced of the usefulness of learning about the Roman alphabet.

In 1738 he asserted in a preface to a work called *Sōro zatsudan* 草廬雜談, ('Miscellaneous talks from a grass hut') that there were three kinds of writing in Holland: Dutch, Djakartan and Persian. Some time later he must have come to the realisation that this information was incorrect, because in 1740 he requested a meeting with the Dutch merchants during one of their court journeys, with the specific aim of clearing up this issue. Permission was granted immediately,⁵ and within days, on April 1 of that year, Aoki met *opperhoofd* Thomas van Rhee, physician Philip Musculus and secretary Jan Buijs in their "dilapidated, depressing inn" in Edo. This meeting probably did not last long enough to come to a significant exchange of information. In the *Dagregister* Van Rhee does not mention Aoki by name, but reports that on that day a number of Japanese paid them a visit and "asked all kinds of silly questions."⁶

Between 1740 and 1758, Aoki produced a number of manuscripts about the Dutch language.⁷ He continued with his regular meetings with the Dutch traders on the occasion of their annual visits to Edo until 1764, and asserted that much of his knowledge about Dutch came from them. However, as will be shown below, the

⁵Numata 1992: 40. Also Sippel 1972: 139.

⁶Van der Velde et al. 1992: 498.

⁷*Oranda wayaku*, *Oranda bun'yaku* and *Oranda moji ryakkō* have been transcribed in Numata et al. 1976: 11–66. For an English language description of Aoki's works, see Sippel, 1972.

amount and nature of the information he presented, as well as the kind of errors it contains, suggest that much of it in fact originated with the Nagasaki interpreters. Like Kitajima, Aoki found the interpreters most obliging when it came to supplying information on the Western writing system. Numata provides a list of interpreters who met with Aoki during the 1740s and 50s. The list includes names of interpreters who were known for their knowledge of Dutch and Western science, such as Yoshio Kōzaemon (1724–1800) and Nishi Zenzaburō.⁸

Oranda moji ōtsūji tōsho 阿蘭陀文字大通詞答書 (1740)

In 1740, the year of his first meeting with the Dutch traders in Edo, Aoki produced a work entitled *Oranda moji ōtsūji tōsho* 阿蘭陀文字大通詞答書 ('Answers from the senior interpreters regarding the Dutch script'), which presents in Roman alphabet the names of the four seasons, the four points of the compass, the words for pine tree, bamboo, grass, trees, mountains, river, and the names of the three Dutchmen he had met. Vermilion lines separate the words into the letter groupings that are equivalent to their *katakana* transcriptions, and the pronunciation of each of the independent letters and of the whole word is also shown. The pronunciation of the numerals one through ten, a hundred, a thousand and ten thousand is also given in *katakana*, although the Arabic numerals themselves are absent. In the introduction Aoki explains that after enquiring about the three kinds of writing, the Dutchmen told him that there were only two: Italian and Greek. The fact that this is exactly the same misconception that Arai Hakuseki had presented some twenty years before⁹ casts some doubts on the true source of Aoki's information.

The work closes with the names of the five interpreters who presumably supplied Aoki with the information: Namura Hachizaemon 名村八左衛門 (?–1674), Moriyama Tokudayū 森山徳太夫 (dates unknown), Nakayama Kizaemon 中山喜左衛門 (dates unknown), Yoshio Tōsaburō 吉雄藤三郎 (dates unknown) and Kafuku Kizō 加福喜藏 (dates unknown). The names of all five interpreters appear on the list of *Edoban tsūji* (江戸番通詞, senior interpreters who accompanied the Dutch *opperhoofd* on his annual visit to the shogun in Edo) in the first half of the eighteenth century. Aoki never visited Nagasaki, and it is clear that he approached these interpreters in Edo, when they accompanied the Dutch merchants on their annual visit to the court.

Oranda moji ryakkō 和蘭文字略考 (1742–46)

It is clear that although Aoki diligently kept up his annual encounters with the

⁸Numata 1992: 49.

⁹See p. 43 above.

Dutch traders and their interpreters, he made little real progress in his attempts to fulfil his ambition to read Dutch books. His earlier works contain much useful information, and were to provide later scholars with a key introduction to the Dutch writing system. *Oranda moji ryakkō* 和蘭文字略考 ('Some brief thoughts on Dutch writing'), a work he wrote around 1742, but had to rewrite in 1746 after the original manuscript was destroyed in a house fire, presents the first elaborate and useful summary of the Western writing system that was accessible to students of Dutch outside the Interpreters' Guild. It shows the complete alphabet in three different styles (Roman, Gothic and handwritten script), accompanied by explanations of how the individual letters are pronounced, and how they are to be formed into words. Aoki's approach here is quite similar to that presented by interpreter Motoki Ryōei in his *Wage reigon* 和解例言, which appeared some fifty years later.¹⁰

This is followed by a transcription in both Roman letters and in *katakana* of some 185 two-, three- and four-letter combinations of one syllable. These are arranged in alphabetical order rather than any traditional Japanese sequence. Although Aoki went to great pains to equate individual letters of the Roman alphabet with approximate representations in *kana*, he refrained from presenting the *gojūonzu* system itself in the alphabet. That approach did not come about until Maeno Ryōtaku's *Ran'yakusen* in 1771.¹¹

The work also contains a collection of some 700 words, loosely categorised by meaning and

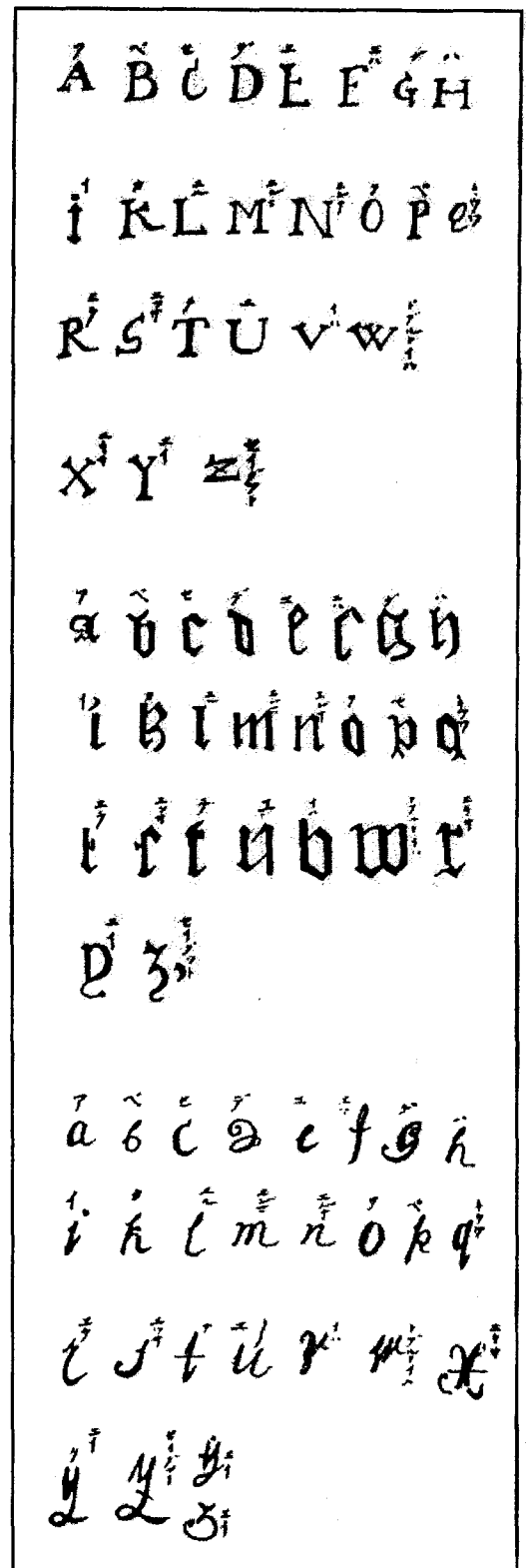


Fig. 4
The three alphabets in Aoki's
Oranda moji ryakkō

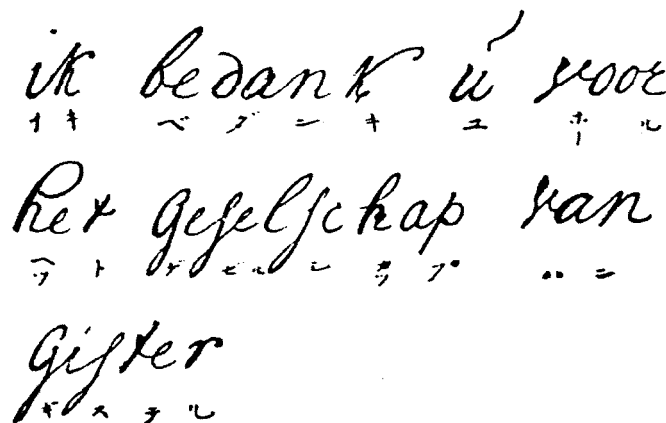
¹⁰See p. 36 above.

¹¹See p. 110 below.

provided with careful and accurate translations and *katakana* transcriptions, much in the same way as had been presented in *Oranda moji daitsūji tōsho*. However, while the words in *Oranda moji daitsūji tōsho* were quite likely chosen by Aoki and translated for him by interpreters in Edo, the inclusion in *Oranda moji ryakkō* of many words relating to trading goods, anatomy and medicine seems to indicate that some of them were contributed by a Nagasaki source. Aoki furthermore warns the reader in his introduction that the second and third parts of the list are to be perused with due consideration for the fact that they contain "Nagasaki words", that is, words in the Nagasaki dialect. Finally, the diary of the highly respected Edo *machi bugyō* 町奉行 (magistrate) Ōoka Tadasuke 大岡忠相 (1677–1751), through whom Aoki submitted his findings on Dutch to the shogun, quotes Aoki as telling him that he was able to complete *Oranda moji ryakkō* thanks to "information sent from Nagasaki."¹² Most of the material contained in this work is almost certainly copied from an interpreter's glossary.

Oranda wayaku 和蘭話訳 (1743), *Oranda wayaku kōshū* 和蘭話訳後集 (1744) and *Oranda sakuragi ikkaku setsu* 和蘭桜木一角説 (1746)

Oranda wayaku 和蘭話訳 ('Translations from Dutch', 1743), *Oranda wayaku kōshū* 和蘭話訳後集 ('Translations from Dutch, later collection', 1744) and *Oranda sakuragi ikkaku setsu* 和蘭桜木一角説 ('Treatise on the Dutch cherry tree and the unicorn',¹³ 1746) contain examples of complete Dutch sentences with *katakana* pronunciation guides and translations.



ik bedank u voor
イキ ベダク ユ ヴォー

Het gezelschap van
ヘト ゲゼルスチャップ ヴァン

gister
ギスター

Fig. 5

A phrase from Aoki Kon'yō's *Oranda wayaku* (1743). Note the relatively accomplished handwriting, compared with that in the later *Oranda bun'yaku* (see fig. 6).

¹²Sippel 1972: 141.

¹³The word *ikkaku* 一角 was used variously to indicate the unicorn or the narwhal, and the word narwhal is sometimes used in English translations of the title of this work. Aoki, however, was discussing the legendary unicorn. He even went so far as to express his doubts regarding rumours that described the unicorn as a "one-horned fish of the northern sea" (Sippel 1972: 161).

On 23 March 1743 the *Dagregister* again notes that “Shogunal student [Aoki] Bunzō came to ask me some silly questions. For example, he asked what kind of compliments Dutchmen exchange on all kinds of occasions.”¹⁴ The five phrases recorded in *Oranda wayaku kōshū* certainly fit this description, while the relative accuracy of grammar and spelling as well as the authentic handwriting also indicate that the phrases were obtained directly from the Dutchmen:

ik ga uijt om bloemen te kijken (‘I am going out to look at some flowers’)

Gister was het mooi weer maar vandaag regenachtig weer (‘Yesterday the weather was fine, but today the weather is rainy’)

ik bedank uE voor de moeite die uE genomen heeft van soo ver te komen (‘I thank you for the trouble you have taken to come from such a distance’)

ik bedank u voor het geselschap van gister (I thank you for your company of yesterday’)

Aoki's approach to presenting translations was twofold. A phrase was divided into individual sections and, where possible, these sections were translated individually. Elements which could not be rendered directly into Japanese, such as auxiliary verbs and articles, were simply indicated as *joshi* 助詞, ‘auxiliary words’. This rendition of the individual elements was then followed by an analysis and a translation of the complete phrase. In the following example from *Oranda wayaku*, the *katakana* pronunciation aids are represented in SMALL SIZE UPPERCASE:

I KI BE DA N KI YU HOORU HETTO GEZE RU SHI KAPPU HA N GISUTERU
*ik bedank u voor het geselschap van gister*¹⁵

This is followed by an analysis of the phrase:

IKI means ‘I’, BEDANKI means ‘grateful’, and YU means ‘you’. YU is a polite word.¹⁶
HOORU is an auxiliary word. HETTO is an auxiliary word. GEZERUSUKAPPU is ‘hospitality’.
HAN is an auxiliary word. GISUTERU means ‘yesterday’. This means ‘I am grateful for your hospitality of yesterday’.

Although it is clear that Aoki had no real understanding of the structure of the Dutch language, there are nonetheless indications of Aoki's ambition, initially at least, with regard to Dutch language study, that contradict the assertion that his interest in Dutch was mainly focused on writing systems.¹⁷

Oranda wayaku kōshū, a brief manuscript dated a year later, presents four phrases that appear to have been chosen for their practical application in the context of

¹⁴Blussé et al. 2004: 38.

¹⁵I thank you for your company yesterday.’

¹⁶This refers to the honorific nature of the pronoun *U*, in contrast to the familiar *jij*.

¹⁷Sippel 1972: 153.

Aoki's encounters with the Dutch traders. In its introductory remarks Aoki complains that he had been unable to speak to the Dutchmen at any length because they had arrived in Edo late.¹⁸ All he could do, he states, was to record four phrases as he heard them:

Ik heb uw lange niet gesien dogt is mijn lief dat nog gezond sijt (I have not seen you for a long time, but it gives me pleasure that [you] are still well.)

Voor 't gedaen geschenk bedank u (For the given present [I] thank you.)

bedank uw voor de aenkomst en versoek langer met uw te spreken ([I] am grateful for your arrival, and request to speak with you longer.)

ik heb uw de eerste keer gesien dog versoek met mijn vrundschap welt houden (I saw you [for] the first time, but [I] request [that you] would maintain a friendship with me.)

However, the errors in them, particularly the missing pronouns, betray a Japanese way of thinking, and is characteristic of the Dutch produced by Nagasaki interpreters. In his introduction to *Oranda wayaku*, Aoki states that he is unable to write down what the Dutchmen tell him during their meetings. That he nevertheless presents in his manuscripts complete alphabets with their pronunciations as well as complete Dutch sentences together with correct translations and details about their pronunciation can therefore only be the result of cooperation with interpreters. The topics addressed in the model phrases furthermore suggest that these were supplied to Aoki by the interpreters in preparation for one of his meetings with the Dutch. It is possible that he exaggerated the role his meetings with the Dutchmen played in his studies in order to safeguard their continuation.

The *Oranda bun'yaku* 和蘭文訳 series (1749–1758)

Aoki's *Oranda bun'yaku* 和蘭文訳 ('Translations of Dutch words') is a series of ten manuscripts he produced annually between the years 1749 and 1758. These works show that his ambitions with regard to the Dutch language did not come to fruition. *Oranda bun'yaku* contains some eight hundred Dutch words in alphabetical order, with Japanese translations and *katakana* transcriptions.

Most of *Oranda bun'yaku* is based on a collection of vocabulary lists which appeared in Chapter 2 of a work called *Oprecht Onderwijs van de Letter-konst* ('True Instruction in Literacy'), a textbook for Dutch primary schools by B. Hakvoord (1727). This work, one section of which presents Dutch words of gradually increasing length,

¹⁸The *Dagregister* corroborates this, explaining that the party had experienced difficulty crossing the Hakone Mountains (Blussé et al. 2004: 54).

was the source of Aoki's word lists.¹⁹ Since the annual stays of the interpreters in Edo were too short to afford them time to compile accurate translations, it appears that this was done beforehand, in Nagasaki. Katagiri notes that Aoki's remarks in *Oranda wayaku* make reference to another, unidentified work in addition to Hakvoord, and suggests that this may have been an interpreter's manuscript.²⁰ Aoki's handwriting and spelling errors also indicate that he was copying someone else's handwritten text, rather than independently copying Hakvoord's printed letters (see fig. x). If this was indeed the case, then not Aoki, but one or more anonymous Nagasaki interpreters would have to be seen as the true author(s) of *Oranda bun'yaku*.

Fig. 6

A phrase from *Oranda bun'yaku* part III (1751). It reads: *nu volgt een andel [sic] a,b,c. woorden met drie lettergrepen*. ('Now follows a different abc. Words with three syllables'). Aoki is unlikely to have substituted the *l* for an *r* if he was copying directly from Hakvoord. Note also the uncoordinated script in comparison with the phrase shown in fig 5 above, written eight years earlier.

With the exception of the short introductory phrases copied directly from Hakvoord, examples of Dutch word combinations or phrases no longer appear. The final three annual instalments of this work are considerably shorter than the earlier ones: volume 8 contains only twelve words, volume 9 six words, while volume 10 is a slightly altered version of the first volume. Furthermore, the handwriting becomes progressively less accurate. In the end, not even a *katakana* transcription of pronunciation is provided.

Aoki continued his annual meetings with the Dutch traders and their interpreters until 1764, but he did not produce any written results of these meetings after 1758. It may be that he became discouraged, and simply gave up his efforts to master Dutch

¹⁹Katagiri 1985: 566.

²⁰Ibid. 1985: 576.

literacy. Another possibility is that the interpreters, having faithfully brought Aoki fresh information every year for more than fifteen years, realised that Aoki was not able to make any real progress, and simply ceased to provide him with access to their word lists and expertise.

It seems tragic that despite his practical background and the promising beginnings of his Dutch language studies, Aoki was unable to put his efforts to learn Dutch to any real use for himself. His work, furthermore, was never published or widely copied, and its content contributed little to the development of Dutch language studies in Edo at the time. Nevertheless it provided Japanese scholars with a major stepping stone towards the possibility of Western studies independent from the interpreters. His records offered Edo scholars a first introduction to some of the vital writing skills the interpreters had acquired over the first hundred years of Dutch presence in Nagasaki. Aoki thus provided an inspiration to those who followed, and foremost among these was Maeno Ryōtaku.

Maeno Ryōtaku 前野良沢 (1723–1803)

Where Aoki Kon'yō faltered, Maeno Ryōtaku picked up the thread of Dutch language studies in Edo. The adopted son of a Kyūshū physician, Maeno was himself already an accomplished doctor of Chinese medicine and in his forties when he decided to dedicate himself seriously to the study of the Dutch language. In the introduction to his first work on the Dutch language, *Ran'yakusen* 蘭訳筌 ('A Collection of Dutch Translations',²¹ 1771) he describes how this came about:

When I was young, I obtained a fragment from a Dutch book from a person from my *han* called Saka Kōō 坂江[△]. That was the first time I saw the script of that country. After that, I read Aoki Kon'yō's *Oranda wayaku*, and learned a little of the language. Then, in the year 1769²² I was ordered to go to Nagasaki. There I studied Western medicine under interpreters Yoshio Kōzaemon and Narabayashi Eizaemon, and learned from them the words in this work. The following year, after my return to Edo, I selected a book on the Dutch language by the Dutch author Pieter Marin, and examined it.

To what extent Maeno mastered the Dutch language has been a subject of discussion among historians, but his place among the pioneers of Dutch language studies in Edo is beyond doubt. He is perhaps best known for his role in Sugita Genpaku's famous *Kaitai shinsho* 解体親書, which was a 1771 translation of a Dutch language anatomical text. Maeno's name does not appear in the list of contributors to this work, and it is widely thought that this was because he believed the translation to be

²¹Lit.: "A Fish Trap for Dutch Translation". See p. 107 below.

²²Because of an error in the year mentioned in the manuscript there has been some discussion regarding the year Maeno visited Nagasaki. However, 1769 is now generally accepted as the correct year (See Numata 1989: 70, n. 19).

of an unacceptable standard and did not want to be associated with it. While it is true that the translation of *Kaitai shinsho* was of a poor quality and was later extensively revised, *Kaitai shinsho* nevertheless represents a milestone, in that it was the first major Dutch–Japanese translation accomplished by individuals outside the confines of the Interpreters Guild, and as such attracted considerable attention and lent a certain degree of respectability to 'barbarian' medicine in Japan in the face of Confucianist distrust. The painstaking translation process is described at length in Sugita Genpaku's book *Rangaku kotohajime* 蘭学事始 ('The Beginnings of Dutch Learning', 1815), and is perhaps the single best-known event in *rangaku* history among the Japanese today.

Maeno Ryōtaku wrote some thirty works on various topics concerning Western learning.²³ Although no original manuscripts of his works on the Dutch language appear to have survived, his work lives on in a variety of copies and revisions, or is cited in works by later *rangaku* scholars. Sugimoto lists the following eight manuscripts on the Dutch language as having been attributed entirely, indirectly, or in part to Maeno:²⁴

Jigaku shōsei 字学小成 ('A Concise Study of Letters', approx. 1785)

Oranda yakusen 和蘭訳筌 ('A Fish Trap for Dutch Translation' 1785)

Rango zuihitsu 蘭語随筆 ('Random Notes on the Dutch Language', 1787)

Ran'yakusen 蘭訳筌 ('A Fish Trap for Dutch Translation', 1771)

Oranda tenreikō 和蘭点例考 ('On Dutch Punctuation')

Oranda tengareikōho 和蘭点画例考補 (n.d.)

Shishimitsū 思思未通 (n.d.)

Oranda yakubun ryaku 和蘭訳文略 (1771 or 1772)

These appear to be based on three original studies, which dealt with i) the Western alphabet, how it relates to Japanese *kana*, and the formation of Dutch words, ii) the proper pronunciation of the Dutch alphabet, and iii) Western punctuation respectively.

At first glance, Maeno's work on the Dutch language shows a number of similarities to Aoki's. Both men devoted most of their attention to the Western alphabet and the formation of syllables and words. However, Maeno very quickly surpassed his predecessor in expertise, and, unlike Aoki, put his knowledge to practical use with the study and translation of Dutch texts on a wide variety of topics. Furthermore, some important distinctions can be made both in approach and content. In the first place it does not appear that Maeno relied to any great extent, if at all, on Aoki's

²³Numata et al. 1984: 670.

²⁴Sugimoto 1977: 175.

work as a resource. Rather, there appears to be a common ancestry linking the linguistic work of these two authors. Since this source can only have been the interpreters and, to a lesser extent, the Dutch traders, the work of Aoki Konyō and Maeno Ryōtaku tells us much about the materials and methods used by the Nagasaki interpreters around the middle of the eighteenth century.

There was, however, also a fundamental difference in the way Maeno presented his knowledge. We return to his introduction to *Ran'yakusen*:

People in Holland refer to their script as RETTERU.²⁵ There are 25 of these, and this script is called the ABC. The letters are used in groups of two or three, which equate with a vocal sound. Their names are as follows:

A	BE	SE	DE	E
EFU	GE	HA	I	KA
ERU	EMU	ENA	WO	PE
KYUWA	ERA	E ^{*26}	TE	YU
YUWA	DOBURUTO YUWA	EKISU	EI	SE-DATO ²⁷

Letters are easy to memorize when they are put into groups of five and recited aloud. There are several kinds of letters. I have selected the most common of these and present them as categories in this volume. Letters that are grouped in vocal sounds are called SEIRABU.²⁸ The way these express vocal sounds is more or less the same as is the case with the *hansetsu* system.²⁹ It is in some cases difficult to express these sound groups by means of *kana*. Since beginning students will not be able to understand this easily, the [Japanese] fifty sounds of *kana* are used to represent these [Western letters]. Even though some of these are not entirely accurate, by applying them provisionally it will be possible to come to a rough understanding of the scheme. It is just like catching fish in a fish trap.³⁰

Thus, Maeno gives students and teachers practical hints for the best way to memorise the Dutch script. Where Aoki Kon'yō simply recorded what he had discovered about the Dutch writing system for posterity, Maeno wrote his texts with the specific aim of facilitating the study of the language by others. He recommends that beginning students 'temporarily' borrow the approximate *kana* representation in order to learn the sounds of the alphabet, until the true sounds can be mastered.

Maeno is confronted with two separate problems here. There is in the first place, of

²⁵RETTERU is a *katakana* rendition of the word 'letter'.

²⁶The manuscript is damaged here, rendering the second character illegible. Since both A and U are applied to final consonants, it is not clear whether the missing mora was a SA or a SU.

²⁷In order to give the reader an impression of the difficulties arising when representing Dutch sounds in *kana*, Maeno's alphabet is presented here in Hepburn romanisation.

²⁸'Syllabe'.

²⁹*Hansetsu* (反切): see below.

³⁰This is a reference to the manuscript's title.

course, the obvious problem of accurate Dutch pronunciation, difficult enough for native speakers of Japanese to master even with direct access to examples by native speakers of Dutch, and impossible to convey accurately through *kana* representation. However, the second and more serious issue, already mentioned in chapter III-2 above is the difference between the alphabetic system of writing employed for Dutch and the syllabic system for Japanese, viz. *kana*. While the individual letters of the alphabet each represent a consonant, vowel, or semi-vowel, individual *kana* each represent a short syllable of Japanese, this being most commonly a consonant-vowel combination. In other words, in *kana* script consonant-vowel combinations are not broken down into smaller discrete units of consonant and vowel.

Maeno identifies this as a problem for all Japanese beginning students of Western script, and goes to some lengths in order to help his students overcome this difficulty. In the passage quoted above, Maeno makes a parallel between the division of Dutch syllables into consonants and vowels and the division of syllables into initial and final elements through the *hansetsu* 反切 (Ch. *fan ch'ieh*) method, which was used in China and Japan as a way of representing in writing the pronunciation of a given character by means of two other common characters. The initial consonant of the first character and the post-initial sound features of the second combine to represent the pronunciation of the character that is the subject of annotation.³¹ In *Oranda yakusen* 和蘭訳筌 (1785) Maeno elaborates:

The way of using the letters is: out of the aforementioned twenty-six³² letters, the six letters *a, e, i, o, u* and *ij* as well as the combination *oe* are used, by attaching them to the right of the remaining twenty letters, to make syllables according to the vowel sounds. In other words, it is the *hansetsu* system.³³

In *Oranda yakubun ryaku* 和蘭訳文略 (not dated; thought to have been written in the early 1770s).³⁴ Maeno cites the example of a Sanskrit syllabary called *Shittan* (悉曇), which had been introduced into Japan in the eighth century, and which is thought to have been an influence on the formation of the *gojūonzu*, the 'table of fifty syllables'. Unlike *kana*, however, *Shittan* does include discrete vowels and consonants. It is referred to by Maeno as follows:

Although the origins of what we term the syllabic chart in our country are unknown, this system is largely derived from *Shittan*. [The vowels] *a-i-u-e-o* are 能 sounds, while *ka, sa* and the like are 所 sounds. The significance of this

³¹In Chinese, the second character also indicates the tone of the annotated character. See also Taylor (1995): 83. See also Interpreters chapter: Motoki Ryōei.

³²In the earlier *Ran'yakusen*, Maeno referred to the twenty-five letters of the alphabet (see p. 110 above). Here, he added the letter *j*, which originally was not part of the alphabet.

³³Numata et al. 1976: 106

³⁴Ibid. 1984: 144.

must be understood first and foremost.³⁵

By means of a Buddhist concept of duality,³⁶ the five *kana* representing vowels are thus distinguished from the rest of the syllabary.

Concepts such as *hansetsu*, *Shittan* and *nōjo* would have been known only to well-educated Japanese at the time, and their application in these works suggests that Maeno was aiming his work at an educated audience. Nevertheless, his presentation shows that he was clearly concerned with the acquisition of practical language skills. In the passage from *Ran'yakusen* quoted above, he proposes the learning of the alphabet in small groups of letters equivalent to the various *kana*. In the same work he also presents the *gojūonzu*, a table presenting a systematic listing of the full range of *kana* signs (except for that of the syllabic nasal ん), accompanied by what he perceived to be their closest Dutch equivalents:³⁷

ワ(WA) ラ(RA) ヤ(YA) マ(MA) ハ(HA) ナ(NA) タ(TA) サ(SA) カ(KA) ア(A)
wa ra ja ma fa na ta sa ka a

イ(I) リ(RI) ヰ(YI) ミ(MI) ヒ(HI) ニ(NI) チ(CHI) シ(SHI) キ(KI) イ(I)
wi ri ji mi fi ni ti si ki i

ウ(U) ル(RU) ュ(YU) ム(MU) フ(FU) ヌ(NU) ツ(TSU) ス(SU) ク(KU) ウ(U)
woe loe ju moe foe noe toe soe koe u oe

エ(WE) レ(RE) エ(YE) メ(ME) ヘ(HE) ネ(NE) テ(TE) セ(SE) ケ(KE) エ(WE)
we re je me he ne te se ke e

オ(O) ロ(RO) ヨ(YO) モ(MO) ホ(HO) ノ(NO) ト(TO) ソ(SO) コ(KO) ヲ(WO)
wo ro jo mo fo no to so ko o

³⁵Ibid. 1976: 106.

³⁶This refers to the Buddhist concept of *nōjo* 能所, in which the character 能 represents the subject, and 所 the object of an action. See also Chapter IV-2 above.

³⁷The Hepburn readings in the brackets in this table do not appear in the original document. They have been added here for the benefit of those not familiar with *kana*.

pa パ(PA)	ba バ(BA)	da ダ(DA)	za ザ(ZA)	ga ガ(GA)
pi ピ(PI)	bi ビ(BI)	di チ(DI)	zi ジ(JI)	gi キ(KI)
poe フ(PU)	boe ブ(BU)	doe ツ(ZU)	zoe ス(ZU)	goe グ(GU)
pe ペ(PE)	be ベ(BE)	de テ(DE)	ze ゼ(ZE)	ge ケ(GE)
po ポ(PO)	bo ボ(BO)	do ド(DO)	zo ヲ(ZO)	go コ(GO)

The fact that the earlier scholar Aoki Kon'yō had not attempted a simple presentation of the *gojūonzu* may seem at first glance difficult to understand, since expressing syllables in terms of vowels and consonants is bound to produce more accurate results than the reverse does. However, it must be remembered that Aoki's aim had been to interpret Western writing systems from a Japanese perspective. Maeno's table, shown immediately above, works in the opposite direction, that is, it expresses the *kana* system in the alphabet.³⁸ This approach does not come without its problems, not the least of which is that it does not include all the letters of the alphabet: the letters *c, h, q, r, v, x* and *y* (or *ij*) are absent. Nevertheless, as Maeno points out, his list provides elementary students with a basic grasp of the Western writing system. His didactic approach contrasts with Aoki's scholarly drive for completeness.

Several years later Maeno attempted to redress the shortcomings in *Ran'yakusen* in an improved and expanded version of the work, called *Oranda yakusen* 和蘭訳筌 (1785). Here again, Maeno devotes considerable attention to the task of representing the Western alphabet in Japanese script. It contains a diagram similar to the one in *Ran'yakusen*; however, an effort is made in the later work to include those Roman letters which had been excluded earlier. Maeno presents an ingenious table that manages to deal with the problems presented by the letters *c, h, v, f, l* and *r*.³⁹ The letter *c* variously appears in the *s* and *k* columns depending on the following vowel. The letters *h* and *v* are presented in the column for *f*. A single column also deals with *l* and *r*, with the added reminder that *r* is to be pronounced with the tongue 'rolled up' (卷舌). A distinction is made between the Dutch consonants *u* and *oe*, which had been presented as identical in pronunciation previously: here they are rendered as コ (yu) and ウ (u) respectively). The vowels are presented not in the traditional Japanese order of *a i u e o*, as they had been in *Ran'yakusen*, but in a sequence that follows the order of their appearance in the alphabet: *a e i o u*, with *oe* and *y* added as extra

³⁸The Jesuit missionary João Rodrigues (1561–1634), who spent many years in Japan and attained great fluency in Japanese, also produced a representation of the *Gojūonzu* as well as a rendition of the *Iroha* poem in the Western alphabet (Cooper, 1965: 179). For a European this was of course an obvious way of recording the sounds of the Japanese syllabary. Unfortunately, following the expulsion of the Portuguese from Japan, their Japanese studies left with them, and had no influence on the struggles of the *rangakusha* to come to grips with vowels and consonants.

³⁹See figs. 7 and 8 below.

vowels. The combination *sch* and the letter *x* are presented separately outside the diagram, making the presentation of the letters of the alphabet complete. Maeno thus reverted to a sequence of the letters much like the one Aoki had presented.

	K	S	T	N	H	F	V	M	J
A	ka ou	sa	ta	na	ka	ka	wa	ma	ja
e	ke	se	te	ne	ke	ke	ve	me	je
i	ki	si	ti	ni	ki	ki	vi	mi	ji
o	ko	so	to	no	ko	ko	vo	mo	jo
oe	ko oe	soe	toe	noe	ko	ko	voe	mo	jo
u	ku	su	tu	nu	ku	ku	vu	mu	ju
y	ky	sy	ty	ny	ky	ky	vy	my	jy
	ka	sa	ta	na		ka		ma	

Z	R	W	G	Z	D	B	P	2u KW の pha kwa
う	卷 舌	ワ	ガ	サ	タ	...	...
ka	ka	wa	ga	za	da	ba	pa	
レ		エ	セ	テ	...	...	...	エ の kwa
ke	ke	we	ge	ze	de	be	pe	
リ		イ	シ	チ	...	...	...	イ の
ki	ki	wi	gi	zi	di	bi	pi	イ の
ロ		ウ	コ	ソ	...	...	...	ウ の kwa
ko	ko	wo	go	zo	do	bo	po	
ル		ク	ク	...	...	...	...	ク の kwa
ke	ke	wke	ge	ze	de	be	pe	
エ		ク	...	...	...	...	...	ク の kwa
ke	ke	wke	ge	ze	de	be	pe	
イ		...	...	...	...	...	...	イ の kwa
ky	ky	wky	gy	zy	dy	by	py	
...

Figs. 7 & 8

The alphabet as presented in Maeno Ryōtaku's *Oranda yakusen* (1785).

Addressing the problem of Dutch words ending in consonants, Maeno added the following as possible equivalents.⁴⁰

ク (KU)	for k
ス (SU)	for s
ト (TO)	for t
ン (N)	for n
フ (FU)	for f
ム (MU)	for m
ル (RU)	for l and r
ウ/ユ (U/YU)	for w and uw
グ (GU)	for g
ズ (ZU)	for z
ド (DO)	for d
ブ (BU)	for b
プ (PU)	for p

That he thought some Roman letters could also be utilised, conversely, to represent syllables involving silent and contracted vowels in Japanese is demonstrated by his subsequent rendition of two well-known Japanese poems in Roman letters, as an aid to memorisation for beginning students. The text that introduces them is written in groups of letters which would equate with a *kana* each, in easy-to-distinguish block letters:

Ja ma to woe ta
Na ni wa z A sa ka ja ma
no
*Foe ta woe ta*⁴¹

⁴⁰The readings of the *kana* are shown in parentheses in Hepburn romanisation.

⁴¹大和歌・難波津・浅香山の二歌: *Yamato-uta. Naniwazu, Asakayama no futa-uta*, 'Poems of Japan. The two poems Naniwazu and Asakayama'.

Then the two poems themselves are presented, this time in a cursive script:

*Naniwazoeni Sackja Kono Fana foeju
Gomoli imawa Falbet Sakoeja Kono Fana*

*Asakajamaka gesaje mijul
Jamano Jno asakoe wa Fito wo Omoo
mono kana⁴²*

There is no indication that Maeno was of the opinion that the Japanese writing system should be replaced with the Western alphabet, and the rendition of these poems in Roman lettering should be seen as an attempt to provide students with a convenient mnemonic for the memorisation of the alphabet. Representing Japanese texts in this way, however, highlighted the inconsistencies that existed in *kana* orthography at the time (and to some extent still exist today). In particular, Maeno addresses the problem of Japanese auxiliary particles and suffixes (the so-called *te-ni-o-ha*) in the second volume of *Oranda yakusen*:⁴³

は・ひ・ふ・へ・ほ (where they occur as auxiliaries between words or as suffixes) become *Wa, I, Woe or O, Je, Wo or O* [respectively].

This practical, pronunciation-based solution is applied in the representation in the poems of the particle は (*ha*) as *wa*, and the rendition of 思ふ (*omofu*) as *omoo* in the poems. The inconsistencies in the renditions of く (さく *saku* appears as both *Sack* and *Sakoe*) and づ *zu* (なにわづ *Naniwazu* is transcribed both as *Na ni wa z* and as *Naniwazu*) remain unexplained, but may have been an attempt to show the possible alternative renditions.

Although Maeno Ryōtaku can thus be credited with the introduction of the Dutch writing system to a wider audience in Japan, he produced or developed little in the areas of vocabulary and language structure. *Oranda yakusen* does contain a list of Dutch words, but the aims and structure of the work (for example, *kana* renditions and Japanese translations of these words are presented in a different location in the manuscript, well removed from the Dutch words) indicate that these were included as a resource for literacy training rather than for reference.

Dutch phrases do make an appearance in Maeno's work, notably in *Ran'yakusen*,

⁴²These two poems, known as *Naniwazu* and *Asakagawa* respectively, have been widely used in Japan for calligraphy practice for centuries (Keene, 1993: 238).

⁴³Numata et al. 1976: 107.

hich concludes with a collection of 17 short Dutch phrases, and *Oranda yakusen*, which contains 25, several of which are identical to those in *Ran'yakusen*. A number of these are borrowed from Pieter Marin's *Nouvelle metode [sic] pour apprendre les principes & l'usage des langues Françoise et Hollandoise* (comp fig. 9).

Yk [sic]⁴⁴ wensch u goeden dag myn heer. ('I wish you a good day, sir.')

Ik ben u dienaar. ('I am your servant.')

Hoe vaart gy al? ('How are you?')

Vaar al wel, god danke. ('[I] [sic] am well, thank god.')

SAMENSPRAAKEN. 143	
BEKNOPTE EN LEERZAAME	
SAMENSPRAAKEN	
Over allerhande Stoffen.	
DIALOGUE.	EERSTE
PREMIER.	SAMENSPRAAK.
JE vous souhaite le bon jour, Monsieur.	IK wensch u goeden dag, myn Heer.
Je suis v ^o tre Serviteur.	Ik ben uw Dienaar.
Comment vous portez vous?	Hoe vaart gy al?
Je me porte bien', Dieu merci.	Ik vaar al wel, God dank.
J'en suis bien aise.	't Is my zeer lief.
Où allez vous?	Waar gaat gy na toe?
Je m'en vais chez Monsieur P.	Ik gaan na myn Heer P.
Où demeure-t-il?	Waar woond hy?
Dans la Rue Neuve.	In de Nieuwe-straat.
Que fait-il?	Wat doet hy?
C'est un Marchand.	't Is een Koopman.
J'ai l'honneur de le connoître.	Ik heb de eer van hem te kennen.
C'est un fort honnête homme.	't Is een zeer eerlyk Man.
Faites lui mes Reuefemains, s'il vous plait.	Doet hem myn Gebiedenis, als 't u beliefd.
Je n'y manquerai pas.	Ik zal 't niet vergetten.
Vous m'obligerez beaucoup.	Gy zult my veel verplichten.
Quelles Nouvelles?	Wat Nieuws?
J'en'ai rien appris.	Ik heb niets gehoord.

Ayca

Fig. 9.

P. Marin, *Nouvelle metode pour apprendre les principes & l'usage des langues Françoise et Hollandoise*, p. 143.

⁴⁴The capital I has been misread as a Y here.

In *Ran'yakusen* these phrases are accompanied by *katakana* glosses, translations of individual words and an interpretation of each entire phrase. Like Aoki Kon'yō before him, Maeno grouped together under the designation *joji* (助辭 'auxiliary words') those elements that in translation have no direct equivalent in Japanese (which is virtually everything except verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs).

In *Oranda yakusen*, which was produced some fifteen years later, a similar collection of short Dutch phrases can be found, but the *kana* transcriptions and translations have been placed elsewhere in the manuscript, perhaps as a kind of 'answer sheet', the strongest indication that Maeno intended this work to be used for practical study purposes. However, while many words are still left untranslated and simply marked as *joji* 助辭 or *jogo* 助語 ('auxiliaries'), in some cases attempts are made here to come to a degree of understanding of words which cannot be readily translated. The definite article *de* is designated as *hatsugo* 発語 ('introductory particle'), but so is the 'It is' clause in the phrase '*T is mooy weer* (lit.: 'It is beautiful weather'). The indefinite article *een*, on the other hand, is assigned an auxiliary status, except in the phrase *De schoonheid is een broos cieraad* ('Beauty is a fragile ornament'), where it has been misinterpreted as the numeral 'one' and translated as *ikko* (一個, 'one only').

No distinction is made between nouns and verbs, and both are translated by means of a single character indicating the basic meaning of the word. An exception is the verb 'to be', which is clearly the source of some confusion. Following the phrase *Ik ben u dienaar* ('I am your servant'), Maeno presents the following explanation:

[The Dutch word] *ben*⁴⁵ resembles the character 者.⁴⁶ It sometimes also has the meaning of 'had' or 'was'. However, it is difficult to provide an accurate translation. Nevertheless, with this interpretation the meaning of a phrase will be understood.

The interpretation here of both 'had' and 'was' as past-tenses of *ben* appears to be an attempt to explain the use of 'to be' as an auxiliary verb.⁴⁷ In practice, however, Maeno interprets the verb variously as the particle 者 or as an auxiliary, without any consistency in relation to either the original Dutch phrases or their Japanese translations. Nevertheless, the translations of the phrases as a whole do represent the original Dutch accurately, and one is left with the impression that Maeno received

⁴⁵am'.

⁴⁶The character 者 is here used as the topic marker *wa*.

⁴⁷As auxiliary verbs, *hebben* ('to have') and *zijn* ('to be') were in some cases interchangeable in Old Dutch (WNT, XVIII, 3, kol. 299vv).

his information from someone with a sound knowledge of both languages, but with little understanding of their respective structures.

The Japanese language itself lacks separate plural and singular forms for nouns, and Maeno therefore did not have a ready-made grammatical term at his disposal to explain this Dutch concept. In his general introduction to *Oranda yakubun ryaku* 和蘭訳文略 ('A Brief Outline of Dutch Translation') Maeno attempts to explain as follows:

Woorden is a collective term. Individually, it becomes *woord*.⁴⁸

The characters 統 and 特 (translated here as 'collective' and 'individually' respectively) are used to indicate plural and singular respectively.

Maeno Ryōtaku also wrote works relating to the Dutch pronunciation of the alphabet (*Jigaku shōsei* 字学小成, 'A Small Work on Orthography') and Western punctuation (*Oranda tenrei kō* 和蘭点例考, 'Examples of Dutch punctuation', date unknown). *Jigaku shōsei*, thought to have been written around the same time as *Oranda yakusen* (1785), is an attempt to describe through the written word the correct pronunciation of the various letters of the Dutch alphabet. For example, for the letter L, Maeno instructs:

L *el*. Attached to the letter *e*, the sound of *ru* is pronounced lightly. Firstly, the tongue is pushed into the lower jaw, and while bringing the lips together, the sound of *ru* is produced. That is to say, this sound closely resembles that of the two *kana* ル [*ru*] and ヅ [*zu*].⁴⁹

Needless to say, this kind of instruction is of little practical value and, not surprisingly, did not find its way into the works of his disciples.

Maeno's manuscript on Dutch punctuation, called *Oranda tenrei kō* 和蘭点例考, appears to be no longer extant, but its contents survive in a large, rambling collection of information on the Dutch language called *Rangaku hizō* 蘭学秘蔵 ('A Treasure-house of Dutch Studies'), compiled around 1790 by Udagawa Genzui 宇田川玄随 (1755–1797).⁵⁰ Information similar to that in *Rangaku hizō*, with slightly different wording in the translation, also appears in Ōtsuki Gentaku's *Rangaku kaitei* 蘭学階

⁴⁸Numata et al. 1976: 73.

⁴⁹Sugimoto 1977: 242.

⁵⁰Udagawa Genzui was a physician who studied under several prominent *rangaku* scholars, and translated the first work on Western medicine to be published in Japan. He translated Gorter's *Gezuiverde geneeskunst* ('Purified Healing', 1744), which was published progressively between 1793 and 1810 as *Seisetsu naika sen'yō* 西説内科撰要 ('Selected Western Medicine') (Numata, 1989: 87).

梯 (written 1783, publ. 1788).⁵¹ Both Udagawa and Ōtsuki recognise Maeno as the source of the information. Maeno's information was in turn derived from B. Hakvoord's *Oprecht onderwys van de letterkonst, bequaam om alle personen in korten tyd wel ende volkomelyk te leeren spellen en lezen : al waar 't ook dat ze in haar jeugd nog A, nog B geleerd hadden ...*,⁵² a small textbook which was first published in 1701 in Utrecht, but appears to have been revised and reprinted numerous times. Chapter Six of this little book presents the punctuation marks in much the same sequence and wording.

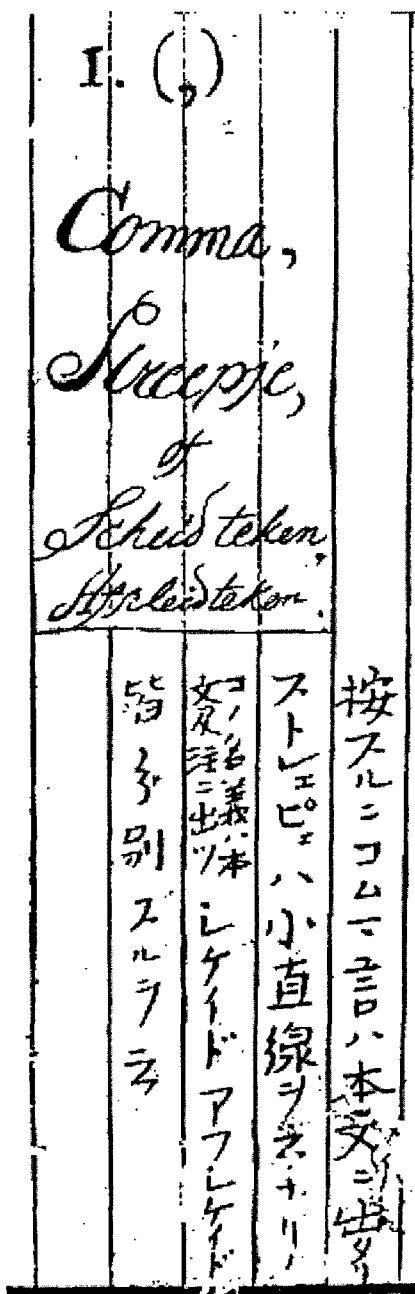


Fig. 10.

Maeno Ryōtaku on Dutch punctuation, borrowed from B. Hakvoord's *Oprecht Onderwijs in de Letter Konst* ('Earnest Tuition in Literacy', 1727).

⁵¹Rangaku kaitei is discussed on pp. 128ff below.

⁵²Genuine instruction of literacy, capable of teaching all persons to spell and read well and comprehensively in a short time: even if they had learned neither A nor B in their youth...

Although punctuation usage in modern written Japanese uses punctuation is similar to that in Western texts, in written premodern Japanese punctuation was used only for indicating quotes, book titles, and emphasis. Syntactical structures were not shown with punctuation, but through particular verb forms. European punctuation, therefore, did warrant some explanation in a work such as this.

In his introduction to *Ran'yakusen*, Maeno tells us that he travelled to Nagasaki in 1769 with the purpose of learning Dutch. He names Nagasaki interpreters Narabayashi Eizaemon (榎林栄佐衛門 1722–1787), Ogawa Etsunoshin (小川悦之進 ?–1780), and the ubiquitous Yoshio Kōzaemon (吉雄幸左衛門 1724–1800) as his mentors. Furthermore, on several occasions he refers to his direct contact with the Dutch traders as justification for some of the information he presents. In this context it is somewhat puzzling that, while Aoki Kon'yō received several mentions in the *Dagregister* (mostly in somewhat irritated references to his 'silly questions'), no direct mention is made at any time by the Dutch traders to Maeno.

Finally, Maeno also mentions a number of Dutch books he used directly or indirectly as sources for his studies. These are: B. Hakvoord's *Opregt Onderwijs in de Letter Konst* (1727), W. Bartjens' *De Vernieuwe Cyfferinge* (1740), Dodonaeus' *Cruydt Boeck, Leidsman medicijn, A-b Boek*, and two unidentified works indicated by Maeno only as トリグロトン (TORIGUROTON) and エアンロウイス (WEANROUISU).⁵³ He also names Pieter Marin as one of his sources, and indeed, as we have seen, obtained most of his model phrases from Marin's work.

Maeno Ryōtaku is said to have been a solitary character who disliked social contact. However, he did have a small number of followers, the most influential of whom was Ōtsuki Gentaku (1757–1827), one of the main driving forces in the popularisation of *rangaku* studies during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Gentaku based some of his published material on the writings of Maeno, as a result of which Maeno's work on the Dutch alphabet remained influential until the end of the period of national seclusion and the inevitable end of Dutch studies. Towards the end of his life, he was portrayed in the famous drawing of the 1795 Dutch New Year's party at Gentaku's Shirandō academy, sitting in a prominent position amidst the cream of the Edo *rangaku* scholars (Fig. d).⁵⁴ It is difficult to distinguish in his work Maeno's own original contributions from the information he obtained from the various Nagasaki interpreters. However, the nature and quality of his work make it clear that during his lifetime, Edo *rangaku* scholars had some way to go before they would arrive at a

⁵³Numata et al. 1976: 82–83.

⁵⁴Hesselink 1995: 211.

stage where they could independently produce competent translations. Wakabayashi's estimation that Maeno "probably did more than anyone else to establish systematic instruction in the Dutch language during the mid-Edo period"⁵⁵ is therefore something of an exaggeration. That is an assessment that should be accorded to Ōtsuki Gentaku, and even his contributions were soon to be dwarfed by Shizuki Tadao's achievements towards the end of the eighteenth century. Maeno Ryōtaku nevertheless played a key role in the introduction of the Western writing system to Edo scholars. After his death, he was given the posthumous name Ranka 蘭化, ('Dutchified') by his peers.



Fig. 11.
Maeno Ryōtaku as he is depicted at the Shirandō Academy New Year's celebration of 1795.

⁵⁵Wakabayashi 1986: 47.

Ōtsuki Gentaku.

Although interest in Western learning had been steadily growing over the years in Edo, cultural and language barriers had failed to dispel the widely held idea that Western science and technology, while perhaps not without its uses, was essentially barbarian, and could not be seen as a subject worthy of scholarly pursuit. That this attitude changed during the second half of the eighteenth century in no small way attributable to Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 (1757–1827).

Born in Iwate Prefecture as the son of a physician who had shown an interest in Dutch medicine himself, Gentaku began the study of medicine at age twelve under a Sendai physician called Takebe Seian 建部清庵 (1712–1782).⁵⁵ In 1778, at age 23, he travelled to Edo, where he took up 'Dutch learning' at Sugita Genpaku's Tenshinrō Academy 天真楼. Genpaku was later to describe him as "diligent" but "not necessarily of vigorous mind".⁵⁶ He eventually recommended his student to Maeno Ryōtaku for Dutch language study. In November 1785 Gentaku fulfilled "his dearest wish"⁵⁷ by travelling to Nagasaki to study Dutch. His specific aim was to find help with his translation of the book *Heelkundige onderwijzingen* ('Medical teachings') by Lorenz Heister (1683–1758), which he had apparently been working on for nearly seven years.⁵⁸ He stayed in Nagasaki until April 1786, enlisting the expertise of interpreters Motoki Ryōei 本木良永 (1735–1794) and Yoshio Kōzaemon 吉雄幸左衛門 (1724–1800). The *Dagregister*, however, makes no mention of him meeting with the Dutchmen, either in Nagasaki or in Edo, during this or any other time. Following his return to Edo he set up the first private school for Dutch studies in Japan, called *Shirandō* 芝蘭堂.

Around 1790, he was asked by Sugita Genpaku to revise *Kaitai shinsho* 解体親書, Sugita's translation of a European anatomical book.⁵⁹ He was also instrumental in the initiating of the *Edo haruma* project, which provided Japanese scholars with the first substantial Dutch–Japanese dictionary.⁶⁰ Years later, in 1811, he was appointed head of the new government bureau for the translation of Western books, the *Bansho wage goyō* 蛮書和解御用.

⁵⁵Hesselink 1995: 192.

⁵⁶Sugita 1969: 52.

⁵⁷Krieger 1940: 80.

⁵⁸Hesselink 1995: 199.

⁵⁹Satō 1993: 5.

⁶⁰See Chapter IV-3 above.

With such credentials, it is not surprising that Gentaku has often been described as an expert linguist and translator.⁶¹ The facts, however, do not appear to bear this out. The translation of Heister's book, which Gentaku had been struggling with, was eventually completed in 1790 with the assistance of retired Nagasaki interpreter Ishii Shōsuke 石井庄助 (1743-?), who was later to play such a key role in the compiling of the *Edo haruma*.⁶² Furthermore, when the government finally took the step of establishing an official translation bureau, it put Gentaku in charge, but at the same time Baba Sajūrō, a young and energetic Nagasaki interpreter with a formidable reputation, was ordered to move to Edo and join Gentaku as the second staff member of the bureau. Although Ōtsuki's revised version of *Kaitai shinsho* is dated 1803, and certainly was a significant improvement on Sugita's original translation, it was not published until 1826, under the title *Chōtei kaitai shinsho* 重訂解体親書. The reasons for this delay are not known, but while Ōtsuki's understanding of Dutch was undoubtedly superior to Sugita's or even Maeno's, it is unlikely that he did not avail himself of the expertise of those around him. In other words, each of Gentaku's major projects in the area of Dutch-Japanese translation was completed with an interpreter by his side. Sugimoto comments that there is no work in existence today that can be said to have been translated entirely by Gentaku himself.⁶³

Gentaku was disparaging about his own Dutch language skills in *Rangaku kaitei*,⁶⁴ and apologized to Tsuji Ranshitsu about his lack of expertise in 1793, well after his return from Nagasaki.⁶⁵ While this could be seen as no more than an expression of the humility that the Japanese often display when they refer to their own abilities or achievements, there is no doubt that compared to the skills of the retired interpreters who were turning up in Edo in steadily increasing numbers, his own Dutch language skills can only have been poor. He would not have learned much beyond some very elementary knowledge from Maeno and Sugita Genpaku, and his year in Nagasaki, while certainly beneficial, would at best have allowed him to progress from novice to beginner.⁶⁶

⁶¹See for example Goodman 2000: 121.

⁶²See Chapter IV-3 above.

⁶³Sugimoto 1977: 470.

⁶⁴Numata et al. 1984, p. 386.

⁶⁵Sugimoto 1977, p. 467.

⁶⁶It is not known whether Gentaku had any direct contact with the Dutch traders on Dejima during this time, but it appears that his main sources of information were interpreters Motoki Ryōei and Yoshio Kōzaemon.

As a student of the Dutch language in Edo, Gentaku was the natural successor in a line that began with Arai Hakuseki, and continued on through Aoki Kon'yō and Maeno Ryōtaku. There is, however, one crucial difference between Gentaku and his predecessors: he did not work alone, but always in partnership with those who had learned Dutch since childhood in Nagasaki. What made this possible was the fact that an increasing interest in Western science and technology was creating a demand for information on the key to this information, the Dutch language. This in turn gave a small number of Nagasaki interpreters the opportunity to break free from their ties with the Interpreters' Guild and try their luck further afield, either in the employ of interested *daimyō* such as Matsudaira Sadanobu, or simply by setting up a small school and teaching Dutch to amateur *rangaku* scholars.

Retired interpreters, however, were limited in what they could achieve independently by the fact that their Japanese literacy was usually not of a high level. With the growth of the merchant class as an economic force during the Edo period, a different, more colloquial style of written Japanese was emerging. The interpreters in Nagasaki, immersed as they were in the commercial activities that surrounded the Dutch trading post, would have been well versed in this latter type of literacy for commercial purposes, but were usually largely unschooled in the classical forms of writing, which were familiar to Ōtsuki Gentaku, and which were an essential medium for academically credible work at the time.⁶⁷

The partnerships that developed between Gentaku and a succession of ex-interpreter 'assistants' thus provided a way in which to present the knowledge that was to be found in Western books in a format acceptable to Japanese scholars, as well as more accurate and detailed information on the nature of the Dutch language itself. Thus one of Gentaku's major contributions to the development of *rangaku* was not his translations from Dutch into Japanese, but his 'translations' from the interpreters' colloquial Japanese into an academically palatable form.

What difference this made can be seen by comparing Gentaku's work and achievements with those of Maeno Ryōtaku, who had taught Gentaku initially. A considerable proportion of the material presented in Gentaku's *Rangaku kaitei* can be traced back to Maeno's work, notably *Ran'yakusen* 蘭訳筌 and *Oranda yakusen* 和蘭訳筌. Both works contain presentations of the Roman alphabet in several styles, their pronunciations represented in *kana* as well as the sounds of

⁶⁷In his preface to *Teisei rango kuhinshū*, Baba Sajūrō states that he is not well-versed in classical written Japanese (see p. 183 below). A considerable proportion of Shizuki Tadao's early linguistic work, notably *Rangaku seizenfu*, was aimed at addressing this problem.

the fifty *kana* represented in romanized script. In addition, *Ran'yakusen* also contains a selection of vocabulary and a series of phrases taken from Pieter Marin's *Nieuwe Fransche en Nederduitsche Spraakwyze* (1762).

All these elements are also present in *Rangaku kaitei*. The difference, however, is that Maeno merely reported what he had found out or had been told by his sources, but did not offer practical steps for beginning students who wished to acquire Dutch proficiency for reading or translation purposes, as Gentaku did. This, combined with the fact that *Rangaku kaitei*, unlike Aoki's and Maeno's efforts, was printed and published, meant that it became the first widely available teaching manual for learners of the Dutch language in Japan.

Rangaku kaitei

Rangaku kaitei has been described as Ōtsuki Gentaku's "most significant work".⁶⁸ It was written in 1783, two years before his trip to Nagasaki, but not published until 1788, two years after his return to Edo. There are two parts. Volume One introduces the reader to Western learning in general, and discusses the nature and advantages of Western science and trade with the Dutch, some of the history of *rangaku*, attacks critics of Western learning (notably Confucianists), and gives some advice to those who wish to study the Dutch language.

Volume Two is a step-by-step introduction to the Roman alphabet and the Dutch language. Much of the information contained in this volume is similar in presentation to the work of Gentaku's mentor Maeno Ryōtaku, and in fact he credits Maeno with providing him with information in several places. Gentaku, however, not only presents the material in a context of instruction for students rather than a mere presentation of facts, but also shows a deeper understanding of the topic, doubtless as a result of his exposure to the company of interpreters Motoki and Yoshio in Nagasaki.

Although *Rangaku kaitei* is aimed at beginning students, there is good reason to believe that Gentaku's own expertise did not extend much beyond what is presented in the work. Gentaku emphasizes the importance of vocabulary acquisition, and suggests that a deeper understanding of the Dutch language can only come with prolonged exposure to it. Little grammar, either of Dutch or of Japanese, is presented in *Rangaku kaitei*, and where it does appear, it is often inaccurate.⁶⁹

⁶⁸Goodman 1952: 72.

⁶⁹In the chapter on 'auxiliary words' for example, there is clear confusion about the meaning of the word *lidwoord* ('article'). See below.

This piecemeal and unreliable presentation of grammatical considerations is characteristic of the pre-Shizuki Tadao approach to the Dutch language, which was based on the traditional translation methods used for Chinese. Gentaku instructs the student first to produce a translation of each individual word in a sentence, and then to rearrange these to form a sequence that makes sense in Japanese. This is the so-called *chokuyaku* 直訳 ('direct translation') method, which had been used for the interpretation of Chinese texts since the adoption of the Chinese writing system in Japan.

The structures of the Japanese language itself had been investigated by scholars such as Ogyū Sorai, Motoori Norinaga and Fujitani Nariakira.⁷⁰ However, there appears to have been little general interest in applying structural linguistic approaches to foreign languages (including Chinese) before Shizuki Tadao. *Rangaku kaitei* is thus a fair representation of what was consciously understood in Japan towards the end of the eighteenth century about the nature of the Dutch language and its relationship with the Japanese language, both in Edo and in Nagasaki.

An Analysis of *Rangaku kaitei*, Volume 2

Volume Two of *Rangaku kaitei* consists of the following sixteen chapters:

1. *Moji* 文字 ('Letters')
2. *Sūryō* 数量 ('Numerals')
3. *Haiin* 配韻 ('Phonetics')
4. *Hion* 比音 ('Transcription')
5. *Kunko* 訓詁 ('Explanation')
6. *Tenshaku* 転釈 ('Interpretation')
7. *Shūgaku* 修学 ('Study')

⁷⁰ Ogyū Sorai proposed a move away from reading Chinese texts as if they were a form of written Japanese (he referred to the mental rearranging of the characters in Chinese or pseudo-Chinese texts to suit Japanese syntax requirements as 'circular reading', *mawashiyomi* 廻読) (Sakai 1991: 227).

8. *Yakuji* 訳辞 ('Translating words')
9. *Yakushō* 訳章 ('Translating sentences')
10. *Shakugi* 釈義 ('Explanation')
11. *Ruigo* 類語 ('Related words')
12. *Seigofu kunten narabi ni yakubun* 成語附訓点並二訳文
('Complete phrases with Japanese annotation and translation')
13. *Jogo* (助語 ('Auxiliary words'))
14. *Tenrei* (点例 ('Punctuation'))
15. *Shoseki* (書籍 ('Bibliography'))
16. *Gakkun* (学訓 ('Rules for study'))

The first chapter presents the alphabet in several styles and describes how the letters of the alphabet are distributed on a page, much in the same way as had been done by Maeno Ryōtaku and Aoki Kon'yō.⁷¹ In the second chapter, which deals with numerals, Gentaku goes to some trouble to explain the formation of large numbers in Arabic numerals, which, unlike the Chinese ones, do not have special signs for 'hundred', 'thousand', 'ten thousand', and so on. A simplified list of Arabic numerals that follows (see fig. 12) is taken from the Dutch scientific dictionary *Nieuw en volkomen woordenboek van kunsten en wetenschappen* ('New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences') by Egbert Buys (1769–78).

⁷¹Gotō Rishun (1696–1771) is credited with having produced the first representation of the Roman alphabet in print in Japan. This appeared in *Oranda banashi* or *Kōmōdan* 紅毛談 (1765). However, he presented the alphabet without any explanations about the function or pronunciation of the letters.

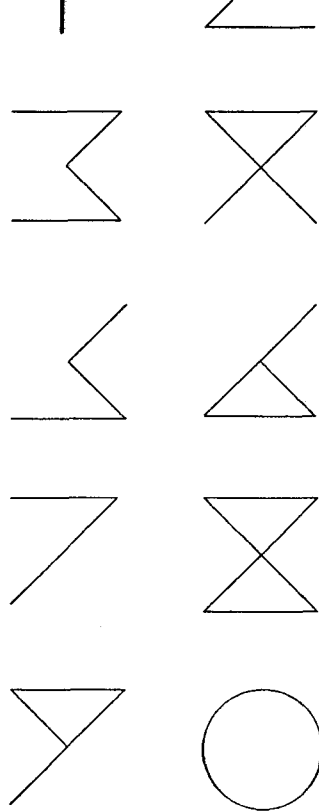


Fig. 12.

The alphabet as it appears in Ōtsuki Gentaku's *Rangaku kaitei*. This form of numerals is cited from *Nieuw en volkomen woordenboek van kunsten en wetenschappen* ('New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences') by Egbert Buys (1769–78).

Over the next two chapters, Gentaku uses two approaches in his efforts to explain the workings of the alphabet. On the one hand he presents Dutch syllables and words and transcribes them in *kana*. His second method is to show Japanese texts in romanized script. The two approaches were adopted particularly to compare vowels in the two languages, which despite substantial similarities involved various differences.

In the third chapter, entitled 'Phonetics', Gentaku explains something of the nature of the Roman alphabet, and establishes some conventions for expressing Dutch sounds in *kana*. With regard to the problem of separating vowels and consonants he applies the same strategy as Maeno had before him, by referring the reader to the *shittan* 悉曇 and *setsuin* 切韻 concepts, both of which involve the concept of discrete vowels and consonants, and which would have been familiar to Japanese scholars involved in areas such as the study of phonetic science.⁷²

As Gentaku informs us, the list of syllables and words was taken from a Dutch

⁷²*Setsuin* is the same concept as that Maeno referred to as *hansetsu*. See p. 111 above.

textbook for primary schools called *Trap der Jeugd* ('Steps for Youth'). This work was first published in 1675 by Jeuria and van Poolsum in Utrecht (authors unknown) and was revised and reprinted numerous times throughout the eighteenth century. Although the list of syllables appeared in early editions, the words beginning with *bal*, *baal* etc. that appear in *Rangaku kaitei* were not introduced until the 1776 edition of *Trap der Jeugd*, indicating that Gentaku had access to what was at the time the most recent edition of the work.⁷³

It is worth noting that it is in this section, which deals with the sounds of the Dutch language, that Gentaku includes a representation of the *gojūonzu* or 'table of fifty sounds'. The significance of this lies in the fact that, in contrast to Maeno's *Ran'yakusen*, which presented this table to show how the sounds of the Japanese language could be represented in the alphabet,⁷⁴ Gentaku uses the table to teach Dutch pronunciation. Thus, where Maeno had shown the *kana* ウ(*u*) ク(*ku*) ス(*su*) ツ(*tsu*) etc. in Roman letters as *oe*, *koe*, *soe*, *toe* and so on, Gentaku transcribes this row of the table based on the pronunciation of the Dutch vowel *u*, and approximates this through the use of the *katakana* ュ *yu*.⁷⁵ As Gentaku himself acknowledges, this is, and can only be, a rough approximation of the correct pronunciation. However, the significance of his approach is that, whereas both Maeno and Gentaku presented a *kana* chart, Maeno was trying to understand the alphabet by attempting to make it express the familiar sounds of the Japanese language, but Gentaku's focus was clearly on the Dutch language and its pronunciation.

The chapter also addresses the problem of the inconsistencies that were a feature of *kana* usage largely as a result of diachronic sound change in spoken Japanese. These issues had been dealt with from time to time by scholars, most of whom favoured a so-called 'historical' approach to the problem. This espoused the idea that the spoken language had moved away from the 'correct' ways over the centuries, and that in order to determine 'proper' *kana* usage, one had to refer to early texts. In other words, usage of *kana* signs had become a matter of convention rather than pronunciation.

Gentaku represents the Dutch syllables *wi* and *wu* by employing an initial ウ (*u*).

⁷³ Information from:
<http://www.xs4all.nl/ngremery/Schoolboeken/sboek18.html#b.%20de%20Trap%20der%20Jeugd>

⁷⁴ See fig. 7 & 8 above.

⁷⁵ In Dutch, the vowel *u* is often pronounced like the German *ü* (/y/).

Less easily explained is his application of a smaller sized *kana* sign ン (*n*) to indicate Dutch vowel sounds without a preceding palatal semivowel. This too was a convention inherited from Maeno, who distinguished the *ye-e*, *yi-i* and *yu-u* pairs by using エ (*e*), イ (*i*) and ュ (*yu*) for *ye*, *yi* and *yu* (Dutch: *je*, *ji*, *ju*) respectively, and ンエ (*nwe*), ンイ (*ni*) and ンウ (*nu*) for the *e*, *i* and *u* (Dutch *oe*) sounds. It is not clear why the small ン (*n*) was chosen as the indicating mark for this. However, neither the use of エ (*e*) and ュ (*we*), nor usage of the ン prefix is consistent, even within *Rangaku kaitei* itself. For example, in the *Trap der Jeugd* list of syllables the Dutch letter *e* is represented variously as エ (*e*) and ュ (*we*).

In the fourth chapter, headed 'Transcription', Gentaku reverses his approach to explaining the Dutch writing system: a Japanese text in the form of a *waka* poem is transcribed in romanized script with a *katakana* gloss.

Woejetemi
io vanano
sodatanoe
satomonasi
kocolokala
koso miwa
jieiasikele

The poem, which is of unknown origin, is represented in Numata et al.1984⁷⁶ as:

植ゑてみよ
花の育たぬ
里もなし
心からこそ
身はいやしけれ⁷⁷

Although in the syllable chart *ha he hi ho hu*, *fa fe fi fo fu* and *va ve vi vo vu* are all represented by the *kana* ハヘヒホフ (*ha he hi ho hu*), in the poem the word ハナ *hana* is represented as *vana*.⁷⁸

⁷⁶Numata et al.1984: 353.

⁷⁷Do plant it and see! / Is there any village where / flowers do not grow? / Surely it is in the heart / that the body starts to heal (my translation).

⁷⁸Some forty years later, two young interpreters working on Cock Blomhoff's Japanese-Dutch

Having presented his students with the principles of matching the Western writing system with *kana*, in the fifth chapter, which he titles 'Explanation', Gentaku moves on to details regarding the formation of syllables. He first explains that unlike vowels, consonants have 'names', of which only one part is used for pronunciation.⁷⁹

Gentaku then presents some of the exceptions and inconsistencies in the usage of the Dutch alphabet, such as the pronunciation of the letter *d* in final position as /t/. The consonants *l* and *r*, which would have caused the most difficulty, are understandably given extra attention. The confusion in this regard arises mostly from the fact that the Japanese language has neither of the Dutch sounds of *r* nor *l*, but rather something that is related to both. The guttural Dutch *g* sound also receives considerable attention. Gentaku is inconsistent, and provides variously *aha* and *gehe* as suggested approximate pronunciations. His puzzlement regarding the interchangeability of the letters *u* and *v* in Latin and French suggests that Gentaku was not aware that the pronunciation of the letter *v* as /f/ occurred only in colloquial Dutch.

In the sixth chapter, called 'Interpretation', Gentaku progresses beyond alphabets and pronunciations, and promptly runs into the limits of his linguistic understanding. Although his suggestion that homonyms often have related meanings is not far off the mark, and would have provided a useful insight for learners of vocabulary, the assertion that affixes change "the tense of a word" is erroneous, and would have confused many.

The mistaken notion that the prefix *ver-* indicates repetition appears to stem from a confusion between it and the Dutch prefix *her-*, which has the same function as the English prefix *re-*. Both *her-* and *ver-* would appear in *kana* as HERU. The example presented, which makes the incorrect assertion that *verkoop* ('sale') essentially means 're-buy', hence 'to sell', shows that Gentaku (or his mentors) were occasionally prepared to apply some of their own creativity to their understanding of the workings of the Dutch language. On the other hand, the rendition of the prefix in *katakana* as FURU shows a good understanding of the natural Dutch pronunciation of this element, which is /f'r/.

The next four chapters, 'Study', 'Translating words', 'Translating sentences' and 'Explanation' bring Gentaku back to familiar ground. His advice regarding the

dictionary show that they disagreed about the way to write ハヒフヘホ in Dutch, writing 人 (*hito*) as *fito* and *vito* respectively (See p. 96 n. 125 above).

⁷⁹ In the sense that, for example, the letter *b* is referred to in English as 'bee'.

keeping of a notebook in which the student should collect new words and phrases was sound for those days, before the compilation of formal dictionaries, and was based on established practice among the Nagasaki interpreters. Consistent with the lack of understanding of Dutch syntax in Japan at the time, Gentaku recommends the use of an old and well-established Japanese technique for the interpretation of Chinese texts, the so-called *chokuyaku-tai* 直訳体 or 'direct translation method', by which the words were translated individually and then rearranged in an order that conformed to Japanese conventions of syntax.

This often produced the stilted, unnatural and sometimes inaccurate interpretations that can be seen in many translations produced with this technique. However, through their employment in Japanese translations of important Dutch works, some of these initially awkward structures gained a certain amount of respectability, and even had some influence on Japanese syntax, particularly on written forms.⁸⁰

The wordlist in the chapter that follows, titled 'Related words', bears a strong resemblance to the vocabulary lists produced by Aoki Kon'yō in works such as *Oranda moji ōtsūji tōsho* 阿蘭陀文字大通辞答書 and later by Maeno in *Oranda yakusen* 和蘭訳筌, not only in content, but also in appearance. Each word is presented in an elegant, flowing script (see fig. 13), and is accompanied by a *katakana* rendition of its pronunciation and a single Chinese character representing its meaning.

Herst. 赤	Rood. 赤	West. 西	hemel. 天
winter. 冬	geel. 黄	Zuid. 南	Charē. 地
Mensch. 人	Wit. 白	Noord. 北	Zon. 日
Man. 男	Zwart. 黑	Water. 水	Maan. 月
Vrouw. 女	Kou. 寒	Vuur. 火	Sterre. 星
Vader. 父	Warm. 温	Boom. 木	Wolk. 雲
Moeder. 母	Lente. 春	Goud. 金	Lugt. 氣
Zoon. 子	Zomer. 夏	Blaauw. 青	Ost. 東

Fig. 13.

A section of the list of Dutch words in Ōtsuki Gentaku's *Rangaku kaitei*.

⁸⁰See Chapter VI-2 below.

The compilation of such lists appears to have been guided by a traditional selection of Chinese characters for beginners, rather than any Dutch listings that may have been available. It is worth noting that notebooks containing Dutch and Japanese word lists compiled by Nagasaki interpreters largely consisted of vocabulary that was related to trade and other dealings with the Dutch. The type of list such as that presented here and those that occur in Aoki Kon'yō's work can therefore be said to represent one of the few early contributions to the study of Dutch clearly attributable to *rangaku* scholars.

The collection of model phrases that follows the wordlist appeared earlier in Maeno Ryōtaku's *Ran'yakusen* 蘭訳筌. Most of the phrases originate from two works by Pieter Marin, his French–Dutch textbook *Nouvelle methode pour apprendre les principes & l'usage des langues Françoise et Hollandaise* ('New Method for the Learning of the Principles and Usage of the French and Dutch Languages') and his *Groot Nederduitsch en Fransch Woordenboek* ('Great Dutch and French Dictionary'). However, since the errors that occur in the phrases here are identical to those in Maeno's work, it appears that Gentaku did not have direct access to Marin's books. For example, the sentence:

Wit raven vind men zelden, alzo zelden men trouwen.

appears in identical form both in Maeno's *Ran'yaku sen* and in this work. The phrase is a corrupted copy of a model phrase in the 1717 and subsequent editions of Marin's dictionary under the entry *Rave* ('raven'):

*Witte Raven vind men zelden, alzo zelden vind men trouw &c.
Il se trouve peu de Cobeaux blancs, la bonne foy est tout aussi rare.*⁸¹

The fact that the phrase was copied in Gentaku's carefully crafted work with exactly the same errors is an indicator of the level of Dutch language Gentaku brought to the project. However, Gentaku's translation is somewhat more concise and elegant than Maeno's:

Maeno: 白鳥ハコレヲ求ルニ希ナリ人ノ親睦交誼ヲ求ルモノ亦此ノ如シ

Hakuo wa, kore o motomuru ni mare nari; hito no shinbokukōgi o motomuru no mata kono gotoshi. ('As for white ravens, to find them is rare; finding the friendship of people is similarly [rare]).

⁸¹'White ravens are rare; loyalty is similarly rare.' From the sixteenth century onwards white ravens occur in Dutch literature as an metaphor for something rare, cf. 'hens' teeth'.

Gentaku: 白鳥ハ求ムレトモ鮮シソノ如ク人ノ親睦モ希ナリ

Hakuo wa motomuretomo sukunashi; sono gotoku hito no shinboku mo mare nari. (White ravens are rarely found; in the same way, the friendship of people is rare.)

In the next chapter, 'Auxiliary words', Gentaku returns to the topic of the structure of the Dutch language, and again his lack of knowledge in this area is apparent. He asserts that the Dutch word for *jogo* 助語 ('auxiliary word') is RITTOUOORUDO (*lidwoord*, 'article'). This implies that all nine words marked as *jogo* in the model phrases of the previous chapter (which include a preposition, two articles, two auxiliary verbs and four conjunctions) are articles. Japanese linguistic scholars at the time usually categorized all words other than nouns, verbs and adjectives as *jogo* 助語 'auxiliary words', and it is understandable that Gentaku applied this principle to Dutch. To translate the term *jogo* as *lidwoord*, however, shows an ignorance of Dutch linguistic principles and terminology that was most likely not unusual among the Nagasaki interpreters at the time.

The chapter that follows deals with Dutch punctuation. Although the sequence in which punctuation is presented here is almost identical to Hakvoord's, Gentaku acknowledges Maeno, rather than Hakvoord, as the source of his information.

Chapter 15, entitled 'Bibliography', is a list of works which Gentaku saw in the collections of various friends and colleagues. Gentaku remarks that he found many of these works in the collections of 'translators'. Since few, if any, translators were active outside Nagasaki at that time, it is likely that Gentaku compiled much of this list during his stay in Nagasaki. This is supported by the fact that, even though works such as Marin's dictionary are listed, he clearly did not consult them directly when he wrote *Rangaku kaitei*, after his return to Edo. Not all of the books listed have been identified, but all contain recognizable Dutch words or names.

- UUHENSUKOORUBUUKU *Oefenschoolboek* ('Schoolbook for practice'): unidentified.
- BOISU UOORUDENBUUKU *Buy's woordenboek* ('Buy's Dictionary'): *Nieuw en volkomen woordenboek van konsten en wetenschappen* ('New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences') (1769-78) by Egbert Buy's (?-1769).⁸²

⁸² MacLean lists this work as having been imported for the first time in 1791 (MacLean 1974: 21). Its appearance here, in a work published in 1788, indicates that not all books that were brought

- SUKOUTONEERUNACHUURUBUUKU *Schouwtoneel natuurboek* ('Dramahouse nature book'): unidentified.

- KONSUTOKABINETO *Konstkabinet* ('Art Gallery'): unidentified.

- UISUKONSUTOBUUKU *Wiskonstboek* ('Book of Mathematics'): unidentified. Since several entries in this list refer to more than one book (for example, the 'medical works' listed below), it is possible that a general category of 'mathematical works' is indicated here. Note that despite this, the word *wiskonstboek* is singular.

- ZEISUPIGERU *Zeespiegel* ('Sea level'): *Inhoudende Een korte Onderwysinghe inde konst der zeevaart, En Beschryvinghe der See'n en kusten van de Oostersche, Noordsche en Westersche Schipvaart* ('Sealevel, containing concise instructions in the art of navigation, and descriptions of Eastern, Northern and Western shipping'). W. J. Blaeuw. Amsterdam 1623.

- FURUUTOKONSUTO *Vroedkonst* ('Midwifery'): unidentified. Again, a category of books may be intended here.

- UOITSU SHIKATTOKAAMURUBUUKU *Woyt's schatkamerboek* ('Woyt's treasury book'): *Gazophylacium medico-physicum of schatkamer* (Amsterdam 1741) by J. J. Woyt. First imported in 1765.⁸³

- ZEOGARAHU *Geografie* ('Geography'): here too, the intention may have been to list geographical works as a category.⁸⁴

- KOURANTOTORUKO *Courantentolk: De Staats- en Courantentolk* by J. Hübner (Leiden, 1732).

- KOROITOBUUKU *Cruydt-boeck* ('Book of plants') (Antwerp, 1618–1644) by Rembert Dodoens (or Rembertus Dodonaeus, 1517–1585).

into Japan appeared on official records.

⁸³MacLean 1974: 18.

⁸⁴Numata et al. 1984: 367 suggests that the *Geographie: Begrip der oude en nieuwe geographie* (Amsterdam 1769) by J. Hübner (1668–1731) is intended here. This work was reported as having been imported in 1765 (MacLean: 16).

- YONSUTONSU: Jan Johnston (1603–1675), *Nauwkeurige beschryving van de natuur der viervoetige dieren* ('Detailed Description of the nature of four-footed animals') (Publ. 1660), first reported as having been imported in 1765.⁸⁵
- HEERUKONSUTOBUUKU *Heelkonstboek* ('medical work[s]): The names of Philippe Verheyen (1648–1710) and Lorenz Heister (1683–1758) are given as examples of works belonging to this category. Verheyen's book *Corporis humani anatomiae* (Brussels, 1710) provided the basis for many of the illustrations in Kulmus' *Anatomische Tabellen*, a Dutch version of which in turn provided the basis for Sugita Genpaku's *Kaitai shinsho*.⁸⁶ Heister's book *Heelkundige onderwijzingen* ('Medical teachings') was the reason for Ōtsuki's study trip to Nagasaki, as noted above.
- UORUDENBUUKU *Woordenboek* ('Dictionary'). The names of Marin and Hannot are mentioned here. Pieter Marin was the compiler of a Dutch and French dictionary, copies of which imported on numerous occasions. From the hand of S. Hannot, the *Nieuw Woordenboek der Nederlandsche en Latynsche Talen* (Amsterdam, 1719) was imported into Japan.⁸⁷
- KONSUTOUORUDOBUUKU *Konstwoordenboek* ('Dictionary of Technical Terms') unidentified. *Konstwoordenboek* was a common term in the titles of Dutch dictionaries at the time.
- PAARUDOSUTAARUBUUKU *Paardenstaalboek* ('Equestrian sample book'): unidentified.
- ANATOMIA ('Anatomy'): The names listed in this entry refer to: William Cowper (1666–1709), Johann Adam Kulmus (1689–1745), Steven Blankaart (1650–1702) and Caspar Bartholin Sr.(1585–1629).
- REMEREI DOROGEREIN Remerij(?) *drogerijen*. Unidentified.
- APOTEEKI *Apotheek* ('Pharmacy'): unidentified, possibly referring to a

⁸⁵MacLean 1974: 17.

⁸⁶http://www.nlm.nih.gov/exhibition/historicalanatomies/kulmus_bio.html.

⁸⁷Numata et al. 1984: 367.

category of books, rather than a single title.

- INUENJIGE HENEESUBUUKU *Inwendige geneesboek* ('Book[s] on internal medicine'): The names listed here refer to Henricus Buyzen (?-?), William Buchan (1729–1805) and Lorenz Heister (1683–1758). The name of Buyzen is represented as BOISU, which may have been the result of confusion with the name of Egbert Buys, whose dictionary also played a role in *rangaku* studies (See above).

- SHOMEERU HOISUHOUDEREKI UORUDENBUKKU Noel Chomel (1632–1712), *Huishoudelijk woordenboek* ('Domestic dictionary', 1743). It was for the production of a Japanese translation of this work, a project that took several years, that Ōtsuki Gentaku and Baba Sajūrō were appointed to the new *Bansho wage goyō*, the official bureau for the translation of foreign books.

Although several entries represent subject categories, the Dutch word for 'book' never appears in the plural form *boeken*. Inconsistencies in the *katakana* renditions of some Dutch words (such as both BUUKU and BUKKU for *boek*, 'book') suggest that the list was assembled from more than one source.

Rangaku kaitei closes with a chapter called 'Rules for study', which encourages the student not to get despondent in the face of difficulties and offers practical tips for prospective translators. The advice that translators should be familiar with the scientific area they are working on would not be out of place in a modern-day manual. However, Ōtsuki's comment regarding 'inference' as to the meaning of foreign language texts is perhaps a reflection of his own level of Dutch language expertise.

Rangaku kaitei contains materials collected by Ōtsuki Gentaku from a variety of sources, assembled in a progressive, didactic sequence, and interspersed with advice and comments from his own hand. It is telling that for the compilation of *Rangaku kaitei* Ōtsuki did not directly consult the Dutch resources he listed in Chapter 15, but relied on the results of studies done by others. Foremost among these is his mentor Maeno Ryōtaku, but there is no doubt that Nagasaki interpreters also played a major part. As such, *Rangaku kaitei* represents a culmination of the cooperation between the *rangaku* scholars in Edo with the Nagasaki interpreters. With *Rangaku kaitei*, the accumulated knowledge about Dutch in Japan had finally been presented in a form that provided beginning students of Dutch with a valuable practical introduction to the Dutch writing system and basic strategies for

translators. When interpreter Yoshio Kōzaemon visited Edo with the Dutch delegation in 1788, he expressed embarrassment at the fact that it had not been himself or at least a Nagasaki interpreter who had produced such a work.⁸⁸

By the same token, *Rangaku kaitei's* shortcomings, particularly in the area of grammar, are representative of the lack of understanding of the structures of the Dutch language in Japan towards the end of the eighteenth century. There was as yet no real understanding, either among the *rangaku* scholars or among the Nagasaki interpreters, of the structures of Dutch, and how these related to Japanese. Ōtsuki was unable to provide definitions for any Dutch parts of speech apart from nouns, verbs and adjectives. His suggested strategy for translation is to translate each word in a sentence individually and then rearrange the translated words until they make sense.

Ōtsuki Gentaku's role in the development of Dutch language studies was therefore hardly based on his knowledge of the Dutch language. He elicited and collected expertise from others, compiled it in a form that was accessible and practical, and gave it a wide audience by publishing his work. His organizational skills are also apparent in the way he initiated (but did not take part in) the compilation of the *Edo haruma* dictionary, as described in chapter IV-3 above. It is therefore in the capacity of a facilitator rather than a linguist that Ōtsuki Gentaku occupied a key position at the centre of the evolution of Dutch language studies in Japan during a crucial period.

2. Shizuki Tadao 志筑忠雄 (1760–1806)

Understanding of the principles of Dutch grammar remained elusive to the Japanese until the end of the eighteenth century, even though more than a century and a half had passed since the establishment of the Interpreters' Guild, and *rangaku* scholars had spent some sixty years attempting to acquire a better understanding of the Dutch language. This gap in Dutch language expertise limited the ability of Japanese translators to produce work of reliable accuracy.

It was Shizuki Tadao, ex-interpreter and amateur scholar, who was finally to break through this barrier and introduce Western linguistic concepts into Japan. That most prominent of *rangaku* scholars, Ōtsuki Gentaku, writes in *Ran'yaku teikō* 蘭訳梯航 ('Steps to Dutch Translation') (1816) that the detailed study of Dutch linguistics began with Shizuki.⁸⁹ In 1815, his most talented and influential

⁸⁸Krieger 1940: 86.

⁸⁹Numata et al. 1976: 387.

student, Baba Sajūrō (1786–1822), was to write:

For about a hundred years Japanese were forbidden to write the Dutch letters, and the Dutch language was studied orally. Therefore it was impossible to make progress. After permission was received to learn these [letters], noticeable improvements were made from time to time, but since the understanding of true rules and grammar was insufficient as yet, errors were made both in composing and translating. However, since the discovery of the true nature of grammar by our famous teacher Liuho⁹⁰ in the year 1804, the dark clouds that hung overhead have vanished completely. Accordingly, we must always honour him.⁹¹

Shizuki Tadao was born in 1760 into the Nakano family, a wealthy Nagasaki merchant family, who named him Chūjirō. In 1776 he was adopted by the Shizuki family, which had provided Nagasaki with a continuous line of interpreters since the move to Dejima in 1641, and became a student interpreter. However, after only one year of service he retired, and changed his name back to Nakano.

Little is known about the reasons for Shizuki's early retirement. Baba Sajūrō's Foreword to the grammatical work *Oranda gohōkai* 和蘭語法解 speaks of Shizuki's 'weak constitution',⁹² and in his introduction to *Oranda bunpan tekiyō* 和蘭文範摘要 (1814) he states that Shizuki was often ill.⁹³ Ōtsuki Gentaku also refers to Shizuki as frequently being ill.⁹⁴ Numata even mentions a rumour to the effect that Shizuki may have had some kind of speech disorder.⁹⁵ He spent the rest of his life in seclusion, producing a considerable number of translations from Dutch, mostly on astronomy, as well as a series of linguistic works, which will be discussed below. For these works he used the pen name Ryūho 柳圃, and he was most often referred to by this name by his

⁹⁰Liuho is Baba's romanised rendition of Shizuki's pen name, Ryūho 柳圃.

⁹¹From Baba Sajūrō's Dutch language introduction to *Oranda gohōkai* 和蘭語法解 (1815):

Voor omtrent 100 jaaren waren verboden dat de Japanders de hollandsche letteren te schryven, en had men de hollandsche taalen by mondeling geleert, dus was het onmogelyk te bevorderen, maar na het permissie van dezelve te leeren, van tijd tot tijd was merkelyk bevorderd, en dewijl 'er nogtans geen regt regel en wijs van spraaken genoeg bekend was, heeft men wel abuijs zo in het schrijven als in het vertaalen gedaan, maar zedert de ontdekking van de opregt smaak van de spraakkonst, door onzen wijdberoemde meester N. liuho in het jaar boenkwa Eerste, gedaan, zijn de duister wolken, die hier en daar overhingen, geheelverdweenen, gevolglijk moet men hem altoos in Eerbied blijven.

⁹²"... hij is zeer zwak van gesteltenis geweest..."

⁹³Sugimoto 1976: 661.

⁹⁴Numata et al. 1976: 387.

⁹⁵Numata 1992: 92.

followers.⁹⁶

Shizuki is best known for a number of publications in the field of Western science, most notably a work called *Rekishō shinsho* 曆象親書, which was a partial translation of John Keill's 1741 treatise on Newton's theories, *Inleidinge tot de Waare Natuur-en Sterrekunde* 'Introduction to True Physics and Astronomy'. He is also credited with the coining of the term *sakoku* 鎖国, 'national seclusion', which is to be found in his translation of a section of Kaempfer's "History of Japan", which he titled *Sakokuron* 鎖国論.⁹⁷

In the course of his translation work, Shizuki apparently felt a need for documenting his expertise, and with the aid of a number of Dutch text books on grammar he proceeded to produce a series of works which constituted a "revolutionary improvement in the study of the Dutch language".⁹⁸ These works were propagated by means of handwritten copies. His name also appears time and again in the titles of a number of works by his disciples, who were obviously anxious to convey the message that it was not their own expertise, but their master's, which they were recording. Thus we are left with a collection of manuscripts for which it is sometimes difficult to determine to what extent each is based on Shizuki's own work.

By all accounts his knowledge of Dutch was excellent. Sugita Genpaku tells us in his famous *Rangaku kotohajime* that Shizuki was "said to be the ablest interpreter since the word *oranda-tsūji* 和蘭通詞 ('Dutch interpreter') appeared in Japan".⁹⁹ Ōtsuki Gentaku also sings Shizuki's praises in *Ran'yaku kaitei*.¹⁰⁰ Where and how he acquired his expertise is not known for certain. Although he receives not a single mention in the *Dagregister*, he himself does mention asking the Dutchmen about the Dutch language in a manuscript called *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* 柳圃中野先生文法 (discussed below). It seems likely that he naturally acquired an understanding of Dutch in his teens, when he would have attended lessons under the Dutch surgeon on Dejima. His works certainly show a depth of understanding well beyond that displayed by any other Japanese up to that time. Sugita Genpaku refers to him as a pupil of Motoki Ryōei (1735–1794), a Nagasaki-based interpreter and scholar.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶Despite this, in modern literature he is commonly referred to by his adoptive name, Shizuki Tadao, possibly because of the association with a well-established interpreter family. The name Shizuki Tadao is used throughout this study for the sake of clarity.

⁹⁷Bodart Bailey 1988: 26.

⁹⁸Numata 1992: 106.

⁹⁹Sugita 1969: 69.

¹⁰⁰Numata et al. 1976: 390.

¹⁰¹Sugita 1969: 68. Motoki Ryōei's linguistic work and expertise are discussed in Chapter

Another feature that set Shizuki apart from other interpreters, and which no doubt played a significant part in his approach to the study of language, was his scholarship. His linguistic works contain quotes from intellectuals such as Motoori Norinaga and Ogyū Sorai, and several of his works, most notably *Rangaku seizenfu*, instruct the student in the proper usage of literary Japanese, with the aid of classical poetry. Yet the tone of his works is informal, colloquial almost. He occasionally even provides equivalents of certain literary forms in Nagasaki dialect. He rarely identified himself as the author of a manuscript, and never bothered dating them. In at least one of his manuscripts he refers to 'secret' translations of Japanese into Dutch.¹⁰² One is left with the impression that, despite his no longer holding the rank of an interpreter, Shizuki never envisaged his writings reaching an audience outside the members of the Interpreters Guild.

However, Shizuki's scholarship and insight into the structures of language appears not to have been matched by a talent for conveying his discoveries clearly and intelligibly to students. Baba Sajūrō repeatedly warns beginners against attempting to study from Shizuki's works before gaining a solid understanding of the basics through introductory works. Ōtsuki Genkan, following a stay with Shizuki in Nagasaki, was given a copy of *Rangaku seizenfu* to take back to Edo, but found to his frustration that he was unable to understand it.¹⁰³ Some of Shizuki's explanations in *Zokubun kinnō* are so obscure that they could only have been useful as reference material to students who had already mastered his teachings. No doubt it is for this reason that Shizuki's works were never published or copied widely; his teachings were disseminated largely through works by his students, who never failed to acknowledge their master as the main source of their knowledge.

Although Shizuki led a life of seclusion, he is known to have had at least five students. The most influential of these was Baba Sajūrō, who in 1808 moved to Edo for official translation duties, and produced several carefully crafted Dutch textbooks based on Shizuki's teachings. Others who based Dutch study materials on Shizuki's work and introduced it to a wider audience include Ōtsuki Gentaku's son Genkan 大槻玄幹 (1785–1837) and Yoshio Shunzō 吉雄俊蔵 (1787–1843), *rangaku* scholar and grandson of interpreter Yoshio Kōzaemon 吉雄幸左衛門 (1724–1800).

Shizuki Tadao died in 1806, when he was only 46 years old, and was buried at the Koeiji Temple in Nagasaki. Although, as noted above, today he is best known for his

III-2.

¹⁰²De Groot 1998: 29, 43 and 62.

¹⁰³Sugimoto 1976: 294.

translations of Western scientific and political works, among his contemporaries he was well-respected for his linguistic achievements. As will be shown below, his works certainly demonstrate an approach to Dutch that was radically different from that of any of his predecessors, and provided subsequent students of Dutch with important new insights into the structures of both Dutch and Japanese. Shizuki's textbooks and related works were used in private language academies in Edo, Nagoya and Kyoto until and even after the end of the period of national isolation. Thus, despite the fact that none of Shizuki's original works was ever published, he can justifiably be called a key figure in the study of the Dutch language in Japan during the period of national isolation.

Shizuki's works: two periods

There are two quite distinct periods discernable in Shizuki's linguistic work. Initially he attempted to combine the rules of pre-modern Japanese grammar with what he had gleaned about Dutch grammar from the Dutch-French dictionaries of Pieter Marin and François Halma¹⁰⁴ into a set of concepts that would apply to both languages. These works include the manuscripts *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* 柳圃中野先生文法, *Joshikō* 助詞考 and *Rangaku seizenfu* 蘭学生前父.

A change in Shizuki's linguistic thinking came early in the nineteenth century, when he acquired a copy of the grammar textbook *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst* (1708) by William Séwel (1653–1720).¹⁰⁵ Although Séwel's work was by then already almost a century old and well out of date, it was the first complete Western work on linguistics that Shizuki had ever seen. The realisation that European scholars had already produced a comprehensive system to explain their language must have come as a major revelation to Shizuki, because he subsequently produced only translations and interpretations from Séwel's work. Although Shizuki's earlier manuscripts gave him his reputation as a pioneer of Dutch language studies, it was these Séwel-based works that brought about a major change in Japanese linguistic approaches to grammar, the influence of which is can still seen in modern-day Japanese linguistics.

Pre-Séwel Shizuki: *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* 柳圃中野先生文法, *Joshikō* 助詞考 and *Rangaku seizenfu* 蘭学生前父.

Although *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* 柳圃中野先生文法 ('The Grammar of Master

¹⁰⁴It is not clear which edition of Marin's dictionary Shizuki used, but, while the eighteenth century saw six reprints of this dictionary, this was more the result of demand than of a desire to revise, and there is little difference among the various editions.

¹⁰⁵Séwel had earlier briefly worked with François Halma on the latter's Dutch-French dictionary (Dibbets G.R.W. in: De Bonth & Noordegraaf 1995: 71).

Shizuki') is anonymous and undated, there are indications that it may represent Shizuki's earliest grammatical work. The work's title as well as the nature and style of its contents leave us in no doubt as to its pedigree. The fact that it makes no mention of, nor appears to be influenced by Séwel, indicates that Shizuki wrote this work before his surrender to Séwel's grammar. Instead, several references are made to Marin. A copy of the work can be found in Udagawa Genzui's *Rangaku hizō* 蘭学秘蔵 (discussed below). Udagawa, who died in 1797, never visited Nagasaki himself. Sugimoto suggests that he may have obtained Shizuki's work from Ōtsuki Gentaku, who met Shizuki when he went to Nagasaki in 1785.¹⁰⁶ Finally, *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* contains a reference to a ship called *Mars*. The *Mars* visited Nagasaki harbour in the years 1780, 1781 and 1782.¹⁰⁷ All this points to the contents of this work originating sometime in the early 1780s, when Shizuki was in his early twenties.¹⁰⁸

On the reverse of the manuscript's title page is a brush-written note, thought to have been added by Ōtsuki Gentaku's grandson Fumihiko 大槻文彦 (1847–1928), which states that he thought this manuscript to be Shizuki's elusive *Oranda shihinkō*. The reasons why this is unlikely are outlined below.¹⁰⁹

The work is a treatise on Dutch language structures. It contains only brief Dutch words and phrases, which are occasionally provided as grammatical equivalents to Japanese examples of grammatical behaviour. The work is thus probably the first example of Shizuki's attempts to explore grammatical laws that applied to both languages. That this was no easy task can be illustrated by a translation of the work's first paragraph:

*Zelfstandig naamwoord*¹¹⁰ is the word that indicates the names of things. The names of all physical and abstract matters belong to this category. For example, when we say 千里ノ行万里ノ危難,¹¹¹ we use [characters] like 行, 危 and 難. When we say 千里ヲ行,¹¹² the character 行 represents the *werkwoord*¹¹³ *gaan*,

¹⁰⁶Sugimoto 1976: 420.

¹⁰⁷Blussé et al. 2004: 815.

¹⁰⁸The title of the work, 'The Grammar of Master Shizuki' was obviously added by a later copyist, perhaps Udagawa Genzui. As one of Shizuki's earliest attempts at describing elements of Dutch grammar, it is possible that the original draft did not have a formal title.

¹⁰⁹See p. 157-8 below.

¹¹⁰'Noun'.

¹¹¹*Senri no kō, banri no kinan*. 'A long journey will bring many dangers'.

¹¹²*Senri o iku*. 'To travel a long distance'.

¹¹³'Verb'.

^{KA U}
¹¹⁴ but in the earlier 行 it is [a noun]: *gang*.¹¹⁵ Using [the noun] *gevaar*,¹¹⁶ 危, in the combination 危難, makes it a *bijvoeglijk naamwoord*.¹¹⁷ *gevaarlijk*.¹¹⁸ When we say that something has emerged from nothing, the character 無 ('nothing') is a *zelfstandig naamwoord*, but when we say something is not, the character 無 ('not') is a *bijwoord*: *niet*.

Thus, the Western concepts noun, verb, adjective and adverb are applied directly to Japanese. Nevertheless, Shizuki does not abandon the already existing Japanese terminology, probably because he understands that the categories do not always cover the same vocabulary. For example, the term *bijvoeglijk naamwoord* ('adjective') is described as:

Words that express neither substance nor activity. All *keiyōji* 形容字 belong to this category. If a word expresses the appearance of a thing or the quality of a matter, it belongs to this group.

The next paragraph discusses the relationship between adjectives and nouns, both in Dutch and in Japanese:

Groot 大ナリ, *rond* 丸シ and *ziek* 疾ム belong to this group. [But] *grootte* 大 *rondte* 丸 *ziekte* 疾 are all nouns.¹¹⁹

This idea appears in a more sophisticated way in the diagrams in *Joshikō* and *Rangaku seizenfu*.¹²⁰

Several of the Dutch terms for parts of speech are given a direct translation:

zelfstanding naamwoord (noun) becomes: *jiritsu meigo* 自立名語 (lit. 'self standing name word');

bijvoeglijk naamwoord (adjective): *bōki meigo* 傍寄名語 (lit. 'added-on name word');

bijwoord (adverb): *bōgo* 傍語 (lit. 'side word');

¹¹⁴To go', 'to travel'.

¹¹⁵Journey'.

¹¹⁶Danger'.

¹¹⁷Adjective'.

¹¹⁸Dangerous'.

¹¹⁹Here, the nouns 'large', 'round' and 'ill' are juxtaposed with their adjectival relations 'largeness', 'roundness' and 'illness'.

¹²⁰See p. 155 below.

werkwoord (verb): *ijigo* 為事語 (lit. 'activity word')

However, when referring to the Japanese language, Shizuki uses the Japanese linguistic terminology that was current at the time. Thus, Japanese adjectives are *keiyōgo* 形容語, transitive verbs are *shizengo* 使然語, intransitive verbs *jizengo* 自然語. Anything outside the categories noun, adjective and verb, however (including adverbs), is still referred to simply as *jogo* 助語 ('auxiliaries').

Terms for 'singular' and 'plural' were apparently yet to be devised, and Shizuki simply terms them *ikko* 一箇 ('one unit') and *tako* 多箇 ('multiple units') respectively.

An interesting insight into the difficulties Shizuki had coming to terms with some aspects of Dutch is provided in the exasperation he expresses when he talks about noun genders:

While the word for 'wife' is feminine, when [the Dutch] say *wijf*, it is not feminine, but neuter.¹²¹ This is so difficult! I have already asked the Dutchmen about this kind of thing, but didn't receive a good answer. I have left it for now, and can only wait for someone knowledgeable.

The work goes on to explain, again with no more than a sparing few Dutch examples, transitive and intransitive verbs, adverbs, articles, conjunctions, and participles. Then some examples of affixes are given and discussed, and the manuscript closes with a discussion of first, second and third person verb conjugations. Only in one instance is case mentioned:

When saying *den*, it means that the noun is passively receiving. In such cases it is said to be *beschuldigende geval*, like being accused.

Shizuki was not to address the issue of case again for some twenty years.

Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō represents Shizuki's first attempts at applying Western grammar concepts to the Japanese language. It is a work that was clearly not aimed at beginners, nor is it a well-designed course for advanced students. Its verbose content gives it the appearance of a collection of notes, either for Shizuki himself, or to accompany his lessons. Many Dutch words and phrases are given without translation, the reader clearly being expected to know the vocabulary.

The manuscript contains some serious errors, particularly in the Dutch elements. They are often likely to be the result of miscopying, and in places they have corrupted the work to such an extent that the original text cannot be inferred. However, in

¹²¹The Dutch word *wijf* does indeed take the neuter article *het*.

other cases it is clear that Shizuki's own expertise has let him down. For example, for his demonstration of the plural he has selected a noncountable noun, *dauw* ('dew'), obviously unaware that it has no plural.

Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō is a dense and not very user-friendly work. It is not surprising that even though it deals with some of the linguistic principles that were to revolutionise Dutch language studies decades later, it never received the acclaim or widespread usage that *Rangaku seizenfu* and in particular *Joshikō* did. Its interest now lies chiefly in its being a testament to Shizuki's development as a teacher of Dutch. *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* is the oldest manuscript we have of a Japanese scholar's struggles to understand the grammatical principles of a European language.

As discussed in earlier chapters, earlier students of Dutch had been unable to identify or translate the names for the Dutch parts of speech other than those that had direct equivalents in the Japanese language: nouns, verbs, adjectives and some adverbs. Everything else was simply termed *joshi* 助詞, 'auxiliary word'. Shizuki's two linguistic works *Joshikō* 助詞考 and *Rangaku seizenfu* 蘭学生前父, addressed this issue directly for the first time.

None of the extant manuscript copies of these two works is dated. Saitō suggests that *Joshikō* and Shizuki's other linguistic works are what Baba Sajūrō was referring to when he mentioned Shizuki's 'discovery of the true nature of grammar' in his foreword to *Oranda gohōkai* quoted above, and accordingly dates *Joshikō* to around the year 1804.¹²² However, as Katagiri points out, Udagawa Genzui (1755–1797) was shown *Joshikō* by Ōtsuki Gentaku, who had received a copy of the work from Shizuki during his trip to Nagasaki in 1786.¹²³ This dates the origin of *Joshikō* at least several years earlier. *Rangaku seizenfu* makes mention of *Joshikō*,¹²⁴ but conversely no mention of *Rangaku seizenfu* is made in any of the *Joshikō* manuscripts. This could suggest that *Joshikō* is the older work of the two. However, as will be seen below,¹²⁵ some *Joshikō* manuscripts appear to refer to Dutch model phrases presented in *Rangaku seizenfu*. It is likely, considering the style and content of these works, that they were designed as companion works. Since *Rangaku seizenfu* contains references to Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*, which was published in 1779, we can now deduce that these two works were produced between the years 1779 and 1786.

¹²²Saitō 1985: 78.

¹²³Katagiri 1985: 503.

¹²⁴De Groot 1998: 67.

¹²⁵See p. 153 n. 140 below.

Joshikō lists an extensive collection of adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and articles, and demonstrates their usage and meaning through model phrases. *Rangaku seizenfu* deals with auxiliary verbs, again through a variety of model phrases. Both manuscripts also contain diagrams in which he attempts to reconcile the relationships between Japanese and Dutch nouns, verbs and adjectives.¹²⁶ Shizuki included only nouns, verbs and adjectives in his diagrams. Everything else was deemed by him to belong to a third group, called *joshi* 助詞, or auxiliary words. In this respect he was still limited by the same gaps in linguistic knowledge that had prevented his predecessors from evolving towards an awareness of the structures of Dutch. It is an indication of Shizuki's genius that, based on fundamentally the same information that had been available to his predecessors, he introduced into Dutch language studies in Japan revolutionary ideas and dramatically improved levels of sophistication and accuracy.

Rangaku seizenfu demonstrates the use of two model verbs, one transitive (*spreeken*, 'to speak') and the other intransitive (*vallen*, 'to fall'), and applies them in a number of example phrases, particularly in conjunction with the auxiliary verbs *hebben*, *zijn* and *zullen*. Japanese equivalents of these phrases are also presented. *Rangaku seizenfu* is a complex work, both in material and in construction. Written for the advanced student of the Dutch language, it tackles two key differences in the structures of both languages—auxiliary verbs and clause modifiers. A large proportion of *Rangaku seizenfu* consists of carefully structured sequences of model phrases, in typical Shizuki fashion using only a small selection of vocabulary in order to focus the attention on the structures themselves. Interspersed among these are concise paragraphs, which highlight or explain certain difficult points. In addition, excerpts of well-known classical Japanese poems and references to works by Japanese scholars such as Motoori Norinaga are used to instruct students about Japanese literary forms. Thus it appears that the aim of *Rangaku seizenfu* was not only to teach Dutch, but to raise the student's level of expertise in both Dutch and Japanese.

Shizuki's expertise is clear from his writings, as is his aim, which was to provide advanced students of Dutch (presumably those who had already spent a number of years as apprentice interpreters) with a more literary approach to some aspects of the two languages. He obviously assumed that his students would not be familiar with many Japanese literary forms, since he provides considerable instruction in this area, as well as numerous colloquial equivalents. Thus, the work was clearly designed for the relatively unscholarly Nagasaki interpreters. Although *Rangaku seizenfu* was never designed as a work to be used by *rangaku* scholars in Edo, Kyoto and Nagoya,

¹²⁶A complete translation and analysis of *Rangaku seizenfu* can be found in De Groot 1998. *Joshikō* is discussed below.

It ended up fulfilling precisely that role.¹²⁷ As a result, his works were often well beyond the understanding of those who attempted to use them as textbooks. Whereas Shizuki assumed that his students would have some knowledge of spoken Dutch, but little awareness of Japanese literary forms, the situation in the big cities would have been the reverse. In his introduction to *Rango kanri jikō*, Baba Sajūrō, who wrote his teaching material for the benefit of students in Edo, cautions beginning students not to attempt a study of works such as *Rangaku seizenfu* (and *Joshikō*) until a sound knowledge of the basics of Dutch grammar and vocabulary had been reached.¹²⁸ Ōtsuki Genkan, following a stay with Shizuki in Nagasaki, was given a copy of *Rangaku seizenfu* to take back to Edo, but found to his frustration that he was unable to understand it.¹²⁹ It is therefore not surprising that a certain degree of misunderstanding and carelessness should have given rise to errors in the copied manuscripts produced in places such as Edo and Nagoya.

Joshikō, a much lengthier work than *Rangaku seizenfu*, is a vocabulary reference work. However, unlike the conventional word lists that students and interpreters of Dutch kept at the time, it presents some 150 Dutch words and short phrases that Shizuki considered to be 'auxiliaries', that is, words, either in Dutch or in Japanese, that had no direct equivalent in the other language. The list includes conjunctions, prepositions, adverbs, articles, and short phrases.¹³⁰ This grouping together of all words besides nouns, verbs and adjectives in this way appears to indicate that at that stage Shizuki had as yet no complete awareness of all Dutch parts of speech categories. The term *joshi* 助詞, a direct translation of the Dutch term *hulpwoord* (lit. 'supporting word'), remains in use as a Japanese linguistic term today, although it no longer has the broad meaning that Shizuki gave it.¹³¹

Each entry is followed by a translation or description in Japanese. The term or phrase is then presented in the context of one or more Dutch example phrases, some of which are then also translated. The fact that not all example phrases are translated is another indication that Shizuki had advanced students of Dutch in mind.

¹²⁷For example, one manuscript bears the name of Kōno Ryō 可野亮, an Edo scholar, and another was produced at or for Udagawa Yōan's Nagoya language academy (De Groot 1998: 25).

¹²⁸*Rango kanri jiko* is discussed on pp. 171ff below.

¹²⁹Sugimoto 1976: 294.

¹³⁰ There are also some adjectives, such as *zogenamde* ('so-called'), that Shizuki may not have recognised as such. Although most of the entries in Marin's dictionary are followed by an abbreviated indication of its word category, many do not. In any case, *zogenamde* is not an entry in Marin.

¹³¹In modern Japanese, *joshi* refers to the auxiliary particles only.

A disproportionately generous amount of attention is given to the first entry, *alleen*. No fewer than forty-two examples of the use of this word are given. Shizuki appears to have had trouble explaining to his students the difference between *alleen* in the various senses of 'alone', 'only' and 'mere'. As an illustration of the confusion this word caused, half a dozen examples are shown here, that use essentially the same vocabulary:¹³²

In dit landschap alleen wonen tien dúizend menschen.

('In this area alone ten thousand people live.')

Tien dúizend menschen wonen in dit landschap alleen niet.

('Only, in this area ten thousand people do not live.')

Niet in dit landschap alleen wonen tien dúizend menschen.

('Not in this area alone do ten thousand people live.')

Niet alleen in dit landschap tien dúizend menschen wonen.

('Not only in this area do ten thousand people live.')

In dit landschap wonen alleen tien dúizend menschen.

('Only ten thousand people live in this area.')

In dit landschap wonen tien dúizend menschen alleen.

('In this area ten thousand people live alone.')

That this kind of nicety presented considerable difficulty is shown by the fact that Shizuki himself does not always provide the correct Japanese translation of the phrases. In addition, in the margin next to the second of these models a copyist or student has added an uncursivised version of the same phrase, with the explanation that the phrase means '... some of these people live in another area...', an interpretation that would have been accurate if it had applied to the third phrase. Not surprisingly, in most of the later manuscripts the *alleen* section has been either drastically shortened, or deleted entirely.

Shizuki relied on Pieter Marin's *Groot Nederduitsch en Fransch Woordenboek* for example material in *Rangaku seizenfu*, and even more for *Joshikō*. Thus, the model

¹³²The English renditions provided here are my own interpretations of the Dutch sentences.

sentence *Als hij te huis is durft 'er niemand spreken*, which Shizuki modifies in *Rangaku seizenfu* in a number of ways to demonstrate the workings of the conditional. In both languages, can be found in Marin's dictionary under the entry ALS.¹³³



**Al heeft een hoer een schoon gezicht/
't Is een lanterne sonder licht.**

Fig 14.

An illustration from Jacob Cats' *Spiegel van de Ouden en den Nieuwen Tyd*, Rotterdam, 1627.

Rangaku seizenfu's other fundamental model sentence, *Al heeft een hoer een mooi gezicht, het is een lantaarn zonder licht*,¹³⁴ appears in the work of Grand Pensionary and poet Jacob Cats (1577–1660),¹³⁵ while a similar phrase is presented in Marin's dictionary: *'t Is een groote lantaern zonder licht*.¹³⁶

Rangaku seizenfu makes mention of both Marin and Halma,¹³⁷ but in *Joshikō* only Marin is mentioned, and no passages from Halma have been used in any of the *Joshikō*-based manuscripts investigated for this study. Sugimoto lists six different manuscripts for *Joshikō*, which he divides into two groups, each representing a different version, and a third, single manuscript that is different from those in either

¹³³Marin 1730: 47. The same sentence also makes an appearance in *Joshikō*.

¹³⁴'A whore, even if she has a pretty face, is a lantern without a light.'

¹³⁵Schama 1987: 466.

¹³⁶Marin 1730: 511.

¹³⁷De Groot 1998: 42, 78.

category.¹³⁸ All but two manuscripts acknowledge Shizuki as the original author and contain the term *joshikō* (助詞考) or *jojikō* (助字考, 助辞考) in the title, all having broadly the same meaning, viz. 'About Auxiliary Words'. One of the manuscripts, which bears the title *Kyojikai* 虚辞解 ('On Empty Words'), but is a version of *Joshikō* nonetheless, also has the Dutch title *Hulpwoordenboek*. All manuscripts contain the kind of errors that indicate a lack of Dutch knowledge on the part of the copyist rather than ignorance on the part of the author, and clearly none is from Shizuki's own hand.¹³⁹

The differences between the various manuscripts lie mainly in the selection of entries and their formatting. Some manuscripts contain an alphabetical index, while in others the entries themselves are alphabetically arranged. There is also a difference in the presence or absence of certain elements in the introductory text. Three introductory remarks appear at the beginning of the *Joshikō* 助詞考, *Ryūho sensei joshikō* 柳圃先生助詞考 and *Rango kunkai* 蘭語訓解 manuscripts:

- The term *shūshi* 衆詞 means 'plural', or *meervoudig woord*.
- The entries below are taken from Marin's work. Items from other works can be found under nos. 10 and 33. These too are not from my hand.
- The past tense of the words that appear above¹⁴⁰ may be translated into Japanese in several ways, such as *iiki* いひき, *iishi* いひし and *iishikaba* いひしかば and so forth. These are renditions that express the past. When translating a story that is set in the past, these can of course be translated as *ieri* いへり, *ieru* いへる, *iikeredomo* いひけれとも and such. This also applies to other words.¹⁴¹ Again, in stories set in the past, いひき and such may sometimes also be used. This is explained in my work *Sansekō*.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Sugimoto 1976: 326. This third manuscript, titled *Jojikō ryūho sensei kyō* 助字考柳圃先生教, ('*Jojikō*, The Teachings of the Late Master Ryūho') is a condensed version that is written in pen or quill, in a more modern style of handwriting. It must therefore be dated much later than the others, perhaps as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. It is also the only manuscript that employs an alphabetical order for the main section of the text. Its author appears to have returned to Marin as a direct source, and only used Shizuki's work as an inspiration.

¹³⁹ It seems that the task of copying manuscripts was sometimes assigned to beginner students. One manuscript ('*Joshikō* Abridged' 助詞考約編) contains a duplicate of one of its pages. Everything in these two pages is identical, including all mistakes, suggesting that the copyist did not have enough knowledge or expertise to tell correct from incorrect.

¹⁴⁰ Since this is the opening sentence of this manuscript of *Joshikō*, it is not entirely clear what is referred to here. However, since these examples occur in *Rangaku seizenfu*, it is possible that this is a reference to this work, reinforcing the notion that *Joshikō* and *Rangaku seizenfu* were designed to be used as companion works.

¹⁴¹ '...other words...' here is a reference to other conjugable words, which in Japanese also includes a large group of adjectives.

¹⁴² The work *Sansekō* 三世考 by Shizuki appears to be no longer extant. The material described, however, is discussed in *Rangaku seizenfu*.

While it is true that most of the model phrases in *Joshikō* can be found in Pieter Marin's *Groot Nederduitsch en Fransch Woordenboek*, certainly more than the two referred to in the second of these notes are not.¹⁴¹ It is likely that this discrepancy is the result of adding and editing by subsequent copyists. What this passage does establish, however, is that Shizuki's original manuscript was ordered under numerical headings, and that the alphabetically arranged manuscripts are of later origin. It appears that Shizuki compiled the entries initially as they occurred to him, or as they came to hand. It is not clear whether he himself or a later copyist added the alphabetical index that appears at the end of some manuscripts.

The third of the introductory remarks is a reference to *jiseki* 事跡, a term Shizuki coined to indicate the 'historical present' form that verbs may take in Japanese stories set in the past, in contrast to Dutch, where, as in English, verb tenses are applied consistently.¹⁴² This approach is characteristic of Shizuki, who devoted a considerable proportion of his earlier linguistic work to the teaching of literary Japanese forms. In other manuscripts, this third item is lacking. It appears that each of the copyists selected from the original work those elements he thought useful. While Shizuki had aimed his teachings at his former colleagues in the Interpreters' Guild, who were often not entirely *au fait* with literary forms of Japanese, later copies of his work were produced or commissioned by scholars in centres such as Edo and Kyoto, who would have had no need for such instruction.

Finally, several of the manuscripts also contain two diagrams followed by an explanatory text, which represent an attempt to indicate the relationship between various parts of speech. A simplified version of these diagrams also appears in *Rangaku seizenfu*. The principles depicted in these diagrams are an elaboration on the ideas of relationship between nouns and adjectives Shizuki had already outlined in *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō*, discussed above. Here, however, Japanese nomenclature for the parts of speech has been developed. This nomenclature was based on the Chinese convention of dividing characters into two broad categories, *jisshi* 実詞, 'substantive words', and *kyoshi* 虚詞, 'non-substantive' or 'empty' words. Shizuki used the term *jisshi* for nouns, and *kyoshi* for verbs and adjectives. All other words were grouped under a category called *joshi* 助詞, 'auxiliaries'. He then used the terms 'static' (静) and 'dynamic' (動) to distinguish adjectives and verbs respectively inside the 'non-substantial' group. He applied the terms 'alive' (活) and 'dead' (死) to indicate

¹⁴¹Those phrases in *Joshikō* not found in Marin are listed in Appendix I, p.271.

¹⁴²De Groot 1998: 94-98.

declineable and non-declineable words respectively.¹⁴³

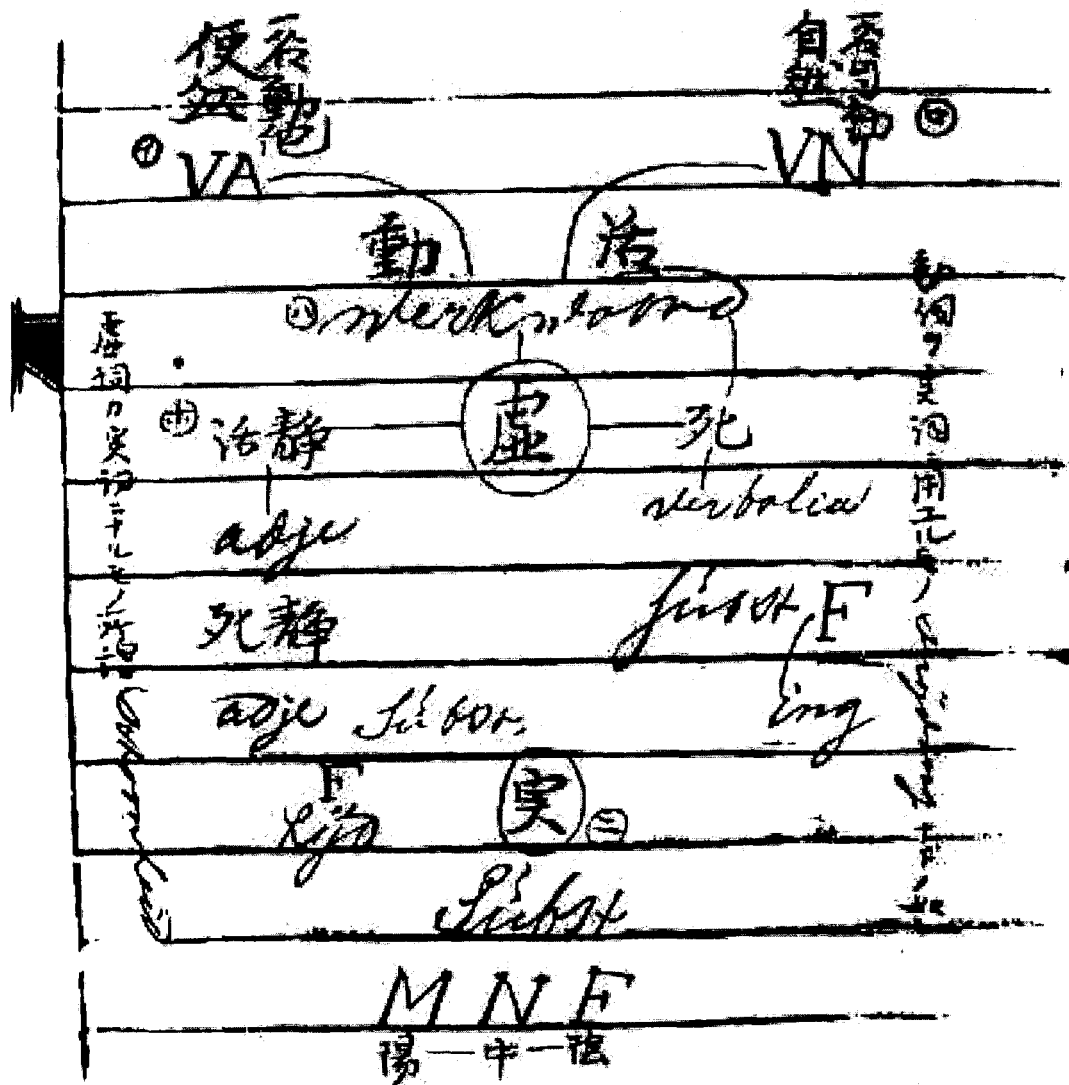


Fig 15.

A diagram from Shizuki Tadao's *Joshikō*, showing the interrelationships between nouns, verbs and adjectives in Dutch and Japanese

Rangaku seizenfu, although conventionally thought of as one of Shizuki's major works, in fact had little long term influence on the way the Dutch language was studied in Japan. There were two main reasons for this. One was that the work was aimed at Nagasaki interpreters who wished to improve their written language skills, both in Dutch and Japanese. The work was thus designed on the assumption that students on the one hand had already achieved a considerable proficiency in the spoken Dutch language, but on the other hand had little or no understanding of literary Japanese, which by then had become so archaic that it was all but incomprehensible to the uninitiated. To most *rangaku* scholars therefore, *Rangaku seizenfu* presented a level of Dutch that was far beyond them, while the elements

¹⁴³ An analysis of these diagrams can be found in De Groot 1998: 102-108.

that instructed them in literary Japanese usage were quite unnecessary.

The second reason that *Rangaku seizenfu* was of little consequence to the further development of the study of Dutch (and subsequently to the study of other European languages) in Japan was that it proposed a system of grammar that was common to both Dutch and Japanese, a system that was effectively nipped in the bud when sophisticated Western prescriptive works of grammar began to arrive from Holland. That it did gain a certain currency is shown by the fact that a small number of manuscript copies was produced at some language schools. *Rangaku seizenfu*'s role, however, lies mainly in that its sophisticated approach helped give Dutch learning the academic respectability it had lacked until the end of the eighteenth century.

In contrast, *Joshikō*, being a reference work, was much more accessible, and judging by the number of copies and adaptations that still survive today, achieved much wider acceptance. Some manuscripts do include Shizuki's diagrams depicting his theories on common grammar principles, as well as some brief remarks regarding literary Japanese, but these are not part of the main reference section of the work, and indeed were omitted from several manuscripts of *Joshikō*. As shown above, at least one manuscript, *Jojikō, Nakano sensei kyō* 助字考柳圃先生教, ('On Auxiliary Words; The Teachings of Master Ryūho'), appears, judging by its modern handwriting, to have been produced perhaps as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, indicating that the work retained its value as a learning resource probably right up until the time Dutch lost its sole position as the language of Western science and technology in Japan.

Post-Séwel Shizuki

At some stage, however, Shizuki seems to have experienced a kind of epiphany, which caused him suddenly and completely to abandon his attempts to reconcile Japanese and Dutch on their own respective terms, and henceforth to apply European linguistic principles to the Japanese language. Since all his subsequent linguistic works were entirely based on William Séwel's *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst*—indeed, they were little more than translations of sections of Séwel's book with Japanese equivalents added—it seems fair to conclude that it was Séwel's grammar that provided Shizuki with insights and solutions that he had been searching for. In his work *Oranda bunpan tekiyō* (和蘭文範摘要, 'An Outline of Dutch Grammar', 1814), Baba Sajūrō relates that he once asked Shizuki how he had acquired his knowledge of Dutch grammar. Shizuki replied:

"I read a book called GARAMACHIIKA¹⁴⁴ by a Dutchman called SEUERU.¹⁴⁵ After studying it day and night I managed to grasp some of it, which I now pass on to my children and followers. I have been fortunate enough to be able to resolve many accumulated questions for the first time through this book, and have acquired an understanding of the general principles of this material."¹⁴⁶

Shizuki went on to say that he had found Séwel's book in the collection of an interpreter called Nishi. Records show that in 1800 Séwel's grammar was listed among the possessions of deceased *opperhoofd* Gijsbert Hemmy, and was subsequently purchased by Hendrik Doeff. This is the first mention of Séwel's book on the official import lists into Japan.¹⁴⁷ Doeff's relationship of cooperation with the interpreters makes it likely that it was this copy that found its way onto Nishi's bookshelf, and subsequently into the hands of Shizuki. It was probably the first comprehensive Western grammar to be imported into Japan, and certainly the first one Shizuki saw.¹⁴⁸ This was very likely the "discovery of the true nature of grammar by our famous teacher Liuho in the year 1804" that Baba mentioned in his foreword to *Oranda gohōge* shown above, and indeed was a dramatic development in the evolution of Dutch language studies in Japan.

The search for *Oranda shihinkō* 和蘭詞品考

Since Shizuki lived the life of a recluse and his works were never published nor for the most part dated, it was difficult even in the early nineteenth century to identify the contents of some of his works with certainty. Baba Sajūrō, who left Nagasaki in 1811, relates how in his younger days in Nagasaki he had heard of a work of Shizuki's called *Oranda shihinkō* 和蘭詞品考 ('On Dutch Parts of Speech').

However, the master did not freely allow others to see this work, probably because it was only a first draft that he planned to revise, and he was worried that there might still be some errors in it. The master was always deeply committed

¹⁴⁴*Grammatica* ('Grammar'). Sewel's book is in fact called *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst*. It is not clear why its title was misrepresented. However, in *Ran'yaku teikō* 蘭訳梯航 (publ. 1816), Baba's associate at the translation bureau in Edo, Ōtsuki Gentaku, uses the term GARAMACHIKA (without the extended *i*), and explains that this is also called SUPURAAKAKYUNDE (*Spraakkunde*) in Dutch (Numata et al. 1976: 390).

¹⁴⁵Séwel's name is represented phonetically in Chinese characters here: 泄物尔.

¹⁴⁶Sugimoto 1976: 661. My translation.

¹⁴⁷MacLean 1974: 37-38.

¹⁴⁸*Joshikō* and *Rangaku seizenfu* make mention of both Halma and Marin, but neither Séwel's name nor his influence are apparent in these two works.

to his work.¹⁴⁹

Oranda shihinkō has since become a kind of 'holy grail' of Shizuki's work. Many scholars have attempted to identify it, several claimed that they identified it, but no-one is sure which of the numerous copies and adaptations (if any) of Shizuki's works represents the original. We have seen above how Ōtsuki Fumihiko thought he had identified the work in the manuscript *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō*.¹⁵⁰ Baba himself thought that an error-ridden manuscript by Nishi Kichiemon, 西吉右衛門 (正典, 可圭?) called *Rango kuhinshū* 蘭語九品集 ('A Compilation of the Nine Parts of Dutch Speech'), given to him in 1814 by an interpreter who was visiting him in Edo, was a revised and enlarged version of the elusive work. Baba titled his revised version *Teisei rango kuhinshū* 訂正蘭語九品集 ('Corrected Compilation of the Nine Parts of Dutch Speech').¹⁵¹

Since the original *Oranda shihinkō* has never been found, it is not known whether it was indeed the basis for Nishi Kichiemon's *Rango kuhinshū* (and subsequently Baba Sajūrō's revised version of it). Both *Rango kuhinshū* and *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* deal with parts of speech. Their treatment of the subject, however, is quite different, and the two works clearly stem from different periods in Shizuki's life. A number of factors appear to indicate that *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* does not fit the bill. As shown above, Shizuki told Baba Sajūrō that he learnt about Dutch grammar from Séwel. Later, in his foreword to *Oranda gohōkai*, Baba informs us that Shizuki's linguistic revelations came to him in 1804. It seems likely that this refers to Shizuki's discovery of Séwel's comprehensive grammar. The long-lost *Oranda shihinkō* is therefore hardly likely to have been a work such as *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō*, which was probably written before Baba was born, and which would have been available to him when he was in the Interpreters Guild. The linguistic theories *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* contains are no more sophisticated than Baba's earliest works, such as *Kanri jikō*.

Shizuki's Séwel-based works

Although a number of Shizuki's followers produced works based on his linguistic discoveries, in the area of Shizuki's Séwel-based linguistic work only five titles are still extant that appear to be direct copies of his own manuscripts:

¹⁴⁹Introduction to *Teisei rango kuhinshū* 訂正蘭語九品集.

¹⁵⁰See p. 145 above. Indeed, the manuscript is catalogued in the Kyoto University library under the name *Oranda shihinkō*.

¹⁵¹*Teisei rango kuhinshū* is discussed on pp. 180ff below.

1. *Kuhinshi myōmoku* 九品詞名目 ('Nomenclature of the Nine Parts of Speech') (n.d.).
2. *Sanshu shokaku* 三種諸格 ('Three Genders in the Various Cases') (n.d.).
3. *Shihō shoji taiyaku* 四法諸時対訳 ('Translations of the Various Tenses in the Four Moods') (1805) and *Ranbunpō shoji* 蘭文法諸時 ('The Various Tenses in Dutch Grammar') (n.d.).¹⁵²
4. *Zokubun kinnō* 属文錦囊 ('A Brocade Bag of Related Language') (appendix to *Shihō shoji taiyaku*).
5. *Ryūho sensei kyoshikō* 柳圃先生虚詞考 ('Master Ryūho on Adjectives') (n.d.).

All five are inferior copies containing numerous corruptions. Most of *Ryūho sensei kyoshikō* appears to be missing, leaving only a few introductory pages. Fortunately, the contents of all these works as well as other linguistic studies of Shizuki's were preserved and elaborated upon by a number of subsequent students of the Dutch language.

Kuhinshi myōmoku (九品詞名目) is a concise, dry list of the vowels and the nine parts of Dutch speech, followed by a brief listing of the six cases,¹⁵³ the four moods and the three tenses. The sequence of presentation, the Dutch and Latin terminology and the model words and phrases show a clear link between this work and Séwel's *Nederduitsche Spraakkonst*.

Very few Dutch examples are given, and the work appears to have been designed for reference rather than study. Unlike *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō*, which, as noted above, did not provide Japanese terms for singular and plural, this manuscript translated these as *tan* 単 and *fuku* 複 respectively, terms that are still in use today. Shizuki assigned the six cases the following Chinese characters:

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>nominativus</i> : | 正 |
| 2. <i>genitivus</i> : | 主 |
| 3. <i>dativus</i> : | 与 |
| 4. <i>accusativus</i> : | 所 |
| 5. <i>vocativus</i> : | 呼 |
| 6. <i>ablativus</i> : | 取 |

¹⁵²These two manuscripts are virtually identical.

¹⁵³Early Dutch grammarians borrowed many linguistic concepts from Latin. One of these was the concept of six cases. This had already been revised to four by the time Shizuki came across Sewel.

Three of these (主, 与 and 呼), as well as the term for 'case' itself (*kaku* 格) are still in use today, although in modern Japanese linguistics, 主 stands for the nominative case.

In other manuscripts, Shizuki linked case to the use of Japanese postpositional particles. The fact that this simple mechanism is not presented in *Kuhinshi myōmoku* may mean that the idea had not yet occurred to Shizuki, which would date this manuscript earlier than the others.

Sanshu shokaku 三種諸格 ('The three genders and various cases')

As the title indicates, this work focuses on gender and case. Although undated, the work is referred to in *Shihō shoji taiyaku* (1805), so it must predate 1805. The manuscript also mentions Keill, the author of a work on physics and astronomy, part of which Shizuki translated and published under the title *Rekishō shinsho* 歴象新書 ('New Treatise on Astronomy'). This has prompted Sugimoto to conclude that the work is dated to the early 1780s.¹⁵⁴ However, since *Rekishō shinsho* was published in three parts between the years 1798 and 1802, it is difficult to confirm this conclusion. Since, as will be shown below, the work is Séwel-based, it must have been produced either in or soon after 1804, the year when, according to Baba Sajūrō, Shizuki "discovered the true nature of grammar".¹⁵⁵

The linguistic terminology and model phrases Shizuki used in *Sanshu shokaku* show a clear connection with Séwel. Thus, the names for the six cases, both in Latin and in Dutch, correspond with those used by Séwel.¹⁵⁶ Model phrases that are used in the work include *werkende man*, *geslagen man*,¹⁵⁷ *de overste*,¹⁵⁸ etc.

Here for the first time we see case paralleled with the incidence of Japanese postpositional particles and auxiliaries:

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>nominativus</i> : | <i>ni ari</i> ニアリ <i>wa</i> ハ <i>mo</i> モ <i>ya</i> ヤ
<i>nari</i> ナリ <i>no gotoshi</i> ノ如シ <i>tada</i> 徒 |
| 2. <i>genitivus</i> : | <i>no</i> ノ |

¹⁵⁴Sugimoto 1976: 424 and 440.

¹⁵⁵See p. 141 above.

¹⁵⁶The terminology for case was not agreed upon by Dutch linguists of the eighteenth century, and almost every linguist employed his own variants.

¹⁵⁷Séwel 1708: 176–8.

¹⁵⁸Séwel 1708: 115.

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 3. <i>dativus</i> : | <i>ni</i> ニ to ト |
| 4. <i>accusativus</i> : | <i>wo</i> ヲ |
| 5. <i>vocativus</i> : | <i>yo</i> ヨ |
| 6. <i>ablativus</i> : | <i>yor</i> ヨリ <i>o motte</i> ヲ以テ |

This link between Japanese particles and the structures of European languages may have contributed to a greater consistency of particle usage and eventually of particles superseding inflections by and large as guides to syntactical relationships in Japanese sentences. *Sanshu shokaku* appears to have been the basis for Yoshio Shunzō's *Sanshukō* 三種考, discussed on pp. 205ff below.

Shihō shoji taiyaku 四法諸時対訳 and *Ranbunpō shoji* 蘭文法諸時

These two manuscripts are virtually identical and therefore appear to be copies of the same manuscript. However, *Shihō shoji taiyaku* is riddled with corruptions, some of them so serious that the work itself could only have served to confuse students, while *Ranbunpō shoji*, though not free of errors, is clearly a more reliable version of the same work.¹⁵⁹ Fortunately, since the work is set out very systematically, most of the corruptions are easily identified and corrected. For example, a list of subjunctive phrases appears in *Shihō shoji taiyaku* under the heading *aantoonende wijze* ('indicative'), but in *Ranbunpō shoji* is headed *aanvoegende wijze* ('subjunctive'). The *Shihō shoji taiyaku* manuscript closes with Shizuki's name and the year 1805, the year before Shizuki's death. The work thus provides a window on Shizuki's Dutch linguistic skills and ideas near the end of his life. The manuscript then continues with a short work called *Zokubun kinnō* 属文錦囊, which is discussed below.

Shihō shoji taiyaku, as the title suggests, presents an outline of the tenses and moods which occur in the Dutch language. The work contains four sections, giving an explanation and examples of each of the four moods, indicative, imperative, subjunctive and infinitive. Case is not discussed in this work. Although it is clearly based on Séwel, it is carefully designed in such a way as to provide the student with a gradual introduction to difficult grammar. In several places, short paragraphs of information are marked 'additional' (増), which have the appearance of having been inserted as optional study material for the benefit of more talented students.

The work opens with a brief introduction consisting of a list of the Dutch tenses and moods, and a Japanese translation of each of the terms. The term 'mood' is given the

¹⁵⁹Despite this, Sugimoto treats the former as the original, apparently solely on the strength of Shizuki's name appearing in the manuscript. An entire chapter is devoted to *Shiho shoji taiyaku* in Sugimoto 1976, pp. 453ff, while a complete facsimile of the manuscript itself is presented in Sugimoto 1991, pp. 583ff.

Japanese equivalent of *hō* 法, which is a literal translation of the Dutch term *wijze*, and is still the Japanese word for the grammatical term 'mood' today. At this point it assigns the Japanese term *fudanhō* 不断法 (lit. 'style of continuation') to the term *deelwoord* 'participle', and adds a descriptive comment: *i no tsuzuku kotoba* 意ノ続ク詞ナリ, lit. 'word for which the meaning continues'. Although this only describes the causative ('-ing'), the past participle does appear later in the document.

Each category then makes another appearance, this time with examples of the verb *leeren* ('to learn' or 'to teach') much as it appears in Séwel,¹⁶⁰ accompanied by Japanese equivalents, as well as several explanatory paragraphs. The work also devotes a number of pages to the verbs *hebben* ('to have'), and *spreken* ('to speak'). Finally, several pages of the manuscript are dedicated to the use of participles and infinitives in a variety of moods and tenses.

Shihō shoji taiyaku/Ranbunpō shoji was clearly designed to be only a basis for further study: after an initial demonstration of the first, second and third person, Shizuki announces that for the sake of brevity the remainder of the examples will be presented only in the first person. He refers the student to the last chapter of the manuscript *Sanshu shokaku* 三種諸格 (discussed above) for further examples.

In his tables of tenses and moods, Shizuki deals with the problem of inconsistent use of tense in Japanese by devising the concept of *jiseki* 事跡 ('evidence of past activity'), which is the present form of a verb when it is used in a past context. Japanese texts are not as consistent in their application of tense as Dutch (or English for that matter). It is common for a passage set in the past to use a mixture of past and present tenses, occasionally placing the reader in the subjective 'now' of the story, a 'narrative present'. Thus, in his conjugations of the verb *leeren* ('to learn'), he presents the past tense forms as follows:

<i>ik leerde</i>	(<i>jiseki</i>)	我学ぶ (<i>ware manabu</i>)
		我学ひき (<i>ware manabiki</i>)

He goes on to explain:

Although in *jiseki* it is translated by expressing the present in the past, as '*ware manabu*', sometimes it is expressed from a point of view of the [speaker's] present, as '*ware manabiki*'.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰Séwel 1708: 144–154.

¹⁶¹More information on *jiseki* can be found in De Groot 198: 94–98.

An interesting glimpse of the larger context of this work is provided by the presentation of part of a quaint version of the Hippocratic oath in Dutch as a demonstration of a future tense in the subjunctive:

The above *ik zal geleerd hebben* ('I shall have learnt') can be illustrated by the medical oath:

*al hetgeen ik gehoord en gezien zal hebben omtrent mijn patient, van heimelijke dingen dat zal liever met mij sterven dan dat ik het iemand bekend maaken zoude*¹⁶²

That Shizuki's interpretations were not always correct is shown by the following passage, which shows that he mistakenly thought that *schoon* ('though') cannot be used with the future tense:

als ik leeren zal ('If I am to learn')

我学ばん (*ware manaban*)

The above *als ik leeren zal* is future tense.

(Additional): If the word *schoon* is substituted, the [meaning of the] phrase becomes indeterminate. Therefore, the word *zal* cannot be used, as follows:

schoon ik leeren zoude ('though I were to learn')

我学ばめど (*ware manabamedo*)

我学へけれど (*ware manabekeredo*)

In a later paragraph, he incorrectly asserts that *al* ('though') is the equivalent of *schoon* in the future tense. However, he is not afraid to admit to uncertainties in his knowledge, as witnessed by the following passage:

Changing the above example, *geleerd te hebben* into *geleerd te zullen hebben*, turns it into a subjunctive. This is the infinitive of the subjunctive. One can also say *te zullen leeren*. Perhaps the [word] *te* in such phrases is always derived from *te zullen*.

As in his earlier works, notably in *Rangaku seizenfu*, he occasionally instructs his students in their own language as well as in Dutch:

¹⁶²Everything I have heard and seen regarding my patient in the way of confidential things should perish with me rather than me making such public.'

...making [the verb to learn] to a noun, it takes the forms of *manabu hito*, *manaberu hito* and *manaban hito* and such; when it appears in conjunction with a verb, it becomes *manabitsutsu*, *manabite* and so on.

The passage also demonstrates how linguistic nomenclature is by now applied equally to both languages, unlike Shizuki's earliest work, where he used different terms for Japanese and Dutch linguistic features.

Several issues are dealt with somewhat incompletely. For example, with regard to the Dutch numeral one and the indefinite article (which are both *een*, with a difference only in the pronunciation), Shizuki simply informs the student that the term *een boek* ('one book' or 'a book') may be translated both as *hitotsu no sho* 一ノ書 ('one book'), or as *sho* 書 ('a book'), without providing any further explanation.

Shizuki's choice of the word *leeren* (which can mean 'to learn' or 'to teach') presents difficulties when the passive is demonstrated. Instead of employing a natural object for 'to learn' as a transitive verb (such as a textbook), Shizuki suddenly switches to the second meaning of the verb *leeren*, that is, 'to teach'. It is not until several pages later that the explanation finally appears that *leeren* ('to study') has the same meaning as *geleerd worden* ('to be taught'), because in the second phrase the verb *leeren* has taken the meaning of 'to teach'.

The work closes with a brief table, showing, in Japanese only, several conjugations of four different verbs. Here too, Shizuki's aim is to teach his students correct usage of written Japanese forms, rather than Dutch.

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Fig. 16.

Two pages from Wm. Séwel's *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst* (1708)

leer	學
leer gij	汝學
leeren ick	學之我
leert	汝學
leert gij lieden	前之國人
Dat zij leeren	彼等學之
	取説：語學在上一國本二上時六語 aan-
Volgende wijze	下之對(三)二五六

Fig. 17.
A fragment from *Ranbunpō shoji*, based on Séwel (comp. Fig. 16 above).

A tidied-up version of *Shihō shoji taiyaku/Ranbunpō shoji* forms the second part of Baba Sajūrō's *Teisei rango kuhinshū* 訂正蘭語九品集 (discussed below, p. 180ff.).

Zokubun kinnō 属文錦囊

This work, the original of which appears to have been no more than half a dozen or so sparsely written pages, is exceptional in that it is the only work Shizuki is known to have written on Dutch composition. All other known works of his provide instruction on either the interpretation of Dutch vocabulary and syntax structures, or their correct equivalents in Japanese. *Zokubun kinnō*, however, is devoted to the building of Dutch syntax in the four moods. In other words, while Shizuki's works are usually designed to help the student produce accurate Dutch-to-Japanese translations, *Zokubun kinnō* conversely provides information on how to write original texts in Dutch.

The work was revised and expanded several times, mostly anonymously, and it is not known whether Shizuki himself had a hand in any of these revisions. Unfortunately, all versions of *Zokubun kinnō* contain severe corruptions both in the Japanese and in the Dutch elements, with the exception of an extended version by Yoshio Gonnosuke, titled *Jūtei zokubun kinnō* 重訂属文錦囊 (1833).¹⁶³ A reconstruction of the original has been attempted by Sugimoto, but the impossibility of separating the corruptions

¹⁶³This work is discussed on pp. 202 ff. below.

The work consists of two parts. Part One is a series of instructions in relation to a number of matrixes for Dutch sentences in four moods presented in the second part. Thus, the demonstrative is presented as having the following pattern: article-adjective-noun-adverb-auxiliary-verb-adverb-article-adjective-noun-adverb-verb.

Spaces are left open in the pattern to allow the student to enter the appropriate words.

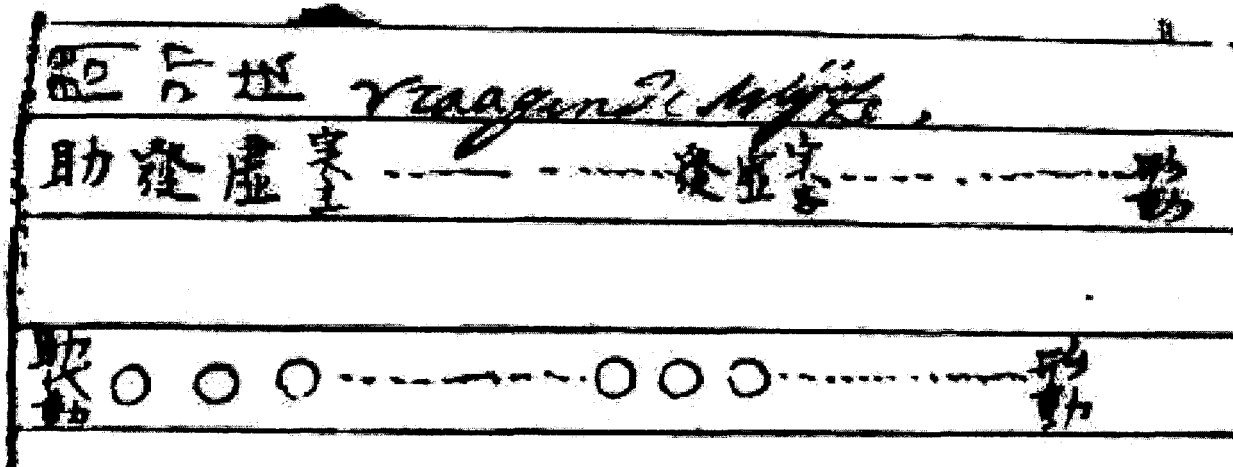


Fig. 18.
A matrix for the Dutch interrogative as shown in Shizuki's *Zokubun kinnō*.

The instructions pertaining to this particular pattern begin as follows:

If there appears to be no need for an article, skip it and move to the next place and insert an adjective. If there is no adjective, move on to the next place. Alternatively, if two or three adjectives are combined, place them one after the other.

Although the format of the work thus gives the impression that Shizuki attempted to produce a kind of exercise book for the practice of Dutch sentence construction, the explanations are concise to the point of deficiency. For example, one of the eight rules for Dutch syntax presented in the work reads:

When a phrase in the subjunctive mood begins with words such as *schoon*, *als*, *wanneer* or *dewijl*, words must be placed in the interrogative order: *zult gij*, *zullen wij*, *spraken ik* and so on.

The interrogative structure does occur in Dutch sentences beginning with such a

conjunction, but not until the main clause, as Shizuki himself demonstrates in a collection of model phrases in *Rangaku seizenfu*. Without such examples, however, the above instruction is incomplete and of little use to a student.

Despite these sometimes disastrous shortcomings, *Zokubun kinnō* was copied, rewritten and revised several times, largely with equally unsatisfactory results, suggesting that the material in this work, while clearly filling a pressing need, proved as yet beyond the expertise of those who attempted to understand it. As noted above, in 1833 Yoshio Gonnosuke produced a revised and extended version of *Zokubun kinnō* that to a large extent overcame what appear to have been the deficiencies of the original.

Ryūho sensei kyoshikō 柳圃先生虚詞考

This is also a short manuscript, of only nine small pages long. It appears to be an incomplete work that according to its title dealt with adjectives, but in reality provides no more than a brief outline of the six cases. It is not until the last page that the heading 虚詞 *bijvoegelijk naamwoord* appears, followed by five lines of text explaining the behaviour of adjectives with respect to gender. Clearly, the remainder of the document, its main contents, is missing. It is possible that the work was never completed.

Although the nomenclature used for the six cases corresponds with Séwel and their presentation closely resembles that of *Sanshu shokaku*, the cases are also each given another Dutch appellation, corresponding with those used by Dutch linguists Elzevier (1761) and Van der Palm (1769). In addition, the Japanese terms have been amended to terms that are closer to those used today. In particular, the move of the character 主, initially applied to the genitive by Shizuki, to the nominative case, is worth noting. It is not known whether these changes were made by Shizuki himself, or by a later copyist. Also of interest is the occurrence of the name セーデラール (*SEEDERAARU*), viz. Ernst Zeydelaar (1742–1820), a minor but prolific Dutch grammarian. It is not known which of Zeydelaar's works was referred to here, but Dutch records show a work called *Grammaire française et hollandaise* on the inventory list of a Dutch trade mission member who died in 1786.¹⁶⁴ This may have been Zeydelaar's *Grammaire générale raisonnée française et hollandaise* (1768).

What remains of Shizuki's original work, as shown in the documents described above, demonstrates that he not only introduced the concepts of Western linguistics into Japan, he also laid significant groundwork for the ways in which these concepts

¹⁶⁴Maclean 1974: 37.

were to be applied to the Japanese language. However, while his role as a pioneer of linguistic studies in Japan is beyond doubt, he showed considerably less skill when it came to passing his knowledge on to others. He was a hermit, who instructed only a handful of students, and this lack of practical teaching experience expresses itself in most of his works. While *Joshikō* proved to be a useful work of reference for several decades, and *Rangaku seizenfu* does have the appearance of a work carefully designed to be worked through in stages, the remainder of Shizuki's linguistic manuscripts do little more than present a summary of the information he had discovered in Dutch grammars, accompanied in a cursory fashion by the ideas and concepts he had developed in relation to them. Even accounting for the corrupted state of the copied manuscripts that contain his teachings, the Séwel-based works in particular present his newly-made discoveries in a condensed, minimalist form that would have been difficult for most students of Dutch, who after all had to master the language without the benefit of contact with native speakers, to put to practical use. In addition, as will be shown in the next section, it appears that after Shizuki's death, these later manuscripts were kept in private hands and preserved as poorly drafted copies. As a result, his discoveries remained beyond the reach of others for some time.

That despite this his teachings eventually reached a wide audience is a measure of the need that his discoveries filled. Several prominent individuals subsequently reproduced and refined Shizuki's work, and presented it in formats that could be put to good use in language academies. It was these works, in combination with the great dictionaries that were being developed around the same time, that finally made it possible for the Japanese to acquire the skills necessary to produce translations of Western books of a high degree of accuracy.

Shihō shoji taiyaku and *Ranbunpō shoji* survived not only in these two deficient manuscripts. In 1814 Shizuki's student Baba Sajūrō, who was then employed at the official translation bureau in Edo, incorporated a corrected version of the work in his *Teisei rango kuhinshū* 訂正蘭語九品集 (discussed below). He appears to have used either the *Shihō shoji taiyaku* manuscript, or a manuscript that served as the model for that work, as his master. A number of errors are repeated, and in some cases subsequently corrected. Baba explains in his introduction to this section.¹⁶⁵

Shizuki worked largely in isolation. This is reflected in his work, which, unlike that of others, was often more of a hard-to-follow sequence of ideas, a train of thought, rather than a practical tool for the instruction of students. For this reason, his works were all but incomprehensible to most, and his reputation as an important contributor

¹⁶⁵See p. 183 below.

to Dutch language studies in Japan has largely been based on what those few who could understand what he wrote said about him, rather than on a direct analysis of his works. Thus, Shizuki's work was only a first step in the process of making Dutch grammar textbooks intelligible to the Japanese. The work of those who completed that process is discussed in the following section.

3. After Shizuki

Although *Rangaku seizenfu* and particularly *Joshikō* were not without their influence, it was Shizuki's Séwel-based works that brought about revolutionary changes to the way the Dutch language was studied in Japan in the nineteenth century. However, as noted in the previous section, these works were of a format and nature that made them difficult to understand for all but the most advanced of students. In addition, they were distributed as poorly drafted copies that were often corrupted to such an extent as to have been rendered largely useless to novices. Others followed who were able to use the new information Shizuki had developed and incorporated this into dissertations and textbooks of a more accessible nature. Foremost among these were Baba Sajūrō, Yoshio Shunzō, Ōtsuki Genkan, Udagawa Genzui and Noro Tenzen.

Baba Sajūrō 馬場佐十郎 (1787–1822)

Like Shizuki, Baba was born into a Nagasaki merchant family and adopted by a family of Dutch interpreters. He was taught in his younger years by Dejima *opperhoofd* Hendrik Doeff and, apparently at the suggestion of Ōtsuki Genkan, began to study under Shizuki.¹⁶⁶ In 1808, when he was twenty-two years old, his talent had given him enough of a reputation for him to be selected to work at the Astronomical Bureau in Edo. In 1811, he joined Ōtsuki Gentaku to form the 'Bureau for the translation of foreign books' *Bansho wage goyō* 蕃書和解御用, where he was to work on translations in Edo until his death in 1822.

In addition to his translation work, Baba taught Dutch extensively, further developing and improving Shizuki's linguistic work and teaching methods, and passing them on to his own students in Edo. Thus, although he never neglected to acknowledge Shizuki's role in the development of Japanese linguistic expertise, it was in fact Baba who further developed this knowledge, and introduced it to the *rangaku* scholars in Edo. In the words of Ōtsuki Gentaku, he 'did away with Edo's old ways and introduced new and better methods'.¹⁶⁶ Baba not only studied Dutch, he also showed an interest

¹⁶⁶Numata 1989: 102.

¹⁶⁶*Ran'yaku teikō*, in Numata et al. 1974: 392.

in French and English, and produced several small works on the Russian language, which he had studied under captured Russian naval officer Vasilii Golovnin.

二第之篇 辞名代
Азъ имено личиикъ.
Азъ имено личиикъ. 代名詞 十分
六種 十分
其一 ^{代人名} Лицоименное личиикъ.
和蘭 *persoonlijk voornaam woord.*
其二 ^{司領代名} Титулярное личиикъ.
和蘭 *titulerende voornaam woord.*
其三 ^{直指辭} Прямое личиикъ.
和蘭 *lykende voornaamwoord.*
其四 ^{間代名} Боязливое личиикъ.
和蘭 *vrayende voornaamwoord.*

Fig. 19.

A page from Baba Sajūrō's manuscript *Rogo bunpō kihan* 魯語文法規範 'Principles of Russian Grammar' (1813) in which he employs Dutch linguistic terminology.

By all accounts, Baba was an enterprising individual. Hendrik Doeff, who taught him Dutch and French as a youth on Dejima, described him as an 'enthusiastic young man',¹ and Ōtsuki Gentaku refers to him in remarkably similar terms:

He was full of youth and vigour, and his excellent studies had many keen followers.²

¹"Deze allezins wakkere jongeling..." (Doeff 1833: 146).

²Numata et al. 1976: 392.

He appears not to have had the academic inclination that his teacher Shizuki had, and concedes as much in his introduction to Part Two of *Teisei rango kuhinshū*.³ Where Shizuki had his sights set on encouraging his interpreter colleagues to develop accurate and scholarly translation techniques, Baba saw it as his task to introduce students of varying levels to the nuts and bolts of the Dutch language. His works show that he was systematic, and an excellent designer of teaching programmes, with the ability to explain difficult and unfamiliar concepts in clear, simple language. In addition, as will be seen below, he was apt to display his personal feelings in his writings in a startlingly direct manner.

Overall, the level of accuracy of manuscript copies of Baba's work is much higher than that of Shizuki's work. It is likely that this is a result of the isolation that Shizuki worked in. His original manuscripts, particularly the later ones, were kept out of circulation by the interpreter who inherited them,⁴ and only anonymous and undated manuscript copies of a poor quality, riddled with errors and corruptions, survive today. Baba's works on the other hand, while not entirely without mistakes, survive in the form of meticulous copies by his students, who tended to be well educated Edo scholars.

Katagiri lists the following works on the Dutch language from Baba's hand:

Rango shubi sesshi kō 蘭語首尾接詞考 (1808)

Rango kanri jikō 蘭語冠履辞考 (1808)

Oranda bunpan tekiyō 和蘭文範摘要 (dated 1814, but probably of earlier origin—see below)

Oranda jirui yakumei shō 和蘭辞類訳名抄 (1810)

Seibun kihan 西文規範, or *Oranda bungaku mondō* 和蘭文学問答 (1811)

Teisei rango kuhinshū 訂正蘭語九品集 (1814)

Rangaku teikō 蘭学梯航 (1816)

***Rango shubi sesshi kō* 蘭語首尾接詞考 and *Rango kanri jikō* 蘭語冠履辞考**

Baba wrote his first works on the Dutch language just before he was summoned to Edo. His first known work, which is dated August 1808 (several years before he

³See p. 141 above.

⁴Nishi Kichiemon. See pp. 174ff. below.

moved to Edo), is a reference work on Dutch affixes. There are two versions of this work, a manuscript titled *Rango shubi sesshi kō* 蘭語首尾接詞考 ('On Dutch pre- and suffixes'), and a printed version, that also carries the date of August 1808, but which was published posthumously in 1855 (during the final heyday of Dutch language studies⁵), under the title *Rango kanri jikō* 蘭語冠履辭考 ('On Dutch affixes').

Rango shubi sesshi kō is substantially shorter than *Rango kanri jikō*, but the information in it appears in more or less the same wording in the later work. In addition, *Rango kanri jikō* presents its affixes in alphabetical order. Thus, *Rango shubi sesshi kō* appears to have been a first draft of the work that was eventually to become *Rango kanri jikō*. Even though the latter work was not published until 1855, its limited grammar and choice of terminology suggest that it was published exactly as it had been written by Baba. The fact, however, that its introduction makes mention of the work *Oranda jirui yakumeishō*, which Baba wrote with the cooperation of Ōtsuki Gentaku in Edo in 1810⁶ indicates that Baba redrafted his manuscript some time after this date. There is a copy of *Rango kanri jikō* in the collection of the Leiden University library, an indication that after publication this work was widely distributed.

Rango kanri jikō is a reference work, similar in format to Shizuki's *Joshikō*. However, with this work the young Baba did not as yet focus on the issues of grammar, and the subject of the work is largely lexical. The work provides a brief explanation of meaning and usage for the prefixes *aan-*, *af-*, *be-*, *bij-*, *door-*, *ge-*, *her-*, *in-*, *om-*, *on-*, *onder-*, *ont-*, *op-*, *over-*, *tegen-*, *toe-*, *uit-*, *ver-*, *voort-* and *wan-* and the suffixes *-agtig*, *-baar*, *-de*, *-dom*, *-er*, *-hande*, *-leij*, *-heid*, *-je*, *-kens*, *-ig*, *-ing*, *-lig*, *-lings*, *-pje*, *-ste*, *-se*, *-schap*, *-schappij*, *-te*, *-waardig*, *-zaam*, *-zel* and *-zins*. Each prefix is listed with a number of Chinese characters that could reflect its meaning or function. For example, the prefix *her-* (which has the same function as the English 're-') is followed by the characters 再 ('another time'), 還 ('return'), 更 ('again') and 改 ('redo'). This is followed by the explanation:

When *her-* is placed in front of the main word, it does not alter its meaning, but adds the meaning of 'another time'. For example, *roepen* is translated as 'to call', and *herroepen* means 'to call back', 'to recall'. *Schrijven* is translated as 'to write', and *herschrijven* means 'to correct', 'to rewrite'. *Zeggen* is 'to say', and *herzeggen* means 'to say again', 'to repeat'.

⁵See Chapter VI-1 below.

⁶See p. 177 below.

Somewhat more of a challenge was presented by the prefix *ont-* (roughly equivalent to the English 'dis-' in, for example, 'dislodge'), which Shizuki had struggled with in his *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō*.⁷ Here it is given no fewer than eight alternative character options: 解 ('take apart'), 離 ('separate'), 脱 ('remove'), 去 ('go away'), ? ('...'), 逃 ('escape'), 放 ('release') and 甚 ('very'). This is followed by a lengthy and somewhat muddled explanation:

The meaning of the prefix *ont-* is not so easy to grasp for beginners. This prefix can mean the removing of an object from a location. For example, *kleeden* means 'to dress', and *ontkleeden* is 'to undress', which means 'to remove clothes that are being worn'. For this 'removing' there are two interpretations, a transitive and an intransitive. For example, the above *ontkleeden* means 'to remove [clothing] from oneself'. Then there is *vangen*, which is translated as 'to catch', or 'to capture', and *ontvangen*, which means 'to receive'. This has the meaning of something being removed from its place towards us, which means 'to receive'. *Houden* means 'to keep', 'to hold', and *onthouden* is 'to remember'. Thus it has the transitive meaning of holding in one's own memory information that has come from elsewhere. Also, *haalen* means 'to draw towards oneself', 'to collect', and *onthaalen* is 'to entertain [guests]' in translation. This has the meaning of removing someone from their location and bringing him to our own place. *Dekken* means 'to cover'. *Ontdekken* has the meanings of 'to discover', 'to invent' or 'to establish'. For example, when one goes to a region that no-one has gone to yet, and sees it for the first time, or exposes something that was obscured. Others examples include *ontleeden*, 'to dissect', and *onthoofden*, 'to decapitate'. More such words can be inferred.

The section on prefixes naturally involves a limited amount of grammar. For example, the suffix *-te* (similar to the English '-ness') is defined as *nagasa no sa* 長サノサ, that is to say, the suffix that turns 'long' into 'length'. The explanation that follows informs the student that this suffix can change adjectives into nouns. However, no Dutch linguistic terminology is used, and the Japanese terminology conforms with Shizuki's. No parts of speech are mentioned apart from nouns, verbs and adjectives. All this suggests that although *Oranda kanri jikō* was not published until 1855, the text used for the printing was faithful to the much earlier *Rango shubi sesshi kō*, and not updated to include the developments of later scholars.

Of interest is also the humorous bit of doggerel that is written at the beginning of the *Rango shubi sesshi kō* manuscript:

⁷See Chapter V-2 above.

Aan den leezer
de leerling die heidenbaar ieverig
vraagt is nog onrijp
gelijk men in zijn mannelijk
jaarde vrouwse billen graag rijp

leering! gaa voort zonder zulke
geringen vraag
Terwijl gij in de hollands taal
konde nog laag

maar in heer boek welle heeft
uw verstaen kunt, zoekt walna
dan is het goed, endetijd, dat, ik
deuft zeggen van Ja⁸

The defective Dutch of the poem as well as the corruptions added by later copyists render parts of it unintelligible, but the advice it gives offers an amusing glimpse of Baba's exasperation with some of his students. It is also worth noting that the verse is in rhyme, which is a poetic device that does not exist in Japanese poetry.

Oranda bunpan tekiyō 和蘭文範摘要

Although *Oranda bunpan tekiyō* 和蘭文範摘要 carries the date 1814,⁹ events described in its introduction show that it was in fact first drafted before Baba's departure for Edo. Therefore, it is appropriate to include a discussion of it at this point.

As a student of Shizuki's, Baba had once asked his master where he had acquired his knowledge of Dutch grammar, and Shizuki had identified Séwel's grammar as the source of his knowledge.¹⁰ After his teacher's death, Baba tried to gain access to the work. In his introduction to *Oranda bunpan tekiyō*, he relates the difficulties he had in a startlingly frank manner:

I had been informed that this book was in the collection of the interpreter Nishi.¹¹ I have learned that Mr Nishi always keeps this work from others without good reason, and thus without permission has the affrontery to transmit the master's teachings in writing or orally only. But when I wanted to see the book, and was so bold as to approach Nishi to borrow it for a day, he flatly refused

⁸ 'To the reader: The pupil that fervently asks questions is still immature/in the same way that in one's youth one enjoys grabbing women's buttocks/Student! Do not persist with such trifling questions/while your knowledge of Dutch is still low/but search carefully in books that you can understand/then all will be well, and the time will have come that I can say, "Yes".'

⁹ It also has the marks 春生 and 白蟻, both of which are pseudonyms of Arashiyama Hoan 嵐山甫庵, who was associated with Baba in Edo (Sugimoto 1976: 693). See also p. 188 below.

¹⁰ See p.157 above.

¹¹ Interpreter Nishi Kichiemon 西吉右衛門 (dates unknown) was identified as a student of Shizuki's in Baba Sajūrō's introduction to Fujibayashi Fuzan's *Oranda gohōge* 和蘭語法解 (Discussed on p. 217ff. below).

his consent. When I pleaded with him again, and a third time, he finally lent it to me for no more than five days. Overjoyed, I began to read. I immediately wanted to copy it out, but there were many pages and time was limited, so this was not possible. Therefore, I stubbornly attempted to copy just the most important teachings in the book. I continued day and night, in order to accomplish a copy of the translation of this work, but when I reached the end of the time limit, I had been unable to complete the job. Of course I continued without stopping, and pleaded [for more time]. In the extra two or three days I was unable to achieve much. I hurriedly made a condensed translation of the main points and returned the book to its owner. This¹² is that manuscript. [...] I had already received my master's teachings, and as I was preparing this condensed translation of this book, the true significance of the phrases we used to chant daily without understanding became clear to me. Time and again I clapped my hands and shouted with joy. This book truly is a great treasure for my profession.

Baba goes on to inform us that soon after this he was called to Edo for translation duties. This means that although the *Oranda bunpan tekiyō* manuscript is dated 'autumn 1814', the incident described above occurred some time between Shizuki's death in 1806 and Baba's departure for Edo in 1808. The use of the term *bijvoeglijk naamwoord* ('adjective') in this work further reconfirms its early origin. Baba was soon to adopt Van der Palm's *toevoeglijk naamwoord* for this part of speech, and used it for the remainder of his works. The hurriedly-written manuscript was subsequently rewritten and corrected by Baba and three of his students in Edo, Sugita Yasu 杉田靖, Takasu Shōtei 高須松亭 and Asakoshi Genryū 浅越玄隆. The first two of these received a special mention in the introduction as particularly good students, and the third was Baba's father-in-law.

While Shizuki's status and the elusiveness of his Séwel-based works had lent Séwel's *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst* a mystique that would have made Baba feel as if a long-held dream had come true when he finally held it in his hands, ironically Séwel's grammar, which was already almost a century old when Shizuki saw it, had long since been superseded in the Netherlands by the time Baba and his students wrote *Oranda bunpan tekiyō*. The grammatical disagreements of the eighteenth century had been settled almost ten years earlier with the first official and prescriptive grammar, Weiland's *Nederduytsche Spraakkunst* (1805). Weiland not only used more modern spelling and syntax, he had also finally settled that Dutch was to have four cases rather than six. The first officially recorded importation of Weiland's grammar into Japan was in 1829.¹³

¹² That is, *Oranda bunpan tekiyō*.

Oranda bunpan tekiyō is a meticulously presented manuscript that presents aspects of Dutch grammar in the same sequence as Séwel does. However, unlike Shizuki in his *Shihō* works, which were mostly Japanese language summaries of Séwel, Baba was more forthcoming in inserting his own expertise. For example, under the heading *ledekens* ('articles'), he explains:

In general, *naamwoord* do not appear without *ledekens*. That is to say, if the question *wat is dat?* is asked, the answer is always given with *ledekens*, such as *een mensch, een vogel, een schip, de zee, het raadhuis*, and so on. However, from words such as *land, water, sneeuw, hagel, ijzer, koper, tin* and such *ledekens* are omitted. For example, when one asks, *wat heeft hij te koop?* the answer can be *koorn, wijn, olie, bier, hout, meel, vleesch, visch, kaas* and so on. Even so, when one refers to one item of one kind, the rules state that a *ledeken* must be applied, such as *een visch, een boter*, and such. It is incorrect to leave out *ledekens* in phrases such as *daar was kind, hond heeft het gedaan*. It is after all proper to place *ledekens* in front of *een kind* and *de hond*. However, in cases of *meervoudig, menschen hebben het gedaan, zij queeten zig als mannen* and such, it is possible to omit *ledekens*. And with words such as *armoed* and *overvloed*, *ledekens* are omitted, as in: *armoed zoekt list, or overvloed heeft hem bedorven*.

This explanation is considerably more elaborate than Séwel's. In contrast to Baba's earlier *Oranda kanri jikō*, only Dutch linguistic terminology is applied here in the main text. Japanese renditions of nomenclature only appear in the headings, as superscript, by way of definition. In this way, Baba seems to conform here to Shizuki's early idea that the Dutch categories for the parts of speech could not be applied to the Japanese language.

Considering that Baba had access to Séwel for only a matter of a week or so, *Oranda bunpan tekiyō* is a remarkable achievement. The work provides an accurate, albeit considerably abridged, overview of Séwel's grammar, augmented with examples and explanations that stem from Baba's own understanding of Dutch grammar. The significance of *Oranda bunpan tekiyō* lies therefore in the fact that it repeats the revelation-like experience Shizuki Tadao had had when he first sighted Séwel. It

¹³ MacLean 1974: 42.

男 子 用 <i>constaidey getal</i> <i>mannelyk geslachte.</i>		女 子 用 <i>constaidey getal</i> <i>mannelyk geslachte.</i>	
N:	De.	N:	De.
T:	Den van - Den.	T:	Der.
G:	Den van - Den.	G:	Den van de.
A:	Den.	A:	De.
R:	o de.	R:	o de.
A:	van Den	A:	van de.

Fig. 20.

A detail from Baba Sajūrō's *Oranda bunpan tekiyō*, showing a table from Séwel (1708: 38–39).

shows how the Japanese, after a century and a half of struggling to understand the structures of the Dutch language, were able to grasp these almost instantaneously following the arrival of comprehensive grammar textbooks.

Oranda jirui yakumei shō 和蘭辞類訳名抄 (1810)

According to its introduction, this work, which presents an explanation and translation of Dutch linguistic terminology, was a cooperative effort of Baba Sajūrō and Ōtsuki Gentaku.¹⁴ Again, Baba demonstrates his ability to provide simple and lucid explanations:

In the languages of Western countries thousands of words are grouped together in sentences. [In this] there is no difference between us. Only, they write horizontally. Their letters are called *RETTERRU*. There are twenty-six of them, which are called *ABESERETTEREN*. Words are called *UOORUDO*. These are listed in a dictionary called *UOORUDENBUKKU*. The two largest of these are 馬靈 *MAARIN* and 華麻 *HARUMA*. They are like the great Chinese dictionaries, so all scholars own them and look things up in them. The words are listed in the order of 穹別泄 *ABESE*, which is like our *iroha* sequence. To facilitate the use of these countless words, they have been categorised. Thus, each word is designated a category, just like in

¹⁴Sugimoto 1976: 730.

Chinese; the characters have categories such as 乾坤 · 器財 · 態芸 · 虛助 and so on. Only, here, the words are not listed in their categories, rather, they are placed in alphabetical order, and their category names placed beneath them. In addition, in order to save trouble, these names are given in abbreviated form. Marin gives eighteen word categories, but Halma lists fourteen. Even those of you who are only intending to study this just a little, if you are not able to identify the categories or their names, you will not understand the essence of how to use any of the words you look up.

Baba goes on to relate that he had already read a work of Shizuki's on the topic of linguistic terminology when he was still in Nagasaki.¹⁵ However, in Edo he was approached by his new master, Ōtsuki Gentaku, with a proposal to come up with new translations for the nomenclature, presumably to establish a standard terminology once and for all. Baba complains in his introduction how difficult it was to get his fellow scholars to agree on the nomenclature. He took a year off from his translation duties to work on this document, although he states that he had frequent consultations with Ōtsuki. The work consists of two sections, one for Marin's eighteen parts of speech and one for Halma's fourteen. Unfortunately, rather than prescribe the terminology, this work merely added another collection of alternatives to the list.¹⁶

Seibun kihan 西文規範 ('Norms for Western Writing') or *Oranda bungaku mondō* 和蘭文学問答 ('Questions and Answers on Dutch Grammar' 1811)

In the following year, 1811, Baba acquired a complete grammar textbook, *Nederduitsche spraakkunst voor de jeugd* ('Dutch grammar for the young') by schoolteacher and poet Kornelis van der Palm (1730–1789).¹⁷ Finally he had a textbook to take the place of Séwel's grammar, which had remained so far out of reach in the jealous possession of interpreter Nishi in Nagasaki, and of which he had only a hastily drawn up overview. Baba translated part of Van der Palm's work and titled this *Seibun kihan* 西文規範. Van der Palm's *Nederduitsche spraakkunst voor de jeugd* was written specifically for primary school students, and its contents are presented in a question-and-answer format. Baba followed this format in his translation, which is the reason for the work's alternative title. The work includes the original Dutch text as well as its translation, probably because Baba intended the work to have a dual purpose: students could not only read about Dutch grammar,

¹⁵This was probably *Kuhinshi myōmoku* 九品詞名目 ('Nomenclature of the Nine Parts of Speech', n.d.), discussed on page 159 above.

¹⁶A table comparing these alternatives can be found in Sugimoto 1976: 743.

¹⁷Publ. Reinier Arrenberg, Rotterdam, 1774. Van der Palm's textbook was first published in 1769, and reprinted numerous times. However, in his introduction to *Seibun kihan*, Baba, meticulous as ever, informs us that he used the 1774 edition.

but could also compare and study a Japanese translation of a Dutch book.

Van der Palm's grammar textbook is made up of four main parts, of which Baba provided complete translations of only the second and third:

Part One explains about the alphabet and their relationships and such. Part Two explains about parts of speech, and Part Three shows how to arrange words in relationship to each other. Part Four gives examples of how letters are formed into words. I have read the whole work, and found that Parts Two and Three contain the most useful information for our students, while Parts One and Four merely show how letters are formed into words, which is of only little benefit for my students. Therefore, I present only an extract of Parts One and Four at the beginning of this work, but since Parts Two and Three are of benefit in their entirety, I have translated these from beginning to end, omitting nothing.

Unfortunately, the translation of Part Three, which instructs students on syntax, is missing from the three known extant manuscripts of this work. It is not known whether Baba ever completed a translation of this part.¹⁸

Although Van der Palm was only a minor figure in the development of linguistics in the Netherlands, Baba must have concluded that since Van der Palm's work was more recent than that of Séwel, Halma or Marin, it was bound to be more accurate. Baba was henceforth to refer to adjectives as *toevoeglijk naamwoord*, even though Van der Palm's term was never widely accepted, and *bijvoeglijk naamwoord*, used by almost everyone else, had already been prescribed by Weiland, and is still in use today. For Japanese versions of the names of the parts of speech, Baba informs us that he applied Shizuki's translations where they were available, and that new terms were chosen for as yet untranslated terms.¹⁹ The terminology in *Seibun kihan* appears to be based largely on that which Shizuki used in his *Kuhinshi myōmoku*.

Baba makes a revealing comment on the translation of Dutch linguistic terms:

In fact, it is best to memorise the Dutch terms, rather than applying Japanese ones. Even if you think that reciting the Dutch terms is time-consuming, tedious and inconvenient, bending over backwards to try and invent wonderful terms in Chinese characters and such has to be said to be a waste of time. Even the most splendid Chinese name is unlikely to convey clearly the true meaning of the translated term. Therefore, there is great benefit in memorizing the original Dutch list of terms. Above all, if the translations I have provided seem inadequate,

¹⁸Katagiri 1992: 538.

¹⁹Ibid. 1992: 527.

and you find yourself just writing them out as meaningless symbols, you can change the terms yourself to something that is easy to say and has a good ring to it. It doesn't matter whether you call it a monkey or a cat; as long as you understand what it means, it will work.

It follows that Baba was obviously still of the opinion that Dutch grammatical concepts, with the exception perhaps of nouns, verbs and adjectives, were not applicable to the Japanese language.

Teisei rango kuhinshū 訂正蘭語九品集 ('Corrected Nine Parts of Dutch Speech') (1814)

As recorded above,²⁰ in his introduction to *Oranda bunpan tekiyō* Baba Sajūrō expressed his exasperation at interpreter Nishi Kichiemon's refusal to allow him more than a few days to peruse Shizuki's main source of Dutch language expertise, Séwel's *Nederduytsche spraakkonst*. Baba had heard rumours, however, of a work called *Oranda shihinkō* 和蘭詞品考 ('On Dutch Parts of Speech'), which contained Shizuki's final theories on linguistics, and which, like Séwel's work, as well as some other manuscripts, had been inherited by Nishi. In 1814, he again expressed his fury at Nishi's selfishness:

But this man would not let these drafts open to the public either, and they were hardly read.²¹

The occasion for this outburst was a visit by a Nagasaki acquaintance, Ishibashi,²² who told him that a manuscript called *Rango kuhinshū* had surfaced in Nagasaki, and that he (Ishibashi) had brought it with him. Baba continues:

He lent me his manuscript, and I made a copy of it. After careful inspection, I thought that this might be the master's *Shihinkō*, altered a little and given a new name by that fellow Nishi.²³ Reading it thoroughly, I found many copying errors and some sentences that were difficult to follow. This was without a doubt the result of mistranslation. In addition, the format was disorganised and the order of the explanations was mixed up in several places, due to mistakes in the compilation. I realised that if a beginner were to take this work as the rule, it would just cause confusion. Without consulting the author, I have now,

²⁰See p. 174-5 above.

²¹Introduction to *Teisei rango kuhinshū*. Transl. Yoshida 1974: 126.

²²Probably interpreter Ishibashi Sukejūrō 石橋助十郎 (?-1830), who in 1814 accompanied Hendrik Doeff on his official court journey to Edo. Ishibashi was also one of the eleven interpreters who assisted Doeff with the compilation of his dictionary (Sugimoto II: 503). See also Numata 1992 : 115 (Doeff's *haruma*) and 117 (Blomhoff's English lessons).

²³See 'The search for *Oranda shihinkō*', pp. 157ff. above.

deleted some parts of the work. It is this new version that I show to the students.

I have been so bold as to place the word 'corrected' in front of the title.²⁴

Thus, full of indignation at Nishi's contemptible copy of Shizuki's valuable manuscript, Baba set to work bringing it up to scratch. The result became the first part of a work he called *Teisei rango kuhinshū* 訂正蘭語九品集 ('Corrected Nine Parts of Dutch Speech' 1814). Part Two of this manuscript is virtually identical to *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, described above.²⁵

In the search for the original *Rango kuhinshū*, on which Baba based the first part of his *Teisei rango kuhinshū*, the first port of call is of course the one remaining Séwel-based manuscript by Shizuki on the parts of speech: *Kuhinshi myōmoku*. While there are similarities between the two, these are largely limited to the sequence in which items appear in each work, and appear to be the result of the fact that both are based on Séwel. The differences between the two works are such that *Kuhinshi myōmoku* must be discounted as the model for Baba's work. *Kuhinshi myōmoku*, as noted above,²⁶ is little more than a list of Japanese translations of the parts of speech. *Teisei rango kuhinshū* is considerably more elaborate in its explanations, and provides several short vocabulary lists not present in *Kuhinshi myōmoku*. The Latin nomenclature in *Kuhinshi myōmoku*, however, is absent here. Furthermore, unlike the earlier work, Baba's manuscript contains no reference to case. Therefore, Baba's assertion that all he did was correct Nishi's poorly drafted copy makes *Kuhinshi myōmoku* an unlikely model for Nishi's *Rango kuhinshū*.

There is, moreover, more interesting and compelling evidence that the origins of Baba's work do not lie in *Kuhinshi myōmoku*. In 1812, that is, two years before Baba gained access to Nishi's *Rango kuhinshū*, a relatively unknown Osaka-based scholar called Noro Tenzen 野呂天然 (1764–1834) produced a document which he named *Kuhinshi ryaku* 九品詞略 that shows a much greater similarity with Baba's work than *Kuhinshi myōmoku* does.²⁷ The fact that these two men independently produced such similar works can only be explained if they both used the same model, that is another, now unidentified, work on the nine parts of speech by Shizuki.

Such a document would undoubtedly have travelled north from Nagasaki with the interpreters who accompanied the *opperhoofd* on his journey to the shogun's court. Until 1790, these journeys were undertaken annually, but after that they only took

²⁴Introduction to *Teisei rango kuhinshū* (my translation).

²⁵See pp. 161ff above.

²⁶See p. 159 above.

²⁷Noro's manuscript is discussed below, on pp. 209ff.

place every four years. Baba received *Rango kuhinshū* in 1814, when interpreter Ishibashi was in Edo with the trade mission. The manuscript Noro based his own work on probably arrived in Osaka with the previous delegation, in 1810. The fact that the presence of such a key piece to the Dutch language puzzle in Osaka could go unreported for four years in Edo is a measure of the lack of communication between *rangaku* students in the main centres.

Part One of *Teisei rango kuhinshū* lists each of the nine parts of speech in the same order as they appear in Séwel. Each of these is introduced by a short explanation, also based on Séwel. However, all references to case, tense or mood have been omitted, leaving the focus entirely on the parts of speech. In several cases Shizuki has added vocabulary that he must have deemed more appropriate for his own students. Thus, in the list of nouns, *bus* and *buijs* are placed side by side to demonstrate unfamiliar vowel sounds, and among the adjectives we find *dol* and *dor*, highlighting the importance of being able to distinguish *l* from *r*. Other words are grouped together semantically (light and heavy, hungry and thirsty) or for their composition, viz. *vondeling*, *zuijgeling*, *vreemdeling*, *drinkeling*.

Although by and large the explanations given are accurate, the occasional oversimplification or omission indicates that Shizuki was not always entirely on solid ground with his interpretations of Séwel's explanations. For example, while Séwel's introduction to adverbs explains that these modify nominals or verbs in order to indicate the nature or circumstance of an occurrence, Shizuki simply states that adverbs modify verbs, perhaps unaware that adjectives can be modified too.

Baba Sajūrō, while copying and correcting the document, was no doubt also at the very limits of his linguistic expertise. Although in three places he added a paragraph to explain where he made his corrections, two of these corrections pertain to errors he found in the Japanese, not in the Dutch. In both cases he is careful to suggest that the errors must have been made by the copyist, implying that Master Shizuki would not have made such mistakes. The third comment relates to a perceived error in Séwel.²⁸

It is clear that Baba did not have direct access to Séwel when he corrected this manuscript. However, he mentions Zeydelaar in the third of his added comments and, no doubt under the influence of Van der Palm, on which he had based his

²⁸Baba notes that Zeydelaar considered Séwel to have been in error when he allowed the use of both *als* and *dan* in comparatives. Although this use of *als* was not common in the middle ages, increasing colloquial usage eventually forced grammarians (including Séwel) to allow it. However, from the middle of the eighteenth century, *als* in comparatives was no longer recognised as good usage. Nevertheless, it survives in common speech until the present day. For more information, see Van der Sijs 2004: 526–528.

Seibun kihan, changed the term *bijvoeglijk naamwoord* to *toevoeglijk naamwoord*. A comparison with Noro Tenzen's *Kuhinshi ryaku*, which was produced independently from Baba's work, but based on the same original work by Shizuki, indicates that Baba otherwise changed little, if anything, of the Dutch components.

The contents of the second part of *Teisei rango kuhinshū* are easier to verify, since they are almost identical to what is presented in Shizuki's *Ranbunpō shoji*.²⁹ It was reported above that there is another, less corrupted copy of this work, called *Ranbunpō shoji*. However, comparisons show that part two of *Teisei rango kuhinshū* is a closer relative of the former, less accurate work. For example, *Shihō shoji taiyaku* mistakenly heads the section on the subjunctive as *aantoonende wijze*, an error not present in *Ranbunpō shoji*. Baba's *Teisei rango kuhinshū* contains the same error, although the offending word *aantoonende* has been partially brushed over with white ink (the Japanese were already using 'whiteout' centuries ago) and corrected to read *aanvoegende* ('subjunctive').

Baba introduces the work with a brief comment to the effect that he was not sure about its contents, and therefore did not have the confidence to make many corrections:

Above, an outline of the nine Dutch parts of speech has been presented. Below, the rules for the various moods as well as the various tenses, present, past and future and such, are listed. However, since the master was exceptionally knowledgeable in Japanese learning, he applied *te-ni-o-ha* in his translations. I myself am not so skilled in this study, and did not understand everything. Therefore, even though there may have been errors in the manuscript I have copied, I have written it out as it was, since I was unable to tell what was right and what was wrong. I have only made some changes to the sequence.

In this second part too, the only adjustments have been made in the Japanese components. Some sections have been slightly rephrased, and one, an unhelpful comment on the use of participles, was deleted. Baba has only inserted two comments of his own, one a further clarification of verb conjugation forms, the second an expression of suspicion that a certain model phrase might have been miscopied. Although he was right about the error, he did not dare to make the correction himself, and copied the mistake, adding a paragraph indicating his misgivings. The only other difference between this document and the *Shihō shoji taiyaku* and *Ranbunpō shoji* manuscripts is the addition of headings and a list of contents at the beginning. It is likely that Baba, who liked to have his works well-organised, added these himself.

²⁹ Discussed on pp. 161ff. above.

In conclusion then, three aspects of *Teisei rango kuhinshū* suggest that it is a relatively faithful reproduction of Shizuki's original work, despite it having been reproduced and corrected by at least two intermediaries (Nishi and Baba). In the first place, Nishi probably did not have the skills to make any meaningful changes to the work; and his contribution seems to have consisted mainly of copying errors. In turn, Baba, by his own admission, did not possess the confidence in his own abilities to make major adjustments, and limited his input largely to the elimination of Nishi's mistakes. Finally, the fact that the Dutch components of *Teisei rango kuhinshū* are an accurate representation of Séwel confirms that no significant modifications were made to Shizuki's original work.

It would therefore be safe to regard Shizuki Tadao as the source of the contents of *Teisei rango kuhinshū*. The work shows us that Shizuki, after initial attempts to present a condensed version of Séwel's grammar in *Kuhinshi myōmoku*, eventually decided to identify several aspects of Dutch grammar and present them separately in a series of manuscripts. Thus, we see the parts of speech presented in the first section of *Teisei rango kuhinshū*, tenses and moods appear in the second part of the same manuscript (and also in the works based on *Shihō shoji taiyaku*), while case is dealt with in *Sanshu shokaku*.

***Rangaku teikō* 蘭学梯航 ('A Dutch Study Programme') (1816)**

Rangaku teikō can be said to be Baba Sajūrō's linguistic *magnum opus*. Unfortunately, because of a similarity of titles, the work has repeatedly been confused with Ōtsuki Gentaku's *Ran'yaku teikō* 蘭訳梯航, a description of the development of Dutch translation in Japan, also completed in 1816. Goodman appears to have confused the two when he refers to Ōtsuki Gentaku's "*Rangaku teikō*" as "the summa of his remarkable career", and states that it is "relatively little known".³⁰ This does not apply to Gentaku's *Ran'yaku teikō*, which, while not the major work of Ōtsuki's that Goodman makes it out to be, is certainly not unknown. The description does, however, fit Baba's *Rangaku teikō*, which does represent all Baba could summon up with regard to Dutch language learning, and was unavailable for investigation (with the exception of a drastically abridged version in the Kyoto University library) until it was donated to the *Kyōu Sho'oku* 杏雨書屋 collection in Ōsaka in the 1980s.³¹ Most surprising of all, the *Yōgakushi jiten* 洋学史事典 (Dictionary of the History of Western Learning), an indispensable reference work for anyone interested in this field, provides a description of the abridged version of Baba's *Rangaku teikō* under the heading *Ran'yaku teikō*. Ōtsuki Gentaku's *Ran'yaku teikō* itself is not listed, although it does

³⁰Goodman 2000: 127–128.

³¹Numata 1992: 104.

receive a mention in the entry for Ōtsuki as one of his works.

Baba Sajūrō's *Rangaku teikō* contains almost five hundred pages in six volumes, and was the first work in Japan to be designed to take complete beginners to an advanced level of translation skills. In typical Baba style, it is carefully and meticulously presented. In all other aspects, however, this work is radically different from everything that had preceded it in this field. In a revolutionary approach that would not be out of place in a modern language school, the focus is almost entirely on the target language, and the usually verbose Baba provides no more than a bare minimum of Japanese explanations.³²

However, while the work is revolutionary in format, it contains no new or original material. Baba's objective was to collect the best of the resources that had hitherto been developed for Dutch language studies and assemble them in a complete practical course for translators.

The first few pages of Volume One, in which the student is introduced to the alphabet and a series of syllables, were copied directly from Ōtsuki Gentaku's *Rangaku kaitei*. In this way *Rangaku teiko* could be called a kind of throw-back to pre-Shizuki works, which almost invariably followed this format to some extent. The next section, which consists of a lengthy series of Dutch vocabulary with Japanese translations grouped according to parts of speech, is largely a refined and enlarged version of *Teisei rango kuhinshū*, which, as mentioned above, was in turn based on Shizuki's Séwel-based work.

Volume Two, entitled *Samenspraak* 'Conversation', opens with a brief explanatory paragraph followed by three model conversations, which were copied from Pieter Marin's *Nieuwe Fransche en Nederduitsche Spraakwyze*.³³

The conversations are followed by a series of twenty pieces of correspondence between Nagasaki interpreters and members of the Dutch trade mission. Although the names of the correspondents and addressees have been deleted, one of these letters has been identified as part of a correspondence that Isaac Titsingh (1745–1812) maintained with a small group of *rangaku* scholars and Nagasaki interpreters after his departure from Japan.³⁴ This letter, dated March 1788, was originally written by Hollandophile daimyo Kuchiki Masatsuna 朽木昌綱 (1750–1802) and sent to Titsingh for correction.

³²A complete translation of the Japanese elements in *Rangaku teikō* was presented in De Groot 1998: 125. It occupies no more than two pages.

³³Sugimoto contends that the source was a 1790 edition of this work (Sugimoto 1991: 697), but several identical lines also appear in Ōtsuki Gentaku's *Rangaku kaitei*, which was written in 1781, and it seems likely that Baba too used an earlier edition.

³⁴Lequin 1992: 617.

Kuchiki had funded some of the expenses for Ōtsuki Gentaku's study trip to Nagasaki,³⁵ and it is likely that Baba obtained the text of the letter through this connection.

On the first few pages of this volume, each Dutch word has a Japanese translation in superscript, and the Japanese word order is indicated by means of numbers, much in the same way that classical Chinese texts were marked for 'decoding' into Japanese. The incidence of both kinds of markings is gradually reduced, so that towards the end only the occasional word is translated, and no sequence numbers appear at all. Thus, although the first part of this volume contains model conversations, the work is clearly a progressive collection of written comprehension and translation exercises, rather than an introduction to the art of Dutch conversation. Finally, although the opening paragraph announces that each word in the text will have a letter indicating the category it belongs to, no such symbols actually appear in the text.

Volumes Three, Four and Five contain no Japanese text whatsoever, and provide the student with a large amount of Dutch text for translation exercise. Volume Three contains a collection of brief essays in Dutch, dealing with a variety of useful and amusing topics such as the identification and use of medicinal herbs, how to make gunpowder and armour-piercing bullets, what to do to stop bleeding, how to prevent animals from growing too large, and so on. Japanese translations of Dutch words are no longer provided, but for the first few pages of Volume Three nouns carry a superscript indicator M (for *mannelijk*, 'masculine'), V (for *vrouwelijk*, 'feminine') or O (for *onzijdig*, 'neuter'), with an extra M (for *meervoud*) added to plural nouns. Volume Four contains treatments for fevers and medical prescriptions. The text appears to have been copied from a Dutch medical textbook, since the style of the language is more academic than that of the previous volume. A new feature appears here, in that in the first part of the volume words are marked according to their case. Although by the turn of the century Dutch grammarians had adopted a system of four cases, Baba obviously had no knowledge of this, and in 1816 still worked with six. The superscript indicators are: N (*noemer*), T (*teeler*), G (*geever*), A (*aanklaager*) and NE (*neemer*). No interjections are present in the text. Here too, the markings progressively become fewer, although they make a brief reappearance about halfway through the volume.³⁶ Volume Five again contains Dutch text only, this time without any markings. The text has been copied, complete with illustrations, from a Dutch schoolbook on astronomy, and is in the form of a conversation between a teacher and his pupils.

The final volume, which with twenty-three pages is the shortest, contains no translation

³⁵Numata et al. 1984: 228.

³⁶*Rangaku teikō*, pp. 164–5. The page numbers here are those stamped on the manuscript reproduction supplied by Kyōu Sho'oku.

exercises, but deals with grammar. A short paragraph presents the concept of moods, reiterates what has been explained about parts of speech in Volume Two, lists the six cases and their symbols, and introduces the concept of modifying clauses, *invallende rede*. This is followed by a number of model sentences in boxes, in which cases and word categories are indicated. These boxes are reminiscent of the way Baba displayed examples of gender and case in *Oranda bunpan tekiyō*.³⁷

N		T						N	
het	herkanten	die	getalpen	bestanden	is	in	tegenwoordig	gebuilt	
het	opstellen	die	metten	besten	is	in	geest	konst	
het	opstellen	die	tallijde	metten	is	in	de bestig	laet	

Fig. 21.
A table from Baba Sajūrō's *Rangaku teikō*, Vol VI.

The volume closes with a brief collection of sentences containing modifying clauses. It seems not unreasonable to suggest that this last volume was designed to prepare students for the next stage, the study of Shizuki's *Rangaku seizenfu*, a large proportion of which is dedicated to the translation of modifiers.

Since *Rangaku teikō* offers a collection of translation exercises of increasing difficulty, interspersed with very little instruction, it should be seen as an exercise book rather than a textbook. It takes the student from the elementary stages through to a level of considerable skill, and would have taken the average student a number of years to master. Although the work borrows ideas and texts from a number of sources and contains no original material, this was no doubt selected so as to expose students to the kind of topics which dominated the translation work that was being done in Edo at the time, such as medicine and astronomy. Baba ran a language school in Edo, called Sanshindō. The progressive and skills-based approach to foreign language teaching evident in *Rangaku teikō* makes it clear that the work was the result of Baba's hands-on experience as a teacher. No other work like it was produced during the Edo period. The fact that the first volume of *Rangaku teikō* shows a strong connection with Ōtsuki Gentaku's work suggests that Baba based much of this work on Dutch language materials in Ōtsuki Gentaku's collection.

³⁷See fig. 20 above.

Each of the six volumes of the only known manuscript of *Rangaku teikō* bears the name of Arashiyama Hoan 嵐山甫庵 (dates unknown), the adopted son of a *rangaku*-style physician from Nagasaki, who studied under Baba during a series of stays in Edo. Arashiyama made copies of a number of Baba's works, notably *Oranda bunpan tekiyō* 和蘭文範摘要 (discussed above) and the vocabulary list *Holland woorden boek*.³⁸ Arashiyama eventually took his copies to his home in Hirado, and it is thanks to this that the contents of these key works by Baba Sajūrō are still available to us today.

Baba Sajūrō was also the guiding force behind the woodblock-printed *Nieuw Verzameld Japans en Hollandsch Woordenboek* ('Newly-compiled Japanese and Dutch dictionary'). Although the title page proclaims this work to be 'by the prince of the domain of Nakats Minamoto Masataka, printed at his servant Kamiya Filojosi 1810',³⁹ it contains a foreword written in Dutch by Baba, which shows that it was he who provided the raw materials for this work.⁴⁰

The undersigned, having been at the emperor's court since last year, and at some time having been approached by the said prince to invent a means for facilitating the learning of the Dutch language. Although because of much imperial business I have no time, I am nevertheless very pleased with the prince's studiousness, and have had his servant Kamiyafilojosi write out all the words I have memorised, and subsequently the prince has collected same, which may be perused in this volume.

The 'said prince' in this text is editor and publisher Okudaira Masataka 奥平昌高 (1781–1855), who was a member of the ruling family of Nakatsu 中津 domain, several members of which were active in Dutch studies.⁴¹ 'Kamiyafilojosi' represents the name of Kamiya Hiroyoshi 神谷弘考, who has been identified as Kamiya

³⁸Discussed in Chapter III-2.

³⁹*door den vorst van het landschap Nakats Minamoto Masataka, gedrukt bij zijn dienaar Kamiya Filojosi 1810.*

⁴⁰The awkward language of my translation reflects as much as possible the idiosyncrasies of Baba's Dutch:

de ondergetekende van voorleden jaar op Keijzers order aan 't hof in Jedo zijnde, op zekeren tijd door gemeld vorst verzogt zijn, om op een gemakkelijke wijze de hollandse taal te Leeren, daartoe Een middel uit te vinden.— hoewel ik door veel keijzers zaaken geen tijd heb, ben ik egter over de Leerzugtigheid van den vorst zeer vergenoegt, en heb alle de woorden die ik van Buijten geleerd, door zijne Edele dienaar Kamiyafilojosi laten afschrijven en daarna heeft den vorst zelfs verzameld, het welk dit deel behelst zoo asl men het hier zal ontwaaren.

⁴¹Masataka was the adopted grandson of Okudaira Masaka 奥平昌鹿 (1744–1780), who had encouraged Maeno Ryōtaku in his Dutch studies (see Chapter V-1). Although the Okudaira domain was in Kyushu, Numata points out that their *rangaku* activities had little to do with their proximity to Nagasaki, being conducted in Edo (Numata 1989: 140).

Gennai 神谷源内 (dates unknown), secretary to Masataka. He was a keen *rangaku* scholar in his own right, and was given the Dutch name Pieter van der Stolp by Doeff during the latter's visit to Edo in 1810. Masataka appears not to have impressed Doeff quite so much; only after some persisting did Doeff reluctantly bestow on him the name Frederik Hendrik.⁴²

This publication is an early example of the energy Baba was prepared to invest in the spread of *rangaku* studies in Edo. The work, which is made up of five volumes, contains some two thousand entries in *iroha* sequence, divided into nineteen homologous groups. In the Japanese introduction by Masataka the work is named as *Rango yakusen* 蘭語訳撰, and in Japanese studies it is usually referred to by this name.⁴³

Baba Sajūrō, by his own admission, was no academic. His contemporaries describe him as energetic, and his works show him to have been an outgoing and, above all, practical man. As exemplified by his last and most extensive work, *Rangaku teikō*, Baba Sajūrō's contribution to Dutch language studies in Japan was not so much based on original or newly-imported concepts or insights of his own, but rather on the bringing together and presenting in a useful and intelligible way of information that had been produced by his predecessors. His only truly original work, *Rango shubi sesshi kō*, was written in his younger days in Nagasaki, and although it was subsequently edited and published posthumously, Baba himself apparently did not think it useful or significant enough for inclusion in *Rangaku teikō*. Following his move to Edo, he apparently felt for some years that without the benefit of whatever it was Shizuki had discovered during the last years of his life and recorded in *Oranda shihinkō*, his language expertise would not be complete, despite the fact that he had produced a remarkably accurate condensed representation of the same material in *Oranda bunpan tekiyō*. It was not until after he had seen and corrected *Rango kuhinshū* (which he believed to be a corrupted version of *Shihinkō*) that he gained the confidence to compile *Rangaku teikō* largely from materials produced by others, as a definitive compilation of the best study materials hitherto produced on the Dutch language in Japan. Baba Sajūrō's role was thus that of a facilitator, who brought the discoveries of his more scholarly peers to a wider and ever-growing public in a logical and pedagogically sound fashion.

⁴²Doeff 1833:147.

⁴³Goodman (2000: 160) describes *Rango yakusen* as a different work, which Masataka ordered Baba Sajūrō to write. This is incorrect. He may have confused this work with the dictionary of loan words Masataka published in 1822. See p. 93 above.

Ruigokai and *Rishikai* (n.d.)

Shizuki's work had a decisive effect on the way Dutch was taught and studied throughout Japan. This influence, however, came almost entirely from the work he produced after he discovered Séwel's grammar. Although *Joshikō* did retain some of its currency, and, as has been shown above, was reproduced and adapted until well into the nineteenth century, the other two of his early works, *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* 柳圃中野先生文法 and *Rangaku seizenfu* 蘭学生前父, all but disappeared from the landscape of Dutch language studies. Although *Rangaku seizenfu* did find its way into the curriculum of a number of major *rangaku* schools, few scholars commented on it or attempted to develop it further.

Today, only one serious work based on Shizuki's pre-Séwel linguistic studies but not written by Shizuki himself, is known to be extant. It is an anonymous work in two volumes, called *Ruigokai* 累語解 ('A Key To Compound Words') and *Rishikai* 履詞解 ('A Key To Suffixes') respectively. The volume was found in the collection of influential Osaka *rangaku* scholar Ogata Kōan 緒方洪庵 (1810–1863), and has been described as "possibly one of Ogata Kōan's favourites".⁴⁴ However, it has not been located in the collections or works of any other *rangaku* scholar, and appears to have been of little consequence to the further development of Dutch language studies in Japan. Nevertheless, as the only work based on Shizuki's early linguistic studies not from Shizuki's own hand, *Ruigokai* and *Rishikai* constitute a rare example of an independent interpretation of Shizuki's earlier linguistic work. In addition, *Rishikai* applies Shizuki's universal linguistic concept to a third language, viz. classical Chinese. For these reasons these works merit closer examination.

The two texts are untitled and undated. Although the manuscript is riddled with errors, both in Japanese and in Dutch, the structure and contents of the document give evidence of a considerable understanding of the structure and vocabulary of the Dutch language on the part of the compiler. In addition, the nature of many of the errors indicates that many of them are corruptions that occurred during the copying of an original manuscript, the whereabouts of which is now unknown. For example, the author has categorised word compounds into eight clearly marked categories, but the numbering of these categories is out of sequence, which points to careless copying. Furthermore, although the Dutch vocabulary items are presented in alphabetical order and have clearly been culled from one or more dictionaries, there are many instances of the letter *l* being mistaken for an *r* and

⁴⁴Numata et al. 1984: 766.

vice versa, which suggests that the copying was done by someone who had a misplaced confidence in his own Dutch skills and did not feel the need to check for accuracy.

Two names appear on the first page of the manuscript: Kitagoe Eijō 北肥栄城 and Shimamoto Daijū 島本大受. The first of these names remains unidentified, but Shimamoto Daijū is the pen name of Shimamoto Ryūshō 島本龍嘯 (? –1848). Ryūshō was born into a Chinese physician's family in Saga, and at an early age went to Nagasaki, where he studied with the Dutch interpreters. Around 1804¹ he returned to Saga, where he opened a school for Dutch studies. Ryūshō himself never became a prominent *rangaku* scholar in his own right, perhaps because Saga was a stronghold of Chinese style medicine and conservative elements may have prevented him from becoming influential in that environment.² However, he does appear to have had the ability to recognise talent in others. In 1822 he sent one of his students to Nagasaki for further studies. This student, Itō Genboku 伊東玄朴 (1800–1871), went on to become one of Von Siebold's most talented students and founder of the Zōsendō 象先堂, an important *rangaku* academy in Edo.³ Ōba Sessai, another influential *rangaku* scholar and translator of *Grammatica*,⁴ also studied at Shimamoto Ryūshō's school in Saga.

Ruigokai deals with Dutch compound words and affixes. In this respect it resembles Shizuki Tadao's *Joshikō*, which examines the way in which many words in the Dutch language are compounds or contain affixes. Here, the author appears simply to have worked his way through a dictionary and listed and translated those compound words he understood and thought to be useful.

The introductory text explains that *ruigo* 累語 (lit. 'accumulated words') is a term that indicates Dutch compound words, and that the Dutch word for such compounds is *DYUBBERU KONSUTO*. This term is a combination of the Dutch words *dubbel* ('double'), and *konst* ('art' or 'technique'). No such term appears to have ever been in use in relation to linguistics in the Dutch language, and it is possibly an early example of *wasei orandago*, or 'Dutch made in Japan'. The author then states that he compiled the vocabulary items in this volume with the aid of a 'High German' (*jōdoitsukoku no* 上都逸国ノ) dictionary. However, the words presented in this work are certainly not of German origin. At the time the Dutch language was normally referred to as *Nederduitsch* (lit. 'Low German'), in contrast to the German language itself, which

¹This was, according to Baba Sajūrō, the year that Shizuki Tadao discovered the 'true nature' of grammar, in other words, he began to base his linguistic thought on Séwel (see p. 157 above). Shimamoto appears to have just missed this development.

²Numata et al. 1984: 325.

³Numata 1992: 142.

⁴See Chapter VI-1.

was called *Hoogduitsch* ('High German'). It is possible that the reference to a German dictionary stems from confusion between the two terms. Both *Ruigokai* and *Rishikai* make references to 'Marin', undoubtedly Pieter Marin's Dutch and French dictionary.

5

The introduction is followed by a series of Dutch compound words divided into eight categories. Although each category presents up to twelve example words, only two or three examples that best represent their respective categories are selected here:

1.: noun + noun

vaderland ('fatherland'), *molensteen* ('millstone') etc.

2.: noun + adjective

duimendik ('inches thick'), *bloedrood* ('blood red') etc.

3.: adjective + noun

langoor ('long-ear'), *grootmond* ('big mouth') etc.

4.: adjective + adjective

halfdood ('half dead'), *donkerbruin* ('dark brown') etc.

5.: verb + noun

slaapkaamer ('bedroom'), *drinkschaal* ('drinking bowl') etc.

6.: nominalised verbs

het wijndrinken ('drinking wine'), *het leezen leeren* ('learning to read') etc.

7.: noun + verb + -er

boekbinder ('bookbinder'), *schoenmaker* ('shoemaker') etc.

8.: miscellaneous verbs

The first entry in this category contains an amusing error: the word *hondschoen*, a word that, if it existed in Dutch, would mean 'a dog's shoe'. Although this is clearly a misspelling of *handschoen*, ('glove', lit. 'hand shoe'), the word has been translated as 狗履, a Japanese rendition of the elements 'dog' and 'shoe' respectively.

The last category consists of a list of more than two hundred compounds of mixed parentage. Included here are words with affixes, such as *gebergte* ('mountain range') and *onbemind* ('unloved'), but also lexeme compounds which could have been placed under one of the earlier categories. It appears that the author has been unable to identify the individual elements of compounds such as *middelvinger* ('middle finger') or *hoognoodig* ('highly necessary'). Each Dutch word is translated into Japanese, but further explanations are minimal.

⁵In *Ruigokai* the reference is to マーリン (MAARIN), while in *Rishikai* the Chinese characters 麻林 are used to represent Marin's name.

Since both this work and Baba Sajūrō's *Rango kanri jikō* deal with prefixes, a comparison is necessary. Although the list of prefixes translated and discussed in both works is not dissimilar, it is clear that there was no direct relationship between the two works. In addition, where Baba had provided each prefix with several alternative Chinese characters as possibilities for translation and a detailed description of its meaning and usage, prefixes in *Ruigokai* are only given a concise translation, followed by a short list of model vocabulary. It is obvious that the expertise of its author had not reached the same level as that of Baba.

A small mystery is found in this final category in the comment following a short list of words beginning with the prefix *aarts-* (equivalent to the English 'arch-'), viz. :

aartsbisschop ('archbishop')

aartsketter ('arch-heretic')

aartsvijand ('arch-enemy')

aartsvader ('patriarch')

The comment which follows states that the above words are "said to be ONDOITSU,⁶ meaning not German."⁷ Sugimoto has suggested that the author is indicating here that the words in this group are loans.⁸ However, this is clearly not the case. It is possible that the term *onduytsch* ('Un-German') may have originally referred to another interpretation of the two words for 'arch-enemy' and 'arch-heretic', much in the same way as the modern expression 'un-American' refers to the activities or attitudes of enemies of the American state or its lifestyle.

Ironically, it is this eighth 'miscellaneous' category that would have been the most useful for the learner of Dutch vocabulary. A number of affixes are presented under categories such as adverb or preposition, given a basic meaning in Japanese and followed by a number of example words. Thus, the prefix *weder-* (similar to the English 're-') is interpreted in Japanese as:

再 'again', and therefore, 'to repeat'.

This is followed by the examples:

wederantwoord ('reply')

wederklank ('echo')

wederkomst ('homecoming')

wederkeering ('repeat visit')

⁶*onduytsch*

⁷「ヨンドイツ」語ト云都逸非ルト訳ス。Although the word *onduytsch* has been used to mean 'not Dutch', the use of the characters 都逸 here suggests that 'not German' is intended.

⁸Sugimoto 1977: 1124.

The common use of Chinese character compounds in Japan meant that the Japanese were familiar with the concept of lexical compounds. This approach to Dutch vocabulary provided students of Dutch with a tool that would have facilitated the inference of a general or part interpretation for many words at first sight, and represents the most useful element of *Ruigokai*. It closely resembles Shizuki Tadao's presentation of affixes in *Joshikō*. Unlike *Joshikō*, however, *Ruigokai* does not present the words in the context of example sentences.

Although the second volume, as the title indicates, presents a series of suffixes in the context of compound words, it also delves a certain way into Shizuki's early ideas on universal grammar as presented in *Rangaku seizenfu* and *Joshikō*, and applies these to a third language, viz. Chinese.

The work begins with the announcement that suffixes are called AFU REIDENGU⁹ in Dutch and explains that the principle is not dissimilar to the way in which Japanese base forms words may be inflected depending on the context. The example given is 切 'cut', which can be used as a verb in an active or passive sense, and as an adjective:

Take, for example, the Chinese character 切. When it is in the form 切ル¹⁰, the person who cuts is on this [the speaker's] side, while that which is being cut is on the other side. When one says 切ラ被ル¹¹, the person who cuts is removed, while that which is cut is on this [the speaker's] side. In the case of 切ル、¹² it expresses spontaneity. All of the above express activity. Furthermore, when placed before a noun such as 切ルル劔¹³, it is an adjective which expresses the sword's quality. The likes of 切ラ兎、石¹⁴ means that the stone is capable of performing the action described in the initial verb [to cut], and appears to include the meaning of skill, potential and such. This also belongs to the adjectives. When one says 切レ, there are two interpretations. As a verb, it is a word of command. When used as a noun, it can be the 切レ in terms such as 竹ノ切レ本, 'offcuts'. Again, in noun forms such as 切り, it includes meanings such as the butcher's 人切 and the woodcutter's 木切 and such. In addition to

⁹D. *afleiding*, 'derivation'. The word is translated as 本詞ノ分レ *honshi no wakare* (lit. 'an offshoot from a main word'). The fact that the term 分レ *wakare* can also be interpreted as 'departure', or 'farewell' may have led Sugimoto (1977: 1126) to read AFUREIDENGU as *afreizing* ('departure on a journey').

¹⁰*Kiru*, 'to cut'.

¹¹*Kirareru*, 'to be cut'.

¹²*Kiruru*, the adjectival form of the verb to cut.

¹³*Kiruru katana*, 'a cutting sword'.

¹⁴*Kiraruru ishi*, 'a stone that can cut'.

these, in cases such as 切物 and 切事, the meaning changes considerably merely by changing the latter part of the word.

A number of aspects of the above text are a clear indication of the influence of Shizuki Tadao's work. Indeed, it could have been written by Shizuki himself. The terminology used to indicate parts of speech is that used, and probably coined, by Shizuki. In addition, this text, rather than presenting aspects of the Dutch language, seeks to instruct the student in the formation, meaning and usage of Japanese words, as well as indicating features in common with the Dutch language. This is an approach characteristic of Shizuki's earlier (read 'pre-Séwel') works such as *Joshikō* and *Rangaku seizenfu*.

The work then introduces a list of suffixes, explains their meaning and presents a number of examples. Thus, the suffix *-baar* (similar to the English '-able') is explained as having the meanings of possibility, durability, ability and ease, and the Japanese potential auxiliary verb *-raruru* is given as its equivalent.

-baar (-able)

-zaam (-some)

-ig (-ous)

-lijk (-ly)

-sch (-ish)

-achtig (-ish)

-en (-en)

-loos (-less)

-haft(ig)(lijk) (-ic)

-heid (-ness)

-ing (-ing)

-te (-ness)

-de (-ish, -ful)

-sche (-ish)

-schap (-ship)

-dom (-dom, -ness)

-nis (-ness)

-ling (-ling)

-rij, -nij (-ny)

-sel, -zel (-ings)¹⁵

This approach to vocabulary is of course of great benefit to the student, who is enabled, through a knowledge of these twenty affixes, to determine not only word category but also at least in part the meaning of many Dutch words at first sight.

Two sections interrupt this list of suffixes. The first is an analysis, by means of Shizuki Tadao's principles of universal linguistics, of one of the Chinese classics, namely Chuang Tzu's *Hsiao-yao Yu* 逍遙遊, a Taoist text from the second century B.C.. A short section of this text is presented with *katakana* reading marks added, and each word identified according to the part of speech group it belongs to. The Japanese terminology is largely Shizuki's, with only minor differences. The interest here lies in the fact that the author has applied Shizuki's linguistic concepts that had been designed to reconcile the structures of the Japanese and Dutch languages, to a third language that is related to neither.

The opening line of the original text in Chinese reads:

北冥有魚其名為鯤鯨之大不知其幾千里也

It is translated as:

In the northern darkness there is a fish and his name is K'un. The K'un is so huge I don't know how many thousand *li* he measures.¹⁶

This is presented in *Rishikai* in the following way:

¹⁵This is the suffix occurring in words such as 'shavings'.

¹⁶Transl.: Legge 1963.

English equivalent	Original text	Manuscript annotation
North	北	The (虚賓実主 - adj./objective - nom./possessive?) case of a 緩語. ²³⁰ There is an auxiliary word meaning 'from' or 'at' attached to it, and it is called an adverbial phrase. ²³¹ In Dutch, 'from' is a preposition. These indicate a point in time or a location, such as: "At what time", "In what place". All prepositions may be attached to a noun, to make an adverbial phrase. The function of this one is to specify the location of the fish. The preposition relates to the 有 ('to be') character .
possessive (Japanese particle)	ノ <i>sch</i>	
darkness	冥	
in/at (Japanese particle)	ニ <i>voor</i>	
be present	有	'is' - common verb
fish	魚	'fish' - noun
that	其	'whose' - pronoun referring to the fish
name	名	'name' - undeclinable word
be (equals)	為	'was' - transitive verb, past tense
K'un	鯤	'K'un' - noun

²³⁰The meaning of this compound is not clear.

²³¹ 形容動詞

n	鯤	'K'un' - noun
possive	之	'of' - <i>van</i> . A preposition used in the genitive case.
	大	'bigness' - A nominalised adjective, equivalent to a word with a <i>-hijd</i> suffix. Therefore it is expressed in Japanese as 'how big'. Since it indicates the physical impressiveness of K'un the fish, it is not translated as 'size'. 'Size' indicates a quantity, such as the size of a tray, or of a bean and such. Therefore in Dutch, the suffix <i>-te</i> is applied.
	不	'not' - adverb, relating to the 'know' character.
w	知	'know' - active verb
	其	'it' - reflexive pronoun. Refers to the bigness, and belongs to the 実詞. Translated into Japanese as 夫が <i>sorega</i> .
y many	幾	'how many' - interrogative, meaning 'to what degree', and therefore implies a question.
usand	千	'thousand' - numeral, belonging to the adjectives. Indicates the number of <i>ri</i> .
unit of (gth)	里	' <i>ri</i> ' - noun
(to equal)	也	'is' - equivalent to [the Dutch] <i>is</i> , or the <i>ari</i> 有 character. This word is a common verb that settles meaning, and is in the present tense. <i>Nari</i> なり is an abbreviation of <i>ni ari</i> .

Thus, imported Western grammar nomenclature is applied here to a classical Chinese text.

Rishikai is also the only work not from the hand of Shizuki that presents the diagrams depicting the interrelationship of nouns, verbs and adjectives. These diagrams had earlier appeared in Shizuki's *Rangaku seizenfu* and *Joshikō*.²³⁰ However, while Shizuki presented his diagrams without further comment, in *Rishikai* they are followed by an explanatory text:

Verbs are conjugable words that express actions, such as to go, to come, to cross, to plant, to walk, and to live. There are two categories of these, that is to say, intransitive and transitive.²³¹ Intransitive verbs express independent, natural action, such as 'to shine', 'to cloud over', 'to go', 'to come', 'to live', 'to walk'. They express actions that do not involve humans.

Transitive verbs are related to productiveness, and are words such as to make, to hit, to cross, to plant, to cut, to write, or to read.

Verbal nouns are verbs that have been changed into non-declinable nouns, such as shining, clouding over, going, coming, growing, walking (these are nominalised intransitive verbs), making, hitting, crossing, planting, cutting, reading, writing (these are nominalised transitive verbs).²³²

Adjectives are words of quality, such as high, long, white, hot, beautiful and big.

De-adjectival nouns are adjectives that have been changed into non-declinable nouns, such as height, length, whiteness, heat, beauty and bigness.²³³

Verbal adjectives are verbs that are made into ornamental words,²³⁴ which puts them in the category of adjectives, such as growing tree, planting (planted?) weed, embroidering woman, smiling woman, studying person.²³⁵

実詞ト全形ノ物ヲ斥ス名目ヲ云ナリ。²³⁶ Noun is the word for the category that contains all [words expressing] general things. They are words such as heaven,

²³⁰See p. 155 fig. 15 above. For a more detailed analysis of these diagrams, see De Groot 1998: 102.

²³¹The terms used here are the ones used in Japanese today: *jidōshi* 自動詞 and *tadōshi* 他動詞.

²³²Diagram: *planten, planting*.

²³³Diagram: *schoonhijd*.

²³⁴The word *makurakotoba* 枕詞 is used here, a term that normally refers to the ornamental words in Japanese classical poetry.

²³⁵Diagram: *groeende, plantende*.

²³⁶I have been unable to arrive at a satisfactory interpretation of this phrase.

earth, sun, moon, water, fire, ground, air, person, thing, bird, dog, insect, fish, mountain, plant, tree and so on. You should arrive at an understanding of how Dutch words are used by considering the meanings of the above words.

Although by and large the nomenclature used in *Ruigokai* and *Rishikai* corresponds with the terminology used by Shizuki in *Rangaku seizenfu* and *Joshikō*, there are some differences. Shizuki had divided all words into three main categories: 'substantial' (実), meaning nouns; 'non-substantial' or 'empty' (虚), meaning verbs and adjectives; and 'auxiliary' (助), which included everything else.²³⁷ However, in this manuscript, verbs are not grouped under the non-substantials, but become a category in their own right.

It appears that model phrases were translated word for word without regard for the meaning of the complete phrases. Thus, in the phrase:

zij zijn beide van denzelfden ouderdom

('they are both the same age'), the word *denzelfden* is translated as *sono*, which would be an accurate translation for this word if it were used as a (now archaic) reflexive pronoun.²³⁸ In this case, however, it simply means 'the same'. The translation as *sono* here, however, gives the phrase the meaning of 'they are both of that age'.²³⁹

Although *Ruigokai* and *Rishikai* are based on Shizuki's early work before his 'discovery' of 'the true linguistics', these manuscripts contain some very useful insights

²³⁷ See De Groot 1998: 102 for further analysis of Shizuki's diagrams.

²³⁸ The English word 'same' can also be used in this way, for example, in the phrase 'I have sighted the goods, and approve of purchase of same.'

²³⁹ It may be that this disregard for the actual meaning of the whole phrase allowed some interesting references to religion to appear. In the phrase:

de dwaalingen van het heidendom

('the errors of paganism') the word paganism is rendered into Japanese as *shinshoku* 神職, 'Shinto priests'. A little further along we find an amusing case of overzealous correction, when the model phrase

de duisternis van het hedendom

is translated in superscript as *kyō no kumori* 今日之曇り: 'today's overcast'. Since the word *hedendom* (which would be equivalent to the English 'today-ness') does not exist in the Dutch language, it seems that *heidendom* was miscopied, and that the original phrase meant 'the darkness of paganism'. The copyist may have thought 'overcast' a more appropriate translation for *duisternis* in this context, and changed the Japanese accordingly. Thus the accidental omission of single vowel resulted in a phrase conveying a severe censure of non-Christian religions being misinterpreted as an innocuous observation about the weather. Then, in the phrase

de eeuwige verdoemenis

the word 'eternal' is translated correctly as *eikyū* 永久, but no translation is provided for 'damnation'.

into the workings of the Dutch language. The application of some of Shizuki's concepts to Chinese were a logical progression towards the universal grammar that inspired Shizuki's diagrams. However, no doubt it was the more practical aspects of these volumes, notably the explanation and examples of compound words and affixes, that made this work a useful asset in Ogata Kōan's Tekijuku academy in Ōsaka.

As noted above, the new developments that Shizuki brought with his translations and explanations of Séwel had a watershed effect on the way the Dutch language was studied in Japan. Particularly the second decade of the nineteenth century saw a flurry of activity in this area, and virtually every work known to have been written on this topic in Japan during this period was based on what Shizuki presented in the manuscripts he wrote in the last few years of his life. Below are outlined the most important representatives of this period, and their works.

Yoshio Gonnosuke 吉雄権之助 (1785–1831)

The Yoshio family made important contributions to the development and dissemination of *rangaku* in the latter decades of the Edo period. Yoshio Kōzaemon 吉雄幸左衛門 (1724–1800), whom Numata calls variously 'the most influential interpreter during the Tanuma period (1767–1786)', and 'godfather' to the interpreters,²⁴⁰ was active as a translator and established his own school of medicine. Dutch sources show that Kōzaemon purchased a book on mathematics in 1786, showing that he was also a collector of Dutch books.²⁴¹ The Yoshio name features regularly on the list of 'Edoban' interpreters (those who were chosen to accompany the Dutch mission to the shogunal court). Kōzaemon's son Gonnosuke and grandson Shunzō both left important works on Dutch language learning.

Yoshio Gonnosuke 吉雄権之助 (1785–1831) was a member of that very select little group of interpreters who became students of Shizuki Tadao, and appears to have enjoyed a privileged position even among this little elite.²⁴² He also assisted Hendrik Doeff with the compilation of Doeff's famous *haruma* dictionary, and in the introduction to this dictionary Doeff singles him out as 'indispensable to this project'.²⁴³ He was also involved with the day-to-day running of Von Siebold's Narutaki school.²⁴⁴

²⁴⁰Numata 1992: 61.

²⁴¹MacLean 1974: 37.

²⁴²Preface to *Rangaku han*, quoted in Yoshida 1974: 132 n. 42.

²⁴³See Chapter IV-3 above.

²⁴⁴Sugimoto 1976: 867.

Gonnosuke left only one work on Dutch linguistics, a revision of Shizuki Tadao's *Zokubun kinnō* 属文錦囊 ('A Brocade Bag of Interrelated Language'), in which Shizuki outlined the structures of the five moods in the Dutch language.²⁴⁵ Gonnosuke's work survives in at least six slightly varying copies.²⁴⁶ Although Gonnosuke did not date his work, an introduction written by Udagawa Yōan is dated 1821.

Udagawa's introduction briefly lists each of the five moods followed by one or more examples in Japanese, taken from several classical collections of poetry.²⁴⁷ This echoes Shizuki's approach in *Rangaku seizenfu*, which also employed a number of classical poems to demonstrate Japanese equivalents of Dutch syntactical structures.²⁴⁸ However, as will be seen below, the subjunctive and the infinitive are only apparent in Dutch versions of these poems, and their presentation without such a translation in the introduction, well removed from the explanation of these moods, is unhelpful, particularly for the beginners that this work is apparently aimed at. It is likely that although Udagawa felt that the poems would be a useful addition to Gonnosuke's work, he did not want to make alterations to his mentor's text.

The main text of the work is, pedagogically speaking, an improvement on Shizuki's original bare-bones listing of the rules of Dutch syntax. The most obvious and effective improvement is the addition of Dutch example phrases. Parts of speech in these model phrases are identified by one or two letters from the alphabet: ZN ('*zelfstandig naamwoord - noemer*') for a first case noun, ZA ('*zelfstandig naamwoord - aanklager*') for second case noun, TN ('*toevoeglijk naamwoord*') for adjective, W ('*werkwoord*') for verb, H ('*hulpwerkwoord*') for auxiliary verb, B ('*bijwoord*') for adverb, G ('*geslacht*') for article and VZ ('*voorzetsel*') for preposition.

The explanations and rules given in this work are considerably more elaborate than those provided by Shizuki. While Shizuki's original was concise to the point of being cryptic, the explanations provided here are suffering from the opposite. For example, the following paragraph, aimed at helping students distinguish between the interrogative and the imperative, can only be described as rambling and confusing:

²⁴⁵See p. 165ff above.

²⁴⁶Sugimoto has made a detailed comparison between the various manuscripts (Sugimoto 1976: 870–902). The work discussed here is a copy by Yoshio Gonnosuke's student Udagawa Yōan 宇田川榕庵 (1798–1846), and is in the collection of the Historiographical Institute at Tokyo University.

²⁴⁷Namely, *Kokinshū* 古今集, *Gosen wakashū* 後撰和歌集 and *Kachō yosei* 花鳥余情.

²⁴⁸De Groot 1998: 84.

In the imperative, only words like *gij* or *u*²⁴⁹ are used as a subject. *Ik* and *hij*²⁵⁰ and so on are not used. For example:

heb gij een boek
wees gij gezond
vaar gij wel
gaa u daar

This is easily confused with the interrogative. However, in the interrogative the auxiliary or main verb has a letter *t* attached. For example:

hebt gij een boek?
zijt gij gezond?
gaat u daar?

That is to say, as stated earlier, the interrogative is fundamentally the *aantoonende wijze* with simply the auxiliary verb placed in front of the subject. Therefore, when using *gij* in the demonstrative, the auxiliary has a letter *t*, just like in the interrogative. Only the auxiliary verb is moved. For example:

gij hebt daar een mooi snuif doos
gij gaat daar
gij hebt een boek

However, with *ik* and *hij* and such, there is no letter *t*. But since *ik* or *hij* are not used as subjects in the imperative, there won't be any confusion about this. Nevertheless, in the imperative, there is a letter *t* at the end when there is no subject. The interrogative always has a subject. So even though there is a letter *t*, there can be no confusion. For example:

neemt de wortel
wast ze met water
weest zo goed


So although a letter *t* has been added here, there is no subject. Beginner students, take note, and do not confuse the two.

This passage, which is characteristic of the work, also shows the liberal application of Dutch examples, which had been conspicuously absent in Shizuki's original. Furthermore, unlike Shizuki's *Zokubun kinnō*, the focus of this work is not exclusively on Dutch composition. The above passage is clearly aimed at helping readers distinguish between similar-looking existing syntactical structures.

Most prominent among the many shortcomings of this work is its lack of reliability. While many of the errors in the Dutch phrases can be ascribed to careless copying, common mistakes in several copies of the manuscript indicate that Yoshio Gonnosuke himself is responsible for at least some of the inaccuracies. For example, Shizuki's original work illustrated the workings of divisible verbs simply but effectively with the verb *opdoen* ('to serve'):

²⁴⁹'You' or 'thou'.

²⁵⁰'I' and 'he' respectively.

om---op---te---doen


Why Gonnosuke decided to use a different verb is not clear, but the one he selected, *vookomen*, which has several meanings, is unfortunately not divisible in the meaning in which it appears in his example:

*om ongelukken voor te koomen*²⁵¹

Gonnosuke's definition of the subjunctive is quite inadequate. He defines it as a subordinate clause that begins with "words such as *dat*, *op dat*, *voor dat*, *na dat*, *of schoon*, *als*, *wanneer*, *zo als*, *zo dikwils* and *such*", and follows and modifies a main clause. This appears to be a further distortion of Shizuki's already imperfect instructions in the original *Zokubun kinnō*.²⁵² Examples by Gonnosuke include:

ik denk | *dat de schrander hippocrates de ontleedkunde ten eersten gevonden heeft*²⁵³

with the clarification that the clause following the mark is in the subjunctive mood. Gonnosuke's idea of the subjunctive thus appears to be connected with the placing of the auxiliary verb. Udagawa Yōan's introduction uses a poem from *Kokinshū* as a demonstration of the subjunctive:

*Waga io wa/miyako no tatsumi/shika zo sumu/
yo o uji yama to/hito wa iu nari*²⁵⁴

Although the subjunctive is not apparent in the original Japanese, nor in the English translation, the final phrase could be translated into Dutch in a subjunctive form, as: . . . *hoewel men zegt dat de berg Uji herinnert aan een wereld van verdriet*, conforming to Gonnosuke's simplistic definition of the subjunctive, which states that any clause starting with *dat* is subjunctive.

²⁵¹Sic Should be: *om ongelukken te voorkoomen*, 'in order to prevent accidents'.

²⁵²See p. 165 above.

²⁵³I think that that clever Hippocrates was the first to discover anatomy'.

²⁵⁴我庵八都ノ巽シカゾ栖ム世ヲウチ山ト人ハイフナリ

this is how I live/in my retreat southeast of/the capital though/men call Uji Mountain a/
reminder of worldly sorrow (*Kokinshū* 983. Translation McCullough 1968: 332).

That Yoshio Gonnosuke, an interpreter with impressive credentials, and Udagawa Yōan, a scholar of significant influence in Edo *rangaku* circles, could have combined to produce such a deficient interpretation of Shizuki's work is an indication that aspects of Shizuki's explanations, at least in the first decades of the nineteenth century, remained as unfathomable as Einstein's theory of relativity was to be a century later. Yet, judging by the existence of several handwritten copies, Yoshio Gonnosuke's *Teisei Zokubun Kinnō* appears to have enjoyed some popularity. The fact that such a haphazard and inaccurate work could achieve recognition as a credible resource is an indication of the extent to which Dutch language study in the first half of the nineteenth century was motivated by fashion rather than genuine academic curiosity.

Yoshio Shunzō 吉雄俊蔵 (1787–1843)

Although Yoshio Gonnosuke's nephew Shunzō acquired much of his Dutch expertise from his uncle, he did not become an interpreter. He left Nagasaki in his early twenties and, after studying Dutch and Western medicine in Edo and Ōsaka, finally settled in Nagoya to run a small *rangaku* academy called *Kanshōdō* 観象堂, where Shizuki's *Rangaku seizenfu* was used as a textbook.²⁵⁵ Shunzō left at least three works based on Shizuki's teachings: *Sanshukō* 三種考 ('On the Three Genders' and *Yakki* 訳規 ('Rules for Translation', 1811) and *Rokkaku zenpen* 六格前篇 ('The Six Cases - Volume One', 1814). All three works are in manuscript form only and, as shown below, were written for use at his academy.

Shunzō's work demonstrates that the Shizuki-based study of Dutch in the main centres had entered a new phase. As shown in chapter V-3 above, Shunzō augmented the teachings of Shizuki Tadao with materials from a large collection, and Kornelis van der Palm's grammar text, which he apparently had access to a considerably wider range of materials than Shizuki.

Yakki, Shunzō mentions Shizuki's *Kuhinshi myōmoku*. His *Rokkaku zenpen* (the *furigana* readings are here re-

BO ISU
貝斯: (Egbert Buys)

SE U ERU
設物兒 (William Séwel)

MAA RIN
馬林 (Pieter Marin)

HA RU MA
法尔馬 (François Halma)

²⁵⁵Numata 1992: 106.

He also employed texts from several medical works to demonstrate translation methods.

Like Baba Sajūrō's works, Yoshio Shunzō's texts exhibit the practical approach that characterises an author who is actively engaged in teaching. Often he appears to be addressing his students directly. For example, when discussing nine parts of speech in *Sanshukō*, the concept of articles, which Japanese does not have, appears to have been particularly difficult to get across to his students:

Before a noun comes a word that has no meaning: *de*, *het* or *een*. They correspond to the traditional characters 箇 ('this one'), 夫 ('that' emph.) and 這 ('this') and so on. Don't we have words with no meaning in our language? And aren't these signs 箇夫這 and such without meaning?

Rokkaku zenpen, as the name suggests, introduces the student to the six cases. This work also exists in a slightly different version under the title *Rokkaku meiben* 六格明辯 ('An Explanation of the Six Cases', n.d.). However, the latter is shorter than *Rokkaku zenpen*, and contains corrections that were added later, giving it the impression of a draft. The word *zenpen* ('Volume One') suggests the existence of at least one other volume, but no such work appears to be extant. The work introduces Shizuki Tadao as the originator of the knowledge it presents, and makes reference to his works *Shihinkō* and *Joshikō*. He correctly informs his readers that the accusative case is termed *aanklager* by Buys and Sewel, *beschuldigende geval* or *aanklagende geval* by Marin and Halma, and *lijder* by Hannot, while Elzevier uses the term *bewerkt wordende persoon of zaak*. Finally, model phrases are presented from 回斯的尔 (Heister)²⁵⁷ and a medical work by one 可円别尔孤²⁵⁸.

²⁵⁶Kornelis Elzevier (1717–1761).

²⁵⁷Lorenz Heister's *Heelkundige Onderwijzingen*, published in Dutch in 1741, was translated into Japanese by Sugita Genpaku and Ōtsuki Gentaku in 1790. Sugita was first introduced to this book by Yoshio Shunzō's grandfather Kōzaemon (Van Gulik in Beukers et al 1991: 45). MacLean shows Heister's *Heelkunst met platen* ('Illustrated Medicine') in two volumes was imported in 1802 (MacLean 1974: 25).

²⁵⁸I have been unable to identify this writer. The *katakana* transcription コウエンベルグ KOUENBERUGU is likely to represent the name Kouwenberg or something similar.

The consequences of case are demonstrated elegantly in a simple pair of phrases:

de zoon dien de vader lief heeft

*de zoon die den vader lief heeft*²⁵⁹

The final thirteen pages of the work contain 38 Dutch model phrases accompanied by a Japanese translation. The Japanese renditions in the draft document *Rokkaku meiben* are direct translations, and are therefore sometimes rather stilted; *Rokkaku zenpen* has a more natural interpretation added to the original translation. Some words in the Dutch sentences are marked with symbols according to their gender.

Much more extensive and of a more sophisticated nature is Yoshio Shunzō's *Sanshukō* 三種考 ('On the three genders', n.d.). The work contains some fifty pages and, although it is undated, its more organised appearance and clearer language suggests that it was written after *Rokkaku zenpen*. In fact, since it deals with broadly the same topic, it may have been another attempt at presenting difficult material to students. As was the case with *Rokkaku zenpen*, the appearance of the term *maki no jō* 卷之上 ('Volume One') at the beginning of the main text suggests the existence, or at least the intention, of a second volume and perhaps even a third. However, again, no such volume is known to be extant.

The work is for the most part a translation of those sections of William Séwel's *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst* that deal with articles and gender, notably the chart of articles on pp. 38–39 and the list of nouns on pp. 53–63. Although Yoshio somewhat grudgingly provides a Dutch term for 'article' (*ledemens* or *geslachtwoorden*), he otherwise avoids all Dutch linguistic terminology. However, the Japanese linguistic terms used in this work are quite different from those Yoshio used in *Rokkaku zenpen*.

The work presents a series of semantic groupings from Séwel and explains that words belonging to such groups are likely to belong to a certain gender. Thus, words to do with time and the names of animals are likely to be masculine, while weeds and plants are apt to be feminine, and diminutives neuter. The work then explains that the gender of many words may be determined by their final syllables, and proceeds to list in alphabetical order twenty-five such endings. However, there are so many exceptions to the rules given, that even memorising the entire work would not equip the students with the ability to identify the gender of many words. In addition, the purpose of gender identification can only be the correct application of

²⁵⁹The son whom the father loves' and 'The son who loves the father' respectively.

case to articles, a skill that would hardly be a priority for students of Dutch in Japan, whose primary objective would have been the reading and understanding of Dutch texts.

Of considerably more interest is the third known manuscript by Shunzō on Dutch, *Yakki* 訳規 ('Rules for Translation', 1811). This well planned teaching manual provides students with a practical insight into the difficulties involved with translation by guiding the student through excerpts from Heister's *Heelkundige Onderwijzingen* in five steps. First, an excerpt is presented in its original form. The text is then repeated, but with a Japanese translation written above each word. The work thus challenges the student to discover how much of the text may be deciphered by identifying each word. In the third section, Shunzō explains that a dictionary may provide insights into a Dutch text, but an insight into the structures of the Dutch language is required for accurate translation. This section then proceeds to introduce the student to the nine parts of speech and the six cases. Again, however, Dutch linguistic terminology is avoided. Much of the material in this section is clearly based on Shizuki's texts. Like Shizuki, Shunzō equates the function of six cases with Japanese particles, and presents these particles in the context of classical poems. Both Shizuki and Udagawa Yōan used the classics in their work. However, while Shizuki and Udagawa used classical poetry to express subtle and difficult-to-explain Dutch forms in Japanese, Shunzō employs the poems to demonstrate the use of particles. Citing classical literature to demonstrate the use of such a simple and ubiquitous device as a grammatical particle seems somewhat superfluous and pretentious. However, it may be that Shunzō thought that the presence of Japanese classical poetry might appease critics of *rangaku* studies, Confucianists and *kokugaku* proponents who were wary of foreign influences.

In the fourth section, selected words or phrases in the Heister text are discussed in some detail. Here, the influence of Shizuki becomes quite apparent. For example, the Japanese suffix *-ba*, which can mean either 'if' or 'when' depending on the context, is explained here by means of the same poem cited by Shizuki in *Rangaku seizenfu* for this purpose:

跡見れば心なくさの浜千鳥今は声こそ聞まほしけれ

*Ato mireba/ kokoro nagusa no/ hamachidori/ ima wa koe koso/ kikamahoshikere*²⁶⁰

The final section of this manuscript is a complete Japanese translation of the excerpts from Heister that opened the work, providing the student an opportunity to evaluate

²⁶⁰ I see the tracks of / the plovers that cheered my heart / and would be content / now with no more than to hear / the echoes of their voices (my translation).

his own attempt at translation.

Thus, *Yakki* is a skilfully crafted manuscript, that ranks with Baba Sajūrō's works among some of the most carefully designed teaching resources on the Dutch language in Japan.

Noro Tenzen 野呂天然 (1764–1834)

Noro Tenzen was born in Edo. After an initial career as a government official, at the age of thirty he decided to take up medicine, attempting to combine traditional Chinese concepts with the new Western methods. After some ten years of self-imposed poverty and arduous study he moved to Kyoto, where he worked as a translator and physician.²⁶¹ It was here that in 1812 he produced *Kuhinshi ryaku* 九品詞略, a work that closely resembles Baba Sajūrō's *Teisei rango kuhinshū*, both in structure and in content.²⁶² Baba relates in his introduction to *Teisei rango kuhinshū*, dated 1814, how excited he was to obtain, via an interpreter friend, a manuscript which he thought was a corrupted copy of a key work by Shizuki Tadao, perhaps even the long-lost and legendary *Shihinkō*. The fact that Noro Tenzen had produced a work two years earlier clearly based on the same original is a clear indication of how isolation and lack of communication still hampered the spread of Dutch language expertise well into the nineteenth century.

Kuhinshi ryaku 九品詞略 (1812)

Noro Tenzen's *Kuhinshi ryaku* is a carefully crafted manuscript of some sixty pages. Although the structure of Shizuki's original work was left unchanged, Noro has added some information (such as Latin nomenclature) which he found in Halma. He apparently had access to Dutch books, and mentions Halma, Séwel, Moonen and Zeydelaar. Noro also acknowledges the help of someone by the name of Yoshio, but does not specify which member of the Yoshio family this was.

Interestingly, while Baba confessed to having difficulty with the literary forms of Japanese that Shizuki used in his works, Noro on the other hand writes that he had difficulty understanding Shizuki's writing because of its 'regional' style. *Kuhinshi ryaku* is written almost entirely in *kanbun* style, a style that is very rare for a work of this kind from this period, and was usually reserved for the foreword by a noted scholar or patron to a published work.

The margins of this manuscript are replete with comments and notes added in vermilion

²⁶¹Numata et al. 1984: 560.

²⁶²See pp. 180ff above.

ink. Some merely mark the beginning of a new chapter or add a brief definition of a term, but in many places extensive vocabulary lists have been crammed into the limited space, copied directly from Dutch textbooks. The Dutch authors Séwel, Moonen and Zeydelaar are mentioned in these margin notes.

Veranderinge. te gelyk, teffens, tabari, te ga Der, te Haman, Oftonderinge.	Daar
bijzonderlyk, onsonderlyk alleenlyk, slegts.	Binnen
Gelykenisse. als, gelyk, gelyker wys, inspel ykt. by naals, kromstaklyke, Stukstyklyke.	boven
teyffeling. mogelyk. misschien.	Over
Verkiezinge. eer, meest, leeten, vermaest, melyk.	Daer We
Onderstraapinge. hoe, of, waar, waarom, waarom?	te hu
toe gevinge. genomen, geteld, het by de	Op We
Veranderinge. naalstlyke, slegts by gelyke naalstlyke all by + Dinge samen voegt. gen, ende, oet, leeten, rug. Schiftende: of, of	naal, met

Fig. 22.

List of words written in the margin of Noro Tenzen's *Kuhinshi ryaku*, taken from Séwel: 126.

Ōtsuki Genkan 大槻玄幹

Ōtsuki Genkan 大槻玄幹 (1785–1837) was the eldest son of influential *rangaku* scholar Gentaku. He visited Nagasaki in 1803, where he spent some time with Shizuki, who had met his father Gentaku almost twenty years earlier. Shizuki, who until then had worked in virtual isolation, gave Genkan copies of several of the manuscripts he had been working on. Genkan was impressed with Shizuki's scholarship, and suggested that two talented young interpreters, Baba Sajūrō and Yoshio Gonnosuke, become his students. As seen above, these two individuals eventually became instrumental in the further development and dissemination of Shizuki's teachings, and for this

alone Genkan can be said to have played a key role in the introduction of Dutch language studies into Japan.

While Genkan never achieved a high level of proficiency in the Dutch language, he evidently saw it as his role to assist in the provision of teaching materials at his father's academy, and produced a number of works on the Dutch language, notably *Rangaku han* 蘭学凡 (1816), *Seinpu* 西韻府, *Seion hatsubi* 西音発微 (1826), and *Oranda setsuzokushikō* 和蘭接続詞考 (1825). Unique among the early works based on Shizuki's teachings, several of Genkan's works were published. However, most of them were essentially compilations of works by others, with little or no original input by Genkan himself. Thus, the voluminous *Rangaku han*, a manuscript of three volumes and some 170 pages, is a combination of material from his father Gentaku's *Rangaku kaitei*, Shizuki's *Ranbunpō shoji*, and even harks back to the work on syllables pioneered by Maeno Ryōtaku in the 1780s.

After a number of contents pages, *Rangaku han* opens with a long series of two-letter syllables reminiscent of the tables by Aoki Kon'yō, Maeno Ryōtaku and Ōtsuki Gentaku of forty years earlier. Here, however, the syllables are assigned Chinese characters as well. This is a simple matter of consonant-vowel combinations, since the Japanese syllabary consists mostly of such combinations, but for syllables ending in a consonant (except for the syllabic nasal *ん*) two characters had to be used.

Genkan devised a system that assigns a set character for each of the five vowels: 越 for *a*, 越 for *e*, 君 for *i*, 屋 for *o* and 烏 for *u*. Those consonants that were considered to be able to appear at the end of a syllable were then given a fixed character too:

b 鋪

c, k 若

d 陀

f 付

g 沽

l (unidentified)

m 母

p 補

r (unidentified)

s 斯

t 多

x 若斯

With this system, the syllable *af*, for instance, could now be written as 遏付.

Needless to say, this approach is of dubious value to students wishing to come to terms with Dutch texts. It seems surprising that in the second decade of the nineteenth century Genkan, who had spent time studying with the finest in Nagasaki, and furthermore was reportedly a close friend of an experienced translator and teacher like Yoshio Shunzō,²⁶⁴ would have resorted to this by then surely archaic approach at a time when those around him were producing textbooks of high quality.

The explanation of the nine parts of speech that follows is based on Séwel. It is unlikely that Genkan with his limited knowledge of Dutch could have produced a successful translation of such a work. Furthermore, the Dutch model words and phrases contain the kind of errors that suggest that Genkan was working from handwritten notes. For example, misspellings such as *dopperlijk* for *dapperlijk*, or *aelengs* instead of *allengs* are more likely to occur through the misreading of handwritten rather than printed text. It is therefore likely that Genkan based this section on material he collected when he was with Shizuki in Nagasaki. As such, this section of *Rangaku han* may be a window on material written by Shizuki and since lost. This text is certainly characteristic of Shizuki's Séwel-based work, in that it is simply a no-frills translation of Séwel's text.

The second part of *Rangaku han* deals with case. Surprisingly, neither treatment nor terminology bear much resemblance to Shizuki's work. Sugimoto notes similarities between *Rangaku han* and some of Yoshio Shunzō's work, and suggests that some cooperation between the two men may have occurred. However, most of the Japanese terminology used here does not appear elsewhere in any known work on Dutch studies:

nominative	能
genitive	領
dative	受
accusative	所

²⁶⁴Yoshida 1974: 132.

ablative 聽

vocative 佚

An indication of the Dutch sources involved in the compilation of *Rangaku han* comes from case markers that have been placed above a Dutch model sentence:

w: e: o: l:
de vordering van den leer ring geeft den meester de blijdschap;
 t: d:
kwijt u dan ô jongeling! van uwe plegt.

The abbreviations above the words correspond to the names assigned to the six cases by the Dutch linguist Elzevier in 1761: w: for *werker* (nom.), e: for *eigenaer* (gen.), o: for *ontvanger* (dat.), l: for *lyder* (acc.), t: for *toehoorder* (voc.) and d: for *derver* (abl.).

²⁶⁵ The name of Elzevier receives a mention in Yoshio Shunzō's *Rokkaku zenpen*.²⁶⁶

The section that follows, which explains tense, is again based on Séwel. Although there are similarities with Shizuki's *Shihō shoji taiyaku* and Baba Sajūrō's *Teisei rango kuhinshū*, these similarities only occur in the Dutch elements. The sequence of presentation, and, more importantly, the Japanese renditions and explanations, are different. Apart from a brief introductory paragraph on the future tense, and on the use of the verb *worden* to create the passive, most of Sewel's model phrases are simply translated without comment. Model phrases with the verb *leeren*, which has the meanings of both 'to learn' and 'to teach', are given a translation in each meaning, without further clarification.

The final section of *Rangaku han* is a copy of Yoshio Gonnosuke's *Teisei zokubun kinnō*, which in turn is an extended and corrected version of Shizuki Tadao's *Zokubun kinnō*. Although some re-wording has occurred, essentially this section is the same as Gonnosuke's work.

Rangaku han represents an attempt by Ōtsuki Genkan to compile a complete collection of the materials produced in Japan on the Dutch language to date. In this way, it emulates his father's effort to produce such a document in his *Rangaku kaitei*. Despite the stated close relationship Genkan had with Baba Sajūrō and Yoshio Shunzō, *Rangaku han* does not reflect the progressive and practical approach these two individuals showed in their own work around this time, notably Baba's *Rangaku teikō* (1816) and Yoshio Shunzō's *Yakki* (1811). Instead, it simply records the accumulated knowledge on Roman script and Dutch grammar. That at least three carefully written manuscript copies of *Rangaku han*, including the many Dutch grammatical and

²⁶⁵Knol 1977: 89.

²⁶⁶See p. 206 above.

spelling errors, are still in existence testifies to the extent to which unguided and uninformed study of the Dutch language continued well into the nineteenth century.

Genkan's *Oranda setsuzokushikō* 和蘭接続詞考 (1825) is a manuscript on divisible and indivisible words, that Genkan drafted with the assistance of Yoshio Shunzō and is in part based on Baba Sajūrō's *Rango kanri jikō*.²⁶⁷ It is an alphabetically arranged work of reference that explains the difference between divisible and indivisible words by categorising prefixes as '*schijdbaar and onschijdbaar voorzetsels*' ('separable and inseparable prepositions'). The term *voorzetsel* is thus here interpreted literally and applied erroneously to prefixes. That nevertheless the work will have provided some useful insights into the workings of divisible words is shown by the following selection, which lists homophones that behave differently when conjugated:

<i>overweegen</i>	<i>overwoogen</i>	<i>ik overweeg</i>	考ヘル
	<i>overgewoogen</i>	<i>ik weeg over</i>	多ク量ル
<i>doorloopen</i>	<i>doorloopen</i>	<i>ik doorloop</i>	通シ讓ム
	<i>doorgeloopen</i>	<i>ik loop door</i>	通り過ル
<i>overtreeden</i>	<i>overtreeden</i>	<i>ik overtreed</i>	犯ス
	<i>overgetreeden</i>	<i>ik treed over</i>	越ス
<i>onderdruken</i>	<i>onderdrukt</i>	<i>ik onderdruk</i>	困メル
	<i>ondergedrukt</i>	<i>ik druk onder</i>	圧ス
<i>voldoen</i>	<i>voldaan</i>	<i>ik voldoe</i>	払フ
	<i>volgedaan</i>	<i>ik doe vol</i>	満ル

Each of these homophonous pairs contains a divisible and an indivisible verb. Thus, *overweegen* in its indivisible version means 'to consider', while its second meaning is 'to be over the weight'. Thus one of the trickier aspects of Dutch grammar, briefly touched upon by Shizuki in *Zokubun kinnō* and misrepresented by Yoshio Gonnosuke in his 'corrected' version of this work,²⁶⁸ is demonstrated here simply and accurately. The second part of *Oranda setsuzokushikō* lists suffixes much in the same way as Baba Sajūrō had done in *Rango kanri jikō*.

Another work of impressive scale by Genkan is his *Seion hatsubi* 西音発微, a work on Dutch phonetics that was printed in 1826. In its introduction, Genkan states that the contents of the work are based on what he was taught by Shizuki when he visited him in Nagasaki. Since no work on phonetics from the hand of Shizuki is

²⁶⁷Sugimoto 1977: 656.

²⁶⁸See p. 202–3 above.

known, *Seion hatsubi* is the only known record of Shizuki's thoughts on phonetics. Volume One hypothesises that the fact that many Dutch sounds are so difficult to express in the 'fifty sounds' of the Japanese syllabary is the result of the evolution of the Japanese language itself. In order to arrive at an accurate representation of Western sounds in Chinese characters, it is necessary to reconstruct the 'old' sounds. In this context, it is worth noting that Shizuki Tadao, in his opening remarks to *Rangaku seizenfu*, stated that he dedicated the work to the Confucianist scholar Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666–1728), who was critical of the Japanese pronunciation that was often given to Chinese texts and advocated a return to the original sounds.²⁶⁹

The confusion between *kana* such as ㄩ and ㄚ that had plagued Genkan's father's work forty years earlier²⁷⁰ is addressed here. The sound *e* is represented with the *kana* ㄩ, *we* as ㄚ, and *ye* is given a new *kana* sign: ㄩ.

ア
 イ
 ウ
 エ
 オ

 ヤ
 ヲ
 ユ
 ヨ
 ヱ
 ヲ
 ユ
 ヨ
 ヱ
 ヲ
 ユ
 ヨ
 ヱ
 ヲ

Fig 23.

In this line from Ōtsuki Genkan's *Seion hatsubi*, a *kana* sign for the sound *ye* is shown here ninth from the top.

²⁶⁹ *Nihon no meicho* 16, Ogyū Sorai, 1982: 242. See also De Groot 1998: 69.

²⁷⁰ See p. 132 above.

The work draws on examples from Russian, Sanskrit and Korean script, and points out that all languages, including Dutch, contain words of an onomatopoeic origin. However, the main thrust of this part of the work is the evolution of the Chinese and Japanese writing systems, and has little to do with the study of the Dutch language.

Genkan gets down to writing systems in Part Two of the work, in which the alphabet is presented much in the same way as it had been in a number of earlier works, going back as far as Maeno Ryōtaku and Ōtsuki Gentaku. The anatomical details for successful pronunciation of each letter are described painstakingly:

E is produced by opening the mouth and producing the sound of ɛ (*e*) from the middle region of the tongue. It is not the same as ɜ (*we*).

This is followed by extensive charts of syllables, similar in format to those compiled by Aoki, Maeno and Gentaku. However, as was the case in *Rangaku han*, letters are assigned Chinese characters, each character being employed to represent syllables conventionally written in Dutch with two or three letters. The work finishes with a presentation of Arabic and Roman numerals, directly borrowed from *Rangaku teikō*.

Seion hatsubi was published in 1826, and can still be found in many collections around the world. For this reason it is one of the most visible and available documents on Dutch studies in Edo Period Japan. Although the first part of the work presents an interesting attempt to clear up the confusion that had developed in *kana* usage as a result of the evolution of spoken Japanese, the Dutch elements in the second part were at the time of publication already some eighty years out of date. They are the product of a man who, like so many Japanese in this period of isolation, had no opportunity to learn Dutch in any practical, meaningful way, and as a result had focused on the acquisition of technical information. No doubt this gave many aspiring language students considerable opportunity for study, while at the same time it reinforced the notion that European languages were too difficult to master.

Fujibayashi Fuzan

Fujibayashi Fuzan (1781–1836) was born in Tanabe-chō (near Nara), and studied *rangaku* in his younger years in 大垣 Ōgaki (in present-day Gifu Prefecture) under physician Ema Ransai 江馬蘭齋 (1747–1838?), who in turn had been a student of Sugita Genpaku and Maeno Ryōtaku. When Fuzan returned to his home town, he purchased a copy of the *Edo haruma* dictionary. When he heard that Inamura Sanpaku had moved to Kyoto, he followed him there and studied under Sanpaku for several years.

Fuzan's main interest lay in grammar. He appears to have been dissatisfied with the way information on the Dutch language was presented in Japan at the time, because all his works are attempts to provide a tidied-up and more practical presentation of materials produced by his predecessors. Thus, his *Yakken* 訳鍵 ('A Key to Translation', 1810) is a concise, practical version of the unwieldy *Edo haruma* dictionary.²⁷¹ A companion work he prepared with this, which he called *Rangaku kei* 蘭学逕, is a brief introduction to the alphabet, syllables, numerals, punctuation marks, names and symbols of constellations and months, in other words, a collection of Dutch tidbits in the tradition of Aoki Kon'yō, Maeno Ryōtaku and early Ōtsuki Gentaku. The work finishes with some more recent and practical additions in the form of a list of affixes and a brief medical text in Dutch with a Japanese translation.

Fuzan's *magnum opus* is a three volume Dutch grammar called *Oranda gohōge* 和蘭語法解 ('Understanding Dutch Grammar'), which was first published in 1815. The work is a systematic presentation of the grammatical knowledge that had been developed in Japan since Shizuki wrote his Séwel-based works, and as such is Japan's first published comprehensive grammar.

The origins of the work have been subject to some discussion. In the foreword to this work, Fuzan announces that he is working on a Japanese adaptation of a work entitled *Spraakkonst* by someone he calls 百乙東, with a *kana* reading of PEETON ペー トン. This work was completed in 1812, and eventually published under the name *Oranda gohōge* 和蘭語法解 ('Understanding Dutch Grammar') in 1815. In its introduction again the name 百乙東 appears in connection with a work called *Spraakkonst*, but who this author might be remains a mystery. Sugimoto suggests that it could be Pieter Weiland, whose *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst* appeared in 1805, basing his assumption on the fact that Weiland's first initial, P, bears a similarity to the name PEETON.²⁷² It is clear from the contents of *Oranda gohōge*, however, that Weiland's work was not known to its authors. Saitō points out that there is an English linguist called V.J. Peyton, who published an English grammar in 1779, and suggests that this may have been the name represented by Fuzan as PEETON. However, it is clear that no English work was used as a basis for *Oranda gohōge*. Saitō further suggests that the Chinese character rendition of the name, 百乙東, may have been misread, and could represent the name Ypey.²⁷³ A work entitled *Beknopte Geschiedenis*

²⁷¹See pp. 91ff. above.

²⁷²Sugimoto 1977: 949.

²⁷³Saito 1985: 145.

*de Nederlandsche Tale*²⁷⁴ was indeed published by a certain A. Ypey in 1812, but since Fuzan announced his intentions two years before the publication of this work, this too is unlikely to have had any connection with *Oranda gohōge*.

Oranda gohōge appears to be not a direct translation of any one Dutch textbook. Rather, it is a comprehensive and well organized presentation, largely in tables and lists, of the principles of Dutch grammar, drawn from a variety of Dutch and Japanese sources, not all of which are identified as yet. The work mentions Séwel and Marin, while Baba Sajūrō has provided the by now customary tribute to Shizuki Tadao in an introduction written in Dutch.

Oranda gohōge consists of three volumes, spanning some 135 leaves. Rather than introducing Dutch grammar progressively, this monumental work deals with the various aspects of Dutch grammar in sections, and is therefore more appropriately classified as a reference work than a teaching device. It is the first, and probably the only, Edo period comprehensive Japanese language Dutch grammar that is not a direct translation of an existing Dutch work. The work is divided into nine sections, each devoted to one of the nine parts of speech.

Interestingly, case is discussed in *Oranda gohōge* in the section on articles. This is because Fuzan equated the Japanese particles that indicate a noun's function in a phrase with the forms Dutch articles take depending on case. Thus, in the sentence:

*de koning is goed*²⁷⁵

the initial article is translated as the topic marker は *wa*, while in the model sentence:

*Deeze is de vrugt eens booms*²⁷⁶

the word *eens*, which is the possessive case of the indefinite article *een*, is translated as the possessive particle の *no*.

Fuzan sought to bring order to the plethora of Japanese translations of Dutch linguistic terms by standardizing the names of the parts of speech as follows:

- | | |
|--------------|----|
| 1. articles: | 性言 |
| 2. nominals: | 名言 |

²⁷⁴'Concise History of the Dutch Language'.

²⁷⁵'The king is good'.

²⁷⁶'This is the fruit of a tree'.

3. pronouns:	代言
4. verbs:	活言
5. participles:	分言
6. adverbs:	添言
7. conjunctions:	接言
8. prepositions:	上言
9. interjections:	感言

Fuzan's terms for the six cases are, with the exception of the genitive (生) and the accusative (役), the ones used in linguistics in Japan today. Although the work presents numerous model words and phrases in Roman script, Dutch linguistic terminology is presented in *katakana* only. Fuzan's intention may have been to wean students off the use of Dutch terminology. It will be remembered that Yoshio Shunzō in his works avoided the use of Dutch linguistic terminology altogether.

Fujibayashi Fuzan cannot truly be said to have been a pioneer of Dutch language studies, since most of the material he presented in this work had already been introduced to Japan and had been recorded in the works of a number of predecessors. Although there are similarities between the terminology Fuzan introduced and modern Japanese linguistic terms, the terms used here are based on those used in earlier works, and the influence of *Oranda gohōge* cannot be gauged by them.

Oranda gohōge was reprinted at least twice, the second reprint occurring in 1831. That it apparently did not enjoy a great deal of popularity at first is no doubt due to the fact that it was somewhat ahead of its time.²⁷⁷ Dutch language studies remained the academic pursuit of only a small number of scholars until the appearance of the *Doeff haruma* dictionary in 1833, which greatly facilitated access to Dutch texts and boosted the popularity of Dutch language study. Nevertheless, its scale and accuracy make *Oranda gohōge* a remarkable achievement. In addition, it was not without its influence. Notably, Tsurumine Shigenobu drew on the work to a significant extent for his work.²⁷⁸ It certainly deserves a place in the history of Japanese linguistics as Japan's first published comprehensive grammar.

²⁷⁷Saitō 1985: 153.

²⁷⁸See Tsurumine section (p.220) below.

Although most of the works discussed in this chapter were never published, and not many handwritten copies were made, their importance should not be underestimated. The new understanding of European language structures that Shizuki Tadao introduced was initially presented to a select few students, who further developed these and in turn made them available to their own students. It will have been noted that these works all appeared within a decade of each other, between the years 1811 and the mid-1820s. The significance of these dates is a matter for conjecture. The year 1811 saw the establishment of the official translation bureau, and with it the arrival of Baba Sajūrō in Edo. The official initiative may have encouraged others to jump on the *rangaku* bandwagon, while Baba himself was by all accounts an enthusiastic and motivating force. Shizuki's discoveries had finally reached the outside world, and many were keen to learn about them.

The trailing off of the production of such works is harder to explain. It may be that within the relatively small group of *rangaku* scholars the task of making the new linguistics available to a wider public was simply seen as having been accomplished, and that with the new knowledge the job of learning the language and moving on to accurate translating could begin.

However, the year 1825 was the year in which the *bakufu* government issued its Expulsion Edict, which expressed a strengthened resolve to keep all foreigners at bay. It may be that this new, stronger mood of anti-foreignism brought about a certain reticence among the *rangaku* scholars.

At any rate, between 1826 and the appearance of the first of many incarnations of *Grammatica* in the 1840s, little was produced in the way of new or ground-breaking material on the study of Dutch. An exception was the eccentric Shintoist Tsurumine Shigenobu, who produced one or two interesting works in the 1830s.

Tsurumine Shigenobu

During the first decades of the nineteenth century, Dutch language studies reached a kind of plateau, in that most works on the Dutch language were variations on the themes that had been set by Shizuki Tadao and his students. However, one individual who made a valiant attempt to shed new light on the linguistic similarities between Japanese and Dutch was Tsurumine Shigenobu 鶴峯戊申 (1788–1859), who produced a number of works on the Dutch language in the second decade of the nineteenth century.

talent appears to have been self-promotion. He cast his scholarly net very wide, studying wide-ranging topics such as Japanese classics and astronomy in Kyoto and Osaka, but he is perhaps better described as a flamboyant dabbler rather than a serious scholar. When he first took an interest in *rangaku* and the Dutch language, he was already in his late thirties, and although he proved himself a quick learner of grammar rules, he never acquired a useful level of Dutch language skills. As a student and follower of the famous Shintoist Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 (1776–1843), he was not so much motivated by an interest in Western learning as such as by nationalism, and tended to use Western science as a means to disprove Buddhist interpretations of the universe in favour of Shinto mythology.²⁷⁹ Tsurumine met Yoshio Shunzō in Nagoya in 1831, and likely received some useful instruction in the Dutch language from this valuable source.²⁸⁰

His first work on the Dutch language, *Ran'on kana kaku* 蘭音仮字格 ('Rules for Dutch pronunciation and *kana*'), a manuscript dated 1822, begins with a virtually rewritten version of Ōtsuki Gentaku's *Rangaku kaitei*, complete with the Dutch spelling errors. The work then moves on to the nine parts of speech and the six cases, all of which is borrowed from Fujibayashi Fuzan's *Oranda gohōge*. At the end of the work, Tsurumine includes his own name (twice!) in a brief list of great and influential scholars that includes Motoori Norinaga, Arai Hakuseki, Sugita Genpaku and Shizuki Tadao. Yet Ōtsuki Gentaku, whose work he had so shamelessly cribbed, is not featured in the list.

Tsurumine apparently had a great many students, and was probably a popular teacher. His talent as a teacher is evident in *Ranji tsū* 蘭字通 ('On Dutch letters' n.d.²⁸¹), a charming little work printed on a single sheet, probably for distribution among his students. The work introduces the alphabet and Arabic numerals to beginners in a single table. Tsurumine calls vowels and consonants 'female' and 'male' letters respectively, and likens syllables to 'married couples'. He follows the chart with some verses for memorizing, in which the letter *B* is compared to a Chinese fan, lower case *g* to a gourd, *r* to a bear's paw, and so on.

A more elaborate work on grammar is Tsurumine's *Yōbun hon'yaku binran* 洋文翻訳便覧 ('A Manual for Translating Western Texts'). The work is not dated, but the fact that it draws heavily on the ubiquitous second chapter of *Maatschappij tot Nut*

²⁷⁹Goodman 2000: 115.

²⁸⁰Sugimoto 1977: 1109.

²⁸¹Possibly 1830 (Sugimoto 1977: 1101).

van 't Algemeen publication *Grammatica*, a work that did not begin to receive widespread attention until the 1840s,²⁸² suggests that it was written quite late in Tsurumine's life.

The contents of this manuscript too are derived from a variety of works by others, notably *Rangaku kaitei* and *Oranda gohōge*. It also refers to *Rangaku kei* and *Yakken*. The interpretations of the *Grammatica* text, some of which are quite insightful, seem quite beyond what Tsurumine would have been capable of, and most likely were also borrowed from another scholar's work. Significant here is that Séwel's nine parts of speech and six cases, which had been taught in Japanese works until well into the nineteenth century, are replaced here by *Grammatica*'s ten parts of speech and four cases.

However, Tsurumine provides some hints for translation that, while not exact and scholarly, were certainly practical. He introduces two approaches to reading a Dutch sentence in order to obtain an idea of its meaning: the 'lark' method and the 'plover' method. The 'lark' method is modelled on the lark's habit of flying upwards towards the sky. After identifying the topic at the beginning of the sentence, the reader moves to the very last word of the sentence and works his way up to the front. Since the verb-final structure of many Japanese sentences does often result in what may in broad terms be described as a reversal of the word order to that of Dutch sentences, this method can often bring satisfactory results. Tsurumine used the plover, a bird that tends to run back and forth on the beach, to embody a reading method for sentences with an auxiliary verb, for which the reader had to jump back and forth in the sentence. Such an approach is characteristic of Tsurumine, who was known for flair and expedience rather than for thoroughness.

Gogaku shinsho 語学新書 ('New Treatise on Linguistics'), published in two volumes in 1833, is the work that brought about reports that Tsurumine had accomplished significant innovation in Japanese linguistics.²⁸³ In reality, *Gogaku shinsho* is a muddled and uninformed attempt at applying linguistic concepts to the Japanese language by someone who was very much out of his depth. Again, the main source for this work was *Oranda gohōge*. This time, however, the glibness of this overambitious project falls apart through misinterpretations of Fujibayashi's work and faulty reasoning. The work is variously described as 'piecemeal' and 'confused',²⁸⁴ and 'nonsense'.²⁸⁵

²⁸²See Chapter VI-1.

²⁸³Viz. Vos 1963: 347 and Loveday 1996: 56.

²⁸⁴Hatanaka 1997: 73.

Thus, Tsurumine takes his place among the *rangaku* scholars of the Edo period as an amusing but peripheral character. He clearly had a talent for making the basic principles of Dutch interesting to beginners, and was no doubt a popular and productive teacher. However, his enduring reputation as a serious and influential innovator in Japanese linguistics appears to be entirely due to his flair for self-promotion.

Abeseji yōsetsu

Although after Aoki Kon'yō it was works of a practical, instructional nature that steadily gained currency among the growing number of students of the Dutch language and provided the core of the development of further Dutch language studies in Japan, clearly not everyone was smelling the coffee. The word lists presented in chapter IV-1 above show that as late as the nineteenth century there were still those who lacked the confidence or means to progress past the comfortable but pointless pursuit of memorizing lists of words written in *katakana*.

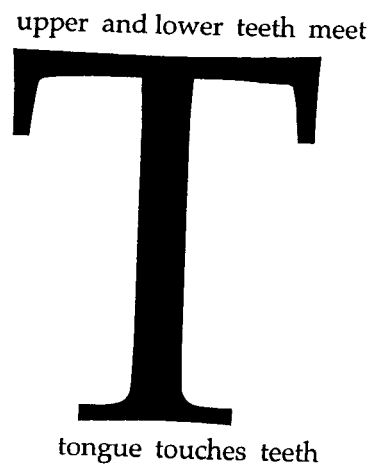
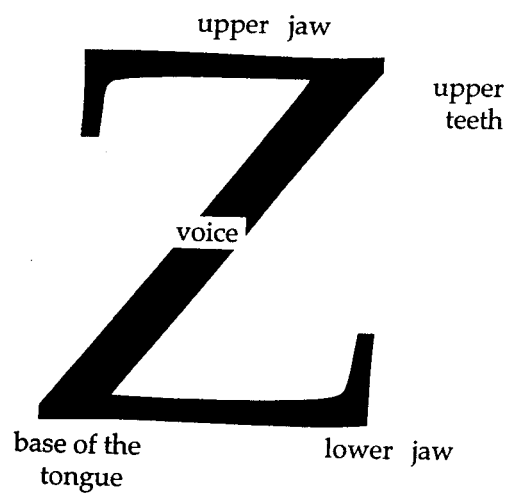
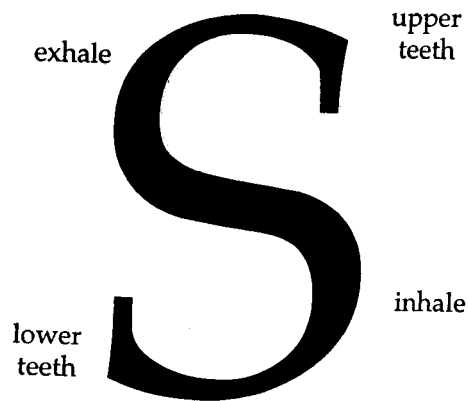
That even those who did show an interest in the Roman script did not always find the right path is demonstrated in a manuscript recently discovered by Katagiri Kazuo, called 阿別舌字様説 (*Abeseji yōsetsu*, 'On the nature of the letters of the ABC'), which contends that there is a link between the pronunciation and the shapes of the letters of the alphabet. The work is anonymous and undated, but mention in the manuscript of the year 1822 places it some time after this year.²⁸⁶ Although *Abeseji yōsetsu* refers to the works of Egbert Buys (?–1769) and Arnold Moonen (1644–1711), these are secondary quotes that are taken from Ōtsuki Gentaku's *Rangaku kaitei* 蘭学階梯²⁸⁷ and others, which suggests that the author was not familiar enough with the Dutch language to interpret such works directly. The author states that he was unhappy with Ōtsuki Gentaku's explanations of the workings of the alphabet and after becoming aware of the similarity between Japanese and Dutch vocal sounds, decided to investigate further. In the introduction, the author explains that the human voice is as universal as the sounds of a flute, and that his objective is to demonstrate Dutch pronunciation through the sounds of Japanese. The manuscript presents the entire alphabet in large upper case, and provides detailed and quite accurate instructions as to how to pronounce the letters individually. However, the author also goes into great detail about the anatomical features of speech, the aim of which is to demonstrate that the shapes of each letter somehow provides information as to

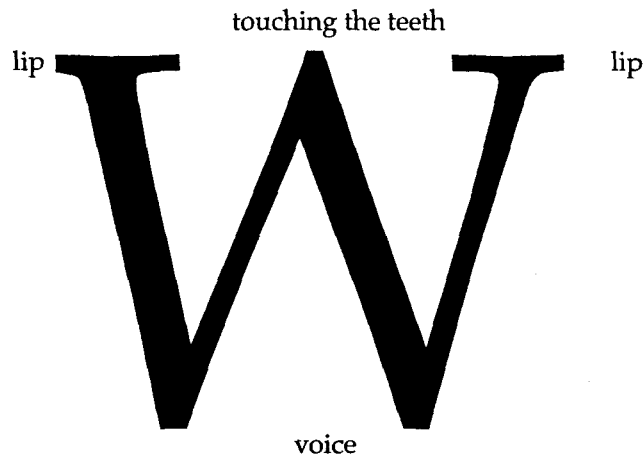
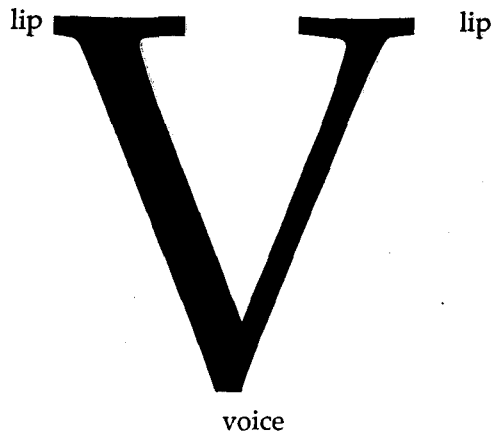
²⁸⁵Sugimoto 1977: 1113.

²⁸⁶A complete typeset reproduction and analysis of this manuscript appears in Katagiri 1997: 9–75.

²⁸⁷Discussed in Chapter V-1 above.

the way it is to be pronounced. This is illustrated by the placing of instructions next to large representations of the letters:





This amusing notion, which of course has no foundation in any science, serves here as an illustration of the difficulties encountered by many Japanese students of Dutch who were working in an isolated environment. *Abeseji yōsetsu* is a meticulously structured work, in some respects of a high academic standard. As Katagiri comments, it provides a much more detailed and accurate account of the anatomy of speech production and the pronunciation of the Roman alphabet than Ōtsuki Gentaku did in his famous and influential *Rangaku kaitei*. Yet it is of little value to anyone who would want to master the Dutch language to any practical level.

Thus, by the second half of the eighteenth century there were two distinct approaches to the study of Dutch in Japan. On the one hand, the Nagasaki interpreters had developed a routine of memorization and practice, largely based on oral language and passed on through glossaries and phrasebooks. Scholars outside Nagasaki, on the other hand, were focusing largely on the nature of the Western writing system.

Neither of these approaches provided the expertise needed to be able to produce accurate translations of Dutch texts efficiently. Although interest in Western science and technology was growing, and indeed had been encouraged on official levels since the 1720s, the translation of even one book was a struggle that took on heroic proportions, as in the case of Sugita Genpaku. What was needed was for the two approaches, the practical and the academic, to be brought together in order to develop a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the relationships between the two languages.

The breakthrough, when it came around the turn of the century, took place almost simultaneously on three fronts. In the 1790s, a team of retired interpreters and *rangaku* scholars in Edo compiled the first comprehensive Dutch–Japanese dictionary, the *Edo haruma* 江戸ハルマ or *Haruma wage* ハルマ和解. Then, during the first decades of the nineteenth century, Dejima *opperhoofd* Hendrik Doeff and a group of interpreters embarked on a similar project, eventually to become the *Nagasaki haruma* 長崎ハルマ or *Dūfu haruma* 道布ハルマ.²⁸⁸ Thirdly, in Nagasaki Shizuki Tadao, a young retired interpreter with scholarly ambitions, produced a series of manuscripts that provided important insights into the structures of Dutch, and eventually applied the same concepts to the Japanese language. It was this deeper understanding of syntactical structures combined with ready access to accurate dictionaries that, in the last decades of the period of national isolation, finally provided the Japanese with the tools and expertise to be able to produce reliable translations of Dutch texts.

²⁸⁸See Chapter IV-3 above.

CHAPTER VI

EMERGING FROM NATIONAL ISOLATION

The arrival of Perry's 'Black Ships' at Edo in 1853 signalled the beginning of the end for *rangaku*, and for the study of the Dutch language. As the Europeans and Americans settled in Japan in steadily increasing numbers, it began to dawn on those who had spent so much time and effort coming to terms with the difficulties of the Dutch language that Dutch was not the language most of these foreigners were familiar with. Over the two-and-a-half centuries of national isolation, the position of Holland in the world had shrunk from world power to a tiny, relatively insignificant country surrounded by economic and cultural giants.

However, there was a period of about six years in the 1850s during which the enthusiasm for things Western kindled by Perry's arrival preceded the realisation that English, French and German would now be far more useful to study. It was during this period that the study of the Dutch language experienced its last burst of popularity, and the production of translations and adaptation of Dutch grammar books was at its most prolific. This chapter traces the events leading up to and during this interesting time.

1. The publications of the *Maatschappij tot nut van 't Algemeen* in Japan.¹

A major new arrival on the stage of Dutch language learning towards the end of the period of national seclusion was a series of three textbooks for schools published in the Netherlands earlier in the same century by the *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen*:² *Rudimenta, of Gronden der Nederduitsche Taal* ('The Basics of the Dutch Language'), *Syntaxis of Woordvoeging* ('Dutch Syntax') and *Grammatica of Nederduitsche Spraakkunst* ('Dutch Grammar').³

When and by whom these works were brought to Japan is not known, but the first Japanese-produced reproduction of the second edition of *Grammatica* (1822) was made in 1840 by one Kumasaka Takeshi 熊坂健 (dates unknown).⁴ Kumasaka was

¹The content of this chapter was previously published in the journal *Voortgang*, Vol. XIX (2000), 143-171.

²Lit.: 'Society for the Benefit of the Public Good'. This was a Christian-based organisation, whose purpose it was to promote "practical and scientific knowledge" (Noordegraaf 1985: 227).

³Complete scans of those works discussed here that are in the possession of Waseda University Library can be accessed on the internet via <http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/search.php?cnbdbn=%98a%97%96%95%B6%93T>.

⁴Boxer (1950: 66) lists a woodblock reproduction of *Grammatica* published in Edo in 1828. I have been unable to find any trace of this work anywhere, and must disregard it here. In any case, the

the son of a sake brewer in Tohoku, in the northern part of Japan, who, out of an interest in medicine, went to Edo to learn Dutch. In the postscript of his *Grammatica* reproduction he describes his struggle to come to grips with Dutch texts.

Around this time, I acquired through purchase a printed book that had been imported. Upon reading it, all the questions that had accumulated over ten years were answered at once.⁵

This was the *Grammatica* which Kumasaka used to make his reproduction. It is not known who brought this work into Japan, or what has happened to it since. Of Kumasaka's reproduction only one copy is known to be still in existence.

However, two years later the influential Kyoto physician and scholar of Western studies Mitsukuri Genpo 箕作阮甫 (1799–1863) also published a reproduction of *Grammatica*. It is obvious that Mitsukuri used at least some of Kumasaka's blocks, or else used prints from these to manufacture new blocks.

A Japanese translation of *Grammatica* and *Syntaxis* was published in five volumes by Kyushu scholar Ōba Sessai 大庭雪斎 (1805–1873) progressively between 1856 and 1857. Over the next two years or so, a bewildering proliferation of copies, translations, transliterations and interpretations of these works appeared. No other Dutch grammar book was copied, translated or excerpted quite to this extent, although by then a considerable number of other works of this nature had also been imported and even copied.⁶ The reasons for this can only be guessed at, but it must be remembered that Mitsukuri's reproduction of *Grammatica* was published in 1842,⁷ considerably earlier than any of the other reprints and translations. The head-start it had may have rendered *Grammatica* much more accessible than any of the other contenders. Although the entire process of copying and printing was executed by hand, and the production of even one copy of the book was a slow and laborious job, multiple copies can still be found in several collections both in Japan and in Europe, indicating that a considerable number of printings were made.

Furthermore, most of the Dutch books that were imported during the first half of the nineteenth century had arrived through official channels, as presents for the Shogun, existence of such a work would not significantly alter the arguments presented in this chapter.

⁵Saitō 1985: 191.

⁶For example, Pieter Weiland's *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst*, the 1839 edition of which appeared as a woodblock print in 1856.

⁷Hoffmann mentions a Japanese woodblock edition dated Tenpo 3 (1832). However, since the other details he mentions correspond with the Mitsukuri edition discussed here and no edition showing that year has been located, it appears that he may have misread '13' as '3' in the original, thereby inadvertently misrepresenting the date (Hoffmann 1882: 91).

other government officials or the Interpreters Guild. They were not available to the many private scholars and students of *rangaku* that were active around the middle of the nineteenth century, who had to rely on books that were smuggled in and Japanese-produced works.

Although the Dutch archives provide us with an almost complete list of books that were officially imported into Japan by the Dutch during the period of national seclusion, no mention is made anywhere of *Rudimenta*, *Grammatica* or *Syntaxis*.⁸ The fact that there appear to be no original Dutch editions of these works in any Japanese collections, whereas copies of Mitsukuri's reproduction (which, as we have seen, is at least partly a re-issue of Kumasaka Takeshi's work) are still relatively abundant suggests that it was Kumasaka's *Grammatica* that provided the source material for most, if not all, of the subsequent renditions. This seems to be further supported by the fact that without exception the derived works produced in Japan are all based on the same edition of the original Dutch publication.⁹ It would therefore appear that a small book sold clandestinely to an unknown private student of Dutch (Kumasaka) provided an important resource for many students of the Dutch language around the middle of the nineteenth century.

A woodblock print reproduction of the fourth edition of the first volume of *Rudimenta* (1827) appeared in 1856 under the title *Shintei Oranda bunpan zenpen* 新定和蘭文範前編 ('A New Dutch Grammar, Volume One').¹⁰ Although the method and style of production closely resemble those of Mitsukuri's work, his name does not appear on this production. *Syntaxis* was initially published in the Netherlands for students who had already worked their way through *Rudimenta*, with *Grammatica* appearing several years late to complete a set of three. However, the Japanese showed little interest in *Rudimenta*, preferring instead to use *Grammatica* and *Syntaxis* as a pair, with the second chapter of *Grammatica* being the clear favourite.

Various methods and techniques were employed by Japanese authors and translators

⁸The *Archief van de Nederlandsche Faktorij in Japan* (i.e. the archives of the Dutch trade mission in Nagasaki) show that in 1842 a set of four volumes titled *Nederlandsche Spraakkunst* by Siegenbeek was imported and presented to the Interpreters Guild (MacLean 1974: 51). It is possible that this is an incorrect description of the *Maatschappij* books. However, Mitsukuri produced his copy two years earlier. Furthermore, there is little likelihood that the interpreters would have allowed this gift to end up in the hands of private students of Dutch.

⁹Not all of these works give details of the source material. Those that do, however, invariably name the second edition of *Grammatica* as their source. Furthermore, the most conspicuous difference between *Grammatica*'s first and second editions is the addition and omission of several paragraphs and consequent re-numbering of paragraphs in the second edition. All renditions of *Grammatica* produced in Japan follow the numbering pattern of the second edition.

¹⁰Numata et al. 1984: 358.

to represent the contents of *Grammatica* and *Syntaxis*. Most of the works carry the term *Oranda bunten* 和蘭文典 ('Dutch Grammar Book') in the Japanese title. Where the work contains material from both works, *Grammatica* is usually referred to as *Oranda bunten zenpen* 和蘭文典前編 ('Dutch Grammar, First Volume') and *Syntaxis* as *Oranda bunten kōhen* 和蘭文典後編 ('Dutch Grammar, Final Volume'), although there are also works which contain a phonetic approximation of the word *Grammatica* or *Syntaxis* in Chinese characters in their titles.

Since these works reflect the approaches and levels of aptitude of a number of students of the Dutch language in Japan towards the end of the period of national seclusion, it is worth taking a closer look at a number of these Japanese renditions, beginning with Mitsukuri Genpo's reproduction and Ōba Sessai's translation, since these seem to have provided the source material and inspiration for the others.

Mitsukuri Genpo's reproduction: *Oranda bunten zenpen* ('Dutch Grammar, Volume One' 1842)

Although, as mentioned above, Kumasaka Ransai produced the blocks for the first Japanese reprint of *Grammatica*, it was the reputation and expertise of Mitsukuri Genpo (1799–1863) that eventually made his own reprint one of the most influential works among students of Dutch in nineteenth century Japan. Mitsukuri was a well-known and influential physician and *Rangaku* scholar of the later Edo period. He was engaged by the government as an interpreter for international negotiations, and his translation of a Western work on steam engines was used to build Japan's first steamboat.¹¹

His *Oranda bunten zenpen* 和蘭文典前編 ('Dutch Grammar, Volume One' 1842) is a complete reproduction of the second edition of *Grammatica* (1822). Traditional Japanese woodblock printing techniques were used. In order to carve the wooden printing blocks, the entire work was copied in cursive writing in fine brush onto translucent paper, which was then glued face down on wooden slabs for carving into printing blocks. The original Dutch editions of these works were only small, measuring no more than about 16cm by 9cm., and used a font that was only just over a millimetre in height. It would have been impossible for the copyist to produce a legible script of that size by hand, and the script of the reproduction is about twice as large. As a result the book itself too is almost twice as large as the original, some 26cm by 17cm.

Care was taken to copy everything contained in the original work, even down to the foreword by the secretary of the *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen*, although its

¹¹Kodansha Vol. 5: 213.

contents were irrelevant to Japanese students of Dutch. A faithful facsimile of the secretary's signature as it appeared underneath his foreword was also included, which resulted in the secretary, Hendrik Ravekes, often being erroneously cited in subsequent Japanese editions of *Grammatica* as the author of the work.¹² There is a manuscript in the Precious Books Collection of the Waseda University Library called *Hendoriku Ranbun* ヘンドリク蘭文 ('Hendrik's Dutch Grammar'), while another handwritten part-copy in the same collection proclaims itself to be *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst door Mendr Rareket*.¹³

A reproduction of the 1810 edition of *Syntaxis*, made by the same techniques, was produced by Mitsukuri in 1848, and published under the title *Oranda bunten kōhen seikuron* 和蘭文典後編西句論 ('Dutch Grammar, Final Volume: About Dutch Phrases'), and he reprinted his *Grammatica* reproduction in 1857.

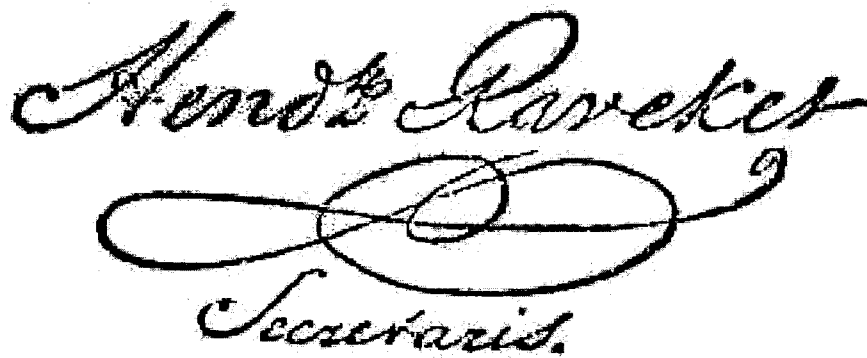


Fig. 24
The signature of Hendrik Ravekes, as it appears in *Grammatica*.

Ōba Sessai's translation: *Yaku Oranda bungo* 訳和蘭文語 ('Dutch Grammar in Translation' 1855)

Ōba Sessai published his translations of *Grammatica* and *Syntaxis* progressively in five volumes during the years 1856 and 1857. It is pertinent to note that in 1853 Captain Matthew C. Perry had sailed into Japanese waters in his famous 'Black Ships', setting in motion a process that was to force an end to the Japanese policies of national isolation. Ōba Sessai (1805-1873) was born in Kyushu in southern Japan, and as a youth studied under Philipp Franz von Siebold during the latter's stay in Nagasaki

¹²The Japanese can hardly be blamed for this misunderstanding. Ravekes' prominent signature would have appeared to them as an author's seal. Furthermore, nowhere in *Grammatica* and *Syntaxis* does the name of the author appear. Even in the Netherlands itself confusion about the true identity of the author of *Grammatica* and *Syntaxis* (linguist and clergyman Matthijs Siegenbeek, 1774-1854) was not cleared up until the 1970s (Noordegraaf 1975).

¹³A corruption of Hendrik Ravekes' name. Most likely the author had difficulty deciphering the signature.

in the 1820s. Later, after a period of Dutch language study in Osaka, he returned to his birthplace, and in 1851 was involved in the establishment of a school for Dutch studies there. In 1862 he produced a Japanese translation of the work *Volks Natuurkunde* ('Popular Physics') by Dutch physicist Johannes Buijs (1764-1835), under the title *Minkan kakuchi mondō* 民間格致問答 ('Questions and Answers Regarding Popular Natural Science').¹⁴

Volumes One and Two of Sessai's translations, which were published in 1856, contain an introduction by Sessai himself, followed by translations of Hendrik Ravekes' foreword and Chapters One and Two of *Grammatica*. The two volumes are designated as 上 'upper' and 中 'middle' respectively, which indicates that a third ('lower' or 'final') volume containing a translation of the third and final chapter of *Grammatica* was planned. However, Sessai proceeded to publish a complete translation of *Syntaxis* in three volumes in the following year, suggesting that he may have thought a translation of the third chapter of *Grammatica*, which deals with the rules of Dutch spelling, was not as high a priority.

A manuscript that has the appearance of a first draft of Sessai's translation of *Grammatica*, entitled *Seikoku bungo hanrei maki no ni* 西国文語凡例卷之二 ('General Western Grammar, Volume Two') was discovered in a secondhand bookshop in Osaka by the present author. More investigation will be necessary before a definite conclusion regarding the authenticity of this document can be reached. In this context, it is worth noting that Sessai gave his translation of *Syntaxis* a similar title: *Seikoku bungo hanrei kōhen* 西国文語凡例後編 ('General Western Grammar, Final Volume').

15

The *Grammatica* translation is preceded by a lengthy introduction from the hand of Ōba Sessai himself. He extols the virtues of innovation and global thinking, and criticises superstitious beliefs and prejudice:

Countries such as Holland and France are of course remote Western countries. However, since these are also people of this earth, they are bound to have a certain amount of wisdom. If we have wisdom, we can surely discern truth. If we can discern truth, we can surely learn about the laws of nature. If we acquire a better understanding the laws of nature, we will as a consequence become equal to the foreigners.

Sessai then goes on to build a careful argument which rationalises the study of

¹⁴Numata et al. 1984: 112.

¹⁵Sugimoto 1977: 1184.

foreign languages in a way which conforms to the expectations of political correctness that prevailed at the time. A study of Western linguistic principles, he argues, will give the Japanese a deeper understanding of the "natural laws of grammar". He adds an element of nationalist sentiment by declaring his belief in the superiority of Japanese texts, but then goes on to encourage scholars to investigate the thought and technology of other countries and cultures, because, he concludes, the strength that will be gained through the acquisition of new knowledge will "keep the barbarians at bay".¹⁶ These comments reflect the mixture of enthusiasm for things Western on the one hand and national pride on the other that prevailed in Japan around the middle of the nineteenth century. He touches on the issue of non-Dutch speaking foreigners arriving in Japan in ever-growing numbers as follows:

Although this work is a Dutch textbook for schools, which concerns itself with the grammar laws of that country's language only, these teachings apply equally to the languages of all countries.

Sessai then moves on to the more immediate practicalities of the work he has just produced, and here we find the purpose he had in mind with his translations:

The mere attentive reading and thorough understanding of this translation followed by a reading of the original is not sufficient for the understanding of other Dutch books. The beginning student should first read through this translation, followed by the reading of the original, and then compare the two works, or alternatively first study the original thoroughly, then gain understanding through comparison with this translation.

Clearly, the translated work was to be used in conjunction with the Dutch original, in order to offer the student a two-fold opportunity to learn Dutch: in the first place by comparison of a Dutch book with its Japanese translation, and secondly from the material offered by the book itself.

Finally, before moving on to more detailed remarks about the methods of presentation of his translation, he devotes a few words to the nature of the various volumes:

The first and third volumes of *Zenpen* will not be very useful without [the student practising] composition of Western sentences and conversation with Western people. Most necessary for the study of Western books are the middle volume of *Zenpen* and [all of] *Kōhen*.

¹⁶Sessai uses the expression *sei'i* here (lit.: 'pacifying the barbarians'), a term that was originally used to indicate expeditions against rebellious tribal groups on the periphery of the Japanese realm (Kodansha Vol. 7: 160).

The words "first and third volumes of *Zenpen*" refer, of course, to his translations of the first and third chapters of *Grammatica*, the latter of which, as stated above, was never published. It is clear that Sessai felt these two chapters, which deal with the alphabet and rules of spelling respectively, were more suited to the beginning student of Dutch, while advanced students of the Dutch written word should concentrate their efforts on the second chapter of *Grammatica* and all of *Syntaxis*. This is in all likelihood the reason for his skipping Chapter Three of *Grammatica* and moving directly on to the production of a translation of *Syntaxis*.

Of course, the task of rendering a Dutch schoolbook on Dutch grammar intelligible to Japanese readers is not merely a matter of straightforward translation, and Sessai employed a number of devices to assist the student. Explanatory notes and Japanese translations of Dutch model words and phrases are inserted in parentheses throughout the text. Furthermore, the Japanese equivalent is placed above each individual Dutch model word.

Although Sessai has avoided the use of *katakana* phonetic renditions of Dutch words, the ten parts of speech are presented in this form in the explanatory notes (but not in Roman letters), possibly because there was little consistency in the use of Japanese grammatical terminology at the time, and many students would have been more familiar with the Dutch terms in this form. He also presents Japanese translations of the nomenclature, but takes care to point out that these are translations of the Dutch terminology only. He uses a different set of terms for the same elements in the Japanese language. Nevertheless, some of the literal translations of the Dutch terminology have since become the accepted terminology in Japanese grammar. For example, nouns are indicated as *jitsuji* 実詞 (lit.: 'substance words'), but elsewhere in the work the Dutch term for noun ('*zelfstandig naamwoord*') is translated as *dokuritsu meishi* 独立名詞, a combination of the characters for 'independent' (*zelfstandig* in Dutch), 'name' and 'word'. Fifty years earlier, Shizuki Tadao had translated the elements of the word *zelfstandig* separately as *jiritsu* 自立. The second element of this expression, *meishi*, was also coined by Shizuki, and is the word for 'noun' in the Japanese language today.

In his introduction Sessai introduces ten different diacritics which each represent a part of Dutch speech. These marks are placed alongside every Dutch word in the *Grammatica* translation, but no longer appear in *Syntaxis*. Sessai explains in the introduction to his *Syntaxis* translation:

Since this volume has instruction regarding the meaning and structure [of sentences] as its main objective, there is no need for the application of these marks.

Instead, in *Syntaxis* a single mark is introduced, which links the elements of the verb phrase when they are located in separate positions in a sentence. It is clear that the student, having advanced to this stage, was expected to be able to identify the parts of Dutch speech independently, but would probably still need a little help in locating the various elements of the predicate.

Without doubt Sessai would have had access to one of the Dutch–Japanese dictionaries and word lists that had been produced in the first half of the nineteenth century. Even so, although the language and nomenclature used in his translation are said to be somewhat archaic,¹⁷ they represent a considerable achievement. It is well organised and virtually without errors, and is proof of the high level of skill in the Dutch written word that had been reached by some Japanese scholars in the fifty years since Shizuki's pioneering work. That not all students of Dutch reached these same high levels of skill can be seen by some of the other works based on *Grammatica* which appeared soon after.

More reproductions

In addition to the two works described above, at least another fifteen other works based on *Grammatica* or *Syntaxis* were published soon after the appearance of Sessai's work. Some translations of *Grammatica* in manuscript have also survived. Although some manuscripts do not carry a date, all the dated manuscripts as well as the printed works were produced between the years 1856 and 1858. Ironically, this was several years after the arrival of the Americans forced the Japanese to abandon their policies of national seclusion. It clearly took some Japanese a while to realise that Dutch was not the language used by most of the foreigners that had begun to arrive on their shores.

There are two separate woodblock publications of *Grammatica* in which the original text appears in cursive script, much as it does in Mitsukuri's reproductions. However, in these two works, Japanese translations have been inserted between or written above sections of the text. *Sōyaku garamachika* 挿訳俄蘭磨知科 ('*Grammatica* with translations inserted') appeared in 1857. The translator's name is Ohara Kyōnosuke 小原亨之輔. It covers the second chapter of *Grammatica* (1814). Leiden University's first professor of Japanese, J.J. Hoffmann (1805–1878) pointed out that a work such as this, with Japanese translations alongside the original Dutch text, might also be quite useful for Dutch students of Japanese.¹⁸

¹⁷Numata et al. 1984: 711.

¹⁸Hoffmann 1882: 37.

The second work, entitled *Kunten oranda bunten* 訓点和蘭文典 ('Dutch Grammar with Instructional Marks'), is also dated 1857, and at first glance has a very similar appearance. Here too, the Dutch text has been rewritten in cursive script, although it only represents the text of §25 to §68 of the original Dutch work. However, in this work the Japanese equivalents of words and phrases are written above, rather than inserted between the Dutch words, and the (anonymous) author has also added tiny numbers beneath the words, indicating the order they would assume in translation. This allows even a beginning student to produce a good Japanese translation of the Dutch text, in a kind of 'translate by numbers' exercise.

The main text is preceded by a brief introduction, which explains the way the book is to be used. To begin with, the students are instructed to learn the pronunciation of the articles in their four cases. Next, the reflexive pronouns *die*, *welke* and *dat* (which have literal translations written above them, and appropriate context-based renditions below) are to be learned. Only then should a translation be attempted. The introduction then goes on to explain the meaning of the several markings appearing throughout the text, which indicate how many times certain words should be read or recited aloud and so on. This is followed by two quick-reference pages showing the *katakana* signs with their equivalents in Roman letters, and the letters of the alphabet in three styles, with *katakana* renditions written alongside.

Thus, this carefully designed work is much more than a mere part-reproduction of *Grammatica*. It addresses reading and speaking as well as translation skills, using a text which deals with the fundamentals of Dutch grammar into the bargain. It is unfortunate that no author is mentioned. The title page merely informs us that the work belongs to a 'General Collection', which has led to speculation that it may be the product of a regional official institution rather than a private scholar or academy.

19

The Phonetic Renditions of *Grammatica*

Over the years of the Edo period many Japanese students of Western learning showed a distinct reluctance to tackle the problem of the Roman alphabet. The reason for this was that the nature of the letters in the Roman alphabet is quite different from the signs in the Japanese *hiragana* and *katakana* syllabaries, most of which each represent a consonant-vowel combination. Dividing these syllables up into their constituent vowel and consonant was a practice which was foreign to the Japanese, and understandably constituted one of the greatest hurdles in the study of the Dutch

¹⁹Sugimoto 1977: 1153.

language.

The three works in our next group of *Grammatica*-based publications are expressions of this reluctance. These works all provide the Dutch text of *Grammatica* phonetically represented in *katakana* with Japanese translations inserted. *Katakana* can give no more than an approximate indication of the true pronunciation of Dutch; furthermore, the translated fragments are provided with few indicators relating to their syntactical function. Therefore, despite the enormous amount of painstaking work that the preparation and printing of such a work must have required, the result can only be described as a confusing mess.

Nevertheless, no fewer than three different woodblock publications of this nature still survive in various collections today. They are *Garamachika kun'yaku* 窩蘭麻知加訓訳 ('A Japanese Translation of *Grammatica*') by Ogawa Gen'an 小川玄竜 (1856), *Oranda bunten yakugosen* 和蘭文典訳語筌 ('A Translation of Dutch Grammar') by one Enda Shōan 遠田昌庵 (1856) and *Oranda bunten dokuhō* 和蘭文典読法 ('Dutch Grammar - A Reader') by Takeuchi Munekata 竹内宗賢 (n.d.). They were probably used for reading aloud and memorising. This practice was based on an existing technique called *sodoku*, in which the student recites and memorises a text without necessarily understanding its meaning. Using this method on *katakana* approximations of Dutch texts would have served little purpose, except perhaps to give the student an illusion of achievement and progress.

All three works contain only Chapter Two of *Grammatica* or part thereof, and all are dated 1856. One of them, Enda Shōan's *Oranda bunten yakugosen*, found its way into the collection of Leiden University, and Hoffmann, though suitably scathing in his evaluation of this work, does manage to find a positive aspect:

... it appears that the translator Tōda Sjōan (*sic*) has understood the peculiarities of the Dutch text well. Therefore his translation deserves to be recommended as a useful object of study to students of the Japanese language.²⁰

Although each of the three works claims to have a different (unknown) author, the similarities between them in style, translation and grammatical terminology are too close to be coincidental.

Two anonymous manuscripts in this format are also known to be in existence. Both cover all of *Grammatica*'s second chapter, and both show remarkable similarities to the three printed versions. There are, however, some differences worth noting. The

²⁰Hoffmann 1882: 38.

first few pages of the manuscript *Oranda bunten zenkōhen chokuyaku* 和蘭文典前後編直訳 ('A Direct Translation Of Both Volumes of Dutch Grammar') look almost identical to the published works. However, the writer gradually modifies his approach. As the work progresses, fewer and fewer Dutch words are represented, until by §72 no more Dutch words appear, and the work has become a translation only. There is a second volume, which consists of a translation of *Syntaxis*.

The translation in these two volumes is literal to the point of being childlike. Many of the commonly occurring problems stem from over-translation. That is to say, whereas Dutch grammar rules (and those of other European languages) require a certain minimum number of elements to be present in any sentence (such as a subject and a predicate), in Japanese the inclusion of some elements can result in unintended stress being placed on them. For example, the existential *Er zijn...* ('There are...'), which is properly implied in Japanese by the topic marker *ga*, is translated word for word here, giving the impression that a specific location ('there') is indicated. The personal pronoun *wij* ('we'), which occurs often in *Grammatica* in a general sense (as in: "The number of letters we need for the writing of true Dutch words is twenty-three") is translated time and again as *wareware*, which gives it an exclusive nuance not intended by the original author. Another regularly occurring mistranslation stems from an inability to discern the indefinite article from the numeral 'one' in Dutch. Both are written as *een*, the only difference being the pronunciation. In most cases the indefinite article is translated as *hitotsu no*, meaning 'one (only)'. The manuscript is corrected (though not very competently) in places in vermilion ink, and has the appearance of the exercise book of a student, rather than a draft for a textbook.

On the other hand, the second manuscript, titled *Garanmachika wage* ガランマチカ和解 ('A Japanese Translation of *Grammatica*'), is carefully drafted and obviously translated by someone who had a good grasp of the Dutch language. It was probably prepared as a textbook for study, and judging by the fact that its first fifteen pages or so are well-thumbed, has clearly been used as such for at least a little while. It bears the name of a private academy called *Shunsuidō* 春水堂.

Condensed versions and helpers

In addition to reproductions, translations and phonetic renditions, *Grammatica* also provided material for a number of other publications, some of which were adaptations or condensed versions of the original work, while others were intended to be used in conjunction with *Grammatica* itself.

A rather remarkable *Grammatica*-inspired work in the first category is *Oranda bunten*

benmō 和蘭文典便蒙 ('*Grammatica Simplified*'), dated 1857. This ingenious little volume, by one Kōsho Kanjin 香処閑人, looks at first glance like a small book of no more than 16 by 9cm, but on closer inspection reveals itself to be a long strip of paper of some 4 meters in length, folded in concertina fashion into a convenient fold-out booklet. Along its length are printed the essentials of Dutch grammar distilled from the second chapter of *Grammatica*, in the form of tables, lists and brief notes. For example, some six pages on the gender of nouns have been condensed into the following:

Genders of nouns.

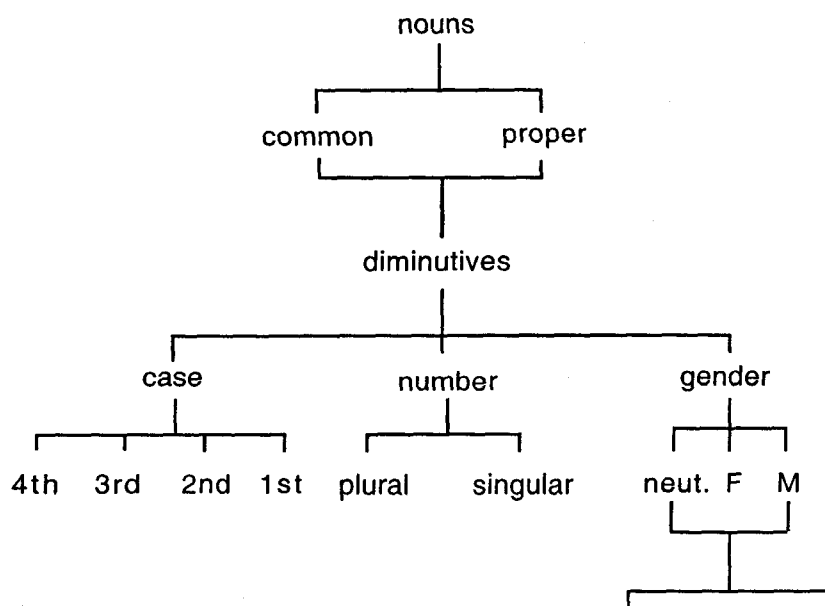
masculine: ending in *aar, er, ier, dom, em, sem, lm, rm*.

feminine: ending in *in, es, ster, schap, heid, ij, ing, nis, te, t*.

neuter: ending in *sel, te, schap, dom*.

While this is by no means a complete representation of the information contained in the original six pages of text, it is an accurate rendition of the essentials, and certainly more suitable for quick reference than the complete version.

The author has displayed the parts of speech in a series of diagrams, in which their various manifestations are connected by lines. The diagram for nouns looks as follows:



Though a little naive perhaps, this diagram nevertheless would have provided the Japanese student of Dutch who was struggling with the verbosity of *Grammatica* with a welcome overview of its essence. The terminology in the graph is provided both in *katakana* Dutch and in Japanese. Dutch model words and phrases, on the other hand, are presented in Roman letters only. The significance of this is that it

implies that the beginning student was expected to be familiar with the terminology of Dutch word categories even before mastery of the Roman alphabet had been achieved.

We do not know any details about the author of this work, other than his name. The fact that an unknown individual could have produced a work such as this, not only showing a thorough understanding of the material presented in *Grammatica*, but also proving himself capable of producing an efficient summary, shows that by this time even in non-official circles there were those whose standard of Dutch language skills was quite high.

In the second category, that of reference works to be used in conjunction with *Grammatica*, we find a work called *Oranda bunten jirui* 和蘭文典字類 ('Word Categories in Dutch Grammar'). This little work consists of two volumes, each listing a different author. Volume One, compiled by one Iizumi Shijō 飯泉士讓, is dated 1856. It is a list of some 5000 Dutch words in alphabetical order, with Japanese translations, gender and word category added. Volume Two, compiled by one Takahashi Shigetake 高橋重威 and published two years later, is in the same format, and contains a list of almost 3000 words in alphabetical order. Clearly, these two volumes were designed to be used as reference works by those who were attempting their own translation of *Grammatica*, which appears to have been a popular exercise for students of Dutch around the middle of the nineteenth century. There is no doubt that some students (notably those who had no access to any of the larger dictionaries which had appeared by then) would have found a work such as this quite useful.

That several enthusiasts worked on their own translation of *Grammatica* is borne out by the fact that a number of these manuscripts can still be found in various collections. These works are normally characterised by their untidy script, bad translation and careless errors.

The typeset reproductions.

Western movable type printing methods were not entirely unknown in Japan, and had been practised in southern Japan as a result of Portuguese influence from 1590, mainly for the reproduction of Christian works. However, following the closing of Japan to the outside world in the middle of the seventeenth century, the method was abandoned in favour of the more traditional single sheet woodblock techniques.

Some time during the 1840s, a Western style printing press was requested by some Japanese interpreters, in order to respond better to the ever-increasing demand for Dutch books. Japanese records show that a set of letters for movable-type printing

arrived in Japan from Holland in 1855. Initially it was in the possession of the office of the governor of Nagasaki. The first work to roll off the presses was an 1856 reproduction of the 1846 edition of *Syntaxis*. Although we find no mention in the work of its true origin, its irregular type and the kind of paper leave no doubt that this is not a Dutch production. Next, it was Weiland's turn. His grammar textbook *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst* (1846) was reproduced on heavy paper in the same year. This time the printers acknowledged their part in this production at the bottom of the title page:

Nagedrukt te Nagasaki in het 3de jaar van Ansei (1856).

However, whereas *Syntaxis* had been relatively free of errors, it appears that less care was taken with Weiland: a long list of errata at the back of the work informs the reader where all the l's are misrepresented as r's and vice versa.

In the following year production followed of a manual on infantry exercises and manoeuvres, and Van Der Pijl's English instruction book *Gemeenzame Leerwijs, voor degenen, die de Engelsche Taal beginnen te leeren* (1822).

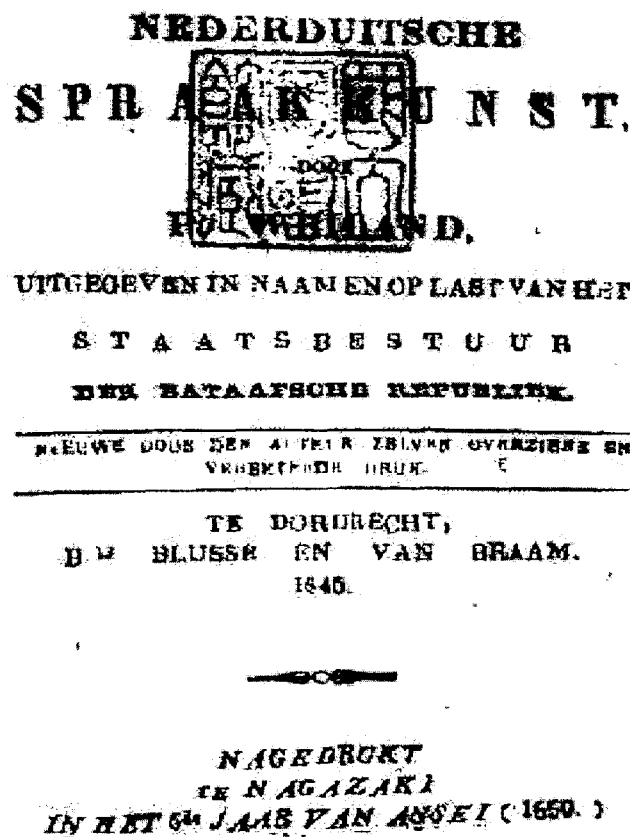


Fig 25.
The titlepage of Weiland's Nagasaki reprint (1856)

That appears to be the end of the printing enterprise at the governor's office. In 1857 equipment for a new printing workshop for the use of the interpreters and the Dutch arrived in Nagasaki. Whether through pangs of conscience or because of competition from increasing arrival of original works, the production of copies of Dutch books in Nagasaki soon ceased. A physics book by Johannes Buijs (*Volks Natuurkunde*, 1811) appeared in 1858, and Weiland was reprinted once more in 1859 in what may have been a run of only one copy in response to a request from someone influential. Apart from these, the print shop on Dejima produced only official and academic works written by the Dutch who were stationed in Japan.²¹ *Grammatica*, despite its popularity among the legions of private enthusiasts of Dutch studies, was never reproduced in typeset form in Japan.

D B U K F E L E N.

<i>Bladz.</i>		<i>Rey.</i>	<i>Staat.</i>	<i>Moet</i>	<i>zijn:</i>
1.	van onder	1.	aanmerking,	aanmerking.	
5.	van boven	8.	schrijfteeken,	schrijfteekenen.	
6.	van onder	1.	volderen,	vorderen.	
8.	van onder	3.	verboden,	verboden.	
12.	van onder	11.	huusen;	kuusen.	
16.	van boven	15.	verdubbel,	verdubbeld.	
16.	van onder	6.	en eer,	oor en.	
21.	van onder	5.	keelen,	keelen.	
29.	van onder	15.	basteldwoorten	basterdwoorten.	
37.	van onder	12.	geven,	geven.	
39.	van onder	8.	glansveeler,	glansveester.	
39.	van onder	7.	heldeliker	helderbier.	
41.	van boven	5.	welvaart,	welvaart.	
41.	van boven	3.	eetgraan,	eetgraag.	
36.	van onder	13.	lettertoenen,	lettertoekenen.	
46.	van onder	11.	lettergreep,	lettergrepen.	
50.	van onder	2.	zelfstandig,	zelfstandig.	
67.	van boven	7.	voornamen,	voorkoemen.	
69.	van boven	4.	meer,	meer.	
71.	van onder	1.	iets,	iets.	
74.	van onder	1.	iets,	iets.	
78.	van boven	5.	stand,	stad.	
78.	van boven	2.	welgevalen,	welgevallen.	
84.	van onder	6.	verlizen,	verlizen.	
95.	van onder	4.	betoonis;	beteekenis.	
101.	van onder	2.	oogeblijk,	oogeblijk.	

Fig 26.

The first of two pages of *errata* in Weiland's Nagasaki reprint.

²¹Numata et al. 1984: 470-1.

We can only speculate as to the reasons for the sudden appearance of so many *Grammatica*-based works in the years 1856-1858. The arrival of Perry and his warships in 1853 had an electrifying effect on the Japanese nation, and brought a general sense of urgency over the need for Western knowledge.

Although the end of the policies of national seclusion meant that the days of the unique position of the Dutch language in Japan were numbered, change did not come overnight. The private academies, no doubt bolstered by a surge in student numbers, continued to teach Dutch, and even the official school for Western studies in Edo, the *Bansho shirabesho* ("Office for the Inspection of Foreign Books"), did not introduce English into its curriculum until 1860.²²

As to why *Grammatica* was preferred over other Dutch grammar books which had also been imported and even copied by woodblock reproduction,²³ the answer may lie in the following quote from Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), who studied Dutch at a prominent language school in Osaka for two years, and was later to become one of the main architects of the education system in the new Japan:

...whenever a word was not to be found in Doeff,²⁴ we turned to Weiland; but as the text was entirely in Dutch, it was beyond the reach of a beginner.²⁵

As we have seen, *Grammatica* became available to a larger audience with the publication of Mitsukuri Genpo's reproduction in 1842. Clearly, however, it too would have been "beyond the reach of a beginner" until the appearance of Ōba Sessai's translation in 1855. This, in conjunction with the sudden exponential growth in demand for information concerning the West, would account for the timing of the appearance of *Grammatica*'s many reproductions, adaptations and interpretations in Japan.

By the middle of the 1860s the study of Dutch had been all but superseded as a result of the ever-growing demand for English, French and German language skills. *Grammatica*'s brief period of glory can therefore be seen as a kind of 'last stand' of Dutch language studies in Japan. Although the discovery that Dutch was not a major language in the Western world would have come as a disappointment to many who

²²Dore 1965: 169.

²³Woodblock print copies of the 4th edition of *Rudimenta* (1827) and the 1829 edition of Pieter Weiland's *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst* appeared in 1856.

²⁴A reference to the Dutch-Japanese dictionary compiled by Hendrik Doeff and several Japanese interpreters in Nagasaki earlier in the century.

²⁵Kiyooka 1966: 82.

had studied so hard to come to grips with the "barbarians' tongue", without a doubt the insights they had acquired through the study of Dutch grammatical principles facilitated their ventures into other European languages. More than any other text, *Grammatica* contributed to the spread of Western grammatical knowledge in Japan as it stood on the brink of a new era after more than two hundred years of virtual isolation from the outside world.

Grammatica in Japan: illustrations

Each of the following twelve pages shows a different Japanese rendition of the opening paragraphs of chapter two of the second edition of *Grammatica* published by the *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* in 1822. Most were produced, either handwritten or through a painstaking process of woodblock printing, in a brief period of several years after the arrival of Perry's 'Black Ships'. They are reproduced here as a testimony to the level of enthusiasm for Dutch language studies in Japan before the realisation dawned that other European languages would be more useful as a topic for study.

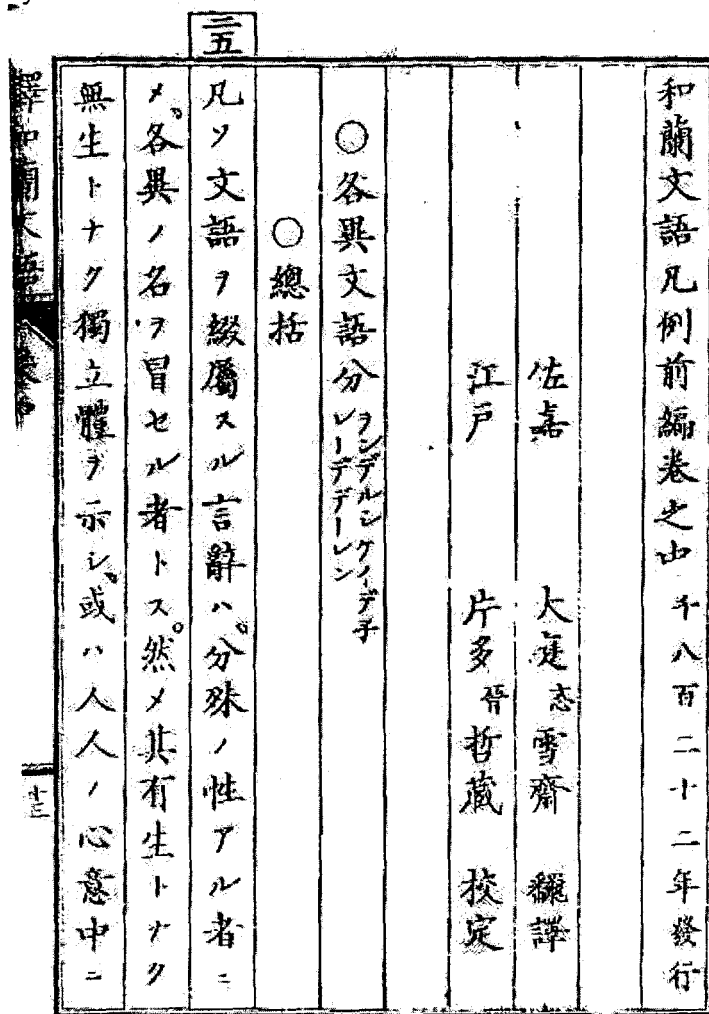


Fig. 27.

Yaku Oranda bungo 訳和蘭文語 ('Dutch Grammar in Translation', Ōba Sessai, woodblock print, 1855)

西国文語凡例卷之二

文語分總論

三章 允ソ「天下」成語ノ殊ハ必ハ分殊ノ性アリ故ニ數種ノ
 名ヲ曾ス然ノ其有生トナク無生トナク務主體ヲ示
 者若クハ人トシテ心意ニ於テ務主體トナシテ者ハ
 所ノ夏物ヲ示ス者等ハ皆笑辭ノ名ヲ命斗夫又物ヲ
 定稱ニ成ハ通稱セト歌ルハ所謂ハ節ヲ用ヒ
 其形狀性質ハ別テ陪釋ヲ以テ言フ爲ニ物々ノ數ソ
 示スニ當テハ歌辭ヲ用ヒ行文中物名ノ及後ニ由ラ
 神思ヲ啓ニ智考ヲ乱ラサニカ再ニ其物名ノ地位ヲ
 領入ル短辭ヲ用ニ此辭乃チ物名ニ代ハカ故ニ之ヲ
 代辭ト名メ而シ其東物ノ動作百般ヲ示シニ有用ア

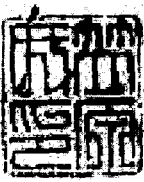


Fig. 28. Seikoku bungo hanrei maki no ni 西国文語凡例卷之二 (anon. manuscript, n.d.)

II. HOOFDSTUK.

OVER DE ONDERSCHIEDENE TAAL OF REDEDEELEN.

A. Algemeen overloop van de taal.

S. 23. De woorden, welke het samenstel eener taal uitmaken, zijn van onderscheiden aard, en dragen verschillende benamingen. Die, welke eenig, op zich zelf bestaan, levend, of levendloos voorwerp aanduiden, of ook een voorwerp, dat wij ons, als op zich zelf bestaande, voorstellen, dragen den naam van zelfstandig naamwoorden. — Wil men een persoon, of een zaak nader bepalen, of ook algemeen beschrijven, zoo bedient men zich van lidwoorden. — De eigenschap of hoedanigheid der personen of zaken, van welke men spreekt, wordt door bijvoegelijke naamwoorden leitgedrukt. — Om het getal van zekere voorwerpen aan te duiden, maakt men van telwoorden gebruik.

Ten einde in een samenhangende rede, door het gedurig herhalen van de naam van het voorwerp, de aandacht niet te vermoedigen en te verwarren,

Fig. 29.

Oranda buntzen zenpen 和蘭文典前編 ('Dutch Grammar, First Volume', Mitsukuri Genpo, woodblock print, 1842)

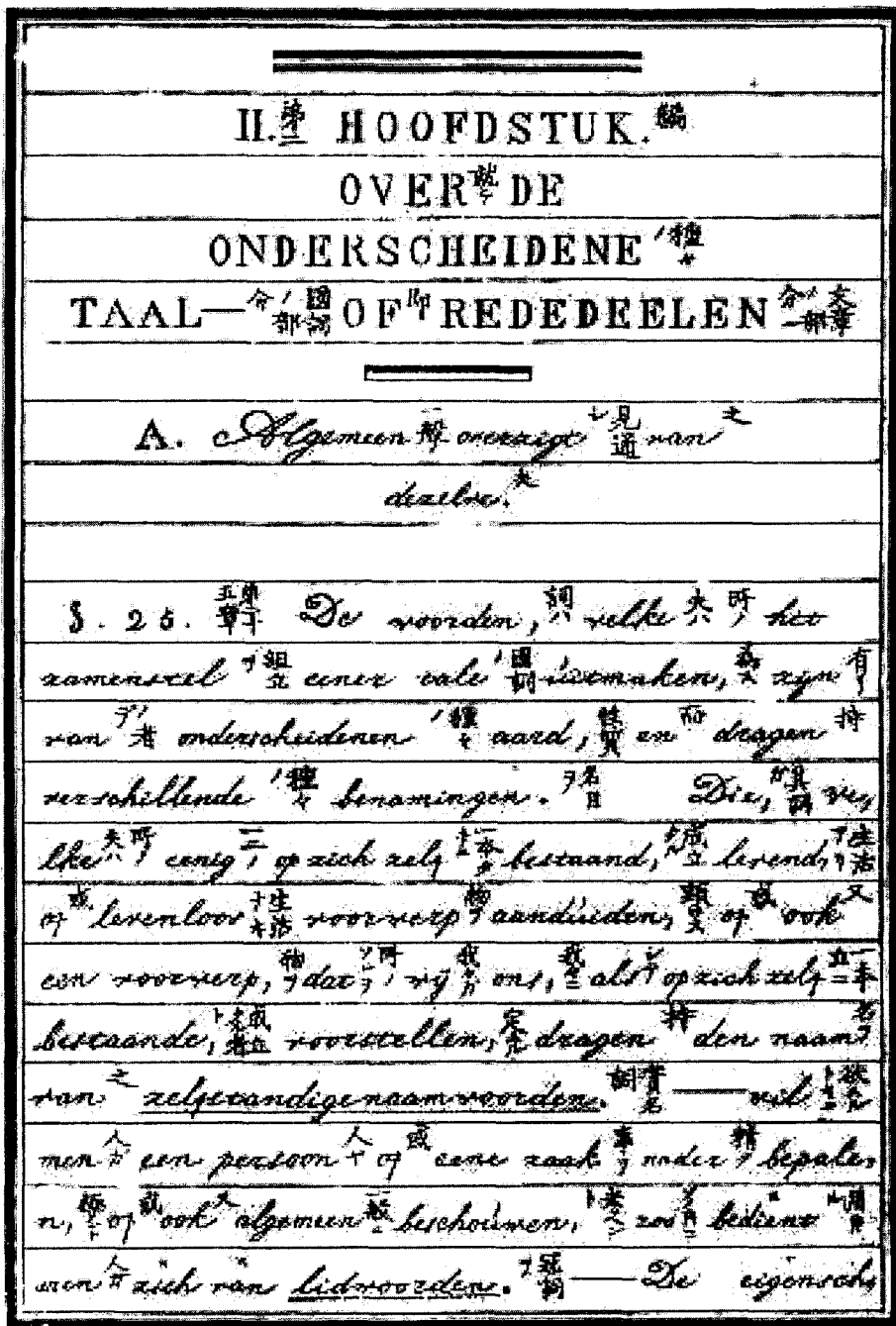


Fig. 30.

Sōyaku Garamachika 挿訳俄蘭磨知科 ('Grammatica with translations inserted', Ohara Kyōnosuke 小原亨之輔, woodblock print, 1857).

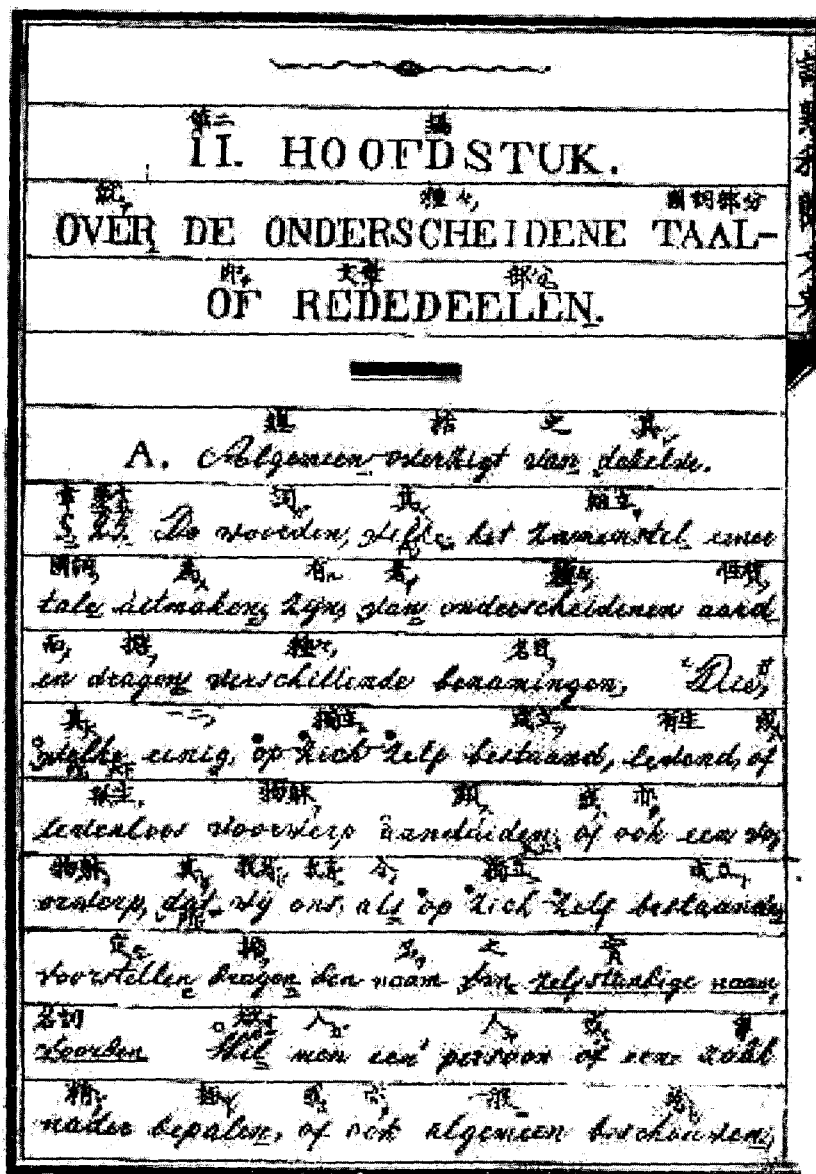


Fig. 31.

Kunten oranda bunten 訓点和蘭文典 ('Dutch Grammar with Instructional Marks', anonymous woodblock print, n.d.)

高蘭麻知加訓譯卷之上

小川玄龍譯稿

II. HOOFDSTUK. 第二篇

OVER DE ONDERSCHIEDENE 徳語、TAAL—國語部分

OF 解ナ REDEDEELEN. 文章部分ニ就テ

A. アルゲノーン オーフルシフト スン デセルヘ 夫之總括

第二十五章 デウールデン ウルケ 起ハ ヘト サーションステ

ル エーテル ターレ 國語ノ紐立ヲ オイトマーケン 做所ノ詞ガセイ

ン スン オンデルシケイデチン 權權ノ アールド 性破々ガゲアル

エシ 前テ ダラーゲン フルシキルレンデ 權權ノベナーミシケン 名目

ヲ擔ク キイ ウルケ 起ハ エーニフ 或ル 名目ノシフニルブ

Fig. 32.

Garamachika kun'yaku 高蘭麻知加訓訳 ('A Japanese Translation of Grammatica', Ogawa Gen'an 小川玄龍, woodblock print, 1856).

東都 天籟 遠田著明肝夫 譯編

テウエドテ ホーフドスチツク 第二編

ターフル デ ランデルシケデー子 種々の タールデーレン 國語部分

アフ 即チ ヴーデーデーレン 文藝ノ部分ニ解テ 總括

△アルゲメーン ターフルシフト フアン デセルヘ 此ノ一般ノ通覽

バラグラーフ ヘーワ エンチチチフステ 第二十五章

デウールデン 種々の タルケ 是ハ へド サリメンステル エー子ル ター

レ 一ノ 國語ノ組立ヲ タイトマーケン 為ス所ノ種ガ セイン フアン タン

デルシケデー子ン アールド 種々の性質ノモノデアアル エン 而シテ ダラ

ーゲン フルシキルレンデ ベナーミンゲン 種々の 名目ヲ持ツ ○ヂイタ

ルケ 是ハ エーニフー十キノ フラフシフ セルフ 一本五子ニ ベスターン

Fig. 33.

Oranda buntan yakugosen 和蘭文典訳語笈 ('A Translation of Dutch Grammar', Enda Shōan 遠田天籟, woodblock print, 1856)

和蘭文典讀法卷之一

2. *Alphabetische*

京都 凌雲 竹内 宗賢 輯

Alphabetische
 一、二、三、四、五、六、七、八、九、十、十一、十二、十三、十四、十五、十六、十七、十八、十九、二十、二十一、二十二、二十三、二十四、二十五、二十六、二十七、二十八、二十九、三十、三十一、三十二、三十三、三十四、三十五、三十六、三十七、三十八、三十九、四十、四十一、四十二、四十三、四十四、四十五、四十六、四十七、四十八、四十九、五十、五十一、五十二、五十三、五十四、五十五、五十六、五十七、五十八、五十九、六十、六十一、六十二、六十三、六十四、六十五、六十六、六十七、六十八、六十九、七十、七十一、七十二、七十三、七十四、七十五、七十六、七十七、七十八、七十九、八十、八十一、八十二、八十三、八十四、八十五、八十六、八十七、八十八、八十九、九十、九十一、九十二、九十三、九十四、九十五、九十六、九十七、九十八、九十九、一百

A. *Algemeen sterckigt. van Schelle.*

デ	ウ	ール	デン	カ	ウ	エル	ケ	ハ	ト	サー	メン	ス	テル	エ	子	ル
ター	レ	ノ	ル	ア	イト	マ	ア	ケ	ノ	カ	セ	イン	フ	イン	ラ	ン
シ	ケ	ー	デ	ン	ア	ール	ド	ノ	エ	ン	テ	ラ	ー	ゲ	ン	フ
ル	シ	キ	ル	レ	ン	デ	ベ	ナ	ー	ミ	ン	ゲ	ン	○	チ	イ
ー	ニ	フ	ー	ニ	ラ	ブ	シ	フ	セ	ル	フ	ペ	ス	タ	ー	ン

和蘭文典讀法

Fig. 34. *Oranda bunten dokuhō* 和蘭文典讀法 ('Dutch Grammar, A Reader', Takeuchi Munekata 竹内宗賢, woodblock print, n.d.).



和蘭文典前後編直訳

藤原氏回覧書

テエーデ ホーフトスキック第二編

ライフル デ ランデルレターデ子種々ノ クール文章

ラッ即 レーデ デーレン文章ノ部々ニ付テ

アルゲーン シーフルレックトハン デセルへ夫之一般ノ見

通レ

ハラダチーフヘーアエン チ井ンチフスデ第二十五章

多ル^ル辞ガ エルケ夫ハヘットヤリソンステル エリ子ル クール

一ツ文章之組立ヲ ナイトニローケン為ス所ノ辞ガ セイン

ハシ ラミデルレターデ子ン アールド種々ノ性質ノモノデア

ル エニ兩^ルデチ ダアアデシ フルシギルヒンデ アナリモンゲン種々ノ

Fig. 35.

Oranda bunten zenkōhen chokuyaku 和蘭文典前後編直訳 ('A Direct Translation Of Both Volumes of Dutch Grammar', anonymous manuscript, n.d.)

オウエーデ ホーフト ステック 第二編

アイフルデ マンデルシグイ デ子種より キルデヒ国神部から
 則ヒトグデヒ矢車部から フールツめて

A アルグインターフルスト ハンデセルへをねりアルグインニ種れ

アイフルスト見海

イ見ニ十有五 デワールデン種ケセルケをねりハトサー
 システル 干キル タイレ国神の サールステル組をキイトア
 ケンテラ^{255ケ}の ウールシ^{255ケ}詞ケセイシハン orteルシケイオシ種より
 アドヒ^{255ケ}燃^{255ケ}ア^{255ケ}ミ^{255ケ}ので ヤインあ? エシ^{255ケ}き^{255ケ}り^{255ケ}て^{255ケ}タ^{255ケ}ラ^{255ケ}ゲン^{255ケ}エ^{255ケ}セル
 レ^{255ケ}ア^{255ケ}種^{255ケ}より ベ^{255ケ}ア^{255ケ}ミン^{255ケ}ゲン^{255ケ}を^{255ケ}タ^{255ケ}ラ^{255ケ}ゲン^{255ケ}お^{255ケ}つ ○キ^{255ケ}ー^{255ケ}ケ^{255ケ}セル

Fig. 36.
 Garanmachika wage ガランマチカ和解 ('A Japanese Translation of *Grammatica*, anonymous manuscript, n.d.)

第二篇 種々ノ國語ノ語分則文王學ノ語分ニ就テ
 越シ○**25** 其ハハ國語ノ組立ヲ成スルノ言ハ種々ノ性ノ者ヲ有テ而
 種々ノ名目ヲ荷フ○其ハ三ノ一々ニ成スルニ生活アリ或ハ生活ナキ
 物作ヲ著スルニ或ハ又ハ物作ヲ執ルルニ本々ニ成スルニ
 是レハ物作ヲ著スルニ語ハ其名ヲ荷フ○人カ人ヤ或ハ
 ル物作ヲ著スルニ或ハ又ハ一様ニ觀察セテ就ルルハ其ハ人カ
 冠詞ヲ用ル○其ハ就テ人カ或ハ又ハ物ノ性質ヤ或ハ模様
 カ形容詞ニ依テ言フカ○凡物作ノ教ヲ著スルニ荷ニ教同ニ就テ用
 フカ○組立ルルニ或ハ又ハ物作ノ名ノ種々ノ種々ニ依テ考テ言カ



Fig. 37. Oranda bunten zenpen 和蘭文典前編 ('Dutch Grammar, Volume One', anonymous manuscript, n.d.)

和蘭文典前編後編直譯

卷二第

色之國詞即字及之部令付之

總之是之見禮

第二十九章

詞之聚成之成之辭之語之色之性質之者之而之也之
名之紳之員之之之之之之之之之之之之之之之之之之

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或物之字之定之定之或亦之之之之之之之之之之之之之
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Fig. 38. Oranda buntzen zenpen kōhen chokuyaku 和蘭文典前編後編直訳 ('A Direct Translation of Volumes One and Two of Grammatica', Yano Hidekazu 矢野秀和, manuscript, n.d.).

2. Dutch influences on the Japanese language

The spread of *rangaku* during the Edo period remained restricted to a relatively small group of enthusiasts, but over the two centuries that the Dutch language slowly grew to be Japan's language of science, it did leave its mark on the Japanese language. It is of interest to take a brief look at the effect the introduction of a Western language under such specific and narrow conditions had on the Japanese language. This influence falls into three categories: lexical, structural and stylistic. The most obvious of these influences was the adoption of Dutch loan words to express newly imported Western concepts. However, there are indications that some influence took place on syntactic structures and style as well.

Vocabulary

The Japanese language has shown itself to be remarkably accommodating when it comes to absorbing foreign words. The adoption of Chinese characters as the basis for a Japanese writing system brought with it a large volume of Chinese loanwords into the vocabulary. Indeed, in modern Japanese, Chinese loans (meaning words based on the Chinese or on reading of the characters they are written with) outnumber native Japanese words by a ratio of four to three.²⁵ Before Japan closed its doors to the outside world in the middle of the seventeenth century, several European languages, Portuguese in particular, left a small number of loan words, many of which survive today. Following the end of the period of isolation, a great number of words of European origin were adopted to accommodate the large number of Western ideas and concepts. Today, the Japanese language appears awash with English loans, many of them to do with modern technology. A glance at a manual for a modern appliance such as a computer often reveals a text almost entirely written in *katakana*, the syllabary used for words of foreign origin.

Dutch words were never assimilated in large quantities, but the necessity to devise words for hitherto unknown concepts for the purpose of translation meant that a number of words had to be adopted. In addition, several words of a more domestic nature entered the language through daily social contact with the traders on Dejima.

Dutch loan words that are still used in modern Japanese include:²⁶

²⁵ Remarkably, despite a centuries-old tradition of writing texts in Chinese and adding small markings and numbers to insert Japanese elements and to indicate word order, there has been little Chinese influence on Japanese syntax. A possible explanation for this is the agglutinative nature of Japanese, which makes it difficult to change word order or introduce new word categories when so many words are built up out of morpheme strings.

²⁶ Vos 1963 lists well over three hundred Dutch loanwords.

<i>arukōru</i>	from <i>alcohol</i>	'alcohol'
<i>barusamu</i>	from <i>balsem</i>	'balm, ointment'
<i>buriki</i>	from <i>blik</i>	'tin'
<i>chifusu</i>	from <i>typhus</i>	'typhoid'
<i>garasu</i>	from <i>glas</i>	'plate glass' (cf. <i>GURASU</i> , 'drinking glass', from English)
<i>gippusu</i>	from <i>gips</i>	'plaster'
<i>gomu</i>	from <i>gom</i>	'rubber' (cf. <i>GAMU</i> , 'chewing gum', from English)
<i>kanfuru</i>	from <i>kamfer</i>	'camphor'
<i>karyumu</i>	from <i>kalium</i>	'potassium'
<i>kamitsure</i>	from <i>kamille</i>	'camomile'
<i>mararia</i>	from <i>malaria</i>	'malaria'
<i>mesu</i>	from <i>mes</i>	'scalpel'
<i>natoryumu</i>	from <i>natrium</i>	'sodium'
<i>oburāto</i>	from <i>oblaat</i>	'medicinal wafer'
<i>pinsetto</i>	from <i>pincet</i>	'tweezers'
<i>supoito</i>	from <i>spuit</i>	'syringe'

The word *kamitsure* is the result of misreading the original *kana* rendition of the Dutch word *kamille*. The Dutch word had been represented as カムツレ (*KAMITSURE*), with the ツ (*TSU*) employed to indicate the contracting of the two syllables *ru* and *re* (representing the double *l* followed by an *e*) to the double consonant plus vowel *rre*. This device was eventually misinterpreted as an actual *tsu*, resulting in the reading *KAMITSURE*, which subsequently became the Japanese word for camomile.

The above list concerns words connected with science, mostly medicine and chemistry. However, a number of surviving Dutch loan words appear to be of a more domestic origin, and may have entered the Japanese language as a result of the day-to-day contact with the Dutch traders in Nagasaki:

<i>bīru</i>	from <i>bier</i>	'beer' (cf. <i>biya hōru</i> 'beer hall', from English)
<i>dansu</i>	from <i>dans</i>	'dance'
<i>dekki</i>	from <i>dek</i>	'(ship's) deck'
<i>kōhī</i>	from <i>koffie</i>	'coffee'
<i>orugōru</i>	from <i>orgel</i>	'music box' (cf. <i>orugan</i> 'organ' from English)
<i>otenba</i>	from <i>ontembaar</i>	'hussy', 'tomboy'
<i>randoseru</i>	from <i>ransel</i>	'backpack'

<i>sukoppu</i>	from <i>schop</i>	'spade'
<i>tarappu</i>	from <i>trap</i>	'ladder', 'gangway'
<i>zukku</i>	from <i>doek</i>	'cotton', 'canvas'

The word *otenba* is unusual in that it is normally represented with two Chinese characters: お転婆, lit. 'transformed old woman', and is therefore not usually perceived by Japanese themselves as a foreign import.

A second category of loanwords is Sino-Japanese, i.e. words and morphemes borrowed from Chinese and adapted so as to be accommodated into the Japanese sound system. Such Chinese elements were sometimes employed to create new words to express concepts hitherto nonexistent in the Japanese language. Some of these words are thought to be direct translations of Dutch compounds. For example, the Sino-Japanese word *byōin* 病院, 'hospital' is a combination of the Chinese characters 病 and 院 mean 'sick' and 'public building' respectively, and the word is thought to have been a literal translation of the Dutch word *ziekenhuis*. Shizuki Tadao applied this method to express a number of scientific concepts in Japanese, for example *jūryoku* 重力, 'gravity', made up of the compounds 'weight' and 'force', from Dutch *zwaartekracht*.

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The Japanese language also contains a number of hybrid forms, which involve a Sino-Japanese or native Japanese element and a European loanword element. Examples of such hybrids containing a Dutch element are rare, but one such example is the Japanese word for tin smith, *buriki-ya* ブリキ屋, which is a combination of the loan word *buriki* (from Dutch *blik*, 'tin') and the Japanese suffix *-ya*, meaning 'shop'. Less obvious is the Japanese word for potato, *jagaimo*, which is a combination of the first two syllables of the name of the Indonesian city of Djakarta (which at the time was pronounced as Jagatra) and the Japanese word for tuber, *imo*.²⁸ Also worthy of mention is *keido* 珪土, the Japanese word for 'silica', which the Kadokawa dictionary of loanwords lists as a Sino-Dutch hybrid, from the Dutch *kei* 'stone' and the Chinese reading for 土, 'earth'.²⁹ These last two words, like the earlier *otenba*, are usually represented with Chinese characters rather than in *katakana*, and for this reason they are not often perceived by Japanese as loan words.

²⁷Montgomery (2000: 231) suggests that it was Shizuki's desire to be clear and practical by translating the word for a mysterious force like 'gravity' into such a simple, concrete term. Without wishing to detract from Montgomery's excellent study on scientific translation, it must be pointed out that Shizuki's term *jūryoku* is simply a direct translation of the Dutch word that Shizuki would have found in his books.

²⁸Arakawa 1967: 545.

²⁹Ibid.: 391.

Style

Written Japanese underwent dramatic changes over the decades following the end of national isolation. This was largely as a result of a movement to close the large gap that had opened up between spoken Japanese, which had undergone the kind of evolutionary changes that occur in any living language over time, and the various written forms, which reflected either obsolete usage, or—to a greater or lesser extent—the linguistic structures of classical Chinese.

In 1788, Ōtsuki Gentaku observed in *Rangaku kaitei* 蘭学階梯 ('Steps to Dutch Learning'):

In their original form, [Dutch] texts are to the point, written in a tradition of unsophisticated words without embellishment. The national character emphasizes practicality and the simplicity of things. Furthermore, there is no difference between the spoken and the written word, and they have no separate literary style.

[. . .] As a result, this is a discipline that is very easy to take up and study. In particular the fact that discourses in Dutch books are written without refined intricacies make them seem as if they are written to instruct those who have never learned [to read] a single letter since they were born. Therefore, after [proper] instruction, no more than a good grasp of the meaning of the passages is needed in order for complete and thorough understanding to occur.

The tendency to use contemporary spoken Japanese in serious writing, called *genbun itchi* 言文一致 ('consistency between spoken and written language'), is said to have begun with Hendrik Doeff, who was more familiar with spoken Japanese than with its various written forms, and who used colloquial terms and expressions when he compiled his dictionary, the widely influential *Dūfu haruma*.³⁰ Twine³¹ reports that in 1811 series of talks by philosopher and reformer Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843) was published in the way that they had been spoken. Hirata was not a *rangakusha* himself, but he did express approval of Western concepts such as heliocentricity, and one of his followers was prominent *rangaku* scholar Tsurumine Shigenobu.³² It is not unreasonable to suspect that the idea of representing Hirata's lectures in spoken form was a result of Dutch influence. Ōba Sessai's *Yaku Oranda bungo* 訳和蘭文語 ('Dutch Grammar in Translation' 1855) (discussed in Section VI-1 above) also contains a number of examples of conversational Japanese.³³ However, such innovative usage in written Japanese remained largely restricted to the writings of Edo period *rangaku*

³⁰Blussé et al. 2000: 125. See also pp. 89-90 above.

³¹Twine 1991: 75.

³²Goodman 2000: 115.

³³Twine 1991: 79.

scholars, and general acceptance did not begin to occur until the late nineteenth century, as a result of the efforts of Western-educated Japanese linguists such as Ueda Kazutoshi.³⁴

Syntax

The original method used for Dutch-Japanese translation, the so-called *chokuyaku* 直訳 or direct translation method, is responsible for some trends in written Japanese that began to emerge during the last decades of the Edo period. *Chokuyaku* meant that each word of a sentence in Dutch was translated first, after which the translator rearranged these to form a natural and meaningful Japanese sentence. This did not always result in accurate renditions, but in many cases the unusual new forms seem to have become acceptable to those who were regularly exposed to such variants.

Earns lists a number of new structural features in the Japanese language that are commonly ascribed to English influences during the Meiji period.³⁵ These features include a) the use of inanimates as subjects of transitive and causative verbs; b) the use of passive verbs in contexts other than the traditional adversarial passive; c) the more common usage of third-person pronouns; d) the copula *de aru*, as an equivalent to the Western verb 'to be'; and e) the appearance of *no* or *tokoro no* as an equivalent for relative pronouns. However, Doeff's *haruma*, which was compiled well before the end of the period of national isolation and the widespread influence of English, contains a number of Japanese model phrases that contain examples of inanimate subjects of transitive verbs, the pronouns *kare* and *kanojo* ('he' and 'she' resp.), and the *de aru* copula in present, past and future tenses. That some of this usage achieved a degree of currency before the end of the Edo Period is shown by the occurrence of *de aru* in both Ōba Sessai's and Takeuchi Muneakata's 1855 translations of *Grammatica*.³⁶ It appears therefore, that these changes were the result of Dutch influence during the late Edo Period, rather than English influence in early Meiji.³⁷

As noted above, the Japanese language has shown itself to be very accommodating when it comes to the adoption of loan words, but more resistant to structural influences. In this, it is not alone. Languages tend to retain their identity over time in their syntactical behaviour rather than their vocabulary or even pronunciation. The changes

³⁴Ibid.: 163-4.

³⁵Earns 1996: 66.

³⁶Miura 1979: 4-5.

³⁷However, Earns concludes that the reflexive pronoun *tokoro no* found its origin in influences from *kanbun* texts (Earns 1996: 70).

that have occurred to Japanese syntactic structures as a result of Western influence crept in almost imperceptibly over several decades during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Positive and accurate identification of their source is a difficult task, that still presents a challenge for ongoing research.

3. The End of Dutch Language Studies

When in the middle of the seventeenth century Japan closed its borders to the outside world, leaving only the tiny Dutch trading post in Nagasaki as its sole connection with Europe, the Netherlands was one of the world's wealthiest and most powerful colonial powers. When two centuries later Japan emerged from its isolation, Holland had been reduced to a small and relatively insignificant European country. The foreigners who arrived in Japan in the second half of the nineteenth century were mostly American, British, German, Russian and French. To many Japanese, who had come to see the Dutch language as the language of science and civilisation, this came as a surprise. In a well-known anecdote, Fukuzawa Yukichi relates how in 1859, after studying Dutch for several years, he travelled to Yokohama to meet the foreigners who at last were allowed to move about freely after the signing of commercial treaties with the United States, Holland, Russia, Britain and France, and describes his disappointment upon meeting no-one who was able to speak Dutch, and could not even read the signs above the foreigners' shops.³⁸

I realised that a man would have to be able to read and converse in English to be recognised as a scholar in Western subjects in the coming time. In my disappointment my spirit was low, but I knew that it was not the time to be sitting still.³⁹

Undaunted, he bought himself a Dutch-English dictionary, and learned English.

He found the adjustment not as difficult as he feared. Fukuzawa, and many students like him, taught as they were by Japanese natives, had concentrated their studies at their language academies not on fluency and natural pronunciation, but on Western script, grammar and vocabulary. Therefore, with the script already mastered, a syntax not unlike Dutch, and even many words looking or sounding similar, for someone who had studied Dutch for some time, English would have looked quite familiar.

In addition, the grammatical rules and principles introduced into Japan during the Edo period were not developed in the Netherlands, but adopted by Dutch linguists

³⁸Kiyooka 1966: 97.

³⁹Ibid.: 98.

from the fundamentals of Greek and Latin, and subsequently based on the works of German and English scholars. Thus, when the time came for the Japanese to come to terms with Russian, French, German and above all English, the groundwork for the study of European languages had already been laid by the *rangaku* scholars of the Edo period. Fukuzawa Yukichi describes his relief:

When, with the help of a dictionary, we replaced every word in the English sentence with a Dutch word, most of the sentences could be understood. [...] After a while we came to see that English was a language not so entirely foreign as we had thought. Our fear in the beginning that we were to find all our labour and hope expended on Dutch to have been spent in vain and that we were to go through the same hardship twice in our lives proved happily wrong. In truth, Dutch and English were both "languages written sideways", of the same origin. Our knowledge of Dutch could be applied directly to English; our one-time fear was a groundless illusion.⁴⁰

It is doubtless that without the policies of national isolation the process of bringing Western linguistics to Japan would not have taken the two centuries it did. However, when Japan's period of national isolation ended in 1858, Japan had to cope with negotiations with several nations as well as the sudden appearance of foreigners among them.

Some understood relatively early that Dutch was perhaps not the only European language of importance. Baba Sajūrō demonstrated that he already realised this forty years earlier, and made a serious study of Russian as well as showing an interest in English and French.⁴¹ About 1830 Yoshio Gonnosuke produced a manuscript on English punctuation, vocabulary and grammar under the title *Igirisu bunwa no hanrei* 英吉利文話之凡例 ('General Examples of English Grammar'), with the subtitles *A Grammar of the English Language* and *Een Spraakkunst van de Engelsche Taal*. However, these early studies never progressed beyond manuscript stage and, reaching only a very small audience, had little or no influence on the subsequent study of European languages in Japan.

Indeed, the study of Dutch continued, even at an official level, until 1860, seven years after Matthew Perry's demand that Japan open its ports to the world. Not only the *Grammatica* publications rode the final wave of Dutch language studies in the 1850s. *Oranda jii* 和蘭字彙, compiled by Sakuma Shōzan, was published by

⁴⁰Ibid: 102–103.

⁴¹See Chapter V-3 above.

Katsuragawa Hoshū between the years 1855 and 1857. *Rango tsū* 蘭語通, an incomplete dictionary by Maki Bokuchū, was published in 1857. Even as late as 1860 Hirota Kenkan published a corrected and expanded version of Fujibayashi Fuzan's Japanese-Dutch dictionary *Yakken* 訳鍵.⁴²

However, the same year also saw the printing of an unusual little work that provides information on both English and Dutch. The booklet has three titles, the Japanese title being: *Bango shōin* 蛮語小引 ('A Concise Reference to Foreign Words'), the Dutch one, '*Japansch Vertaling van het Engelsch en Nederduitsch. met uitspraak.*' and the English equivalent: '*Japanese Translation of the English and Dutch with pronounceation [sic]*'. The work is anonymous, but bears the name of a Nagasaki language school called Tenrindō 点林堂. A foreword informs the reader that the work has been created especially to assist foreign trade, and contains numerals, weights and measures. It appears to have been designed for foreign students studying Japanese as much as for Japanese studying Dutch or English, because in addition to *katakana* representations of Dutch and English words, Japanese words are shown in the Roman alphabet in two versions, one for Dutch readers and one for English. That the author was not quite as familiar with the pronunciation and spelling of English words as he was with Dutch is apparent from the numerous errors in these areas. For example, the English word 'seven' is represented in *kana* as シーウン SHIUNN, and 'second' as シーコント SHIHKONTO. The work is printed, but it is not known how many copies were produced. The fact that no reports of further copies have appeared in research indicates that it was produced in only very small quantities, and it probably had little influence. The only known copy of *Bango shōin* somehow found its way to Leiden, where it is preserved as part of Leiden University's *rangaku* collection.

The influence *rangaku* and the study of Dutch had on the Japanese language can thus be said to be relatively limited, and is largely restricted to vocabulary. This is not surprising, since interchange between the traders on Dejima and the inhabitants of Nagasaki was extremely limited, and those who did study Dutch were either subject to a professional code of secrecy (the interpreters), or operated in the rarified atmosphere of academia (the *rangaku* scholars). None of these was ever going to have a significant effect on the language spoken in the streets. Therefore, most of the loan words of European origin in the Japanese language were introduced following the end of the period of national isolation, and are of English, German or French origin.

⁴²These works are discussed in Chapter IV-3 above.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This study has presented a description and analysis of the materials, processes and to some extent the individuals involved with the evolution of Dutch language studies in Japan during the period of national seclusion. However, it is more than a mere English expose of the investigations conducted thus far in this field by Japanese scholars. Most such studies have been largely concerned with biographical information and secondary sources. The main focus of this study has been on both the Japanese and the Dutch content of the primary materials, that is, the works produced in Japan during this period with the explicit aim of recording and passing on information about aspects of the Dutch language itself. Although such research has been done before, this is the first time a thorough analysis of both the Dutch and the Japanese elements of these works has been conducted. This has revealed new aspects about the nature and aims of, and relationships between these materials and their authors. As a result, much of the information about these primary sources that emerged in the course of this study is presented here for the first time.

As this exposition has shown, the study of the Dutch language in Japan during the two centuries of Japan's national isolation did not progress at a steady pace. Rather, language skills by and large remained at more or less the same level for long periods, and were raised to a new plateau of expertise at intervals as a result of the efforts of an individual or a small team. Following the expulsion of the Portuguese, the transition to Dutch as the *lingua franca* for communication with the Dutch traders occurred only gradually, and by the middle of the eighteenth century, a full hundred years after the establishment of the Interpreters Guild, little more had been achieved than some Dutch conversation skills among a select group of Nagasaki interpreters, and the compilation of a number of word lists specific to the needs of the trading activities in Nagasaki and of a small group of students of Western medicine. Writing skills appear to have been neglected, if not avoided, during most of this period.

Of course, the task was not an easy one. Dutch and Japanese are languages of entirely different pedigree, and mastering Dutch is far more difficult for a Japanese than it is for a native speaker of, for instance, English. While the Japanese are notorious for their lack of facility with foreign languages, this reputation stems from the fact that 'foreign languages' often means 'European languages'. Indeed, the Europeans' track record for learning Asian languages is quite dismal in comparison to the mastery of

European languages by Asians. Anyone who has tried to learn a second language outside the family that their native tongue belongs to knows that without exposure to such a language in a natural setting at an early age, it is almost impossible to achieve natural fluency. Immersion, or at least contact with native speakers at an early age is an essential condition for acquiring native competence.

As explained in Chapter III, Japan's four-tiered class system would have precluded the lowly-ranked Dutch traders from assuming the role of teacher for adult interpreters, who came from samurai-class families. As a result, during the Edo period the only Japanese who were given the opportunity to learn Dutch—indeed any European language—directly from a native speaker during their formative years were youngsters: the sons of the interpreter families, who had lessons with the Dutch surgeon on Dejima during their teens. Even for these youths the situation was far from ideal, with the contact normally limited to formal study by rote learning in classroom situations.

In addition, as discussed in Chapter III-1, the Interpreters Guild was an organisation that, certainly during the first century of national seclusion, encouraged its members to keep their language skills secret, and pass them on only to other members. Over the years, this lack of native speaker input resulted in more and more errors and unnatural syntax forms being introduced and shared among Guild members.

Another difficulty, and one that has not been taken into account in investigations until the present study, is the fact that the eighteenth century was as yet a time of discussion and disagreement on grammar and spelling in the Netherlands. Although throughout the eighteenth century a number of Dutch linguists and teachers produced textbooks, these were often contradictory, particularly in the areas of case, spelling and terminology. Consistency and consensus were not reached until the publication of Weiland's works in the first years of the nineteenth century. Thus, the intransigence of the Interpreters Guild combined with the formative state of Dutch grammar and spelling eventually brought about the bizarre, partly archaic form of 'Interpreter Dutch' referred to by Doeff and discussed in Chapter III-2.

It is from the youngsters who had had the opportunity to study at the feet of a native Dutch instructor that we see individuals emerge who eventually achieve mastery of Dutch of a level sufficient to develop useful skills and to some extent pass these on to other Japanese. However, the list is short: Imamura Gen'emon, some members of the Motoki and Yoshio families, Shizuki Tadao and Baba Sajūrō are the most significant names on it. That their proficiency was the result of direct contact with the Dutch traders is implied by the fact that on this list at least Imamura, Shizuki and Baba had

already achieved a reputation for their Dutch skills at a young age, while Yoshio Gonnosuke was reported as using Dutch words as a three-year-old by Shiba Kōkan when the latter visited Nagasaki.¹ Furthermore, on those rare occasions when a member of the Dutch trading party on Dejima was motivated or able to contribute to the development of the Dutch language skills of the adult interpreters, the results tended to be dramatic, as witnessed by the examples of Kaempfer grooming Imamura Gen'emon, Titsingh maintaining a correspondence with several Interpreters Guild members for several years after his departure from Japan, and Doeff's and Von Siebold's contributions to Yoshio Gonnosuke's expertise.

That is not to say that there were not others who achieved useful levels of language skills. However, the limited perspective and the self-serving policies of the Interpreters Guild as well as initial official restrictions on the distribution of Western texts meant that these skills were often not passed on, other than in the form of primitive and confidential notebooks, particularly during the first century of isolation. One reason that there appears to have been little interest in taking advantage of the easing of restrictions on the importation of Western books in 1720 may have been that there was simply nobody in Japan with sufficient language skills to fully understand the contents of the Western books that were imported.

The controls on the dissemination of Dutch language skills by the Interpreters Guild were eventually overcome around the middle of the eighteenth century, through the attempts of some Edo scholars, notably Aoki Kon'yō and Maeno Ryōtaku, to learn about the Dutch language and its writing system. Indeed, it is from around this time that we see an increase in the number of imported Western books. However, even where the possibility of contact between interpreters and outside scholars existed, there were more hurdles to overcome. Throughout the Edo period, the Japanese authorities imposed severe restrictions on domestic travel. The distance between Nagasaki and the main population centres in Japan meant that direct contact between interpreters and other interested parties was normally limited to the infrequent and brief Court journeys to Edo (when interpreters were usually kept too busy to devote any meaningful time to instructing *rangaku* scholars, and at any rate often possessed dubious language skills) or a rare study trip to Nagasaki by a scholar. As discussed in Chapter V-1, Aoki Kon'yō's contributions to the study of Dutch in Edo were largely the result of brief meetings with interpreters and largely unsuccessful encounters with the Dutch traders during Court journeys, while Maeno Ryōtaku and Ōtsuki Gentaku brought back to Edo the resources for their own works from relatively

¹Sugimoto 1976: 867.

short study visits to Nagasaki.

Having availed themselves of these extremely limited opportunities, these pioneer scholars then had to come to terms not only with a language that differed greatly from their own, but also with a writing system that not only used a different set of signs, but involved an unfamiliar way of representing units of speech, viz. by breaking them down into the individual vowels and consonants. This knowledge, which was mostly obtained from interpreters who often had little scholarly or literary schooling, then had to be presented in a form acceptable and intelligible to an initially uninterested and later often suspicious or disapproving audience. It is no wonder then, that little real progress was made in this area for a long time.

A major step forward in the process of bringing Dutch language skills to Japan at large was made when Dejima-trained individuals in the early nineteenth century became directly involved with the production of sophisticated written resources. Former interpreters such as Baba Sajūrō and Yoshio Shunzō thus brought the pioneering studies by Shizuki Tadao to Edo, giving some coherence and credibility to what had hitherto been a somewhat haphazard field of study. Ishii Shōnosuke left the interpreter profession and travelled to Edo with Ōtsuki Gentaku, to make his key contribution to the compilation of the *Edo haruma* dictionary, while in Nagasaki several interpreters became involved with the compilation of Hendrik Doeff's *haruma* dictionary.

Thus, by the end of the Edo Period, despite many hurdles and often propelled by not much more than the natural curiosity of individuals, the Japanese had managed to produce a number of sophisticated and accurate grammars, language courses and dictionaries for the study of Dutch, and had embarked on a small industry of producing reliable translations of Western books. When Japan finally opened its ports to the world in 1858, Dutch turned out not to be the major European language many students of *rangaku* had assumed it to be. However, the efforts of those who took the trouble to look beyond mere vocabulary lists and simple conversation skills did to some extent facilitate the introduction of other European languages into Japan, and by extension the introduction of European science, technology and culture during the Meiji years.

It is often said that hindsight provides perfect vision. However, hindsight can also distort perspective. Thus the development of Dutch language studies in Japan over the two centuries of Japanese national isolation might be evaluated as a great but neglected project that proceeded only in fits and starts through the contributions of a talented few. This would be a view brought about by the modern observer being

aware of the events as a whole, and seeing a greater significance in such studies than did those who were involved at the time.

Throughout the period, the objective of most of the interpreters and those who employed them was in fact no more than to maintain daily communication between themselves and a handful of relatively unimportant foreigners. The work they did was largely aimed at facilitating business transactions and ensuring mutual understanding of the routines of daily coexistence. Even those who did contribute to important strides forward usually did so largely because of personal interest (such as Shizuki), or because—quite literally—they had nothing better to do (Doeff, for example). Even Ōtsuki Gentaku's groundbreaking efforts in facilitating the compilation of the first of the great dictionaries, the *Edo haruma*, were prompted by a request from an individual who was looking after his own interests, and who undoubtedly would not have asked Ōtsuki had he had an understanding of the scale of such a project.²

Only when the significance of Western science and technology and the importance of acquiring knowledge of such things came to be understood, were some concerted efforts made to achieve more sophisticated levels of understanding of the foreigners' tongue. Thus shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune's interest in Western learning opened the way for Edo scholars Aoki Kon'yō and Maeno Ryōtaku to conduct investigations into the nature of the Dutch language and its writing system.

The cooperation between the Nagasaki interpreters and outside scholars proved to be a key factor in the progress towards a clearer and more systematic understanding of the structures of Dutch and the Roman alphabet, which was essential to a more efficient and reliable dissemination of knowledge about Western science and technology. Initially however, a lack of opportunities for interpreters and scholars to meet and share their expertise meant that while the results of these initial studies represented a significant step forward in the understanding of the nature of the Roman alphabet, they were of limited practical value, as witnessed by the celebrated but only partially successful struggle by Sugita Genpaku and Maeno Ryōtaku to produce a translation of a Dutch work on anatomy.

It was the combination of scholarly discipline and naturally acquired knowledge of the Dutch language embodied in the person of ex-interpreter Shizuki Tadao, that eventually provided the Japanese with key insights into the structures of both languages. Although most studies on the development of *rangaku* identify Shizuki

²See p. 85 above.

Tadao as the key figure in the coming-of-age of Dutch language studies in Japan, this evaluation is usually based on the reports by his contemporaries, notably Ōtsuki Gentaku and Baba Sajūrō. The present study is the first to identify two distinct periods in Shizuki's linguistic investigations. Until now, Shizuki's earlier works, particularly the carefully crafted but rather esoteric *Rangaku seizenfu*, had been considered his most important contribution to Dutch language studies, while his later works attracted less interest, possibly because they survive only in rather scetchy and poorly drafted manuscript copies. While *Rangaku seizenfu* is certainly Shizuki's most original and interesting work on linguistics, this study has shown that it was in fact his later works, which were little more than translations of sections of Wm. Séwel's *Nederduitsche Spraakkonst*, which enabled subsequent teachers of Dutch to produce practical and reliable textbooks. It was these textbooks that, in combination with the extensive *haruma* dictionaries which around that time were produced almost simultaneously in Edo and Dejima, at last provided the Japanese with the tools to develop the skills for efficient production of reliable translations of Western texts.

The arrival of American warships in 1853, forcing the end of the isolationist policies, gave rise to a brief but dramatic increase in Dutch language studies, as evidenced by the appearance of numerous versions of the Dutch primary school textbook *Grammatica* related in Chapter VI-1. However, in 1860, the task of the governmental translation bureau was officially changed from translating Dutch books to translating English books. In addition, many Europeans and Americans rapidly began to contribute to the facilitating of foreign language studies. The relatively small and uneven collection of manuscripts and publications dedicated to the study of Dutch in the Edo Period began to gather dust on forgotten bookshelves around the country. Modernisation of the Japanese writing system also meant that they soon became virtually incomprehensible to lay Japanese. Over the years, however, through bequests and donations by those who understood their historical significance, these works found their way into dedicated collections, mostly at the universities of Tokyo, Waseda, Tenri and Kyoto, where they are kept today.

While the Dutch language itself ceased to be a significant object of study in a modernising Japan, the studies conducted by the *rangogakusha* (students of Dutch) did have some enduring effects. Their work provided some significant preparations for the wholesale and urgent study of European languages that began with the opening of Japan to the outside world. As noted above, those with experience with Dutch grammar and the alphabet did not find the switch to other European languages too difficult. In a more permanent way, their application of Dutch linguistic concepts and definitions to the Japanese language effectively undermined the attempts by

scholars such as Fujitani Nariakira (1738–1779) to understand the structures of their own language without reference to European linguistic concepts, and means that even today the structures of the Japanese language are explained, often somewhat inappropriately, through principles of Western grammar. In this way, over two centuries of isolation a tiny group of interpreters and scholars (among whom the truly influential can be counted on the fingers of two hands) had a significant and enduring influence on the way the Japanese think about language in general, and their own language in particular.

APPENDIX I

Dutch model phrases in *Joshikō* that are not found in Marin (1730).

Shizuki Tadao's *Joshikō* 助詞考 contains a large collection of model sentences and phrases, the bulk of which were taken from Pieter Marin's *Groot Nederduitsch en Fransch Woordenboek* (1730). Shizuki states that two of his examples are not borrowed from Marin. In fact, the following sentences and phrases are not present in Marin's dictionary. It is therefore possible that these were added by later editors of *Joshikō*, which was copied and edited several times.¹

toen ik daer was

hoewel 't niet altoos vast ging

hoewel 't niet altoos vast gaet

poort is al geslooten

indien de machten van Europa vereenigt waren

hij zal ten minsten hier komen

hij beweegt hem zelf

hij beweegt zig zelfs

het is goed voor de gemeene luiden, maar niet voor de edelman

liever sterven als dus gehaand² te zijn

hij wilde naar Een waar of liever leugen zegster te gaan

andere africaanen zijn wit of liever geel.

van dag tot dag

met een woord

gij blooden schúrck, is Dat braave karels werk, (dat men) om zo te

spreeken geharnast tegen een blote kop en bakkes te veld komt?

Dat kind is zijn vaders portraít, gelijk de vader.

Die stoffen zijn schoon, zij kosten ook veele geld.

gij zúlt geen werk Doen, nog úw zoon

Een jaar min tweemaand

met pen schrijven

met hem spreken

Een hús met Drie verdieping

¹Shizuki's *Joshikō* is discussed on pp. 144ff. above.

²Sic. Possibly *gehoond* ('jeered at') or *gehaat* ('hated').

APPENDIX II

Catalogue of Primary Sources

This catalogue lists the primary sources (defined here as works on the Dutch language produced in Japan during the period of national isolation) directly consulted for this study. For published works, as many locations are given as are known to the present author.

Title	Author	Date	Description	Location
<i>Abeseji yōsetsu</i> 阿別舌字様説	anonymous	n.d.	Manuscript	Facsimile in Katagiri 1997.
<i>Bangosen</i> 蛮語箋	Morishima Chūryō	1798	Publ.: unknown	Tokyo University Historiographical Institute Library D70-63 Leiden University Library UB58* Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c514
<i>Bango shōin</i> 蛮語小引	Anonymous	1860	Publ.: Masunaga Bunji	Leiden University Library UB84
<i>Basutaado jisho</i> バスタード辞書	See <i>Nieuwe-gedrukt Bastaardt Woorden-boek</i>			
<i>Edo haruma</i> 江戸ハルマ	Inamura Sanpaku	1796	Part-printed	Leiden University Library UB62
<i>Garanmachika kun'yaku</i> 窩蘭麻知加訓訳	Ugawa Gen'an	1856	Publ.: unknown	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c540
<i>Garanmachika wage</i> ガランマチカ和 解	anonymous	n.d.	Manuscript	Seikado Bunko Museum, Ōtsuki Collection 97-5-28280
<i>Hendoriku ranbun</i> ヘンドリク蘭文	Anonymous	n.d.	Manuscript	
<i>Hollandsch en Japansch Woordenboek</i>	Araki Toyokichi & Kikutani Yonesu	Ca 1824	Manuscript	Leiden University Library UB63

<i>Jigaku shōsei</i> 字学小成	Maeno Ryōtaku	1785	Manuscript, included in the bundle <i>Ranka</i> <i>zappen</i> 蘭化雜篇	Seikado Bunko Museum, Ōtsuki Collection, no. 97-3- 28248
<i>Jojikō, Nakano</i> <i>sensei kyō</i> 助字考柳圃先生 教				
<i>Joshikō</i> 助詞考	Shizuki Tadao	early 1780s	Manuscript	Waseda University Rare Books Collection 文庫# 8 no. C559
<i>Juntei zokubun</i> <i>kinnō</i> 重訂属文錦囊	Yoshio Gonnosuke	1821	Manuscript	Tokyo University Historiographical Institute Library D70- 46
<i>Kaisei bangosen</i> 改正蛮語箋	Morita Goichirō	1850	Publ.: Unknown	Kyoto University Library #130665 Graduate School of Letters #2G89 Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c518
<i>Kaisei zōho</i> <i>bangosen</i> 改正增甫蛮語箋	Mitsukuri Genpo	1857	Publ.: Suwaraya Ihachi, Edo.	Leiden University Library UB58 and UB58a Tokyo University Historiographical Institute Library D70- 61 Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c519 (Part 2 only)
<i>Kaisei zōho</i> <i>yakken</i> 改正增甫訳鍵	Hirota Norihito	1857	Publ.: Akitaya Taemon, Osaka.	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c544 (Listed as <i>Zōho kaisei yakken</i> 增甫改正訳鍵)
<i>Kuhinshi</i> <i>myōmoku</i> 九品詞名目	Shizuki Tadao	n.d.	Manuscript	Facsimile in Sugimoto 1991

<i>Kuhinshi ryaku</i> 九品詞略	Noro Tenzen	1812	Manuscript	Kyoto University Library #141054 Graduate School of Letters #2G94
<i>Kunten oranda bunten</i> 訓点和蘭文典	anonymous	1857	Publ.: Sōsetsukan, location unknown.	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c543
<i>Kyojikai</i> 虚辞解	See <i>Joshikō</i>			
<i>Nederduitsche Spraaakunst door Mendr Rareket</i>	Ōtsuki Gentō	n.d.	Manuscript	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. a179
<i>Nieuwe-gedruct Bastaardt Woorden-boek</i>	Ōe Shuntō	1822	Publ.: unknown, Edo	Leiden University Library UB60
<i>Oranda bungaku mondō</i> 和蘭文学問答	Baba Sajūrō	1811		
<i>Oranda bunpan tekiyō</i> 和蘭文範摘要	Baba Sajūrō	1814	Manuscript	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c554
<i>Seikoku bungo hanrei</i> 西国文語凡例	Anonymous	n.d.	Manuscript	Private collection H.W.K. de Groot
<i>Oranda bunten benmō</i> 和蘭文典便蒙	Kōsho Kanjin	1857	Publ.: Zuiidō, Mito	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c541
<i>Oranda bunten chokuyaku</i> 和蘭文典直訳	Yano Hidekazu	n.d.	Manuscript.	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c553
<i>Oranda bunten dokuhō</i> 和蘭文典読法	Takeuchi Munekata	1856	Publ.: Izumiya Zenbei, Edo	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c535 Leiden University Library UB78-I
<i>Oranda bunten jirui zenpen</i> 和蘭文典字類前 編	Iizumi Shijō	1856	Publ.: Izumiya Kichibei, Edo.	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c539 Leiden University Library UB76
<i>Oranda bunten jirui kōhen</i> 和蘭文典字類後 編	Takahashi Shigetake	1858	Publ.: Yamashiroya Sabei, Edo.	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c547

<i>Oranda bunten kōhen seikuron</i> 和蘭文典後編西句論	Mitsukuri Genpo	1848	Publ.: unknown.	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. C1022
<i>Oranda bunten wage</i> 和蘭文典和解	See <i>Garanmachika wage</i> ガランマチカ和解			
<i>Oranda bunten yakugosen</i> 和蘭文典訳語筈	Tōda Shōan	1856	Publ.: Izumiya Zenbei, Edo.	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 # c533 Leiden University Library UB77
<i>Oranda bunten zenkōhen chokuyaku</i> 和蘭文典前後編直訳	anonymous	n.d.	Manuscript	Tokyo University Historiographical Institute Library I ろ 2230-1/2
<i>Oranda bunten zenpen</i> 和蘭文典前編	Mitsukuri Genpo	1842	Publ.: Hiunkan, Edo.	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 # c526 Tokyo University Historiographical Institute Library D330-48
<i>Oranda bun'yaku</i> 和蘭文訳	Aoki Kon'yō	1749-58	Manuscript, 7 vols.	Seikado Bunko Museum, Ōtsuki Collection, no.97-3-28245
<i>Oranda gohōkai</i> 和蘭語法解	Fujibayashi Fuzan	1815	Publ.: Chōjiya Kasuke, Kyoto.	Leiden University Library UB69 Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 # c522

<i>Orandago wage</i> 阿蘭陀語和解	anonymous	n.d.	Manuscript	Kyoto University Medical Library # 705867
<i>Oranda jii</i> 和蘭字彙	Katsuragawa Hoshū	1855- 1858	Publ.: Yamashiroya Sabei, Edo.	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 # c1020 Leiden University Library UB65
<i>Oranda jisho</i> 和蘭辭書	Siebold	1828	Manuscript.	Leiden University Library UB64
<i>Oranda kokugo</i> <i>kō</i> 和蘭国語考	Aoki Kon'yō		Manuscript	Tenri University Central Library No. 440-イ 11-19
<i>Oranda jisho</i> <i>wage</i> 和蘭辭書 和解	Tsuji Ranshitsu	1816	Manuscript	Kyoto University Library # 166268 Graduate School of Letters #2G61
<i>Orandakuchi</i> 阿蘭陀口	anonymous	1710	Manuscript	Kyoto University Medical Library # 705862
<i>Orandakuchi no</i> <i>wa</i> 阿蘭陀口ノ和	anonymous	n.d.	Manuscript	Kyoto University Library # 167946 Graduate School of Letters #2G57
<i>Oranda</i> <i>meimokugo</i> 阿蘭陀名目語	Anonymous	n.d.	Manuscript	(Facsimile:) Tokyo University Historiographical Institute Library D330- 46
<i>Oranda moji</i> <i>ryakkō</i> 和蘭文字略考	Aoki Kon'yō	1742- 47	Manuscript	Tokyo University Historiographical Institute Library D70- 39
<i>Oranda moji</i> <i>ōtsūji tōsho</i> 阿蘭陀文字大通 詞答書	Aoki Kon'yō	1740	Manuscript	Kyoto University Library # 128976 Graduate School of Letters #2G37
<i>Oranda nanban</i> <i>hitokire kuchiwa</i> 阿蘭陀南蛮一切 口和	anonymous	n.d.	Manuscript	Tenri University Central Library No. 849—イ 17
<i>Oranda nanban</i> <i>wago shō</i> 阿蘭陀南蛮和語 抄	anonymous	n.d.	Manuscript	Kyoto University Library # 130580

<i>Oranda setsuzokushikō</i> 和蘭接続詞考	Ōtsuki Genkan	1826	Manuscript	Seikado Bunko Museum, Ōtsuki Collection, No. 97-4-28260
<i>Oranda shogon</i> 和らん諸言	Yamaji Yuki Yoshi	1766-1772	Manuscript	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c965
<i>Oranda tenrei kō</i> 和蘭点例考	Maeno Ryōtaku	1812	Manuscript	Kyoto University Library # 108944 Graduate School of Letters #2G40
<i>Oranda ueirando bunpan</i> 和蘭沕乙蘭土文範	Pieter Weiland	1856	Publ.: unknown.	Kyoto University Library # 128653 Graduate School of Letters #2G69 Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c1221 Tokyo University Historiographical Institute Library D330-13
<i>Oranda wagoshū iroha yori</i> 阿蘭陀和語集以呂波寄	anonymous	n.d.	Manuscript	Kyoto University Library # 129280 Graduate School of Letters #2G45
<i>Oranda wayaku</i> 和蘭話訳	Aoki Kon'yō	1743	Manuscript, 2 vols.	Seikado Bunko Museum, Ōtsuki Collection, no. 97-3-28246
<i>Oranda yakubun ryaku</i> 和蘭訳文略	Maeno Ryōtaku	1771 or 1772	Manuscript	Tenri University Central Library No. 440-イ 11-18
<i>Oranda yakusen</i> 和蘭訳箋	Maeno Ryōtaku	1785	Manuscript, 1 vol.	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c556
<i>Ranbunpō shoji</i> 蘭文法諸時	Shizuki Tadao	n.d.	Manuscript	Kyoto University Library # 123238 Graduate School of Letters #2G53

<i>Rangaku han</i> 蘭学凡	Ōtsuki Genkan	1816	Manuscript, 1 vol.	Kyoto University Library # 132950 Graduate School of Letters #2G14 Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c12 Seikado Bunko Museum, Ōtsuki Collection, no. 97-4- 28261
<i>Rangaku hizō</i> 蘭学秘蔵	Udagawa Genzui	Ca. 1790	Manuscript, 2 vols.	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. b16 1/2
<i>Rangaku kaitei</i> 蘭学階梯	Ōtsuki Gentaku	1788	Publ.: Matsumoto Heisuke, Edo.	Leiden University Library # Jap. 2568 C 5
<i>Rangaku kei</i> 蘭学逕	Fujibayashi Fuzan	1810	Publ.: unknown	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. b114 and c521 Leiden University Library UB68
<i>Rangaku seizenfu</i> 蘭学生前父	Shizuki Tadao	Early 1780s	Manuscript	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. b0057
<i>Rangaku teikō</i> 蘭学梯航	Baba Sajūrō	1816	Manuscript	Kyōu Sho'oku Collection, Osaka, No 494-6.
<i>Rangokai</i> (or <i>Rangoge</i>) 蘭語解	anonymous	n.d.	Manuscript	Kyoto University Library # 167944 Graduate School of Letters #2G28
<i>Rango kanri jikō</i> 蘭語冠履辞考	Baba Sajūrō	1855	Publ.: unknown, Edo.	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c532 Leiden University Library UB74

<i>Rango kuhinshū</i> 蘭語九品集	Shizuki Tadao	n.d.	Manuscript	Kyoto University Library # 123239 Graduate School of Letters #2G15
<i>Rango shubi sesshi kō</i> 蘭語首尾接詞考	Baba Sajūrō	1808?	Manuscript	Kyoto University Library # 141048 Graduate School of Letters #2G18
<i>Rango tsū</i> 蘭語通	Maki Bokuchū	1857	Publ.: unknown.	Leiden University Library UB66
<i>Rango yakusen</i> 蘭語訳撰	Minamoto Masataka	1810	Publ.: Okudaira Masataka, Nakatsu.	Leiden University Library UB59
<i>Rango zuihitsu</i> 蘭語隋筆	Maeno Ryōtaku	1787	Manuscript, included in the bundle <i>Ranka zappen</i> 蘭化雜篇	Seikado Bunko Museum, Ōtsuki Collection, no. 97-3- 28248
<i>Ran'yakusen</i> 蘭訳筌	Maeno Ryōtaku	1771	Manuscript	Kyoto University Library # 116354 Graduate School of Letters #2G52
<i>Rogo bunpō kihan</i> 魯語文法規範	Baba Sajūrō	1813	Manuscript, 5 vols.	Seikado Bunko Museum, Ōtsuki Collection, no.97-13- 28319
<i>Rokkaku meiben</i> 六格明辯	Yoshio Shunzō	n.d.	Manuscript	Kyoto University Library # 141055 Graduate School of Letters #2G95
<i>Rokkaku zenpen</i> 六格前篇	Yoshio Shunzō	1814	Manuscript	Seikado Bunko Museum, Ōtsuki Collection, no. 97-4- 28263
<i>Ruigokai/Rishikai</i> 累語解/履詞解	Anonymous	n.d.	Manuscript	Tokyo University Historiographical Institute Library D70-9
<i>Ruiju orandago yaku</i> 類聚紅毛語訳	= <i>Bangosen.</i>			

<i>Ryūho nakano sensei bunpō</i> 柳圃中野先生文法	Shizuki Tadao	Early 1790s?	Manuscript	Kyoto University Library # 130578 Graduate School of Letters #2G20 (listed as <i>Oranda shihinkō</i> 和蘭四品考)
<i>Ryūho sensei kyoshikō</i> 柳圃先生虚詞考	Shizuki Tadao	n.d.	Manuscript	Facsimile in Sugimoto 1991.
<i>Sanshukō</i> 三種考	Yoshio Shunzō	n.d.	Manuscript	Kyoto University Library # Graduate School of Letters #2G96
<i>Sei'inpu</i> 西韻府	Ōtsuki Genkan	1833	Publ.: Suwaraya Ihachi and Suwaraya Sasuke, Edo	Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden; UB72 Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. C11
<i>Seion hatsubi</i> 西音発微	Ōtsuki Genkan	1826	2 vols. Publ.: Suwaraya Sasuke, Edo 1826.	Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden; UB73 Tokyo University Historiographical Institute Library D70-35
<i>Shihō shoji taiyaku</i> 四法諸時対訳	Shizuki Tadao	n.d.	Manuscript	Facsimile in Sugimoto 1991.
<i>Shikaku juppin benkai</i> 四格十品弁解	Ema Genmei	n.d.	Manuscript	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c558
<i>Sōyaku garanmachika</i> 挿訳俄蘭磨知科	Ohara Kyōnosuke	1857	Publ.: Ohara Chikudō, Edo.	Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c536 Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden UB79
<i>Teisei rango kuhinshū</i> 訂正蘭語九品集	Baba Sajūrō	1814	Manuscript	Tokyo University Historiographical Institute Library D70-36

<i>Yakken</i> 訳鍵	Fujibayashi Fuzan	1810	Publ.: unknown.	Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden; UB61 Waseda University Rare Books Collection Bunko 8 no. c558
<i>Yakki</i> 訳規	Yoshio Shunzō	1811	Manuscript	Kyoto University Library # Graduate School of Letters #2G118
<i>Yaku oranda bunten</i> 訳和蘭文典	Ōba Sessai	1855	Publ.: Suwaraya Shigebei, Edo.	
<i>Yōbun hon'yaku binran</i> 洋文翻訳便覧	Tsurumine Shigenobu	n.d.	Manuscript	Kyoto University Library # Graduate School of Letters #2G11 Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden; UB75
<i>Zōho kaisei yakken</i> 増甫改正訳鍵	<i>See Kaisei zōho yakken</i> 改正増甫訳鍵			

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