

IN AID OF TRADE

Dutch gift-giving in Tokugawa Japan⁽¹⁾

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In 1628 the Dutch East India Company's trade with Japan was dealt a crushing blow. A serious conflict between Dutch Company servants and the Japanese court had culminated in the Japanese government taking the crews of the Dutch ships in Hirado harbour hostage and keeping the ships under arrest. At the root of this conflict lay the desire for control of the lucrative Chinese silk trade.

In the 1620s the VOC was trying to expand its trading network in the China Sea and gain a firm foothold on the Chinese market, if necessary by force. The management of the VOC hoped that the profits that could be made on the Chinese silk trade with Japan, the so-called Chinese silk for Japanese silver trade, would be sufficient to pay for the cargoes needed for the Netherlands and thereby relieve it from sending silver from Europe to Asia.

When the VOC entered this market and settled on Formosa, the Japanese merchants, who had been trading on Formosa for many years with licences from the Shogun (*go-shuinjo*), refused to pay the port dues which the Dutch levied. One VOC servant, Pieter Nuyts, exacerbated the issue by his high-handed manner, first as an envoy to the Shogun and then as Governor of Formosa. The result was that the Japanese court had the crews of the Dutch ships in Hirado taken hostage and placed the ships under embargo. This situation lasted for four years.⁽²⁾

In 1632, Governor-General Jacques Specx⁽³⁾, who had spent many years in Japan as the head of the Dutch factory and therefore knew how the Japanese court might be placated, gave up Pieter Nuyts to the Japanese authorities. Nuyts was the scapegoat to whom "all problems, disasters, damage and affronts suffered in Japan could be ascribed". The embargo was lifted and the hostages were released. Nuyts remained in Japanese custody till 1636.

On learning the good news of the re-opening of trade, the *Heren Zeventien*, the directors in the Netherlands, decided that to show their gratitude a fitting gift for the ruler of Japan was in order and they asked Specx, who had retired as Governor-General, for advice.⁽⁴⁾ What his advice was is not on record, but in July 1635, the High Government in Batavia shipped a beautiful, large brass chandelier with thirty branches, made in Amsterdam, six brass candlesticks and 220 wax candles to Japan with the instruction that these special

objects should be employed as gifts for the Shogun and high officials, if *Opperhoofd* Couckebacker thought that they would be pleased with the pieces. In case the objects were unsuitable as gifts and could not be sold with a profit or at least at cost price, they should be returned to Batavia.⁽⁵⁾

The chandelier was a great success with the Japanese. The Lord of Hirado, who represented Dutch interests at the Court, was so impressed with it that he thought it suitable to be hung at Nikko, the mausoleum of the Shogun's grandfather, Tokugawa Ieyasu.⁽⁶⁾ The presentation of the chandelier at the audience with Iemitsu was a spectacular success. It was hung on a specially made wooden stand within his sight.⁽⁷⁾ He was so pleased with this gift that he granted the release of Pieter Nuyts, for which the Dutch had been campaigning for several years. As a counter gift, Iemitsu presented the Dutch with two hundred *schuitjes* (bars) of silver.⁽⁸⁾ The chandelier still hangs in a specially constructed building in Nikko Toshogu.⁽⁹⁾ Two of the six brass candlesticks were presented to Councillor Takumi-no-kami (Makino Nobushige) and two to Hizen-no-kami (Matsura Takanobu), Lord of Hirado, a few days after the audience.⁽¹⁰⁾

This case shows that unlike elsewhere in Asia, where the Company might resort to violence to solve conflicts, it would not do so against the powerful Japanese empire. The *Heren Zeventien* were fully aware that, as they phrased it, "putting on a suit of armour" against the Japanese and causing unrest would not lead them to their desired goal: the fruits of the Japan trade.⁽¹¹⁾ Ever since the "Nuyts Affair", they insisted that the way to deal with the Japanese was "with civility and modesty, with proper respect and a display of mutual friendship." Their representatives in Japan should not behave arrogantly, but always with humility. Furthermore, they should always accommodate the Shogun and devise ways to win his favour and that of the officials in power. What better way than with the presentation of unique or magnificent gifts!⁽¹²⁾

The first presentation of gifts to the Shogun can hardly be called magnificent. This occurred in 1609, when Nicolaes Puyck and Abraham van den Broecke travelled to Sunpu, where Tokugawa Ieyasu resided.⁽¹³⁾ On behalf of the Dutch East India Company they requested permission to trade freely in Japan, presenting Ieyasu a letter from Prince Maurits, Stadholder of the Dutch Republic. But they had few gifts to offer, just two cases of raw silk, some lead and two gold goblets. They promised that the next ships would bring better gifts. Ieyasu granted the Dutch permission to trade freely in all harbours of Japan and to set up a factory. His reciprocal gift for Prince Maurits was a beautiful sword.⁽¹⁴⁾

Jacques Specx was put in charge of the new factory in Hirado and he waited anxiously for the next ships to bring not only trade goods but especially the gifts that had been promised. The gifts were important, for the Dutch had been granted trade in Japan without

payment of tolls or harbour dues. Instead, an annual presentation of gifts was expected.⁽¹⁵⁾

The ships came two years later and this time Specx undertook the journey to the court with Pieter Segersz. On 17 August they presented Ieyasu with gifts consisting of textiles, ten glass bottles, lead, guns, steel and five elephant tusks. They also visited Hidetada at his residence and offered him gifts. In return, Hidetada sent the envoys three Japanese suits of armour (two for Specx and one for Segersz), and two swords (one each). Afterwards Ieyasu also sent them a sword.⁽¹⁶⁾ In 1613, *Opperhoofd* Brouwer⁽¹⁷⁾ received a large and a small Japanese sword from Ieyasu, and a suit of armour and a sword from Hidetada, the ruling Shogun.⁽¹⁸⁾

It was the policy of the VOC that reciprocal gifts from the Shogun or other Asian rulers could not be kept by the envoys but had to be forwarded to their superiors in the Netherlands.⁽¹⁹⁾ It is not clear whether the intended recipient, in this case Prince Maurits, received the suits of armour and the swords,⁽²⁰⁾ nor what has happened to them. The collections of the stadholders were dispersed when France invaded the Netherlands at the end of the eighteenth century.⁽²¹⁾

In later years, suits of armour or swords were no longer given as reciprocal gifts. Japanese silk gowns, called "*Japonsche rokken*" in Dutch, took their place. The Shogun would give thirty thickly wadded gowns and his heir, whom the Dutch referred to as "crown prince", twenty. Other government officials usually gave a number of gowns as well in return for gifts presented to them. Being of a lesser quality, these were commonly shared out among the Japanese officials and servants who had escorted the Dutch mission to the court.⁽²²⁾ The gowns given by the Shogun and his heir were sent to the Netherlands, where they were either given as gifts to eminent visitors or sold at auction in the six chambers of the VOC, each chamber receiving its appropriate share.⁽²³⁾ From the 1640s onwards it became quite fashionable for men in the Netherlands to dress in a "*Japonsche rok*" and the VOC ordered them to be made in fair quantities in Japan.⁽²⁴⁾ The fashion eventually died out, but the word "*Japon*" still survives in modern Dutch as the term for a dress, but now only worn by women.⁽²⁵⁾

Apart from the brass chandelier, Nikko Toshogu also preserves other masterpieces of seventeenth-century Amsterdam brass castings presented by the VOC to the Shogun: a candelabrum, wall sconces and a lantern. After the Nuyts Affair had been settled, the VOC directors were eager to regain their former trade freedoms in Japan. They still entertained the idea that the Japan trade would yield them the means to support the trade in Asia without funds sent from Europe. Therefore, they wrote to the Governor-General that "our people should accommodate the Japanese and suffer everything so that we may freely reap the fruits of commerce".⁽²⁶⁾ Advice should be sent to them every year on the best way to

et into and remain in the Shogun's graces. The advice they received from Japan was to offer him rarities.⁽²⁷⁾

Evidently the *Heren Zeventien* again turned to Jacques Specx for advice and he suggested to have two large standing brass candelabra and several sconces made for the Shogun.⁽²⁸⁾ The objects were sent to Batavia late 1638. The *Heren Zeventien* also sent along one of the assistants of the brass founder to clean the pieces and assemble them before presentation. The two candelabra, twenty-four sconces and a chandelier similar to the one presented in 1636 arrived in Batavia in June 1639. Governor-General Van Diemen thought it better to send just one candelabrum and twelve sconces to Japan as part of the gifts for 1640 to prevent such gifts from becoming common and thereby being held cheap. He instructed *Opperhoofd* Caron to find out first whether these pieces would be appreciated by the Shogun and the Councillors, for otherwise he would employ them as gifts for the Great Mogul or the Shah of Persia.⁽²⁹⁾ In Edo the candelabrum was set up in the house of Councillor Izu-no-kami (Matsudaira Nobutsuna) where it drew great admiration from all visitors.⁽³⁰⁾ It was immediately packed and sent to Nikko, where it still stands in the open air. [Ill. 1] The sconces are also preserved at Nikko.



Ill. 1. Brass candelabrum made in Amsterdam and presented to Shogun Iemitsu in 1640. Photograph courtesy of Nikko Toshogu.

The second candelabrum was presented to the Great Mogul Shahjahan in 1642. Its reception in India was somewhat less favourable than that of its counterpart in Japan. When the

Dutch envoy Cornelis Weylandt was on his way to Lahore, he met Shahjahan's eldest son. Dara Shukoh was curious about the gifts the envoy would present to his father, but when he heard that they included a brass candelabrum, he scornfully exclaimed: "Of copper!" Shahjahan showed himself to be somewhat more appreciative when the candelabrum was assembled in one of the halls of his palace. After the candles had been lit, he admired the excellent workmanship, but the next day his gold- and silversmiths were ordered to make two copies each of gold and silver, clearly demonstrating a difference in appreciation!⁽³¹⁾

In 1640 the candelabrum and the other gifts had been well received, but the year after, the Dutch were ordered to move to Deshima, where they had to live and trade under severe restrictions, as had the Portuguese before their expulsion in 1639. When news of the fate of the Portuguese reached the Netherlands, the *Heren Zeventien* devised another gift to impress the Shogun favourably and they ordered a magnificent brass lantern to be made specially for him, surpassing all the previous gifts.⁽³²⁾ The lantern, which weighed over 4500 pounds and cost over 16,000 guilders, arrived in Batavia in 1642. Governor-General Van Diemen did not ship it to Japan, but sent a drawing instead to find out the opinion of the Japanese authorities. The purpose of this gift would be either an expression of gratitude if there was a change for the better in the trading conditions or a farewell gift should the Dutch have to leave Japan, which course of action the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber would prefer rather than suffer severe vexations.⁽³³⁾

The following year the lantern was dispatched to Japan and again a brass founder was sent along to clean and assemble it. After it had been assembled on Deshima, the Nagasaki authorities and many noblemen took the opportunity to view it. They marvelled at its beauty and excellent workmanship. The day before the audience with Iemitsu, the brass founder and six assistants went to the castle to assemble the lantern. Wooden scaffolding was erected on which the lantern was placed in view of Iemitsu. After the audience, the lantern was dismantled by the brass founder. Twenty Japanese attendants were present, who paid close attention to the dismantling and marked each piece before packing it for transportation to Nikko, where it still stands.⁽³⁴⁾ In spite of the increasing vexations, the Dutch remained.

Already from the beginning of the establishment of their factory at Hirado, the VOC servants were aware that gift-giving was a major obligation in Japan. In 1610, barely a year in office as *opperhoofd*, Jacques Specx informed the *Heren Zeventien* that "every year we shall have to present many gifts, for, in my opinion, there is no country under the sun where one has to make as many presentations as one does here. It is hardly possible to visit anyone, even a commoner, without taking him something." As gifts for the ruler of Japan he recommended his superiors to send "fine woollen cloth, glassware of various

assortments, mirrors which are beautiful and fine, arms, pieces of ordnance, and glass panes decorated with painted weapons.” However, as mentioned before, there was also a good side to the expected large expenditure: the Dutch were not subjected to the payment of tolls, measurages or other duties.⁽³⁵⁾

The most important presentations that the Dutch were required to make were those offered to the Shogun during the audience in Edo as these were regarded as an expression of gratitude to the Shogun for granting the continuation of trade.⁽³⁶⁾ Within the system of gift-giving by the VOC, this annual presentation to the Japanese ruler was unique. In other countries where the VOC traded, the Dutch were also obliged to present gifts regularly to government officials, but a lavish presentation only occurred during formal embassies, such as after Aurangzeb’s accession to the Mughal throne.⁽³⁷⁾

The gifts presented during the court journey comprised not just those for the Shogun and his heir, but also those for the *roju* (senior councillors) and *wakadoshiyori* (junior councillors), the *machibugyo* (governors) of Edo, Kyoto and Osaka, the *Kyoto shoshidai* (the shogunal deputy called *Grootrechter* by the Dutch), the *Osaka jodai* (Keeper of Osaka Castle), the *jisha bugyo* (Superintendents of Temples and Shrines), the commissioners in charge of the foreigners, secretaries of the Shogun, and other minor officials. During the course of time there were some fluctuations in the number of beneficiaries and the quantity of gifts each received, affecting the sums of money spent on them, but in all the expenditure on these gifts represented a hefty amount.

So far it is not clear how and when precisely the valuation of the gifts was fixed, but at least in the early years the amount was fixed at four per cent of the value of the export cargo. This we conclude from references in the trade journals. For instance, in 1624 an entry concerning the cargo of the *Wapen van Zeeland*, which was sailing to Pehu, mentions the sum “for gift-giving, for the amount which is four per cent of the aforementioned goods, which has been set instead of tolls and duties, from which we are exempt here”.⁽³⁸⁾ This practice is not mentioned after 1626-27. Later on, the total value of the gifts for the Shogun was set at a thousand *schuitjes* of silver.⁽³⁹⁾ The sum was calculated on the basis of the selling prices of the goods in Japan, that is to say of those goods such as textiles that were also sold as ordinary commodities. Thus in this respect too it made a great deal of difference to the VOC whether the goods were sold with a profit or a loss. The value of extraordinary goods, the so-called rarities, was set by the shogunal intendant and the Governors of Nagasaki.

Apart from the presentations during the court journey, the Dutch were obliged to offer gifts to the Japanese on other occasions, such as the New Year and the *hassaku*.⁽⁴⁰⁾ when the Nagasaki authorities, namely the *bugyo* (governors), the *daikan* (shogunal intendant), the *machidoshiyori* (mayors), the *otona* (heads of the wards), and sometimes the interpreters as well were given gifts. There were periods when the Nagasaki governors were excluded

from the presentations. For instance, in 1666 the Shogun forbade them to accept any gifts, but after six years the interdiction was revoked.⁽⁴¹⁾ Meanwhile, he recompensed them for their losses with an extra annual allowance of 1500 bales of rice.⁽⁴²⁾ These gifts, also called the “*Nagasaki recognitie*” varied during the course of time and ranged from woollen and silk textiles, raw silk, Spanish leather, spyglasses, red coral, glassware, jackscrews, pistols, essential oils, European wines and almonds to rayskins, powdered sugar and sappanwood, although in the later period the variety tended to be limited.

The largest share of all gift goods was taken up by the standard assortments of European, Chinese or Indian textiles made of wool, silk or cotton. Other favourite items were mirrors, crystal glassware, spectacles, red coral and amber, telescopes, globes, clocks and watches, knives and knife handles, even pencils,⁽⁴³⁾ European wines, and birds and animals in particular. These types of gifts were welcome all over Asia and were shipped from the Netherlands to Batavia in fair quantities, apart from the birds and animals, which came from Africa or Asia. Some gifts were specially selected or commissioned by the *Heren Zeventien*, such as the brass castings discussed above. Others just happened to come along, like the wild ass from Abyssinia, and were passed on to a more appreciative recipient, in this case the Shogun of Japan.

In 1674/5 the Negus of Abyssinia sent an embassy to the Governor-General in Batavia accompanied by a gift of two wild assess.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Governor-General Maetsuycker was at a loss what to do with the animals and decided that they might come in handy to be presented to the Shogun, as these animals were unknown in Japan.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The assess arrived in Nagasaki in August 1675 and evoked much wonderment. The governor was pleased with them, saying that they were very fine animals, a gift which the Shogun would surely appreciate. He had one point of criticism: their tails were too sparse, and thus he promptly issued orders to have tails made of hairs of other horses. The authorities were also very curious as to the country of origin of these strange animals, what function they performed there, and what kind of fodder they were given. *Opperhoofd* Camphuys was quite truthful and explained that the assess had been brought to Batavia as a present from Abyssinia, where they were also considered very rare and therefore were not employed as working animals. Since their arrival in Japan they had been fed on beans, pulses, grass and hay. On the day of the audience, 27 April 1676, the assess were placed right in front of Ietsuna with the other gifts. That the Japanese appreciated these “very rare horses” as they called them, was evident the next day, when Camphuys was given the opportunity to visit the shogunal stables. He was disappointed in his expectations of the buildings, not being impressive at all but merely suitable to stable animals. The wild assess had been given pride of place though, standing above the horses, which pleased him. The stablemaster told him that the two Persian stallions which the VOC had presented to the Shogun in 1668 had been taken to a separate

enclosure, where they had sired several foals with Japanese mares, which were now even finer and more beautiful than they themselves.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Whether the assess produced any offspring is not on record.

When selecting gifts for the Japanese, the Dutch had to be particularly careful about choosing anything that could be perceived as having any relation with Christianity. It was forbidden under penalty of death to import any such object. In 1668, while leafing through a book on anatomy that had been sent for Councillor Inaba Mino-no-kami Masanori, *Opperhoofd* Six fortunately discovered just in time that it contained a depiction of Christ on the cross. He managed to cut out the page before it was handed to the Nagasaki magistrate for inspection. The great relief Six felt is evident, for had the magistrate set eyes on it, it might have been the end of the Company's trade in Japan, so he feared. It was an act of God that had led him to open the book on the exact page with the offensive picture. Had he not opened it on that page, he would have closed the book without any further thought, as it was written in Latin, and would have handed it over innocently, completely ignorant of pending doom.⁽⁴⁷⁾

Even so, knowledge of the Bible may not have been that great, considering that a casket still kept in the Rinno-ji, the treasure house of Nikko, passed inspection and was accepted as a gift for the Shogun. According to the description, the panel on the lid depicts the biblical story of Susannah and the Elders [Ill. 2]. If so, the Japanese government was probably not aware of this. The casket was placed in the Rinno-ji in 1671, probably on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the death of the third Shogun, Iemitsu.⁽⁴⁸⁾ It may have been presented to Ietsuna in 1661.⁽⁴⁹⁾



Ill. 2. Ivory-veneered casket with metal and engraved rock crystal panels. Made in Italy, late 16th century, Rinno-ji, Nikko. From: Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500-1800, U & A Publication 2004, p.101.

Selection of the gifts was not only made by the *Heren Zeventien* in the Netherlands, the Governor-General and the Councillors of the Indies in Batavia, or the incumbent *opperhoofd* of the Dutch factory in Japan, but the Japanese officials also had much say in the matter. The Dutch would ask their advice on what gifts were suitable and for whom. A delicate balance needed to be maintained between the beneficiary and the value of the gift. During the years that they were stationed at Hirado, they would turn to the Lord of Hirado, being the person responsible for Dutch affairs, for guidance. After the move to Nagasaki, Inspector-General Inoue Chikugo-no-kami Masashige became their advisor. When he retired in 1658, this duty was taken over by the Governors of Nagasaki and the shogunal intendant.

One of the prerogatives of those in power is that they can have their wishes fulfilled more readily. A large number of the gifts that the VOC presented not only in Japan but also elsewhere in Asia was ordered by the intended recipients. This expression of wishes was part of the system of “*eisen*”, the meaning of which is “lists of goods to be provided”.⁽⁵⁰⁾ By order of the Directors it was standard procedure to make up a general list of goods which had to be provided either from Europe or from the various regions in Asia.⁽⁵¹⁾ These lists stated the commodities, the supplies, the crew, the ships, equipment, paper, writing utensils, ammunition, in fact all that was required. Thus every year the *Heren Zeventien* drew up a list, an *eis*, of the goods they required from Asia, their *eis* being called *eis van retouren* (list of return goods). Each VOC establishment in Asia or at the Cape of Good Hope drew up lists of goods it required either from Europe or from other factories in Asia, or the Cape. These *eisen*, with the items subdivided into the *eis van behoeften* (order for supplies), *eis van koopmanschappen* (order for commodities) and the *eis tot schenkage* (list of gifts to be provided), were sent to the headquarters in Batavia. In Batavia the collected *eisen* were then split up into the respective regions which would supply the required goods. Thus the Japan factory would receive an *eis* with the orders for *koopmanschappen* like copper and camphur, or even stone and timber, and provisions such as soy, sake, *umeboshi* and *konomono*, and on the *eis tot schenkage* from Japan might be listed an order for lacquerware or porcelain required as gifts for the King of Siam, princes in Bengal or the King of Ceylon, for example.

The first (extant) separate *eis* sent to the Netherlands by the Governor-General from the Indies dates from 26 October 1615.⁽⁵²⁾ On the list are shipbuilding equipment, carpenter’s tools, jackscrews (several of which had been requested by the King of Johor), anchors, cables, arms and ammunition, leather, stockings, hats, meat and bacon, oil, tar and pitch, and gold jewellery. Then comes “*tot schenkage*”: the items requested for gifts. These include gold rings with diamonds; flintlocks; mirrors; a large case containing twelve bottles of exquisite rosewater and another with various kinds of perfumes made of orangeblossom and lavender; saffron; saddles; Italian velvet; blades made in Solingen; crystal glasses, beakers and

cups; beerglasses. Crystal beakers were also wanted for sale to the Chinese in Bantam. Finally further requests for gifts: a good lot of beautiful knives with fine blades and various kinds of fine handles made of solid amber. Some canary birds should be sent for the King of Bantam. Furthermore, exquisite crystal pairs of spectacles set in silver, some with silver cases, others with gilt leather. Quite an array of gift goods.

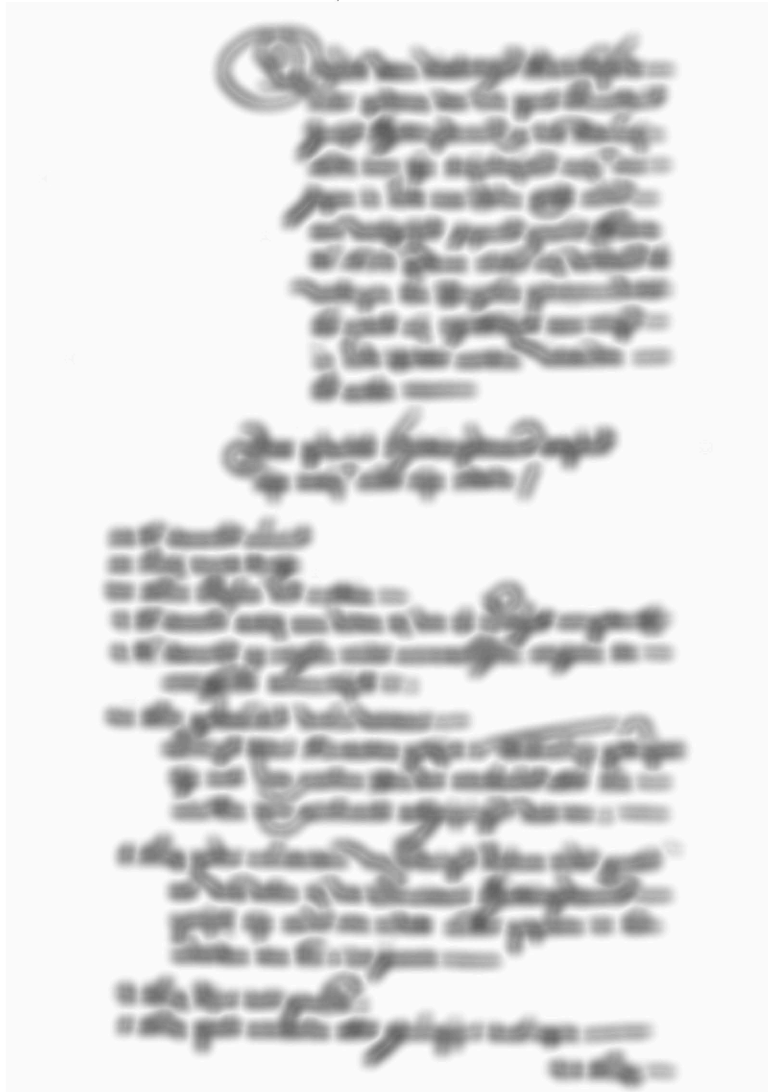
The Japanese *eisen* can be found scattered over various types of documents.⁽⁵³⁾ Most often they were loose slips of paper attached to the outgoing letters, most of which are now lost, but sometimes the lists were inserted in the correspondence or in the *opperhoofd's dagregister*.

In my opinion the first *eis* from Japan would be the list drawn up by Jacques Specx in his letter to the *Heren Zeventien* in 1610, in which he states what kind of goods they should send to Japan.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The items include different assortments of woollen textiles; glasses; glass panes; bottles covered with leather such as those made in England; fine stoneware jugs coloured blue, white, red and other colours, some with wide and others with narrow mouths, large and small with beautiful prints (as many as possible because they were popular); mirrors; matchlocks; lead, and carpets. As mentioned previously, he also writes what type of gifts should be sent for the ruler of Japan. These are *eisen* originating from the Dutch in Japan. An early example of an *eis* originating from the Japanese is the request for sheep made by the Lord of Hirado around 1620.⁽⁵⁵⁾

The real surge of *eisen* for things foreign or rare originating from the Japanese started after the problem caused by Pieter Nuyts had been solved in 1632. Specx had already remarked on the curious nature of the Japanese and their willingness to spend large sums of money on any novelty: "Because of the abundance of silver in this country, they do not hesitate to pay handsomely for anything that is unavailable here, comes at the right moment, and is strange and curious; for as soon as someone has obtained a novelty, the others will strive to have it as well."⁽⁵⁶⁾

This desire for novelties or rarities is evident in the requests of the Lord of Hirado, although these were often induced by his desire to oblige the Shogun. Foreign birds and animals especially were in great demand. When Willem Jansz was in Edo to negotiate the end of the embargo on the Dutch ships and the release of the hostages, the Lord of Hirado asked him if any rarities had arrived on his ship. Jansz replied that the freeburghers had brought with them two parrots, a green bird and a cockatoo. *Opperhoofd* Van Nijenrode would buy them for the lord.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Probably after a request from Jansz, Van Nijenrode informed him that he had inquired whether there were any animals on board and these birds, and a large, fine dog that the Governor-General had sent, were available. The birds could all talk, although Van Nijenrode did not know which language, because he had not seen or heard them.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The birds arrived in Edo on 22 October and a parrot and a

cockatoo were presented to the Shogun on the 28th. Iemitsu was pleased with them and gave orders that Jansz should be questioned about the nature of the birds. All information should be written down and shown to him. He also wanted to know whether there were other birds that could be taught to speak and if the parrots would propagate when kept in a cage. Jansz did his best to answer all these questions.⁽⁵⁹⁾ How much did the talking parrot and cockatoo contribute to solving the issue? On 21 November Jansz was informed that the councillors had ordered the release of the hostages.



III. 3. Eÿsch van diversche rariteiten ende goederen.... (Order for various rarities and goods...). Dagregister of Adriaen van der Burgh, 24 May 1652.
National Archive, The Hague, NFJ 65.

Now that all impediments to trade were removed, the Japanese showed little restraint in ordering all things strange and beautiful from abroad.⁽⁶⁰⁾ An example of such an *eis* is that of 1652, compiled by Inoue Chikugo-no-kami Masashige. [Ill. 3] He ordered the goods for the Shogun, for himself, and several other officials, all mentioned by name.⁽⁶¹⁾ Apart from the usual spectacles, reading glasses, telescopes and crystal glasses, or even the less common order for a genuine horn of a unicorn,⁽⁶²⁾ there are several intriguing requests that show an early interest in Western science and technology. For instance: “Four artificial iron hands with screws made like natural ones, in which one can place and use a sword to fight and a pen to write; weather-glasses; a complete anatomy of a human body, the body being fashioned in copper, wood or another material, so that one can perfectly see all the details of the human parts, limbs and intestines, if possible; a book dealing with the dissection of human bodies, containing illustrations, in Portuguese; a herbal in which the illustrations have been portrayed true to life, also in Portuguese.” The reason why Inoue Chikugo-no-kami asked for a Portuguese version of the book was that at this time the Japanese interpreters were better trained in Portuguese and hardly knew any Dutch. The Company obliged him the following year with a copy of the *Cruydt-boek*, for which he paid a trifling sum, a spurious purchase, because he was not permitted to accept any gifts from anyone on the orders of the Shogun.⁽⁶³⁾ Other officials and nobles usually paid for the goods they had commissioned, although the Company would often offer the items as a gift, in which case a counter gift would be presented.⁽⁶⁴⁾

The Dutch took great pains to fulfil all these special requests, doing their best to accommodate those in power. Incurring the animosity of someone who had any influence on their affairs should be avoided, but this is precisely what happened in 1665. In that year the VOC presented the Shogun with two brass lanterns. Ietsuna was delighted with the gift and ordered the lanterns to be sent to Nikko, because it was the fiftieth anniversary of the death of his great-grandfather, which would be commemorated on a grand scale. Ietsuna was supposed to have commented that the Dutch appeared to have known that he needed the lanterns. For many years he had not received a gift that pleased him more.⁽⁶⁵⁾ However, these lanterns had been commissioned a few years earlier by Inaba Mino-no-kami Masanori, a powerful councillor. It had been his intention to present the lanterns to Ietsuna for the anniversary, but now the Dutch had thwarted his design by offering the lanterns themselves. In the following years the Dutch repeatedly claimed that Inaba sought his revenge for this insult by hindering their trade, even attributing to him the disadvantageous change in the trading system in 1672, when in its effort to stop the outflow of silver and gold, the Japanese government ended the trade by common consent and instituted trade by taxation.⁽⁶⁶⁾

Meanwhile, the inflow of rarities had been halted by shogunal order. In 1668 the Shogun issued a sumptuary law forbidding his citizens, among other things, to wear silk or woollen clothing (nobles excluded); they should be frugal regarding food and drink; the use of gilt trunks was prohibited, only plain black lacquered ones could be used. There were also consequences for the Dutch. The export and import of various goods was banned. Among the exports were copper, silk wadding, cotton and hemp, sake and train oil. The banned imports included all trees, plants and seed, except for those with medicinal properties, all live animals, all rarities, red coral and branch coral, gold cloth, in fact all luxury goods. Only products that were used for medicinal purposes were allowed. The reason given was that a devastating fire in March of that year had reduced Edo by two-thirds. This had caused wide-spread poverty. The shogunal measures were taken to prevent the prices of the banned export goods from rising because of hoarding and to stop any wasteful expenditure on imported luxuries.⁽⁶⁷⁾ As “loyal servants of His Majesty”, the VOC adhered to his orders and in 1670 Governor-General Maetsuycker issued a placard in Batavia stipulating the prohibited imports.⁽⁶⁸⁾ But the Shogun also felt the effects of his own ban. Already in 1673 *Opperhoofd* Caesar was informed that the Shogun was not pleased with the gifts that the Dutch had given him, thus the Company was again allowed to import all kinds of proscribed goods and rarities, with one stipulation: it could only bring as many as were needed as gifts for the Shogun and councillors, not such numbers that there would be enough left to be sold.⁽⁶⁹⁾

Still, the Company found it difficult to fulfil the Japanese desire for rarities. In one case the Governor of Nagasaki came to its rescue: a brass lion weighing 150 pounds which had stood in the garden on Deshima in wind and rain for eight or nine years was considered by him old and rare enough to be suitable as a gift for the Shogun.⁽⁷⁰⁾ From 1674 onwards, the Nagasaki authorities supplemented the Dutch gifts with goods bought from the Chinese merchants: silk cloth, porcelain, lacquerware, and brass figures. Even though the *opperhoofden* often questioned the merits of these objects (Martinus Caesar exclaimed that some of the pieces were “junk, not worthy to look at, much less to present to such exalted persons, but it seems to be in the Japanese taste”⁽⁷¹⁾), they were forced to accept this practice.

In 1685 the taxation trade was abandoned and another system was introduced, the limitation trade, which set a limit to Dutch, and also Chinese, imports and exports. In 1715 additional limits were set on the volume of trade and the amount of bullion and copper allowed for export. The VOC had to accept all these disadvantageous measures imposed upon the Company, if it wished to continue in Japan. In the hope of improvement its servants kept doing their utmost to please the Japanese authorities. The gifts of horses are an excellent example.

In the seventeenth century horses had been presented to the Shogun on several occasions. At the request of Yoshimune, the Dutch imported five horses in 1725.⁽⁷²⁾ The horses were mainly intended for hawking, but there were also plans to breed them. In 1730 the Dutch presented him with two Persian stallions and a mare, hoping for an increase in the quota of copper they were allowed to export. One of the horses died shortly after arrival. A replacement was needed, but in Batavia none was at hand which answered to the required measurements. In 1733 Yoshimune awarded the Dutch with a thousand chests of copper in appreciation of the horses that had been sent. This was not exactly what the Dutch had in mind, instead of a gift they would have preferred an increase in their copper quota.⁽⁷³⁾

However, this generous bestowal induced Governor-General Van Cloon to send a really extraordinary gift in return.⁽⁷⁴⁾ It included an ostrich and two turkeys, which unfortunately died on the way, a wild cat, a leopard, clocks, glassware, a crystal chandelier, two paintings, a cabinet inlaid with tortoiseshell and silver, six horses, a carriage, two large French horns, three violins, a base, an oboe and the black boys to play the instruments! A groom also went along to teach the Japanese to harness the horses.

The shogunal intendant who inspected the gifts approved of the horses, the clocks, the unicorn horn, the glassware and the musicians, but he raised objections about the cabinet, for it resembled a Japanese temple and was therefore unsuitable as a gift, especially when he discovered some dolls in one of the drawers. The carriage also drew criticism because of some ornaments on the sides which resembled Christian figures. Because of this he did not expect that it would be acceptable to the Shogun, but a drawing was made for the court.⁽⁷⁵⁾ The wild cat and the leopard were returned to Batavia.

Preparations were made to take the gifts to Edo the following year. Sixty-two trunks were needed to pack all the gifts. Just before departure an order was delivered from the Shogun which shocked the Dutch: Yoshimune refused to accept this gift! The reason given was that Yoshimune had awarded the Dutch the thousand chests of copper as a recompense for the trouble they had taken to provide him with horses. It was not fitting that the Dutch in their turn gave him a gift for his gift.

All gifts, including the musicians had to be returned to Batavia. Five of the six horses were shared out by the shogunal intendant: one went to the Lord of Omura, one to the adopted father of one of the Nagasaki officials, and three were presented to the Suwa Temple in Nagasaki.⁽⁷⁶⁾ One of the musicians, Cupido from Bengal, the French horn player, had died in the meantime.



III. 4. One of four coloured drawings of horses belonging to an eis of horses for the Shogun, 1765. They indicate the desirable and undesirable shapes, colours and markings.

National Archive, The Hague, NFJ 610.

This disaster did not put a stop to the Shoguns' requests for horses. In 1765 another order was placed for three Persian stallions. Drawings were provided of the required colour, height and particulars. [III. 4] Governor-General Van der Parra replied that he was unable to send the horses, because none were at hand in Batavia and he had no opportunity to order them from Persia, because the factory in Kharg had recently been closed. But he would do his utmost to obtain them.⁽⁷⁷⁾ The next year Van der Parra informed the Japan factory that he had decided to send orders to Surat and Mallabar to supply the horses as soon as possible.⁽⁷⁸⁾ In 1768, four horses were found, but two dropped dead before they could be shipped.⁽⁷⁹⁾

One arrived in Japan. It was a fine specimen. The shogunal intendant was surprised that it was in such splendid condition in spite of the long voyage. The Dutch were instructed that the two horses remaining on the order should be dispatched as soon as possible.⁽⁸⁰⁾ The next year Batavia sent two stallions.⁽⁸¹⁾ Although they were fine specimens, one was rejected outright because its colour did not please the Shogun, it being a white horse. The other horse was accepted after some consideration. Its only fault lay in the fact that it had white legs and was not of a uniform colour. *Opperhoofd* Crans was embarrassed about this refusal in view of the fact that returning it to Batavia meant a loss of face. He decided to present it to the Nagasaki magistrate Bingo-no-kami (Ishigaya Kiyomasa), who had shown an interest in the animal.⁽⁸²⁾

Still, replacements were requested which exactly met the requirements. Orders were again dispatched to Surat. In 1775 the Surat factory replied that it had given instructions to look everywhere for horses that fit the requirements, but of those available something was wrong with the head of one horse, or the legs of another, or the way in which the hair grew of yet another.⁽⁸³⁾ In 1777 the Surat factory was finally able to send the happy tidings to Batavia that they had found three horses for Japan. After having rejected several which

had a blaze, or one or more white legs, markings which the Japanese had expressly rejected, they had finally found one with just a small white spot on its left hind leg. It was thought that the exacting Japanese might let this pass. They had found two others in the stables of the Nawab, who had been kind enough to sell them, albeit for a higher price than the Governor-General had stipulated.⁽⁸⁴⁾

Two stallions arrived in Japan in August 1778. Ieharu accepted the gift. No mention was made of a reciprocal gift. Given the precedent of 1733, the Dutch expected a recompense for all the trouble they had taken to supply the horses. In 1785, 1788 and 1789 they broached the subject with the interpreters, who replied that a reciprocal gift was at the Shogun's discretion. Finally, in 1790, Senior Interpreter Kosaku told *Opperhoofd* Romberg that there was little hope of a reciprocal gift forthcoming. The reason was too distressing.⁽⁸⁵⁾ What had happened?

On 10 April 1779, two days after his arrival in Edo, *Opperhoofd* Feith wrote in his diary: "This morning I was told that the crown prince⁽⁸⁶⁾ has died. While hunting yesterday, he fell from his horse. The saddle fell on his chest and he lost two bottles of blood. He was taken to the palace where he died upon arrival. The Shogun is completely overcome by grief. In his anguish he has slain several high officials with his sword and other high officials have cut open their bellies. All the shops have been closed for three days and everybody has to be silent. Nobody is allowed to light a fire after 6 p.m., with the exception of the landlord of our inn. Men are not allowed to shave for a couple of days and nobody is allowed to eat fish. The death of the crown prince will cause a great upheaval at Court, because neither he nor the Shogun have any children. The crown prince was only eighteen years old and was not married."⁽⁸⁷⁾ It turned out that the horse in question was one of the two presented by the Dutch the year before.

For the VOC business went from bad to worse. The Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-84) had a disastrous effect on trade and shipping. The Company's situation in Japan also deteriorated. To reduce costs, it was allowed to undertake the court journey once every four years from 1790 onwards, although in the intervening years the interpreters went to Edo in its stead. The amount of gifts was also halved.⁽⁸⁸⁾ The VOC went bankrupt in 1795, but the Dutch state took over its assets and liabilities. It also assumed the responsibility for the continuation of the good relations with the Shogun and Japan.

- (1) I would like to express my gratitude to the Japan Academy, to Professor Kubo Masaaki, and to the Shiryo Hensan-jo, Professors Yokoyama Yoshinori and Matsui Yoko, for their kind invitation for a study trip to Japan in March 2005 and their generous hospitality. I would also like to thank Professor Nagazumi Yoko, Mrs Matsukata Fuyuko, Mrs. Isabel van Daalen and the other participants at the study meetings for their helpful suggestions.

This article is an extended version of my paper presented at the study meeting at the Shiryō Hensan-jo, 2 March 2005, and the conference *Encounters, the meeting of Asia and Europe*, at the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 13 November 2004.

- (2) For discussions of this well-known episode, see A. Nagazumi, 'Japan en de Nederlanden rond 1632', in: *De Gids*, CXLV, nr 1 (1982), pp. 26-38; L. Blussé, 'Justus Schouten en de Japanse gijzeling. Memorabel verhael van den waeren oorspronck, voortganck ende nederganck van de wichtige differenten die tusschen de Nederlanders en de Japansche natie om den Chineeschen handel ontstaen zijn. Een verslag van Justus Schouten uit 1633.', in: *Nederlandse Historische Bronnen V* (1985), pp. 69-109; Yoko Nagazumi, 'The Japanese Go-shuinjo (Vermilion Seal) Maritime Trade in Taiwan', in: L. Blussé (ed.), *Around and About Formosa, Essays in honor of Professor Ts'ao Yung-ho*, Taipei 2003, pp. 27-41; and Leonard Blussé, 'Bull in a China Shop. Pieter Nuyts in China and Japan (1627-1636)', in: *idem*, pp. 95-110.
- (3) Jacques Specx was *opperhoofd* of the Dutch factory in Hirado from 20/9/1609 to 28/8/1612 and from 6/8/1614 to 31/1/1621. He was Governor-General of the Indies from 25/9/1629 to 7/9/1632.
- (4) National Archive, The Hague: Archieven van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (hereafter VOC) inv. no 316, Amsterdam 2 September 1634, Letter from Heren Zeventien to Governor-General and Council of the Indies (hereafter GG&C); VOC 101, f. 115r, Resolutions of the Heren Zeventien, 23 August 1634.
- (5) VOC 857, Batavia 26 July 1635, GG&C to Nicolaas Couckebacker in Japan; National Archive, The Hague: Het Archief van de Nederlandse Factorij in Japan (hereafter NFJ) inv. no. 763, Batavia 27 July 1635, Invoice of the goods shipped by the High Government in the ship *Rarop* to Japan. The *Rarop* arrived at Hirado on 14 September 1635.
- (6) Shiryō Hensan-jo, The University of Tokyo (ed.), *Diaries kept by the heads of the Dutch factory in Japan*, Vol. II January 1, 1636 - August 7, 1637, Tokyo 1974, pp. 22-23 (22 March 1636).
- (7) *Ibidem*, pp. 66-67 (3 May 1636).
- (8) *Ibidem*, pp. 81-82 (5 July 1636).
- (9) Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer has dealt with these masterpieces of Amsterdam brass casting and the other brass pieces mentioned hereafter in 'Koperen kronen en waskaarsen voor Japan' (Brass Chandeliers and Wax Candles for Japan), in: *Oud Holland*, Volume 93, 1979, Nr. 2, pp. 69-95.
- (10) NFJ 836, 13 June 1636, Trade journal. There is no mention of the remaining two candlesticks.
- (11) VOC 316, f. 66, Amsterdam 21 April 1635, Heren Zeventien to GG&C.
- (12) VOC 316, f. 137v, Amsterdam 26 November 1636, Heren Zeventien to GG&C; VOC 316, f. 217, Amsterdam 16 September 1638, Heren Zeventien to GG&C; VOC 316, f. 260v, Amsterdam 12 September 1639, Heren Zeventien to GG&C.
- (13) See M.E. van Opstall, *De reis van de vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff naar Azië 1607-1612* (The Voyage of the Fleet of Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff to Asia 1607-1612), The Hague 1972, for

the journal of the first Dutch embassy to the shogunal court: 'Negotie van de voyagie gedaen naer 't landt Mayoque ofte stadt Sernigauo door Sr Nicolaes Puyck van Rotterdam als ambassadeur van de Generaele Comp^e aen den Mogenden Keyser van Niphon ofte Japon in 't jaer 1609', pp. 345-363.

- (14) Van Opstall, o.c. pp. 144, 145. National Archive: Aanwinsten 1138, Resolutions of the Joint Council of the *Rode Leeuw* and *the Griffioen*, 7 July 1609.
- (15) VOC 1054, Nagasaki 3 November 1610, Letter from Specx to Heren Zeventien. VOC 1061, ff. 248v-249, Resolutions taken in Hirado, 10 September 1615.
- (16) 'Oost-Indische Voyagie, onder den Admiraal W. Verhoeven', in: Isaac Commelin, *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Geocroijeerde Oost Indische Compagnie*, facsimile edition. VOC 1056, Tidore 2 August 1613, Specx to the Amsterdam Chamber. See also: Kees Zandvliet, *De Nederlandse ontmoeting met Azië 1600-1950*, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam 2002-2003, pp. 101-102.
- (17) Henrick Brouwer was *opperhoofd* of the Japan factory from 28/8/1612 to 6/8/1614.
- (18) VOC 1056, Hirado 29 January 1613, Brouwer to Governor-General Pieter Both.
- (19) Both Specx and Brouwer sent the Japanese royal gifts to the headquarters in Bantam to be forwarded to the Netherlands.
- (20) A resolution of the Amsterdam Chamber of 9 February 1615 (VOC 227) states that it was decided in the meeting to leave it to the *Heren Zeventien* to decide what to do with the Japanese suit of armour: whether or not to present it to Prince Maurits.
- (21) See Zandvliet, note 16. He mentions a Japanese suit of armour in a Paris museum which probably originates from the collections of the stadholders and which might be one of the suits of armour presented in those early years.
- (22) NFJ 101, Dagregister Hendrik van Buijtenhem, 23 March 1688: "According to annual custom, I shared out the silk gowns, which the councillors and lower-ranking gentlemen sent me as gifts, to the *bongioisen* [*i.e.* the Nagasaki government officials who escorted the Dutch], the interpreters, clerks, and cooks, for which they thanked me."
- (23) The Amsterdam Chamber received the most, ten gowns. The remainder was divided equally among the other Chambers.
- (24) VOC 316, Amsterdam 16 April 1640, Heren Zeventien to GG&C: "*Japane rocken* are becoming popular, of which a fair lot can be sent [hither]".
- (25) See also M. Breukink-Peeze, 'Japanese Robes, a Craze', in: S. van Raay (ed.), *Imitation and Inspiration, Japanese Influence on Dutch Art*, Amsterdam 1989, pp. 54-59, for a popular overview.
- (26) VOC 316, Amsterdam 3 October 1637, Heren Zeventien to GG&C.
- (27) VOC 316, Amsterdam December 1637; 12 April 1638, Heren Zeventien to GG&C.
- (28) VOC 316, Amsterdam 16 September 1638, Heren Zeventien to GG&C.
- (29) VOC 863, Batavia 30 June 1639, GG&C to Japan, Francois Caron.
- (30) Shiryo Hensan-jo (ed.), *Diaries kept by the heads of the Dutch factory in Japan*, Volume IV

Februarius 4, 1639 - Februarius 13, 1641, Tokyo 1981, pp. 204-205.

- (31) Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Koperen kronen', pp. 77-78.
- (32) VOC 316, Middelburg 5 September 1641, Heren Zeventien to GG&C.
- (33) VOC 866, Batavia 28 June 1642, GG&C to Japan, Jan van Elseracq; VOC 316, 9 September 1641, the Amsterdam Chamber to GG&C.
- (34) Cynthia Viallé & Leonard Blussé (eds), *The Deshima Dagregisters*, Volume XI 1641-1650, Leiden 2001, 9-11 & 14 December 1643.
- (35) VOC 1054, Nagasaki 3 November 1610, Specx to Heren Zeventien.
- (36) We come across this remark in the *dagregisters* and the correspondence between Deshima and Batavia.
- (37) See Dr. A.J. Bernet Kempers (ed.), *Journaal van Dircq van Adrichem's hofreis naar den groot-mogol Aurangzeb 1662*, [Journal of Dircq van Adrichem's court journey to the Great Mogul Aurangzeb 1662], 's-Gravenhage 1941.
- (38) NFJ 830, Trade Journal, Hirado 3 December 1624.
- (39) At least in 1673 we find a reference that the Shogun should receive gifts worth a thousand *schuiten* of silver. NFJ 86, Dagregister Martinus Caesar, 20 January 1673. There are other such references.
- (40) Officially on the first day of the eighth lunar month. At first the Dutch presentation took place before the VOC ships departed from Japan, but the date later shifted to after their departure.
- (41) NFJ 79, Dagregister Willem Volger, 4 October 1666; NFJ 85, Dagregister Johannes Camphuys, 15 September 1672.
- (42) NFJ 79, Dagregister Willem Volger, 24 April 1666.
- (43) Graphite became more widely employed as a writing tool in Europe only from the early seventeenth century. Lead pencils and red ochre pens were not commonly known in Asia and were much appreciated as gifts.
- (44) According to Margot van Opstall they might have been a type of zebra. See Margot E. van Opstall, 'Kamelen op de landweg. Dieren als geschenk voor de shogun', in: *In het spoor van de Liefde. Japans-Nederlandse ontmoetingen sinds 1600*, Amsterdam 1986, pp. 71-73.
- (45) NFJ 306, Batavia 25 June 1675, GG&C to Japan, Martinus Caesar.
- (46) NFJ 88, Dagregister Martinus Caesar, 22 August, 2 November 1675; NFJ 89, Dagregister Johannes Camphuys, 14, 27, 28 April 1676. At the time, these Persian stallions had almost been refused as a gift because the Shogun thought the dapple-grey colour of their coats inauspicious.
- (47) NFJ 82, Dagregister Daniel Six, 30 October 1668.
- (48) Information kindly provided by Mrs Kasuya Yasuko of the Rinno-ji with the help of Mrs Matsukata Fuyuko of the Shiryō Hensan-jo. The casket was on display at the exhibition *Encounters, the meeting of Asia and Europe 1500-1800*, Victoria & Albert Museum, London 2004. It is attributed to the late 16th century, made in Italy.

- (49) In that year “an extraordinarily curious, skilfully made jewelcasket” is listed among the gifts to the Shogun. NFJ 1179, Specification of the expenses of the Edo court journey and the gifts given there and to the Nagasaki governors etc. in the year 1661 by Hendrik Indijck. Unfortunately, for some years the records are no longer extant or now inaccessible, thus we cannot be certain when the casket was presented.
- (50) This is the phrase used by the English East India Company, which followed a system similar to its Dutch counterpart for ordering goods.
- (51) Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, Eerste boek, deel II, RGP 68, Den Haag 1929, Het drie en dertigste capittel, p. 104.
- (52) W.Ph. Coolhaas (ed.), *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, Deel I: 1610-1638, RGP Grote Serie 104, 's-Gravenhage 1960, pp. 56-60. Appendix to the General Missive of Gerard Reynst.
- (53) There are just a few publications in Western languages on the Japanese *eisen*: W.T. Kroese, ‘De Eisch van Zijn Keizerlijk Majesteit’, in: *Textielhistorische Bijdragen*, no. 14, 1973; Minoru Omori, ‘The Eisch Boek in Dutch-Japanese Trade’, in: K.R. Haellquist (ed.), *Asian Trade Routes, Continental and Maritime*, Studies on Asian Topics No. 13, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies; and Martha Chaiklin, *Cultural Commerce and Dutch Commercial Culture. The Influence of European Material Culture on Japan, 1700-1850*, Studies in Overseas History/5, Leiden 2003. These publications deal only with the *eisboeken* and the separate series of *eisen* of the 18th and 19th century. This limited use of the records of the VOC and NFJ archives unfortunately distorts the picture.
- (54) VOC 1054, Nagasaki 3 November 1610, Specx to Heren Zeventien.
- (55) In 1623, *Opperhoofd* Van Nijenrode wrote to Governor-General Pieter de Carpentier that the Lord of Hirado claimed that he had requested sheep more than three years before. Promises had been made to supply them. Therefore, the lord urgently requested that the sheep be sent as soon as possible. Van Nijenrode asked De Carpentier to take care of it. VOC 1083, Hirado 20 December 1623, Cornelis van Nijenrode to Governor-General Pieter de Carpentier.
- (56) VOC 1054, Nagasaki 3 November 1610, Specx to Heren Zeventien.
- (57) NFJ 274, Dagregister kept by Willem Jansz in Edo, 1 October 1632.
- (58) Ibidem, Letter from Van Nijenrode in Hirado to Jansz in Edo, 20 September.
- (59) Ibidem, 28 October.
- (60) This fascinating subject will be treated in full in a future publication.
- (61) See Cynthia Viallé & Leonard Blussé, *The Deshima Dagregisters*, Volume XII, 1650-1660, Leiden 2005, where the full details are given.
- (62) A unicorn (narwhal) horn presented by the Dutch is preserved in the Rinno-ji and was placed there in 1671 together with the casket with the depiction of Susannah and the Elders mentioned before. Information kindly provided by Mrs Kasuya Yasuko and Mrs Matsukata Fuyuko.

- (63) NFJ 1171, Frederik Coyett's Specification of the expenses he made on the court journey and in Edo states: "The following [items] sent for as spurious purchases by the great commissioner Chikugo-no-kami, our advocate at Court, and sent for likewise by others on his orders, for which less than the cost price has been paid and which have been written off as gifts as is customary". For the *Crujdboeck van Dodenaeus*, Chikugo-no-kami paid 3 taels; the cost price was 120 guilders. A tael was equal to 2.85 guilders at the time. (For simplification's sake not calculated in stivers.)
- (64) This is at present a matter of some controversy. The whole issue of whether something was bought or given is too complex to deal with here and needs further research, especially as it seems to me that the practice changed in later years. Certainly in the eighteenth century the VOC handed over the rarities, or non-trade goods, that were ordered by the Japanese nobles to them as "gifts", for they are always entered on the account of "*schenkage*", that is "gifts", in the trade journals. There are no entries for payments of these rarities. If payments had been made, one should expect to find them in the books of a trading company.
- (65) NFJ 78, Dagregister Jacob Gruijs, 18 April 1665. It is not known where these lanterns are at present.
- (66) NFJ 80, Dagregister Daniel Six, 27 January 1667; NFJ 81 Dagregister Constantin Ranst, 14 April 1668; NFJ 88, Dagregister Martinus Caesar, 1 April 1675. B.M. Bodart-Bailey, *Kaempfer's Japan. Tokugawa Culture Observed*, University of Hawai'i Press 1999, pp. 213-214.
- (67) J.A. van der Chijs (ed.), *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaatse als over geheel Nederlandts-India Anno 1668-1669*, Batavia 1897, pp. 203-204, 30 November 1668; NFJ 81, Dagregister Constantin Ranst, 21 June & 28 September 1668.
- (68) J.A. van der Chijs (ed.), *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek 1602-1811*, II, pp. 509-512. The placard was issued, because in contravention of the shogunal prohibition, several Company servants had imported banned goods into Japan.
- (69) NFJ 86, Dagregister Martinus Caesar, 16 April 1673.
- (70) NFJ 81, Dagregister Constantin Ranst, 15 February 1668; NFJ 1186, Specification expenses court gifts Ranst 1668.
- (71) NFJ 88, Dagregister Martinus Caesar, 15 November 1674.
- (72) For this section, see *The Deshima Diaries, Marginalia 1700-1740* and *The Deshima Diaries, Marginalia 1740-1800*, both volumes published in the series of Scientific Publications of the Japan-Netherlands Institute, Nos 12 & 21, Tokyo 1992 & 2004, *passim*.
- (73) NFJ 489, Nagasaki 27 October 1733, Hendrik van der Bel to GG&C.
- (74) NFJ 349, Batavia 7 June 1734, GG&C to Japan, Rogier de Laver and David Drinkman.
- (75) NFJ 489, Nagasaki 16 October 1734, Rogier de Laver to GG&C.
- (76) NFJ 489, Nagasaki [no date] 1736, Bernardus Coop a Groen to GG&C.
- (77) NFJ 387, Batavia 21 June 1766, GG&C to Japan, Jan Crans.
- (78) NFJ 388, Batavia 21 June 1767, GG&C to Japan, Herman Kastens

- (79) NFJ 389, Batavia 20 June 1768, GG&C to Japan, Herman Kastens
- (80) NFJ 495, Nagasaki 30 October 1768, Jan Crans to GG&C.
- (81) NFJ 390, Batavia 25 June 1769, GG&C to Olphert Elias and Jan Crans.
- (82) NFJ 467, Nagasaki 8 November 1769, Secret missive from Jan Crans to GG&C.
- (83) VOC 3462, Surat 19 December 1775, ff. 410-412. I thank Ghulam Ahmad Nadri for the data from the Surat factory correspondence.
- (84) VOC 3490, Surat 27 December 1777, ff. 350-351.
- (85) See *The Deshima Diaries, Marginalia 1740-1800, passim*.
- (86) Tokugawa Iemoto.
- (87) *The Deshima Diaries, Marginalia 1740-1800*.
- (88) Ibidem, 20 March 1791; NFJ 514, Nagasaki 12 November 1792, Petrus Chassé to GG&C.