

The Burial of Hendrik Godfried Duurkoop at Goshinji

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In the spring of 1778 H.G. Duurkoop was appointed Opperhoofd (“Chief Factor”) of the Dutch trading post on Deshima (Nagasaki, Japan), for a second term. He had served his first term as chief of the trading post in 1776-1777, but due to Japanese regulations¹ a chief was not allowed to serve during consecutive one-year periods, so after this year he went back to Batavia. However, the Japanese authorities had agreed that a chief could return to his post after a year of absence. So after a one-year stay in Batavia, during which he served as senior merchant, Duurkoop returned to Japan.²

At first sight it does not seem attractive to return to such a remote post, but there was a significant financial advantage, which made the Dutch factory in Deshima a desirable place of exile. Because of its remoteness, the VOC allowed its officials in Deshima some private trading³, which in the other VOC trading posts was strictly forbidden in order to prevent conflicts of interest.

On June 16, H.G. Duurkoop embarks on the ship ‘t Huys te Spijk and with the SW-monsoon winds he sails from Batavia to Japan to relieve the Opperhoofd A.W. Feith, for whom the period of 1777-1778 was already his fourth term as chief.⁴ Hendrik Godfried’s elder brother, Jan Andries Duurkoop, a retired soldier and a freeburgher well-known in Batavia at that time, joined him on this trip. During the voyage and after a short illness, the incoming chief Hendrik Godfried Duurkoop dies on July 27, 1778. The location at sea of the ship on that day is indicated on his gravestone: 26 degrees and 58 minutes north latitude⁵, which is a little north of Okinawa.

The cause of death is not known. De Graaf⁶ suggests that the cause could well have been a bout of malaria, contracted during his stay in Batavia. He suggests that he could have lost his formerly acquired immunity during the long years he spent in Japan, as he assumes that Duurkoop has been in Japan continuously for 18 years. However I see no basis for this assumption. H.G. Duurkoop certainly had not been continuously in Japan, as can be deducted from the overview of his career. It seems more likely to assume that there was some infectious disease on the ship. Hermanus Siedenburger, skipper of ‘t Huys te Spijk, reports that he had left Batavia in company of another ship, the ‘Rood-enrijs’, but that they had split up at Poelo Ouw⁷ (Pulau Aur, a small island 65 km east of the Malay Peninsula at 2.5° north latitude, 104.5° east longitude), because Siedenburger

1 Blussé and Viallé 2001, Vol. XI, p. 1 ; Feenstra Kuiper 1921 p. 169. Already in 1641, the year the Dutch Factory at Deshima was established, the Japanese government insisted that a new chief should be appointed every year. This was to prevent that too close a tie between the Dutch and the Japanese would arise.

2 Duurkoop had served the Company in Japan for many years in lower ranks. Lower staff was allowed to stay more than one year; so the note of Burke-Gaffney: ‘Duurkoop never saw Japan’ before 1778, is mistaken. Burke-Gaffney, p. 59–68.

3 Nationaal Archief (hereafter ‘NA’) 1.04.21 Introduction pages. The Government of Nagasaki desired the private trade or Kambang, because the small traders, who were not able to participate in the official bulk trade of the VOC could in this way also benefit from the presence of the Dutch.

4 In 1778, Arend Willem Feith (1745–1782) had served as Chief Factor of the trading post on Deshima, already four terms (1771–’72; 1773–’74; 1775–’76; 1777–’78). As in 1776, H.G. Duurkoop would succeed him. Due to the unfortunate death of H.G. Duurkoop, July 1778, A.W. Feith had to stay for another year. As this was not customary, Feith had to ask for permission to stay for another year, which was granted to him by the Japanese authorities (see below).

5 In Blussé et al. 2004, p. Xiii, the location is shown as 26 degree 38½ min N and the year of death as 1777. Both are incorrect. See below for the correct data and an accurate description of the gravestone.

6 De Graaf 1989 p. 13. Wikipedia, too, mentions Malaria as the cause of death. Mioch 1997 p. 101–105 a short illness.

7 NA 1.04.21 inv. nr. 1564. Blussé et al. 2004, 1778: 103. I thank Dr. M.J.P. Van Oijen, curator, NCB Naturalis, Leiden, for his help in locating this island.

decided to sail faster since he had already many ill and dead people on board and feared a shortage of fresh water. The Deshima Diaries also state that even after the arrival of the ships in Nagasaki many of the crew passed away.⁸

Although someone who dies on board normally gets a sailor's grave, this was not the case for H.G. Duurkoop. The remains of the incoming chief were salvaged in a lead chest as coffin with a preservative agent and taken to Nagasaki, to be buried in due time in the cemetery there.⁹

In his last, ailing days, just before his death, something fishy happens that later on would lead to a legal procedure and a trial: Hendrik Caspar Romberg, who had at that time not yet been sworn in as clerk, entered Duurkoop's cabin and purloined a few of his papers.¹⁰

On August 9, 't Huys te Spijk sails into the harbour of Nagasaki and the incumbent chief, A.W. Feith, is informed of the unfortunate news of the death of incoming chief H.G. Duurkoop. The sister ship, the 'Roodenrijs', which had departed from Batavia at the same time but got out of sight as Siedenburg sailed faster, arrives a few days later, on August 11.

Chief A.W. Feith immediately informs the interpreters of what has happened. Shortly afterwards, the interpreters come back to him and ask him to keep the death of H.G. Duurkoop concealed for a while as, according to Japanese customs, one should first inform the authorities that a person has fallen ill, then that the illness has gotten worse, and finally that the patient is deceased. So it is decided that a little charade will be performed. One of the assistants of H.G. Duurkoop will play the role of Duurkoop and will pretend to be very ill. And so it happens. The assistant who plays the role of Duurkoop, supported by two helpers, descends, while walking with difficulty, the gangway and immediately is taken to the sickbay. The next day, the authorities are informed that unfortunately H.G. Duurkoop has died. In the meantime his body has been brought to shore in a lead coffin without the usual visitation.¹¹

The funeral of the incoming chief and senior merchant H.G. Duurkoop took place on August 15, 1778. The burial site was the 'Hollandsche Begraafplaats', the Dutch cemetery, which is located across Nagasaki Bay on the grounds of the Buddhist temple Goshinji, at the foot of Mount Inasa. Today, the 'Hollandsche Begraafplaats' still belongs to this temple.

This cemetery did not exist from the outset in 1641, when the Dutch were forcibly removed to the island of Deshima. It only came into being in 1654, after the then Chief Gabriel Happart had submitted a request to the magistrates of Nagasaki in which he asked to be allowed to bury the death on shore.¹² Previously this was not allowed; the bodies

8 NA 1.04.21 inv. nr. 188, Deshima Diaries (DD) 1778: 102, 103, 113, 117, 120. During the month that the ships were anchored in the harbour of Nakasaki, the crew stayed on board.

9 NA 1.04.21 inv. nr. 188, DD 1778:102,103.

10 In a courtcase which dealt with this incident and which was brought before court by Jan Andries Duurkoop, H. C. Romberg (1744–1793) was convicted, as can be deduced from a letter written by Coenraad Jonas to Isaac Titsingh and also by a letter sent by H.J. Duurkoop (son of Jan Andries Duurkoop) to Isaac Titsingh, in 1787. Lequin, F. 1990, Vol. I. *The private correspondence of Isaac Titsingh*, letter resp. no 35, no 38 P.S. 2 and no 215.

11 NA 1.04.21 188, DD 1778: 103, 104.

12 Viallé and Blussé, 2005; Nederlandse Factorij Japan (hereafter NFJ) 67. 1654: 37 During the Hirado period Dutch people were buried on land. The Dutch cemetery at Hirado was destroyed shortly after the Dutch left. After the transfer of the trading post to Deshima, Nagasaki, the bodies had to be thrown into the sea. See also Kalf 1920, Viallé and Blussé, 2005 NFJ 67: 35 On request of Chief Gabriel Happart, Junior Merchant Otto Wacker who had died during the court journey, was buried near the Asakusa temple in Edo on 24.02.1654. This was the second burial in Edo of a Dutch VOC servant (DD Vol. XI 1641-1645, 1 February 1645). In Nagasaki this was not yet possible. NFJ 67 1654:35:37:51, Happart urged the (not specifically named) interpreter to discuss, while in Edo, the possibility of burial on shore in Nagasaki, which he did. However, the authorities in Edo decided that such matters resorted under the Magistrates in Nagasaki. After his return in Nagasaki Happart repeated

had to be thrown overboard into the sea four or five miles off the coast.¹³ The request was granted, under the restriction that the burial should be without ostentation, in the Japanese way in either a large box or barrel.¹⁴ As cemetery for the Dutch a piece of land was designated in Inasa-machi, on the grounds belonging to Goshinji, adjacent to the Chinese burial site, which already existed since 1602.¹⁵ Since 1654, numerous servants of the Dutch Trading Company had been buried here without any ceremony.

H.G. Duurkoop, however, according to the *Deshima Diaries*¹⁶ and to the amazement of the Japanese, was buried with all due ceremony, (Dutch: ...“wierd het lijk van wijlen de Heer Hendrik Godfried Duurkoop met alle moogelijke Staatie zo verre de gelegenthey t hier toelaat tot verwondering der Japanders behoorlijk ten aarde besteld”).¹⁷ From the *Naamrolle* (“list of names”)¹⁸ of those attending the burial, we may conclude that it was a most elaborate happening indeed. Jan Andries Duurkoop, H.G. Duurkoop’s brother, who had joined him on this trip, and who had been appointed as the executer of his will, certainly will have been involved in arranging the funeral and the financial settlement.

Twelve bearers, recruited from the crew of the ship/ships carried the coffin, which was accompanied by four *slippendragers* (“pall bearers”) on either side. Following the coffin were nineteen persons. Immediately behind the coffin came Duurkoop’s three relatives: his elder brother Jan Andries, his cousin Christiaan Hendrik van Erath, and his nephew Hendrik Andries Ulps, son of Hendrik Godfried’s sister Else Dorothea. These persons were followed by Chief Factor Arend Willem Feith and merchant-storekeeper Jan Hendrik Haringa, and by both skippers, Hermanus Siedenburgh of ‘t Huys te Spijk and Jurriaan Frederik Ficke of the Roodenrijs. Behind these gentlemen came the two *onderkooplieden* (“assistant merchants”), Köhler and Vinkenmulder, followed by the scribe, Romberg. Behind these gentlemen came seven officials belonging to the trading post. Johannes Scharpf, steward, and Erdman Lodewijk Poehr, *ondermeester*, (“junior surgeon”), acted as undertakers.¹⁹ In total, the Dutch were present with thirty-five people. All were dressed in the deepest mourning-black.

Of the three relatives of Duurkoop, Andries Hendrik Ulps would over time be appointed Chief Factor in Japan. His cousin Christiaan Hendrik Erath, who had married into the Duurkoop family, later became Chief on the west coast of Sumatra.

The list of the Dutch people attending the funeral, as noted down in the original Dutch text of ‘de Naamrolle’ is as follows:²⁰

his request several times. See also NFJ 67: 79, 108,109, 110, NFJ 68:1:105.

13 Blussé and Viallé 2001; NFJ 55 p. II, and e.g. 1641: 20,21; 1649: 81, 83,104,105; Montanus 1669, Valentijn 1724, Kalff 1920.

14 Blussé and Viallé, 2005; NFJ 67:110, NFJ 68:1,105. October 31th, 1654, just before his departure to Batavia, during his farewell visit to the magistrates of Nagasaki, Happart was told that the Japanese authorities, favourably had decided that in the future it was allowed to bury the dead on land.

15 Blussé and Viallé 2005; NFJ 67. On October 9, 1655 the first burial of a Dutchman took place in Inasa, but he was buried in a coffin, not in the Japanese way in a barrel. The coffin was taken to Inasa by three Bongiosen, servants of the Nagasaki magistrates; a Dutch official was allowed to join. On their return they reported that the body had been buried in a place called Inasa, among the Chinese graves. The grave was covered with turf and stones and in the centre a small cypress tree had been planted. Since then a burial at Inasa became normal routine.

16 Blussé et al. 2004, 1778: 107.

17 NA 1.04.21, Ned. Factorij in Japan 1609–1860 inv. nr. 188; NA 1.04.21 inv. nr. 1565; DD 15.08.1778.

18 NA 1.04.21 inv. nr. 1583 Naamrolle.

19 NA 1.04.21 inv. nr. 1583, Naamrolle.

20 NA 1.04.21 inv. nr. 1583, Naamrolle. Spelling of names varies in the *Deshima diaries*. It was only later, in August 1811, during the period of French occupation of The Netherlands (1795–1813), that a law was enacted stating that every person had to register with a surname; from then on surnames got a fixed spelling.

De Naamrolle:

Van alle zoodanige personen die versogt zijn met 't lijk van wijlen Den weledele Achtbare Heer Hendrik Godfried Duurkoop opperkoopman en opperhoofd van Japan ter aarde te bestellen

Als Draagers

Onderstuurman	Ies Hansen
Derdewaak	Michiel Schouwer
Derde waak	ohan Andries Borchart
Bootsman	Paulus Kruys
Schieman	Frans Palyo
Bottelier	Andries Cornelisse
Timmerman	Lodewijk Knaus
Smit	Jan Carel Florens
Quartiermeester	Jacob Andrisse
Bootsmansmaat	Josua Rosentuyn
Schiemansmaat	Martinus Bernard
Botteliersmaat	Jacobus Post

Als Slippendraagers

Monsieur Albertus Francois Domburg
Monsieur Ernst Rudolff van Beksteijn
Monsieur Johannes van Vlissingen
Monsieur Adriaan Michiel van Groenbergh

Agter 't lijk gaande'

Den weled. Manh. Heer Jan Andries Duurkoop, Oud Majoor van de Infanterij mitsgaders Lid van 't Collegie van Heeren Heemraden
D'E. Heer Christiaan Hendrik van Erath, onderkoopman en Kassier der kostpenningen
Monsieur - - - - Ulps, Adsisstend in dienst der E. Comp.
Den welEd. Achtb. Heer Arend Willem Feith, Oppercoopman en opperhoofd weegens 's E. Comp Importante handel en verdere omslag in 't Keijzerrijk Japan
WelEdele Heer Jan Hendrik Haringa, Koopman en Pakhuijsmeester
Den Manhafte Heer Hermanus Siedenburg, Schipper
Den Manhafte Heer Jurriaan Frederik Ficke, Schipper
D'E Heer Hendrik Köhler, Ondercoopman en dispencier
D'E Heer Dirk Vinkenmulder, Ondercoopman en Negotie-boekhouder
Monsieur Hendrik Caspar Romberg, geswoore scriba
Monsieur Johan Christiaan Schartow
Monsieur Hendrik Ras
Monsieur Lambertus van der Biesen
Monsieur Hermanus Meijer
Monsieur Hendrik de Koning
Monsieur Fredrik Willem Schindeler
Monsieur Carel Godlieb Clieman, oppermeester

Als aanspreekers:

Johannes Scharpf, Hofmeester
Erdman Lodewijk Poehr, ondermeester

The costs of the funeral and the tombstone were paid from H.G. Duurkoop's legacy as is recorded in the final statement of the auction of his belongings.²¹ At the funeral various drinks (wine, beer, and liquor) were served and pipes and tobacco were provided to those present. The three slaves (servants) of H.G. Duurkoop were also cared for as can be seen in the financial settlement of the funeral (see below).

The tombstone is placed on January 4, 1779. At the same time as H.G. Duurkoop's gravestone, also a tombstone for Jan Schuts, bookkeeper, who had died the year before, on 24-10-1777, is placed.²² Three days later, on January 7, a delegation of the scribe and some clerks from the trading post visits the cemetery to make sure that the tombstones are properly placed. The tombstone of Jan Schuts is of lower quality and over the years the original inscription is completely eroded.

The costs of the burial are specified as follows in the final financial statement of the legacy in original Dutch text. The figures are in the Dutch currency of the time, so in "Hollandsche rijksdaalders and stuyvers" (1 Rsd = 48 stuyver).

Aan de ondervolgende personen welke tot het afleggen van 't lijk als tot verdere assistentie gedient hebben tot een douceur toegelegd en verdere bekostiging

	Rsd	St
Aan 3 personen welke het lijk hebben afgelegd a so 50 per zo	150	-
„ 4 slippendragers „ „ 50	200	-
„ 3 familieleden als „ „ 25	75	-
„ 9 dekofficieren als „ „ 15	135	-
„ 2 aanspreekers „ „ 20	40	-
„ 2 timmerlieden, die de kist gemaakt hebbe „ „ 10	20	-
„ stofman voor het leveren van het satijn en de fabita er van	121	-
voor 't maaken van het graff coelijloonen etc.	48	24
„ „ „ „ een baan	28	24
„ „ „ „ van een tent waarmede het lijk is afgebracht	15	24
„ een zerksteen „	200	
„ 't kappen van 444 letters en 2 waapens op deselven „	52	40
Aan coelijloonen voor 't wegbrengen van gem. steen „	100	
naar de begraafplaets Inasse		
Teld Rds/stuyvers	1186	16
op de begraavenis vendutie aan wijn, bier sterke dranken, pijpen, tabak, etc. verbruikt te bedraege van	221	43
Draagevoort Rds/stuyvers	1408	9
Door de compradoor tot nooddurft dekking etc. voor d'slaave jongens betaeld		
13 pees combaarsen	71	24
30 „ tapier	15	-
30 „ muijlen	15	-
300 catt: vis	48	-
4 gants risjes	1	-
	150	24
Rsd/stuyvers	1558	33

21 NA 1.04.21 inv. nr. 1583, vendu rol.

22 NA 1.04.21 inv. nr. 1564; Blussé et al., 2004, DD. A.W. Feith 1777-1778: 8.

Glossary:

- fabita — white or black shiny silk fabric of the finest quality
- comradoor — a member of the Kompura Nakama (guild Comradoors). They provided the Dutchmen on Deshima food and trifles²³
- pees — pieces
- combaars/ kombaars — sailors blanket
- tapie – (Maleis)= multicoloured Indian pieces of cloth (for sarongs). See the pictures of Chiefs with servants.
- catt - cattie = quantity 1 catty = 1 ¼ Amsterdams lb
- gants risjes - gant = gantang = quantity, a weight size =12,5 Amsterdams lb, also capacity measure 8,5 liters mostly used for rice and hot Spanish pepper
- baan = smooth surface, paving the way?
- tent waarmee het lijk is afgebracht” = shroud? A cloth covering.

The untimely death of H.G. Durkoop meant that A.W. Feith could not be replaced and would have to stay for another year in Deshima as Chief of the trading factory. So, in a letter of August 24, addressed to the magistrate of Nagasaki, Tsuge Nagato-no-Kami Masatane (1735–1800?; *machibugyō* 1775–1783), Feith asks for permission to continue his stay in the coming year and also suggest that he shall provide the presents to the “Keyserlijke Majesteit”.²⁴ The original Dutch text of this letter reads:²⁵

Aan den weledele Groot Achtbaare Heer Tsoege Nagatto no Cammi Samma Gouverneur van Nangazacky (Tsuge Nagato no Kami). De ondergeteekende Hollandsche Capitain geeft Uwe Zed. groot Achtbaare te kennen dat door dien op de reizze naar Japan 't aankoomend opperhoofd Hendrik Godfried Durkoop aan eene swaare Siekte eerst gelaboreert en kortelings aan dezelve kwaal is koomen te overlijden. Zoo is 't verzoek van gemelde Capitain van dit jaar te moogen blijven overwinteren en na' usantie de geschenken aan zijne Keijserlijke Majesteijd te presenteren, waarmee d' Eer te hebben met alle hoogagting te verblijven.

Japan ten Comptoire Nangazacky, den 24 Augustus, 1778.

/was getekend/ A.W.Feith

It was the first time ever recorded that such an elaborate show took place at a Dutch funeral at Goshinji. Not only do the Dutch archives give an impression of the funeral, even more we can learn from Japanese sources. Unfortunately in the Goshinji archives there is no report of this event.²⁶ But it is clear that the death, the funeral and the tombstone of Hendrik Godfried Durkoop aroused interest among Japanese 'Hollandologists', as can be seen from several publications on this subject.

Hollandologists or *Rangaku* scholars were educated men who were interested in European science, European culture, and Dutch customs, and who published a variety of books on a wide range of these topics. They were especially interested in European medicine as a comparison to Chinese practice, and also in natural sciences, astronomy and technology. Their approach to science was different from the then prevailing philosophy

²³ Blussé et al. 2004, p. 805.

²⁴ Meant here is Shogun. The Dutch regarded the shogun as the Emperor of Japan. Tsuge Nagato-no-kami (Tsuge Masatane) was still *bugyō* in August 1778, he left for Edo November 11 (NFJ 187:105). His successor was Kuze Tango-no-Kami (Kuze Hirokami), who came to Nagasaki on October 22 (NFJ 188:124).

²⁵ NA 1.04.21 inv. nr. 623, 24.08.1778.

²⁶ Information by courtesy of the monk superior in Goshinji, obtained in the year 2000.

based on Confucian thinking, which was the mainstream education in Edo period. At the end of the eighteenth century Rangaku science boomed.

Ōtsuki Gentaku²⁷ (1757–1827) was one of the apostles of this ‘Dutch learning’. He was interested in Dutch medicine and became an excellent translator of Dutch texts. He was based in Edo, where in 1786 he founded his own private school for Dutch studies, which was later to be called the Shirandō Academy.²⁸

The *Rangaku* scholars collected their information from the Dutch on Deshima, but also from the study of imported books, and finally from stories of two groups of Japanese castaways, who had been shipwrecked on the Siberian coast and had returned to Japan after a long travel of many years through European Russia.²⁹ The *Rangakusha* were a small group that knew each other well. Through mutual contacts within their scientific circles information was often orally exchanged.³⁰ Their writings were not infrequently a collaborative effort. Not all of them were able to understand or read Dutch. The Deshima interpreters also played an important role in transferring knowledge.³¹ Several of these interpreters, who owned quite a few western books themselves, also eagerly studied sciences.

Given the interest *Rangakusha* had in everything “Dutch”, it is remarkable that the first publication in which mention is made of the ins and outs of Duurkoop’s death dates only from 1787, so about nine years after the remarkable funeral. In his *Kōmō zatsuwa* (“Miscellaneous stories of the Red-Haired Barbarians”; 1787) Morishima Chūryō, a *Rangakusha* and writer of popular literature³², devoted one section to this subject. At the beginning of the relevant chapter, entitled *Kōmōjin sōshiki* (“A funeral of the red-haired barbarians”), he mentions Duurkoop and then he describes the burial.

Chūryō describes the coffin, the transport by boat from Deshima to the other side of Nagasaki Bay and then up to Goshinji, the funeral rites in the temple, and the tombstone.³³ He says that he has not witnessed the funeral himself, and that he derives his information from two sources, the above mentioned Ōtsuki Gentaku and another well-known *Rangaku* scholar, Hayashi Shihei (1738–1793), who both have informed him orally; the two stories were identical.³⁴ However, just like Chūryō, Gentaku, too, was not in Nagasaki in 1778, so he, too, cannot have witnessed the funeral of Duurkoop, but must have heard the story from someone else.

In the year prior to the publication of Morishima Chūryō’s book, Gentaku spent a few months in Nagasaki (December 16, 1785 until April 24, 1786)³⁵. Maybe he heard the details of Duurkoop’s death and burial from the senior ikj interpreter Yoshio Kōsaku³⁶, with

27 Ōtsuki Gentaku was a scion of a famous family with many scholars and physicians. He learned Dutch from Maeno Ryōtaku, an interpreter in Nagasaki, and was a pupil of Sugita Genpaku, two scholars, who among others, translated a first anatomy book from Dutch in to Japanese: ‘Ontleedkundige tafelen’ – Kaitai Shinsho published in 1774. C. French 1974 p. 180 n. 9: In 1783 Ōtsuki Gentaku published a study on the Dutch language, *Rangaku Kaitei* (“A Ladder to Dutch Studies”), which established him as a principal figure in the field of Dutch learning.

28 Hesselink 1995 p. 204: The Shirandō Academy: ‘The Herb and Orchid Hall’.

29 For imported books see Mac Lean, J. 1974. Katsuragawa Hoshū and Ōtsuki Gentaku were appointed to interrogate each a group of castaways who had returned to Japan, resp. in 1792 (Hoshū interrogated Daikokuya Kōdayū, 1751–1828, a captain of a Japanese ship; see his *Hokusa bunryaku* (“A brief account of a northern drift”; 1794). Gentaku interrogated a group of castaways who had returned in 1804; see his *Kankai ibun* (“Remarkable tales from the surrounding seas”; 1807).

30 Screech 1996 p. 6; Winkel 2004 p. 71.

31 Winkel 2004 p. 114: In the introduction to *Kōmō zatsuwa*, Chūryō’s friend and mentor Ōtsuki Gentaku points out the important role of the Nagasaki interpreters in the recent advancement of Dutch Studies.

32 Winkel 2004 p.47. Morishima Chūryō was also famous for his *gesaku* (“playful literature”) and *kyōka* (“mad verses”).

33 *Kōmō zatsuwa* 2:8b–10a, 2: 9a. I am indebted to Prof. W.J. Boot for this information. Winkel 2004 p.48.

34 Hiraoka 2012 p. 588. Morishima Chūryō *Kōmō zatsuwa*: 2:9b. The funeral of a Chief, which Hayashi Shihei saw, is identical to the story of Gentaku. Ōtsuki Gentaku wrote an introduction to Morishima Chūryō’s book.

35 Hesselink 1995 p.199.

36 Yoshio Kōsaku was senior interpreter of Dutch, and also had an interest in medicine. Japanese physicians and Japanese scholars were keen to visit him in his Dutch-style home.

whom he was on good terms. According to Gentaku's diary *Keiho Kikō* ("Diary of my stay at Nagasaki") he celebrated a Dutch New Year at the house of Yoshio Kōsaku, together with all interpreters, assistant interpreters and otona of Deshima.³⁷

Although Kōsaku will have been one source of Gentaku's knowledge, two other persons may have given him additional firsthand information in 1785/6. These were H.G. Duurkoop's nephews: scribe Hendrik Andries Ulps³⁸, and notary Hendrik Jacob Duurkoop.³⁹ Hendrik Andries Ulps, according to the *Naamrolle* (see above), had himself been present at the funeral in 1778. Hendrik Jacob Duurkoop had not been in Deshima at that time, but his father, Jan Andries Duurkoop, who according to the *Naamrolle* had been present at the funeral, will have informed him later on. Both Ulps and Hendrik Jacob Duurkoop happened to be at Deshima during the year 1785–1786. From Gentaku's diary we know that on January 19, 1786 (Tenmei 5/12/20), he visited Deshima and in 'Duurkoop's room' meets Duurkoop (sic!) and two other gentlemen, a scribe-to-be by the name of Jonas and someone named Dronsberg.⁴⁰ This 'Duurkoop' must have been Hendrik Jacob. It is, thus, quite possible that Gentaku received information about the funeral from Hendrik Jacob Duurkoop. Unfortunately Gentaku makes no entry in his diary about what was discussed during this visit. Then, on March 6, 1786 (Tenmei 6/2/7), Gentaku himself crosses Nagasaki Bay to Inasa, visits Goshinji, and views the Chinese graves and the grave of Chief Duurkoop. Unfortunately, he does not comment upon it.⁴¹

Ōtsuki Gentaku's personal interest may not have been the funeral as such. Rather, his attention will have been focused on the preservation of Duurkoop's body on board of the ship 't Huys te Spijk. In 1786 he published a book, *Rokumotsu Shinshi* ("New descriptions of six things"), which includes a chapter about the process of mummification as described in Western literature⁴², and about burial rites and funerary gifts.⁴³ Although both Gentaku and Chūryō devote part of their texts to the mummification of bodies, *neither mentions Duurkoop's name explicitly in connection with mummification*. Chūryō tells that an evisceration had taken place at sea, and that the deceased was dressed in black and together with many gifts was laid in a coffin, which was then sealed with bitumen.⁴⁴ However, regarding the preservation of Duurkoop's body during the voyage on 't Huys te Spijk, these remarks are highly questionable. Embalming, which results in mummification, will not have been performed, as this was a lengthy and expensive procedure.⁴⁵ The body may, however, have been temporarily preserved in liquor (alcohol), salt, or sugar. Hirokawa Kai mentions,

37 Gentaku: *Keiho Kikō*, Tenpo 5/12/2 (=1–1–1786). See also Hesselink 1995 p. 199 and footnote p. 199 no. 32: Gentaku's diary is in Waseda University Library, Special Collections Section. C. French 1974 p. 167: In 1794 (Kansei 6/2/2) Ōtsuki Gentaku for the first time organized himself a Dutch New Year celebration for his Rangaku friends.

38 Hendrik Andries Ulps was a son of H.G. Duurkoop's sister.

39 Hendrik Jacob Duurkoop stayed at Deshima from 19–08–1784 until December 1786.

40 Coenraad Jonas, scribe in 1786; Hendrik Willem Dronsberg junior merchant/dispenser in 1786.

41 I am indebted to Prof. W.J. Boot for translating this diary for me.

42 Ivo Smits "Notes on the gravestone of Hendrik Duurkoop", unpublished manuscript: Gentaku's source of information about Egyptian burial customs was: Egbert Buys, *Nieuw en Volkomen woordenboek van Konsten en Wetenschappen*, 8 Vols, 1769–1778. This book was sold at the auction of Duurkoop's legacy to A.W. Feith in 1778. The entry on embalming can be found in Vol. II 1770; Mummification in Vol. VII 1775.

43 *Rokumotsu Shinshi*: the Six Things are 'the sword of narwhale, mummies, nutmeg, saffron, agaric (*Polyporus officinalis*, Larch polypore), and a mermaid', which were major sources of medicines that were of interest to Japanese physicians. Gentaku's teacher Sugita Genpaku wrote the introduction and Shiba Kōkan made the illustration of the mermaid (see digitized edition in the database of Waseda University).

44 Hiraoka 2012 p. 587. Maybe tar/pitch was used. Bitumen (*Bitumen jodaicum*) is a sticky substance, a kind of pitch which is thought to have been used in embalming in Egypt. For the word 'asphalt' (*mumiai* = Persian for asphalt), see *Mumien/Balzem*, Buys Vol. VII.

45 Embalming was a prerogative only allowed to members of Royal families and some highly placed persons or when time-saving was required. E.g. Admiral Michiel de Ruyter was embalmed in herbs and brandy. Petrus Blockhovius, who died en route to Japan on August 15, 1649 was not embalmed; the coffin was put into a larger coffin, filled with camphor NFJ 62 pp 363,364. (Dagregisters Nederlandse Factorij Japan, hereafter 'NFJ').

that Duurkoops' body on board of the ship 't Huys te Spijk had been preserved in sugar.⁴⁶ The addition of funerary gifts to accompany the deceased is highly unlikely. The Christian church did not favour gifts put into coffins; this was regarded as a pagan custom⁴⁷. As regards the clothing of the corpse: in the 18th century this could have been his best suit or, more traditional, a (white) burial shroud. All we can say on the basis of the Deshima Diaries is that Duurkoops' corpse was given the 'needed preservation' and laid to rest in a closed lead coffin.⁴⁸ Such chests, indeed, were normally used for the transport of powdered sugar.

As mentioned earlier, Morishima Chūryō's second source of information was Hayashi Shihei (1738–1793).⁴⁹ Unlike Gentaku, Hayashi Shihei indeed was in Nagasaki in 1778.⁵⁰ So on August 9, he will have been aware that the ship 't Huys te Spijk sailed into Nagasaki Bay and, moreover, he will have had the opportunity to witness the funeral and the ceremony in the Goshinji on August 15.⁵¹

Although he was certainly interested, Shihei's personal interest, too, may not have been so much the funeral. His real concern was the maritime defence of Japan as an answer to potential European ideas about expansion⁵² and he was impressed by the strength of the big and well-armed Dutch ships. On several occasions in 1778, Shihei discusses this subject with Arend Willem Feith during Feith's fourth period as Chief Factor.⁵³ On the strength of these conversations Shihei wrote a book about the poor state of Japan's coastal defence in case of a foreign attack, entitled *Kaikoku Heidan* ("Military tales of a sea-girt country").⁵⁴

However, Shihei certainly will have told Chūryō⁵⁵ the details, how by order of the incumbent Chief Arend Willem Feith, on the day of the funeral, the flags were hoisted halfmast⁵⁶, and the coffin, covered with a 'fabita', a satin cloth, was carried down from the steps of the Watergate, where it was transferred onto a boat and rowed across Nagasaki Bay to the opposite side. In a second boat, displaying the VOC-emblem, the Chief Factor was seated. Then the climb to Goshinji on the foothills of Mount Inasa and so to the 'Hollandsche Begraafplaats', the Dutch cemetery⁵⁷, with all the Dutch following the coffin, clad in the black mourning dress and with a long black mourning streamer (*D. lamfer*) attached to the back of the hat.⁵⁸



Fig. 1. Grieving men with hat with mourning streamer, 18th century.

46 Hirokawa Kai 'Nagasaki bunken roku,' 1800 5 Vols; Vol. 2, online version digitized: Univ. of Michigan.

47 An exception was made for kings and priests, who were allowed to retain their robes and symbols of office.

48 NA 1.04.21 188; DD 1778 103.

49 Hiraoka 2012 p. 588; Winkel 2004 p. 48: 'For the description of the funeral Chūryō relies on personal observations made by his friends Ōtsuki Gentaku and Hayashi Shihei.'

50 Hayashi Shihei Zenshu, Vol. 5 p. 65: Hayashi Shihei came to Nagasaki under the patronage of the magistrate Tsuge Masatane, who resided there from 1774 (*An'ei* 4/6/8) until 1783 (*Tenmei* 3/3/30). Hayashi Shihei was in Nagasaki in the years 1775 (*An'ei* 4), 1777 (*An'ei* 6), and 1782 (*Tenmei* 2). In 1778 (*An'ei* 7) he met Chief A.W. Feith, I am indebted to Prof. W.J. Boot for this information. Boxer 1968 p. 81, 85 Shihei's first visit was in 1777, second visit in 1782. Beerens 2006 p. 65: Hayashi Shihei made three trips to Nagasaki (1775, 1777, 1782).

51 Boxer 1968 p. 178 The 'Huys te Spijk' sailed to Japan in 1778 and 1779. Shihei refers to several Dutch ships, e.g. Zeedoin (Zeeduin), Sutabunissu (Stavenisse), and Hoisutesupiki (Huys te Spijk), which he actually may have seen in Nagasaki.

52 Winkel 2004 p. 48.

53 A.W. Feith was Chief Factor of the Trading Post Deshima five times. His second time was in 1773–1774, third 1775–1776, fourth 1777–1779, fifth 1780–1781. Boxer 1968 p. 19: Hayashi Shihei visited A.W. Feith on his visit to Nagasaki in 1777–1778.

54 C. French 1974 p. 124: Hayashi Shihei sought permission to publish his text, but Matsudaira Sadanobu refused. The book was printed without permission of the *bakufu* in the year 1791. Boxer 1968 p. 19: In 1792 the blocks were destroyed by order of Matsudaira Sadanobu and Hayashi Shihei was placed under house arrest and died soon after. Another famous work of Hayashi Shihei is *Sangoku tsūran zusetsu* ("Illustrated Description of Three Countries"), printed in 1786. The preface was written by his friend Kudō Heisuke, who also was concerned about the poor defence of Japan, especially against Russian expansion via Siberia.

55 Winkel 2004 p. 48.

56 Also NA 1.04.21 inv. nr. 1564. The moment Duurkoop's body was leaving Deshima the flags were half-mast and on return of Feith and his men, the flags were hoisted top again.

57 Winkel 2004 p. 48.

58 Among his personal belongings H.G. Duurkoop had four black mourning streamers. Fig. 1 is copied from H.L. Kok, *Thanatos, de Geschiedenis*

Also the funerary rites at the temple may have been witnessed directly by Shihei. About the ceremony Morishima Chūryō notes that the resident monks from Goshinji as well as all the monks from the different temples in Nagasaki came out to read sutras.⁵⁹ And furthermore, that at the end of the ceremony someone is said to have made the cynical remark that, as the ceremony was being held by the Japanese priests and in the Japanese language, in the absence of an interpreter, it must have been unintelligible to the Dutch (i.e. the deceased Duurkoop).⁶⁰ The burial was such a big event, anyway, that it is difficult to believe that no *bongioisen* and interpreters were present, e.g. Yoshio Kōsaku, the principal translator for the Dutch at that time and very well aware of the Dutch affairs.⁶¹

In the years following Morishima Chūryō's publication of *Kōmō zatsuwa* other renowned *Rangaku* scholars such as Chūryō's elder brother Katsuragawa Hoshū (1751–1809), Hirokawa Kai (dates unknown), and Shiba Kōkan (1747–1818), apparently fascinated by these reports, at one time or other also paid attention in their works to various aspects of Duurkoop's funeral, and especially the tombstone.⁶² The last description of the gravestone, dating from the early 1800s, was made by one Tazawa Harufusa (dates unknown). Ōtsuki Gentaku, Morishima Chūryō, Katsuragawa Hoshū, and Hirokawa Kai had a medical background. Katsuragawa Hoshū was an eminent Dutchstyle physician to the shogunal family from 1777 onward, and Hirokawa Kai was imperial surgeon in Kyoto around 1800. Shiba Kōkan was an artist and amateur-researcher, and Tazawa Harufusa⁶³ was an official of the shogun. Most of these men had, at some time or other, visited Nagasaki and the Dutch trading post in Deshima and several also had met Dutchmen in Edo during the court journey, the 'hofreis', to the Shogun.⁶⁴

The tombstone of H.G. Duurkoop

The grave of Hendrik Godfried Duurkoop has an impressive horizontal tombstone. It was cut from Kazagashira stone, a dark grey andesiet⁶⁵, quarried at the time in the Kazagashira Hills east of the city centre of Nagasaki.

The slab-stone, approximately 180 x 115 cm, bears a comprehensive inscription with his name, his rank/status, the date and place of birth and death, and two striking emblems carved in raised relief. Up to this day the inscription can still be read clearly. Originally the inscription was gilded⁶⁶, but over time the paint has worn away. As a precaution to prevent further weathering of the stone, in 2012/13, Duurkoop's gravestone has been cleaned and coated with resin. The gilding of the letters has not been reapplied as can be seen on a photograph taken in 2015 (Fig. 2).⁶⁷ Nowadays it is the oldest European gravestone in Japan and

van de laatste eer in Nederland.

59 Morishima Chūryō: '*Kōmō zatsuwa*' (Miscellaneous stories of Red-Hairs), 1787 Part II p. 8B–10A. Sutra reading p. 10A.

60 Hiraoka 2012 p. 588. I want to say explicitly that for these data, I borrowed liberally from the article of Hiraoka Ryūji: "Deshima Shokancho Duurkoop bohi ni tsuite", The grave of Duurkoop, Chief of Deshima, published in 2012; see: <http://hdl.handle.net/2324/21948>. The original source for this remark is Morishima Chūryō: '*Kōmō zatsuwa*' (Miscellaneous stories of Red-Hairs), 1787 Part II p. 10 A.

61 Since Duurkoop was a Chief and ostentation was important, there certainly will have been Japanese officials and interpreters present. I have to thank Drs I. van Daalen for her comment on this.

62 I quote these names from Hiraoka, 2012.

63 Deshima, Its Pictorial Heritage rev. ed. 1990 p. 315.

64 Winkel 2004 p. 71–72: Morishima Chūryō observes free and easy conversations and friendly exchange between VOC-employees and the Japanese.

65 Determination by Mr Hideomi Hashimoto in the year 2003, through the friendly intervention of Prof. Tadashi Sato, Nagasaki. Andesiet is a rock type similar to granite. I only have asked to examine the material of Duurkoop's tombstone. It would be worthwhile to investigate the type of stone of the other gravestones as well.

66 Hiraoka 2012 p. 588, Shiba Kōkan 1788. In early Shōwa the letters still lit up, as can be seen on a photograph in Masuda Renkichi, *Nagasaki Nanban, Tō Kōmō shiseki 1*, Nagasaki, Shiseki Tankyū Kai, 1927. Gilded – gold coloured paint can be seen on a few old gravestones in Kyushu.

67 The preservation of Duurkoop's tombstone was a joined effort; it was paid by the Dutch government and implemented by Japanese experts. To celebrate this event a commemorative ceremony was held by the Dutch embassy in Japan, in collaboration with the Nagasaki Japan–Netherlands Association on April 3, 2013.



Fig. 2. Duurkoop's tombstone in 2015 at The 'Hollandse Begraafplaats'.

has been designated an "Important cultural Treasure" of Japan.

Never before, since the Dutch cemetery was opened in 1654, a high official of the VOC, such as Chief Factor H.G. Duurkoop, had been buried in Goshinji, so his tombstone is very likely the first Dutch tombstone ever placed at the 'Hollandse Begraafplaats' at Goshinji. It is noteworthy that, along with the tombstone for Duurkoop, a second tombstone, of less durable material, was placed; this one was laid for Jan Schuts, who had died and been buried the year before. All in all in the eighteenth century only three gravestones have been laid in the Dutch cemetery; the third one, dating 1787, belongs to Thomas van Triet, the wealthy Captain of the ship *Roosenburg*.

Tombstones were not customary at Goshinji. Due to the strict burial regulations for the Dutch, graves in Goshinji had to be devoid of any display. This is in contrast to the often elaborate tombs of VOC-officials in Bengalen (now Bangladesh and

part of west Bengal in India), Malakka (now in Malaysia) and elsewhere. Moreover, grave ornaments will not have been an issue for the VOC-employees in Japan, as most deaths were simple people, either from the staff of Deshima or sailors and shipmates of the anchored trading ships. They could not afford a tombstone, as can be concluded from the overview of their inheritances which can be found in the Deshima archives.

According to Lequin, the money of the inheritance of a deceased VOC-employee was paid to his family directly, and no money was deducted for the funeral, which, therefore, was as cheap as possible.⁶⁸ H.G. Duurkoop, however, was not only a prominent person and the first chief ever to be buried in Japanese soil; he was also well-to-do, as is evidenced by his legacy.

That Duurkoop's tombstone was definitely not a cheap one, is evident from the overview of the funeral costs. The large and heavy stone, weighing almost three tons⁶⁹, then cost 200 *rijksdaalders*. And it is not surprising that the costs of transportation to the cemetery were correspondingly high: 100 *rijksdaalders*.

The epitaph

The tombstone shows an extensive epitaph and two emblems: a winged hourglass at the top of the inscription and a circular medallion below. The carving of the 444 letters in the epitaph (the number is indicated in the list of the funeral costs) reveals most probably a Japanese hand. The fact that, although there is enough space on the line, most of the words are written too close together, could point in this direction.

The elaborate inscription represents a typical, Dutch, eighteenth-century epitaph.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Lequin 1982, p 22.

⁶⁹ Weight: pers. com. Hiraoka Ryūji.

⁷⁰ The tombstone of Thomas van Triet, skipper/Captain of the *Roosenburg*, (1787), has a similar elaborate epitaph, but no emblems.



Fig.3. Duurkoop's tombstone, the epitaph.

Unlike the inscriptions on Dutch graves in preceding centuries, testifying to the belief that death was the liberation from the sorrows of earthly existence with paradise as redemption, inscriptions on Dutch tombstones in the eighteenth century show a person who was more aware of his own abilities and, although still strongly religious, appears selfconfident and keen to show what he had accomplished in life. The tombstone was a memorial. The epitaph indicates not only name, date and place of

birth and death, but above all his position and function as Chief ("opperhoofd") and senior merchant ("opperkoopman") of the VOC in the empire of Japan.

The epitaph reads as follows:⁷¹

TER GEDACHTENISSE
 VAN HET HIER RUSTEND GEBEENTE
 VAN WIJLEN DEN WELEDELEN
 ACHTBAAREN HEER
 HENDRIK GODFRIED
 DUURKOOP
 IN LEEVEN
 OPPERKOOPMAN EN OPPERHOOFD
 VAN WEEGENS DEN HANDEL
 DER NEEDERLANDSCHE
 GEOCTROYEERDE OOST
 INDIASCHE COMPAGNIE
 IN DIT KEYSER RIJK
 GEBOOREN
 TE DOORNUM IN OOST VRIESLAND
 DEN V MAY A^o MDCCXXXVI
 OVERLEDEN
 OP HET SCHIP 'T HUYS TE SPIJK
 OP DE NOORDER BRETE VAN
 26 G^o 58 M
 DEN XXVII JULY
 IN DEN OUDERDOM
 VAN XXXXII IAAREN
 II MAANDEN EN XXII DAGEN
 EN DEN SCHOOT DER RUST
 AANBETROUWD
 DEN XV AUG A^o MDCCLXXVIII

IN MEMORY
 OF THE HERE RESTING EARTHLY REMAINS
 OF THE LATE HONORABLE
 GENTLEMAN
 HENDRIK GODFRIED
 DUURKOOP
 DURING HIS LIFETIME
 CHIEF MERCHANT AND CHIEF FACTOR
 BECAUSE OF THE TRADE
 OF THE DUTCH
 PATENTED EAST
 INDIA COMPANY
 IN THIS EMPIRE
 BORN
 IN DORNUM IN OOST VRIESLAND
 ON MAY 5 A^o MDCCXXXVI (1736)
 DECEASED
 ON THE SHIP 'T HUYS TE SPIJK
 AT THE NORTHEREN LATITUDE
 26 G^o 58 M (26 degrees and 58 minutes)
 ON JULY XXVII (27 July)
 AT THE AGE
 OF XXXXII YEARS (forty-two years)
 II MONTH AND XXII DAYS (2 month and 22 days)
 ENTRUSTED INTO THE BOSOM
 OF RESTFUL PEACE
 ON XV AUGUST A^o MDCCLXXVIII (15 August 1778)

71 The data of Duurkoop's tombstone, as specified in Blussé et al. DD 2004 p. xiii, show several inaccuracies in the spelling and the location and the year of death are incorrect. The Dutch and German versions of Wikipedia are incomplete and incorrect and so MyHeritage.com

Of the aforementioned *Rangaku* authors, Morishima Chūryō, his elder brother Katsuragawa Hoshū, Hirokawa Kai, Shiba Kōkan, and later Tazawa Harufusa, all paid attention to either the grave or the gravestone on Duurkoop's grave, or both. They only mention Duurkoop's tomb and do not pay attention to the other two Dutch gravestones present in Goshinji in the eighteenth century. In their writings a few pictures and descriptions of Duurkoop's grave are found, albeit not all equally correct.

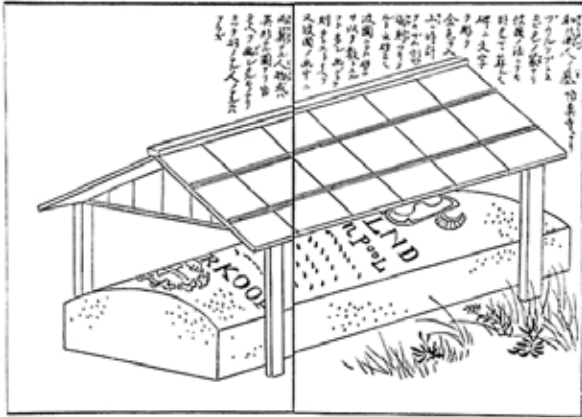


Fig. 4. Drawing of Duurkoop's tombstone with protecting roof and inscriptions, Shiba Kōkan, 1788.

To Shiba Kōkan, who visited Nagasaki in 1788, we owe an early drawing of the tombstone. It is shown in his travelogue *Sayū Ryodan* ("Account of a Western journey"), published in 1794.

Kōkan's drawing of the heavy convex shaped tombstone, which he describes as a *Kamaboko* fishcake⁷², and which he depicts with a protective wooden (?) roof, gives a nice impression of what the setting must have looked like at that time, ten years after the funeral. In the drawing, the roof placed over the tombstone appears to

be in good condition. However, it is not known whether this coverage was installed in January 1779, at the same time as the placement of the tombstone, or in later years. The purpose was probably to protect the gold-plated letters from weathering. In the *Deshima Diaries* there is no mention of it, nor is it explicitly stated in the funeral costs.

Kōkan also gives an impression of the long epitaph and the two emblems decorating the tomb, but in copying the epitaph and the emblems, he clearly used his imagination. As regards the copied words and letters, these are not faithfully copied from the original, but may tell us something of Kōkan's urge to show his western knowledge. The striking emblems will be discussed separately, in the next section.

The letters in Shiba Kōkan's illustration read from top to bottom:

- LND probably stands for 'HOLLAND'
- NPool this could well be a reference to the North Pole (Dutch: NOORDPOOL) according to the fact that people in Japan at that time had the idea that The Netherlands were very cold due to the assumption that it was located close to the North Pole.⁷³
- RKOOP which clearly stands for Duurkoop.

Katsuragawa Hoshū⁷⁴ (1751–1809), medical doctor in the service of the Shogun and greatly interested in foreign countries, explains in his *Hokusa bunryaku* ("An abbreviated report of a voyage to the North", based on his debriefing of two Japanese castaways, who had travelled in Russia for several years after their ship was wrecked on the Aleutian Islands), how Western graves are built.

⁷² Plutschow 2006 p. 215. A *kamaboko* fishcake is made of steamed pureed fish shaped into the form of a semi-cylinder loaf.

⁷³ Boxer, 1968 p. 177 Appendix II, Hayashi Shihei: 'Holland lies between 50° & 53° from the North Pole! It is a very cold country. Boot W.J. 2013: Honda Toshiakira (1743–1820), who favoured the idea of opening Japan to foreign trade as this could lead to increased prosperity, using Holland as an example, notes that Amsterdam, situated at about the same latitude as Kamtsjatka (between 51 and 57 degrees) is very cold due to its open orientation to the North. Apparently, he had not yet heard of the Gulfstream that flows along the Dutch coast.

⁷⁴ Katsuragawa Hoshū had learned Dutch, and was an accomplished translator. He studied western medicine and surgery under Carl Peter Thunberg in 1775–'76, and also helped translating the 'Ontleedkundige tafelen' (*Kaitai Shinsho*; 1774). In 1777 he was appointed Dutch-style physician to the Shogun and often had the opportunity to meet with the Dutch while they were in Edo during the court journey (his name appears in the *Deshima Diaries* in 1786, 1787, 1789, 1793, 1794).

As an example he describes the construction of the grave of Duurkoop⁷⁵ and he mentions the roof covering Duurkoop's tombstone⁷⁶; he may have been familiar with Shiba Kōkan's drawing of the roofed tomb, published in the same year, 1794. Also, Hoshū may have learned about the construction of the grave of Duurkoop at meetings during one of the court journeys, where he may have met Fredrik Willem Schindeler⁷⁷, A.W. Feith, H.C. Romberg, Ernst Rudolff von Becksteijn, or Hendrik Ras, who, according to the 'Naamrolle', all had been present at the funeral in 1778. Moreover, Hoshū knew Yoshio Kōsaku, senior interpreter in Deshima, well.

In the writings of Hirokawa Kai⁷⁸ (dates unknown), we find another annotation and illustration of Duurkoop's tomb. Hirokawa Kai wrote down his experiences in his *Nagasaki bunken roku* ("Record of what I heard and saw in Nagasaki"); it was published in 1800 in five volumes.⁷⁹ In volume two he reports on 'the tomb of a Dutchman' but the accompanying illustration⁸⁰ does not represent the tomb of Duurkoop nor any of the other Dutch tombs existing at that time. Moreover, Kai notes that the gravestone of Duurkoop bears no inscription. As Hiraoka Ryūji adequately points out, this shows that Kai cannot really have examined Duurkoop's gravestone, as in that case he certainly would have noticed the elaborate inscription, which according to the overview of funeral costs must have been there from

the outset and is still clearly visible today.⁸¹

A very special and interesting illustration of Duurkoop's grave and gravestone is included in Tazawa Harufusa's⁸² travelogue *Nagasaki yukan zue* ("Sketches while seeing sights in Nagasaki"), recorded in 1807/8. From Harufusa's sketch we may conclude that in 1807/8 the roof was gone. But what is more, we can

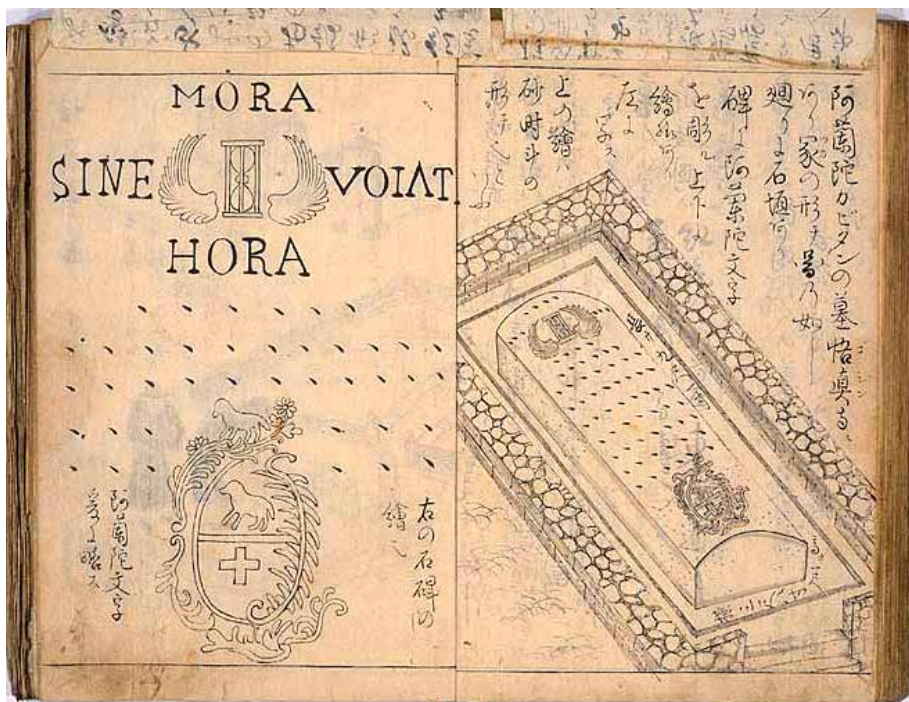


Fig. 5. Drawing of Duurkoop's grave and tombstone and the two emblems by Tazawa Harufusa, 1807/8.

75 Hiraoka 2012 p. 588; Winkel 2004 p. 132 Katsuragawa Hoshū: *Hokusa bunryaku* chapter 6.

76 In a personal diary kept by Chief Factor P.A. Bik of his travels to the Shogun in 1844 (*hofreis*), also the gravestone of Hemmij, who died in 1798 during his return journey from the Shogunal Court, is described. This description shows that originally also Hemmij's tombstone was provided with a wooden shed-like cover. Moreover a stone railing still surrounds this gravestone. I am indebted to Prof. W.J. Boot for this information.

77 Winkel 2004 p. 49 Morishima Chūryō mentions Schindeler as informant on various issues.

78 Boxer 1968 p. 132. Hirokawa Kai in total resided and studied six years in Nagasaki. He visited Nagasaki twice, the first time in 1791, when he studied with the interpreter Yoshio Kōsaku. He translated several Dutch books.

79 Hirokawa Kai, *Nagasaki bunken roku*, 1800, 5 Vols; online digitized version: Univ. of Michigan.

80 Hiraoka 2012 p. 589 pl. 5; Hirokawa Kai, *Nagasaki bunken roku*, 1800, Vol. 2 online version digitized: Univ. of Michigan.

81 Hiraoka 2012 p. 588.

82 Hiraoka 2012 p. 588, p. 589. Tazawa Harufusa *Nagasaki yukan Zue* is an illustrated private diary. It includes descriptions and drawings of Chinese and Dutch people, and also of the Chinese and Dutch cemeteries. Doubtlessly due to the fact that it contained Christian information (among other things, a full page drawing of 'Christ on the Cross'), it was not published at the time of writing; these were issues better to be avoided in those days when Christianity was completely banned by the *bakufu*. A copy is in the possession of Dai Tokyu Memorial Library, Tokyo. See also *Nagasaki Kibun*, unpublished and without his name and date, in Kyoto Univ. Library. As both were never printed, he did not need to ask the *bakufu* permission for publishing. I am indebted to Dr M. Winkel for drawing my attention to the online version of Harufusa's manuscript: <http://edb.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/exhibit/k139/image/01/k139s0066.html> See for overview and sketches of his drawings of Deshima in ink on paper: *Deshima, Its Pictorial Heritage* rev. ed. 1990. p.136, 216, 217, 315.

learn from his drawing that at that time, the gravestone was surrounded on all sides by a low, prominent wall made of cobblestones, only leaving an open entrance with steps on one of the short sides. Shiba Kōkan's drawing of 1788 does not show this enclosure. Considering that the drawing of Tazawa Harufusa represent the situation thirty years after the memorable burial, it is not surprising that the roof has fallen victim to the ravages of time; the cobblestone wall, however, would be a different matter.

Tazawa Harufusa (dates unknown) was an official of the *bakufu*; he came from Edo in 1807 and stayed in Nagasaki for one year, after which he returned to Edo. Nothing is known about him.⁸³ Probably he was a vassal of the *bakufu* and visited Nagasaki in the retinue of the *Bugyō*. His drawings, especially the emblems, are accurately done.

The caption on the right hand page in Harafusa's drawing tells that:

"This is the tomb of a Dutch Chief in Goshinji. The shape of the grave is as it is depicted here. The stone is surrounded by a stone wall. In the tombstone Dutch characters have been chiseled. At the top and bottom emblems are depicted. To the left I have copied these, it is said that the top emblem is an hourglass. The size of the stone is 9 shaku 1 sun x 3 shaku 8 sun; height 1 shaku".⁸⁴

The caption on the drawing on the left, reads: *"These are the emblems of the stone depicted at the right. I omit the Dutch characters".*

It is possible, of course, that at some time, at least after 1788, a low cobblestone wall was built, following the example of the situation of a nearby prominent Chinese grave, as can be seen on Harufusa's drawing of the Chinese cemetery⁸⁵. Unfortunately, except for Harafusa's drawing, I have found no evidence that supports the existence of such an enclosure. Also from other sources we cannot conclude whether such a stone fence ever existed. Whether it was known to Hendrik Doeff, who spent almost nineteen years in Japan, from 1799–1817, we will never know, as his records were lost when he was shipwrecked on his homeward journey to Holland.⁸⁶ Grimmus, who visited the cemetery in 1848, describes several of the gravestones present at that time, among others Duurkoop's tomb, but he makes no mention of a cobblestone fence around the grave.⁸⁷ Van Assendelft de Coningh, while visiting the graveyard a few years later in 1851, does not mention it either; as a matter of fact, he does not comment on any specific grave.⁸⁸ However, this for Dutch idea's unusual fence around a tombstone would certainly have attracted their attention. A tentative conclusion, if any, is that if ever a fence existed, it already had disappeared before 1848. On a photograph taken around 1865, by Dr. A.F. Bauduin, no fence is present.⁸⁹

The only indication of the use of cobblestones in the construction of Duurkoop's grave became apparent in the year 2012 when the gravestone was lifted in order to cover it with resin to prevent further weathering.⁹⁰ On that occasion a cobblestone platform was

83 Deshima, Its Pictorial Heritage rev. ed. 1990. p. 315.

84 1 *shaku* = approx. 30 cm, 1 *sun* is 3 cm. 9 *shaku* 1 *sun* = 270 + 3 = 273 cm, 3 *shaku* 8 *sun* = 90 + 24 = 114 cm. The size matches the values measured by me.

85 Hiraoka 2012 p. 589. For Tazawa Harufusa's tekst and drawings see: <http://edb.kulib.kyotou.ac.jp/exhibit/k139/image/01/k139s0066.html>

86 Hendrik Doeff, 1833. In his memoirs, written from memory, he only mentions the rent paid for the cemetery at Inassé.

87 Grimmus 1849 p.1 41. 88 Van Assendelft de Coningh 1865, p. 165.

88 Van Assendelft de Coningh 1865, p. 165

89 The original photographs of Dr. A.F. Bauduin are to be found in University Library Leiden (formerly: "Het Prentenkabinet"). A.F. Bauduin was a medical doctor and head of the medical school in Nagasaki, successor of J.L. Pompe van Meerdervoort. Moreover he was an active photographer. See also Hiraoka 2012 p. 588.

90 Pers. com. Hiraoka.

discovered under the stone, which covered the crypt. To cover a coffin in the grave with stones apparently was an old Japanese custom, as can be concluded from the description of the first burial of a Dutchman at Inasa.⁹¹

Symbolism in the emblems decorating Duurkoop's tombstone

Two emblems decorate Duurkoop's tombstone: a winged hourglass (see Fig. 2) surrounded by an adage (motto) on top of the epitaph and a round medallion with an obvious cross at the bottom.

The interested *Rangaku* authors discuss the symbolic meaning of the winged hourglass extensively, while no word is devoted to the medallion. It is likely that the obvious image of a cross was the reason why the *Rangaku* authors did not want to emphasize this emblem. It was too blatantly a Christian symbol in a time when Christianity was banned. Later, twentieth-century authors tried to give their own interpretations of this symbol (see below).

The emblem of the winged hourglass



Fig. 6. Gravestone with winged hourglass in churchyard of Oosterwiltwerd, Groningen, The Netherlands.

A winged hourglass is a well-known symbol on Dutch graves since the 16th century.⁹² On old gravestones in the northern part of the Netherlands, e.g. in the province of Groningen, this emblem still can be found. (Fig. 6).

The image of an hourglass or sandglass on a tombstone is a symbol of the brevity of life. When the sand has run out it means that the person's hourglass is empty and death is inevitable.⁹³ In funerary iconography, the wings, attached on both sides of the hourglass, represent dove wings, symbolizing the flight of time. Sometimes, as can be seen in the old graveyards in Groningen also, the two wings differ, the left side representing a dove's wing (day) and the right one a bat's wing (night), so to emphasize that the clock of life ticks day and night. (Fig. 7).

A comparable emblem of a winged hourglass can be found on a tomb in Sakamoto International Cemetery, the old cemetery for foreigners in Nagasaki, which was established in 1888. (Fig. 8).

On Duurkoop's gravestone, the emblem of the winged hourglass is surrounded by a motto in Latin that reads: 'SINE MORA VOLAT HORA'. This means: 'Time flies without delaying,' which tells that the clock of life is ticking on steadily⁹⁴, and also reminds one of the frailty of life. The use of allegorical images and thinking in parables was widely spread in the 17th, 18th and 19th century in Europe.

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91 See also footnote 15.

92 Timmers 1947 p. 698:1618.

93 Timmers 1947 p. 583:1304, 698:1618, 699: 1624, 704:1636. See also: Abraham van St Clara: 'lets voor Allen' 1754 DI. 4 p. 395: a translation from the entry of the 'Sand Hour Maker': Death, the end of all life, is depicted with an hourglass to show the approaching end. When the sand has run out it means that a persons hourglass is empty and that time has come for him to appear before God's judgment.

94 This is also a customary inscription on old clocks. This vanity symbol also reminds that one should use his time well.



Fig. 7. Emblem of a winged hourglass with dove wing and bat wing, churchyard in Zoutkamp, Groningen, The Netherlands.



Fig. 8. Winged hourglass in Sakamoto International Cemetery, Nagasaki, Japan.



Fig. 9. Emblem of the winged hourglass on Duurkoop's tomb, Goshinji, Nagasaki, Japan.

Regarding the carving of the emblem on Duurkoop's tomb, it should be noted that on gravestones in the West the wings are attached to the narrow neck of the hourglass and, what is significant, the wingtips always point *downwards* (see Fig. 6 and Fig. 7), whereas on Duurkoop's gravestone, the bird wings, are attached to the *lower end* of the hourglass and the wingtips are pointing

upwards; this most likely shows the hand of a Japanese engraver. It bears an obvious resemblance to Japanese family crests with cranes.⁹⁵



Fig. 10. Japanese family crest with crane.

In Japan, people in the 18th century were familiar with sand clocks as time measuring devices.⁹⁶ However the symbolism of a sand clock as grave ornament must have been subject of wonder in Rangaku circles. Morishimo Churyō in '*Kōmō zatsuwā*', 1787, and Shiba Kōkan in his travelogue *Sayū Ryodan* ("Account of a Western journey"), written during his trip to Nagasaki in 1788, but published only in 1794, describe and discuss the winged hourglass extensively.⁹⁷ Churyō, who had not had the opportunity to investigate Duurkoop's tombstone himself, as he never visited Nagasaki, must have received his information from

his friend Ōtsuki Gentaku orally. Gentaku visited the Goshinji during his stay in Nagasaki on March 6, 1786 (Tenmei 6/2/7); in his diary he mentions the gravestone but does not describe the inscriptions. Shiba Kōkan, who visited Goshinji twice, on November 23 1788 (Tenmei 8/10/26) and again two days later, on November 25 (Tenmei 8/10/28)⁹⁸, investigated the graveyard himself and made a drawing of Duurkoop's tomb adding an explanation about the winged hourglass.

95 Adaichi 1972, p. 97, Tsuru no 10.

96 Since ancient times sandglasses were known in East en West; the Dutch used it e.g. on ships to measure the speed of the vessel.

97 In 1815 Kōkan revised his travelogue of 1788, including more personal thoughts: *Saiyū Nikki* (Dairy of a Western Journey).

98 I am indebted to Prof. W.J. Boot for the translation of this information in Kōkan's diary.

About twenty years later, Tazawa Harafusa, in his private diary of 1808, depicts the tombstone with the emblems on the tomb more accurately. In his commentary, however, he only states that at the top and at the bottom of the epitaph emblems are shown; the upper one being in the shape of a sand clock. He includes the Latin text around the sand clock. At that time his diary was not published.

Chūryō's text reads (in translation):

"The horizontal tombstone is engraved in sideways script. On one side, there is a chiselled emblem that represents an hourglass with birds' wings. This is something like a riddle in their country. I hear that the falling of the final grains of sand through the glass is likened to the last breath of life, while the wings mean that although the person is dead now, his name will fly a thousand, ten thousand of ri.⁹⁹ In that country the people make many allegorical pictures, and these are all more or less like this one".¹⁰⁰

In the caption to his drawing of the tombstone, Kōkan notes (in translation):

*" This is a grave of a Dutch Captain named Puurukoputo at the Goshinji. It is a Dutch custom to bury the body in lying position.¹⁰¹ The chiselled letters are gilded and above the epitaph an hourglass is sculptured which symbolizes that time is fleeting and human life ends. * The Dutch often use proverbs to explain things and images are often a metaphor, where winged people and other figures are shown as symbols. It is obvious that winged people do not exist on earth".*

* Kōkan uses the words *rōkoku tsukitaru*, which means: the water clock is exhausted and dripping time is used up.¹⁰² From his drawing it is clear that he had a sandglass in mind.

Morishima Chūryō as well as Shiba Kōkan, obviously, were familiar with the Dutch metaphor of an hourglass as a finite time keeping symbol. Chūryō indicates that the moment the last grain of sand falls in the sand clock, the person breathes his last, and Kōkan uses the image of the dripping of the last drops in a *rōkoku*, a water clock. Their description of the symbolic meaning of an hourglass as a finite time symbol is in line with the prevailing ideas in the 18th century in the West.¹⁰³

However, although the overall ideas of Morishima Chūryō and Shiba Kōkan match in regard to the explanation of the meaning of the hourglass, regarding *the symbolic meaning of the wings* that are attached on both sides of the hourglass, each one comes up with his own interpretation.

Morishima Chūryō, correctly, recognizes the wings on either side of the hourglass as *bird* wings, but his fanciful explanation of the *meaning* of the wings, that is that Duurkoop's name will fly ten thousand *ri*, might have been inspired by the fact that in those days the overseas distance between Japan and Holland was estimated 12.900 *ri*.¹⁰⁴

99 *Ri* is a unit of length, 1 *ri* = 3.927 km.

100 Text mainly copied from Winkel 2004 p. 48 (in turn based on the text from Ono Tadashige 1943: '*Kōmō zatsuwa*' p. 76–78).

101 In Togukawa Japan a burial in a sitting position was customary. Blussé, Leonard and Cynthia Viallé *The Deshima dagregisters* Vol. XII, 1650–1660, Intercontinenta no. 25, 2005.

102 I am indebted to Prof. W.J. Boot for this information.

103 Shiba Kōkan may have been in the opportunity to consult "lets voor Allen", as it was in the possession of Romberg whom he met several times, once in Deshima and on other occasions during the court journey in Myako and Edo. Chief Factor Romberg bought this book out of the legacy of H.G. Duurkoop. See also footnote 90.

104 Boxer 1968 p. 173, p. 178 footnote 1: 1 *ri* = 3.927 km.

Shiba Kōkan, on the other hand, mentions, in regard to the symbolic interpretation of the wings, that Dutch images are often a metaphor, where winged people and other figures are shown as symbols. Here he may have had angels in mind. The more so as he says winged people do not exist on earth. Kōkan's inspiration for this thought probably originates from drawings he found in two Dutch books he owned: Gerard de Lairese, *'t Groot Schilderboek* and Johannes en Caspaares Luiken, *Spiegel van het menselijk bedrijf*.¹⁰⁵ The frontispiece of Lairese's book shows the allegoric effigy of 'Fame' depicted as an angel with huge wings and blowing the trumpet. The frontispiece of Luiken's book shows many chubby cherubs floating in the air.



Fig. 11. Gerard de Lairese, frontispiece, showing the symbol of Fame flying with huge wings while blowing the trumpet to proclaim the greatness of De Lairese (sitting in the chair, bottom right).



Fig. 12. Johannes en Caspaares Luiken: *'Spiegel van 't Menschelyk Bedrijf*, frontispiece with winged cherubs floating in the air.

In 1788 Shiba Kōkan visited Nagasaki in search of a teacher in Western-style realistic painting with shading and perspective. He arrived in Nagasaki on November 7, 1788 and stayed a little over a month until December 11 (Tenmei 8/10/10—Tenmei 8/11/14).¹⁰⁶ Upon arrival, and may be through the intercession of Gentaku he contacts the interpreters Yoshio Kōsaku (1724–1800), the principal translator for the Dutch in Deshima at that time, and Motoki

¹⁰⁵ Shiba Kōkan may have obtained Gerard de Lairese's *'t Groot Schilderboek*, through the intervention of Isaac Titsingh (French 1974 p. 80, 81). Johannes en Caspaares Luiken: *Spiegel van het menschelyk Bedrijf*, Amsterdam 1694, has been reprinted several times, also under the authors names, spelled as: Jan en Kasper Luiken or Jan Luyken. Shiba Kōkan got a reprint of this book around 1785 (Tenmei 5) (Parthesius and Schiermeier 2000 p. 20, 21, p. 85 pl. 48). French 1974 p. 90, 91 mentions Lairese's book but does not mention Luiken's book. French concludes that Shiba Kōkan derives many examples for his western style paintings from the book "lets voor Allen". This book, originally written by Abraham en St Clara (Ps. Johann Ulrich Megerle) and translated into Dutch in 1717 by Isaac de Long, was also published in Amsterdam, and reprinted several times. The illustrations in "lets voor Allen" are copies from the copperplate engravings of Luiken's book. Indeed, Shiba Kōkan may have been in the opportunity to consult "lets voor Allen", as it was in the possession of Romberg, who bought this book out of the legacy of H.G. Duurkoop. However it is more likely that Kōkan used an edition of Luiken's book directly, as can be concluded from the fact that his depiction is often a mirror image of the illustration in Abraham en St Clara, but in accordance with Luiken's illustration. Compare e.g. the painting of the schipper/sailor in Abraham en St Clara Part II p. 293, where the sailor is looking to the left, and Luiken 1694 and French 1974 p.89, pl. 64, in which the sailor is looking to the right. Maybe a copy of this book is now the Matsura library in Hirado.

¹⁰⁶ French 1974 p. 62. Plutschow 2006 p. 212 gives the period Kōkan stayed in Nagasaki as from October 19 till November 15 1788. However he forgets to transfer the lunar calendar dates into the solar calendar.



Fig. 13. Shiba Kōkan: Portrait of Yoshio Kōsaku, with putti-angels.

Einoshin (1735–1794).¹⁰⁷ One of the exiting events during his stay in Nagasaki was that Kōkan obtains a gate pass to Deshima, and disguised as a merchant, on November 22 visits the Dutch trading post, where he meets the surgeon Arnold Stutzer, senior interpreter Yoshio Kōsaku once again, and also H.C. Romberg, incoming Chief Factor at that time. Just before leaving Nagasaki, from December 1 until Dec 11 Shiba Kōkan enjoyed the hospitality of Yoshio Kōsaku in his Dutch-style house. During these days, on December 9 Kōkan drew a portrait in ink of Kōsaku.¹⁰⁸ On this drawing Kōsaku is shown sitting, dressed as samurai with sword, his hand resting on a Dutch book with an inscription in Roman letters on the cover. In the clouds above his head Kōkan wrote the words “Yoshiwo Koosak”, whereas two frolicking putti-angels fly around, one blowing a trumpet, the other possibly playing a strumming instrument or holding an announcement in

western script.¹⁰⁹ Maybe with the trumpeting angel Kōkan wanted to sing praise to the eminent Yoshio Kōsaku for his great knowledge of Western science and culture.

In more recent times Calvin L. French (1974) and H. Plutschow (2006), also comment on the tomb of Duurkoop. French (1974) in his book ‘Shiba Kōkan’, while describing Kōkan’s painting of Yoshio Kōsaku, stresses that the reason why Kōkan depicted the angels was to show his acquaintance with Western symbolism¹¹⁰. Also French, in the same book, while describing the stay of Shiba Kōkan in November/December 1788 in Nagasaki, includes a translation of the caption on Kōkan’s drawing of Duurkoop tomb.¹¹¹ In this translation French does not translate the words ‘rōkoku tsukitaru’, he only indicates the meaning of the western symbolism of an hourglass.

French’ translation of the caption on Shiba Kōkan’s drawing runs as follows:

“ This is a grave of a Dutch Captain named Duurkoop at Goshinji temple. It is a Dutch custom to bury the corpse in lying position. The stone is engraved with gold-coloured letters, and above the epitaph is carved an hourglass, which symbolizes that the time of a man’s life must run out. Dutchmen frequently use proverbs as teachings, and pictures are often metaphorical, portraying winged people and other figures intended purely as symbols. There are no winged persons on earth”

¹⁰⁷ Plutschow 2006 p. 21. Yoshio Kōsaku (1724–1800) was a physician and scholar of Dutch Studies and chief interpreter at Deshima; he had a good knowledge of western things. His home was in Dutch-style.

¹⁰⁸ A picture of this portrait can be found in the collection of the History and Art Dep., University of Michigan, Private collection image record 275254. See also French 1974 p. 67, 68, fig. 52 Portrait of Yoshio Kōsaku, 1788, and Screech 2002 p. 15 fig. 2, Yoshio Kōsaku with symbols, hanging scroll, 1788. According to French 1974 p. 67, Shiba Kōkan painted many portraits; it assured an income. The portrait of Yoshio Kōsaku he gave to Haku, a physician from Kurashiki, Bitchu province (now Okayama prefecture).

¹⁰⁹ Screech 2002 p. 15 “... with cloud-borne angels trumpeting and strumming above the book-bearing translator’s head”. Plutschow 2006 p. 217: According to Plutschow, Kōkan drew his famous portrait of Yoshio Kōsaku, representing him as an ‘Engel’ (Angel), blowing the flute. This is incorrect, Kōsaku is not depicted as an angel, but there are two cherubs, one blowing a trumpet, drawn in the clouds above his head.

¹¹⁰ French 1974 p. 68: the painting is lacking the essential values both of Western and Japanese aesthetics, the angel motif is undoubtedly employed to stress Kōkan’s acquaintance with western symbolism.

¹¹¹ French 1974 p 67.

Plutschow (2006)¹¹² , also based on Shiba Kōkan's travelogue, describes Shiba Kōkan's wanderings in and around Nagasaki, his visit to the Goshinji, and Duurkoop's tombstone. He describes the slightly convex shape of the stone, the engravings, ignores the wings on both sides of the hourglass, and interprets the hourglass emblem as a sandglass, as follows:

"Dutchman Duurkoop's grave had a tombstone resembling a kamaboko fish-cake with some gold-plated Dutch letters and, on top of that, a sand clock carved in it. This sand clock came from the custom of adding water clocks to graves".¹¹³

Plutschow, correctly, identifies the emblem at the top of the epitaph as a sand clock. His observation, that this sand clock came from the custom of *adding* water clocks to graves is confusing, but could be explained by the fact that, accidentally, he may have read the verb 'tsukitaru' ('is exhausted') in Kokan's text as tsuketaru ('is added').¹¹⁴ In Kokan's original text, it says: 'rōkoku tsukitaru' – *the water clock is exhausted*. The concept 'water clock' ('rōkoku') is a literal translation from Kokan's original text but, although water clocks and sand clocks are both time-measuring instruments that use the flow of either water droplets or sand grains through an orifice as measure,¹¹⁵ the emblem above the epitaph on Duurkoop's tomb is not a 'rōkoku = water clock (Clepsydra) but a sand clock (Clepsammia). The two connecting vertical (glass) bulbs in the holder, as depicted in the emblem, show plainly a sand clock (reusable, when inverted!). Unlike sandglasses, water clocks are *not* pictured on tombs.

Summarizing: The winged hourglass ornament embellishing Duurkoop's tombstone is a typical Dutch grave marker of a sand clock, a symbol of impermanence. It has a Japanese tinge: the beautiful carving of the upward pointing wings show a gifted Japanese stone-cutter's hand.

The emblem with the cross



Fig. 14. The emblem below the epitaph. Photo taken on a rainy day in 2015 after the cleaning/conservation in 2012/13.

After having discussed comprehensively the views of several Japanese and other authors regarding the symbolism of the winged hourglass at the top of the epitaph on Duurkoop's gravestone, we now should turn our attention to the other interesting engraving at the bottom of the epitaph. Shiba Kōkan sketched it roughly (see Fig. 4), while in Harufusa's drawing it is more accurately drawn. Although somewhat affected by the ravages of time, today it is still clearly visible. (Fig. 14).

¹¹² Plutschow 2006 p. 200–223. However, Plutschow does not convert the lunar calendar of Japan in those days into the Gregorian so the data do not match with the ones given by French. Japan replaced its lunar calendar with the Gregorian calendar in January 1873.

¹¹³ Plutschow 2006 p. 215.

¹¹⁴ I am indebted to Prof. Boot for this suggestion.

¹¹⁵ Sand clocks and water clocks were both known and used in Japan. Emperor Tenji (626–672), during his reign, had the first large water clock built in 671 AD in Ōtsu (Shiga). The Ōmi jingū, which is dedicated to this Emperor, shows a model of this water clock and in its clock museum more information can be found.

The engraving shows a medallion surrounded by a circular, asymmetrical wreath with leaf elements, which is crowned with a, now slightly damaged, quadruped animal. In Harufusa's drawing this animal is accompanied by a sprig with a flower to the right and half a flower to the left. (Fig. 5) This flower decoration is also visible in Hiraoka's rubbing¹¹⁶. On the tomb, nowadays, these flowers are no longer recognizable.

The medallion within the garland is divided in an upper and a lower half by a horizontal bar. In the upper half also a quadruped animal has been chiseled, while in the lower half a Greek cross, a cross with four equal arms, can be distinguished.

None of the *Rangakusha* who discussed Duurkoop's burial, his tombstone, and the winged hourglass emblem ventures to describe this symbol. The obvious image of the cross, referring to Christianity, must have kept them from emphasizing this symbol. As a result, also French en Plutschow, who base their approach on Kōkan's travelogue, do not comment on this emblem. It was not until 1991, that Earns and Burke-Gaffney paid attention to this emblem and pointed out that not only the cross by itself, but the whole medallion could be interpreted as Christian symbolism.¹¹⁷ They were the first who identified the animal above the horizontal bar as a lamb and consequently interpreted this symbol as "Lamb and Cross".



Fig. 15. An example of a traditional decoration with Lamb and Cross: Lamb (with nimbus) holding with his front leg a Cross with banner.

Lamb and Cross is a well-known Christian symbol that recalls the Bible text: "Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi", "Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world".¹¹⁸ In Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches, in the past and still today, this text is commonly used in prayers for a deceased ending with the words: "Dona eis requiem" – "give them peace."¹¹⁹

It is clear that Jan Andries Duurkoop will have favored this traditional prayer for his younger brother. The Duurkoop family was Lutheran at heart, as most VOC-servants of German descent. Hendrik Godfried, according to the inventory of his legacy, possessed a Lutheran bible with brass handles and Jan Andries was a major financial supporter of the Lutheran Church in Batavia; also other members of the Duurkoop family in Batavia were followers.

However in the usual Christian iconography the Lamb (symbol of Jezus Christ) and Cross are not depicted as in the emblem on Duurkoop's tomb, but are portrayed in a quite distinctive way, in which the Lamb (Agnus Dei, with nimbus) carries the cross (with a banner of victory) (Fig. 15).¹²⁰

Lamb and Cross, often are used as decorative motifs in Christian works of art (stained glass windows in Churches, religious silver ware and on medals).¹²¹ In Medieval times it was used on tombstones, but hereafter as far as I know, although customary in prayers and in decorations in Churches, Agnus Dei is not used as a tomb decoration.¹²²

¹¹⁶ Hiraoka 2012 <http://hdl.handle.net/2324/21948>, illustration no. 3; in this rubbing the cross with four equal arms is also clearly visible.

¹¹⁷ Earns, Lane R. and B. Burke-Gaffney 1991 p. 17.

¹¹⁸ John 1:29.

¹¹⁹ Agnus Dei is recited in the Roman Catholic Mass in Latin and in the Lutheran liturgy in vernacular.

¹²⁰ The Lamb standing with banner represents the victory of Christ over death. Picture: <http://thumbs.dreamstime.com/z/lam-met-kruis-29809885.jpg>

¹²¹ Roscam Abbing, L. 2011 p. 11, fig. 3. Lamb and Cross are often used as decorative motifs in the Lutheran church; in the Lutheran Church in Monnikendam (Province North-Holland) there are a silver wine jug with two goblets, the three lids all decorated with Agnus Dei.

¹²² Timmers 1947 p.139: 253. A lamb, being gentle and innocent, sometimes decorates the tombs of children.

Christian symbols are also often found in heraldry and hence in coat of arms. Here Lamb and Cross, in various designs, are often religious statements. Actually, the medallion on Duurkoop's tomb shows a great similarity with a heraldic escutcheon.

In those days on western-European gravestones of respectable families¹²³, coats of arms were quite common. It was a custom that already existed in 16th century and became widely used in the 18th century.¹²⁴ Interesting in this respect are the two animals depicted in the emblem on the tombstone, one on top of the wreath and one inside the shield. In heraldic coats of arms in Germany and the Netherlands the shield was often crowned with a crest, which often, but not always, referred to the images on the shield.¹²⁵

The question therefore arises: "Is this emblem possibly Duurkoop's coat of arms"? In Germany as well as in The Netherlands, at the time, no family crest of a Duurkoop family has been registered. Yet in 18th century VOC-Batavia, where prestige played an important role, a family crest was a 'must'. Not only it was useful as a seal for ratifying important documents, it also increased one's standing.

Most of the incoming VOC-servants were not of high birth, however, and will not have possessed a coat of arms. Hendrik Godfried Duurkoop was 'hooploper' (lowest rank of sailor) and Jan Andries was a soldier, when they saw the port of Batavia for the first time. But as soon as a man rose in ranks, he had his own crest designed. I guess that Jan Andries, who rose to be a wealthy landowner, as well as Chief Factor Hendrik Godfried Duurkoop, who also became wellto-do, had their coats of arms drafted.¹²⁶ This assumption is supported by the fact that two sons of Jan Andries, Hendrik Jacob (baptized Batavia 21-05-1758, died Batavia 20-12-1788) and Simon Coenraad (baptized Batavia 20-03-1768, died Batavia 25-10-1790) had their hatchments (memorial) shields hung in the Hollandsche Kerk in Batavia.¹²⁷ Unfortunately these memorials were lost when the church was destroyed in the earthquake of 1808, and no pictures of these shields have survived.¹²⁸

In a survey of images of coats of arms used in Batavia at that time, the coat of arms of another Duurkoop, Charles Duurkoop¹²⁹ is included.¹³⁰ (Fig. 16). So far, no (direct) family ties have been found. All I found, is that Charles Duurkoop's widow, Constantia Abrahams together with a Henricus Duurkoop, was a witness at the baptism in Batavia in 1753 of the second (shortlived) son of Jan Andries: Henricus Constantinus. But at a glance it is clear that, the image in the medallion emblem on Hendrik Godfried Duurkoop's tomb is nothing like this family crest!

123 In contrast to the situation in Japan where everyone has a family crest, which is also carved in their gravestones, in The Netherlands, coat of arms are not universal.

124 In 1795, at the beginning of the French occupation of the Netherlands, family crests were prohibited as being the signature of the upper class, and the cote of arms on gravestones were abraded. Later, family crests were reinstated but nowadays are rarely used.

125 Oosthoeks Encyclopedie dl 7, 1961 p. 181. See also Dutch coats of arms decorating 'Chine de Commande'.

126 Everyone in The Netherlands is allowed to design his or her coat of arms, provided that it meets certain heraldic requirements.

127 A hatchment is a wooden memorial shield, black with the family crest painted in vivid colours and the name, title, dates of birth and death of the deceased Church member. Hendrik Jacob (B. 21-05-1758—20-12-1788) was the son of Jan Andries and his first wife Helena Pietersz, and Simon Coenraad (B. 20-03-1768—25-10-1790) was the son of Jan Andries and his second wife Henrietta Josephe (SIFA – Stichting Indisch Familie Archief, 's-Gravenhage, dossier Duurkoop).

128 Unfortunately also, although I have looked through many letters and official papers, I have not yet found a print of a possible seal or a representation of a possible family crest of Jan Andries or Hendrik Godfried Duurkoop. (Documents in Nationaal Archief 's-Gravenhage, Gemeente archief, Amsterdam and SIFA – Stichting Indisch Familie archief, 's-Gravenhage). Maybe a search can be rewarding in the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, in Jakarta, Indonesia.

129 Charles Duurkoop, also written Dierkoop, was skipper on the VOC-ships Westhoven and Zandenburg, respectively in the years 1716 and 1718. He died in Batavia before 1753. His wife Constantia Abrahams stayed in Batavia; she had her last will recorded in Batavia in 1757.

130 Mr. P.C. Bloys van Terslong Prins assembled around 1000 family crests in Batavia; 600 among these were not known in The Netherlands at the time. No. 228 is the coat of arms of Charles Duurkoop but no other Duurkoops are mentioned. Rühl, *Ind. Navorser* 1939, Vol. 5 p.3. p.4; Rühl, D., *Familie wapens in het Landsarchief van Nederlansch-Indië*, te Batavia 1943. The shield of Charles Duurkoop is quartered, depicting in the first and fourth quarter three crenellated towers, three waterlily leaves and a cock; in the second and third quarter two crescents and a six pointed star.



Fig. 16. The Family crest of Charles Duurkoop, skipper of the VOC.



Fig. 17. Escutcheon of Mr. Carel Crucius, Anno 1721, in a stained glass window in the 'Groene or Willibrord' Church in Oegstgeest, near Leiden, The Netherlands.

However various designs of 'Lamb and Cross', including the one depicted on Duurkoop's tomb, can be identified as family crests in the Netherlands. In fact, the emblem on Duurkoop's gravestone is virtually identical to the family coat of arms of Mr. Carel Crucius, Tresorier ordinaris and one of the Mayors of the city of Leiden around 1721.¹³¹ Unfortunately the genealogy of Mr. Carel Crucius has not yet been clarified, so a possible link with Batavia or even with Duurkoop can not be verified.¹³²

Although the question of how we should interpret the Lamb and Cross emblem, either as a modification of Agnus Dei or as a heraldic variant, on Duurkoop's tomb is not answered, we should not overlook the fact that it was customary to have one's coat of arms chiseled into the gravestone. Whether Jan Andries Duurkoop, who was responsible for Duurkoop's burial, has chosen this emblem as a hidden/disguised reference to the well-known Agnus Dei prayer, we will probably never know.

However, I wonder whether in the closing decades of the 18th century, it was still known to the Japanese that not only the cross was a Christian symbol, but also that the entire emblem could have an even deeper Christian meaning of Agnus Dei. Since Christianity was banned in 1614, faithful converts had moved underground. These so-called hidden Christians or *Kakure Kirishitan* secretly practiced a form of Christianity, in which most external symbols¹³³ were eliminated; prayers were adapted and moved away from the original texts.

In any case, the cross is undeniable and should be clear enough for the representatives of the Japanese authorities responsible for supervising the Dutch. So the intriguing question arises: "How is it possible that the Japanese authorities allowed this obvious

131 Mr. Carel Crucius's coat of arms, dating 1721, can be seen in a stained glass window in the 'Groene- or Willibrord' Church in the village of Oegstgeest, near Leiden, The Netherlands.

132 On the tomb of Johannes Crucius in the Waalse Kerk in Haarlem a comparable coat of arms can be found. In Van der Aa et al, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*: Nicolaus Samuel Cruquius (1678–1754) was e.g. examiner of boatswains for the VOC. His sister, Aafjen Cruquius (also spelled Crucius or Krukus), married a David Brouwer, skipper VOC. In 1715 as well as in 1717 the couple is listed on board of the ship 'Zuiderbeek' en route to Batavia. In 1728 her son, also named David, left for Batavia on the ship 'Baarmen', in the function of lower scribe. He climbed the administrative ladder and in 1743–1744 became Chief Factor in Deshima. In his will (NA 1.02.02 inv. nr. 6887 testament nr. 8697) David Brouwer appointed his mother Aafje Krukus, widow of David Brouwer Sr., and residing in Leiden, to his sole and universal heir; he died in Batavia 20–04–1748.

133 A Christian cross sometimes was hidden in an image or statue.

Christian symbolism on Duurkoop's tomb in a time when any manifestation of Christianity was strictly forbidden". Was it because they turned a blind eye, due to feelings of respect towards the "kapitan", reflecting also the magnanimity of the people of Nagasaki, as Earns and Burke-Gaffney suggest¹³⁴; or was it just due to slackness of the men on duty, or may be is there another explanation possible?

Although it is not recorded, at the funeral of Duurkoop in the Goshinji on August 15, Japanese supervisors and interpreters will certainly have been present. These men surely will have informed Tsuge Nagato-no-kami (Tsuge Masatane), who was bugyo in August 1778¹³⁵ and the principal magistrate in Nagasaki at that time, about the course of the ceremony. However on that occasion the tombstone was not yet on the site, so they cannot have informed him about any forbidden emblem chiseled in the gravestone; the stone was set only about four and a half month later! Tsuge Nagato-no-kami left for Edo on November 11. His successor Kuze Tango-no-Kami (Kuze Hirokami), who came to Nagasaki on October 22 will certainly have been informed of the death of Duurkoop, as he will have met Chief Factor A.W. Feith, who stayed on for the next year. But with the trading season being in full swing, the return ships loading¹³⁶, and the 'Huys te Spijk' sailing already on November 7, his priority will not have been the death of the Dutch merchant. Maybe this disputable topic faded into the background and was ancient history when on January 9, 1779, finally, the tombstone was set.

Of course, the stonemason, who must have been provided with the text and a drawing of the two emblems in order to carve these on the tombstone¹³⁷, the priests of Goshinji as well as Yoshio Kōsaku, as chief interpreter, will have been aware of the Cross' Christian symbolism on the tomb, and maybe an unsuspecting passerby of the graveyard will have stopped a moment in surprise.

But the gravestone was forgotten; at least until the *Rangakusha* Ōtsuki Gentaku and Hayashi Shihei got interested and told Morishima Chūryō about the elaborate funeral of Duurkoop. Then Morishima Chūryō, Katsuragawa Hoshū and Shiba Kōkan, who orally exchanged what they had found out, decided not to get their fingers burnt on this matter and kept it private, just as Tazawa Harufusa did sometime later.¹³⁸ Hirokawa Kai never saw the tomb.

Jan Andries Duurkoop will not have seen the finished engravings on the gravestone, as 't Huys te Spijk' and the 'Roodenrijs' already had left early November, but his son Hendrik Jacob, who stayed in Deshima from August 1784 till December 1786 and his nephew Hendrik Andries Ulps who was in Deshima between 1782 and 1790, must have had the opportunity to inspect Hendrik Godfried's tomb.

134 Earns, L.R and Burke-Gaffney, B. 1991: "... it is amazing that the local authorities overlooked the Cross and Lamb. This was no doubt due to feelings of respect toward the "kapitan", but also reflects the magnanimity of the people of Nagasaki." Hiraoka (2013 p. 3) also is surprised that the magistrates have overlooked this symbol.

135 The magistrates, appointed by the Tokugawa shogunate, alternately resided for one year in Edo and for one year in Nagasaki. Among others, they were responsible for the commercial activities of the Dutch and they had to keep the government informed of scientific and other developments in the West. See also footnote 24.

136 Feith mentions that Yoshio Kosaku, at the behest of Kuze Hirokami, on October 28th, ordered for the next year the import of several items, including two lion skins with head, tail and claws, pepper vines, tulip bulbs and Prussian blue.

137 The left side of the emblem shows that the stonemason apparently was somewhat unfamiliar with the cutting of this type of wreath.

138 The funeral of Thomas van Triet, captain of the ship the 'Roosenburg' in 1787, will not have been such a special event. His tombstone was the first tomb set in the Goshinji after Duurkoop's. The stone bears an elaborate inscription but no decorative emblems.

Summary:

Hendrik Godfried Duurkoop, incoming chief of the Dutch trading post in Deshima, died on board of the ship 't Huys te Spijk, while on his way to Japan, on July 27, 1778. His burial at the cemetery of the Goshinji on Mt. Inasa was a momentous event.

The death and preservation of the body on board, the Dutch funeral customs and the tombstone with inscriptions and emblems became subject of discussion among a group of wellknown *Rangakusha* and led to several articles, the first writing published as late as eight years after the funeral. The Japanese authors not only described the events but also intertwined their comments with personal views.

Duurkoop's tombstone is an example of a typical Dutch gravestone from the 18th century, with an extensive epitaph and two emblems, one a winged hourglass, the other one showing a coat of arms, with a Christian symbol. Although several of the Japanese authors discuss the emblem of the winged hourglass, no one ventures to describe the other emblem, understandable at a time when Christianity was forbidden.

The various comments on the emblems on Duurkoop's tomb are discussed, as well as the question of how it was possible that the Japanese authorities allowed an obvious Christian symbol on Duurkoop's tomb.

Acknowledgment: I would like to thank Prof. W.J. Boot for his ongoing interest in this research and his readiness to help in translating Japanese texts.

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