

Cum

Vuogues



François Caron and His *Description of Japan*

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INTRODUCTION

Japan and Europe—how many associations there are bound to these two names! They represent completely different forms of cultural experience and contrary ideas, each of the other. For centuries, and perhaps more than any other Asian country, Japan has been a synonym for a puzzling mixture of imperviousness, inaccessibility and supreme cultural achievement. Europeans have always looked with admiration towards Japan because its culture seems to be so isolated, confined just to these small, distant islands.¹

The explanation is found without doubt in the longstanding isolation of Japan, which made a closer Western knowledge of the country and its culture impossible. While Japan was observed by the Europeans at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century as an Asiatic country like many others, this view was beginning to change after entrance to Japan became exclusively possible from the factory of Dejima between 1639 and 1854.² Japanese authorities stopped the transfer of information and materials by forbidding the export of books and other cultural objects; the content of each ship was

registered meticulously, and offences against these rules were severely punished. In the beginning, Japan was, as a result of its geographical remoteness and its closeness to medieval visions of paradise (because it was geographically resembled it), a place from which positive and ideal images emanated. The growing experience of European travellers, missionaries and merchants made reports more and more critical concerning the dark sides of Japanese politics and culture.³ The positive image gradually disappeared, and the European cultural memory did not receive any new 'supply' for its xenological stock of images of a strange but friendly exotic country. For this reason, any piece of information from a European who entered this land personally and could report out of his own experience at least in part authentically was always an event which attracted public attention.⁴

That is why the *Beschrijvinghe van het machtigh Coninckrijck Japan* (Description of the Mighty Kingdom of Japan) as the original Dutch version of the description of Japan by François Caron was titled (the first edition appeared in Amsterdam in 1645), belongs to the important testimonies of the reception of Japan in 17th century Europe. This book is an autonomous, briefly formulated result of Caron's observations during many years of contacts with East-Asiatic trade partners as well as various representatives of foreign administrations. He drew on his own experiences during travels through Japan and gave the reader the impression of it being a serious report containing reliable facts.

Already in Caron's lifetime his description of Japan was some sort of European bestseller. Even today

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Detail of a chart of Japan by Luis Teixeira, c. 1591, in Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antwerp, 1595.

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his text is a most interesting source about Japan in the era of the Tokugawa emperors, and it is, despite its formal and stylistic unpretentiousness, more than many other reports able to give insights into political and cultural processes within Japan. Caron's *Beschrijvinghe* has its place in history, coming between the fabulous impressions of Japan of Marco Polo and the extensive project of Philipp Franz von Siebold, who wrote a scientific study of the country in the 19th century.⁵ In this sense Caron's book marks an important step in the reception of 'the complete otherness'. Moreover, it is—this may be remarked here—the most important description of Japan before Engelbert Kaempfer's book, which starts a new epoch of scientific approach to other cultures.⁶

ASIA AND EUROPE IN THE 17TH CENTURY

While writing his description of Japan in 1636, Caron observes certain aspects of the culture of the Japanese empire of his days from the angle of an era in European history which has nearly disappeared from today's common intellectual horizon. Caron's Europe is the Europe of the Thirty-Years-War (1618-1648) which had its roots in Luther's attempt to reform the Church (1517) and the ensuing social and political wars. It is not possible to speak of public law at that time as a way of 'modern' thinking, and it is just as difficult to interpret the relations of the different strata of the populations as 'modern' sociological groups. Traditional class order and social hierarchies dominate the forms of social and learned life during the whole 17th century.⁷ The confessional confrontations still paralyze in considerable scale the free exchange of ideas. Of course, everywhere in Europe curious scientists work (against the theological doctrines) to decipher the secrets of nature and strange cultures, but still one cannot qualify most of these attempts as 'scientific' in today's sense, which means a systematically prepared and purposive analysis of natural and cultural contents of the world. The structure of knowledge was more or less ruled by the principle of the 'wonder-chamber': exotic curiosities, monstrosities and valuable artefacts forming, within the frames of superstition and half-knowledge, a quasi-scientific horizon.⁸

It took until the end of the 17th century before medieval thinking and its pre-scientific structures were defeated.⁹ Leibniz and Wolff were the two outstanding

philosophers at the turn of the 18th century who principally change the methods of finding scientific and philosophical ideas. At that time physical, medical and botanical methods were decisively developed—one has only to think of the discovery by Harvey of the circulation of blood, which was seen as a revolution in medicine. The founding of academies—the Accademia della Crusca in Italy (1584), the Académie Française and the Académie des Sciences in France (1635 and 1666), the Academia Naturae Curiosorum in the Holy Roman Empire (1652, later on named Sacri Romani Imperii Academia Caesaro-Leopoldina Naturae Curiosorum) and the Royal Society in England (1660)—promoted in a hitherto unknown measure the character and scale of the learned exchange. Scientists not only met regularly, but some of them maintained extensive correspondence and worked together on experiments, and from the second half of the 17th century learned periodicals started to appear with which the further and extended exchange of knowledge would be rapidly internationalised.¹⁰

Together with the development of humanistic thinking, Europe started to advance into the immense geographical space of the western and south-eastern hemispheres, which were known only by vague speculation and legendary traditions. Sailing around Africa (1488)¹¹ and into the Pacific Ocean between the South American continent and Tierra del Fuego (1520), Bartolomeu Dias and Fernão de Magalhães reached the African-Indian-Asiatic space between Madagascar and New Zealand, between Kamchatka and Alaska in the north, and Australia in the south. With ships of relatively small tonnage, using sailing techniques that had remained unchanged for centuries, with insufficient charts and atlases but with enormous energy and toughness, the European 'super powers', Portugal, Spain, France, England and the Netherlands conquered one base after another during the 16th and 17th centuries, extending their domain of influence and interest. Political, economic and strategic considerations had given the impulse for this outstanding historical process, which had incalculable consequences for world politics in the following centuries.

As well as in other parts of the world, the clash of cultures in the Indo-Pacific region caused intercultural conflicts similar to those occurring in Central and South America at the same time. Throughout Asia the Europeans found bases for immense economic empires

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through the undiminished force of expansion, by ruthless exploitation and by virtually limitless politics of power and trade.¹²

The pioneers who cleared the way for the successors had not been adventurers; they had been skilled and learned seamen and merchants who, because of the enormous risks of their enterprises, were funded by mighty lobbies. The most powerful, most successful and most long-lasting ‘concern’ was the Dutch *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC).¹³ This society had one single aim: to make profit, to maximize profit and to protect this profit against competitors. None of the other European trade-societies in Asia attained such power as the VOC. Some of them simply failed, others wasted away after a shorter or longer time or came to a disastrous end.¹⁴ During a long political process and after complicated negotiations, the Dutch trade societies which had been founded by the Dutch ‘General States’ at the end of the 16th century merged into just one. On 20 March 1602 the *Generale Nederlandsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (General Dutch privileged East-Indian Company, shortly named VOC) was born.¹⁵

Their struggles were not only against natives or European competitors but also against nature itself: the huge distances, the tropical climates and unhealthy nutrition claimed thousands and thousands of victims. The death rate on ships bound to Batavia totalled up to 30 percent.¹⁶ On the other hand, the overloaded ships which reached Europe brought the most precious merchandise and adventurous stories of the sailors to the seafaring nations.¹⁷

JAPAN AT THE TIME OF CARON

Nippon, which was reached by the Europeans after a long journey, was in many respects different from the other Asian countries that were known to them. The internal social and economic structure as well as Japanese behaviour towards the Europeans demanded a special sensibility from the Portuguese, Spaniards, English and Netherlanders.¹⁸

The shogunate of the Tokugawa clan was founded on the successes of Shogun Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), who had nearly brought about the unification of the dissipated realm when he was forced by one of his generals to commit suicide. After Nobunaga’s death, his highest-ranking military

leader, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), took the guardianship for his minor heirs and thus paved his way to political power. However, some years later he had to fight the grown-up sons of Nobunaga.¹⁹ Hideyoshi was a clever diplomat: he not only joined forces with the hostile military leader Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616) but even adopted his eldest son. Although Hideyoshi and Ieyasu apparently acted as peers, Ieyasu was the weaker, who was to serve the mightier Hideyoshi. When the latter died, Japan had known a period of eight consecutive years of peace—a sharp contrast to the decades before.²⁰

After the death of Hideyoshi, the families of Toyotomi and Tokugawa fought over the succession of the shogunate, a struggle that ended with the victory of Tokugawa Ieyasu. In 1603 he was declared shogun by the Tenno. One of his far-reaching decisions was to give up Osaka as capital and start to make Edo (today’s Tokyo), which up to his time had not had any importance, the new capital and central base of the shogunate.²¹ During his reign he continued to reorganize the inner structure of the realm. Due to his aim to keep the shogunate within his family, Ieyasu abdicated in favour of his son Hidetada (1574-1632, reign 1605-1623).

One year before his death Ieyasu besieged the castle of Osaka, brought about the extinction of the Toyotomi family and gained sole political power over Japan. The power of the Tokugawa shoguns was complete and absolute. After the end of the 16th century, a flourishing agriculture was developed, the urban expansion and the economic growth of the cities providing the basis for the development of arts and crafts as well as trade.²²

The Europeans, who had already come to Japan before 1600, were initially welcomed as trade partners, but Japanese foreign contacts over the years became a fundamental political problem that ended in the complete seclusion of the realm, *sakoku* (closed land). Initially relations between Europeans and Japanese had been more or less friendly, and Christian missionary activity was allowed and carried out by Jesuit priests. However, in 1587 Hideyoshi published anti-Christian laws that limited the freedom of the Jesuits considerably. The rivalry between various Christian orders, the policy of the Tokugawa of keeping power, and the balance of the different parts of the realm caused permanent insecurity for the Europeans. Nevertheless, Japanese trade

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with European countries increased continuously during the first thirty years of the 17th century.

In 1612 and 1614 Ieyasu demanded the expulsion of the *bateren*, as the Catholic fathers (Portuguese *padres*) were named in Japanese. This made the internal situation more and more explosive.²³ It led to regular persecution of the Jesuits as well as to the execution of huge numbers of Christians of all nations. By 1660 there was practically not a single Christian alive in Japan; about 30,000 had given their lives for their belief.

After Hidetada, Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604-1651, reign 1623-1651) took over the shogunate. He reorganized the administration again in a nearly military form, increased mine exploitation, and tried to gain more control over the cities. To this aim he introduced new social regulations concerning clothing, hairstyle, the bearing of weapons and much more. At the same time Japan suffered an economic depression that found its expression in famine and shortages of food (mostly in 1641-1642). The Shimabara Rebellion in the years 1637-1638, combined with the unsolved problem of Christianity in the land, is one of the sad highlights of this era. The intention to get more control over the internal conditions brought Iemitsu to the edicts of 1633, which imposed the death penalty for Japanese travelling abroad. The effect of more severe measures was that the foreigners who lived in Japan were nearly completely under control. The forced relocation of the Dutch factory from Hirado to the artificial island of Dejima was only one of many such measures of such kind.²⁴

The Japanese development was in some way paradoxical: while on the one hand the living conditions and the internal security of Japan improved by foreign influence, on the other hand this qualitative improvement was in danger, especially due to the problems caused by the European intention to Christianise Japan. Many of the political and regulatory measures of Hidetada and Iemitsu have to be seen under



Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604-1651).

this double aspect. Within this environment of political, religious and economic struggles, the main part of Caron's official career took place.

THE LIFE OF CARON: FROM KITCHEN BOY TO *OPPERHOOFD* (1600-1639)

François Caron was born in 1600.²⁵ Nothing is known of his childhood as a son of Huguenot parents who escaped out of France

to Brussels and to the Netherlands. The first exact date which we have is the year 1619, when he reaches the VOC factory of Hirado in northwest Kyushu. From February 1626 he held the rank of 'assistant', the lowest post of a VOC employee; this promotion may have been due to his knowledge of Japanese because already in 1627 he accompanied the Dutch governor, Peter Nuyts of Formosa (Taiwan), as a translator to the court of the shogun at Edo (Tokyo).

Nuyts took Caron with him when he left Japan in December 1627, full of anger about the humiliating treatment he had received from the Japanese. Returning to Formosa, he held back two Japanese ships, but the Japanese managed to capture Nuyts with a group of Dutch, who, with the exception of Nuyts were imprisoned in Japan. Caron was again busy as translator between the Japanese official delegation and the Dutch in the factory of Hirado. On the 1st of May 1630 the Dutch were released and travelled to Batavia (Jakarta). Caron did not succeed in preventing the imprisonment of Nuyts, who had to be turned over to the Japanese. When Caron returned to Batavia in 1632, he was promoted to *koopman* under most advantageous conditions. Again he sailed to Japan, where he became the second man in the factory after the *opperhoofd* (chief) of the establishment, Peter van Santen.

In these rather difficult times it was Caron again who achieved a great diplomatic success when he secured the release of Peter Nuyts in 1636 by negotiations after there had been various unfruitful attempts by other Dutch delegations in the preceding

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years. During the journey to Nagasaki in that year he visited the artificial island of Dejima, which was under construction at the time. In July of the same year he learned of the nomination of Philip Lucasz as general-director of the VOC in Batavia. Lucasz sent a questionnaire to Caron about Japan that later became the basis of his famous book.

In October 1636 Caron travelled again to Japan, this time to support the Dutch representative in negotiating better trade conditions than the ones granted to the Portuguese. The Dutch had not yet been able to break the supremacy of the Catholic Portuguese, who had been active in Japan since 1570, trading silk from China to Japan and exporting silver and copper from there to the Chinese market. Even Caron's proposal to sell silk 20 percent cheaper than the Portuguese was not accepted by the Japanese, who

showed themselves very well informed about the costs and profits of the Dutch. They also discussed military actions against the Portuguese settlement in Macao, and against Manila and Formosa, but these actions were not carried out because the Shimabara Rebellion of 1637 changed the whole situation at one blow.

Although the persecution of Christians in the years 1614, 1619 and 1627 had been severe on the peninsula of Shimabara on western Kyushu,²⁶ they were exceeded by the campaigns in the 1630s. The Japanese Christians had been in opposition against the local Daimyo and combined their protests against the prince with the religious hope of redemption of the worldly conditions. After local battles at the end of 1637, the rebellion assumed such proportions that national defence seemed the only solution. The Dutch played, unwillingly, a certain role in this quarrel,

The Dutch Factory of Dejima Island.



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because the *opperhoofd*, Nicolaes Couckebacker, was taken into custody for improper behaviour. He was released but had to confirm to Japanese officials that he would support the administration if necessary. Now the time had come, and the Dutch supported the Japanese troops with five cannons, ten barrels of gunpowder and ships. The 11th of April 1638 saw the last battle: all the Japanese Christians were killed. Although no European priests were found among the dead, from then on Japanese officials were very suspicious concerning new infiltrations. Couckebacker was not received personally by the Shogun during his last journey to Edo. He recommended Caron as his successor as *opperhoofd*, which suggestion was accepted by the central directorate of the VOC. In February 1639 Caron was installed as *opperhoofd* of Dejima.

OPPERHOOFD DURING A DIFFICULT PERIOD (1639-1641)

From now on the Dutch held an advantageous position in Japan, and their position marked as well the decline and end of the Portuguese influence in and trade with Japan. The decision of the Japanese was not only founded on gifts but on the capacities of the Dutch as merchants and on the conclusions which the Japanese drew from the Shimabara rebellion. When the next Portuguese ship reached Japan in July 1639 they were informed that their *sejour* was no longer welcome, and they were forbidden under pain of death to enter Japan again. However, only one year later Caron was informed that a Portuguese ship had landed in Nagasaki. All the Portuguese were sentenced to death. At the same time the Dutch imports to Japan increased to the nearly incredible amount of six and a half million florins.

The atmosphere was not friendly. From now on the Japanese officials had a deep distrust of all foreigners, meaning Christians. At the end of 1640 the anti-Christian movement arose: Caron was summoned to the chief inquisitor, who informed him that the Japanese knew that the Dutch were also Christians. For this reason he ordered the Dutch to demolish the factory in Hirado. They were forbidden to celebrate Sundays, and the *opperhoofd* of the factory had to leave Japan after one year. It is a sign of the presence of mind of Caron and his deep understanding of the mentality of the Japanese that he listened to the sentence stone-faced, accepted it and did not hesitate to carry out the

Japanese demand. He knew very well that he himself and the Dutch would have suffered the same fate as the Portuguese (of which he had been informed secretly).

Caron started immediately with the demolition of the factory. Although the Japanese officials had a more positive attitude toward him, he felt that he had to leave the country to avoid the risk of endangering Dutch trade as a whole. He had decided independently and correctly from his own knowledge of the Japanese mentality, as was described by the German Johann Jacob Merklein, who knew Caron personally from Batavia. Although he acted in favour of the Dutch position, his own situation, which must have seemed to be rather strange, was damaged. What Merklein acknowledged as correct behaviour was not understandable to later authors.²⁷

AT THE TOP OF THE VOC AND RESIGNATION (1641-1664)

Caron left Japan on 15th February 1641 after more than twenty years of successful acting by order of the VOC. When he came to Batavia he was named by reason of his merits to be extraordinary councillor and member of the *Raad van Indië*, the highest executive committee of the VOC under the direction of the governor general. In November of the same year he was named admiral of the return fleet, with which he reached the Netherlands in 1642. Here he gave a report to the *Heeren XVII*, the highest administrative committee of the VOC, comprised of representatives of the seventeen provinces. Caron's report was highly esteemed, and he left with a remarkable donation.

In 1643 Caron left the Netherlands again bound for Batavia with new orders. Under Governor General Antonio van Diemen, Caron was responsible for the success of the military action against the Portuguese in Ceylon. They had been there when the first Dutch came to the island in 1602 and 1603. Although they controlled the coastal provinces, they were in sharp conflict with the ruler of Ceylon, who would have liked to see the end of the Portuguese occupation earlier rather than later. In 1638 this ruler made a pact with the Dutch to expel the Portuguese finally from the island.

During the following years the fight between the hostile parties continued and in 1641, when the Dutch learned of the separation of Portugal from the

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Spanish crown, which had taken place in December 1640, they decided to step in more forcefully. One could reckon that the Portuguese had not had the possibility under the circumstances to expand their political and economic power in Asia. Caron reached Ceylon in December 1643 with a fleet of eleven ships and 1,700 men, among them 950 soldiers. The first battle was won by the Dutch only because of the disunity of the Portuguese commanders. Although Caron had not defeated the Portuguese who retired to Colombo (which the Dutch could not attack because of its strong forts), he had managed to occupy the cinnamon-producing districts.

The consequence was that Caron was named governor of Formosa where the Dutch had maintained a flourishing and expanding factory since 1624. This factory was extremely important as a supply base for the yearly fleets bound for Macao and Manila as well as a base for the fight against Chinese pirates, who were a considerable danger in the China Sea. Caron had hardly checked the books when he fell so ill that he had to leave the business to his substitute. Nevertheless, he had a part in the regulation of coal and sulphur mining and reinforced the fortification of the Dutch establishments. He informed the central government in Batavia of the possibilities of improvement of the soil and helped the Protestant missionaries. After some time the whole west coast was in the hands of the Dutch. The profits were high, to the satisfaction of Caron as well as of the VOC. In March 1646 Caron returned to the VOC in Batavia.

The *Heeren XVII* had decided to reorganize the administration in Batavia, and within this context in 1647 Caron was named general director of the VOC—the second highest rank within the company directly after the governor general. This was a post with immense influence and much responsibility. The governor general at that time was Cornelis van der Lijn, a friend of Caron's. Nothing extraordinary happened during this period, and Caron himself tried to consolidate trade with Japan, Ambon and the Coromandel Coast as well as maintaining the Dutch monopoly in Southeast Asia. At the same time he still had an eye on Japan and gave leaving missions good orders and support.

Nevertheless, from one moment to another the tide began to turn. The directors in the Netherlands started to be doubtful about the lawfulness of the

actions of Van der Lijn and Caron; they were said to have collected great personal fortunes to the disadvantage of the VOC. These insinuations and accusations were fruitful in these years when the VOC fought permanently against the increasing private trade of many of its employees. Van der Lijn and Caron were removed and left Batavia in 1651. While Van der Lijn could defend himself, probably it was not possible for Caron to get an honourable dismissal. In 1652 he left the VOC, securing all of his considerable financial assets, which in the Chamber of Amsterdam reached an amount of 61,000 florins.

CARON'S SECOND CAREER IN THE FRENCH EAST-INDIA-COMPANY (1664-1673)

For the next fourteen years the life of Caron as a citizen of The Hague is mostly unknown. In 1662 the VOC offered him the post of *staatsraad* (state councillor) in Batavia, which he declined because it did not fit his expectations concerning rank and prestige, but very soon his life was to take an unexpected turn.

On the 1st of September 1664 Jean-Baptiste Colbert founded, under the patronage of King Louis XIV, the French East-Indian Company (*Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales*), and, of course, Caron was one of the very few who were able to head this enterprise. In 1665, to the greatest displeasure of the VOC, the French and Caron signed a contract. Not only had Caron provoked his former employer, he also broke the rules because all former VOC members were forbidden to occupy a similar post in another company after having left the VOC. Only political circumstances saved Caron from prosecution for this 'high treason' because the Dutch were fighting desperately against the British and trying eagerly to win the French as allies. Under these circumstances Caron was allowed to move to Paris with his family and his whole private fortune.

Only a few weeks later he presented to Colbert a detailed plan for the company and proposed as the central base of the new company one of the Bangka Islands east of Sumatra—a strategically optimal position at the intersection of all routes to India, to the Spice Islands as well as to Siam (Thailand), China and Japan. Due to his official experiences in Japan, he was able to formulate very detailed orders, including the behaviour of the legation and the gifts for the Japanese officials.²⁸

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Colbert was completely convinced by the proposals of Caron and named him director of the enterprise.

The journey to the Indies that Caron started in March 1666 with ten ships and 2,000 men was very unlucky, with huge losses of staff and great delay, so that Madagascar was reached only in March 1667. When Caron reached Surat in February 1668 he found rather disadvantageous circumstances. The economic expectations could not be met, and the spirit in the French colony was so negative that even the British noticed the deep disagreements among the French. By his untiring activity and zeal Caron managed to calm down the situation so that by the end of 1670 he could say that French trade in India was established. Besides Surat, he had founded outposts in Rajpur, Mirza and Tellicherry on the western coast of the subcontinent and in Masulipatnam on the eastern coast.

Now Caron began to initiate trade with Japan and China. His plan was to install a factory in Bantam. There he was surprised by the message that the company would send two more directors who should act at his side, supported by strong French troops who would give the French enterprises the necessary military support. Back in Surat he had already met French ships with orders to team up with the Portuguese to fight the Dutch. At the time Caron was highly honoured by the membership of the (Catholic) order of Saint Michel, which was definitely a rare honour for the convinced Protestant he was.

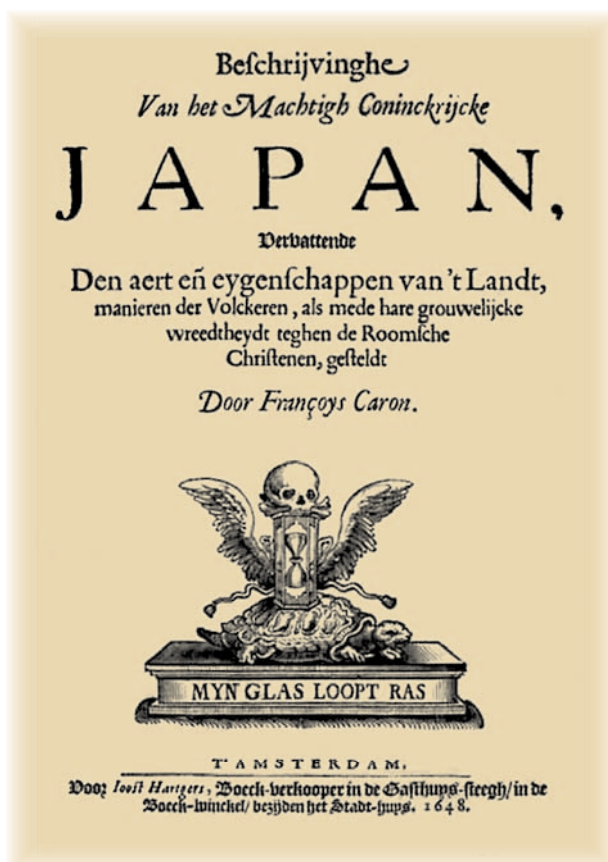
The alliance with the Portuguese that Caron tried to establish in 1672 in Goa failed, but he reached a contract of support with the ruler of the Malabar coast. Finally, the French obtained in March 1672 a bay in Ceylon, whose harbour was hastily fortified, but already in May of the same year the Dutch Rijklooff van Goens appeared before the harbour with a fleet and started a blockade. Caron pleaded in a letter to the head of the company for a diplomatic procedure in order not to endanger the French position and stressing the advantages of Trincomalee as a base for the French troops and fleets. After having left Trincomalee, Caron learned that the French and British had attacked the Netherlands earlier that year, which fact made the hostile mood in Asia understandable.

Instead of building a base near Singapore—as planned before in order to seize the richly loaded ships from Japan and China—the French only occupied Mailapur on the Coromandel coast. Caron was

invited to defend his part of the success at the court in Paris—in fact an elegant solution to get him out of the way. On the way to France his ship sank in a heavy storm off the Portuguese coast on 5th April 1673, and Caron drowned. Thus ended a restless life that was crowned by great successes as well as many vicissitudes.

The significance of François Caron lies firstly in his function as a key personality for the Dutch trade with East Asia between 1619 and 1641. His ability to answer very diplomatically to the Japanese mentality, in combination with his knowledge as a merchant and his ability to achieve the best for the VOC in very critical situations had been acknowledged by all sides. His perfect command of the Japanese language made it possible for him to gain information in teahouses as well as in official receptions and to move without limits through the land—which was not possible for his successors. All this gave him a strong position for the collection of new impressions and ideas.

The Dutch 1646's edition of *Beschrijvinghe van het machtigh Coninckrijck Japan*.



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The period after he left the VOC was not as successful as his years with the mighty company. As a Protestant director in a company of a Catholic kingdom, from the first day on Caron had a curb on his activities. In spite of the Westfalian Peace of 1648, religious barriers continued to exist, and so Caron had to fight against much opposition and resistance, which were considerable obstacles against the realization of his plans. In addition to that, a certain pride and lust for power made it difficult for people in his environment to cope with him in a constructive way. With his apparently limitless energy and his great talent for organisation, Caron was a typical personality of the Baroque era who made possible the planning and realization of giant projects and whose influence was felt not only in the arts and architecture but also led to the formation of economics and politics.

THE EDITIONS OF CARON'S
*BESCHRIJVINGHE VAN HET MACHTIGH
CONINCKRIJCK IAPAN*

Caron did not write his description of Japan in 1636 as a free author but in answer to a questionnaire from his superior Philip Lukasz, who was at that time general director of the VOC in Batavia.²⁹ Because he had to write the text during a phase of intensive activities in Japan, it is understandable that the text is rather short and unpretentious.³⁰ In addition, he did not plan to publish it because two larger descriptions of Japan had appeared on the market.³¹ A short printing history of his book can show some of the mechanisms of the book market and book reception in the Early Modern Period.³²

The first Dutch edition, *Beschrijvinghe van het machtigh Coninckrijck Iapan, gestelt door Francoys Caron, Directeur des Compagnies negotie aldaer, ende met eenige aenteekeningen vermeerderd door Hendrick Hagenauer*, appeared in 1645 as the second volume of the series *Begin ende Voortganch der Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, which was edited by Isaac Commelin in Amsterdam and contained also several previously unpublished texts concerning Japan and Siam. In 1646 this edition was reprinted twice, and in 1648, 1649 and 1652 new editions appeared at the publishing house of Joost Hartgers in Amsterdam nearly unchanged. In 1661 Johannes Tongerloo in The Hague published a new



The 1671's English edition, *A true Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam*.

edition, which was reprinted in the same year as well as in 1662. The earlier editions had been printed without the knowledge of Caron, but he revised the Tongerloo editions carefully. Tongerloo added illustrations, which are nevertheless without any value in terms of the representation of Japanese reality; his map of Japan is extremely inaccurate. Tongerloo's purpose was apparently only to popularize the book.

In 1662 the first English edition appeared in the compilation *The Voyages and Travels of J. Albert de Mandelslo [...] into the East Indies* (London: printed for J. Starkey and T. Basset) without naming the source and the author. This translation by John Davies came after the French translation of a German edition of Mandelslo in 1659 of Abraham de Wicquefort, and appeared again in 1669. In 1663 there appeared in London *A true Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam. Written Originally in Dutch by Francis Caron And Joost Schorten [!]: And now rendred into*

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English by Capt. Roger Manley. The second edition of this English translation lacks the reproduction of some illustrations and other alterations. Manley's translation was reprinted in 1811 in the seventh volume of John Pinkerton's *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*.

1663 was the year of another German edition.³³ This version was translated by Johann Jacob Merklein from the Dutch, which was stressed by the learned editor and polyhistorian Christoph Arnold of Nuremberg. Caron's text is followed by eleven other texts of Dutch, Spanish and German writers who experienced the culture of Japan or Southeast Asia, allowing the reader to inform himself from the best and still current information at that time.

The next German edition appeared in 1672. Entitled *Wahrhaftige Beschreibungen dreyer mächtigen Königreiche Japan, Siam, und Corea. Benebenst noch vielen andern im Vorbericht vermeldten Sachen: So mit neuen Anmerkungen und schönen Kupferblättern/ von Christoph Arnold/ vermehrt/ verbessert/ und geziert. Denen noch beygefüget Johann Jacob Merckleins/ von Winsheim/ Ost-Indianische Reise: Welche er im Jahre 1644 löblich angenommen/ und im Jahre 1653 glücklich vollendet. Samt einem nothwendigen Register. [...]* Nürnberg/ In Verlegung Michael und Joh. Friederich Endters, it contained seventeen reports, including one from Montanus, letters of Jesuit priests and other travel accounts. The illustrations were taken from the Dutch edition of 1661 and enriched by other copperplates.

The first French edition is a translation of de Wicquefort in *Suite de la Relation du Voyage en Moscovie, Tartarie, et Perse, avec celui de I. A. De Mandelslo aux Indes Orientales* after an unknown German version. A second French edition of Caron's work appeared only in 1673 in the second part of Jean de Thevenot's *Relations de divers Voyages curieux*. The translation is by Thevenot himself, with some additions after the Dutch edition of 1661; it appeared again in 1732 in another French collection of travel accounts in Amsterdam. Two Latin editions of 1649 (Amsterdam) and 1673 (Cambridge) show the still living interest of the late humanistic society, which was nevertheless in decline. Finally, the book of Caron was translated into Swedish in 1667 and 1674, and in 1693 into Italian, which is added here for the reason of curiosity.

The numerous editions, translations and reprints until 1732 show an extremely vivid public

interest in the whole of Europe. Because copyright was not yet invented, it is useless to judge the nearly uncountable omissions, changes, shortenings and other alterations; the editor or printer in charge changed the texts after his feeling for the actual resonance of the public readership. Another fact is more interesting: no other book on Japan before Engelbert Kaempfer's *History of Japan* in 1727 (and later editions) was received on such a broad scale.³⁴ The reason is that the information on Japan in the first half of the 17th century focused upon far less differentiated themes and contents, being predominantly reports of the Jesuits with their always extensive descriptions of the persecution of Christians in Japan.³⁵ For this reason, it is understandable that Caron's book attracted the highest interest because it was not written from secondary sources but based on his own experience. Even the first editor of Kaempfer's *History of Japan*, Johann Caspar Scheuchzer, wrote in 1727 in his introduction within the frame of an overview of the literature on Japan, not uncritically but in the tone of acknowledgement and respect: 'The account of Japan by Francis Caron, who was the Director of the Dutch Trade there, is in proportion to its shortness, beyond question one of the best extant, though not altogether without mistakes.'³⁶

STRUCTURE, STYLE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF CARON'S *BESCHRIJVINGHE*

Caron's text is the work of a practical thinking man and not of one who thinks theoretically about Japan. He writes within certain European traditions and regulations of written production. Also, the questions on which his report is based are founded in the tradition of European thinking. It is the genre of state description or description of a region. One can compare the text of Caron with that of Bernhard Varenius, whose *Descriptio Regni Japoniae* was published in 1649, i.e. only some years before the first edition of Caron's book. Varenius chose a form that is indebted to the 'Geographia specialis' as opposed to the 'Geographia generalis' which was formulated by the thinker Bartholomäus Keckermann (1571-1608).³⁷ The 'special geography' deals with the conditions of a country: principally geographical factors such as extension or quality of the soil, social components such as history and characteristic features

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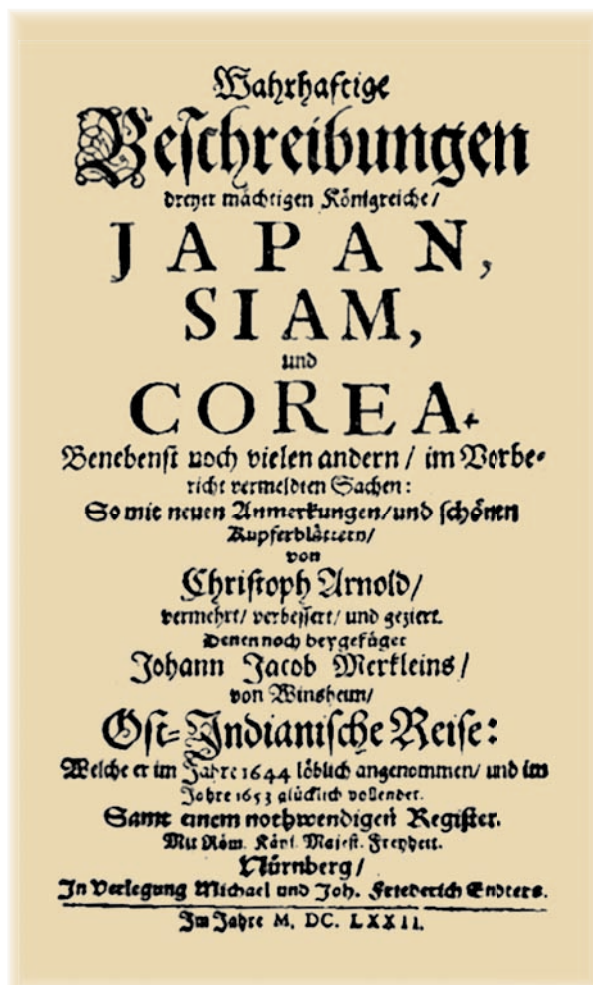
of the inhabitants, manners and habits, language, religion, administration as well as cosmological references and astrological influences.

We find the same system in Caron's text: questions 1 (extension of the country), 28 (fauna) and 29 (therapeutic water) are related to geographical factors; questions 3 to 11, 15 to 27 and 30 and 31 touch upon social components; the cosmological-religious references are touched upon (with a certain extension of the notion) by the very short answer to questions 12 to 14 concerning the forms of religious veneration. The answering of the questions is not systematically organized, and quite a number of items are missing (i.e. flora, rice cultivation, Japanese medicine with acupuncture and moxibustion, sea fauna, arts and crafts do not appear). Because Caron's text is not a theoretical treatise but a report directed to his superior, Philip Lukasz, he may have had in mind primarily to answer his questions. Likewise, it may be added, the special geography of Varenius' book on Japan also lacks certain aspects; but working on a compilation, he could accumulate information more easily.

Lukasz' questions to Caron did not aim to fulfil the topical scheme of a description of a region or a state. He was mainly interested in receiving from Caron directly useful information.³⁸ An attempt to situate Caron's report within inter-textual relations is senseless because Caron did not need to study European sources to write his own description of Japan due to his long practical experience in the country. A look at the title of the first Dutch edition is clarifying because it highlights

certain religious aspects: '*Den aert en eygenschappen van't Landt, manieren der Volckeren, als mede hare grouwelijcke wreedtheydt teghen de Roomsche Christenen, gesteldt Door François Caron*'.³⁹ The 1661 edition is more explicit and says, '*in verscheyde Vragen, betreffende des selfs Regiering, Coophandel, maniere van Leven, strenge Justitie &c. voorgesteld door den Heer Philips Lucas,*

Directeur Generael wegens den Nederlandsen Staet in India, ende door de Heer Francoys Caron, President over Comp. ommeslach in Iappan, beantwoort inden Iare 1636'.⁴⁰ In the first title the cruel persecution of Christians is equal to the descriptive aspect, unlike the second title where the cultural aspect is more dominant, and the persecution of Christians is eliminated completely. At the time it did not play any further role within the relation between Japan and Europe. The change in the formulation of the titles makes clear the intention and strategy of the publisher: Caron is mentioned as the author in both titles, but in the second the regional information is transformed into a historical report because the actors and the actions had become part of the past. The German title, on the other hand,⁴¹



The 1672's German edition, *Wahrhaftige Beschreibungen dreyer mächtigen Königreiche Japan, Siam, und Corea*.

had to stress the truthfulness (*Wahrhaftigkeit*) twenty-seven years (one generation!) after the text had been written, with the prefaces of the editor and the printer underlining the principles of the edition and its seriousness. This was an act of witness, as was usual in many travel reports of those days.⁴² This excursion into the history of the reception of Caron's report shows their mechanics and also the acknowledged quality of Caron's text.

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The information about the organization of official power in Japan and on the persecution of Christians was extremely useful for the Dutch in order to know more about the structure of the state and its instruments. Also, the mentality of the people was informative because Japanese culture was completely different from European cultures and even built a unique mentality in Asia. Of course Caron, as a man of practical life, wrote his information in a terminology which, strictly speaking, was inadequate but gave the reader an impression of what he was writing about. He did not write 'temple' but 'church', not 'shogun' but 'king', and so each European reader had a clear vision of the strange culture. In the same way, his formulations were orientated to the rhetorical means of the 'exemplum'. Instead of giving long explanations, he inserts a little story which is taken from his rich experience in the land. The map and the illustrations (suicide, torture, audience of the lords at the shogun, the crucifixion of a criminal and the burning of

Christians) serve as 'exemplum' too, because they show punishments which were thinkable in Europe too, but the Japanese suicide was so strange that it underlined the exotic character of this land.⁴³ The official audience, finally, was a realistic scene witnessed by the Dutch each year. On the other hand, he gives a list of twenty-five pages listing the ranks and incomes of Japanese nobles. Nobody in Europe would have been able to analyze this list, but it shows that Japan was, in spite of its 'exoticness', to a degree a civilized country with a socially and hierarchically structured society.⁴⁴

In short, this little book presented Japan to the European reader in a more concrete and vivid way. This is the reason for its astonishing public success in Europe. The amount of new and first-hand information had never before been so high. For the first time the East Asian country was liberated from misrepresenting stereotypes, even if an 'end of the exotic view' of Japan was still far away. **RG**

NOTES

- 1 See Haberland, "Zwischen Wunderkammer und Forschungsbericht," passim.
- 2 Cf. Pauly, *Sakoku, to the background of the Japanese way into the national seclusion*. After the uprising of Shimabara, on 5 July 1639, Iemitsu Tokugawa declared finally that foreigners were forbidden to stay in Japan.
- 3 Cf. Kreiner, "Das Bild Japans in der europäischen Geistesgeschichte," pp. 13-18.
- 4 Concerning the scantiness of the literary transfer at the beginning of the 17th century, cf. Kapitza, "Japan in der deutschen Literatur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," pp. 49-51.
- 5 *Nippon. Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben- und Schutzländern*. Leiden 1832-1851.
- 6 *Heutiges Japan. In einer zweifachen Hoff reise durchgeschauet und beschrieben etc.*
- 7 Cf. Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*. Vol. 1. München: C. H. Beck, 1987, pp. 35-58; concerning the principle of social order about 1600 cf. Erich Trunz, "Der deutsche Späthumanismus um 1600 als Standeskultur." In: same author, *Deutsche Literatur zwischen Späthumanismus und Barock. Acht Studien*. München: C. H. Beck, 1995, pp. 7-83. His analysis can be applied to other European countries.
- 8 Cf. *Macrocosmos in Microcosmo. Die Welt in der Stube. Zur Geschichte des Sammelns 1450 bis 1800*. Andreas Grote (ed.). Opladen: 1994 (Berliner Schriften zur Museumskunde, Bd. 10); Julius Schlosser, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätrenaissance. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sammelwesens*. 2nd ed. revised and augmented, Braunschweig: 1978.
- 9 Cf. Erwin Ackerknecht, *Kurze Geschichte der Medizin*. Stuttgart: Enke, 1967, pp. 100-112, Karl Ed. Rothschild, *Konzepte der Medizin in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*. Stuttgart: Hippokrates Verlag, 1978, pp. 164-167. Irmgard Müller, "Arzneien für den 'gemeinen Mann.' Zur Vorstellung materieller und immaterieller Wirkungen stofflicher Substrate in der Medizin des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts." In: Joachim Telle (Ed.), *Pharmazie und der gemeine Mann. Hausarznei und Apotheke in der frühen Neuzeit. Erläutert anhand deutsche Fachschriften der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel und pharmazeutischer Geräte des Deutschen Apotheken-Museums Heidelberg*. 2nd revised ed. Weinheim, New York: 1988, pp. 27-34. Concerning the scientific-historical background cf. E. J. Dijksterhuis, *Die Mechanisierung des Weltbildes*. Berlin, Göttingen, Heidelberg: Springer Verlag, 1956.
- 10 About the development of the conception of academies within the frame of the history of sciences, cf. Conrad Grau, *Die Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Eine deutsche Gelehrtenengesellschaft in drei Jahrhunderten*. Heidelberg, Berlin, Oxford: Spektrum Akademischer Verlag, 1993, pp. 14-24.
- 11 The historical development is described with many details in the bulky monograph of Hamann, *Der Eintritt der südlichen Hemisphäre in die europäische Geschichte*; Reinhard, *Geschichte der europäischen Expansion*, Vol. 1, pp. 28-49; Meyn, Mimmler, Partenheimer-Bein, Schmitt (Hrsg.), *Die großen Entdeckungen*, Vol. 2, pp. 50-88, draw a great line by presenting many historical documents.
- 12 The documents concerning the expansion of the Europeans into the Indo-Asiatic space under the aspects of political power and by reason of extreme capitalistic thinking are presented in *Die großen Entdeckungen*. Ed. Meyn, Mimmler, Partenheimer-Bein and Schmitt, especially ch. 7 and 8. Also basic reading is Hamann, *Der Eintritt der südlichen Hemisphäre in die europäische Geschichte*. Cf. also Reinhard, *Geschichte der europäischen Expansion*, Vol. 1, ch. 10 and 11.
- 13 The history of the VOC is broadly presented by Pieter van Dam [and others], *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*. 6 vols. Den Haag 1927-1954; cf. also the overviews of Boxer, *The Dutch*

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- Seaborne Empire 1600-1800* and Gastra, "Die Vereinigte Ostindische Compagnie der Niederlande - ein Abriss ihrer Geschichte." Still of interest concerning Japan is Nachod, *Die Beziehungen der Niederländischen Ostindischen Kompagnie zu Japan*.
- 14 In this context are to be seen the fruitless attempts of Prussia to build up political and economical power in Persia; cf. Hundt, 'Woraus nichts geworden'. *Brandenburg-Preußens Handel mit Persien (1668-1720)*.
 - 15 Cf. Nachod, *Die Beziehungen der Niederländischen Ostindischen Kompagnie zu Japan*, p. 73.
 - 16 Concerning hygiene and mortality on Asia-bound ships cf. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800*, pp. 85-93.
 - 17 *De wereld binnen handbereik. Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585-1735*. Ed. Ellinoor Bergvelt and Renée Kistemaker. Vol. 1: Aufsätze; Vol. 2: Catalogus. Zwolle: Waanders, 1992. See also Ayers, Impey, Mallet (ed.), *Porcelain for Palaces*.
 - 18 This very short overview of the political and economical history of Japan from the 16th to the 17th century within the contact and confrontation with the European powers follows mainly the following studies: Hall (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Japan*; Hanley, *Everyday Things in Premodern Japan*; Lehmann, *The Roots of Modern Japan*; Massarella, *A World Elsewhere. Europe's Encounter with Japan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*; Murdoch, *A History of Japan*; Totman, *Early Modern Japan*.
 - 19 On the genealogical tree of the family of Hideyoshi see Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, p. 200.
 - 20 Concerning the government of Oda Nobunaga and Hideyoshi see Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, pp. 40-50.
 - 21 From this word rises the notion *Edo bakufu*, i.e. the Edo shogunate. From 1590 to 1657 the population of Edo grew from about 30,000 to over half a million. Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, p. 153.
 - 22 Concerning the improvements of the living conditions in Japan of the Tokugawa-era see Hanley, *Everyday Things in Premodern Japan*, pp. 1-50.
 - 23 Pauly, *Sakoku*. For the backgrounds of the Japanese way into the national seclusion under the Tokugawa cf. s. 21f. See also Hall (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Japan*, pp. 359-372.
 - 24 About this complex of problems under Iemitsu see Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, pp. 107-117.
 - 25 The following biographical information is obligated to the extensive, exact and still valid biography of Caron by Boxer, in *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan & Siam*, ed. Boxer, pp. xv-cxxix. Additional and shorter information are in (here are given only the most important articles and monographs): *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne* (Michaud) [...]. Ouvrage rédigé par une Société de Gens de Lettres et de Savans. Paris, Vol. 7 (1854), p. 28; *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* [...] Publiée [...] sous la Direction de M. [...] Hoefer. Paris, Vol. 7 (1863), pp. 812f.; *Biographie Nationale publiée par l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. Bruxelles, Vol. 3 (1872), pp. 334-337; *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* [...]. Nieuwe Uitgaaf. Haarlem, Vol. III (ca. 1880), pp. 59f.; *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*. Onder red. van P. C. Molhuysen, P. J. Blok en Fr. K. H. Kossmann. Leiden, Vol. 8 (1930), pp. 255-259; *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*. Ed. J. Balteau [a.o.]. Paris, Vol. 7 (1956), pp. 1200f.; Dietmar Henze, *Enzyklopädie der Entdecker und Erforscher der Erde*. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt Vol. 1 (1978), p. 502; Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol. 3, 1, pp. 459f.
 - 26 The description follows the meticulous analysis of Riess, "Der Aufstand von Shimabara," and Nachod, *Die Beziehungen der Niederländischen Ostindischen Kompagnie zu Japan*, pp. 259-270; cf. on further political and economical implications Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, pp. 308-397.
 - 27 It is interesting that Engelbert Kaempfer wrote (my translation): 'Our actual chief-interpreter who is already ninety years old [...]
- ascribed to the pride conduct of our resident at that time, Caron, the greatest fault causing this change [of the attitude of the Japanese towards the Dutch]. He said to me that the Japanese nation cannot bear the pride of merchants because they are in this country reckoned among the fourth and last class of people. For this reason the grand-judge of Miaco, at the same time first director of all foreign affairs, was by Caron's superciliousness so much offended, that one would neither give him an audience in Miaco nor receive the presents of the noble Company from him. Hence he presented to the Shogun the bad intention of the Dutch by building a warehouse and caused therefore the rapid change of humour.' Kaempfer, *Geschichte und Beschreibung von Japan* (1964), Vol. II, pp. 104f. It is obvious how a distance of about fifty years makes it difficult to understand the real circumstances.
- 28 In his works "Mémoire pour l'établissement du commerce au Japon [...] par Mr. Caron," and "Instruction pour François Caron, Envoyé du Roi de France & de Navarre à l'Empereur du Japon, pour lui délivrer la lettre & le présent de Sa Majesté: & suivant laquelle il se conduira pour l'exécution des affaires projetées, & qui lui sont commises," both in *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*. Amsterdam: 1732, Vol. IV, pp. 150-194.
 - 29 Compare *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan & Siam*, ed. Boxer, S. cxxviii f.
 - 30 Boxer writes rightly: 'At first sight Caron's Description of Japan is apt to appear disappointing. The whole thing is compressed into some ninety small octavo pages, and compared with the monumental works of Kaempfer or Von Siebold, or with the detailed if at times unduly long-winded narratives of the Portuguese Jesuits, it seems a rather superficial effort for a resident in the country of fifteen years' standing, as Caron was when he wrote it.' *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan & Siam*, ed. Boxer, S. cxxviii. A common characterizing of the report of Caron in Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol. 3, 4, pp. 1855-1866.
 - 31 Besides numerous printed letters of Jesuits and other works in which the spreading of the faith and the prosecution of the Christians are reported and as well as numerous prints of the sensational visit of the four Japanese princes to Pope Gregory XIII in 1585 (bibliographically prepared in Boscaro, *Sixteenth Century European Printed Works on the First Japanese Mission to Europe*), there were many travel reports, atlases and learned works in which Japan was treated rather extensively. In this context are only named some of the texts of the 17th century which appeared before the book of Caron: Thomas Herbert, *Some Yeares Travels into divers Parts of Asia and Afrique* (London, 1638); Gerhard Mercators Atlas (Latin edition: Amsterdam, 1607, English edition: Amsterdam, 1636); *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam composta pello Padre João Rodriguez Portuguez da Companhia de Iesu dividida em tres livros*. [...] ([Nagasaki], 1604, Manila, 1620). With these and other books the interested as well as learned reader could inform himself about numerous aspects of Japanese culture. Also in literary works Japan was thematized, for instance in plays presented in schools in the Early Modern Period, such as the ones written by Mateo Alemán (*Guzmán de Alfarache* 1599, German 1626), Lope de Vega or by Johann Michael Moscherosch.
 - 32 The following bibliographical notes are after Boxer, who was able to revise the existing editions in a meticulous analysis because he owned the rarest editions himself. *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan & Siam*, ed. Boxer, pp. 169-180.
 - 33 The bibliographical proof is also in Cordier, Sp. 339-343; here Sp. 341f.; *Bibliographischer Alt-Japan-Katalog* 1542-1853, pp. 65-67; here p. 66.
 - 34 Concerning the diffusion of Kaempfer's report in the 18th century see the bibliography of Hüls in *Kaempfer zum 330. Geburtstag*. Wägen: Lemgo, 1982, pp. 209-258; here pp. 227-231. In the supplementary volume to the reprint of *Geschichte und Beschreibung von Japan* (Berlin,

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- New York: Springer Verlag, 1980); Kapitza, *Engelbert Kaempfer und die europäische Aufklärung* in Kaempfer, *Geschichte und Beschreibung von Japan. Aus den Originalhandschriften des Verfassers*; and Hüls "Zur Geschichte des Drucks von Kaempfers Geschichte und Beschreibung von Japan," devote themselves to the reception of Kaempfer in the 18th century.
- 35 See Kleinschmidt, in the first line of p. 150, concerning Funccius (Funcke), who refers still in 1673 to Varenius and Caron as main sources. See also Peter Kapitza, *Japan in Europa* (München: Iudicium 1990), passim.
- 36 Here quoted after: [Kaempfer], *The History of Japan*, Vol. 1, p. lxxvii.
- 37 Compare Manfred Büttner, "Die Neuausrichtung der Geographie im 17. Jahrhundert durch Bartholomäus Keckermann. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Geographie in ihren Beziehungen zur Theologie und Philosophie." In: same author (ed.), *Religion/Umwelt-Forschung im Aufbruch*. Bochum: 1989 (Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Geowissenschaften und Religion/Umwelt-Forschung, Vol. 2), pp. 211-227. See also Schwind in Varenius, *Descriptio Japoniae* pp. XXI-XXVI.
- 38 The only reference of "field studies" to topical and rhetorical traditions is not given as Pekar claims. Of course Caron, like his successors Olearius and Kaempfer, is orientated at the linguistic patterns of his time. However, the facts are taken not from literature but from reality.
- 39 'The kind and qualities of the country, the ways of life of the people as well as their cruel fury against the roman Christians, written by François Caron.' *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan & Siam*, ed. Boxer, pp. 171; *Bibliographischer Alt-Japan-Katalog*, p. 65, Nr. 280.
- 40 'from different questions concerning the own government, trade and kind of life, rigorous jurisdiction etc., asked by Philip Lukasz, general director of the Dutch state in India, and answered by François Caron, president of the employees of the company in Japan, in 1636.' *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan & Siam*, ed. Charles R. Boxer, Ibid.; *Bibliographischer Alt-Japan-Katalog*, Ibid. Nr. 283.
- 41 *François Carons wahrhaftige Beschreibung des Königreichs Japan, aus dem Niederländischen von Johann Jacob Mercklein ins Hochdeutsche übersetzt und nach der neuen Ausgabe von 1661, die der Autor selbst durchgesehen hat, spürbar verbessert.*
- 42 See Wolfgang Neuber, "Zur Gattungspoetik des Reiseberichts," p. 57f.
- 43 Concerning stereotypes of European perception of Japanese manners in travel accounts of the 17th century see Haberland, "Hollander Mann schlemm Mann"; concerning the reception of Asia in Europe see Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*; concerning the European view on Asiatic cultures see Gewecke, *Wie die neue Welt in die alte kam*, pp. 59-87.
- 44 Concerning the development of the image of Japan before Kaempfer see Kreiner, *Deutschland - Japan. Die frühen Jahrhunderte*, p. 23. Kreiner states rightly on the basis of the quoted texts that very early there existed a 'very good founded knowledge about this country' (my translation); Ibid., p. 25.

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