

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: EMPIRICISM AND EXCHANGE: DUTCH-
 JAPANESE RELATIONS THROUGH
 MATERIAL CULTURE, 1600-1750

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This thesis will focus on unique modes of material culture exchange to shed light on the early relationship between the Dutch Republic and Japan in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. I will demonstrate that while exoticism and “otherness” animated this cross-cultural interaction, important commonalities between the two countries also merit examination. The rich and diverse material culture bequeathed by the Dutch-Japanese relationship, particularly when viewed in the context of “micro-exchanges” such as gift-giving and (anti-) religious ritual, offers an excellent means for exploring these similarities. Three case studies – the *Japonsche rok* (Japanese robe), Rembert Dodoens’s *Cruydt-Boeck* (Herbal), and bas-relief plaques of Christ and the Virgin Mary, which in Japan were transformed into *fumi-e* (踏み絵, “trampling images”) – will illuminate one of these commonalities: the simultaneous rise of empiricism in both the Dutch Republic and Japan.

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THROUGH MATERIAL CULTURE, 1600-1750.

By

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Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
2015

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my advisor, Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. for his tireless editing and wise guidance; Meredith Gill for her warm encouragement and for urging me to start writing before I was ready; and Alicia Volk, for her many valuable bibliographical and other recommendations, and for her excellent advice on writing strategically.

I owe a debt of gratitude to the many scholars who answered my questions, lent research advice, and pointed me in new directions: Karina Corrigan (Peabody Essex Museum), Louise Cort (Freer and Sackler), Menno Fitski (Rijksmuseum), Christine Guth (Royal College of Art), Christiaan Jörg (Groninger Museum), Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann (Princeton University), Noriko Kotani (Osaka University of Arts), Eleonora Luciano (National Gallery of Art), Mia Mochizuki (UC-Berkeley), Anthony Páez Mullan (Library of Congress), Natasha Reichle (Asian Art Museum of San Francisco), Nicole Rousmaniere (British Museum), Timon Screech (University of London), and Virginia Treanor (National Museum for Women in the Arts). Head Librarian Reiko Yoshimura graciously assisted me during my visits to the Freer-Sackler Library.

Finally, I am deeply grateful to my family for their help, support and guidance over the course of the thesis process: my parents, for providing child care, a quiet study spot, and understanding; my husband Tom, for his keen editing eye and boundless love and enthusiasm; and my dear son Julian, who reminds me of the importance of infusing one's work with humanity.

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Introduction: Material Culture and Micro-Exchanges

“Niets penne – waardighs voorgevallen” -- nothing happened worth mentioning. So wrote Hendrick Canzius, multiple times, over the course of the year (1681-2) he spent as chief factor at the Dutch settlement in Japan.¹ These four words offer a window into the often mundane nature of the centuries-long Dutch presence in Japan, countering the narrative of adventure and exoticism typically ascribed to their relationship.

A full exploration of Dutch-Japanese relations requires an appreciation of the daily habits, business, and exchanges of those who lived it. The search for the human element extends to modes of cross-cultural exchange. Trade was the primary form of economic exchange between the Dutch Republic² and Japan, thus it is logical to examine trade goods in order to gain more knowledge about their bilateral relationship. Looking at modes of exchange outside economic trade is even more instructive, however, as these often involve more direct “micro-exchanges” and personal contact between the giver and recipient. World maps, telescopes, painted seascapes, a chandelier, zebras, and perspective boxes were all acquired through methods outside of public or private trade.

This thesis will focus on less conventional forms of material exchange between the Dutch Republic and Japan in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It will demonstrate that while exoticism and “otherness” certainly played important roles in this cross-cultural interaction, there are also important commonalities that warrant further

¹ Ton Vermeulen, *The Deshima Dagregisters: Their Original Tables of Contents, Vol. 1: 1680-1690* (Leiden: Leiden Centre for the History of European Expansion, 1986) 16.

² The seven northern Netherlandish provinces declared their independence from Spain in 1579, and became known as the United Provinces or Dutch Republic. With the signing of the Treaty of Münster in 1648, the Dutch Republic gained official recognition of their independence from the Spanish empire. Kristin Lohse Belkin, *Rubens A&I* (London: Phaidon Press, 1998) 15. Mariët Westermann, *A Worldly Art: The Dutch Republic, 1585-1718* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1996) 17. Scholars sometimes use “Northern Netherlands,” “United Provinces,” and “Dutch Republic” interchangeably. For clarity, this thesis employs the appellation “Dutch Republic” throughout.

exploration. The rich and diverse material culture bequeathed by the Dutch-Japanese relationship, particularly when viewed in the context of in-person “micro-exchanges,” is an excellent means for examining these similarities.³ Three material culture case studies - - the Japanese robe (jp. 小袖 *kosode*, nl. *keizersrok* or *Japonsche rok*), two editions of Rembert Dodoens’s *Cruydt-Boeck* (Herbal), and images of Christ and the Virgin Mary, which in Japan were the subject of *fumi-e* (踏み絵, “trampling images”) – will illuminate the simultaneous rise of empiricism in both the Dutch Republic and Japan.

In exploring these three objects, this thesis will also demonstrate more generally the importance of material culture to cross-cultural studies. In order to more fully understand the relationship between two cultures, one must not limit oneself to methodologies focusing chiefly on visual culture, or on dematerializing, theoretical approaches. The value of these objects to our knowledge of Dutch-Japanese relations rests principally in their materiality: their tangibility, appearance, and function.

There are several reasons for the choice of these particular objects beyond simply their ability to illuminate a key similarity of Dutch and Japanese social context. First, they demonstrate the wide variety of materials transacted between the Dutch Republic and Japan in the early years of their relationship, as they include textiles, illustrated scientific treatises, and relief sculpture. Second, while Dutch-Japanese trade flourished in the seventeenth century, these three objects demand appreciation of the more unique avenues by which foreign objects were acquired or appropriated. Two were obtained through formal gift exchange between the shogun and Dutch East India Company

³ In this thesis, I will employ Sophie Woodward’s definition of “material culture:” “The study of material culture centers upon objects, their properties, and the materials that they are made of, and the ways in which these material facets are central to an understanding of culture and social relations.” Sophie Woodward, “Material Culture,” Oxford Bibliographies, accessed 15 Feb 2015, <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199766567/obo-9780199766567-0085.xml>.

(Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, hereafter VOC), either as a “regular” gift or special order (nl: *eis tot schenkagie*, or *eisen*), and the third has its origins in the arrival of Christian missionaries in the sixteenth century and was appropriated for an anti-religious ritual involving the VOC. It is worth noting that while these objects were exchanged and used outside of the realm of conventional trade, they are all products of the broader economic connection between the Dutch Republic and Japan. The exchange and appropriation of the robe, the herbal, and the *fumi-e* would not have occurred without the underpinning economic motives that propelled the Dutch-Japanese relationship.

The robe, the herbal, and the *fumi-e* embody the character of the early years of the Dutch-Japanese encounter. The robe was a sign of (albeit obligated) goodwill, the herbal a symbol of intellectual curiosity (one of the primary reasons the Dutch were allowed to reside in Japan while all other Europeans were banned), and the *fumi-e* a tangible symbol of the wariness and distrust that kept the VOC employees confined to an artificial island in Nagasaki Bay.

On a more practical note, these three case studies correspond to a wealth of extant objects held in museum and academic collections. Examples include a *Japonsche rok* at the Rijksmuseum, twenty-nine *fumi-e* at the Tokyo National Museum, and an edition of the *Cruydt-boeck* at Kanazawa University. Contemporary prints and paintings show how the robe and *fumi-e* were used by the Dutch and Japanese, respectively, and contemporary travelogues and novels provide lively accounts of the *fumi-e* in action.

The following exploration will show that when it comes to the application of material culture to cross-cultural relations, there is indeed much worth mentioning.

Chapter One: Historical Background: Dutch-Japanese Relations and Exchange

The Dutch arrival in Japan coincided somewhat neatly with both the dawn of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the Edo period, with the cargo ship *De Liefde* (“Love”) anchoring off the shores of Bungo province (present-day Oita prefecture) on April 19, 1600.⁴ The VOC would not be established for two more years, but privately sponsored voyages to countries in the Far East, Southeast Asia, Indian Ocean, Africa, and the Americas were flourishing.

That is not to say that every voyage was a success; in fact, *De Liefde* was the last survivor in a fleet of five ships that had departed Rotterdam on June 27, 1598 with the goal of sailing to the Moluccas, also known as the “Spice Islands” (in present-day Indonesia) (fig. 1).⁵ The ships’ owners had decided against the usual route around the Cape of Good Hope and across the Indian Ocean for fear of pirates, instead mandating that the fleet follow Sir Francis Drake’s westward path around South America and across the wide expanse of the Pacific.⁶

In April 1599, *De Liefde* and its sister ships *De Hoop* (“Hope”), *De Geloof* (“Faith”), *De Trouw* (“Loyalty”) and *De Blijde Boodschaap* (“Good Tidings”), entered the icy and treacherous waters of the Straits of Magellan. Only three emerged. *De Blijde Boodschaap* was taken by the Spanish in Chile and *De Geloof* reversed course, arriving back in Rotterdam in July 1600 with a depleted crew.⁷ The remaining trio sailed along

⁴ “Dutch-Japanese Relations.” Netherlands Mission, Japan, accessed 20 Mar 2014, <http://japan.nlembassy.org/you-and-netherlands/dutch-japanese-relations.html>.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Robert Parthesius, *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters: The Development of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) Shipping Network in Asia, 1595-1660* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010) 33.

⁷ Tanja Kootte, “A far-off land of silver: the Dutch in Japan 1600-1641,” in *In the Wake of the Liefde: Cultural Relations Between the Netherlands and Japan, since 1600*, ed. Willem R. van Gulik et al. (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1986) 26. The commander of the *De Blijde Boodschaap*, Dirck Gerrtisz. Pomp (1544-1608), had been the very first documented Dutchman in Japan, having spent about

the west coast of South America, with *De Liefde* taking a swift lead and pausing for her compatriots on the island of Floreana near Ecuador. *De Hoop* appeared in spring 1599, but *De Trouw* had drifted westward and landed in Tidore (present-day Maluku Islands) in January 1601, where her crew was executed by Portuguese colonists.⁸

De Liefde and *De Hoop* stopped at some unnamed islands further west (thought by some scholars to be Hawaii) before encountering a typhoon that drowned *De Hoop* and all her sailors.⁹ *De Liefde* sailed onward, low on food and supplies, her captains and crew tattered by almost two years at sea and the toils they had met along the way. The sailors were desperate to escape the high seas, so decided to sail for Japan, which at that point was closer than the Moluccas. Japan was originally the destination for an ancillary trading trip, so shifting it to the first stop was not a radical change.¹⁰

When at last *De Liefde* reached the shores of Bungo, the crew of over one hundred had been reduced to twenty-four, with the ship's third captain, Jacob Quaeckernaek, commander William Adams (1564-1620), and second mate Jan Joosten van Lodensteyn among the survivors.¹¹ The Japanese were at once curious and wary of the newcomers, whose ship was heavily armed.¹²

nine months in Nagasaki (July 1585-March 1586) during his tenure as a merchant in Goa. Cornelis Koeman, *Jan Huygen van Linschoten* (Coimbra, Portugal: Imprensa de Coimbra, 1984) 37.

⁸ Kootte, "A Far-off Land of Silver," 26.

⁹ Kootte, "A Distant Land of Silver," 9.

¹⁰ "Dutch-Japanese Relations," <http://japan.nlembassy.org/you-and-netherlands/dutch-japanese-relations.html>.

¹¹ Adams's nationality adds another dimension to this initial Dutch-Japanese encounter, but the fact that he was an Englishman does not overcomplicate the narrative. Rather his English status underlines the Dutch dominance in the world of navigation and exploration; as J.E. Hoare remarks, "it was typical of the period that Adams was serving on a Dutch rather than an English ship when he reached Japan." J.E. Hoare, *Embassies in the East: The Story of the British and Their Embassies in China, Japan and Korea from 1859 to the Present* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2013) 1.

¹² *De Liefde* was armed with nineteen cannons, rifles, fire-arrows, and other weapons. "Dutch-Japanese Relations," <http://japan.nlembassy.org/you-and-netherlands/dutch-japanese-relations.html>.

Perhaps recognizing that the sailors' emaciated state (only five of the sailors were strong enough to stand up¹³) muted any potential threat, and certainly drawn by their exoticism, the residents allowed the Dutch to come ashore. As Julia Hutt remarks, "Japanese popular belief held that anything washed ashore was a treasured gift from another world."¹⁴ The confiscated cargo was full of such treasures: firearms, gunpowder, woolen cloths, spectacles, mirrors, colored glass, and money.¹⁵

After about one week in Bungo, during which some Portuguese Jesuits visiting from Nagasaki tried to convince the Japanese that the newcomers were pirates, the sailors were rounded up for interrogation at the summons of *de facto* military ruler Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616, r. 1603-1605) in Osaka.¹⁶ The May 12, 1600 meeting between William Adams and Tokugawa Ieyasu is fancifully depicted in an early eighteenth-century engraving by Pieter van der Aa (fig. 3). Adams, accompanied by a dozen interpreters and guards, prostrates himself before the robed ruler, who presides on a grand throne adorned with bellflower chains. The scene takes place under a canopied portico; the curtain bears an inscription that alludes to William Adams's voyage to Japan via the

¹³ Kootte, "A Distant Land of Silver," 9.

¹⁴ Julia Hutt, "Asia in Europe: Lacquer for the West," in *Encounters: the Meeting of Asia and Europe, 1500-1800*, eds. Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer (London: V&A, 2004) 204.

¹⁵ Besides these and other practical items, the Japanese also took custody of *De Liefde*'s figurehead, a wood sculpture representing the Dutch Renaissance humanist Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) (fig. 2). (Before she was *De Liefde*, the vessel was called *Erasmus*.) The sculpture enjoyed a kind of ontological rebirth in Japan, where it was placed in Ryuko-in, a Shinto shrine in modern Tochigi prefecture, and worshipped as Kateki, patron saint of shipbuilders. Tanja Kootte, "A Far-Off Land of Silver," 9 and Richard G. Schaefer, "A Manhattan Hortus Medicus?: Healing Herbs in Seventeenth-Century New Amsterdam," in *Tales of Gotham, Historical Archaeology, Ethnohistory and Microhistory of New York City*, ed. Meta F. Janowitz, Diane Dallal (New York: Springer Science & Business Media, 2013) 35. Timon Screech, "Europe in Asia: The Impact of Western Art and Technology in Japan," in *Encounters: the Meeting of Asia and Europe, 1500-1800*, eds. Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer (London: V&A, 2004) 315.

¹⁶ Kootte, "A Distant Land of Silver," 9. Charles MacFarlane, *Japan: An Account, Geographical and Historical, from the Earliest Period at which the Islands Composing the Empire Were Known to Europeans, Down to the Present Time, and the Expedition Fitted Out in the United States, Etc.* (New York: George P. Putnam & Co., 1852) 24, https://books.google.com/books?id=Jy0QAAAAYAAJ&dq=Japan:+An+Account,+Geographical+and+Historical,+from+the+Earliest+Period+%09at+which+the+Islands&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

Straits of Magellan. Two sailing vessels anchored at the left side of the image provide a visual quote for the textual seafaring reference.

Ieyasu questioned Adams extensively and quickly recognized the value of the sailors – he could greatly benefit from their knowledge of shipbuilding, navigation, and military warfare – and allowed them to stay in the country.¹⁷ By his own account, Ieyasu was a patient man: “There are seven emotions: joy, anger, worry, love, sorrow, fear and hate. If you learn to control these, then you will be patient. I am not as strong as I seem, but I have long practiced patience.”¹⁸ His poised self-discipline contributed to his military success, and was undoubtedly welcomed by the *De Liefde* sailors. Perhaps just as important was Adams’s ability to convince Ieyasu that they had come solely for economic, not religious, purposes, drawing a critical distinction from the Portuguese that would greatly benefit them as Japan became more insular over the succeeding decades.¹⁹ The *De Liefde* crew’s initial assurance on this matter failed to reverberate throughout the centuries of Dutch residence in Japan. The *e-fumi* (踏み絵) ritual, to be discussed later in

¹⁷ It is rumored that Tokugawa Ieyasu used Dutch cannons at the Battle of Sekigahara on October 21, 1600. Tanja Kootte, “A Distant Land of Silver,” in *Imitation and Inspiration: Japanese Influence on Dutch Art*, ed. Stefan van Raaij (Amsterdam: Art Unlimited Books, 1989) 10.

¹⁸ Kootte, “A Far-off Land Of Silver,” 30. A similar anecdote describes three Sengoku-era warlords’ responses to a bird that was refusing to sing. Nobunaga: “I shall kill him if he does not sing.” Hideyoshi: “I shall compel him to sing for me.” Ieyasu: “I shall wait until he sings.” Ibid., 32.

¹⁹ The Portuguese were motivated by both economic and religious factors. The first Portuguese in Japan were two shipwrecked sailors in a Chinese junk who landed on Tanegashima in 1543. Stephen Turnbull, *The Samurai and the Sacred* (Cumnor Hill, UK: Osprey Publishing, 2012) np, https://books.google.com/books?id=n9cBeCyCNhwC&dq=The+Samurai+and+the+Sacred&source=gbs_navlinks_s. Portuguese was the dominant nationality of the Jesuit missions that began with the arrival of Spanish missionary Francis Xavier and two colleagues in 1549. The following year, a single Portuguese ship arrived in Hirado harbor, near Nagasaki, and the local *daimyo* opened the nearby port of Yokoseura to trade. The Portuguese moved their trading hub three more times before settling in Nagasaki Harbor, which was opened to them in 1571. “The Birth of Dejima and Trade with the Portuguese”, City of Nagasaki, 2002, <http://www.city.nagasaki.lg.jp/dejima/en/history/contents/index001.html>. The exchange mainly consisted of silk from the Portuguese territory of Macau for Japanese silver. Kootte, “A Far-off Land of Silver,” 38. Portuguese-Japanese trade continued until Portuguese ships were banned from Japan in 1639. Masashi Haneda, ed., *Asian Port Cities, 1600-1800: Local and Foreign Cultural Interactions* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009) 25.

this thesis, is testament to the lingering distrust of these “red-haired barbarians” (紅毛人 *komojin*²⁰) who hailed from the Christian West.²¹

De Liefde had arrived in Japan near the end of the Sengoku (戦国, “Warring States”) period (1467-1603) in which rival samurai clans battled for control of the country.²² Tokugawa Ieyasu would seize command of Japan that October after winning the Battle of Sekigahara.²³ After a term of imprisonment, the foreigners were allowed to remain in Japan. Captain William Adams became Tokugawa Ieyasu’s personal advisor, diplomatic envoy, and arbiter of Western knowledge, joining him in Osaka. Indeed, Adams’s own account suggests the two men got along from the moment of their initial meeting: “Coming before the king, he viewed me well, and seemed to be kind and wonderful favorable.”²⁴ When Ieyasu was officially appointed shogun and established his court in Edo (present-day Tokyo) in 1603, Adams accompanied him, eventually marrying a Japanese woman, receiving a samurai title and name (*Miura Anjin* 三浦按針, “pilot of Miura”), and raising a family near Edo Bay. He would never return to his former life and family back in England. He said of the Japanese:

“The people of this Land of Japan are good of nature, courteous above measure, and valiant in war: their justice is severely executed without any partiality upon transgressors of the law. They are governed in great civility. I mean, not a land better governed in the world by civil policy.”²⁵

Second mate Jan Joosten van Lodensteyn, also assimilated into his new surroundings, marrying a Japanese woman and settling in Edo. To his new compatriots he

²⁰ This was in contrast to the “southern barbarians” (*nanbanjin* 南蛮人), or the Portuguese and Spanish, so named because they had arrived from the south. Later, *nanbanjin* became a blanket term for all Westerners.

²¹ Timon Screech notes that the English, who resided in Nagasaki from 1613 to 1623, did their best to convince the Japanese that the Dutch were not to be trusted. Timon Screech, “The English and the Control of Christianity in the Early Edo Period” *Japan Review* 24 (2012) 31.

²² “Japan: Memoirs of a Secret Empire,” PBS, 2003. <http://www.pbs.org/empires/japan/timeline.html>.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ MacFarlane, 27.

²⁵ Letter from William Adams. *Ibid.*, 37-38.

became known as “Yaesu-san.”²⁶ Other veterans of the *De Liefde* voyage found family and fortune in their new country, including Melchior van Sandvoort (ca. 1570-1641), who married a Japanese Christian woman, had two daughters, and enjoyed a successful career as a merchant in the trade between Japan and Southeast Asia.²⁷ Some of the crew members died shortly after arriving in Japan,²⁸ while others eventually left the country. Captain Jacob Quaeckernaeck, for example, departed in 1605, but perished in a naval battle with the Portuguese near Malacca (in modern Malaysia) in September 1606.²⁹

In 1602, eleven separate Dutch trading companies consolidated to form the Dutch East India Company. The company’s board of directors, known as the *Heren XVII* (Gentlemen XVII),³⁰ were supervised by the States General but were relatively free to conduct their own affairs.³¹ On July 2, 1609, the first VOC trade vessels, *De Griffioen* (“Griffin”) and *De Roode Leeuw met Pijlen* (“Red Lion with Arrows”) arrived near Nagasaki with a cargo of silk, pepper, and lead.³² Although commander Jacques Specx was tasked with establishing formal trade relations with Japan, it was primarily through the efforts of William Adams, as well as fellow *De Liefde* shipmate Melchior van Sandvoort, that Tokugawa Ieyasu granted the VOC a red seal trading pass (nl:

²⁶ Kootte, “A Distant Land of Silver,” 10.

²⁷ William Corr, *Adams the Pilot: The Life and Times of Captain William Adams, 1564-1620* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 1995) 96-97.

²⁸ Arthur Lloyd, *Every-day Japan* (London: Cassell and Company, 1909) 153, https://books.google.com/books?id=_59JAAAAMAAJ&dq=Lloyd,+Arthur.+Every-day+Japan&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

²⁹ C.R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan: 1549-1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951) 285.

³⁰ The seventeen directors represented chambers in each of the United Provinces (eight directors from Amsterdam; four from Zeeland, two each from the North Quarter [Hoorn, Enkhuizen] and South Holland [Rotterdam, Delft], and one whose position rotated among Zeeland, Hoorn, Enkhuizen, Rotterdam, and Delft). Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995) 322.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² M.E. van Opstall, *De reis van de vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff naar Azie 1607-1612* [The voyage of the fleet of Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff to Asia 1607-1612] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972) 141. “Dutch and English ties in 17th century Japan,” Swaen, accessed 30 Nov 2014, <http://www.swaen.com/JapanNedEng.php>.

handelspas) on August 24, 1609 (fig. 4).³³ The VOC then built a “factory” (trading post) at Hirado, a port town in northwestern Kyushu, about one hundred kilometers northwest of Nagasaki. Trade began slowly, and indeed suffered greatly during a temporary cessation of Chinese exports, cutting off the VOC’s supply of silk that was so crucial to their trade with the Japanese. Dutch access to this precious material was renewed once the VOC established a factory on Formosa (present-day Taiwan) in 1624.³⁴

The practical considerations that initiated the Dutch-Japanese relationship should not detract from the exotic charm, and in some cases, sheer beauty, of the trade goods exchanged between the two countries. For over two centuries, the Dutch supplied Japan with items from their homeland as well as products from their trading partners both within and outside their vast empire. From the Dutch Republic came butter, books, nautical instruments, maps, telescopes, spectacles, linen, Edam cheese, wine, and military objects; from their colonies and trading partners in Asia, silk, spices, ivory, tropical woods, gum, and chintz. The Japanese reciprocated with silver (the Dutch called Japan the *Silver-ryke*, or Silver Empire; silver was, after all, the original motive for visiting Japan), copper, rice, and lacquerware.³⁵ To modern audiences, perhaps the most famous Dutch-Japanese trade item is ceramics.

³³ Text of the pass: “Dutch ships are allowed to travel to Japan, and they can disembark on any coast, without any reserve. From now on this regulation must be observed, and the Dutch left free to sail where they want throughout Japan. No offenses to them will be allowed, such as on previous occasions.” Pictures from History, accessed 30 Jan 2015, http://www.picturesfromhistory.com/gallery/CPA0008001-0008500/image/454/Japan_A_trading_pass_for_Dutch_merchant_vessels_issued_in_the_name_of_Tokugawa_Ieyasu_1543-1616_by_Chakusu_Kurunbeike_with_Ieyasus_seal_attached. Letter from Ieyasu to Prince Maurits: “I shall gladly allow your merchants to remain here and build a trading post. Your ships may anchor anywhere. Let us strengthen our bonds of friendship from this day forth.” Kootte, “A Far-off Land of Silver,” 52.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 54.

³⁵ Parthesius, 42, Christiaan J.A. Jörg, “‘The Colours of Old Japan:’ Japanese Export Porcelain, Kakiemon and European Imitations” in *Dragons, Tigers and Bamboo: Japanese Porcelain and Its Impact in Europe* (Berkeley: D&M Publishers Inc., 2009) 43, and Wolff, 15.

The Dutch first encountered Asian blue-and-white porcelain “in appreciable quantities” with the VOC capture of two Portuguese carracks carrying Chinese wares: the *San Jago* off the coast of St. Helena in 1602 and the *Catharina* near Patani in 1604.³⁶ The cargo included porcelain dishes and small bowls, which the VOC gifted to dignitaries or auctioned on the Dutch market.³⁷ Chinese porcelain, or *kraak-porselein* after the carracks that first brought it into Dutch hands, became a booming business. By the middle 1630s, over a quarter of a million pieces were exported to the Netherlands.³⁸ However, the 1644 collapse of the Ming Dynasty led to the shutdown of China’s famed Jingdezhen kilns, and the VOC was forced to find a different source for these sought-after objects.

The ceramics industries in the Dutch Republic (centered in Delft) and Japan (centered in Arita, and called “Imari” porcelain after the closest port town³⁹), rose to the occasion and began producing Chinese imitation ware.⁴⁰ Soon ceramics became one of the major goods flowing from Japan to the Dutch Republic. Relatively small shipments were recorded in the early 1650s (1652: about 1,200 pieces to Formosa, 1653: 2,200 flasks and medicine jars for the Batavia apothecary⁴¹). Like the Chinese, they not only produced traditional forms like *sake* kettles, rhombus-shaped dishes, tiered boxes (重箱 *jubako*), and incense burners,⁴² which appealed to the Dutch taste for the exotic, but also catered to special orders for Western forms (fig. 5).

³⁶ *Voyage of Old Imari Porcelains* (Saga: Kyushu Ceramic Museum, 2000) 157 and T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company: As Recorded in the Dagh-Registers of Batavia Castle, Those of Hirado and Deshima and Other Contemporary Papers; 1602-1682* (Leiden: Brill Archive, 1954) 22. In 1613, the VOC experienced a similar loss of precious cargo when their ship *Witte Leeuw* (“white lion”) sank off the island of Saint Helena, sending thousands of Chinese porcelain objects to the ocean floor. *Voyage*, 157.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.* In 1636, 259,380 pieces were exported to the Netherlands.

³⁹ Haneda, 88.

⁴⁰ Jörg, “The Colours of Old Japan,” 45.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 46-47.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 49.

In 1658, *Opperhoofd* (chief factor; jp. *kapitan*) Zacharias Wagenaer placed an order with Arita potters for ewers, mustard pots, and wine jugs, guessing (correctly) at the tastes of the Dutch public.⁴³ In 1659, Wagenaer signed off on the export of 5,748 pieces of porcelain aboard the VOC ship *Vogelzang* bound for Batavia and the Netherlands.⁴⁴ Because these forms were new to the Japanese, the Dutch typically sent wooden models for them to copy.⁴⁵ These hybrid objects offered the Dutch an appealing combination of foreign charm and domestic practicality (fig. 6). VOC officials in Batavia and other Dutch factories ordered *chine de commande* with the company monogram to use for fancy occasions and as gifts to local leaders (fig. 7).⁴⁶

The Arita kilns offered the Dutch both “traditional” blue and white ceramics as well as bright enameled wares in dark red, yellow, green, brown, gold and silver.⁴⁷ Like the forms, the designs were hybrids of East Asian and Dutch characteristics. Common Japanese motifs included chrysanthemums, peonies, scrolling vines, stylized flowers, phoenixes, cherry blossoms, cranes, and the “three friends of winter” (bamboo, plum, and pine). Roman letters, “Western landscapes,” the VOC monogram, coats of arms, and tulips were prominent Dutch motifs on Japanese porcelain.⁴⁸ Dutch painter and porcelain

⁴³ Jörg, “The Colours of Old Japan,” 47. The Heren XVII had placed a specific order, but it was lost. Other Western forms included inkpots, beer jugs, salt-cellars, shaving mugs, and *knobbelflessen* (knobby bottles). Voyage, 159. Julie Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007) 136.

⁴⁴ Voyage, 23-24.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 159.

⁴⁶ “Edo Period Japanese Porcelain,” Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/jpor/hd_jpor.htm. VOC-monogrammed liquor bottles excavated at Ayutthaya, Thailand were probably gifts to the Thai court. Voyage, 160.

⁴⁷ Jörg, “The Colours of Old Japan,” 48.

⁴⁸ Based on author’s analysis of motifs compiled from objects included in *The Voyage of Old Imari Porcelains* catalog and Menno Fitski, *Kakiemon Porcelain: A Handbook* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011) 148. In 1676, *Opperhoofd* Johannes Camphuijs (Deshima 1671-72, 1673-74, 1675-76) encouraged his successor to request that at least one-third of commissioned cups and pots be decorated with “red curious flower, for this kind seems to be much in demand in the Netherlands.” A 1678 auction proved Camphuijs correct; these items sold well, while several others did not. Fitski, 17.

designer Cornelis Pronk (1691-1759) created both “Asian” and European designs for the Japanese to replicate, such as a “dame au parasol” for a porcelain service (fig. 8).⁴⁹

The resumption of porcelain exports from China, improvements in Dutch manufacturing techniques, and stricter regulations that led to the cessation of official Japanese porcelain trade all made the Arita industry less important to the business of the VOC.⁵⁰ However, while it seems that seventeenth-century inventory cataloguers could distinguish between Japanese and Chinese porcelain,⁵¹ it is less likely that the average Dutch consumer could tell the difference (and indeed, this comported with the view of Japan as a substitute for China). Instead, they likely regarded their blue-and-white mustard pots and poly-chromed enamel plates, proudly displayed in their China cabinets as *den proncrijkste pronck der proncken* (“the fanciest fancy of all the fancies”⁵²), as generic symbols of the mysterious and exotic Far East.⁵³

This sense of exoticism and mystery was an important element in Dutch and Japanese perceptions of each other. The earliest Dutch account of Japan is in the 1596 *Itinerario* of Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1563-1611), in which he describes the Eastern land as snowy, rainy, and icy, and writes that the Japanese are polite, quick learners, and that they drink *sake* and tea.⁵⁴ Van Linschoten never visited Japan, but his countryman Dirck Gerritsz. Pomp did, and recounted his stories to Van Linschoten for his journal:

⁴⁹ Voyage, 161.

⁵⁰ The shogunate enforced stricter trade regulations in 1683. Fitski, 22. Chinese exports resumed in the 1680s Jörg, “The Colours of Old Japan,” 53. The Dutch figured out how to produce true porcelain in the 1670s. Hochstrasser, 148.

⁵¹ Fitski, 33.

⁵² Hochstrasser, 147.

⁵³ Similarities present a challenge for modern scholars, especially when it comes to the identification of porcelain objects in still life paintings. Often the distinction can only be made through examination of the bottom of the dish (Japanese: spur marks, Chinese: no spur marks; Chinese: sand fragments on footrings, Japanese: rarely sand fragments) or extremely close inspection (Chinese: “insect damage” on rim [flaking off of small pieces of glaze]; Japanese: no such damage) which is not possible when dealing with a two-dimensional representation. Fitski 16.

⁵⁴ Kootte, “A Distant Land of Silver,” 8.

“the people are goodnatured, broad of countenance, and most of them are white... they have the same idols as the Chinese...”⁵⁵ The *Itinerario* also reveals a lack of clarity about the faraway land: “Japan consists of many islands... it is a large country, though its exact size has not yet been established.”⁵⁶

Three decades after they founded their factory at Hirado, the Dutch still viewed Japan through a shroud of mystery. *Opperhoofd* François Caron’s (1600-1673, Japan 1619-1641) *Beschrijvinghe van het Machtigh Coninckryck Japan und Siam* (A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam, Amsterdam, 1636) begins, “The Countrey of Japan is supposed to be an Island, though there be no certainty of it, this vast territorie not being yet wholly discovered by the inhabitants themselves.”⁵⁷

The Japanese reception of the *De Liefde* crew reflects a curiosity about the exotic that triumphed over hostility or fear. In 1752, more than one hundred fifty years after first contact, Japanese writer Andō Shōeki offered an admiring view of *Oranda* (Holland) in *Tōdō shinden* (The True Explanation of the All-Pervading Way), praising the faraway country as a contemporary utopia. He based his description of the “finest country that surpasses all countries in the world”⁵⁸ on indirect contact with a Dutchman – one of his students was an employee of a Nagasaki official who spoke with the Dutch through an interpreter – but added fanciful embellishments. In Shōeki’s account, Holland is peaceful,

⁵⁵ Kootte, “A Distant Land of Silver,” 8.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ François Caron and Joost Schouten. *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam*. Trans. Roger Manley, reprint of 1671 London edition (Bangkok: The Siam Society, 1986) 3.

⁵⁸ Bert Edström, ed. *The Japanese and Europe: Images and Perceptions* (Richmond, UK: Curzon Press Ltd., 2000) 3.

its people fair, dutiful, and “morally perfect.”⁵⁹ The Dutch also possess “wonderful skills,” citing as examples shipbuilding, agriculture, and the ability to travel the world.⁶⁰

Dutch and Japanese descriptions do not fall entirely into the realm of the exotic; some comments reveal rare glimpses of the other that are humanizing, proximate, and down-to-earth. Caron wrote of the character of the Japanese people: “[the Japanese] are very hospitable and civil”⁶¹ and “they honour and love their Parents even to devotion,”⁶² “children are carefully and tenderly brought up... it is remarkable to see how orderly and how modestly little children of seven or eight years old behave themselves.”⁶³ The few Japanese who interacted with the Dutch apparently found the foreigners amusing: “those Dutch... you just cannot help laughing when there aren’t any interpreters around.”⁶⁴

Completing the Dutch and Japanese perceptions of the other was a lingering mistrust that was heightened by linguistic barriers and political concerns. A number of *opperhoofden* express this sense of suspicion in the *Deshima Dagregisters*, including Constantijn Ranst de Jonge who wrote in April 1684: “we visit the gouv[erneur] of Nagasaki, who is not at home. This seems untrue: he wants to evade our questions.”⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Edström, 4.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Caron, 73.

⁶² Ibid., 47.

⁶³ Ibid., 75-76.

⁶⁴ Martine P. Wolff, “Letters like Wild Geese Flying,” in *Imitation and Inspiration: Japanese Influence on Dutch Art*, ed. Stefan van Raaij (Amsterdam: Art Unlimited Books, 1989) 15.

⁶⁵ *Deshima Dagregisters: Their Original Tables of Contents 1680-1690*, 32. The six-volume set, translated and published in 1986, includes the *opperhoofden*’s “tables of marginalia” (referred to as “tables of contents” in the series title) in the diaries recording business affairs and daily life in Deshima and on the *hofreis*. The diaries take up forty meters of shelving, so transcribing the full document would be an extremely ambitious undertaking. As Timon Screech notes in his review of Volumes III, IV, and V, the marginal notes “alone are quite lengthy, as well as engagingly written.” T.B.M. Screech, “Reviewed work: *The Deshima Dagregisters: Their Original Tables of Contents*,” review of *The Deshima Dagregisters: Their Original Tables of Contents*, *Bulletin of Oriental and African Studies*, 55:2 (1992) 370. They are an excellent primary source for scholars of the Dutch experience in Japan.

Similarly, the shoguns became increasingly wary of how interaction between Japanese citizens and the outside world might disrupt the political and social cohesion critical to their goal of a unified nation. They were also afraid that religious conversion was part of a broader plan of colonization; the case of the Philippines was a cautionary tale in this sense.⁶⁶ Tokugawa Hidetada (1579-1632, r. 1605-1623) banned Christian proselytization in 1612 and expelled all missionaries in 1616.⁶⁷ Their concern culminated in a series of edicts by Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604-1651, r. 1623-1651) who inaugurated Japan's isolationist or *sakoku* (鎖国) period (1633-1853) with a series of policies that restricted the flow of both foreigners and Japanese citizens into and out of the country.⁶⁸

Iemitsu also ended the Portuguese presence in Japan with a 1639 edict forbidding their cargo ships from entering the country. This was a result of both general Portuguese noncompliance with the earlier bans on missionary work and a specific catalyzing event: the Shimabara Rebellion of 1637, in which predominantly Christian peasants living in Shimabara province (east of Nagasaki) revolted against their *daimyo* (provincial warlord) to protest over-taxation and famine.⁶⁹ The shogun sent troops to quell the uprising and solicited extra military force from the Dutch, who fired on the peasants from ships that

⁶⁶ "Japan: The Tokugawa (1600-1868)," Key Points in Developments in East Asia, Columbia University, accessed 18 Mar 2015, http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/main_pop/kpct/kp_tokugawa.htm.

⁶⁷ Grant Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch, 1600-1853* (Richmond, UK: Curzon Press Ltd., 2000) 11.

⁶⁸ Key edicts: 1633: limits on duration of foreign ships' stays in Nagasaki, and prohibits Japanese without special permission from going abroad. 1635: prohibition on foreign trade using Japanese ships, prohibited Japanese ships from leaving Japan, prohibited Japanese citizens from leaving or returning to Japan. 1636: deportation of children of Portuguese or Spanish fathers and Japanese mothers. 1639: deportation of children of Dutch and English fathers and Japanese mothers to Batavia, and prohibition of cohabitation of Dutch men and Japanese women. 1639: prohibition on marriages between Chinese merchants and Japanese women. 1639: prohibition on entry of Portuguese ships into Japan. Kayoko Fujita, Shiro Momoki, and Anthony Reid, *Offshore Asia: Maritime Interactions in East Asia Before Steamships* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013) 237-8.

⁶⁹ Goodman, 13-14.

had been at port in Nagasaki.⁷⁰ The fact that most of the peasants were Christian caused the shogun to blame the Portuguese for the incident.⁷¹

The English had left in 1623, the Spanish were expelled in 1624, and the Portuguese were deported in 1639.⁷² For over two centuries, the only Western country permitted to reside in and trade with Japan was the Dutch Republic, and the Dutch and Chinese were Japan's only windows to the outside world.

“Reside *in* Japan” is not a completely accurate descriptor for the Dutch living situation. Shortly after the departure of the Portuguese, the Dutch built a new warehouse at their flourishing Hirado settlement. One design misstep – the inscription “Anno Christi 1640” – angered shogunal authorities, who reported the misdemeanor to Iemitsu as evidence of the Dutch flouting anti-Christian policies.⁷³ Despite their allegiance to the shogun during the Shimabara rebellion, in 1641 the Dutch were forced to move to Deshima (出島, “exit island”), a fan-shaped artificial island in Nagasaki Bay where the Portuguese merchants had been confined from 1636 until their 1639 deportation (figs. 9, 10).⁷⁴ As *Opperhoofd* François Caron observed, “Experience has taught us that whenever it is raining on the Portuguese, we will get wet as well.”⁷⁵

Deshima was constructed by carving a twenty-foot wide canal into a natural peninsula; it was thus a subtractive rather than additive action, as if emphasizing the

⁷⁰ Goodman, 14.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Iemitsu expelled the Spanish for what he perceived as associations with conspiratorial Filipino priests. Goodman 11. Kaufmann notes further that “the Spanish could not (or would not) check Spanish Franciscan missionaries, who were active proselytizing Japanese.” Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, “Interpreting Cultural Transfer and the Consequences of Markets and Exchange: Reconsidering *Fumi-e*,” in *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900: Rethinking Markets, Workshops and Collections*, ed. Michael North (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010) 158.

⁷³ Tanja Kootte, “A Distant Land of Silver,” 12.

⁷⁴ Goodman, 11. The relegation of the Portuguese to Deshima was part of a series of measures designed to exert greater surveillance and control over the nationality so strongly connected to the unwelcome Jesuit missionaries.

⁷⁵ Wolff, 14.

separation between “true” Japan and the foreign outpost. The island measured about 15,000 square meters (about nine square miles) and housed living quarters, warehouses, a kitchen, gardens, and offices for Nagasaki shogunal authorities.⁷⁶ The merchants’ residences featured Japanese interior design elements like *tatami* (畳, straw matting) and *shoji* (障子, paper doors). Glass windows offered protection against the winter winds.⁷⁷

During the trading season, when two VOC ships were at anchor in Nagasaki, the island was bustling with about twenty VOC employees (the *opperhoofd*, deputy director, warehouse foreman, accounting clerks, barber, carpenter, and African and Moluccan servants). The Nagasaki Magistrate’s Office closely supervised the foreigners, with sentries continuously monitoring them from guardhouses along the island’s perimeter. About one hundred Japanese employees maintained operations: interpreting, fire protection, cooking, security, and administrative tasks.⁷⁸ The Japanese on Deshima were forced to sign in blood an oath that they would “contract no friendship with the Dutch, (nor) afford them (any) information respecting the language, laws, manner, religion, or history of Japan; in short, to hold no communication with them, except in their several recognised functions.”⁷⁹ There was thus very little interaction between the Dutch and the general population of Nagasaki, especially during the Deshima’s early years, when tensions between the host country and foreign residents were still high.

This lack of interaction could explain the dearth of Japanese visual representations of the Dutch from the seventeenth century compared to later in the Edo

⁷⁶ “Dejima Spots Not to be Missed,” *Dejima Comes Back to Life: Tour of Buildings and Historic Sites*, Nagasaki City, 2002. http://www.city.nagasaki.lg.jp/dejima/en/travel/contents/main_01.html.

⁷⁷ Leonard Blussé, “Dutch Settlements and Trading Centers,” in *Encounters: the Meeting of Asia and Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer (London: V&A, 2004) 136.

⁷⁸ “History of Dejima,” *Dejima Comes Back to Life: Tour of Buildings and Historic Sites*, Nagasaki City, 2002. <http://www.city.nagasaki.lg.jp/dejima/en/history/index.html>.

⁷⁹ French, 60.

period, when Japanese artists sold *nagasaki-e* (長崎絵, Nagasaki pictures) and *yokohama-e* (横浜絵, Yokohama pictures) as souvenirs to their curious countrymen. The Dutch appear in woodblock prints with attributes such as clay pipes, wine flasks, musical instruments, walking canes, and Javanese slaves (fig. 11).⁸⁰ In these representations, the *komojin* are tall, lean, dignified, and well-dressed.

There are few Dutch visual records of the Japanese as well, with Arnoldus Montanus's *Gedenkwaardige gesantschappen* (1669) (Eng. trans. *Atlas Japannensis*, 1670) serving as a rare example. Montanus based his "rambling, encyclopedic account"⁸¹ on a variety of sources including the writings of Linschoten and François Caron. It includes almost one hundred original illustrations that focus primarily on Japanese customs and religion ("Japan Fishers and their manner of fishing," "The temple of Amida"), geographical features ("burning sulfer Mountaine") with some references to the VOC experience in Japan ("The Netherland ambassadors travel from Osacca to Meaco [Miyako, now Kyoto]") (fig. 12). There are some sensational subjects ("The manner of the Japanners ripping up their own bellies"), but, apart from the costumes that engraver Jacob van Meurs has rendered with great attention to detail, the Japanese are not portrayed in a particularly exoticizing manner (fig. 14). In build and size, they are identical to the Hollanders (fig. 15). They are not caricatures, their features are not exaggerated, and their facial expressions emphasize their humanity rather than any barbarian quality. One can imagine that a reader of *Atlas Japannensis* would have been moved by images like "Mourning Japanners" (fig. 16). A mother and child lead a

⁸⁰ The Portuguese merchants also had distinguishing characteristics in *nanban-e* (南蛮絵): dark hair, mustaches and goatees, and most prominently, inflated pantaloons (fig. 13).

⁸¹ Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe, Volume III* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) 1873.

serpentine procession of mourners away from a temple and across a rural landscape, their heads bowed, the child wiping tears from his eyes. Their heavy drapery acts a physical manifestation of their overwhelming grief for, presumably, the child's father.

The paucity of visual and textual accounts describing the early Dutch-Japanese relationship highlights the importance of the rare occasions in which personal contact was made, and the preciousness of the material culture yielded by those interactions.

The confined living space, coupled with restrictions on their movement, meant that the Dutch suffered from a sort of cabin fever that they relieved with books, billiards, tobacco, and gin.⁸² *Opperhoofd* Hendrick Canzius (1681-2) succinctly summarized the boredom of isolation, often writing the phrase “niets penne – waardighs voorgevallen” (“nothing has happened worth mentioning”) in his journal entries.⁸³ Servants passed the time tending to the herb garden and the exotic animals that were to serve as gifts to the shogun.⁸⁴ No women were allowed on the island. When two wives of Dutch officers arrived, they were refused admission (though they did stay long enough to sit for portraits).⁸⁵ Japanese geisha were also allowed onto the island on occasion.⁸⁶

In his 1727 *Geschichte und Beschreibung von Japan (History of Japan)*, the VOC-employed German physician Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716; Deshima 1690-92) takes a measured view of life on the small island: “As things now stand we must be so far satisfied with [the state of Deshima], there being no hopes that we should ever be better accommodated, or allow'd more liberty by so jealous and circumspect a nation.”⁸⁷

⁸² Blussé, 136. French, 60.

⁸³ *Deshima Dagregisters, Vol 1: 1680-1690*, 16.

⁸⁴ Anna Jackson, “Visual Responses: Depicting Europeans in East Asia” in *Encounters: the Meeting of Asia and Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer (London: V&A, 2004) 204.

⁸⁵ French, 31.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 60.

Indeed, the VOC merchants quickly came to understand that their continued presence in Japan meant being on their best behavior; for example, former *De Liefde* commander and *Opperhoofd* Jacques Specx (1585-1652; Deshima 1609-1612, 1614-1621) commented that his men should be “of good judgment, mild-tempered, steady, levelheaded, and neither proud, nor haughty, nor sensitive as to their position.”⁸⁸ The Heren XVII gave strict instructions that their employees “pay due deference on all occasions to that brave, haughty, and persnickety nation.”⁸⁹

There were two main exceptions by which Dutch residents of Deshima could leave their designated home. The first allowed the VOC physician to make temporary visits to the mainland to collect medicinal herbs or tend to ill Japanese citizens of high rank. The second was for the annual journey to pay tribute to the shogun at his court in Edo (jp. *edo sanpu* 江戸参府, nl. *hofreis*), where the Dutch were confined to “Nagasaki-ya” (長崎屋, Nagasaki inn).

The *hofreis* and the trading season, along with their related preparations, consumed the yearly calendar of the Dutch residents in Japan. The mid-August arrival of two VOC ships from the Netherlands (via Batavia, present-day Jakarta) announced the busy trading season, which ran until the end of October, at which point the position of *opperhoofd* underwent a change of command. The VOC employees spent from November to February making *hofreis* preparations, which partly entailed gathering supplies for the journey and stay in Edo, as well as drawing up a list of gifts for the

⁸⁸ Kootte, “A Distant Land of Silver,” 12.

⁸⁹ C.R. Boxer, *Jan Compagnie in War and Peace, 1602-1799* (Hong Kong: Heinemann Asia, 1979) 25.

shogun and other dignitaries that had to be approved by the Governor of Nagasaki (*nagasaki bugyo* 長崎奉行)⁹⁰.

The actual trek began in February, and the procession must have been a sight to behold (fig. 17). Approximately one hundred Japanese guides led the *opperhoofd*, VOC physician, and scribe (sometimes riding in palanquins, or *kago* 輿) across the island of Kyushu and over the inland sea to Osaka, where they joined up with the well-trod Tokaido (東海道, “Eastern sea road”) that facilitated Edo-period travel between the Kanto and Kansai regions.⁹¹ The group checked in to Nagasaki-ya in late March, stayed until mid-April, finally returning to their Deshima home in May, at which point preparations for the trading season began.⁹²

The highlight of each Edo visit was the Dutch merchants’ “audience” with the shogun and his closest advisors. Adam Clulow notes that this event was roughly modeled on *daimyo* visits to the shogunal court, and indeed, the *opperhoofd* was granted a temporary *daimyo* title for the occasion.⁹³ It was during this intimate meeting that the exchange of gifts between the shogun and the Dutch merchants took place. This micro-exchange between the Japanese leader and Dutch residents was a kind of synecdoche of, and a mandatory requirement for, the continuation of the macro-exchange of goods between the Dutch Republic and Japan, as well as the Dutch privilege of residence on

⁹⁰ Kaempfer recalls two gifts that were rejected: fire engines, because in reviewing the gift the Nagasaki officials had seen and copied drawings and could now make their own engines, and cassowaries, because they were thought to be voracious eaters. Martha Chaiklin, *Cultural Commerce and Dutch Commercial Culture: the Influence of European Material Culture on Japan, 1700-1850* (Leiden: Research School CNWS, Leiden University, 2003) 43.

⁹¹ Blussé, 136. Hiroshige would popularize the road in his 1832 woodblock print series *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō* (東海道五十三次 *Tōkaidō Gojūsan-tsugi*) (fig. 18).

⁹² French, 59.

⁹³ Adam Clulow, *The Company and the Shogun: The Dutch Encounter with Tokugawa Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014) 114; Wolff, 20.

Deshima. If the shogun chose not to receive his visitors for whatever reason, trade between the two countries would halt for an entire year.⁹⁴

Engelbert Kaempfer describes the audience in his *History of Japan*: “With innumerable... apish tasks, we must suffer ourselves to contribute to the Emperor’s and Court’s diversion.”⁹⁵ These included donning silly costumes and engaging in exaggerated reenactments of Dutch customs and rituals. Among Kaempfer’s own tasks was to sing a song; he obliged with a “love-song in High German of my own composition” (fig. 19).⁹⁶ Jonathan Swift satirizes the event in *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726), portraying the “Hollanders” crawling around on their stomachs and licking the floor in deference.⁹⁷

While both sides gave and received gifts, it is clear that the Japanese had the upper hand; the ritual took place on the shogun’s territory, and the Dutch were keenly aware that their failure to remain both submissive and valuable could result in their expulsion from the country. In this way the VOC’s presence in Japan was distinct from that in several other Asian countries, where chief factors were able to control local leaders and subdue or shrink the native populations.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Breukink-Peeze, 54.

⁹⁵ Engelbert Kaempfer, *The History of Japan: Together with a Description of the Kingdom of Siam 1690-1692*, trans. John Gaspar Scheuzer (Richmond, England: Curzon Press, 1993) 297.

⁹⁶Ibid. Other pantomimes are recorded by *opperhoofden* in the *Deshima Dagregisters*, daily records of the Dutch merchants’ life in Deshima and their annual *hofreis* to Edo. From the 1682 *hofreis* (Opperhoofd Hendrick Canzius): “Questions by the shogun: we sit upright, speak aloud, sing a song, walk.” DD 1680-1690, 17. From the 1684 *hofreis* (Opperhoofd Constantijn Ranst Jr.): “Questions: sing a song, dance, about the New Netherlands, the ring of our opperchirurgijn [physician] who talks with Gimpo about surgery and diseases, the religion of our black servant, precious metals found in Batavia, Japanese, and Chinese living there, clothing.” *Deshima Dagregisters*, 1680-1690, 32. Opperhoofd P. Bookesteijn – 1729: “What kind of butter do we have? One kind, which is made from the milk of cows. In summer it is soft and in winter it is hard... How many holidays do you celebrate? Reply: New Year, Easter, Pentacost and Christmas. How many months, weeks and days does a year contain. Reply: 12 months, 52 weeks and 365 days. Where are the names of days derived from? Reply: I do not know.” *Deshima Dagregisters*, Vol. 5: 1720-1730, 147.

⁹⁷ Jonathan Swift, *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World by Lemuel Gulliver, First a Surgeon, and then a Captain of Several Ships* (London: Smith & Hill, 1819) 181.

⁹⁸ The most appalling example is the 1621 Banda massacre, in which VOC Governor General Jan Pieterszoon Coen led the slaughter of 15,000 Bandanese as punishment for violating a contract to provide

The gift exchange itself could be described as imbalanced, with the Dutch offering a greater number and variety of gifts than the Japanese. This should not be surprising; the VOC merchants needed to be more concerned about impressing the shogun than vice versa. Records reveal a strikingly colorful list of gifts for the shogun, including paintings, maps and globes, a chandelier,⁹⁹ scientific treatises, telescopes, clocks, artillery manuals, and an ostrich,¹⁰⁰ some of which were given at the Japanese leader's request.¹⁰¹ Sometimes the gifts came with a performance component, such as a set of tin soldiers that *Opperhoofd* Nicolaes Couckebacker (1634) used to act out Prince Frederik Hendrik's 1629 Siege of 's-Hertogenbosch (the shogun was unimpressed).¹⁰² Many of the gifts were Dutch imports, but others came from the VOC's Asian trading network, either those that were under Dutch control (e.g. Moluccas) or those with which the Dutch had a more balanced economic relationship (e.g. China).

In contrast, the gifts from the shogun to the merchants consisted primarily of silk robes, which became known as *Japonsche rokken* or *keizersrokken* ("emperor's

mace and nutmeg exclusively to the Dutch. Leo Akveld and Els M. Jacobs, eds., *The Colourful World of the VOC* (Amsterdam: Thoth Publishers, 2002) 113.

⁹⁹ Mia Mochizuki relates the fascinating tale of the chandelier in "Deciphering the Dutch in Deshima." The decorative object was designed by Joost Gerritszoon, who had made several chandeliers for Dutch Reformed churches in the United Provinces, including the Old Church of Amsterdam and St. Bavo's in Haarlem (fig. 20). It was a popular alternative to Catholic icons and stained glass. François Caron (Deshima 1639-40) presented a Gerritszoon chandelier to the shogun, who placed it in Tōshō-gū shrine (burial place of the Tokugawa shogunate) in Nikkō. The shogun later commissioned a much larger lantern with a chandelier inside, which was placed in the same shrine, where it remains today. Mia Mochizuki, "Deciphering the Dutch in Deshima," in *Boundaries and Their Meanings in the History of the Netherlands*, eds. Benjamin Kaplan, Marybeth Carlson and Laura Cruz (Boston: Brill Publishers, 2009) 80-84.

¹⁰⁰ The tale of the ostrich demonstrates the Dutch persistence in fulfilling the shogun's special orders. They made repeated attempts to grant this request of Yoshimune, finally giving up after fourteen years of the ostrich dying on its voyage from Africa. Chaiklin, 52.

¹⁰¹ *Daimyo* also placed special orders, as did Maeda Tsunanori for Rembert Dodoens's *Cruydt-boeck* (to be discussed later in this thesis). Harmen Beukers, "Dodoenaes in Japanese: Deshima Surgeons as Mediators in the Early Introduction of Western Natural History," in *Dodonaes in Japan: Translation and the Scientific Mind in the Tokugawa Period*, ed. W.F. Vande Walle (Kyoto: Leuven University Press, 2001) 286.

¹⁰² Ann M. Harrington, *Japan's Hidden Christians* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1992) 118.

robes”¹⁰³) in the Dutch Republic. The giving of these robes was primarily a function of the deeply embedded Japanese tradition of reciprocation, an idea that would have been familiar to the Dutch because of their own tradition of what Irma Thoen calls “instrumentality.” She writes that in seventeenth-century Holland, gift-giving involved two interdependent concepts: instrumentality (obligation, or for strategic purposes) and affection. Especially relevant to the Dutch-Japanese case is her comment that instrumentality and affection are not unique to the seventeenth-century Dutch but “a general feature of social relations in any given time and place.”¹⁰⁴

The Dutch perceived hospitality as a gift to be repaid, as shown by the “*foy*” custom in which a guest expressed gratitude to his host by paying for a farewell meal on the last night of his stay.¹⁰⁵ It is likely that the idea of the shogun-mandated gift-giving ritual, if not the process (e.g. backwards crawling), was relatively natural to the Dutch, who would have thought it normal to repay the gift of (albeit lukewarm) Japanese hospitality with their own gifts. The Dutch concept of instrumentality would have prevented them from perceiving the shogun’s reciprocation as unusual; even though a cycle of gift-giving might have ended with the initial gift of hospitality and the return gifts to the shogun, it was likely understood that the shogun’s gifts to the merchants would have come with ulterior motives. From the Japanese side, the reciprocal exchange

¹⁰³ A.M. Lubberhuizen-Van Gelder notes the confusion surrounding the Dutch perception of Japanese rulership: “De Mikado was de eigenlijke, de Goddelijke keizer, de shogun door de Hollanders gewoonlijk de Keizer genoemd, had de wereldlijke macht.” (“The Mikado was the actual, divine Emperor; the shogun, commonly called “emperor” by the Dutch, had the secular power.” [author’s translation]) A.M. Lubberhuizen-Van Gelder, “Japonsche Rocken,” *Oud Holland* 62 (1947): 138-9.

¹⁰⁴ Irma Thoen, *Strategic Affection? Gift Exchange in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007) 41.

¹⁰⁵ Thoen, 56-57.

of tangible gifts was so deeply ingrained in the culture that the “hospitality” element might not have played as strong a role in gift-giving calculations.¹⁰⁶

The *hofreis* occurred sporadically from 1609 until 1623, at which point it became an annual event.¹⁰⁷ From 1790 until the middle nineteenth century, the frequency was reduced to once every four years at the request of the Dutch (but they were not exempt from sending their gifts to Edo).¹⁰⁸ The expense of the *hofreis* was not worth any political benefit gained by making the trek. There had been a slowdown in Dutch-Japanese trade and the VOC was in financial trouble, eventually going bankrupt in 1798.¹⁰⁹ The Dutch government took over trade operations, which came to a temporary halt during the Napoleonic Wars (1811-14), when the Netherlands was a French province.¹¹⁰

For over a century, spring in Edo was synonymous with the arrival of the peculiar Dutchmen. The Edo poet Basho memorialized the seasonal connection: “The Dutch too/Do obeisance/Springtime for my lord.”¹¹¹ The word for the Dutch Republic, “*oranda*” (from “Holland”), became one of the *kigo* (季語, seasonal words) for spring.

¹⁰⁶ Marcel Mauss mentions the danger of gift-giving, which is related to the possibility of broken promises and indebtedness, noting that the word “Gift” means both “gift” and “poison” in German. Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1967) 61. There was a similar linguistic phenomenon in the Dutch language, in which “gif” was poison and “gift” was gift in seventeenth-century Holland. Thoen, 12. “Gifts were signs of the honour in which the recipient was held, and of the obligatory relationship that the donor and the recipient maintained. They were bound to each other by the expectation of reciprocity.” Ibid., 223. Johan de Brune, a Dutch emblemist, similarly opined, “De eerste uitwisseling van geschenken is de schoot van de tweede” (“The first gift exchange is the womb of the second”). Ibid., 227.

¹⁰⁷ Jackson and Jaffer, 362, 364.

¹⁰⁸ Adam Clulow: 1634-1850. Clulow, 106. Timon Screech: 1640s to late eighteenth century. Timon Screech, *Obtaining Images: Art, Production and Display in Edo Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012) 320.

¹⁰⁹ Screech, *Obtaining Images*, 342.

¹¹⁰ Israel, 1128-29.

¹¹¹ Screech, *Obtaining Images*, 321.

Stereotypical Dutch souvenirs appeared in Edo markets,¹¹² and Hokusai and others recorded the Dutch merchants' time in Nagasaki-ya (fig. 21).¹¹³

The Dutch remained in Deshima until 1854, when US Commodore Matthew Perry succeeded in persuading the Tokugawa shogunate (幕府 *bakufu*) to end the policy of isolation. Thus concluded the Dutch tenure as the sole Western country in contact with Japan. The last *opperhoofd*, Janus Henricus Donker Curtius, gave the shogun one final gift: a steam warship named *Kanko Maru*, which would be instrumental in the navigational and military training required of the 1860 voyage of the first Japanese delegation to the United States (fig. 22).¹¹⁴

In 1904, a large swath of Nagasaki Bay was reclaimed, and Deshima as the Dutch had known it disappeared.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Japanese commodification of the Dutch exists today in the form of the Huis ten Bosch amusement park in Sasebo, Nagasaki (about thirty-five kilometers from Hirado and fifty kilometers from Deshima) and the Tonami Tulip Festival in Toyama prefecture. Huis ten Bosch, accessed 18 Mar 2015, <http://english.huistenbosch.co.jp>. "Tonami Tulip Fair 2015," accessed 18 Mar 2015, <http://www.tulipfair.or.jp/fair/index.html>.

¹¹³ Screech, *Obtaining Images*, 321.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 342.

¹¹⁵ "The End of Dejima," Nagasaki City, 2002, <http://www.city.nagasaki.lg.jp/dejima/en/history/contents/index001.html>.

Chapter Two: *Japonsche Rok* (Japanese Robe)

The first case study object is the *Japonsche rok*, or Japanese robe, chosen because archival evidence indicates that it was the primary gift from the shogun to the VOC merchants, and because of its compelling second life in the Dutch Republic as an intellectual status symbol.

Dutch merchants visiting Edo received robes in great numbers from the shogun and other dignitaries. At first the shogun supplied them with twenty robes; this number later increased to thirty.¹¹⁶ Engelbert Kaempfer's record of the 1690 *hofreis* shows that the shogun presented the merchants with thirty robes, and other Edo officials provided dozens more, for a total of 123 robes.¹¹⁷

Receipt of the gorgeous robes was also recorded by successive *opperhoofden* in the *Deshima Dagregisters*. For example, *Opperhoofd* Isaac van Schinne (1680-81) wrote in an April 1681 entry: "We say good-bye to the rijksraden [rich councils] and receive our ordinary orders and 30 silk rokken. Farewell to the two secretarissen of the crown-prince. We receive 20 silk rokken in return."¹¹⁸ Margaretha Breukink-Peeze notes that only a small portion of these would travel on to the Netherlands, where they became tribute-like gifts to the Heren XVII, who sometimes re-gifted them.¹¹⁹ Breukink-Peeze describes Amalia van Solms's (wife of stadtholder Prince Frederik Hendrik of Orange and regent to Prince William III of Orange) 1659 visit to the East India House in Amsterdam, in which she was presented five Japanese cabinets, each with a *Japonsche*

¹¹⁶ Margaretha Breukink-Peeze, "Japanese Robes, a Craze," in *Imitation and Inspiration: Japanese Influence on Dutch Art*, ed. Stefan van Raaij (Amsterdam: Art Unlimited Books, 1989) 54.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 55.

¹¹⁸ *Deshima Dagregisters, Vol. 1:1680-1690*, 12.

¹¹⁹ Breukink-Peeze, 55.

rok inside.¹²⁰ Other robes served as gifts to high-ranking VOC officials stationed in Batavia and Dutch settlements throughout Asia.

The Japanese gift-giving tradition was such that the merchants were obliged to offer a tangible expression of their indebtedness to the high-ranking Japanese officials who accompanied them on their *hofreis*, so some robes served as gifts to these men as well. They also passed along some of the shogun's gifts to dignitaries they met during their return trip, and to shogunal officials in Nagasaki.¹²¹ Therefore, while some of the robes left Japan, many of them remained in their home country and likely retained their function as standard clothing for well-to-do members of society.¹²²

As was typical of gift-giving in Japanese culture, the robes would have been received in a strictly choreographed ceremony, especially if this presentation occurred during the "audience" with the shogun at his Edo palace. According to Breukink-Peeze, the imperial gowns were presented on three lacquered trays in the audience hall. The *opperhoofd* would approach the central tray on his hands and knees, subordinate to the shogun and his attendants, then grasp the bottom of one robe and hold it above his head so that the tray touched his forehead, concluding with a deep bow to the floor. Once the receiving act was complete, the chief merchant and his compatriots would crawl backwards, bowing all the way, until they exited the audience hall.¹²³ From this interaction one can conclude that while in general terms a gift exchange had occurred

¹²⁰ Breukink-Peeze, 55.

¹²¹ "The rocken we received in Jedo are distributed among the Japanese [in Nagasaki]." *Deshima Dagregisters, Vol. 1: 1680-1690*, 52.

¹²² Shogun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646-1709, r. 1680-1709) prohibited all but his own servants from wearing wool and silk. *Ibid.*, 21. However, he continued to present *rokken* to the Dutch, which shows that he considered them worthy of an object that he denied to most of his people.

¹²³ Breukink-Peeze, 54.

between the shogun and merchants at Edo, the balance implied in the term “exchange” was decidedly absent in the overall ritual.

At the conclusion of the Dutch merchants’ stay in Edo, the robes would have been packed for the journey back to Nagasaki.¹²⁴ Upon their arrival in Deshima, they would have been aired out to remove all damaging moisture, then wrapped in linen and oiled paper and packed up in baskets.¹²⁵ Finally they would have been placed aboard a *fluit* (flute; a small cargo carrier) to the VOC headquarters in Batavia, where some would be presented to the governor-general and others would await passage on a VOC ship bound for the Dutch Republic.¹²⁶

Two features of these gifted robes indicate they were tailored specifically with the expectation that they would be worn in the Netherlands. First, extra wadding was added to mitigate the threat of water damage during the long voyage.¹²⁷ This addition, originally a clever solution to one of the many shipping challenges of the era, caught on, “presumably because of its softness and warmth.”¹²⁸

The second alteration lay in the garment’s form. Like the Japanese *kosode* (literally, “small sleeves,” referring to the size of the wrist opening¹²⁹), they were made without shoulder seams; two long pieces of cloth, the left and right sides of the robe,

¹²⁴ From *Deshima Dagregisters*, April 1692: “The rokken of the shogun are packed, others we distribute.” *Deshima Dagregisters*, Vol. 2: 1690-1700, 30. From April 1703: “The imperial rokken have been dewadded. The fabric has been put into a clothes-chest and the wadding has been put in the trunks along with the goods which have not been sold.” *Ibid.*, 43.

¹²⁵ Breukink-Peeze, 55.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Martha Hollander, “Vermeer’s Robe: Costume, Commerce and Fantasy in the Early Modern Netherlands,” *Dutch Crossing: Journal of the Low Countries* 35:2 (July 2011): 185.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 185.

¹²⁹ Dale Carolyn Gluckman and Sharon Sadako Takeda, “Introduction,” *When Art Became Fashion: Kosode in Edo-Period Japan*, Dale Carolyn Gluckman and Sharon Sadako Takeda, eds. (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1992) 31. The *kosode* was the “predecessor of the modern kimono.” *Ibid.*, 29. It had been associated with commoners until the late Muromachi period, at which point it was adopted by the upper classes. *Ibid.*, 31.

extended over the shoulders.¹³⁰ However, the *rok*'s sleeves were attached to the body in a Western, not Japanese manner.¹³¹ Sometimes, as in a *rok* at the Rijksmuseum, a shawl collar was added (perhaps also for warmth) (fig. 23). Therefore, as with other goods including ceramics (e.g. VOC *chine de commande*), the *rok*'s design was influenced significantly by its function in the Dutch-Japanese relationship. How fascinating that the Japanese *kosode*, an object deeply rooted in the material culture of its home country, bore the visual stamp of a bilateral relationship that was decades old. While the alteration was in one sense a pragmatic solution to a logistical problem, it also demonstrates the care and thought with which the Japanese approached the giving of this gift. The addition of extra wadding to the *rok* not only enhanced the warmth of the garment but also signified the human aspect of the Dutch-Japanese relationship, thus troubling the clear distinction between instrumentality and affection that Thoen describes. The *rok* is an example of a gift whose purpose was primarily but not exclusively instrumental. The blurring of the line between instrumentality and affection occurs frequently in cross-cultural gift exchange, and describes many of the objects exchanged between the Dutch and Japanese in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Unfortunately, the *Deshima Dagregisters* offers no aesthetic description of these gifts; each year the *opperhoofden* simply recorded the giver and the number received (see fn. 118). Kaempfer's travelogue is similarly void of such information. One can presume, however, that gifts from the shogun would be extravagant in both material and design.

¹³⁰ *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800*, ed. Amelia Peck (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013) 262.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

Amelia Peck writes that a high-quality, ornate *rok* at the Centraal Museum Utrecht is a typical example of a gifted robe¹³² (fig. 24). This exquisite garment is patterned with mauve irises and yellow, white, orange, and mauve kerria roses (*yamabuki* 山吹) among a dizzying array of white and yellow stems and leaves, all on a background of sky blue. Peck notes the kerria rose's poetic connection to the motif of flowing water, evoked in these lines by the Heian poet Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114-1204): "As I stop my horse to give him water/*yamabuki* flowers drop their dew/Into the stream of Tamagawa at Ide."¹³³ The literary allusion would have been lost on the Dutch recipients, but it highlights how deeply and thoughtfully the Japanese invested these gifts with authentic cultural meaning.

Another exquisite example is the Rijksmuseum's pale gray silk and cotton wadded *rok* with a tight rice bushel and flower stem pattern from the first half of the eighteenth century (fig. 23). As is typical of the gowns made for the Dutch, the form is similar to that of the traditional Japanese *kosode*, but with the aforementioned modification of a shawl collar.¹³⁴ The garment's portrayal of rice bushels, the main form of currency in Edo Japan, underscores its status as a luxury item.¹³⁵

Patterned robes clearly drew inspiration from contemporary Japanese *kosode* models, which favored expansive designs that combined patches of various patterns, or a

¹³² Peck, 261.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ "Japonsche rock van zijde met grijsblauw fond waarop rijstbundels en bloemtakken in rood met groen en rood met blauw, gevuld met zijden watten en gevoerd met gele zijde, Anonymous, 1700-1750," Rijksmuseum, <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search/objecten?q=japonsche+rok&p=1&ps=12&ii=1#/BK-BR-725-A,1>.

¹³⁵ Rice bushels as money. Kootte, "A Far-off Land of Silver," 30.

repeating pattern that covered the entire garment (figs. 25, 26).¹³⁶ Japanese artisans employed intricate techniques such as *kanoko shibori* (鹿の子絞, tie-dyeing) and *katagami* (型紙, stenciling), the latter of which joined the list of “Important Intangible Cultural Properties” in 1993.¹³⁷ They sought inspiration from a variety of sources including ordinary objects (e.g. folding fans, sedge hats, and flower baskets), flora and fauna, classical Japanese literature, and famous places in Edo and Kyoto.¹³⁸ Their designs demonstrated the blurred line between the fine and decorative arts in the Edo period. For example, some *kosode* were “painted” with calligraphic characters,¹³⁹ and many display motifs that were also common on contemporary ceramic wares.¹⁴⁰

Political factors often forced *kosode* designers and dyers to expand their creativity. In the second half of the seventeenth century, Tokugawa Iemitsu (r. 1623-1651) and Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646-1709, r. 1680-1709) passed over a hundred sumptuary laws designed to maintain class distinctions and preserve the social status quo.¹⁴¹ One of these edicts prohibited the use of *benibana* (紅花 safflower), which had been a key ingredient for red textile dyes. Japanese dyers found an alternative in *suō* (蘇

¹³⁶ The exhibition catalogue *When Art Became Fashion: Kosode in Edo-Period Japan* (1992) reveals the predominance of patterned over solid-colored robes during this period. There are over one hundred catalog entries; all of them feature patterned robes.

¹³⁷ “Database of Registered National Cultural Properties,” Agency for Cultural Affairs, <http://kunishitei.bunka.go.jp/bsys/maindetails.asp>, accessed 17 Mar 2015. *Katagami* involved Japanese paper (*washi* 和紙), persimmon glue (*kakishibu* 柿渋), and a silk net to stabilize the stencils. “Japonsche rock van zijde met grijsblauw fond waarop rijstbundels en bloemtakken in rood met groen en rood met blauw, gevuld met zijden watten en gevoerd met gele zijde, Anonymous, 1700-1750,” Rijksmuseum, Accessed 10 Dec 2014, <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search/objecten?q=japonsche+rok&p=1&ps=12&ii=1#/BK-BR-725-A,1>. Peck 261-62.

¹³⁸ Gluckman and Takeda, 37.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁴⁰ An examination of *kosode* in *When Art Became Fashion* and of Japanese ceramics in *Voyage of Old Imari Porcelain* reveals several common motifs: chrysanthemums, folding fans, the three friends of winter (bamboo, pine, plum), running water, scrolling vines, dragons, clouds, cherry blossoms, Japanese maple, and cranes.

¹⁴¹ Monica Bethe, “Reflections on *Beni*: Red as Key to Edo-Period Fashion,” in *When Art Became Fashion*, 136.

芳 sappanwood) that arrived as a Dutch import, presumably from a VOC settlement in Southeast Asia. By combining *suō*, yellow *kuchinashi* (梔子 gardenia seeds), and tin (also a Dutch import), the dyers were able to replicate *benibana* red.¹⁴² It is possible, therefore, that in presenting robes to the VOC merchants, the shogun was facilitating the export of materials that had been imported to Japan by the VOC not long before.

A number of Dutch Golden Age portraits feature exquisite patterned *rokken* that resemble the *kosode* so beautifully crafted by Japanese artisans and gifted to VOC merchants during their annual audience with the shogun. One such painting is Caspar Netscher's portrait of politician and ancient historian Gisbert Cuper (1644-1716) (fig. 27). Cuper's prominent right sleeve shows off the robe's bold pattern, with cobalt blue leaves and vermilion (perhaps imitation *benibana*) flowers connected by swirling forest green foliage, all vividly set against a shimmering white silk background. The form of the blue leaves resembles that of the chrysanthemum leaves on an early-Edo period *kosode* at the Matsuzakaya Kimono Museum in Tokyo (fig. 28). The range of color – from red and gold to blue and dark green – recalls similar variety in *kosode* like a late seventeenth-century example in the Marubeni Art Gallery's collection (fig. 29).

Jan Steen's portrait of Geertruy Gael, second wife of the Haarlem brewer Gerrit Gerritsz Schouten, provides a rare example of a woman wearing a *rok* (fig. 30).¹⁴³ The roundel motif on Gael's olive green and golden *rok* finds many Japanese counterparts, including in the Matsuura screens (specifically the purple *kosode* with gold roundels worn by the third woman from the left on the bottom screen) and in a late seventeenth-

¹⁴² Bethe, 136.

¹⁴³ While the *rok* appears to have been primarily a garment for men (especially based on the painted evidence), inventories show that women and children sometimes wore them as well. Thomas Asselijn writes in an eighteenth-century play: "The child could not be seen for lace and the mother sat there in her Japanese gown on her chair." Breukink-Peeze, 55.

century *Kosode with Floral Roundels* at the Tokyo National Museum (figs. 26, 31). The flecks of gold throughout Gael's *rok* recall the Japanese decorative practice of *maki-e* (蒔絵, gold dust), which points to the "fusion of painting and fashion"¹⁴⁴ in Edo-period *kosode* design and enhances the aura of Far Eastern exoticism.

While it is not possible to determine definitively whether the *rokken* featured in these portraits were originally gifts from the shogun, the occupations of Cuper and Gael's husband hint at an answer. From 1681 to 1694 Cuper was Overijssel province's representative to the States General at The Hague.¹⁴⁵ This office afforded intimate familiarity with the VOC's business affairs, and, quite likely, acquaintances with some members of its board of directors. It is highly plausible that Gerrit Gerritsz Schouten made similar contacts through his career in an industry deeply entwined in Haarlem's social fabric. If these elegant robes were originally gifts from the shogun to the VOC merchants, they might well have reached Cuper and Schouten as gifts from members of the Heren XVII who, as mentioned above, sometimes passed along the objects they received from their employees upon their return from faraway lands.

Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687), secretary to the House of Orange, alludes to patterned *rokken* in his georgic poem "Hofwijck" (1651): "And when I tried to think what such a device resembled/I was reminded of the colourfulness of a Japonschen Rock/Of the incredibleness of those confusing patches/Which embellish the garment but are displeasing to me."¹⁴⁶ Perhaps Huygens would have preferred the more sedate copper and

¹⁴⁴ Gluckman and Takeda, *When Art Became Fashion*, 30.

¹⁴⁵ Marinus Antony Wes, *Classics in Russia 1700-1855: Between Two Bronze Horsemen* (Leiden: Brill, 1992) 12.

¹⁴⁶ Breukink-Peeze, 55.

sky blue robe that his son Christiaan (1629-1695) wears in a 1671 portrait by Caspar Netscher (fig. 32).

Christiaan Huygens, enveloped in his simple yet elegant *rok*, gazes at the viewer with a self-assurance that matches the subtle bravado of his pose: one hand on his hip, one arm casually resting on a velvet pillow. He has good reason to be proud; his contributions encompassed the scientific fields of astronomy, physics, probability, and horology. He is perhaps best known for his invention of the pendulum clock and the accompanying treatise *Horologium Oscillatorium sive de motu pendulorum*, which he would complete two years after this portrait was painted. Among his other accomplishments were the discoveries of a continuous ring around Saturn and the first of its moons, Titan.¹⁴⁷ Huygens's empirical method, by which conclusions were reached through observation and experimentation,¹⁴⁸ mirrored the approach that governed the rise of botany at the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and informed works like Rembert Dodoens's *Cruydt-boeck*. Huygens's approach also paralleled similar developments that were taking place in contemporary Japan, which will be discussed later in this thesis.

Breukink-Peeze notes that contrasting color combinations like the copper and sky blue of Huygens's robe were popular among the Dutch in the later decades of the

¹⁴⁷ Pekka Teerikorpi et al, *The Evolving Universe and the Origin of Life: The Search for Our Cosmic Roots* (New York: Springer Science & Business Media, 2008) 455.

¹⁴⁸ In this thesis I employ the term "empiricism" as defined by scholars writing on the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic and Edo-period Japan: drawing conclusions about the world based on tangible evidence perceived by the senses, not through pre-conceived mental ideals or theological assumptions. Empiricism is "evidential inquiry" and based on "concrete facts to be observed." William Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom, *Principle and Practicality: Essays in Neo-Confucianism and Practical Learning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979) 134. Empiricism is "the view that all knowledge comes from sensory experience, as opposed to innate ideas" and "the view that all theories must be tested with observation, as opposed to a priori reasoning or intuition." Mihnea Dobre and Tammy Nyden, *Cartesian Empiricisms* (New York: Springer Science & Business Media, 2013) 12.

seventeenth century.¹⁴⁹ While the original patterned robes from Japan were undoubtedly prized items, there was also a demand for simpler designs of the type that appear in works by Vermeer, Netscher, Verkolje, and others. Where did these robes come from, if they were not *schenkagierocken* (gift gowns)?

Christiane Hertel notes that the *Japonsche rok* was at first not offered for sale in either Japan or the Netherlands.¹⁵⁰ This lent the garment an air of exclusivity that comported with its early association with the wealthy and intellectual elite, but the restricted supply was not sustainable. It soon became apparent that *schenkagierocken* alone could not satisfy demand, and the VOC requested and eventually received permission to place direct orders with the Japanese tailors' guild. The *rok* subsequently became a regular trade item, although quantities remained limited. Breukink-Peeze notes a striking discrepancy with other Japanese goods: in 1708 thousands of chests and porcelain pieces were exported from Japan, compared to just fifty silk robes.¹⁵¹

When VOC commissioner general Hendrik van Rheede (1636-1691) discovered that the Coromandel Coast could produce chintz gowns in a Japanese style, they became a made-to-order item in India.¹⁵² Eventually, as is the case with other foreign objects like blue-and-white porcelain from China and Japan, the Dutch managed to use domestic resources (in this case, Chinese silk, the material used for the original *Japonsche rok*) to produce convincing reproductions.¹⁵³ Breukink-Peeze notes that this difference appears in auction records, such as one that distinguishes between “a Japanese gown from the

¹⁴⁹ Breukink-Peeze 55.

¹⁵⁰ Christian Hertel, “Seven Vermeers,” *The Cambridge Companion to Vermeer*, 152.

¹⁵¹ Breukink-Peeze, 55.

¹⁵² The Gemeente Museum Den Haag's collection includes one such “Japonsche rok” made in India in the second half of the eighteenth century. It features a predominantly blue and yellow *Tales of Genji*-themed pattern, with motifs of maple leaves and Bugaku dance hats, on a cream-colored background (fig. 33).

¹⁵³ Breukink-Peeze, 55.

Hague” (generic) and “a genuine Japanese gown” (specific).¹⁵⁴ The generic category included the versions produced in VOC territories or at home, and the specific included both the original gowns from the shogun as well as those later commissioned from the Japanese tailors’ guild. A generic eighteenth-century woolen *Japonsche rok* in the Museum Rotterdam exemplifies the use of domestic materials to make a robe inspired by foreign prototypes (fig. 34).

It is likely generic or commissioned authentic *Japonsche rokken* that appear in Johannes Vermeer’s only two portraits to feature a man as the sole subject: the pendants *The Astronomer* (ca. 1668) and *The Geographer* (1668-69) (fig. 35).¹⁵⁵

In *The Astronomer*, a robed man in his thirties appears to be rising from his chair, one hand lightly touching a celestial globe, the other clutching the table’s edge. Light streams in through a stained glass window, brightly illuminating the globe, a few scientific instruments, and a small book near the astronomer’s left hand, while casting a fainter light on a painting hanging behind him. A tall cabinet, some books and a chart depicting three circles are left partially in shadow.

The Geographer portrays the same robed figure, though this time he is more upright, leaning over a table on which is spread a large, luminous chart. He holds dividers in one hand and grips the dividers’ case in the other, gazing into the distance in contemplation. Near the geographer are a map, a colorful upholstered chair, and a side

¹⁵⁴ Breukink-Peeze, 55.

¹⁵⁵ A number of scholars including Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. have posited that Vermeer’s model was microbiologist Antonie van Leeuwenhoek, pointing to both physiognomic similarities as well as circumstantial evidence (fathers both in the silk business, familiarity based on their residence in the small city of Delft) that indicates an acquaintanceship between artist and scientist. Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., “Der Astronom und der Geograph,” in *Johannes Vermeer, Der Geograph und der Astronom nach 200 Jahren wieder vereint*, exh. Cat. (Frankfurt: Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, 1997) 20. It is worth noting that Van Leeuwenhoek and the man who posed for Vermeer’s *The Astronomer* and *The Geographer* both wear *Japonsche rokken* (figs. 35, 36).

table; a couple of scrolls lie on the floor, one tightly rolled, the other partially unfurled. The astronomer's cabinet is also present here, but it is bathed in more direct sunlight and a terrestrial globe has replaced some of the books. Edward Snow eloquently describes the pendants' subjects: "the male figures reach out in consciousness in an attempt to map, to encompass the limits of their world, to grasp the realm beyond as thought or image or microcosm; yet in doing so they instinctively tighten their grip on the material dimension that supports their speculations."¹⁵⁶

The scientists' solid-colored robes – the astronomer's forest green and geographer's bright blue with apricot – resemble the domestically-made *rok* at the Rotterdam Museum and fit the fad for solid colors in the late seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. For these reasons it is probable that Vermeer's scientists wear generic, or perhaps commissioned authentic, rather than gifted *Japonsche rokken*.

Similarly, Antonie van Leeuwenhoek the microbiologist (1632-1723), Jan Commelin the botanist (1629-1692) and the aforementioned Christiaan Huygens the astronomer and mathematician, all wear solid-colored *Japonsche rokken* in their portraits (figs. 32, 36, 37). A rigorous search yielded a few examples of non-scientists wearing solid colors, including brewer Gerrit Gerritsz. Schouten in a pendant to the aforementioned portrait of his wife (fig. 38),¹⁵⁷ but only one in which a scientist wore a pattern: Johannes van Waveren Hudde (1628-1704), who was a mathematician in addition to serving as burgomaster of Amsterdam from 1672 to 1703 (fig. 39). In his

¹⁵⁶ Edward Snow, *A Study of Vermeer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) 163.

¹⁵⁷ Gerrit Gerritsz's solid salmon robe with golden trim perfectly complements Geertruy Gael's patterned olive green robe with golden trim as well as her salmon dress underneath. This color harmony, along with the mirroring positions of the sitters and the shared compositional elements including the thick column, dark curtain, and wooden armchair, are perhaps designed to reflect the Schoutens' harmonious and balanced marriage. Certainly, the juxtaposition of the *rokken* in these two pendant portraits by Jan Steen deserves further exploration.

portrait by Michiel van Musscher, he wears a violet robe decorated with a subdued pattern of red flowers attached to olive green stems. Despite this outlier, it seems prudent to explore the reasons why a one- or two-toned design rather than an intricate floral motif might have been the more appropriate choice for physicists and biologists.¹⁵⁸

It is possible that a plainer robe evoked the ideal balance between materialism and scientific integrity. The astronomer's dark green robe, for example, while exotic and fashionable, and a status symbol for men who had achieved a certain intellectual standing, is not so fancy or ornate that it detracts from the scientist's work. The viewer focuses more on what the man is doing rather than what he is wearing. An exception is Barend van Lin (ca. 1641-1705), who wears a solid-colored but flashy pink robe with matching hat and slippers in his 1671 portrait by Michiel van Musscher (fig. 40). While he was interested in mathematics and astronomy (and is shown accompanied by scientific instruments). Van Lin's principle occupation was as a tax collector.¹⁵⁹ His fancy outfit speaks more to this sphere of his life than to his scientific endeavors.

The *Japonsche rok* was an alternative to the heavier *tabbaard*, a traditional Netherlandish robe worn by academics, lawyers, and ecclesiastics. In portraiture, *tabbaarden* were most often solid brown or black (fig. 41), but seventeenth-century inventories show they also came in brighter colors like purple and green.¹⁶⁰ It seems as though *tabbaard*-robed sitters preferred to be portrayed in duller colors, analogous to how intellectuals seem to have favored solid-colored over patterned *Japonsche rokken*. The

¹⁵⁹ Peter N. Miller, Deborah L. Krohn, and Marybeth De Filippis, *Dutch New York Between East and West: The World of Margrieta van Varick* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) 139.

¹⁶⁰ Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006) 154.

solid-colored *Japonsche rok* thus fit neatly into the Dutch intellectual portrait tradition in a way that the flashier floral gown could not.

The possibility that Vermeer's scientists wear generic rather than "genuine" *rokken* does not detract from their significance; indeed, it offers a more complete and complex view of the story of this fascinating object of Dutch-Japanese material culture exchange in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While greater prestige is implied in owning a gown that had been in the hands of the Japanese shogunate or at least Japanese tailors, and that traveled around the world to its eventual destination in a scientist's study, a robe produced by Indian or Dutch tailors is equally fascinating because it adds a further layer of appropriation. The imprint of Dutch preferences (and in the case of Dutch tailors, literally Dutch hands) on the design of an originally Japanese object would yield a product that is truly a combination of both cultures.

Mia Mochizuki discusses the phenomena of appropriation and hybridity in "The Movable Center: The Netherlandish Map in Japan" (2010):

Exploration not only introduced artists to new exotica (from the perspective of both sides), it also stimulated the creation of what might be called 'hybrid art' for lack of a better term. In other words new objects surfaced that clearly indicated the effects of cultural exchange in their structure and design at a particular moment in history. When objects like these Japanese map screens are subjected to analysis through reception theory, we can go beyond how Western Europeans pictured others and examine how others reacted to Western pictorial conventions by studying what was borrowed, altered or omitted.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ Mia Mochizuki, "The Movable Center: The Netherlandish Map in Japan," in *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900: Rethinking Markets, Workshops and Collections*, ed. Michael North (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010), 113. Mochizuki's discussion of hybridity is more relevant to the Dutch-Japanese case than that of more famous theorists like Homi Bhabha, whose definition is predicated on an imbalance between the colonizer and the colonized: "Hybridity is the sign of the productivity of colonial power, its shifting focuses and fixities; it is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination through disavowal (that is, the production of discriminatory identities that secure the 'pure' and original identity of authority)." Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2004) 159. This definition of hybridity does not apply to the Dutch-Japanese relationship because the Dutch resided in Japan not as colonizers but essentially guests under house arrest.

Mochizuki cites an anonymous late sixteenth-century/early seventeenth-century Japanese world map as a key example of a hybrid image (fig. 42). It shares striking similarities to Flemish cartographer Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570), a copy of which entered Japan with the return of four young Japanese Jesuit "ambassadors" from a tour of Spain, Italy, and Portugal¹⁶² (fig. 43). Both maps are divided into quadrants, show the same four continents and "unknown Southern land," and feature unifying motifs in the four corners (clouds in the Flemish map, ships in the Japanese).¹⁶³

More intriguing, however, are the differences that show conscious Japanese decisions to appropriate and adapt the foreign model to native tastes. The Japanese cartographer shifted his home country to the center of the map, thus subverting European centrality. He also changed the Western horizontal format to a vertical orientation more in line with traditional picture scrolls (絵巻 *e-maki*) and more accommodating of the

¹⁶² Mia Mochizuki, "The Movable Center," 114. The delegation to Europe was the brainchild of Italian Jesuit missionary Alessandro Valignano, who sought support for the Jesuit missions in Asia and worried over Japanese unfamiliarity with and lack of appreciation for Europe. Michael Cooper, *The Japanese Mission to Europe, 1582-1590: The Journey of Four Samurai Boys Through Portugal, Spain and Italy* (Folkestone, UK: Global Oriental, 2005) 7, 11. Valignano won the support of three Christian daimyo from Kyushu who volunteered four local youths (Christian names Mancio, Michael, Martin, and Julian) for the adventure. Cooper 12-13. The "ambassadors" departed Japan in 1582, slowly making their way to Europe via Macao, Malacca, Cochin, Goa, and St. Helena. *Ibid.*, xiii. They arrived in Portugal in 1584, spending one month in Lisbon and meeting three times with Cardinal Albert (1559-1621) at his palace. *Ibid.*, 45. In Spain, they were warmly received by King Philip II. The ecclesiastical highlight of their tour was their presentation to Pope Gregory XIII, who kissed each of them and died shortly thereafter. Everywhere they went, they were hailed as symbols of Catholic success in evangelizing the East. As an orator at the coronation of Pope Sixtus V (attended by the delegation) proclaimed, Gregory the Great had evangelized England, and Gregory XIII, Asia. "The Papacy would make up for the loss of the first... by gaining the second." *Ibid.*, 309 (fig. 44). Also worth noting: they often wore patterned silk robes (Alessandro Benacci describes them as "embroidered in various colours with leaves and lines and drawings of birds and other animals") and presented Japanese robes as gifts to their hosts, including the Duchess of Ferrara, the Doge Nicolo da Ponte, and Vincenzo Gonzaga, future Duke of Mantua. *Ibid.*, 110ff, 121.

¹⁶³ Mochizuki, "The Movable Center," 109.

vertical direction of Japanese script. The verticality also better complements the *Peoples of the World* pendant, which contains forty sets of world peoples in native costume.¹⁶⁴

The *Japonsche rok*'s hybridity was multivalent. Because it was typically woven from Chinese silk, sometimes tailored to Dutch specifications (with extra wadding or a Dutch design), it was "hybrid" before it left Japan for the Dutch Republic via Batavia. It attained another layer of hybridity when it became a status symbol for Dutch intellectuals (who seem to have preferred the solid-colored, possibly Dutch-designed version) and not the standard item of aristocratic dress it had been in Japan.

The robe became the costume of choice for scientists like Christiaan Huygens and Antonie van Leeuwenhoek. In Johannes Vermeer's *Astronomer* and *Geographer* pendants, the robe is as much a symbol of science as the celestial globe or dividers. Martha Hollander writes: "The unbelted, padded looseness expands the body's outline, not only evoking the classical toga, but suggesting the physical substantiality of wisdom. (The soft pyramidal shape of Vermeer's astronomer is a good example of this effect.)"¹⁶⁵

The strength of the nascent age of empiricism was such that even a decorative garment was transformed into a scientific accoutrement. In donning a *rok*, the scientist drew the value of exoticism into equivalence with the scientific method. The *rok*'s exoticism also alludes to the global reach of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, which was due in no small part to its proficiency in empirical fields like navigation, military warfare, and medicine. The *Japonsche rok* is thus a kind of microcosm of the Dutch Golden Age, its existence in the Netherlands made possible by the same empirical ideals that it came to embody.

¹⁶⁴ Mochizuki, "The Movable Center," 109.

¹⁶⁵ Hollander, 191.

Chapter Three: *Cruydt-boeck* (Herbal)

The second case study is the *Cruydt-boeck* (Herbal) by Flemish botanist Rembert Dodoens (1517-1585) and its Japanese manifestations.

Dodoens, also known by his Latinized name Dodonaeus, was born in 1517 in Mechelen (then in the Spanish Netherlands), the son of the town physician. He studied cosmography, physiology, and medicine at the University of Leuven, during which time he published his first book, *Nederlands Herbarium* (Antwerp, 1533).¹⁶⁶ He graduated with a medical degree at the age of eighteen and practiced in his hometown from 1541 to until the middle 1570s.¹⁶⁷

Dodoens followed his 1533 herbal with other publications related to the fields he had studied at university, including *Cosmographica in astronomiam et geographiam isagoge* (Antwerp, 1548) and the first edition of his masterpiece, the *Cruijdeboek* (*Cruydt-boeck*) (1554, Antwerp).¹⁶⁸ He travelled throughout Europe, earning praise for his work and his knowledge of both medicine and botany. His botanist friend Carolus Clusius (1526-1609) helped him attain a position as personal physician to Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II in Vienna, which then led to employment with Maximilian's successor Rudolph II in Prague (1574-1578).¹⁶⁹

Dodoens spent some time writing botanical and medical treatises in Cologne before returning to the Netherlands in 1582, whereupon he was appointed chair of botany

¹⁶⁶ W.F. Vande Walle, "Dodonaeus: A Bio-Bibliographical Summary," in *Dodonaeus in Japan: Translation and the Scientific Mind in the Tokugawa Period*, ed. W.F. Vande Walle (Kyoto: Leuven University Press, 2001) 34.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ Duane Isely, *One Hundred and One Botanists* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2002) 32.

¹⁶⁹ Frank Anderson, *An Illustrated History of the Herbals* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977) 174.

at the University of Leiden.¹⁷⁰ He died three years later, and was buried in Leiden's Church of St. Peter in a tomb whose inscription partially reads: "To an Excellent Man, of the Greatest Worth, Rembert Dodoens... Whose Learning and Writing in Things Astronomical, Botanical and Medical Brought Him Fame."¹⁷¹

The fact that Dodoens was Flemish, not Dutch, does not preclude his work from examination in a project on Dutch-Japanese studies. The nature of the Netherlands in the sixteenth century was such that scholars moved fluidly between the North and South, and in fact, Dodoens was born and educated in the Spanish Netherlands, but worked at a Northern university late in life. His *Cruydt-boeck* was originally published in "Nederduytsch" (Dutch or Flemish) and Latin.¹⁷² Furthermore, it is important to emphasize that it was Dutch East India Company merchants who transmitted the *Cruydt-boeck* to the Japanese, and that the Japanese perceived this book as a Dutch herbal, likely unaware or not interested in distinguishing between Dutch and Flemish objects.

Dodoens's famous herbal, first published in 1554 by Jan van der Loë in Antwerp, contained 715 woodcuts and "so much medical information that it became a standard manual of herbal medicine, or pharmacopoeia, for centuries."¹⁷³ French (1557), English (1578), and Latin (1583) editions soon followed.¹⁷⁴ By the 1644 (thirteenth) edition, the number of entries had increased to more than one thousand (fig. 45). Dodoens used German botanist Leonhard Fuchs (1501-1566) as a model, echoing his attention to accuracy and detail as well as his focus on the medicinal properties of the

¹⁷⁰ Anderson, 175.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 179.

¹⁷² Vande Walle, "Dodonaeus: A Bio-Bibliographical Summary," 40.

¹⁷³ Schaefer, 35.

¹⁷⁴ Anderson, 180.

plants described.¹⁷⁵ As W.F. Vande Walle writes, however, the *Cruydt-boeck* “surpassed its model both in rationale of its arrangement [botanical characteristics instead of Fuchs’s alphabetization] and the number of plants described [about two hundred more than Fuchs].”¹⁷⁶ Dodoens was the first to scientifically describe cauliflower, the potato, and the Jerusalem artichoke.¹⁷⁷

By the end of the sixteenth century, the *Cruydt-boeck* had been translated into three languages and was renowned in intellectual circles throughout Europe.¹⁷⁸ Henry Lyte’s English translation (1578, Antwerp) might have been the source for the botanical references in William Shakespeare’s plays.¹⁷⁹ Robert Visser proclaims that “the popularity of his writings made Dodoens an influential propagandist of the empirical practice in botanical science.”¹⁸⁰ Dodoens’s influence was not restricted to Europe; the *Cruydt-boeck* found followers halfway around the world as well. Its relevance as a case study has its roots in a growing fascination with empiricism and botany that began in early seventeenth-century Japan and continued throughout the Edo period.

In the first years of the seventeenth century, the newly established Tokugawa shogunate sought knowledge about medicinal plants to “combat false labeling and distribution of useless drugs.”¹⁸¹ In 1607, retired shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (r. 1603-1605) sent his Neo-Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan (1583-1657) to Nagasaki to acquire a

¹⁷⁵ Vande Walle, “Dodonaeus: A Bio-Bibliographical Summary,” 35.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. The book was divided into six parts. The relative relationship of the plants in the first part is difficult to discern, but the other five are flowers and odiferous herbs; medicinal and harmful plants; cereals, vegetables, and fodder plants; herbs, roots, and fruits for cooking; and trees and ligneous plants.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ “Rembertus Dodonaeus: his Herbals online (Cruydeboeck, Cruydt-Boeck and others),” *Plantaardigheden*, accessed 20 Feb 2015, <http://www.plantaardigheden.nl/dodoens/english.htm>.

¹⁷⁹ Isely, 33.

¹⁸⁰ Robert Visser, “Dodonaeus and the Herbal Tradition,” in *Dodonaeus in Japan: Translation and the Scientific Mind in the Tokugawa Period*, ed. W.F. Vande Walle (Kyoto: Leuven University Press, 2001) 51.

¹⁸¹ Christine Guth, “Varied Trees: An I’nen Seal Screen in the Freer Gallery of Art,” *Archives of Asian Art* 39 (1986): 57.

copy of Chinese herbalist Li Shizhen's *Pen ts'ao kang mu* (本草綱目, Great Herbal) (1596) (fig. 46).¹⁸² Hayashi annotated the herbal with Japanese translations and comments on its preface, indicating a familiarity with the field of botany.¹⁸³ In 1612, a shorter version (the original Chinese volume included 1,892 entries) was published in Japan, and sustained interest resulted in Japanese translations of this and other Chinese herbals (fig. 47). Ieyasu's acquisition of this esteemed Chinese manuscript, which he "kept by his side at all times" marks the beginning of *honzōgaku* (本草学, study of medicinal herbs) in Japan.¹⁸⁴

It is important to explore further Hayashi Razan's role in the spread of the fascination with herbals and the larger trend of empiricism in the seventeenth century. The realities of the Edo period's political structure meant that intellectual influence was directly related to one's proximity to the powerful shogun. Hayashi advised the first four Tokugawa shoguns: Ieyasu (r. 1603-1605), Hidetada (r. 1605-1623), Iemitsu (r. 1623-1651), and Ietsuna (1614-1680, r. 1651-1680). The shogunate gave him an honorific title, *daigaku no kami* (大学頭, head of the state university), which was passed down through generations of Hayashi's descendants until the late nineteenth century.¹⁸⁵

Neo-Confucians like Hayashi downplayed the spiritual in favor of the experiential, an approach that appealed to rulers whose clan had only recently secured control of the country after decades of civil war and who were therefore especially wary

¹⁸² Hiroko Johnson, *Western Influences on Japanese Art* (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2005) 26.

¹⁸³ Tucker, 48.

¹⁸⁴ Guth, 57.

¹⁸⁵ Catharina Blomberg, *The Heart of the Warrior: Origins and Religious Background of the Samurai System in Feudal Japan* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 1994) 157.

of any system of thought that required devotion to an entity other than the shogun.¹⁸⁶ As Mary Evelyn Tucker writes,

In the seventeenth century the Japanese, recently emerging from the devastation of the warfare and strife of the previous century, sought an interpretation of change and a means of validating human action that was distinct from the Buddhism that had dominated medieval Japan. [...] In contrast to the Buddhist view of the impermanence of reality and of attachment as being the root of suffering, Neo-Confucianism's affirmation of change, and its program of harmonizing with change through *self-cultivation and the investigation of things*, provided a means of personal and social transformation that seemed to be appropriate for Tokugawa Japan.¹⁸⁷ (emphasis added)

As Donald Keene notes, Hayashi Razan “wished to encourage all capable men to study [Neo-Confucian texts] and to ‘investigate things’ in the manner advocated by the founders of Neo-Confucianism.”¹⁸⁸ Above all, Hayashi Razan was an advocate for education or “self-cultivation” of the samurai class, famously declaring: “No true learning without arms and no true arms without learning.”¹⁸⁹ As director of the Tokugawa shogunate's Confucian academy Shōheikō in Edo, Razan would have supervised the training of many students to become teachers at the *hankō* (藩校), schools for the samurai. This idea of the interdependence of intellectual knowledge and military strength became a key tenet of Tokugawa shogunate ruling philosophy. This is manifest in Ieyasu's active search for a Chinese herbal, and later Razan advisee Tokugawa Iemitsu's (r. 1623-1651) establishment of two medicinal herb gardens (薬園 *yakuen*) modeled on a

¹⁸⁶ Cal French remarks that the Tokugawa shogunate favored an emphasis on “practical aspects of statecraft and human relationships, and insisted upon the accumulation of objective knowledge and the application of reason.” French, 3.

¹⁸⁷ Mary Evelyn Tucker, *Moral and Spiritual Cultivation in Japanese Neo-Confucianism: The Life and Thought of Kaibara Ekken (1630-1714)* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989) 4.

¹⁸⁸ Donald Keene, “Characteristic Responses to Confucianism in Tokugawa Literature,” Peter Nosco, ed., *Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984) 121.

¹⁸⁹ Blomberg, 158.

Portuguese prototype near Kyoto.¹⁹⁰ Iemitsu's grandson Tsunayoshi (r. 1680-1709), followed his example, founding the Koishikawa Medicinal Herb Garden, which today houses over one million specimens.¹⁹¹

Hayashi's emphases on intellectualism and empiricism influenced generations of shoguns, but his impact seems to have skipped Iemitsu's son (Tsunayoshi's father). In 1659, *Opperhoofd* Zacharias Wagenaer presented a 1618 (second Flemish) edition of Dodoens's renowned *Cruydt-boeck* to Tokugawa Ietsuna (r. 1651-1680) (fig. 48).¹⁹² There are no documents that explain the VOC's selection of this particular herbal for such a lofty purpose; they would have had several other attractive choices, including Crispijn van de Passe's gorgeous *Hortus Floridus* (1614) and Matthias de l'Obel's meticulous *Plantarum seu stirpium historia* (1576) (figs. 49, 50). While the naturalistic illustrations in Van de Passe's and L'Obel's volumes are similarly impressive, the sheer number of entries in the *Cruydt-boeck* set it apart from contemporary herbals, making it an ideal gift for a foreign ruler.

Unfortunately, the shogunal official in charge of the gift exchange (and presumably acting on the shogun's tastes) did not recognize the value of the scientific treatise, and special-ordered a larger book with more beautiful illustrations.¹⁹³ The *Cruydt-boeck* was stowed in the *Momojiyama bunko* (shogunal library).¹⁹⁴ Four years

¹⁹⁰ W.F. Vande Walle, "Introduction," in *Dodonaeus in Japan: Translation and the Scientific Mind in the Tokugawa Period*, ed. W.F. Vande Walle (Kyoto: Leuven University Press, 2001) 15.

¹⁹¹ "Koishikawa Botanical Gardens," Botanical Gardens, Graduate School of Science, The University of Tokyo, accessed 15 Apr 2013, <http://www.bg.s.u-tokyo.ac.jp/koishikawa/eigo/e.html>.

¹⁹² Guth, 57 and 61, fn 39.

¹⁹³ Yozaburo Shirahata, "The Development of Japanese Botanical Interest and Dodonaeus' Role: From Pharmacopoeia to Botany and Horticulture," in *Dodonaeus in Japan: Translation and the Scientific Mind in the Tokugawa Period*, ed. W.F. Vande Walle (Kyoto: Leuven University Press, 2001) 266.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 266. English scholarship on the shogunal library is scarce, but the thin descriptions do indicate that it was a restricted and insular space to which only the shogun, librarians (appointed by the shogun), and those with special shogunal permission had access. *Japanese Studies in the History of Science* (Tokyo: History of Science Society of Japan, 1972) 135 ff. Rebekah Clements writes of knowledge being "closeted

later, *Oppehoofd* Hendrik Indijk gave Ietsuna the Dutch translation of Polish scholar Jan Jonston's *Historiae naturalis* (1649-1662) volumes on animals, insects, and sea creatures (fig. 51).¹⁹⁵ Jonston's work was full of Matthias Merian's copper-plate illustrations of strange creatures the Japanese had never seen, and charmed the shogun and his officials. However, they had no access to Dutch translators, and the initial fascination was apparently not sufficient to warrant the effort to find or create them. The *Naeukeurige beschryving van de natuur der vier-voetige dieren, vissen en bloedlooze water-dieren, vogelen, kronkel-dieren, slangen en draken* (Amsterdam, 1660) met the same fate as the *Cruydt-boeck*, lying dormant in the *Momojiyama bunko* for over half a century.¹⁹⁶

Despite the fact that the *Cruydt-boeck* was swiftly relegated to storage, its existence somehow reached at least one *daimyo* whose domain was located hundreds of miles from Edo. Maeda Tsunanori (1643-1724), the powerful *daimyo* of Kaga province (in present-day Ishikawa prefecture), was an "amateur naturalist" who was interested in agriculture, gardening, and botany.¹⁹⁷ In 1676, Tsunanori established a private garden, "Renchi-tei" (now Kenroku-en) which comprised a secondary home (used while his primary residence was undergoing renovations), a teahouse, flowerbeds, and a pond.¹⁹⁸ He also ordered herbalist Inao Jakusui (1655-1715) to undertake a monumental task, the creation of a *Shobutsu raisan* (Classification of medicinal plants) through the compilation

away within the shogunal library" and John Brian Harley and David Woodward mention a collection of maps that was "kept in the shogunal library and never published," all indications that this was a restricted, insular space. Rebekah Clements, *A Cultural History of Translation in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015) 206. John Brian Harley and David Woodward, *The History of Cartography: Book 1, Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987) 436.

¹⁹⁵ Shirahata, 265-266.

¹⁹⁶ English title: Natural description of the nature of quadrupeds, fish and bloodless sea creatures, birds, winding animals, snakes and dragons (author's translation).

¹⁹⁷ Guth, 57.

¹⁹⁸ "Maeda Tsunanori," Kenrokuen Garden Picture Guide, Accessed 30 Mar 2013, <http://shofu.pref.ishikawa.jp/shofu/meienki/e/zukan/cont/0044.html>.

of over a thousand volumes of existing herbal sources. It was not complete by the time of Inao's death in 1715, but the work was resumed by the shogunate twenty years later, at which point all regions of the country were required to contribute to the project. Complementing this endeavor was the shogunate's establishment of the Japanese Herbal Medicinal Society, which was designed to reduce Chinese imports of medicinal plants.¹⁹⁹

Among the vast collection of books in Tsunanori's library at Kanazawa Castle were several imported volumes on the natural sciences, including a 1644 hand-colored edition of the *Cruydt-boeck*, which he received (upon his request, as a special order or *eis*)²⁰⁰ from *Opperhoofd* Andreas Cleyer in winter 1682 (Figs. 52, 53).²⁰¹ In the *Deshima Dagregister* entry for November 14, 1682, Cleyer, who was a student of botany and Oriental medicine, makes note of the gift and return gift: "Matzdendairo Cange-zamma [Matsudaira Kaga Sama, or Maeda Tsunanori] has sent through the chief interpreter Kitzizeymon [Kafuku Kichizaemon], in return for the illuminated Cruydt-Boeck of Dodonaeus, ten gold coins, two big barrels of sake and two very big stone-brems."²⁰²

As with the *rok* discussed above, Cleyer's gift to Tsunanori was likely infused with thoughtful effort and perhaps even a spirit of kinship borne of their shared fascination with botany. The *Cruydt-boeck* was also, however, an instrumental gift, a small gesture designed to nurture affable ties with Japanese officials and help perpetuate economic ties between the Dutch Republic and Japan. Indeed, the gifts exchanged

¹⁹⁹ Hiroko Johnson, *Western Influences on Japanese Art* (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2005) 26.

²⁰⁰ Other special orders placed by *daimyo* included myna birds, rosewater, weapons, rosemary bushes, "monkeys with long tails," (as opposed to native Japanese species, which had short tails) and an electrostatic generator. Chaiklin, 62-63.

²⁰¹ Shirahata, 286.

²⁰² Kiyoshi Matsuda, "The Reception and Spread of Dodonaeus' Cruydt-boeck in Japan," in *Dodonaeus in Japan: Translation and the Scientific Mind in the Tokugawa Period*, ed. W.F. Vande Walle (Kyoto: Leuven University Press, 2001), 193.

between the VOC and the Japanese are both products of and aids to their long and valuable economic relationship.

Because Tsunanori placed a special order for the *Cruydt-boeck*, it is necessary to explore how he might have learned of its existence. One possibility has to do with the Tokugawa policy of *sankin kōtai* (参勤交代, literally “alternate presence”) in which every daimyo spent alternate years in his own domain and in close proximity to the shogun in Edo.²⁰³ While the main purpose of this policy was to exert control over the daimyo, it also fostered cultural exchange between (and among) the *bakufu* and his subjects, who oscillated between the capital and home provinces throughout Japan. It is possible that Tsunanori either attended the audience at which the Dutch merchants presented the *Cruydt-boeck* to Tokugawa Ietsuna around 1660, or heard of the gift from another *daimyo* who was present at the event. Tsunanori was also the shogun’s nephew (Cleyer calls him “the second in the empire”²⁰⁴), so it is conceivable that he received firsthand knowledge of the gift from the recipient.²⁰⁵

While Tsunanori summoned his copy of the *Cruydt-boeck* from Cleyer, other Japanese elite might have encountered Dodoens’s herbal at the Dutch settlement in Nagasaki. It is possible that the herbalist and Neo-Confucian philosopher Kaibara Ekken (1630-1714) was exposed to the *Cruydt-boeck* during his seven years studying Western science in Nagasaki.²⁰⁶ Ekken’s *Yamato honzo* (Japanese herbal) was published in 1715 and contained only Japanese medicinal plants (fig. 54). Hiroko Johnson notes that

²⁰³ The practice of *sankin kōtai* began in 1635. Louis Frédéric, *Japan Encyclopedia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002) 820.

²⁰⁴ Shirahata, 286.

²⁰⁵ Ibid. There is also at least one documented case of a shogun writing to a *daimyo* about gifts received at court: Iemitsu’s letter to the Hirado *daimyo* relating the receipt of the chandelier from François Caron, and the reciprocal gift of silver. Wolff, 14.

²⁰⁶ Mary Evelyn Tucker, *Moral and Spiritual Cultivation in Japanese Neo-Confucianism: The Life and Thought of Kaibara Ekken (1630-1714)* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1989) 35.

compiling such herbals required extensive fieldwork, including collecting and identifying plant specimens and interviewing locals. Because of the variety of dialects throughout Japan, some plant names were not standardized, “so the most important element of *honzogaku* at this time was the accurate drawing of specimens.”²⁰⁷

Kiyoshi Matsuda provides circumstantial evidence that indicates that Ekken looked to Dodoens for inspiration: references to flora from “barbarian countries” and the presence of an *oranda honzo* (Dutch herbal) in Ekken’s library.²⁰⁸ A comparative analysis of Dodoens’s *Cruydt-boeck* and Ekken’s *Yamato honzo* reveals similarities that further support the theory that Ekken looked to the Dutch herbal as a visual prototype. While the linear precision of the botanical illustrations also resembles Li Shih-chen’s *Pen ts’ao kang mu*, there are two key differences that point to the Dutch rather than the Chinese as the primary influence: the interwoven nature of text and image, with the plant illustrations embedded into the text rather than separated from it; and the accompanying descriptions packed with knowledge about the plants’ characteristics and special abilities.

While Maeda Tsunanori and Kaibara Ekken made good use of Dodoens’s work, the gifted 1618 edition of the *Cruydt-boeck* languished in the shogunal library along with the fancier *Naeukeurige beschryving*. Fortunately, they were not doomed to an eternity in storage; the eighth shogun Yoshimune brought them into the light.

Yoshimune (1684-1751; r. 1716-1745) was passionate about Western learning and understood the advantages that Western scientific knowledge held for national prosperity. He admired the Dutch merchants’ positivist approach to the world: “People of the red-hair country customarily do things by mental reckoning and reason; they only use

²⁰⁷ Tucker, 27.

²⁰⁸ Matsuda, 193.

implements they can see; if a fact is not certain, they do not say so, and they do not make use of it; having a high regard for the sun, they do not talk about the ‘upper regions’; they do not believe in Buddhism, and they do not accept mysterious things.”²⁰⁹ In 1720, Yoshimune overturned Tokugawa Iemitsu’s 1640 ban on foreign books, except for those with Christian content.²¹⁰ His relative open-mindedness augured an era of *rangaku* (蘭学, Dutch learning²¹¹) that produced artist-scientists like painter and astronomer Shiba Kokan (1747-1818)²¹² and painter, pharmacologist and engineer Hiraga Gennai (1728-1780).²¹³

Yoshimune first encountered Dodoens and Jonston in a reading room of Edo Castle in 1717.²¹⁴ He took great interest in the two Western natural history treatises that his predecessor Ietsuna had tucked away. Although Jonston’s pictures were larger and more luxurious, Yoshimune was also struck by the naturalism of the *Cruydt-boeck*’s illustrations, which exceeded that which he had observed in Chinese and Japanese herbals.²¹⁵ He recognized the superior value of the information it contained, and around

²⁰⁹ Goodman, 50.

²¹⁰ French, 122.

²¹¹ All-encompassing term for Western learning. The term underlines the fact that the Dutch were the only Westerners in Japan during this period, and that the Dutch Republic was representative of the West as a whole.

²¹² Shiba Kokan wrote and illustrated *Kopperu temmon zukai* (刻白爾天文図解) (Illustrated Explanation of Copernicus’ Astronomy). Timon Screech, *The Lens Within the Heart: The Western Scientific Gaze and Popular Imagery in Later Edo Japan* (Richmond, UK: Curzon Press, 2002) 149.

²¹³ Gennai studied medicinal herbs and Western painting, wrote scientific treatises and satirical novels, invented an electrostatic generator. Haruo Shirane, ed., *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013) 199-200. He also owned a copy of Dodoens’s *Cruydt-boeck* and proclaimed the illustrations to be “amazingly precise” (*hanahada kuwashiki*). Timon Screech, “The Visual Legacy of Dodonaeus in Botanical and Human Categorisation,” in *Dodonaeus in Japan: Translation and the Scientific Mind in the Tokugawa Period*, ed. W.F. Vande Walle (Kyoto: Leuven University Press, 2001), 227. Gennai’s death prompted sorrow among the Dutch, who called him “a great friend of the Europeans.” Screech, *Obtaining Images*, 331.

²¹⁴ Toru Haga, “Dodonaeus and Tokugawa Culture: Hiraga Gennai and Natural History in Eighteenth-Century Japan,” in *Dodonaeus in Japan: Translation and the Scientific Mind in the Tokugawa Period*, ed. W.F. Vande Walle (Kyoto: Leuven University Press, 2001), 242.

²¹⁵ W.F. Vande Walle, “Linguistics and Translation in Pre-Modern Japan and China: A Comparison,” in *Dodonaeus in Japan: Translation and the Scientific Mind in the Tokugawa Period*, ed. W.F. Vande Walle (Kyoto: Leuven University Press, 2001), 129. Kazuhiko Kasaya, “The Tokugawa Bakufu’s Policies for the National Production of Medicines and Dodonaeus’ Cruijdeboek,” in *Dodonaeus in Japan: Translation*

1740 he ordered its “release” as part of a larger plan to increase national wealth by taking advantage of Japan’s natural resources.²¹⁶ He then commissioned herbalists Aoki Kon’yo (1695-1769)²¹⁷ and Noro Genjo (1693-1761) to learn Dutch so they could begin the task of translating the *Cruydt-boeck* and other texts into Japanese.²¹⁸ Their mandate did not include *Naeukeurige beschryving*; although Yoshimune also “resurrected” Jonston’s tome, it seems that the aesthetic fascination could not propel any effort to translate it.²¹⁹ In choosing to focus on the *Cruydt-boeck* rather than the *Naeukeurige beschryving*, Yoshimune ultimately privileged substance over style.

Kon’yo had impressed the shogun with his pragmatic 1735 *Banshoko*, or “treatise on the sweet potato,” which was written to combat rural famine.²²⁰ Genjo had been a medicinal plant collector for the shogunate since 1720 and became *omomieshi* (a physician with permission to practice in the shogunate’s inner court) in 1739.²²¹ Both Kon’yo and Genjo had trained in Kyoto, with Kon’yo studying under Neo-Confucian scholar Itō Togai (1670-1733, son of famed philosopher Itō Jinsai [1627-1705]) and Genjo studying medicine, botany, and Confucianism.

Without formal language learning materials or mentors, Kon’yo and Genjo learned Dutch (to a passable level) by relying on interpreter-mediated contact with VOC

and the Scientific Mind in the Tokugawa Period, ed. W.F. Vande Walle (Kyoto: Leuven University Press, 2001), 181.

²¹⁶ Kasaya, 181.

²¹⁷ Grant Goodman notes the series of official titles that Tokugawa Yoshimune bestowed on Kon’yo: 1739 – *Orusui shihai* (assistant to the keepers of Edo Castle) with specific title of *shomotsukata* (librarian), 1744 – *Momoyama hi no ban* (fire guard of Momoyama [shogunal library]), 1747: official Confucianist working for the Hyojosho (Consulations Office), 1767: *shomotsu bugyo* (magistrate of documents). Goodman, 67.

²¹⁸ Kasaya, 181.

²¹⁹ Shirahata, 266.

²²⁰ Kon’yo supposedly stated that “People that live far from the towns or on the islands are sometimes struck by famine. The only way of fighting against this is by planting potatoes.” One of Kon’yo’s unofficial appellations was “Kansho sensei,” or “Master of the Sweet Potato.” Goodman, 66.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 72.

representatives during their annual stays in Edo.²²² Kon'yo wrote a number of books reflecting his curiosity about the Dutch, including *Oranda oboku ikkakusetsu* (Description of Dutch cherry tree and of the narwhal) (1746) and the less scientific *Oranda kanshuka yaku* (Translation of Dutch drinking songs) (1745).²²³ The result of Genjo's efforts, which involved trips to Nagasaki-ya armed with the shogun's *Cruydt-boeck* and many questions, is the *Oranda honzo wage* (Dutch herbal, or explanation in Japanese of Dutch botany), a work in twelve volumes (1749-1750) (fig. 55). Although the content of Genjo's translation matches that of the *Cruydt-boeck*, the visual format differs. In contrast to the more integrated technique employed by Dodoens, a clear demarcation between illustration and text exists in Genjo's publication, with one page devoted solely to a drawing of the plant and its name and the adjacent page to its description.

The *Oranda honzo wage* is a unique example of a cross-cultural collaboration on two levels: one, at the basic level of influence from one culture to the other (the *Cruydt-boeck* informing the content of the Japanese translation), and two, at a deeper level in which the herbalists' task of learning Dutch required that they engage with actual Dutchmen (albeit during brief encounters, and with the aid of interpreters), who thus indirectly participated in the creation of the final product.

Another object to consider is a curious Japanese herbal currently held at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine. While it is full of unanswered questions, it bears mentioning as a further demonstration of the persistent popularity Dodoens enjoyed in Japan.

²²² Kon'yo also interacted with visiting VOC merchants out of personal interest. Vande Walle, 129. Goodman notes that his fascination with the foreign, specifically foreign writing, prompted him to ask the shogunate if he could speak to the *opperhoofd* during the *edo sanpu*. Kon'yo's request was granted, and for eighteen years (1740-1758) he was a key member of the Japanese delegation at the VOC's annual "audience" with the shogun at Edo Castle. Goodman, 67.

²²³ Goodman, 68.

The title page clearly announces its source: “Kruid Boek, Getrokken uyt Dodonaeus [“taken from Dodoens”].”²²⁴ Its date is unknown, but Hartmut Walravens believes the paper and binding are from the seventeenth or eighteenth century, and that formal similarities link it specifically to the 1644 edition of Dodoens’s *Cruydt-boeck*.²²⁵ Walravens has also interpreted an inscription referring to a “Dr. Gonossky” as a connection to the brilliant *rangaku* scholar Gonnosuke Yoshio (1785-1831), whose publications included *Kōmo-gata yakuhō* (Prescriptions of Dutch Medicine) and who might have added or edited the text that accompanies the illustrations.²²⁶ The *Kruid Boek* is a dramatically abridged version of the book that inspired it, containing eighty-four entries rather than 1,470.²²⁷ The reasoning behind the selection of these particular specimens is a conundrum. They represent a seemingly random smattering of plants from the Dutch original, encompassing species found in the Netherlands, Japan, and elsewhere, as well as both food plants and medicinal herbs.²²⁸

The artist took great care to replicate not only the accuracy of the Dutch originals, but also to add delicate modulation lacking in the images of both *Yamato honzo* and *Oranda honzo wage* (fig. 56). The pen-and-ink-with-wash images based on Dodoens’s illustrations are accompanied by multiple linguistic labels: the Latin (e.g. Narcisci), the Dutch (týloozen), the Japanese (水仙 *suisen*), and phonetic Japanese translations of the Latin (ナルシスシイ) and Dutch (テイローセン) names.²²⁹

²²⁴ Hartmut Walravens, ed., *A Japanese Herbal in the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine: a contribution to the history of the transfer of scientific knowledge from Europe to Japan* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005) 7.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

²²⁹ The daffodil is an example of a plant that was native to Europe but successfully cultivated in Japan. It arrived from the Mediterranean via China before the Muromachi period (1333-1573). Tsuyuzaki Shiro,

The empirical approach that Dodoens employed in his herbal, and that Maeda Tsunanori, Tokugawa Yoshimune, and (perhaps) Gonnusuke Yoshio so admired, famously manifested itself in Dutch Golden Age painting.²³⁰ Many artists worked *naer het leven*, or “from life,” dedicating great effort to depicting the world around them as accurately as possible.²³¹ The floral still life became a popular subgenre in the first decades of the seventeenth century, having grown out of the popularity of herbals and florilegia, and more distantly, religious Books of Hours with illusionistic wildflowers “pasted” in the margins.²³² Artists combined realistic blossoms into impossible bouquets that spanned several seasons, using a scientific eye to highlight the diverse bounty of God’s creation. The painted flowers were thus a creative counterpart to the scientific illustrations in herbals, but no less realistic, and perhaps even more so because of paint’s modelling ability.

Middelburg painter Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder (1573-1621) created a number of luminous floral still lifes, ending with what is his last known work, *Bouquet of Flowers in a Glass Vase* (1621) (fig. 57). This intimate oil on panel features a colorful bouquet of roses, cyclamens, lily-of-the-valley, columbine, rosemary, snakes-head fritillary, grape hyacinth, and other blossoms, crowned by a yellow iris and a red-and-

“Narcissus spp.,” Hokkaido University, 2014, <http://hosho.ees.hokudai.ac.jp/~tsuyu/top/plt/amaryllis/narcissus/spp.html>.

²³⁰ Botanical illustration inspired not only painting on panel and canvas but also on ceramics; as C.H. de Jonge notes, florilegia like *Hortus Floridus* (1614) provided images to translate onto Delft tiles. C. H. de Jonge, *Delft Ceramics* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969) 22.

²³¹ Albrecht Dürer’s advised in *Vier Bücher von Menschlicher Proportion* (Nuremberg, 1528): “But life in nature manifests the truth of these things. Therefore observe it diligently, go by it and do not depart from nature arbitrarily, imagining to find the better by thyself, for though wouldst be misled. For, verily, “art” [that is, knowledge] is embedded in nature; he who can extract it has it.” *From Botany to Bouquets: Flowers in Northern Art*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., Exh. cat. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1999) 18.

²³² *Ibid.*, 16.

white-striped tulip and carefully arranged in an exquisite Venetian glass vase.²³³ A pink cyclamen and dainty purple pansy rest near the base of the bouquet, as if patiently waiting their turn to join the festive ensemble. Along with the flora Bosschaert has included some small creatures: a dragonfly perched delicately atop one of the iris's petals, a Red Admiral butterfly keeping the cyclamen company on the ledge. It is possible that Bosschaert included the red and white roses as traditional symbols of Christ and Mary, and the winged insects as references to the resurrection.²³⁴

Whether or not the viewer is to read religious symbolism into individual elements, a religious message pervades the overall work; as Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. notes, “seventeenth-century Dutch society was deeply imbued with the idea that God’s presence was found in all of creation, [so] the very act of painting and drawing realistically was viewed as rendering him honor.”²³⁵ The Christian allusion shows that the rise of empiricism did not supplant religion but in some cases served to augment it; the heightened accuracy emphasized the awesomeness of God’s creation.

In Japan, scientific illustration was likewise not confined to herbals but spread to more traditional formats like painted folding screens (*byōbu* 屏風). A pair of seventeenth-century *byōbu* in the Freer Gallery of Art’s collection effectively encapsulate the empirical strain of Japanese painting during the Edo period (fig. 58). Simply titled *Trees*, and tentatively attributed to the Sōtatsu workshop, the screens invite the viewer into a

²³³ The tulip could represent the prized *Semper Augustus*, which would become the most outrageously expensive bulb during Tulipmania (1634-1637). Mike Dash, *Tulipomania: The Story of the World’s Most Coveted Flower & the Extraordinary Passions It Aroused* (New York: Crown Archetype, 2010) 80. For a digital examination of this work, including detailed information on each specimen and a chart of bloom times, please see “*Bouquet of Flowers in a Glass Vase: A Consideration of Time Gathered and Arrested*” by University of Maryland graduate student Hannah Schockmel. <http://flowersinaglassvase.artinterp.org/omeka/neatline>.

²³⁴ Wheelock, *From Botany to Bouquets*, 43.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

dense gold and malachite green “thicket” composed of twelve overlapping trees with a strong linear verticality relieved only by the rounder form of the Japanese bigleaf magnolia in the fifth panel. The viewer then emerges from this concentrated positive space into a three-panel-wide void before returning to a smaller but no less cluttered group of trees on the last three panels. In both screens, the trees shoot straight up from the bottom, but no ground is visible and the forms are abruptly truncated. In fact, it seems that all we are allowed to see is the forest canopy.

Several sources link *Trees* to the Sōtatsu workshop in Kanazawa, which was established in the early 1640s when Tawaraya Sosetsu (active middle seventeenth century) was summoned to the service of the Maeda clan, who ruled their province from Kanazawa Castle. Working under the direct patronage of the *daimyo*, Sosetsu and his students would have been uniquely attuned to the preferences of their customers. While Christine Guth connects Sosetsu to Maeda Tsunanori, noting that the *daimyo* was an “amateur naturalist” who was interested in agriculture, gardening and botany,²³⁶ The chronological discrepancy makes a Tsunanori-Sosetsu relationship doubtful.²³⁷ Given Tsunanori’s botanical interest and possession of the *Cruydt-boeck*, however, it is reasonable to posit that *Trees* was the work of one of Sosetsu’s Sōtatsu workshop followers whose career would have been contemporary with Tsunanori’s adult years.

The artist has rendered his floral subjects with such scientific accuracy that almost all of them have been identified by modern scholars. On the right screen, from right to left, they are *momi* fir (second panel), *koyamaki*, or umbrella pine (third), *konara* oak (fourth), Japanese bigleaf magnolia (fifth), *hinoki*, or Japanese cypress, and yew plum

²³⁶ Guth, 57.

²³⁷ Sosetsu is thought to have been active until 1650, at which point the young *daimyo* Tsunanori would have been only seven years old.

pine (sixth). On the left screen, the two identified plants are Korean spindle tree (fourth) and *sakaki* (sixth).²³⁸ This still leaves a few unidentified specimens; it is possible that the right screen contains two more *koyamaki*, two more *konara* oaks, and perhaps, two *nikko* firs. The left screen might also feature a yew plum pine, two *koyamaki*, a fir, and a *sakaki*-like bush whose concealment makes it difficult to identify (fig. 59).

The artist employed a variety of Sōtatsu school methods to strengthen both the decorative quality and naturalism of the piece. He delicately rendered gold leaf veins on top of the multiple layers of malachite pigment, and used the *tarashikomi* (wet in wet) technique and a variation of pigment thicknesses to produce a range of green hues. The (albeit subtle) three-dimensionality (reminiscent of the illustrations in the nineteenth-century Japanese version of the *Cruydt-boeck*, discussed above) coupled with the *mokkotsu* (“boneless,” referring to the absence of outlines) technique further enhance the empirical nature of the painting.²³⁹

This accuracy of form does not extend to other aspects of the piece. For example, it would be very unusual to happen upon a thicket such as the one pictured in the right screen. While these evergreens and deciduous trees are all native to Japan,²⁴⁰ they are not found in this particular combination or at these relative proportions. The artist drastically manipulated scale; as Guth remarks that “neither the trees’ orchestration across the twelve panels nor their nearly uniform width and height obeys the rules of nature.”²⁴¹ In reality, the *momi* fir’s fifty-meter height would dwarf that of the *koyamaki* (15-27 m), the

²³⁸ Guth, 60, fn 3.

²³⁹ Naturalism foreshadows trends in Japanese painting in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Cal French describes this empirical tendency as “pure and unashamed delight in the visible world in all its varied aspects, from puppies to prostitutes” (fig. 60). French, 2.

²⁴⁰ Guth notes that these species were “commonly cultivated in gardens.” Guth, 48.

²⁴¹ Guth, 49.

magnolia (15-30 m), the *hinoki* (35 m) and especially the *konara* (15 m) and yew plum pine (5-7 m). The identified trees on the left screen are both shorter than anything appearing on the right (Korean spindle tree: 2.5-3.5 m, *sakaki*: 5 m) but their sizes relative to each other, as well as to the pines in their midst, are factually incorrect.

Like Bosschaert's *Flowers*, the Sotatsu workshop's *Trees* is a celebration of empiricism and science that nevertheless retains the imprint of more entrenched cultural and spiritual references. *Koyamaki* derives the first two characters of its name (高野) from its association with Koya-san, a sacred mountain in Kii province (present-day Wakayama prefecture).²⁴² The leaves of the Japanese bigleaf magnolia were wrapped around arrowheads to form *hikime* (墓目), which were thought to repel evil spirits.²⁴³ The lightweight *hinoki* (檜, Japanese cypress) was the primary material for the construction of Buddhist statuary²⁴⁴ and was also used to build palaces, shrines and temples including Horyuji, Isejingu and Osaka Castle.²⁴⁵ The yew plum pine, in addition to its strong water resistance that makes it ideal for construction, is also known as "Buddhist pine" because of its formal resemblance to the *arhats* or *lohans*, followers of Buddha.²⁴⁶ The "Nikko" in Nikko fir refers to a village in Shimotsuke province (now Tochigi prefecture) that is home to numerous shrines and temples including Tōshō-gū, Tokugawa Ieyasu's burial

²⁴² Algernon Betram Freeman-Mitford Baron Redesdale, *Memories, Volume 2* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1916) 485, https://books.google.com/books?id=aOErAAAIAAJ&dq=Algernon+Betram+Freeman-Mitford+Baron+Redesdale,+Memories,+Vol+II&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

²⁴³ “墓目; 引目 【ひきめ】.” Jim Breen's WWWJDIC, accessed 15 Mar 2013, <http://www.csse.monash.edu.au/~jwb/cgi-bin/wwwjdic.cgi?1E>.

²⁴⁴ Examples include the Amitabha at Byodoin's Phoenix Hall and Kongo-rikishi at Todaiji. "Wooden Buddhist statue materials: Camphor tree, Japanese nutmeg, and Japanese cypress," Tour Guide JD, 23 Mar 2011, http://www.tourguidejd.com/tourguidejd/deploy/infopacks/docs/jd_infoPack_380.pdf.

²⁴⁵ MobileReference, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Trees and Shrubs: An Essential Guide to Trees and Shrubs of the World* (2008) np, <https://books.google.com/books?id=mZEhZMOFLiQC&dq=The+Illustrated+Encyclopedia+of+Trees+and+Shrubs:+An+Essential+Guide+to+Trees+%09and+Shrubs+of+the+World&hl=en&sa=X&ei=j3RiVerpNorJtQWdqoHQCQ&ved=0CB4Q6AEwAA>.

²⁴⁶ MobileReference, np. In Chinese, yew plum pine is "luo han song."

place (and location of Caron's chandelier gift; see fn 99).²⁴⁷ The *sakaki*'s affiliation with Shinto ceremonies began with the legend of sun goddess Amaterasu, who could only be lured out of her cave by a *sakaki* tree adorned with shiny objects such as jewels and mirrors. It has since been used as a shrine decoration, and *shide* (paper streamers) are attached to its branches to create *tamagushi*, which are offered to the gods on special occasions like weddings and funerals. The pointed leaves were also thought to be "landing places for spirits."²⁴⁸

Therefore, despite their formal differences, *Trees* shares several conceptual similarities with *Bouquet of Flowers in a Glass Vase*. The two artists exalted both religion and science through their endeavors, and they meticulously and accurately recorded the individual plants but composed them in fanciful ways, allowing aesthetic concerns to supersede temporal or spatial accuracy. That the fascination with botany bled into the fine arts in both the Dutch Republic and Japan, and in strikingly similar ways, reflects the ascent of empiricism in both countries and speaks to a universal and perhaps inherent proximity between the arts and sciences during the seventeenth century.

The herbal is the least hybridized of the three case study objects. While Kaibara Ekken adapted Dodoens's book so it could serve as a functional Japanese text, the general purpose of both *Yamato honzo* and *Cruydt-boeck* is the same: to convey specific and empirical knowledge about the qualities of hundreds of plants, with implications for gastronomy and medicine. Japanese herbals are thus hybrid in their combination of foreign and domestic elements, but the kind of appropriation we see in the *Japonsche rok* and *fumi-e* is absent. While hybridity and appropriation are compelling aspects of cross-

²⁴⁷ "Nikko," Japan Guide, accessed 30 Mar 2013, <http://www.japan-guide.com/e/e3800.html>.

²⁴⁸ "Sakaki," Green Shinto, 2011, <http://www.greenshinto.com/wp/2011/12/12/sakaki/>.

cultural studies, it is also important to note when the recipient recognized the conduciveness of the object's original intent to his or her own culture and accepted it more or less at face value. The ability to make such distinctions underlines the agency that each culture had in determining the best application of the received object, and perhaps even speaks to a kind of empowerment over the other culture. As Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer write, "By appropriating the exotic, by extracting and consuming certain elements of it, one could claim emblematic power over the other."²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer, "Introduction: The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500-1800" in *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500-1800*, ed. Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer (London: V&A, 2004) 9.

Chapter Four: *Fumi-e* (“trampling images”)

The last case study object speaks to a negative, but highly significant, aspect of the Dutch-Japanese relationship: the distrust and intolerance made manifest in the production of *fumi-e* (踏み絵), or “trampling images,” for the *e-fumi* (踏み絵, nl: *beeldtrappen*) ritual. The *fumi-e* represent in vivid terms the appropriation of foreign material culture for a purpose that differs strikingly from its original function.

The *e-fumi* ritual arose in Nagasaki prefecture in 1629 as a means by which the shogunal authorities could detect and punish Japanese Christians (*kirishitan*).²⁵⁰ By this time, the so-called “Christian Century” was coming to a close. The flourishing of Christianity had begun with the arrival of Jesuit missionaries Francis Xavier, Cosme de Torres, and Juan Fernandez in Kyushu in 1549 but had suffered under the strict policies of the Tokugawa shogunate.²⁵¹ Despite their brief tenure, the Jesuit missionaries were extraordinarily successful; they managed to convert an estimated 300,000 Japanese citizens, including several Kyushu *daimyo*.²⁵²

Xavier was head of the Jesuit mission in Nagasaki for over two years, and approached the task of conversion with enthusiasm and qualified affection: “We shall never find among heathens another race equal to the Japanese. They are a people of excellent morals – good in general and not malicious.”²⁵³ Some of the Jesuits’ conversion

²⁵⁰ According to Matsuda Kiichi’s *Kokushi Daijiten* (Grand Dictionary of History) (1991). Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 312.

²⁵¹ While the event signaling the beginning of the Christian Century is straightforward, scholars have different interpretations of the ending year. For example, Cal French states that it ended with the relatively tolerant Tokugawa Ieyasu’s death in 1616. French, 1. Kaufmann sees it as the middle seventeenth century, perhaps on the basis of 1639 being the year Portuguese ships were expelled from the country. Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 307. Although the first three Jesuits in Japan were Spanish, the vast majority of the missionaries would be Portuguese.

²⁵² Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001) 53.

²⁵³ John W. O’Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995) 76.

strategies bordered on bribery, with offerings of music boxes and gunpowder winning over influential *daimyo*.²⁵⁴ Xavier and his men also preached in the streets, reading aloud from a Japanese translation of John de Barros's *Doutrina Crista* and his own *Declaração da Fe*, an image of Christ or the Virgin Mary providing a visual aid.²⁵⁵ Mispronunciations often provoked laughter, but the Christian message resonated with about one hundred Japanese citizens within the first year.²⁵⁶

In 1590, Italian Jesuit Alessandro Valignano arrived in Japan with a printing press, which was set up at a Jesuit college in Kazusa (about twenty-four kilometers east-southeast of Nagasaki), then moved to Amakusa (about forty kilometers southeast of Nagasaki) and finally Nagasaki.²⁵⁷ It produced not only religious calendars and devotional works but Western (Virgil and Cicero, for example) and Japanese (*Heike monogatari*) classics. Only about forty titles printed by the Jesuits survive today; Christian persecution was accompanied by book burnings such as that held by Nagasaki shogunal authorities in 1626.²⁵⁸ Also serving as tools of conversion were devotional objects such as medallions, rosaries and prints, some of which were confiscated and are now part of the Tokyo National Museum's collection.²⁵⁹ Gauvin Alexander Bailey notes

²⁵⁴ O'Malley, 77. The Jesuits believed that if they managed to convert Japanese leaders, the rest of the population would follow suit. Xavier had no success on his mission to Miyako (Kyoto) to convert the emperor (he was thwarted in his attempt to meet with him, but in any case, he learned that the emperor did not hold any true power), but he and his successors were able to convert several *daimyo*. Hubert Cieslik, S.J. "Early Jesuit Missionaries in Japan 1," Sophia University, 2 & 4. accessed 20 Mar 2015, <http://pweb.cc.sophia.ac.jp/britto/xavier/cieslik/ciejmj01.pdf>.

²⁵⁵ Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Religious Encounters: Christianity in Asia" in *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500-1800*, ed. Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer (London: V&A, 2004) 110.

²⁵⁶ Cieslik, 2.

²⁵⁷ Peter Francis Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001) 125.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 125-26.

²⁵⁹ Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Illustrated Catalog of Tokyo National Museum: Kirisitan Objects; Christian Relics in Japan 16th-19th Century* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 2001) pl. 316-477.

that most of the prints sent to Jesuit missions were made in Antwerp, so “the visual arts in Portuguese Asia owe a profound debt to the Low Countries.”²⁶⁰

Images were a critical conversion tool given the limitations of textual and linguistic persuasion. Francis Xavier supposedly arrived with a trunk-load of devotional images,²⁶¹ including a painting of the Virgin Mary, and subsequent missionaries also arrived with icons, usually prints or small oil paintings on copper that were more portable than larger works and less prone to melting, warping, or cracking than works on canvas or panel.²⁶² The Jesuits also petitioned Rome to send new images.²⁶³ The Tokyo National Museum and Namban Museum in Osaka house several examples of Christian prints confiscated by the shogunal authorities, including an Italian series of the Seven Sacraments, a Crucifixion by Flemish-French engraver Thomas de Leu (1559-1620), and St. Bartholomaeus by Flemish engraver Willem Hondius (1597-1652) (fig. 61).

The military and imperial governments at first encouraged the missions as a means of strengthening economic ties with the Iberian Peninsula.²⁶⁴ However, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (r. 1587-1598 as 太政大臣 *daijō daijin* or “chancellor of the realm”), intent on unifying the country and concerned about the Christian daimyos’ dual allegiances to heavenly and earthly rulers, declared Christianity illegal in 1587.²⁶⁵ Ten years later, he emphasized the his proclamation by ordering that six Franciscan missionaries (five European, one Mexican), three Japanese Jesuit priests, and nineteen *kirishitan* laymen

²⁶⁰ Gauvin Alexander Bailey, “Religious Encounters: Christianity in Asia,” in *Encompassing the globe: Portugal and the world in the 16th & 17th centuries*, Jay A. Levenson, Diogo Ramada Curto, and Jack Turner, Exh. Cat. (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2007) 170.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 110.

²⁶² Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 229.

²⁶³ *Seiyō to no deai, Kirishitan kaiga to Nanban byōbu* (The Namban Art of Japan: Paintings and Screens), ed. Keinosuke Murata and Tōru Eiraku, Exh. Cat. (Osaka: National Museum of Art, Osaka, 1986) 9.

²⁶⁴ “Japan: Memoirs of a Secret Empire,” PBS, 2003. <http://www.pbs.org/empires/japan/timeline.html>.

²⁶⁵ John Whitney Hall, *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 4: Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 362.

(including three young boys) be crucified and speared in Nagasaki.²⁶⁶ The “Martyrdom of Twenty-Six Saints” (*Nihon Nijūroku Seijin* 日本二十六聖人) is movingly depicted in a colorful painting by the Niccolò School (fig. 62).²⁶⁷ Once Tokugawa Ieyasu became shogun in 1603, and especially under some of his successors, both native and foreign Christians suffered official persecution.

According to John Whitney Hall, “it was not until the reign of the third shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604-1651, r. 1623-1651) that the *bakufu*’s anti-Christian system was perfected.”²⁶⁸ Shogunal authorities operating under the Office of the Inquisition (*shumon aratame yaku* 宗門改役)²⁶⁹ sought to first identify Christians by forcing suspected citizens to trample upon an image of Christ or the Virgin Mary, or *fumi-e*, in a ritual called *e-fumi* (絵踏み, “image trampling”). If the participant showed any sign of hesitation about stepping on the religious representations of Christ or Mary, they would be deemed Christian and forced to renounce their religion through torture. Those who refused were executed using a variety of methods including burning, being thrown into a volcano, and water crucifixion.²⁷⁰ At first the ritual applied to suspected Japanese

²⁶⁶ Hall, 364. The Franciscans had come to Japan in the 1580s in the company of the Spanish merchants. They and the Portuguese Jesuits were fierce rivals, with the Franciscans (ironically) touting their humility and the Jesuits considering themselves part of the elite. H. Paul Varley, *Japanese Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000) 166.

²⁶⁷ Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 307. The martyrs were beatified by Pope Urban VIII in 1627 and canonized by Pope Pius IX in 1862.

²⁶⁸ Hall, 369.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 370. The office was established in 1640.

²⁷⁰ In water crucifixion, the victims were nailed to a cross at low tide and suffered from their wounds until high tide slowly drowned them. Yosaburo Takekoshi, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan, Vol. 2* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2004) 100, https://books.google.com/books?id=ZoV8ti9RZBgC&dq=Takekoshi,+Yosaburo.+The+Economic+Aspects+of+the+History+of+the+Civilization+of+Japan&source=gbs_navlinks_s. “The tortures that were now inflicted upon the native Christians were of diabolical ingenuity,” including throwing victims into fiery Mount Unzen in Shimabara. James Murdoch and Isoh Yamagata, *A History of Japan During the Century of Early Foreign Intercourse, 1542-1651* (Kobe: The Chronicle, 1903) 630.

Christians, but after the 1639 expulsion of the Portuguese, it was extended to Dutch merchants in order to root out any further threat of Christian proselytization.

Two European sources allude to Christian tests other than the *e-fumi* ritual. In their journal of their 1643 voyage to Japan, VOC merchants Hendrick Corneliz Schaep and Willem Bijleelt related at least four instances of Dutchmen being shown Christian items and asked to show adoration as a test. They write that the emperor (likely the shogun, see fn. 103) offered the Dutch a Virgin and Christ image for devotion, but the Dutch refused to touch or kiss it, proclaiming that they were Hollanders.²⁷¹ Dutch author Arnoldus Montanus includes an example of a similar test in his 1670 travelogue *Atlas Japannensis* with an illustration titled “The Emperor of Japan casting away a religious image after the Dutch refuse to worship it” (fig. 63).

E-fumi is also a significant event in Jonathan Swift’s fictional travel narrative *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726), which doubled as a political screed against Swift’s own English government and a satire of the Dutch, whom he portrays as unscrupulous scoundrels.²⁷² In “Part III: A Voyage to Laputa, Balnibarbi, Luggnagg, Glubbubdrib, and Japan,” Gulliver must pretend to be a “Hollander” in order to secure passage via Japan back to England. Upon his arrival in Japan, he produces a letter from the King of Luggnagg addressed to the Japanese emperor, asking that he be excused from “the Ceremony imposed on my Countrymen of trampling upon the crucifix.”²⁷³ The emperor

²⁷¹ Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 309.

²⁷² This perception was not limited to Swift or the English, and it lasted for centuries, as shown by Thai-Wan Hoe Tsi’s comments after Groeneveldt (1898): “The people that we call the Red-haired or Red Barbarians are one and the same as Hollanders and they live on the Western Ocean. They are greedy and cunning, have ample knowledge of valuable goods, and are skilled at seeking their own advantage. For profit they do not hesitate to jeopardise their own lives, and no place is too distant for them to try and reach it. [...] Who meets them at sea, will certainly be robbed.” Parthesius, 7.

²⁷³ Jonathan Swift, *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World by Lemuel Gulliver, First a Surgeon, and then a Captain of Several Ships* (London: Smith & Hill, 1819) 193.

grants his request, but warns Gulliver not to tell his fellow countrymen that he was excused. On the ship back to England, he is pestered by “Hollanders” who ask if he performed *e-fumi*.²⁷⁴

It seems that the Nagasaki shogunal officials were not aware that the Christianity of the converted Japanese, namely Catholicism, was not the same as the VOC’s Dutch Reformism.²⁷⁵ The fervent presence of the missionaries meant that Japan’s Christian experience would have been an overwhelmingly Catholic one. At the very least, it seems as though the Japanese authorities did not understand that there were Christians for whom images were not sacred. The Dutch merchants would have had no qualms about stepping on an image of the Pietà or the crucifixion, as they would have understood the act to have no spiritual consequences. The Japanese would have interpreted their eagerness to trample the image as encouraging evidence of their irreligiousness, or at least of their compliance with the prohibition against proselytization, and later, public worship.

According to Japanese historian Matsuda Kiichi’s (1887-1968) *Kokushi Dai-jiten* (Grand Dictionary of History) (1991), these images were first on paper, and would have quickly succumbed to the effects of trampling. Indeed, no known paper *fumi-e* are extant.²⁷⁶ However, the Tokyo National Museum boasts an extensive collection of *fumi-e* made of sturdier materials like wood, bronze, and brass. The museum’s twenty-nine *fumi-*

²⁷⁴ Swift, 194. “Before we took to shipping, I was often asked by some of the crew, ‘whether I had performed the ceremony above-mentioned?’ I evaded the question by general answers, ‘that I had satisfied the emperor and court in all particulars.’ However, a malicious rogue of a skipper went to an officer and pointing to me told him, ‘I had not yet trampled on the crucifix;’ but the other, who had received instructions to let me pass, gave the rascal twenty strokes on the shoulders with a bamboo; after which I was no more troubled with such questions.”

²⁷⁵ Mia Mochizuki notes that the Catholic-Dutch Reformist divide was also manifest in the names each faith chose for their ships. While Catholics usually named their vessels after patron saints, Dutch Reformists were likelier to choose words that described their spiritual message, such as those that accompanied the 1598 voyage from Rotterdam: hope, charity, faith, loyalty, and good tidings. Mochizuki, “Deciphering the Dutch in Deshima,” 79.

²⁷⁶ Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 312.

e are found in two formats – *ita-e* (板絵, a medallion mounted onto a wooden board, usually of *keyaki* [zelkova] or oak) and brass relief – and, as Kaufmann observes, have suffered irregular abrasion and cracking consistent with being trampled (figs. 64-69).²⁷⁷ Most of the *ita-e* each measure about twenty-five by twenty by three centimeters, with the inset medallion measuring approximately ten by seven centimeters, but some *ita-e* are embedded with larger medallions (up to eighteen by thirteen centimeters). The brass plaques' dimensions are more standardized; all nineteen measure about nineteen by fourteen by two centimeters.²⁷⁸

Each *fumi-e* fits into one of five iconographic types: Ecce Homo, Pietà, Christ on the Cross, Madonna of the Rosary, and Immaculate Mary (figs. 65-69). Through extrapolation one can assume that these five types were standard, perhaps even the most common or only, images featured on *fumi-e*. It is telling that three of the images – Christ on the Cross, Ecce Homo, and the Pietà – depict Christ's suffering. Perhaps these tragic images were chosen to maximize emotional impact during the *e-fumi* ritual. The Immaculate Mary image would have emphasized the sanctity of the mother of God, rendering trampling even more sacrilegious. The Madonna of the Rosary highlights a key Catholic devotional practice, and might have been especially poignant to true believers who would have felt the weight of their own rosaries hidden in the folds of their robes.

The Tokyo National Museum's Christian Objects catalog states that *fumi-e* were first constructed by embedding an existing bronze medallion into an *ita* and later were brass plaques made specifically for the *e-fumi* ritual.²⁷⁹ The museum links a Japanese metal caster named Hagiwara Yosuke to the *fumi-e* in their collection, and also notes that

²⁷⁷ Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 314.

²⁷⁸ Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 232-34.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 228.

Nagasaki Minato-gusa (Records of the Port of Nagasaki) (1973) describes an invitation to craftsmen to make them, boasting that twenty objects were made in one day.²⁸⁰ Further, the *Nagasaki-shi shohan fuko* states, “the pictorial images were torn, and since the bronze images were not enough, Kukeyoshi of Moto-Fukukawa town was called upon and made the twenty images out of ‘Chinese bronze’ (*karakane* [i.e. brass]).”²⁸¹ Finally, the strong metal casting tradition in Japan, dating back to the first century CE,²⁸² also lends credence to the idea of Japanese artisans producing their own (anti-) devotional plaques based on available European imagery.

Kaufmann notes that in contrast to all the evidence linking the *fumi-e* to Japanese artisans, there are recent Japanese historians who claim that nine brass *fumi-e* were manufactured in a Madrid mint. Their claims are summarized in *Kokushi Dai-jiten* and include, among others, that of Kataoka Yakichi, who points to Madrid in *Fumi-e*.²⁸³ Kaufmann is suspicious of this provenance theory, citing the lack of evidence of any Edo-period brass plaque imports from Madrid.²⁸⁴

When tracing the production of *fumi-e*, one must not ignore the possible role of the “Seminary of Painters,” an art academy established in Nagasaki by the Italian painter Giovanni Niccolò (1560-1626) in 1583. Michael Wayne Cole writes that Niccolò’s workshop was the most prolific in all of Asia when it came to the production of

²⁸⁰ Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 228.

²⁸¹ Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 311-312. The *Nagasaki-shi shohan fuko* is a collection of eighteenth-century historical documents. Kaufmann, “Interpreting Cultural Transfer,” 142.

²⁸² Frank Brinkley, *Japan: Its History, Arts and Literature* (Boston: J.B. Millet and Company, 1901) 367.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 450, fn 24. Yakichi Kataoka, *Fumi-e: Kinkyō no rekishi* [*Fumi-e: History of Forbidden Religion*] (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1969) 64 ff. Kataoka’s reasoning is apparently based on formal similarities to medallions currently housed in the Madrid Mint Museum (Museo Casa de la Moneda). His conclusion about the plaques’ origins ignores the phenomenon of artists looking to foreign cultures for inspiration and influence.

²⁸⁴ Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 313.

devotional images.²⁸⁵ More than twenty Japanese artists worked under the Italian painter's instruction by the end of the sixteenth century, making works in oil on copper, panel or canvas, or Japanese watercolors on paper.²⁸⁶

The Seminary of Painters' artistic production was "a fertile ground for cultural adaptation and hybridization."²⁸⁷ In addition to faithfully copying European models, the workshop created European-style works of Japanese subjects, as well as representations of Western subjects in traditional Japanese formats like *byōbu* (fig. 70).²⁸⁸ Among the Western religious subjects, Niccolò favored images of the Virgin Mary (also featured on three of the five *fumi-e* types) and Salvator Mundi.²⁸⁹ The charming *Madonna of the Snows* (after 1583) is one of the few Niccolò School works to survive Japanese iconoclasm and other tragedies that befell objects of visual and material culture (fig. 71). European-style panel and copper paintings were often inserted into Japanese wood frames sumptuously decorated with *maki-e* (蒔絵, gold dust) and *raden* (螺鈿, mother-of-pearl inlay), creating hybrid forms of what were known as "hanging" or "travelling" shrines (fig. 72).²⁹⁰ The Seminary of Painters' campus also included a foundry, where students cast copies of European bronze images.²⁹¹

Niccolò's students were likely replicating some of the very same bronze medallions that were later incorporated into *e-fumi* practice. Indeed, the Tokyo National Museum catalog ascribes a European origin to the medallions in seven of their ten *ita-e* (four *Ecce Homo*, two *Immaculate Mary*, one *Madonna of the Rosary*). The European

²⁸⁵ Michael W. Cole and Rebecca Zorach, eds., *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009) 248.

²⁸⁶ Bailey, "Religious Encounters," 113.

²⁸⁷ Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 53.

²⁸⁸ Bailey, "Religious Encounters," 114.

²⁸⁹ Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 74.

²⁹⁰ Bailey, "Religious Encounters," 178-9.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 178.

Ecce Homo medallions incorporated into the *ita-e* are identical to an independent Ecce Homo medallion in the museum's collection, which is also labeled "European, late 16th-early 17th century" (fig. 73).²⁹² One finds similar correspondences between the Immaculate Conception and Rosary *ita-e* and independent medallions. If the museum's factual data is correct, it could imply that some *ita-e* were created by combining a confiscated devotional medallion, originally transported from Europe to Japan with Christian missionaries, with native wood, creating a sort of material and philosophical hybrid object to be appropriated for an anti-devotional purpose.

It is likely that Japanese artisans copied the imagery on these medallions when creating the brass *fumi-e*. The images on the *ita-e*'s medallions and the larger bas-reliefs are virtually identical, although, as Kaufmann notes, the latter are infused with some distinctly Japanese characteristics, such as the addition of rounded, layered mountains at the bottom of the Madonna of the Rosary plaque (figs. 64, 67).²⁹³ The folds of Christ's cloak in the Ecce Homo image have also been rendered with a Japanese flair; they are regularized in the larger plaque, recalling the drapery of Kamakura-period Buddhist sculpture (figs. 65, 73, 74).

Kaufmann also mentions the simplified forms of the Japanese copies relative to their European models.²⁹⁴ Compositionally uncluttered images would have been ideal for the purposes of the *e-fumi*. This simplification entails not only the number of components in a composition but also the amount of pictorial detail therein, and on a practical level would have allowed for more efficient production. Ironically, the same tendency toward

²⁹² Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 285.

²⁹³ Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 333.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 331 ff.

clarification was part of the Council of Trent's 1563 decree on images.²⁹⁵ In the European case, simplification was designed to facilitate Counter-Reformation devotion; in Japan, it facilitated a ritual that was devotion's very opposite.

Little scholarship has been conducted as to the original visual source material of the European medallions. One could identify formal correspondences between the *fumi-e* images and any number of European prints, paintings, and sculptures. Kaufmann offers several convincing and specific possibilities for the sources of the European medallions' imagery, including a gilt bronze Ecce Homo that is virtually identical to the independent medallion in the Tokyo National Museum (figs. 73, 75), a gilt bronze Pietà (fig. 76), and a bronze Madonna Immaculate at Princeton (fig. 77).²⁹⁶ The *fumi-e* images do appear to be simplified versions of these European compositions.²⁹⁷ He surmises that the Pietà is "ultimately of Italian origin and Michelangelesque in inspiration," and the image could have spread through Netherlandish or German prints.²⁹⁸ He again alludes to the role of the North when he writes that the Madonna of the Rosary's cord, a common Franciscan motif, points to Spanish or Flemish origins.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁵ Jesuit theologian Gabrielle Paleotti expressed one of the key tenets of the papal decree when he declared that paintings should have a clear message because they "serve 'principalmente per libro degli idioti alli quali bisogna sempre parlare aperto e chiaro [principally for the illiterate, so we must always speak clearly and openly]." (author's translation) Thomas L. Glen, *Rubens and the Counter Reformation: Studies in His Religious Paintings between 1609 and 1620* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977) 29.

²⁹⁶ The National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) holds another copy of this gilt bronze Pietà plaque, this one with a South German attribution that perplexed its former owner, Anthony Geber: "I must confess that I am baffled as to why some examples are considered Italian and others German." Anthony Geber, "Inscriptions: Solution or Problem?" *Studies in the History of Art* (22: Symposium Papers IX, 1989) 258 (fig. 78).

²⁹⁷ This simplification occurs in two phases, from original European plaque to European medallion later embedded in an *ita-e*, and from this European medallion model to the larger brass plaque made specifically for the *e-fumi* ritual.

²⁹⁸ Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 317.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 334. It is tempting, for the purposes of this thesis, to find strong Flemish prototypes because a Flemish origin would enhance the drama of the (mis)appropriation of Christian imagery. In forcing the VOC merchants to participate in the *e-fumi* ritual, the Japanese would have essentially wielded a Flemish image against the Dutch, a sort of bizarre extension of Dutch-Flemish tensions acted out by a foreign battle planner without the conscious participation of either side.

Another Northern possibility is *The Crucifixion with Saint John, the Virgin Mary, and Mary Magdalene* (ca. 1550) attributed to Netherlandish painter Marcellus Coffermans (active 1549 – died after 1575) in the Cornell Fine Arts Museum (fig. 79). This oil on canvas mounted on panel measures only about sixteen by twelve inches. Christ's curved pose, with knees jutting out to the left, is almost identical, and the landscape's architecture (particularly the three-tiered structure at left) is strikingly similar to the *fumi-e* Christ on the Cross. Small works such as this one would have been relatively portable and could have been transported to Japan on a Christian mission, then copied by students in the Seminary of Painters or elsewhere. Kaufmann notes one example of Japanese artists copying a Flemish print: a copper engraving after a Hieronymus Wierix (Flemish, ca. 1553-1619) *Madonna and Child*, which was in turn after the mural painting *Nuestra Señora de l'Antigua* in Seville Cathedral (fig. 80).³⁰⁰

The fact that the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, and Germany are all represented in Kaufmann's discussion speaks to the artistic fluidity among Western European countries in this period as well as the complexity of assigning definitive sources to the *fumi-e* imagery.³⁰¹ However, whether the *fumi-e* images are Flemish, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, other, or some combination of these cultures, their creation and function

³⁰⁰ Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 331.

³⁰¹ For example, the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century relationship between Spain and the Southern Netherlands was such that a Madrid mint's artistic production would have likely had Flemish influences. The Northern Netherlands declared its independence from the Spanish crown in 1585 and was formally recognized as the Dutch Republic after the Treaty of Munster in 1648. Belkin, 15. Westermann, 17. The Southern Netherlands remained under the control of Spain, which was connected to Portugal through a dynastic union. The artistic patronage of these Catholic royals extended to artists in all their territories, forming a kind of aesthetic bond between the Iberian peninsula and the Southern Netherlands (e.g. the patronage of the Flemish painter Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) by the Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella, Spanish governors of the Southern Netherlands, Belkin, 96-97). The artistic exchange with the North means that religious images that Portuguese or Spanish Jesuits brought to Japan could have been copies of, or at least inspired by, Flemish sources.

remain a riveting aspect of Japanese treatment and control of the Dutch. The *fumi-e*'s connection to empiricism is just as strong no matter the visual source.

The VOC employees who were forced to participate in the *e-fumi* ritual would have perceived the bas-reliefs of Christ and the Virgin Mary as simple representations, not images to be venerated. For the shogunal officials, this ritual was a test predicated on the idea that Japanese and Dutch spiritual philosophies were in opposition, with Japanese (government) anti-religiosity against Dutch religiosity. On the key theological issue underlying the *e-fumi* ritual, however, the Dutch merchants and Japanese government were in agreement.

In fact, the Dutch had more in common with the shogunate than with their Flemish neighbors on this theological matter. The Dutch Reformed Church was more pragmatic than the Catholic Church, whose doctrine embraced the mysteries of faith like transubstantiation. The Dutch Reformists likewise opposed the belief in the sanctity of iconic images that was so crucial to Catholic devotional practice, a stance that manifested itself most dramatically in the Iconoclastic Fury (*beeldenstorm* or “statue storm”) that gripped the Northern and Southern Netherlands in the summer of 1566.³⁰² For the Dutch Reformists, an image of the Virgin Mary was just what it appeared to be: a tangible representation of a sacred figure. For Catholics, the same image carried a deeper significance, with the printed, painted or sculpted Virgin Mary holding the power to intercede on behalf of the Virgin Mary herself.

The *fumi-e* draws attention to the distrust inherent in the Dutch-Japanese relationship, even after extensive efforts by the Dutch to convince the Japanese of their

³⁰² Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555-1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 38 ff.

lack of religious motivations. The *fumi-e*'s deployment speaks to the shogun's wariness of Christianity as well as their acknowledgement of the power of the Object to rouse the spirit and facilitate conversion.³⁰³ The shogunal authorities' reliance on *fumi-e* to draw conclusions about the VOC employees' motives in Japan is a reflection of the shogunate's empirical, Neo-Confucianist mindset. As noted above, in *Principle and Practicality: Essays in Neo-Confucianism and Practical Learning*, De Bary and Bloom describe empiricism as "evidential inquiry" based on "concrete facts to be observed" (see fn 148). In observing the reaction of the Dutch merchants at being commanded to trample religious imagery, the shogunal authorities essentially wielded the *fumi-e* as a quantitative tool to measure faith, infusing the intangible with the empirical.

The *e-fumi* ritual persisted until the 1850s. Japanese sources state that it formally ended (at the request of the Dutch) in Nagasaki in 1858, but as Kaufmann notes, it might have continued in other areas like Kumamoto and Shimabara until 1871.³⁰⁴ With their ritual purpose gone, the *fumi-e* plaques became artifacts of religious persecution, tucked away in the Nagasaki magistrate's office, then moved to the Nagasaki prefectural office. In 1874 a Frenchman employed by the Kanagawa prefectural government asked to purchase or at least view the hidden *fumi-e*.³⁰⁵ With the "opening" of Japan, details of centuries of Christian persecution had spread far and wide, and were a cause of international embarrassment for the new Meiji government.³⁰⁶ Not wishing to disseminate material evidence of this facet of the Edo period, the Nagasaki prefectural government asked the central government in Tokyo to assume control of the objects,

³⁰³ In their opposition to and especially destruction of sacred images, the Dutch Reformists were likewise conceding the potency of the Object.

³⁰⁴ Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 312.

³⁰⁵ Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 228.

³⁰⁶ Kaufmann surmises that "the relative paucity of literature on [*fumi-e*] stems from a similar embarrassment." Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 450, fn. 24.

which were placed in the custody of the Museum Bureau.³⁰⁷ Years later they would become a unique highlight of the Tokyo National Museum's collection.

³⁰⁷ The *fumi-e* were transferred on the condition that “for the time being the *fumi-e* should not be placed on public display, lest they should recall the cruel suppression of the past and might affect on [*sic*] public affairs.” Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 228.

Conclusion: Materiality and a Shared Enlightenment

The *Japonsche rok*, *Cruydt-boeck* and *fumi-e* all serve as didactic tools for understanding the Dutch-Japanese encounter in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The objects represent three unique modes of acquiring foreign objects: through gift-giving (the *rok*, from the Japanese to the Dutch and the 1618 *Cruydt-boeck*, from the Dutch to the Japanese), special orders (the 1644 *Cruydt-boeck*, from the Dutch to the Japanese), and personally conveyed imports originally designated for proselytization (*fumi-e*, through imported European images then adapted by Japanese artisans). They demonstrate the often multivalent nature of hybridity, which speaks to the globalization of the pre-modern era. These case studies also reveal the remarkable ways in which foreign objects are appropriated to serve the particular needs of the recipient culture.

It is important to understand the underlying political and social context that dictated these appropriations. What is fascinating about the *Japonsche rok*, *Cruydt-boeck*, and *fumi-e* is how their uses demonstrate the rise of empiricism that took place in both the Dutch Republic and Japan in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. A traditional East-West narrative would assume that Edo Japan's scientific awakening was a result of the unilateral import of European ideas and objects such as Dodoens's herbal. In fact, the Tokugawa shogunate had explored the potential of empirical approaches from its first days, and its prevailing belief system was a neo-Confucian philosophy that privileged reason over theology.

Other scholars have studied the *Japonsche rok*, the *Cruydt-boeck* and *fumi-e* as ways to understand and enliven the Dutch-Japanese relationship, but they have not examined their power to elucidate resonant commonalities between the two cultures. The

concepts of exoticism and “the other” are crucial facets of cross-cultural studies, but we can also look at material culture as a means of identifying similarities that speak to common human experience. By revealing a shared attraction to empiricism through the examination of three materially different objects, I have demonstrated the versatility of micro-exchange material culture. My thesis reveals the capacity of the three objects to yield surprising insights that might otherwise remain overlooked or subservient to the (certainly worthy) study of broader networks like trade and formal diplomatic relations.

The *Japonsche rok*, *Cruydt-boeck*, and *fumi-e* are micro data points within a macro relationship driven by economic motives. The VOC merchants presented the shogun with exquisite gifts like the *Cruydt-boeck* as a tribute to help ensure their sustained presence in Japan, and eagerly fulfilled special orders from both the shogun and daimyo. The shogun’s reciprocation of *Japonsche rokken* symbolized an additional year of permitted trade between the Dutch Republic and Japan. The Japanese used *fumi-e* to confirm that the VOC’s motives were exclusively economic, and the merchants complied both because they were likely unbothered by the image-trampling and because they were careful not to jeopardize their special trade relationship.

A detailed exploration of these micro-exchanges, however, elucidates nuances that have faded from the bigger picture: the tailoring of the *rokken* to suit Dutch needs, the shared interest in botany between the *opperhoofd* and daimyo, and the careful modification of a European medallion of the Virgin Mary to create a simplified brass plaque suitable for *e-fumi*. These human touches, along with the complicated origins and legacies of these objects, emphasize the complex nature of the Dutch-Japanese relationship, thus discouraging clear-cut dichotomies like “East versus West.”

More broadly, the examination of these objects demonstrates the importance of incorporating material culture and materiality in cross-cultural studies, rather than focusing exclusively on visual culture, historical events, or theoretical concepts. As Michael Yonan laments, “The long-held belief that certain classes of objects are somehow intrinsically more worthy of close analysis has prevented academic art history from accepting fully into its ranks objects like our hypothetical spoon. [...] Art history has the potential to be a discipline of objects, but its predilection for high art stands in the way.”³⁰⁸ Yonan defines “high art” as painting, sculpture, and architecture; “objects” refers to material culture, “semi- or quasi-functional products” that have traditionally been categorized as “low art.”³⁰⁹

The “hypothetical spoon” to which Yonan refers is a mass-produced pewter spoon from 1907, whose apparent lack of cultural value he contrasts with the easily recognizable art historical contributions of Pablo Picasso’s 1907 *Les desmoiselles d’Avignon*.

Materiality... has suffered at the expense of other artistic qualities. Art history has tended to suppress its status as material culture even as it has flirted continuously with materiality, and this has evolved into a serious intellectual limitation. The prestige recently accorded to dematerializing approaches to art, which have resulted in a diminished concern for materiality in general, has only exacerbated the situation.³¹⁰

The *Japonsche rok*, *Cruydt-boeck*, and *fumi-e*, as well as objects ancillary to these case studies such as the chandelier, the Erasmus figurehead, and VOC *chine de*

³⁰⁸ Michael Yonan, “Toward a Fusion of Art History and Material Culture Studies”, *West 86th* (18:2, fall-winter 2011) 235. Coole and Frost provide a dramatic justification for the study of materiality and material culture: “We live our everyday lives surrounded by, immersed in, matter. We are ourselves and composed of matter... Our existence depends... on the material artifacts and natural stuff that populate our environment, as well as on socioeconomic structures that produce and reproduce the conditions of our everyday lives. In light of this massive materiality, how could we be anything other than materialist?” Diana Coole and Samantha Frost, “Introducing the New Materialisms,” in *New Materialisms: Ontology, Agency, and Politics*, ed. Diana Coole and Samantha Frost (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010) 1.

³⁰⁹ Yonan, 234.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 233.

commande, are like Yonan's pewter spoon: they all fall outside the realm of "high art" but greatly benefit from art historical analysis that reveals their didactic power. The three case study objects in this thesis are especially informative because they are products of "micro-exchanges," tangible encounters that echo the materiality of the objects and provide us a clearer window into the early relationship between the Dutch and Japanese.

The insights I have revealed through the three case studies of the *Japonsche rok*, *Cruydt-boeck*, and *fumi-e* emphasize the power of material objects in illuminating external context, shedding light not only on cultural differences but also on what the Dutch Republic and Japan shared. The identification of a common empiricism suggests the potential of material culture to bring needed balance to a geopolitical worldview often more deeply invested in contrasts than in finding common ground that can make the world a little smaller.

Figures



Fig. 1. "Blijde Bootschap," "Trouwe," "'t Gelooue," "Liefde," "Hoope," 17th c. Engraving.



Fig. 2. Erasmus figurehead from *De Liefde*, reproduction of a 16th-c. original. Wood. Tokyo National Museum.

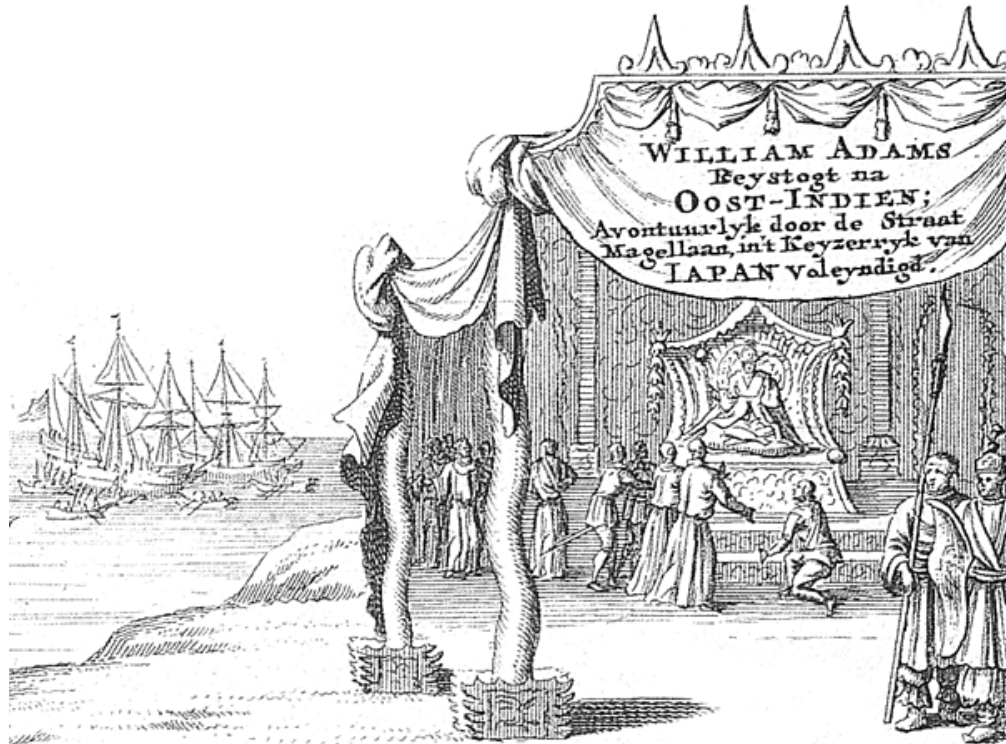


Fig. 3. Pieter van der Aa, "William Adams meets Tokugawa Ieyasu," from a larger map of Japan, 1707. Engraving.

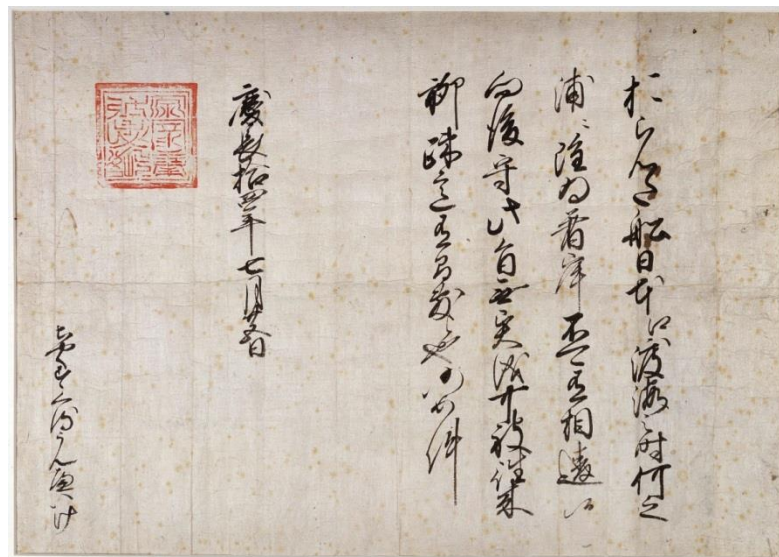


Fig. 4. Tokugawa Ieyasu, Trading pass (*Handelspas*), 1609.



Fig. 5. Simon Luttichuys, *Still Life with Silver Plate, Porcelain Bowl, and High Glass Goblet*, 17th c. Oil on canvas. The “porcelain bowl” is a Japanese rhombus-shaped dish.



Fig. 6. Jacob van Hulsdonck, *Wild Strawberries and a Carnation in a Wan-Li Bowl*, ca. 1620. Oil on copper. National Gallery of Art, Washington. This *klaapmuts* (lipped bowl) was made in China, but Japanese artisans also engaged in the practice of replicating Dutch forms later in the century.



Fig. 7. Japanese, *Plate with monogram of the Dutch East India Company*), ca. 1660. Porcelain with underglaze blue (Arita ware). Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 8. Left: Cornelis Pronk, *Design for a porcelain service, "Dame au parasol,"* ca. 1736. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Right: Japan (Arita), *Plate from "Dame au parasol" service,* ca. 1738.



Fig. 9. Isaac Titsingh, *Plattegrond van de Nederlandse faktorij op het eiland Deshima bij Nangasaki*, 1824-25.

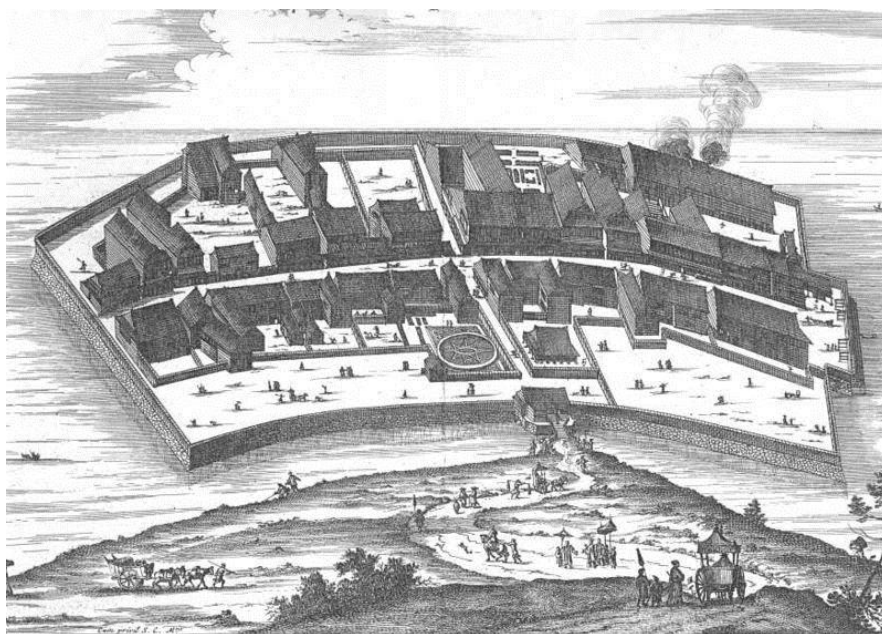


Fig. 10. Jacob van Meurs, "Dejima" from Arnoldus Montanus, *Atlas Japannensis*, 1670. Engraving.



Fig. 11. Japanese, *Dutch Man and Javanese Slave Offering Coal to a Cassowary Bird*, ca. 1785. Woodblock print. British Museum.



Fig. 12. Jacob van Meurs, “Japan Fishers and Their Manner of Fishing,” from Arnoldus Montanus, *Atlas Japannensis*, 1670. Engraving.



Fig. 13. Detail, Japanese, *A group of Portuguese Nanban traders*, 17th c. Color and gold on paper.



Fig. 14. Jacob van Meurs, "The Manner of the Japanese Ripping Open Their Own Bellies," from Arnoldus Montanus, *Atlas Japannensis*, 1670. Engraving.



Fig. 15. Jacob van Meurs, “Hollanders Ferrying Over,” from Arnoldus Montanus, *Atlas Japannensis*, 1670. Engraving.



Fig. 16. Jacob van Meurs, “Mourning Japanners,” from Arnoldus Montanus, *Atlas Japannensis*, 1670. Engraving.

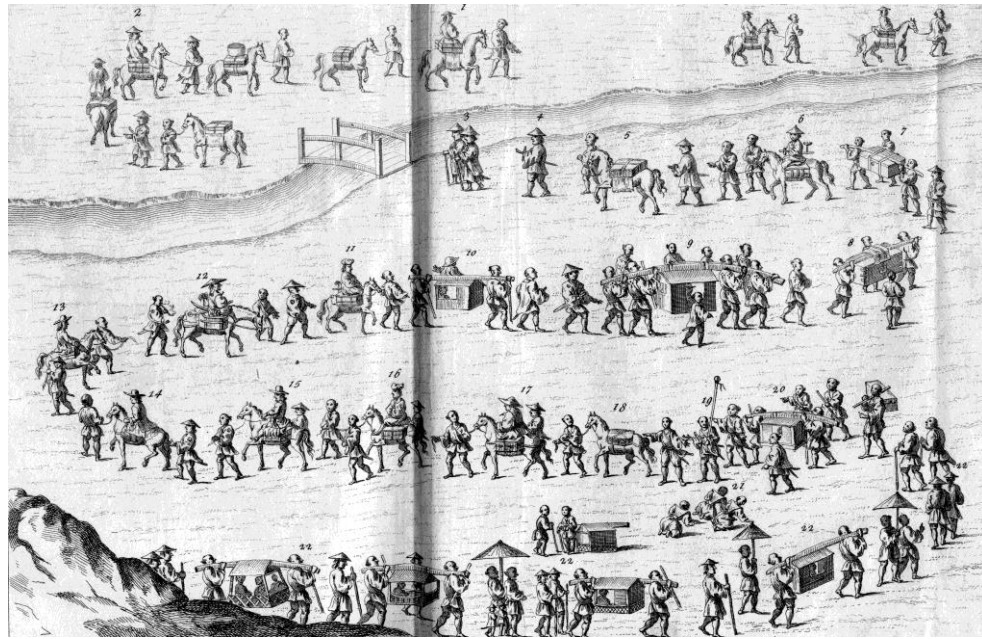


Fig. 17. Johann Caspar Scheuzer, "Court Journey to the Shogun of Japan in 1691," from Engelbert Kaempfer, *History of Japan*, 1727. Engraving.



Fig. 18. Utagawa Hiroshige, "Fujisawa on the Tokaido" from *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tokaido*, 1833-34. Woodblock print.

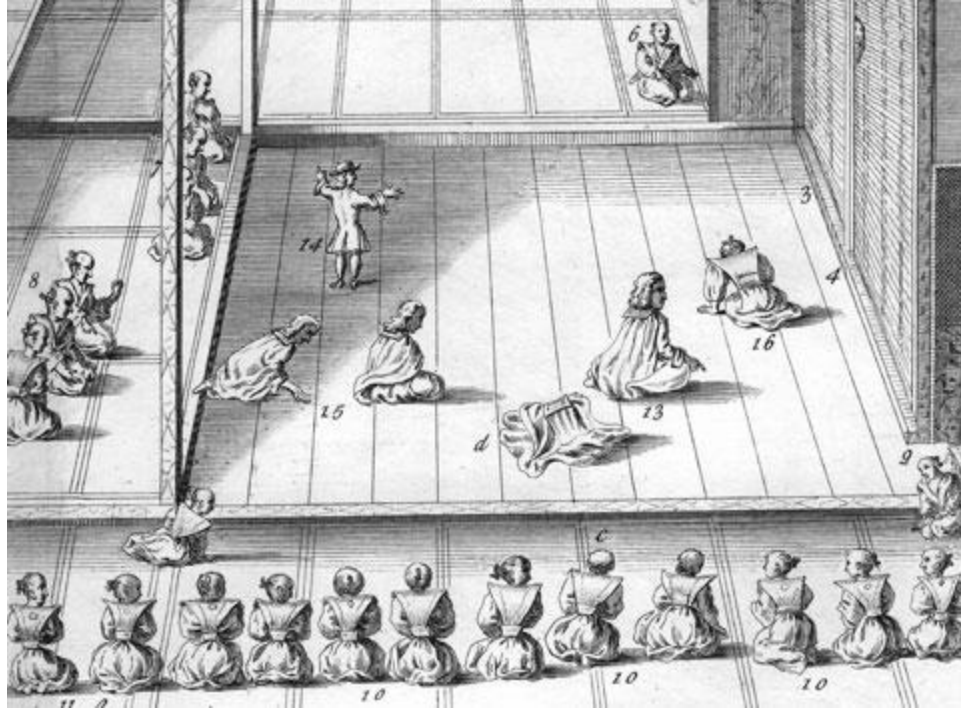


Fig. 19. Johann Caspar Scheuzer, Audience with the shogun, from Engelbert Kaempfer, *History of Japan*, 1727. (6) Shogunal advisor. (14) Kaempfer. (13) and (15) other VOC employees. The rest of the figures are Japanese shogunal attendants and servants. The shogun himself is behind a lattice screen above the frame of this image.

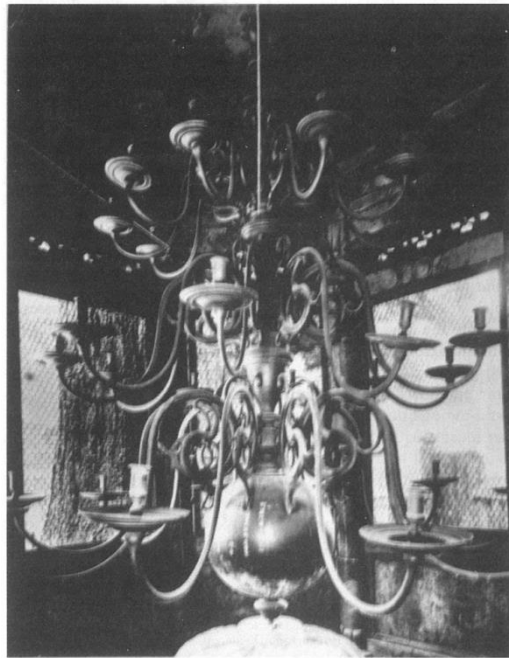


Fig. 20. Joost Gerritszoon, Chandelier, ca. 1636. Tōshō-gū, Nikko.



Fig. 21. Katsushika Hokusai, *Curious Japanese Watching Dutchmen*, 1799. Woodblock print.

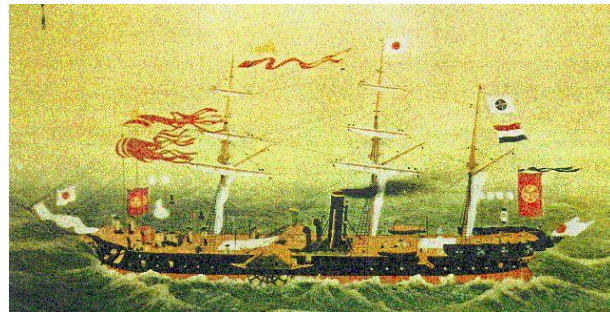
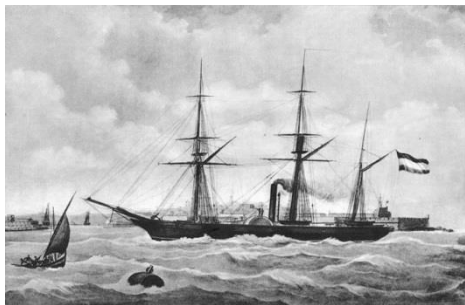


Fig. 22. Left: *Kanko Maru*, 1850. Right: *Kanko Maru*, after 1855.



Fig. 23. Left: Japonsche rock, ca. 1700-1750. Silk filled with cotton wool. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Right: Detail: rice bushels.



Fig. 24. Left: Japonsche Rock, 1725-1775. Silk. Centraal Museum Utrecht. Right: Detail, iris and yamabuki pattern.



Fig. 25. From book of Painted Kosode designs, Vol. 2, Second half of 17th c. Ink, color, gold, and silver on paper. Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 26. Matsuura screens, ca. 1650. Color and gold on paper (top: L, bottom: R). Museum Yamato Bunkakan, Nara, Japan.



Fig. 27. Caspar Netscher, *Portrait of Gisbert Cuper*, 1680. Oil on canvas. Stedelijk Museum Zwolle.



Fig. 28. Kosode, early Edo period. Silk. Matsuzakaya Kimono Museum, Tokyo.



Fig. 29. Kosode with design of plank bridges, cherry blossoms and Chinese characters, latter half of 1670s. Tie-dyeing and embroidery on white fig.d silk satin. Marubeni Art Gallery, Tokyo.



Fig. 30. Jan Steen, *Portrait of Geertruy Gael, Second Wife of Gerrit Gerritsz. Schouten*, 1665. Oil on panel. Private collection.

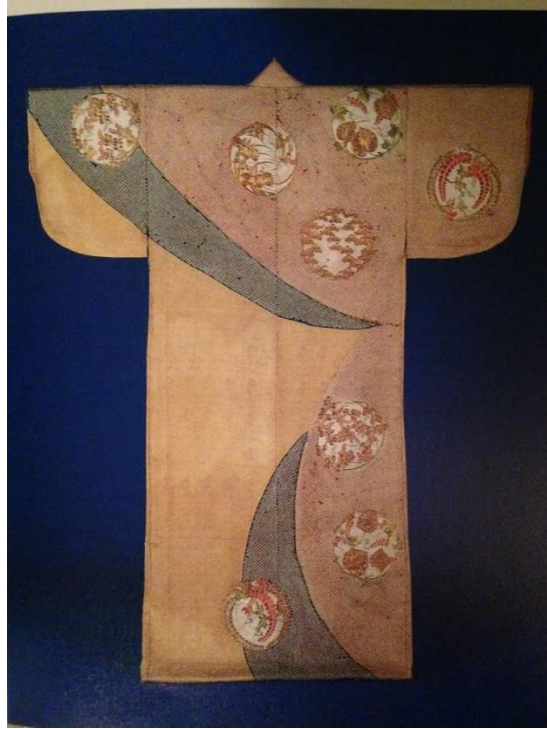


Fig. 31. Japanese, *Kosode with Floral Roundels*, late 17th century. Tie-dyeing (*kanoko shibori*) and silk and metallic thread embroidery on figured silk, satin. Tokyo National Museum.



Fig. 32. Caspar Netscher, *Christiaan Huygens*, 1671. Oil on paper mounted on panel. Museum Hofwijck, Voorburg, Netherlands.



Fig. 33. Indian, Japone rok, ca. 1750-99. Silk. Gemeentemuseum Den Haag.



Fig. 34. Blue woolen Japone rok with flower motif in green, 1700-1800. Museum Rotterdam.

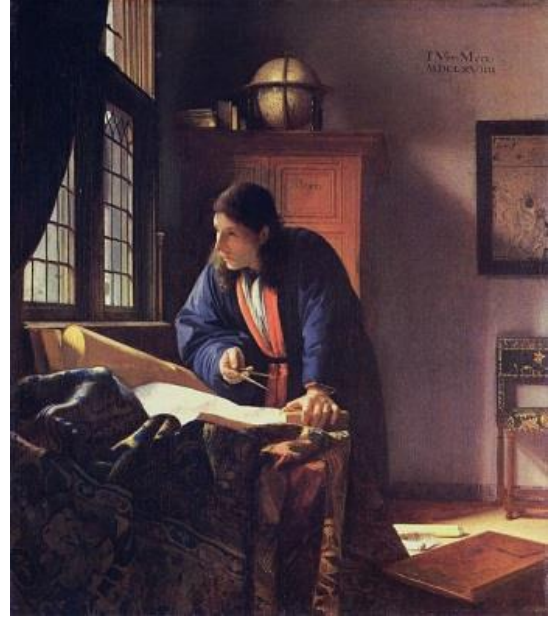
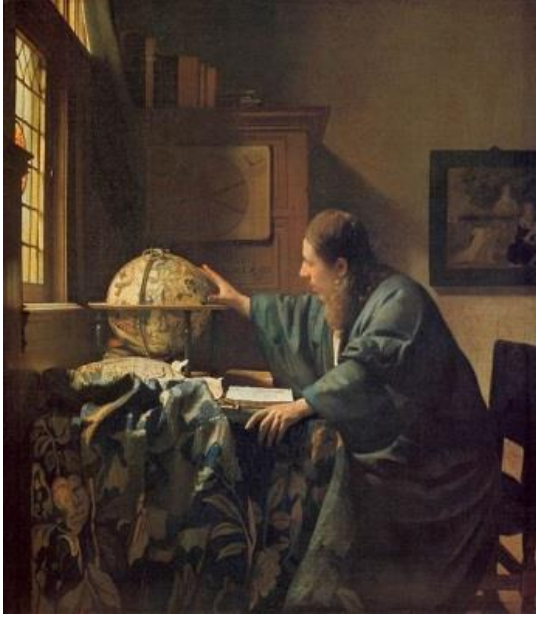


Fig. 35. Left: Johannes Vermeer, *The Astronomer*, ca. 1668. Oil on canvas. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Right: Johannes Vermeer, *The Geographer*, 1668-69. Oil on canvas. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt.



Fig. 36. Jan Verkolje, *Portrait of Antonie van Leeuwenhoek* (1632-1723), ca. 1673. Oil on canvas. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 37. Gerard Hoet, *Portrait of Jan Commelin (1629-1692)*, ca. 1685-1690. Amsterdam Museum.



Fig. 38. Jan Steen, *Portrait of Gerrit Gerritsz Schouten*, 1665. Oil on panel. Private collection.



Fig. 39. Michiel van Musscher (1645-1705), *Portrait of Johannes van Waveren Hudde*. Oil on canvas.



Fig. 40. Michiel van Musscher, *Portrait of Barend van Lin*, 1671. Oil on canvas. Amsterdam Museum.



Fig. 41. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Erasmus*, 1523. Oil and tempera on wood. National Gallery, London.

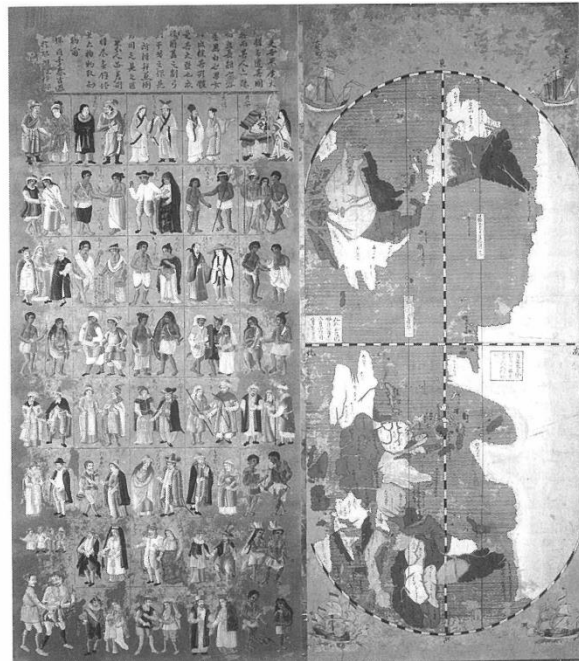


Fig. 42. Japanese, *World Map and Peoples of the World* (pair of screens), late 16th-early 17th c. Woodblock print with hand color on paper screen. Kobe Cite Museum, Kobe, Japan.



Fig. 43. Abraham Ortelius, *Typus Orbis Terrarum*, 1570.

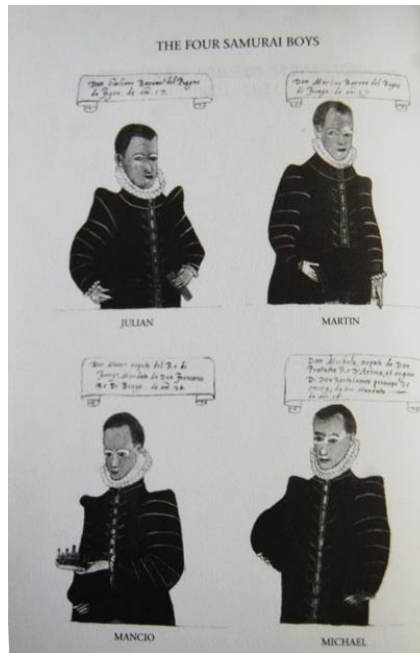


Fig. 44. Urbano Monte, *Sketches of the four Japanese*, 1585.

BIIVOEGHSEL.
N De de Heeren van de Staten hebben een verordening gedaan...
 De Heeren van de Staten hebben een verordening gedaan...
 De Heeren van de Staten hebben een verordening gedaan...

HET XXIV. CAPITEL.
 Van Papen-hout.
Cheridone.
 De Chieridone is een klein hout...
 De Chieridone is een klein hout...
 De Chieridone is een klein hout...

BIIVOEGHSEL.
I In alle landen...
 In alle landen...
 In alle landen...



Fig. 45. *Euonymus europaeus* (European spindle) from Rembert Dodoens, *Cruydt-boeck*, 1644 ed. Engraving.



Fig. 46. Page from Li Shih-chen, *Pen ts'ao kang mu* (本草纲目, *The Great Herbal*), 1596. Pen and ink.



Fig. 47. Oe Iken, *Honzo Waga Yakusei Zuko* (本草和解), 1697. A translation of *Shen-nung pen ts'ao* (Divine Husbandman's Materia Medica). National Library of Medicine, National Institutes of Health.

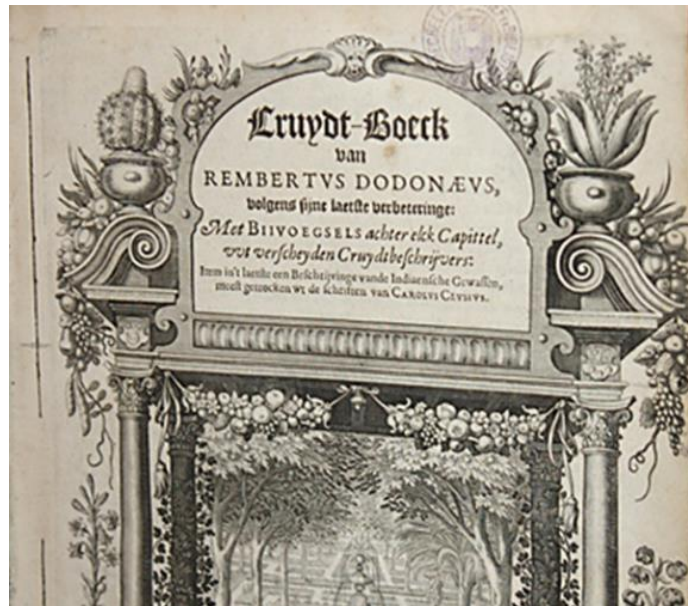


Fig. 48. Section of frontispiece, Rembert Dodoens, *Cruydt-boeck* (Herbal), 1618 ed.



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Fig. 49. Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, *Spring Garden* from *Hortus Floridus*, 1614. Colored engraving. Collection of Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia.

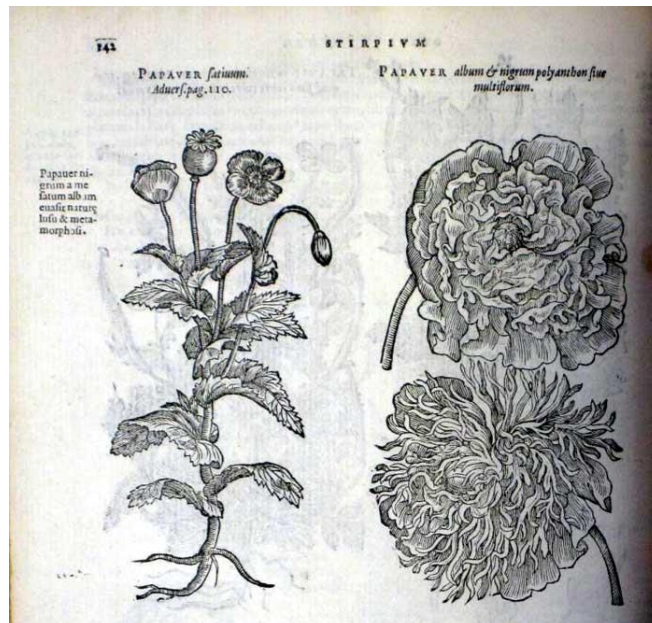


Fig. 50. "Poppy," from Matthias de L'Obel, *Plantarum seu stirpium historia*, 1576. Engraving.



Fig. 51. Frontispiece and Leo, Jan Jonston, *Naeukeurige beschryving van de natuur der vier-voetige dieren, vissen en bloedlooze water-dieren, vogelen, kronkel-dieren, slangen en draken*, Amsterdam, I.I. Schipper, 1660. Engraving.



Fig. 52. Gilt edge, Maeda Tsunanori's copy of Rembert Dodoens, *Cruydt-boeck* (Herbal), 1644 ed. Kanazawa University Medical Faculty, Kanazawa.



Fig. 53. Peppers from Maeda Tsunanori's copy of Rembert Dodoens, *Cruydt-boeck* (Herbal), 1644 ed. Hand-colored engravings. Kanazawa University Medical Faculty, Kanazawa.

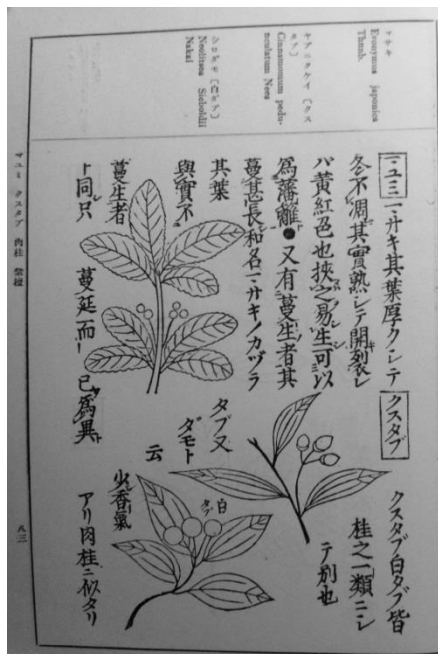


Fig. 54. From Kaibara Ekken, *Yamato honzo* (Japanese herbal), 1715. Pen and ink.



Fig. 55. From Noro Genjo, *Oranda honzo wage* (Dutch herbal), 1741-1750. Pen and ink.



Fig. 56. Gonnosuke Yoshio (1785-1831) (?), *Kruid Boek*, 17th or 18th century. Pen and ink with wash. The Wellcome Institute, London.



Fig. 57. Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder, *Bouquet of Flowers in a Glass Vase*, 1621. Oil on copper. National Gallery of Art, Washington.



Fig. 58. Master of the I'nen Seal, *Trees*, 17th c. Ink, color, and gold on paper. Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.



Fig. 59. Master of the I'nen Seal, *Trees*, 17th c. Ink, color, and gold on paper. Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington. White labels denote identifications by scholars; orange labels denote identifications by the author.



Fig. 60. Left: Kawabata Gyokushō, *A Pair of Puppies*, 1868. Album leaf; ink on silk. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Right: Torii Kiyonaga, *In a Pleasure House*, late 18th c. Polychrome woodblock print; ink and color on paper. Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 61. Willem Hondius, *St. Bartholomaeus*, 17th c. Engraving. Tokyo National Museum.



Fig. 62. Detail, School of Giovanni Niccolò, *Martyrs in Nagasaki*, 1622. Color on paper. Chiesa del Santissimo Nome di Gesù all'Argentina, Rome.



Fig. 63. Jacob van Meurs, “The Emperor of Japan casting away a religious image after the Dutch refuse to worship it” from Arnoldus Montanus, *Atlas Japannensis*, 1670. Engraving.



Fig. 64. European (medallion), Japanese (wood), Madonna of the Rosary *ita-e*, late 16th-early 17th c. Bronze, pine. Tokyo National Museum.



Fig. 65. Japanese, Ecce Homo, 17th c. Brass. Tokyo National Museum.



Fig. 66. Japanese, Christ on the Cross, 17th c. Brass. Tokyo National Museum.



Fig. 67. Japanese, Madonna of the Rosary, 17th c. Brass. Tokyo National Museum.



Fig. 68. Japanese, Pietà, 17th c. Brass. Tokyo National Museum.



Fig. 69. European (medallion), Japanese (support), Immaculate Mary *ita-e*. Bronze, keyaki. Tokyo National Museum.



Fig. 70. Japanese, *Western Scene with Musicians*, left screen of a pair, early 17th c. Colors on paper. MOA Art Museum, Shizuoka.

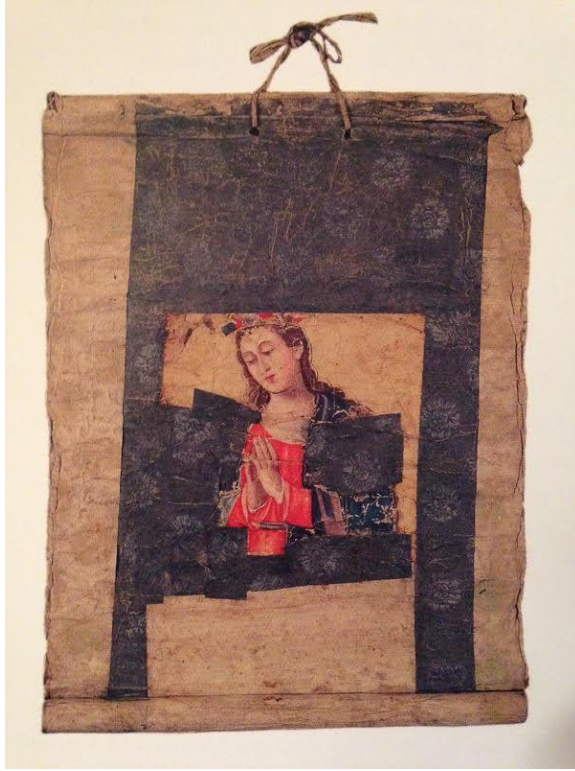


Fig. 71. Japanese, *Madonna of the Snows*, after 1583. Oil and colors on paper. Twenty-Six Martyrs Museum, Nagasaki.



Fig. 72. Japanese, *Portable altar with Painting of the Virgin and Child*, late 16th-early 17th c. Wood covered in black lacquer with gold *hiramaki-e* and mother-of-pearl inlay; painting: oil on panel.



Fig. 73. European, Ecce Homo medallion, late 16th-early 17th c. Tokyo National Museum.



Fig. 74. Amida Buddha, 1252. Bronze. Kōtoku-in, Kamakura, Japan.

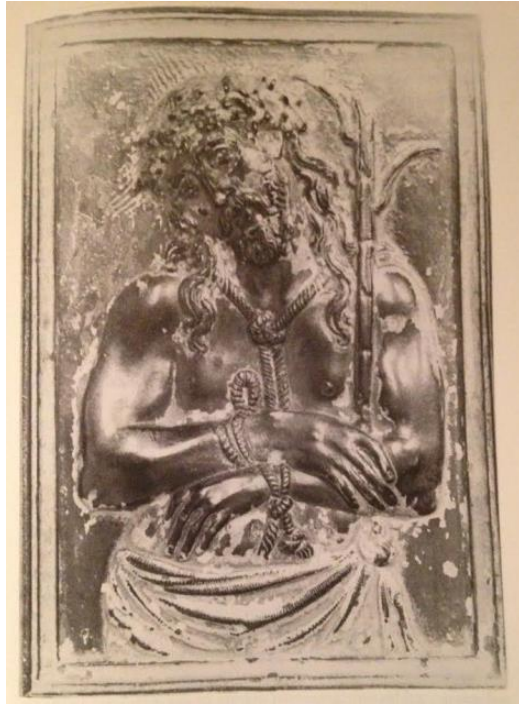


Fig. 75. European, Christ as a Man of Sorrows (Ecce Homo). Gilt bronze. Bowdoin College Museum of Art.



Fig. 76. European, *Pietà*. Gilt Bronze. Private collection.

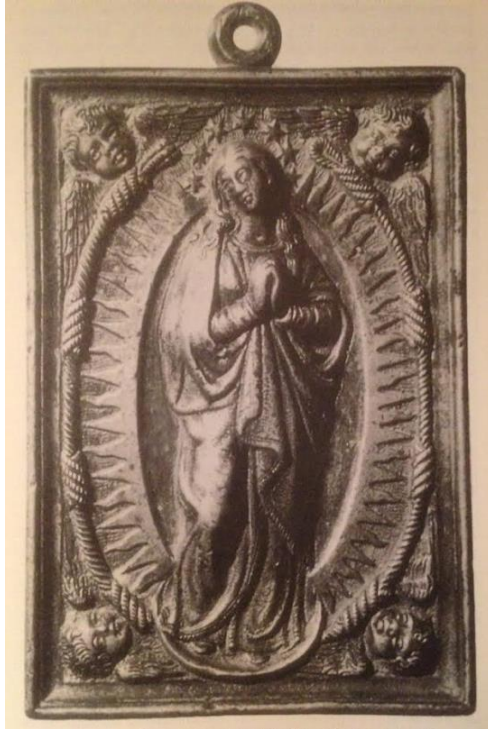


Fig. 77. European, The Madonna Immaculate. Bronze. Princeton University.

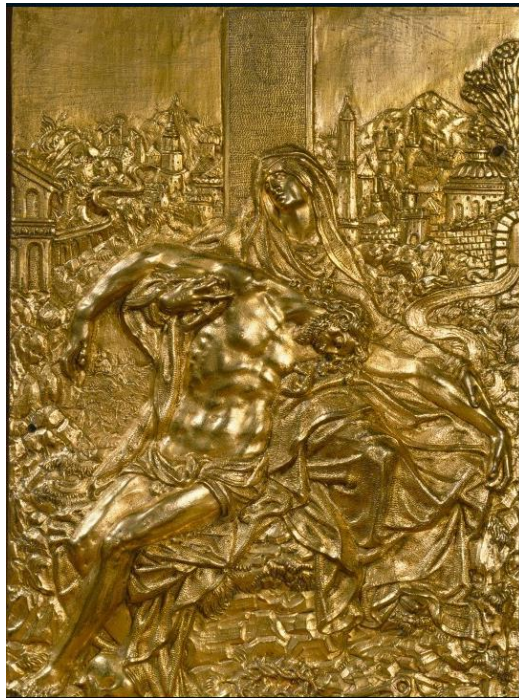


Fig. 78. South German (possibly Augsburg), *Pietà*, ca. 1580. Bronze. National Gallery of Art, Washington.



Fig. 79. Attributed to Marcellus Coffermans, *The Crucifixion with Saint John, the Virgin Mary, and Mary Magdalene*, ca. 1550. Oil on canvas mounted on panel. Cornell Fine Arts Museum.

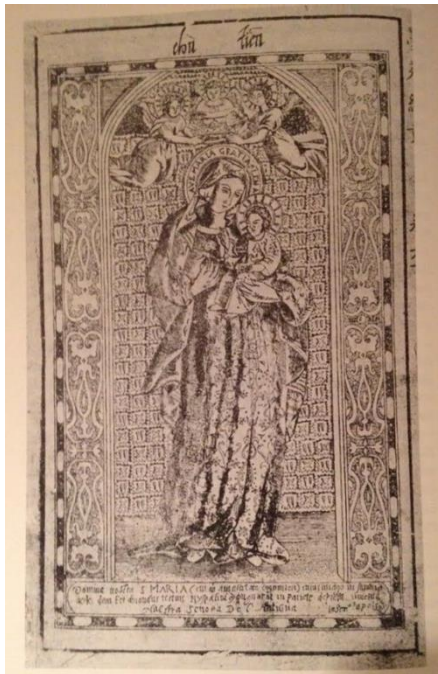


Fig. 80. Japanese, *Madonna and Child* from Cheng Dayue and Cheng Shifang, *Master Cheng's Garden of Ink Cakes*, 1606. Woodblock print. Print after Hieronymus Wierix, *Madonna and Child*, and used in a Matteo Ricci text published in China.

Appendices

Appendix A. “Map of Japan in Provinces in time of Iyeyasu,” from Murdoch and Yamagata, *A History of Japan During the Century of Early Foreign Intercourse (1542-1651)*, 1903. Labels added by author. White denotes cities, blue denotes provinces.

Appendix B. “Dutch East India Company, Trade Network, 18th century,” Hofstra University, https://people.hofstra.edu/geotrans/eng/ch2en/conc2en/map_VOC_Trade_Network.html.

Appendix C. Shoguns and *Opperhoofden* (1603-1761)

#	Name	Shogunal Reign	Corresponding <i>Opperhoofden</i>
1	Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616)	1603-1605	
2	Tokugawa Hidetada (1579–1632)	1605-1623	Jacques Specx (1609-1612, 1614-1621), Hendrick Brouwer (1612-1614), Cornelis van Nijenroode (1623-1631)
3	Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604–1651)	1623-1651	Cornelis van Nijenroode (1623-1631, 1631-1633), Pieter Stamper (1631), Pieter van Santen (1633), Nicolaes Couckebacker (1633-1635, 1637-1639), Marten Wesselingh or Hendrick Hagenauer (1635-1637), François Caron (1639-1641) (last <i>opperhoofd</i> at Hirado), Maximiliaen Le Maire (1641), Jan van Elseracq (1641-1642, 1643-1644), Pieter Anthoniszoon Overtwater (1642-1643, 1644-1645), Renier van Tzum (1645-1646), Willem Verstegen (1646-1647), Frederick Coyett (1647-1648), Dirck Snoecq (1648-1649), Antonio van Brouckhorst (1649-1650), Pieter Sterthemius (1650-1651)
4	Tokugawa Ietsuna (1641–1680)	1651-1680	Pieter Sterthemius (1650-1651), Adriaen van der Burgh (1651-1652), Frederick Coyett (1652-1653), Gabriel Happart (1653-1654), Leonard Winninx (1654-1655), Joan Boucheljon (1655-1656, 1657-1658, 1659-1660), Zacharias Wagenaer (1656-1657, 1658-1659), Hendrick Indijck (1660-1661, 1662-1663), Dirck van Lier (1661-1662), Willem Volger (1663-1664, 1665-1666), Daniel Six (1666-1667), Constantin Ranst de Jonge (1667-1668), Daniel Six [Six] (1668-1669), François de Haze (1669-1670), Martinus Caesar (1670 -1671), Johannes Camphuys (1671-1672), Martinus Caesar (1672- 1673), Johannes Camphuys (1673-1674), Martinus Caesar (1674-1675), Johannes Camphuys (1675-1676), Dirck de Haze (1676-1677), Albert Brevincq (1677-1678),

			Dirck de Haas (1678-1679), Albert Brevincq (1679-1680), Isaac van Schinne (1680-1681)
5	Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646–1709)	1680-1709	Isaac van Schinne (1680-1681), Hendrick Canzius: (1681-1682), Andreas Cleyer (1682-1683), Constantin Ranst de Jonge (1683-1684), Hendrick van Buijtenhem (1684-1685), Andreas Cleyer (1685-1686), Constantin Ranst de Jonge (1686-1687), Hendrick van Buijtenhem (1687-1688), Cornelis van Outhoorn (1688-1689), Balthasar Sweers (1689-1690), Hendrick van Buijtenhem (1690-1691), Cornelis van Outhoorn (1691-1692), Hendrick van Buijtenhem (1692-1693), Gerrit de Heere (1693-1694), Hendrik Dijkman (1694-1695), Cornelis van Outhoorn (1695-1696), Hendrik Dijkman (1696-1697), Pieter de Vos (1697-1698), Hendrik Dijkman (1698-1699), Pieter de Vos (1699-1700), Hendrik Dijkman (1700-1701), Abraham Douglas (1701-1702), Ferdinand de Groot (1702-1703), Gideon Tant (1703-1704), Ferdinand de Groot (1704-1705), Ferdinand de Groot (1706-1707), Hermanus Menssingh (1707-1708), Jasper van Mansdale (1708-1709), Hermanus Menssingh (1709-1710)
6	Tokugawa Ienobu (1662–1712)	1709-1713	Hermanus Menssingh (1709-1710), Nicolaas Joan van Hoorn (1710-1711), Cornelis Lardijn (1711-1714)
7	Tokugawa Ietsugu (1709–1716)	1713-1716	Cornelis Lardijn (1711-1714), Nicolaas Joan van Hoorn (1714-1715), Gideon Boudaen (1715-1716), Joan Aouwer (1716-1717)
8	Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684–1751)	1716-1745	Gideon Boudaen (1715-1716), Joan Aouwer (1716-1717), Christiaen van Vrijbergh[e] (1717-1718), Joan Aouwer (1718-1720), Roeloff Diodati (1720-1721), Hendrik Durven (1721-1723), Johannes Thedens (1723-1725), Joan de Hartogh (1725-1726), Pieter Boockestijn (1726-1727), Abraham Minnedonk (1727–1728), Pieter Boockestijn (1728-1729), Abraham Minnedonk (1729-1730), Pieter Boockestijn (1730-1732), Hendrik van de Bel (1732-1733), Rogier de

			Laver (1733-1734), David Drinckman (1734-1735), Bernardus Coop [Coopa] à Groen (1735-1736), Jan van der Cruijse (1736-1737), Gerardus Bernardus Visscher (1737-1739), Thomas van Rhee (1739-1740), Jacob van der Waeijen (1740-1741), Thomas van Rhee (1741-1742), Jacob van der Waeijen (1742-1743), David Brouwer (1743-1744), Jacob van der Waeijen (1744-1745)
9	Tokugawa Ieshige (1712–1761)	1745-1760	Jacob van der Waeijen (1744 -1745), Jan Louis de Win (1745-1746), Jacob Baelde (1746-1747), Jan Louis de Win (1747-1748), Jacob Baelde: (1748-1749), Hendrik van Homoed (1749-1750), Abraham van Suchtelen (1750-1751), Hendrik van Homoed (1751-1752), David Boelen (1752-1753), Hendrik van Homoed (1753-1754), David Boelen (1754-1755), Herbert Vermeulen (1755-1756), David Boelen (1756-1757), Herbert Vermeulen (1757-1758), Johannes Reijnouts (1758-1760), Marten Huijshoorn (1760-1761)

Sources: “Tokugawa shoguns,” Willamette University, accessed 31 Mar 2015, <http://www.willamette.edu/~rloftus/Tokugawa%20Shoguns.htm>. “Japan,” De VOC Site, accessed 31 Mar 2015, <http://www.vocsite.nl/geschiedenis/handelsposten/japan.html>.

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