Japanese Discourse on Translation in the Early Modern Era

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Abstract

In this thesis, I examine the Japanese discourse on translation taking place in the eighteenth through the nineteenth century. In particular, I focus on the relationship between the Japanese scholars of Dutch language and the longstanding Chinese studies tradition in Japan.

Through the analysis of a selection of paratexts (such as prefaces and explanatory notes) and standalone works concerning translation, I argue that from the point of view of translation discourse, the Dutch studies movement represented a defining moment in the history of translation in Japan. By approaching the primary sources with a framework born out of polysystem theory, I investigate the relationships among the writings produced by Dutch studies scholars, as well as the connections they constructed with the pre-existent translation traditions in Japan.

A group of scholars based in Edo manipulated the history of the Dutch studies movement, and also felt the necessity to write their own discourse of translation, in order to justify their work and Dutch translation as a practice in itself. Dutch studies scholars assembled strands of previous discourses that were available in Japan according to their perception of what was to be considered prestigious. They were inspired by the work of Japanese scholars of Chinese and Chinese translators of Buddhist scriptures, in whom they likely saw a reflection of themselves and a model to follow. Thus, in this thesis, I argue that rather than being influenced by the translation of European literature, such discourse was elaborated on an East Asian trajectory.

In Japan, various practices of translation (including the *kundoku* method) were closely connected to the acquisition of knowledge, so that the study of translation itself ended up being considered a fundamental tool to get an education, suggesting that the spheres of translation, teaching and learning should be examined together.

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

School of Modern Languages and Cultures

Durham University

2021

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Style, names, transliteration and periodization conventions

This thesis follows the *Monumenta Nipponica* Style Sheet (last updated in September 2018)[1] for referencing forms and stylistic conventions. Japanese is romanised following the modified Hepburn system, while Chinese is transcribed in *pīnyīn*. Japanese and Chinese personal names and terms are followed by Japanese and Chinese characters the first time they are mentioned in each chapter, and personal names are followed by years of birth and death. Japanese personal names follow the Japanese convention of having the surname preceding the given name, with the exception of Japanese authors who usually write in English.

Unless otherwise specified, the primary sources quoted in this thesis are from Waseda University's *Japanese and Chinese Classics* collection (*Kotenseki sōgō dētabēsu* 古典籍総合データベース), and can be found freely online.[2] Where possible, the reference pages contained in the notes refer to modern printed editions. The classical orthography is maintained in the extracts of Japanese texts included in the thesis. For easier reading, the current standard versions (*shinjitai* 新字体 "new forms") of Japanese characters is preferred to old or non-standard variants (*kyūjitai* 旧字体 "old forms" or *itaiji* 異体字 "different forms").

Due to the multidisciplinary nature of this project, the traditional Japanese era system (*nengō* 年号) is not used, unless quoted in the original text; however, main Japanese period names are mentioned throughout the work and are reported here for reference:

Heian period (794 - 1185)
Kamakura period (1185 - 1333)
Muromachi period (1336 - 1573)
Azuchi-Momoyama period (1573 - 1603)
Tokugawa period (1603 - 1868)
Meiji period (1868 - 1912)

[1] https://dept.sophia.ac.jp/monumenta/pdf/MN-Style-Sheet-September-2018.pdf.
[2] www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/.

Statement of Copyright

Acknowledgements

No words are good enough to express how thankful I am to the people who, with great care and patience, supported me during my PhD.

My biggest thanks is for Rebekah Clements. Her unwavering encouragement, kindness and always thoughtful advice kept me going throughout these years. I am indebted to Sergey Tyulenev, as his useful suggestions helped me navigate a field that was completely new to me. I am especially grateful to Gaye Rowley for all the help, guidance and support during my fieldwork at Waseda University and beyond.

I am indebted to the Northern Bridge Doctoral Training Partnership (NBDTP) for sponsoring my studies and providing funding for conferences, training and workshops. In particular, I'd like to thank Hazel Reynolds, Carole Palmer, Annie Tindley, Patrick Zuk and Jonathan Long.

I wish to show my appreciation to the staff at St. John's College for welcoming me in Durham, and at the School of Modern Languages and Cultures (MLAC). Above all, I need to thank Lucia Luck for all the help, administrative support and encouragement, and my reviewers, Marc Schachter, Fusako Innami, Daniel Newman, Tom Wynn, and Sam Bootle, whose comments have been essential to the development of this project.

I also warmly thank Kimiko Kōno and Adrian Pinnington for welcoming me in their research seminars at Waseda University.

I extend my gratitude to all library staff at Durham University Library and Waseda University Library.

I am greatly thankful for the many suggestions and insights I received in conferences and workshops. In particular, those by Willem Boot, Peter Kornicki, Fumitoshi Saitō, and Matthias Zachmann.

Thanks a million to my friends, those who live close, far and very far. Most of all, those who more closely shared this journey with me, Paola Maschio, Carmen Granito, and Valentina Vignieri. I'm incredibly lucky to have had their caring advice and friendship.

My most heartfelt thank you is for my family, who has always been by my side. This thesis is dedicated to David, who stuck with me until the finish line and now knows everything about Ogyū Sorai.

So let's talk about magic. Magic is taking a thought and making it real. Taking a lie and making it the truth. Telling a story to the universe so utterly, cosmically perfect that for a single, shining moment, the world believes a man can fly.

Al Ewing

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The realm of translation discourse within the Dutch studies movement

In this dissertation, I will examine translation as conceived by the Japanese scholars of Dutch - a group of intellectuals, translators and interpreters (and often a combination of the three) who engaged with an array of practices relating to spoken and written translation, and were active from the late seventeenth century to the dawn of nineteenth century. I will focus on the years between the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, a period that saw the appearance of numerous writings of a conceptual nature concerning translation.

In the following chapters, I will examine a selection of paratexts and standalone works from among such writings and I will argue that, from the point of view of translation discourse, the Dutch studies movement represented a defining moment in the history of translation in Japan. I will consider this movement in dialogue with the authoritative tradition of Chinese studies, which had a longer history in Japan and represented a reference model for Dutch studies. I will maintain that Dutch studies scholars assembled a translation discourse and developed their ideas on an East Asian trajectory rather than under the influence of Western models. While doing so, I will put forward the hypothesis that the work of Dutch studies scholars should also be considered at the core of the modern Japanese translation discourse, as it contains some of the modes and terminology that became conventional after the events of the Meiji Revolution (1868), a subject for future research.

In this thesis, I explore the application of translation studies theories to the Japanese context; I propose that an approach born out of polysystem theory can be useful to deal with Dutch studies sources, and that polysystem theory's terminology is a valuable tool to describe the dynamics of perceived power and authority that emerge from the texts examined. Following Lefevere, who considers the translator to be a figure that shapes literary systems,[1] it is my assumption that Dutch studies scholars and translators were social actors who tried to move their newly founded sub-system of Dutch translated literature into a more central position within the Japanese cultural polysystem, in order

[1] Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting*.

to gain prestige and elevate their social status. I will argue that they did so by following a series of strategies, such as defining their role in the light of the perceived prestige of Chinese studies and exacerbating a perceived divide between an Edo based group of scholars and the Nagasaki interpreters. I will show how the discourse contained in the writings here examined is both a reflection of the scholars' views and an active means utilised to build and justify their narrative.

The present chapter works as an introduction to the contents of this thesis. Sections 1.2 and 1.3 set the scene, containing a brief overview of the Japanese context; further background will be discussed in rest of this thesis when relevant. In section 1.4, I will elaborate on the main topic of this thesis - the Japanese discourse of translation. There, I will clarify the position of my research between the academic fields of translation studies and Japanese studies, outlining my original contribution and delineating the goals of this project; I will also provide a summary of the arguments and the themes considered in each chapter. Through sections 1.5 and 1.6, I will discuss the kinds of source materials presented here and the methodology and approach I adopted. Lastly, section 1.7 contains the rationale behind some key terminological choices that recur throughout this work.

1.2 The experience of translation in Japan

Translation plays a fundamental role in transmitting knowledge and innovations between different cultures. Japan is no exception, despite its historical circumstances and the geographical isolation of the Japanese archipelago creating a perception of difference that still permeates contemporary views of Japan and Japanese translation history.

Throughout history, Chinese culture in particular represented both a model and an alterity for the Japanese people and society, as Chinese customs, arts, institutions, science and technology were translated into the Japanese culture/s. Foreign elements were transformed and adapted to local needs until they became an integral part of the Japanese social fabric, coexisting with the autochthonous cultural system.[2] Because of the encounter with Chinese writing system and its domestication, various practices of

[2] See Hall et al., *Cambridge History of Japan*, vols. 1-4.

translation have flourished in Japan, including the highly-bound reading/translating methods now known as *kundoku* 訓読 and the annotated commentary tradition of the Chinese Classics and Buddhist scriptures.[3]

The Japanese linguistic landscape became more complex with the arrival of European texts, from the sixteenth century onwards. The earliest recorded experience of translation from European languages are the Jesuit translations that occurred between 1549 and 1639, when the Japanese people came into contact with Spanish, Portuguese, and Latin languages.[4] However, as a result of different historical circumstances, such as the 1614 ban on Christianity, the subsequent prohibition and destruction of Christian texts and a lack of both linguistic expertise and strong interest to engage with translation, the Jesuit translation tradition did not have as much impact as other practices discussed in this thesis.[5]

Following on, the next major translation praxis involved translation and interpreting from Dutch. After the English left the country and the Spanish and the Portuguese were expelled, the Japanese military government started to regulate foreign relationships more closely; consequently, the Dutch became the only Europeans formally allowed to keep contact with Japan.[6] Since the Dutch seemed to be interested only in trading and not in proselytizing, they were given permission to dock in the port of Nagasaki, where they were bound to reside on the artificial island of Dejima. Dutch officials and traders visited the capital Edo regularly (initially once a year, then every four years) to report to the central government and to offer presents to the shogun.[7]

This situation prompted the establishment and proliferation of the movement of *rangaku* 蘭学 (Dutch studies, or Dutch learning). The study of Dutch language and scientific literature dominated the Japanese Western learning until during the Meiji

[3] Clements, "In Search of Translation;" Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts*. For an overview of the interrelation between Chinese studies and Japanese studies in correlation to Chinese and Japanese script, see Kurozumi, "*Kangaku*: Writing and Institutional Authority."

[4] This period is traditionally referred to as the "Christian century." See Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, pp. 4-5. For a detailed insight about the Jesuit presence in Japan, see Boscaro, *Ventura e sventura*. On the impact of Jesuit translation on Japanese translation history, see Clements, *Cultural History of Translation,* pp. 142-44.

[5] Clements, *Cultural History of Translation,* pp. 144-45

[6] Foreign trade was also taking place with other East and South East Asian countries (like Korea, China and the Ryūkyū kingdom), not only via Nagasaki but also through the domains of Tsushima and Satsuma. See Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, pp. 3-11.

[7] Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, pp. 25-31.

period (1868-1912), the attention shifted to English language texts, as the Japanese government moved towards a more serious effort in sponsoring translation projects in order to quickly acquire Western knowledge.[8] Key background information is introduced in the section below.

1.3 The Tokugawa period (1600-1868) and the establishment of Dutch studies

The aim of this project is to analyse the relations between texts, people and pre-existing translation traditions, describing the Japanese discourse of translation in polysystemic terms.[9] Because such relations took place in a specific environment and historical circumstances, it is crucial to look at the sources from the point of view of the scholars and translators who authored them and who transmitted the image and the narrative of Dutch studies. In fact, as argued by polysystem scholar Even-Zohar, in the description of any historical case of translation, the history and the peculiarities of the context where translation occurs must always be taken into consideration.[10] Therefore, in this section, I will overview the social context that led to the phase of the Dutch studies movement examined in the following chapters.

The Tokugawa years (1600-1868) are conventionally known as a period of "great peace" (*taihei* 太平). This age was described as a stagnant era by older scholarship, however this is far from the truth.[11] The flourishing of commerce created new possibilities and a fresh and dynamic popular culture thrived in the new urban centres. Significant developments were also taking place in the cultural domain, like the diffusion of mainstream printing and the growing level of literacy.[12]

This was a period of great change in attitudes to language, attitudes that were reflected in the Japanese literary space.[13] Practices of intralingual translation were used

[8] For a detailed account of the beginnings of English language scholarship in Japan, see Sōgō, *Nihon eigaku no akebono*. English language texts are still the most prevalent translated literature in the Japanese market. See Matsunaga-Watson, "Selection of Texts for Translation."
[9] Even-Zohar, "Polysystem Studies."
[10] Even-Zohar, "Polysystem Studies."
[11] Hauser, "Some Misconceptions;" Kornicki, "Survival of Tokugawa Fiction."
[12] Kornicki, *Book in Japan*; Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*.
[13] On changing of language awareness in the Tokugawa period, see Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*, pp. 16-46.

to make the Heian period (794-1185) classics accessible to the general population.[14] Also, a rising interest in spoken Chinese challenged the traditional approaches used to decode the Chinese Classics. The arrival of the Europeans and the inception of Western languages animated an already multilingual context, in which various writing styles (called *buntai* 文体) coexisted along one another. As Clements points out, due to this great linguistic variety, "[t]he mixing of different languages was seen in scholarship as well: scholars during the period were often active in a number of fields which traversed several linguistic boundaries."[15] It is likely then, that this dynamic environment favoured transformations in the Japanese polysystem and made it easier for scholars to move across the literary field.

Another characteristic of Tokugawa society relevant to the facts discussed in this thesis is the presence of a hierarchical social structure that divided the Japanese people on the base of their occupational status. After an age of civil war (the Age of Warring States, *Sengoku jidai* 戦国時代, 1467-1615), Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582) started a project of unification of the country, which was continued by Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536-1598). Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543-1616) took the reigns of power and unified Japan after his victory in the decisive battles of Sekigahara in 1600 and Osaka in 1615. In order to control the country (which at the time was fragmented in a number of domains, called *han* 藩) the military government adopted a social system of Chinese origin (the class system, *mibunseido* 身分制度). According to this model, the population was thus allocated into the social classes of warriors, farmers, artisans and merchants (*shinōkōshō* 士農工商). Under these rules, jobs and official appointments were hereditary; the profession of the scholar (*gakusha* 学者) however, represented a way to social advancement, as it was free to undertake assuming one's availability of financial resources necessary to get an education. People from the samurai class utilised this prospect in order to progress their social status, and many took advantage of Chinese learning or Dutch learning to become teachers and establish schools.[16]

[14] Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*; Clements, "Cross-Dressing as Lady Murasaki;" Clements, "Rewriting Murasaki."
[15] Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*, p. 28.
[16] Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, pp. 175-89.

As mentioned in the previous section, after the experience of Jesuit translation, the first phase of translation from other European languages focused on interpreting and translation from Dutch. At the time, the Tokugawa government was discouraging foreigners from learning Japanese.[17] Therefore, the responsibility for mediating commercial relations fell first on the shoulders of the Japanese interpreters (called *tsūji* or *tsūshi* 通詞), operating in the city of Nagasaki, and later on Japanese scholars of Dutch studies mainly based in Edo, who called themselves *rangakusha* 蘭学者, "scholars of Dutch" (on the use of these two terms throughout this thesis, see section 1.7).[18] The work of the Japanese interpreters, many of whom started learning Dutch after being already proficient in Portuguese and Spanish, was invaluable to the progress of Dutch studies, and is still an understudied area (mostly because of the scarcity of written texts and discursive accounts). As mainly discussed in chapter 3, Dutch studies scholars often looked down on the interpreters' job because the interpreters were not trained in the conventional Chinese learning.

1.4 Project goals and position of the thesis

1.4.1 A foreword to the discourse of translation in Dutch studies

One of the outcomes of the diffusion of Dutch studies in Japan was the production of a number of discursive writings in the form of both para-textual material (such as prefaces and explanatory notes) and stand-alone texts. Many common themes can be found among them, such as the direct or indirect comparison between translation from Dutch and translation from Chinese - which at the time represented Dutch studies' main alterity - or indications on the reasons behind the translators' choice of terminology and methodology.

[17] However, it is worth mentioning that the Dutch were not entirely detached from the Japanese language, as there is evidence of code-switching and gap-filling in Dutch language documents produced in Japan, such as personal accounts, letters and *dagregisters* (factory journals kept by the Dutch at Hirado and Dejima). See Joby, *Dutch language in Japan*, pp. 204-54. There is also a small number of translations in manuscript form seemingly made by VOC chief officer (*opperhooft*) Isaac Titsingh (1745-1812) with the help of Japanese native speakers. Joby, *Dutch language in Japan*, p. 282, and Lequin, *A la recherche*, p. 179 and pp.128-29 as quoted by Joby.

[18] See Clements, *Cultural History of Translation;* Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*; Sugimoto, *Nihon hon'yakugoshi no kenkyū*.

Despite recognising its general value, past scholarship often considered the Dutch studies movement as a footnote in history and tended to depict it in a negative light. In his *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan*, Toby criticised the "ineptitude" of the Nagasaki interpreters' translations in late seventeenth century as "justly famous."[19] The historian Grant Goodman argued that Dutch studies in the Tokugawa period had little impact on Japanese knowledge, mostly because of the unsystematic way in which such study was conducted.[20] In the classic *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, Goodman wrote:

> The principal obstacle to the maturation of Dutch studies was that many of its practitioners, like the bakufu itself, saw it as a utilitarian technological supplement to a well-ordered, harmonious, intellectually "satisfying" ethical system derived from Zhu Xi Neo-Confucianism. Like Ancient Learning (Kogaku) or even National Learning (Kokugaku), Dutch studies was not a complete system of knowledge constructed on the basis of a single worldview. Rather, it was a random accumulation of certain quasi-scientific and technological information acquired from western Europe through restricted contact with the Dutch or indirectly through the Chinese trade in Nagasaki. It was only exceptional scholars like Miura Baien [三浦梅園, 1723-1789] and Honda Toshiaki [本多利明, 1744-1821] who saw in it a greater challenge than this.[21]

In the chapters that follow, I will argue that even if what stated above is true, the same cannot be said from the point of view of translation discourse. I would also add to such discussion that what can be considered as "systematic" or "unsystematic" from a Western-European point of view, therefore from a perspective conditioned by Western categories of knowledge, does not necessarily apply to disciplines developed in non-Western contexts - in the case of this thesis, the field of translation in early modern Japan (the problematic of modern Western categories of knowledge is brought up again in section 5.2). In this thesis, I will thus contend that despite the prevailing idea that

[19] Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, p. 145 and 151.
[20] Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, p. 2.
[21] Goodman, "Dutch Learning," pp. 363-64.

Dutch studies was disorganised, a number of writings about translation produced by Dutch studies scholars were in fact a) in dialogue with each other, and b) responses to earlier writings about the reading and translation of Chinese texts.

It is likely that some form of proto-discourse of translation has existed in Japan at least since the inception of Chinese writing. We can see its explicit and implicit traces in early works of Japanese literature up to the period examined in this thesis. However, these cases were sporadic and did not form an identifiable field of translation. As Clements argues, Japan lacked an authoritative translation tradition, in contrast with Europe where the translation of sacred scriptures provided a source of prominent debates on translation methodology and practice. [22]

In this thesis, I maintain that the Dutch studies scholars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries created a discourse of translation using many of the modes and terms that became familiar in Japanese translation studies today, and I will argue that they did so looking for a continuity with pre-existing writings about Chinese translation tradition in Japan and in China. I therefore shall explore the presence of an organised theory, or better, a discourse (on the preference of this term, see section 1.6.1) about translation in the Tokugawa period. As will be considered in the following chapters, such discourse was engendered by the presence of the *kundoku* method[23] and closely related to the realms of teaching and learning. Indeed, as will be argued in the following chapters, the discipline of Dutch studies was closely connected not only to the practice and to the reflection on strategies of translation, but also to the domains of teaching and learning, therefore partially defying the Western idea of translation theory and of the division of disciplines. In support of my arguments, I will examine the words of the individuals who considered themselves the pioneers of a tradition bound to change the course of Japanese scientific knowledge, and I will discuss a few of the sources that directed their thinking and from which they borrowed a great deal of translation-related ideas and concepts.

[22] Clements, "In Search of Translation." Also see Yanabu, et al., *Nihon no hon'yakuron*, pp. 18-22 on the absence of Christianity in Japan.

[23] The *kundoku* method was a highly-bound reading and translation technique used to decode Chinese texts and also to write in a form of literary Chinese. For more detailed discussion of the technique and the discourse around it, see chapter 2 on the Japanese writing styles and chapter 5 on the Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai.

Finally, it should be noted that in order to understand the elaboration of macroscopic translation traditions - whether in "the West" or in "East Asia" - research on microscopic cases is critical, as they help us to reconstruct the phases and the mechanisms of the formation of a theory, or discourse of translation in different contexts. The investigation of non-European case studies, beyond enriching the discipline of translation studies, which, traditionally focused on the Western-European praxis,[24] is valuable by itself, both as a fresh paradigm that can help us rethink the categories we are used to in the West, and as something that should be rightfully talked about in its own terms.

1.4.2 Translation history within translation studies and Japanese studies

A great many publications deal with the topic of translation in Japan, but only a few of them take translation itself as their focus, and even fewer explicitly interact with the academic discipline of translation studies. I would argue that currently this situation is mainly caused by the stark separation between research conducted in the disciplines of translation studies and Japanese studies. This lack of cooperation constitutes an obstacle and limits the possibilities of enquiry in multidisciplinary research. It is true that, in Hermans' words, "the field now commonly referred to as translation studies […] includes anyone, of whatever persuasion, with a scholarly interest in any aspect of translation."[25] However, engaging with communal approaches and terminologies can be useful to make research more widely accessible and also to eventually formulate comparisons with similar contexts - although this should not be considered the only goal of translation research.

This dissertation is an attempt to bring closer the two fields of Japanese studies and translation studies, in an effort to contribute at least in part to changing the present state of insufficient communication between them. My intention is therefore twofold. On the one hand I wish to invite a larger number of Japan specialists to the field of translation studies, showing how the tools and the approaches adopted in this field can be useful to explain and describe a non-Western historical case. On the other, I aim to offer to translation studies experts a case study that focuses on the characteristics of

[24] On the matter, see Wakabayashi, "Japanese Translation Historiography."
[25] Hermans, "Response," p. 243. As a context, here Hermans is responding to Rundle's paper "Translation as an approach," in which Rundle seems to strictly identify research in translation studies with Toury's Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS)'s framework.

translation discourse in East Asia (in this case, Japan), at the same time adding to the discussion on the multifaceted issue of researching translation history.

In order to do so, it is first necessary to acknowledge a number of problematics emerging from both fields. Therefore, in the rest of this section I will discuss the main issues that affect the present work on the Japanese context; they can be summarised as follows: in relation to translation studies, the chief difficulty has been that research on history of translation does not have clear boundaries or a set methodology. On the other hand, the history of translation within Japanese studies is a) generally fragmentary, b) translation is not always the focus of such research, and c) the most part of the studies available are concentrated on post-1868 sources.

Translation studies as an academic field was established in the second part of the twentieth century and it is now a recognised discipline that enjoys a remarkable popularity. However, within translation studies, translation history does not possess a well-defined place nor a determined audience and scholarship still presents a number of "blank spaces" to fill.[26] This situation can be recognised even in the early stages of the canonization of translation studies as an independent field of enquiry. In his 1972 classic paper "The Name and the Nature of Translation Studies,"[27] James S. Holmes categorised the various branches of the study of translation, in a formulation that became a starting point for further developments of the discipline's organisation.[28] In fact, in Holmes' categorisation, translation history was explicitly mentioned only either as a possible goal of product-oriented branch of Descriptive Translation Studies or as part of the domain of methodological and meta-theoretical research.[29]

In contrast, from the 1990s there has been a constant increase of discussions about what translation history's fundamentals should be. As a consequence, the reflection on

[26] Santoyo, "Blank Spaces," pp. 11-43. Santoyo talks about "blank spaces" such as research on interpreting, the daily practice of translation and the study of forgotten texts. Santoyo also points out that "above all, maybe before anything else, the urgent task of de-Westernising the history of translation" is an aim that has still been neglected. Santoyo, "Blank Spaces," p. 38. It should also be noted that university programmes focusing on translation are generally targeted to professional translators and concentrate on the practice of translation, overlooking or at times leaving out the study of historical cases.

[27] Holmes, "Name and the Nature."

[28] For example, for Toury in his seminal work *Descriptive Translation Studies*. In order to organise the field in categories, in a stage in which translation scholars were seeking autonomy from the discipline of linguistics and literature, Holmes divided translation research in pure and applied. Pure translation studies were then split in descriptive (which then were further divided into product-, process- and function-oriented) and theoretical. See Holmes, "Name and the Nature," p. 71.

[29] As also noted by Pym in *Method in Translation History*, pp. 1-4.

the relationship between the discipline of history and translation, what translation history should focus on, what methodologies it is supposed to follow, and who constitutes its audience have been the topics of a number of theoretical studies.[30]

In line with the general shift of interest from texts to people in translation studies, research on translation history moved its focus on the role of individual translators, rather than persevering with the sole study of past translations. The perfect example of this change is *Translators through History*, a volume edited by Jean Delisle and Judith Woodsworth, first published in 1995, which focuses on translators as "agents in translation history," giving voice to key historical figures traditionally ignored by the history of great events.[31] However, as Sergia Adamo argues, Delisle and Woodsworth's approach "singles out the most significant episodes, meaning also the most visible;"[32] Adamo therefore suggests that translation history would benefit from the paradigm of microhistory.[33]

In this thesis, I follow a methodology close to the standards of microhistorical research. Firstly, I deal with writings from a specific group of people, the Japanese scholars of Dutch language, in a limited span of time, the years between the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Throughout this work, I deal with both well-known and less studied writings, specifically focussing on Dutch studies translation discourse, an aspect of Dutch studies that has not been comprehensively researched before. Finally, my goal is to examine the relationships between texts, people and pre-

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[30] See for example Lambert's 1992 paper, "History, Historiography and the Discipline;" D'hulst, "Why and How to Write Translation Histories;" the 2012 special issue of *Translation Studies* edited by Carol O'Sullivan, "Rethinking Methods in Translation History," in which different scholars reflect on methodology, focus and audience of the discipline, and Pym's 1998 book, *Method in Translation History*, in which he argues that the focus of translation history must shift to translators as people and introduces the concept of intercultures. There are also two special issues of META that focus on translation history: "L'histoire de la traduction et la traduction de l'histoire" and "Le prisme de l'historie," both guest-edited by Georges L. Bastin. One of the newest methodological developments in the field can be found in *What is Translation History?* (2019), by Rizzi, Lang and Pym, in which the scholars propose an approach based on trust.
Also see Rundle, "Translation as an Approach to History," and Bastin and Bandia, *Charting the Future of Translation History*.

[31] Delisle and Woodsworth, *Translators through History*, p. xiv of "Foreword to the second edition." In the volume there is a chapter on Buddhist translation tradition, but nothing specifically on the Japanese context.

[32] Adamo, "Microhistory of Translation," p. 88.

[33] Adamo, "Microhistory of Translation." On microhistory see Ginzburg, "Microhistory," and Levi, "On Microhistory." On microhistory applied to translation studies also see Munday, "Using Primary Sources to Produce a Microhistory;" Wakabayashi, "Microhistory;" Wakabayashi, "Applying the 'Pushing-hands Approach.'"

existing translation traditions, and I do so by carrying out a close reading of the texts that aims to uncover clues and hidden connections.[34]

In Japanese studies as well, translation history as a discipline has no clear collocation. The study of Japan in Europe started from around the seventeenth century, when trading and cultural relationships with the West began to take place, while Japanese studies as an academic field was established after the Second World War. Japanese studies are now classified under the category of Area studies, and therefore comprise a wide spectrum of disciplines, belonging to both humanities and social sciences.[35] Within Japanese studies, translation history is usually discussed at the margins of history, intellectual history, literary history and more frequently within the history of the Japanese language and writing.[36] As mentioned before, relevant literature regarding Japanese translation is discussed in more detail in each chapter when appropriate; however, the main trends connected to this work are reviewed below.

As stated above in this section, studies of the Japanese translative context mainly focus on the developments occurring in the Meiji period (1868-1912). Emblematic examples of this trend are *Nihon no hon'yakuron* 日本の翻訳論 (2010), curated by Yanabu Akira, Mizuno Akira and Nagauma Mikako, a volume on Meiji translation discourse that collects some key annotated writings on translation,[37] and *Translation in Modern Japan* (2011) edited by Indra Levy, another book-length publication that covers different practices of translation involved in the developments of various aspects of Japanese culture.[38]

While it is certainly true that in the Meiji years translation played a crucial role in the transformations within Japanese society, as I will argue in this thesis, other ideas and themes were in the workings well ahead of the Meiji Revolution, and the realm of translation discourse (or at least a good part of it) was already established. Accordingly, even research that focusses on Meiji translation is actually deeply intertwined to translation experience of the Tokugawa period (for example, in how it still takes off from

[34] Peltonen, "Clues, Margins and Monads."
[35] For a detailed history of the discipline in the U.K., see Cortazzi and Kornicki, *Japanese Studies in Britain*.
[36] For a bibliography on mainly English language secondary sources dealing with Japanese translation in different fields, see Quinn, "Bibliography."
[37] Interestingly, they as well use the term *hon'yakuron* 翻訳論, "translation discourse," and quote, among others, Martha Cheung's work. Yanabu et al., *Nihon no hon'yakuron*, p. 36.
[38] Also see Indra Levy's *Sirens of the Western Shores* and Yanabu Akira's *Hon'yaku to wa nani ka*?

the use of *kundoku* and the influence it had on *kanbun kundokutai* 漢文訓読体 as with the case of Ueda Atsuko's research, or on the "translationese" style, as per the work by Ohsawa Yoshihiro, Yuki Furuno and Yukari Fukuchi Meldrum)[39] and would therefore generally benefit from the presence of more studies focussing on the early modern period. Moreover, despite further research that goes beyond the aims of this thesis is still necessary, it is reasonable to believe that Dutch studies had an influence on the development of discourse on the national language in the Meiji era, anticipating some themes and practices which later became the object of the national language debate. Therefore, expanding our knowledge of early modern translation is crucial for the next advancements of research on modern and contemporary translation.

Overall, despite the presence of the invaluable studies mentioned in the rest of this section and throughout this thesis, the research of early modern case studies that specifically focus on translation is still scarce. As a reference, in the two journals published by the Japan Association for Interpreting and Translation Studies (JAITS, *Nihon tsūyaku hon'yaku gakkai* 日本通訳翻訳学会)[40] while there are about twenty articles that deal with the Meiji period, only four articles focus on the early modern era.[41]

Due to the significant linguistic differences between what is defined as "Classical" Japanese and the modern and contemporary forms of the Japanese language, scholars of premodern Japan all indirectly deal with translation in one way or another. The work of scholars that do research on the formation of Japanese language, writing styles, the *kundoku* method and the history of Japanese script constitute a fundamental background for the study of Japanese translation.[42] However, often their language expertise only amounts as a tool to access primary sources in their field rather than

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[39] Ohsawa "Amalgamation of Literariness;" Furuno, "Translationese in Japan;" Meldrum, "Translationese."
[40] The journals are called *Invitation to Interpreting and Translation Studies* (*Tsūyaku hon'yaku kenkyū e no shōtai* 通訳翻訳研究への招待, 2007-2020, 22 volumes, http://honyakukenkyu.sakura.ne.jp/) and Interpreting & *Translation Studies* (*Tsūyaku hon'yaku kenkyū* 通訳翻訳研究, 2000-2020, 20 vols, https://jaits.jp/journal/). On the developments of translation studies as a discipline in the Japanese context, see Takeda, "Emergence of Translation Studies.
[41] I.e. Yukari Fukichi Meldrum, "Source-Based Translation and Foreignization;" Naganuma Mikako "Nihon ni okeru hon'yaku no tanjō;" Tanaka Miyuki, "Nagasaki ni okeru Oranda tsūji;" and Saitō Mino, "Nihon no kinsei-kindai hon'yakuron kenkyū" a report of an annotated anthology project on Japanese early modern and modern translation theory/discourse.
[42] For example, Saitō Mareshi, *Kanbunmyaku*; Saitō Fumitoshi, *Kanbun kundoku to kindai Nihongo no keisei*; Nakamura Shunsaku et al., *"Kundoku" ron*; Nakamura Shunsaku et al., *Zoku "kundoku" ron*; Nakamura Shunsaku, *Shisōshi no naka no Nihongo*; Kin Bunkyō, *Kanbun to higashiajia*; Semizu, "Invisible Translation;" Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts*; David Lurie, *Realms of Literacy*; Seeley, *A History of Writing*; Sakai Naoki, *Voices of the Past*, and others whose work is cited throughout this thesis.

being the main object of investigation. Or again, for its vital importance in Japan (as well as in other East Asian countries) and its peculiar characteristics, a great amount of research focuses on the presence of the *kundoku* method, and the question of referring to this technique either as reading or translation is very much alive even today.[43] However, publications that deal with the various aspects of the *kundoku* method do not always necessarily focus on translation per se. For example, Atsuko Ueda's focus is on writing styles that are also used for translation, but not on translation in itself.[44]

In more recent years there has been a trend towards conducting research with a focus on Japanese translation from the point of view of East Asian translation studies and cultural and intellectual history.[45] In *Translation and Translation studies in the Japanese Context* edited by Nana Sato-Rossberg and Judy Wakabayashi, published in 2012, scholars explicitly engage with translation theories in various areas and covering a variety of periods.[46] In particular, Judy Wakabayashi's work covers various aspects of translation in Japan, such as translation norms and the role of the *kundoku* practice, as well as tackling numerous theoretical and methodological issues.[47] Finally, Rebekah Clements' 2015 *A Cultural History of Translation in Early Modern Japan* is a turning point in the research on Japanese translation history, as she examines for the first time the various translation traditions coexisting in Japan in a book length publication, taking into consideration both intralingual and interlingual praxis.[48] These latter works bridge the fields of translation studies and Japanese studies and this thesis aims to fit in their trend.

1.4.3 Outline of the chapters

In each of the following chapters, I will analyse different aspects of the discourse of translation from the period under examination (the end of the eighteenth and the

[43] Wakabayashi, "Reconceptionization of Translation," pp. 126-35.
[44] Ueda, "Sound, Scripts, and Styles."
[45] For example, Annick Horiuchi, "When Science Develops outside State Patronage" and others mentioned in the next paragraph and throughout this thesis.
[46] In Japanese scholarly literature, the discipline of translation studies is usually either referred to with the English name, or with the Japanese terms of *hon'yakugaku* 翻訳学 (translation studies) or *hon'yaku kenkyū* 翻訳研究 (translation research).
[47] See for example Wakabayashi "Reconceptionization of Translation;" Wakabayashi, "Translation in the East Asian Cultural Sphere;" Wakabayashi, "Evaluating Historical Views on Translation."
[48] Translation of "Classical" literary texts into a contemporary form of Japanese became common in the Tokugawa period. See Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*.

beginning of the nineteenth century), with the intent of giving the reader a broad idea of the intellectual conversations taking place within the field of Dutch studies in Japan.

Since the choice of writing styles plays an important role in discussions of translation choices and linguistic prestige, in chapter 2 I provide an overview of the written varieties of the Japanese language. In particular, in this chapter I consider the position of *kanbun kundoku* 漢文訓読 (the practice of reading a Chinese/Han text with Japanese glosses, hereafter shortened to "*kundoku*") and the *kundoku* method in the universe of the Japanese *buntai* 文体 (writing styles/writing forms). This background is essential for a fuller understanding of this thesis as a whole.

In chapter 3, I delineate the narrative permeating the field of Dutch studies as promoted by the scholar Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白 (1733-1817) in his well-known work *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime* 蘭学事始, 1815), focusing on his perception of Chinese studies and the Nagasaki interpreters' early work. Here, I argue that the emphasis on the divide between the professions of scholars and interpreters was reflected on the polarities of written and spoken translation, and ultimately of the Chinese and Japanese spheres, and thus that the manipulation of the discourse on translation can have consequences in the wider perception of historical facts.

In chapter 4, I analyse the characteristics of the discourse of translation in late Edo period as they appear accompanying a number of translations and adaptations from Dutch or language manuals. Here, I look at paratextual materials that can be found accompanying Dutch translated texts (I will focus in particular on writings called *hanrei* 凡例, "explanatory notes"). My analysis focuses on translation strategies employed at word-level and text-level. Here, I argue that Dutch studies scholars encompassed a macro-level of translation discourse and embraced what could be considered a perceived wider discourse of translation in East Asia. Through the discussion of these sources, I outline the characteristics of the discourse of translation related to Dutch studies, and explore the scholars' conversation about languages of prestige and translation, pointing out recurrent themes and ideas and hypothesising the reasons behind the choice of the mixed style of Chinese characters and *katakana*.

In chapter 5, I examine the ideas and methodology of the famous Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728) through two of his linguistic-related works, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei* 訳文筌蹄, 1715) and *Glossed Translations for Instructing*

the Ignorant (*Kun'yaku jimō* 訓訳示蒙, 1738). Sorai's work is here discussed as a case study as in this thesis I maintain that his thought on translation and his approach to teaching and learning deeply influenced the Dutch studies scholars' discourse of translation. Chronologically, Sorai's work precedes the Dutch studies texts analysed in chapters 3 and 4. However, it is discussed at this point in the thesis for two reasons: first, because it is thematically connected to the texts by Maeno Ryōtaku and Ōtsuki Gentaku under examination in chapter 6; for a fuller understanding of the implications purported there, these two chapters would be best read together. Secondly, as will be mentioned in section 5.2, Sorai is already a well-known figure in translation studies research connected to the Japanese case, whereas in this thesis I decided to focus on the point of view of the Japanese scholars of Dutch and I would not want to risk to have my corpus of texts solely seen in the light of Sorai's thought.

In chapter 6, I examine two further works, *Brief translations from the Dutch* (*Oranda yakubun ryaku sōkō* 和蘭訳文略艸稿, manuscript, date unknown, postscript dated 1771) by Maeno Ryōtaku 前野良沢 (1723-1803) and *Upward and Forward in Dutch Translation* (*Ran'yaku teikō* 蘭訳梯航, manuscript, 1816) by Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 (1757-1827), especially focusing on the discourse of translation they promote and their textual relations with Ogyū Sorai's *A Tool for Translation*. Here, I bring to light the fact that part of the theory and practice of the discourse that took place among Dutch studies scholars was assembled and transmitted by Ogyū Sorai, a discourse and ideas that, contrary to what could be though given the controversial reception of Sorai's work, silently made it through Japanese history at least into the end of the Tokugawa period. I then describe the characteristics and the formation of Dutch studies translation discourse on a macroscopic level, looking at the kinds of sources for translation discourse chosen by Ōtsuki Gentaku. Finally, I examine the translation discourse in Dutch studies, by individuating its position within a possible East Asian translation discourse, as it was perceived by the authors here discussed.

In the Conclusions, I synthetize my main arguments in a wider discussion on the implications of my findings and I consider future directions for research.

1.5 Choice of materials

This project deals with a phase of great development in the discipline of Dutch studies in early modern Japan. In the origins of the field, during the seventeenth century, Dutch studies scholars' attention was mainly dedicated to linguistic investigation, due to the lack of dictionaries and other study materials. The hereditary families of interpreters in Nagasaki were at the forefront of Dutch learning, and their work proved to be essential for the Edo-based scholars who later obtained a foothold in the Edo academic scene. At a later stage, in addition to translations (abridged or otherwise) of Dutch scientific literature and works about *Oranda* 和蘭 (the Japanese rendering of "Holland" from the Portuguese "Holanda"),[49] interpreters and scholars produced dozens of publications about the Dutch language, such as grammars, primers, and lists of words.

More interestingly for the purposes of this thesis, scholars also wrote a number of texts that deal with the developments of Dutch studies in Japan. These texts circulated either via manuscript (at the time, a common practice for the dissemination of scientific knowledge) or were printed and therefore entered the book market, thus becoming available to a wider audience. Among this literary production, we can find a number of writings of more discursive nature that contain ideas on translation from Dutch.

In this thesis, I focus on this latter kind of writings, rather than on translated texts. This choice is motivated by the fact that there is already a good amount of linguistic research on translations produced within the Dutch studies movement,[50] while I wished to put the emphasis on the individual scholars, or, more precisely, on the narrative promoted by such scholars, as such enquiry can be revealing of intellectuals and translators' ideas and positions. I selected a variety of excerpts, from both canonical and less studied sources, which I found using the *Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books* (*Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku dētābesu* 日本古典籍総合目録データベース) and the online collection of Waseda University, *Japanese and Chinese Classics* (*kotenseki sōgō dētābesu* 古典籍総合データベース).[51] I selected the passages on the basis of their

[49] Also commonly written with the characters 和蘭陀 or 阿蘭陀.
[50] See all the works by Sugimoto Tsutomu in the bibliography at the end of this thesis; Yoshino, *Ransho yakujutsugo kōsō*.
[51] https://base1.nijl.ac.jp/~tkoten/; https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/index.html.

explicit mention of translation strategies, ideas or problematics related to translation and discussion of other translation traditions.

For reference, the primary sources within Dutch studies examined throughout the thesis are reported in the following table in order of publication or composition. Bibliographic details, including links to online library resources (when available) are provided in the thesis' bibliography.

Title	**Author(s)**	**Year of Publication**
Brief Translations from the Dutch (*Oranda yakubun ryaku* 和蘭訳文略)	Maeno Ryōtaku	Manuscript, date unknown, but postscript is dated 1771
New Treatise of Anatomy (*Kaitai shinsho* 解体新書)	Sugita Genpaku, Maeno Ryōtaku, Nakagawa Jun'an	1774
New Record of Six Things (Rokubutsu shinshi or *Rokumotsu shinshi* 六物新志)	Ōtsuki Gentaku	1786
Dutch Treatments Methods - Anmideru (*Ranryōhō Anmideru* 蘭療方安米的爾)	Hirokawa Kai	Preface dated 1804
Essential Selection of Surgery with charts (*Yōka seisen zufu* 瘍科精撰図符)	Yoshio Shunzō	Manuscript, the explanatory notes are dated 1814
Beginnings of Dutch Studies (*Rangaku kotohajime*, *Rangaku jishi* or *Rantō kotohajime* 蘭学事始)	Sugita Genpaku	1815

Upward and Forward in Dutch Translation (*Ran'yaku teikō* 蘭訳梯航)	Ōtsuki Gentaku	Manuscript, 1816
Picking blossoms from a field of orchids (*Ran'en tekihō* 蘭畹摘芳)	Ōtsuki Gentaku	1817
Pronunciation of Western Sounds (*Seion hatsubi* 西音発微)	Ōtsuki Banri	1826
A New Treatise of Anatomy, extensively revised (*Jūtei Kaitai shinsho* 重訂解体新書)	Ōtsuki Gentaku	1826
Three Chief Remedies (*Saisei sanpō* 済生三方)	Sugita Seikei	1849
Introduction to the Study of Illness (*Byōgaku tsūron* 病学通論)	Ogata Kōan	1849

In addition to the Dutch studies sources listed above, as mentioned in the chapters' outline (see 1.4.3), I investigate two texts by Ogyū Sorai that deal with translation from Chinese: *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei* 訳文筌蹄, 1715) and *Glossed Translations for Instructing the Ignorant* (*Kun'yaku jimō* 訓訳示蒙, 1738), examined in chapters 5 and 6. With the exception of Sugita Genpaku's *Beginnings of Dutch studies* and Ōtsuki Gentaku's *Upward and Forward in Dutch translation*, which are two stand-alone discursive works, the rest of the Dutch studies texts investigated in this thesis are writings accompanying translations, dictionaries and language manuals. This kind of sources are commonly referred to as paratexts.

As well-known, the importance and the characteristics of paratexts were first investigated by Genette and paratextual materials have already been employed in a number of studies about translation.[52] According to Genette, paratexts are "a certain number of verbal or other productions, such as the author's name, title, a preface, illustrations" that accompany the text and "surround" and "extend" it, "in order to

[52] On paratexts, see Genette, *Palimpsests*; Genette, *Paratexts*; Batchelor, *Translation and Paratexts*, pp. 6-24. For an overview on paratexts used in translation research, see Batchelor, *Translation and Paratexts*, pp. 25-45.

present it."[53] In this thesis, I follow Kathryn Batchelor in the use of the term "paratext" instead of other options (such as peritext, etc.), as the word paratext has been the most popular and it is widely used by other scholars.[54] Specific characteristics of Japanese early modern paratexts accompanying translations, are discussed in more detail in chapter 4.

Research on paratexts within translation studies opens many possibilities that go beyond the text itself and delve into the thought process of the translator - or, to be more precise, into how translators wanted their work to be perceived. The ideals expressed by a translator in a paratext is not always reflected in the finished product of the translated text. However, as St-Pierre argues in his 1993 study focussing on ideas expressed in translators' prefaces,

> Whether or not one indeed reflects the other, the aims stated in the preface point to what was considered to be relevant in the production of a translation, which is why the translator refers to them. It is precisely their conventional nature which is important for us, since the aim is to determine the values dominant within a specific period.[55]

St-Pierre considered translation to be a discursive practice "situated within a specific social and historical context."[56] Surely, the study of the discourse of translation can be useful to gain an interesting insight of translation practice. However, it also provides an exceptional angle to understand the cultural context in which both translated texts and translation discourse is produced. In fact, as Pym notes, "theoretical notions are elaborated in situations of conflict or doubt - nobody writes a theory to state the obvious -, and that conflict and doubt require at least two opposed opinions."[57] Finally, as St-Pierre argued, "[t]hrough the transformation of texts originating in another context,

[53] Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 1.
[54] Batchelor, *Translation and Paratexts*.
[55] St-Pierre, "Translation as a Discourse," p. 70.
[56] St-Pierre, "Translation as a Discourse," p. 82. Also see pp. 66-68. Here St-Pierre is reformulating Foucault's questions from *Archaeology of Knowledge* from the point of view of the study of translation, pointing out the importance of translators' prefaces, notes and introductions.
[57] Pym, "Complaint," p. 4.

translators - by their choices - make evident the discursive nature of texts, the roles such texts are given to play within their own and foreign cultures."[58]

1.6 Methodology

In this thesis, I propose that, despite the fact that the aprioristic application of Western-European translation theories can be generally problematic and sometimes inappropriate to the East Asian context, the use of broadly conceived polysystem theory, in addition to some concepts connected to the Western philosophical tradition, such as "theory" and "discourse" can be helpful to reflect on and describe non-Western historical cases.

1.6.1 "Theory" and "discourse" in the Japanese context

Is it better to talk about a theory or a discourse of translation taking place in early modern Japan? To answer this question, it is first necessary to define what the expressions "theory" and "discourse" of translation mean for this purpose.

Commonly speaking, a theory is "a supposition or a system of ideas intended to explain something, especially one based on general principles independent of the thing to be explained." It can be "a set of principles on which the practice of an activity is based," and "an idea used to account for a situation or justify a course of action."[59] It can also be described as "abstract knowledge or reasoning."[60] However, as Pierre Zima points out, the concept itself of "theory" is hardly ever explained in literary studies or social sciences,[61] and in the translation studies field itself, despite being largely talked about, is not explained either. In addition to the difficulty of defining them, it goes without saying that both the terms "theory" and "discourse" belong to the Western philosophical tradition and are modern concepts in Japan: applying them to sources from the early modern era is inherently problematic.

In every discipline, scholars in need to describe the premodern context using today's terms encounter difficulties. For the purposes of this thesis, while looking forward to

[58] St-Pierre, "Translation as a Discourse," p. 70. "Discursive" is as intended in the Foucauldian sense.
[59] Definitions from *Oxford English Dictionary*.
[60] Definition from *Collins English Dictionary*.
[61] Zima, *What is Theory?*.

finding better terms to talk about early modern and non-European sources, and to refer to the globality of themes and ideas that circulate in Dutch studies sources, I decided to make use of the word "discourse" in a similar manner as the historian of translation Martha Cheung applied it to the Chinese context.[62] Cheung's work on translation discourse in the Chinese context has been essential, for both its terminological framework - which is an integral part of the methodology adopted in this thesis - as well as a reference for Chinese discourse primary sources which, as will be discussed throughout this thesis, are a fundamental background for the understanding of the Japanese translation discourse. Cheung's well-known work, *An Anthology of Chinese Discourse on Translation*, is an extraordinary source that traces various manifestations of translation theory in China and East Asia. Volume one comprises texts from the ancient times (the first entries are from the fifth century BCE) to the twelfth century, the second volume covers until the 1911 Revolution. Cheung employs the term "discourse" both in the ordinary meaning of the word - therefore as an expression of ideas - as well as

> "in the sense Michael Foucault and other post-structuralist critics have used it. […] [In this sense,] 'discourse' indicates the view that speech or writing is never pure and simple but exists in a kind of interlocking relation with ideology and power, and can discipline knowledge, set up epistemological frames, and shape mindsets."[63]

In her work, Cheung brings together a number of texts about translation in China, "allowing access into the minds of translators working in a time and a space markedly different from ours, and in ways foreign or even inconceivable to us."[64] The term "discourse" therefore enables us to describe a field of study that could hardly completely correspond to present-day categories of knowledge. This word allows more freedom of formulation and can cover a wider range of experiences and disciplines, and therefore is more apt to describe the context of Japanese translation, which, as I argue

[62] On the difference between the terms "theory," "theories," "thought" and "discourse," see Cheung, "From 'Theory' to 'Discourse.'"
[63] Cheung, *Anthology of Chinese Discourse*, p. 1.
[64] Cheung, *Anthology of Chinese Discourse*, p. 1.

in this thesis, embraces an amalgamation of the spheres of translating, teaching and learning.

1.6.2 Polysystem theory

One of the goals of this thesis is to demonstrate that non-western contexts can both enrich and challenge translation studies theories and that it is therefore possible to achieve a back and forth discussion between the Japanese case and translation studies. Hence, throughout this work, I will argue how, despite its limitations, polysystem theory can offer a valid framework for research on early modern Japan. In fact, polysystem theory provides us with 1) a productive approach to deal with a plethora of primary sources and 2) the tools and vocabulary to describe the complex realities surrounding translation production.

For the benefit of the readers that are not familiar with the polysystem framework, I will first run through its main features. Polysystem theory, developed by cultural researcher Itamar Even-Zohar during the 1970s, and subsequently expanded and revisited by numerous scholars,[65] represented a fundamental step in the shift from a previous linguistic-oriented approach to the cultural turn in translation studies.[66] In Even-Zohar's definition,

> a polysystem [is] a multiple system, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are interdependent.[67]

In a nutshell, the polysystem sees translated literature operating as an identifiable system that interacts in a dynamic network of relations with the literary, social and historical systems in a culture/cultures. Within the polysystem, each system exists in a

[65] For example, Codde, "Polysystem Theory Revisited;" Chang, "Polysystem Theory;" as well as Even-Zohar himself, see Even-Zohar, "Polysystem Theory (Revised)."
[66] Bassnett, *Translation Studies*, pp.7-8.
[67] Even-Zohar, "Polysystem Theory (Revised)," p. 3.

hierarchized whole, in which translated literature can occupy either a primary or a secondary position.[68]

Even-Zohar formulated his theory drawing on the work of the late Russian Formalists, and especially borrowing concepts from philologist and literary critic Jurij Tynjanov (1894-1943). Tynjanov, in a break with other Formalist scholars, had been the first to introduce the concept of "system" to the study of literary tradition. As Edwin Gentzler sums up, Tynjanov argued that

> Elements […] do not exist in isolation, but always in an interrelationship with other elements of other systems. For Tynjanov, the entire literary and extraliterary world could be divided into multiple structural systems. Literary traditions composed different systems, literary genres formed systems, a literary work itself was also a unique system, and the entire social order comprised another system, all of which were interrelated, "dialectically" interacting with each other, and conditioning how any specific formal element could function.[69]

However, according to Gentzler, while departing from the Formalist approach of isolated analysis of literary elements, Tynjianov's framework did not include the possibility that other factors such as economic conditions or literary institutions could influence the evolution of a literary system.[70]

In his analysis of Even-Zohar's framework, Gentzler recognises the theoretical advances produced by the polysystem theory: above all, Even-Zohar's research demonstrated "the importance of translation within the larger context of literary studies specifically and in the evolution of culture in general."[71] However, Gentzler also discusses several incongruities within polysystem theory and Even-Zohar's own work. For example, Gentzler criticises Even-Zohar's goal of discovering translation universals

[68] Even-Zohar, "Polysystem Studies;" Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*; Hermans, *Translation in Systems*. In translation studies this model is often used in combination with Gideon Toury's methodology of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), but that is not always necessarily the case. See Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*.
[69] Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, p. 112.
[70] Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, p. 114.
[71] Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, p. 120.

on the base of little evidence; in addition, because of Even-Zohar's tendency to prioritise the abstract over the reality, Gentzler points out the risk of reducing the cases that do not conform to the theoretical model to simple "exceptions."[72]

Polysystem theory has also been criticised by Susan Bassnett and Theo Hermans for its use of terms like "weak" and "periphery," which can insinuate an implicit judgement of the texts or the culture under investigation.[73] However, to this criticism, Chang replies that

> In the polysystemist's usage these terms carry no appreciative or derogatory connotation but are entirely neutral. To describe something as "central" or "peripheral" (or "old" or "young"), for example, does not imply like or dislike, or respect or disrespect on the part of the researcher. A basic assumption of polysystem theory is that the member systems of a polysystem are not equal but hierarchized, some being in more central positions than others.[74]

Translation studies theories have been occasionally used to describe the Japanese case, albeit, as mentioned in section 1.4.2, this is not the norm for historical research. Mainly, the concept of "norms" (as formulated by Toury's Descriptive Translation Studies) has been recurrently brought forward when dealing with the Japanese case, and it has been explored for example by Akira Mizuno.[75] However, there are also a few instances of Japanese studies researchers that made use of (or at least parts of) polysystem theory to describe the Japanese literary space. Mino Saito utilised polysystem theory to describe Meiji period practice,[76] while Noriko Matsunaga-Watson applied polysystem theory in the literary context of post-war Japan.[77] Akira Mizuno as well applied polysystem theory to the early modern Japanese context.[78]

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, in this thesis, I do not explore every aspect of polysystem theory, as I use it as a general approach and as a set of tools to

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[72] Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, pp. 120-23.
[73] Bassnett, "Translation Turn in Cultural studies," p. 127; and Hermans, *Translation in Systems*, p. 109.
[74] Chang, "In Defence of Polysystem Theory," p. 314.
[75] Mizuno, "Stylistic Norms."
[76] Saito Mino, "Power of Translated Literature."
[77] Matsunaga-Watson, "Selection of Texts for Translation."
[78] Mizuno, "Kindai Nihon."

describe the Japanese context - in particular, the Dutch studies discourse of translation. As an approach, polysystem theory comes in handy to challenge more familiar interpretations of the literary context, providing us with a complete picture and clarifying the behaviour of authors and translators.

For example, it is useful to overcome the problematics of the perception of the separated spheres of Japanese and Chinese literature in Japan. Modern scholarship, both in Japan and in the West, has often tended to consider literature written "in Japanese" and literature written "in Chinese" as two separated entities, neglecting the fact that they are tightly interconnected.[79] The perception of a blunt cultural and literary separation we experience today between Chinese studies and Japanese studies in Japan was not in place throughout the early modern period, where Chinese culture and Japanese culture coexisted and permeated each other. As Even-Zohar notes in his seminal work *Polysystem Studies*, this is not an infrequent situation, especially in multilingual societies.

> The acuteness of heterogeneity in culture is perhaps most "palpable," as it were, in such cases as when a certain society is bi- or multilingual (a state that used to be common in most European communities up to recent times). Within the realm of literature, for instance, this is manifested in a situation where a community possesses two (or more) literary systems, two "literatures," as it were. For students of literature, to overcome such cases by confining themselves to only one of these, ignoring the other, is naturally more "convenient" than dealing with them both. Actually, this is a common practice in literary studies; how inadequate the results are cannot be overstated.[80]

Finally, born out of the study of literary tradition, polysystem theory typically refers to translated literary texts; however, in this thesis I will apply it in an expanded form to writings about the Japanese discourse of translation concerning the translation of scientific literature.[81] The notion of what constitutes scientific literature is a concept

[79] Wixted, "*Kanbun*," p. 23.
[80] Even-Zohar, "Polysystem Studies," p. 12.
[81] The notion of "scientific literature" in itself is of course a term born out of the Western context. Marcon, *Nature of Knowledge*, p. x.

that changed in history. Dutch studies scholars themselves talk about style in translation of scientific texts (on occasion, as will be discussed throughout this thesis, praising the "goodness and grace" of the Dutch original text).[82]

1.7 Problematic terms and translated terms

In this final section, I will discuss the use of some key-terms that appear throughout my work. One of my goals has been to make this thesis as accessible as possible to both specialists of Japan and specialists of translation studies. In doing so, I faced a number of challenges related to terminology, first and foremost the choice of deciding between keeping some terms in Japanese or offering an English translation.[83] Firstly, even the idea of the English term "translation" itself often clashes with non-Western conceptualizations.[84] In this thesis, I follow Toury in maintaining that whatever is considered translation in a given culture can be referred to as translation,[85] and I apply the same principle to what is to be considered as the discourse of translation. Thus, whenever Japanese scholars refer to any aspect of their activity as connected to translation, I assume that to be discourse of translation.

In general, I tried to keep a balance between providing English terminology in order to facilitate the access to this thesis to scholars unfamiliar with the Japanese context, and the crucial need to retain Japanese vocabulary that described concepts for which an English rendition would have obscured or confused the original meaning. In some cases, the meaning of the terminology used in the Japanese sources (such as with terms like *wage* 和解, *taiyaku* 対訳 or *chokuyaku* 直訳, which all convey different acceptations of the word "translation") also differed from text to text and author to author: providing a one-off translation would have been even more confusing. For these cases, I resolved to keep the Japanese term at all times and provide an English translation dependant on the context. This choice inevitably makes the text heavier to read. However, I have done so for the sake of clarity.

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[82] On Maeno Ryōtaku's idea of "goodness and grace" of the Dutch texts, see chapter 6.

[83] Sato-Rossberg discussed the role of English as the current *lingua franca* for the field of East Asian translation studies, highlighting its pros and its limitations. Sato-Rossberg and Uchiyama, *Diverse Voices*, pp. 1-3.

[84] See for example Wakabayashi, "Reconceptionization of Translation."

[85] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, pp. 23-39.

In a few cases, I decided to keep the Japanese word, as I did with the term *buntai* 文体 (literally, "writing style" or "writing form") because its possible translations into English can often be misleading and do not give an accurate representation of its meaning. In fact, as discussed in chapter 2, this term is connected to different aspects of a script, such as its function, the grammar and vocabulary used, as well as its visual form. Such concepts are difficult to convey in English, which is not as sensitive to script as the Japanese case.

When I believed that the English version represented an apt exemplification of the Japanese word, I opted for a translation. As mentioned in section 1.2, I used "Dutch studies" for *rangaku* 蘭学, "Dutch studies scholar" for *rangakusha* 蘭学者, and "interpreter" when *tsūji* 通詞 or a correlate word (such as *yakka* 訳家 or *yakushi* 訳詞) was used. Throughout this thesis, I refer to the *tsūji* 通詞 as the "interpreters," or "Nagasaki interpreters" for practical reasons. The use of this term should not mislead the reader, as in many cases the interpreters themselves were intellectuals and dedicated scholars, engaged with both oral and written translation (and not exclusively with interpreting, as suggested by Sugita Genpaku. See chapter 3). Since in the sources examined the authors repeatedly made this division explicit, and employed the term "scholar" (*gakusha* 学者) to refer to a group of individuals closely connected to each other and active in Edo between the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, I believe that these terms well represent the perception of these two roles as described in the texts under consideration in this thesis (see in particular chapter 3 on the dynamics of the two professions). I also chose to keep this terminological distinction to give the reader a feeling of the discourse of translation permeating the field of Dutch studies. This was also the case for the term *hanrei* 凡例, widely used in chapter 4 on translation paratexts, which I simply render as "explanatory notes."

Among Japanese studies scholars there is no general consensus regarding the English name for the Sinographic script used in East Asia, known as *kanbun* 漢文 in Japan. Depending on the point of view, it can be understood as classic Chinese, literary Chinese, literary Sinic, Sinographic script, or Sino-Japanese.[86] I chose to use the term "Chinese," as in "literary Chinese" and "Chinese characters," since these terms may sound more

[86] Kornicki, "Note on Sino-Japanese."

familiar to translation studies scholars. “Chinese” is also used by Martha Cheung in her *Anthology of Chinese Discourse of Translation*.[87] This choice is not perfect, but dealing with the need to keep many other less known terms in the original Japanese, I decided to keep some others in their most popularised versions.

Finally, in this thesis, I preferred the term “early modern” to “pre-modern,” in order to avoid the perception that the years examined are a prelude of a so-called modern era. It must be reminded that both the expressions are categorisations born out the Western context, and are used here exclusively for the reader’s convenience, since this thesis actually aims to emphasise how the edges of such historical periodisation are blurred.

[87] In a 2003 article preluding her *Anthology of Chinese Discourse*, Cheung reminds us that the notion of “Chinese” is in itself a construct and in her work it does not refer to “a single, homogeneous, monolithic entity” nor to “a certain ethnic origin,” but rather to the fact that her selection of authors and texts “a) had Chinese as one of their language pairs and their views are related to translation in the Chinese context; and b) they had been centrally involved in the production of translated texts (in Chinese) and their views are related to such a process or such a mode of production.” Cheung, “Representation, Mediation, and Intervention,” p. 3.

Chapter 2: The characteristics of the Japanese written language

In both early modern and modern times, Japanese discourse on translation has involved some degree of consideration of "writing styles" or "writing forms," called *buntai* 文体 in Japanese.[1] As will be highlighted in this chapter, the concept of *buntai* is an important factor to consider when investigating Japanese translation discourse.

Before the standardisation of the written language that began at the dawn of the Meiji era, in early modern Japan it was the norm to use a variety of such writing styles, depending on the contents and the required tone of a text. The Japanese *buntai* featured differences of script, vocabulary, and syntax; despite the fact that *buntai* still exist in modern Japanese, the differences between them were more pronounced in the early modern period. The coexistence of different *buntai* meant that authors were not the only ones that chose their writing style from a variety of options for original works: translators as well were faced with this decision. As a consequence, the occurrence of multiple forms of writing resulted in multiple forms of translation, each embedded in matters of perceived linguistic prestige. The study of the discourse of translation within Dutch studies is thus closely connected to the examination of the multiple writing and translating practices existing in Japan in the Tokugawa period.

In order to give the reader a context for the translation discourse examined here and in the rest of this thesis, in the first part of this chapter I will briefly survey the chief characteristics of the Japanese *buntai* (see sections 2.1, 2.1.1 and 2.1.2). Then, I will focus on *kundoku*, a method of reading/translating a source text with the help of reading marks and glosses (see 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4). As will be discussed, the *kundoku* technique plays an important part in the discussion of the *buntai*'s prestige and constitutes a recurring feature of the Japanese discourse of translation.

Examining the various Japanese writing styles is a challenging task, and so is any attempt to enclose their fluid dynamics in a strict descriptive framework. For the presence of different kinds of *buntai*, each chosen for a particular context, the early modern environment of Japanese written language is comparable with other

[1] There is not a univocal term that can be used to translate the term *buntai*. See section 1.7.

multilingual contexts, in which the choice of one language associated with power and prestige over another carries a social meaning.[2] However, multilingualism research usually refers to situations involving "distinct languages,"[3] and despite the fact that many related concepts like diglossia[4] and heteroglossia[5] may, with the necessary distinctions, apply to the Japanese context, they do not map directly onto its intricate environment.[6]

Thus, in considering the uses and perceived prestige of the Japanese writing styles, as I will do with the analysis of the primary sources discussed in the following chapters, I propose an approach based on Even-Zohar's polysystem theory. Therefore, here I consider the *buntai* as all connected to each other rather than in opposition, and having a perceived central or peripheral position in the linguistic and literary systems. Such position was of course subjected to change, depending on the socio-historical situation (e.g. the changing of the perception of *buntai* closer to the Chinese sphere throughout Japanese history), and on the context (e.g. in court poetry, *buntai* closer to the Japanese sphere occupy a more central position). As will be shown in the following sections, the *buntai* connected to translation from Chinese and associated to Chinese studies in Japan (*kangaku* 漢学), were especially important to Dutch studies discourse of translation. This is because Chinese studies represented a fundamental background for the Dutch studies scholars' work, as well as a criterion for comparison in translation theory and practice.

2.1 Styles of the written language

The Japanese written language comprises a number of writing styles quite different from each other, representing a remarkable case of linguistic diversity. The origins of this situation can be traced to the inception of writing in Japan. Lacking a native writing system (a common feature in the history of written languages), the elites of the Japanese archipelago imported an existing script from their major neighbour, China. The first

[2] Coulmas, *Sociolinguistics*.
[3] Bailey, "Heteroglossia," p. 499.
[4] Ferguson, "Diglossia."
[5] Bailey, "Heteroglossia."
[6] As for example discussed by King, who proposes to look for a term indigenous to East Asia in "Ditching 'Diglossia.'"

evidences of Chinese writing in the archipelago, in the form of inscriptions on coins, swords and mirrors, date from the first to third centuries. By the seventh-eighth century, the Japanese had successfully adapted the Chinese script to their language, making use of Chinese characters' meaning and pronunciation via a variety of strategies.[7] As a consequence of such manipulations of the Chinese script, the Japanese written language came to consist of a number of writing styles, now collectively called *buntai* 文体 (literally, "writing forms" or "writing styles").

The Japanese *buntai* evolved parallel to one another and coexisted until the beginnings of the modern era, when the Japanese government called for a standardisation of the written language (*hyōjungo* 標準語) along the lines of what they believed to be the case in certain European countries.[8] Most notably for the purposes of this thesis, each *buntai* performs a specific function, in a manner similar to language registers. In fact, the choice of a particular *buntai* was dictated by the content, the perceived prestige of the text in question and the author's attitude. However, the *buntai* are not merely connected to an idea of formality and informality: each one is characterised by its particular grammar, syntax, lexicon, visual appearance. A few of these writing styles were crystalized in an archaic and unnatural usage, requiring on occasion a rendition in a language variety closer to vernacular Japanese; others were closer to the spoken everyday language. Further, it must also be noted that each *buntai* varied greatly in their applications; Chinese and Japanese elements, as well as more elegant or popular expressions, were mixed in different ways from author to author, and differ from work to work.[9] For all these reasons, the dynamics and the features of this array of writing styles have thus far escaped a cut-clear classification, and are bound to elude any sharp labelling.

Because of their origin and development, we can look at *buntai* as both a product of the contact with, and translation of, the first recorded foreign language in Japan, Chinese. In fact, all Japanese writing forms - including the contemporary syllabaries *hiragana* and *katakana* - stem from the Chinese script in one way or another, and at least in the beginning were tightly connected to reading and/or translating literary

[7] I.e. using Chinese characters for their meaning, their pronunciation or both. See Seeley, *History of Writing*; Lurie, *Realms of Literacy*; Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts*.
[8] Twine, "Standardizing Written Japanese;" Twine, "Toward Simplicity;" Twine, *Language and the Modern State*.
[9] Nakamura Yukihiko, *Kinseiteki hyōgen*, pp. 147-92.

Chinese. It was only after this initial, paradigmatic experience that the Japanese faced all the languages that arrived afterwards, such as Portuguese, Dutch, and English.

Scholars active in early modern Japan navigated this array of writing forms, bending their use according to necessity and genre; in the field of Dutch studies as well, those educated in Chinese studies (which represented the conventional scholarly background in the Tokugawa period) were accustomed to managing the different forms of the written language. Therefore, when scholars started to translate from Dutch, they made choices based on their perception and use of *buntai*, and they were influenced by their background knowledge and the perceived power of Chinese culture. A basic knowledge of the landscape of Japanese "writing forms" or "writing styles" is therefore the preliminary step in the process of understanding how the Japanese handled translation in the age of Dutch studies.

2.1.1 A brief classification of the Japanese *buntai*

Considering the variety of Japanese literary genres, the assortment of writing styles associated with them, and a lack of descriptive works in current scholarship, talking about the *buntai* world wholly and effectively is not an easy task, nor it is the main objective of this thesis.[10] However, without any claim of ultimate categorisation, reflection and description of this thought-provoking writing environment can definitely offer further insights on Japanese translation practices. Besides, without a reconstruction of the environment, or, using Bourdieu's terms, the "field" or the "market" in which the *buntai* taken into consideration in this project were used, it would be unviable to describe and understand the choices made by scholars and translators with regards to the Japanese translating strategies discussed in the following chapters. In the same way, it would not be possible to shed light on the motivations behind them.[11]

In the next paragraphs, I shall illustrate the characteristics of the *buntai* useful for the comprehension of the environment of the Japanese written language, relying upon

[10] On *buntai*, see as a reference Tsukishima, *Buntai*; Morioka, *Buntai to hyōgen*; Tollini, *La scrittura del Giappone*; Yamada et al., *Nihon buntai no hensen*; the two volumes *Koten Nihongo no sekai: kanji ga tsukuru Nihon* and *Koten Nihongo no sekai: moji to kotoba no dainamikusu*.
[11] Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*.

Misumi Yōichi's classification.[12] Although Misumi's work mainly concerns the *setsuwa* 説話 ("anecdotal literature," or "folktales") literature of the Heian (794-1185) through the Kamakura period (1185-1333), his straightforward categorisation is appropriate for the purposes of this thesis. In fact, some *buntai* existed through the ages almost unchanged, even if experiencing popularity and falling into disuse, and the written language context of the eighteenth and nineteenth century was indeed indebted to the developments of the written language from earlier centuries.

Broadly speaking, Japanese writing styles can be divided into the following three categories:

(1) Japanese *kanbun* (*Nihon kanbun* 日本漢文, also called *hentai kanbun* 変体漢文, literally "variant Chinese"), a spectrum of *buntai* that utilises only Chinese characters;

(2) *Hiragana* style (*hiragana bun* 平仮名文), a spectrum of *buntai* based on cursive *kana* with sporadic or more frequent use of *kanji.*[13]

(3) *Katakana* style (*katakana bun* 片仮名文) a writing form characterized by a mixture of *katakana* syllabary and *kanji*.

(1) Japanese *kanbun*

Japanese *kanbun* (or *Nihon kanbun* 漢文) can be further divided into the following types:

(1.1) Chinese-oriented, comprising *jun kanbun* 純漢文, "pure *kanbun*," based on literary Chinese, and *waka kanbun* 和化漢文 (literally "Japanized *kanbun*"), which also includes Japanese elements; and

(1.2) Japanese-oriented, such as *kiroku kanbun* 記録漢文, "*kanbun* used for records," such as documents and diaries by courtiers; and *manabon* 真名本 (literally, "books with real names"), i.e. texts originally composed in "classical Japanese (*wabun* 和文)" and re-written with Chinese characters only.

[12] Misumi, "Kanbuntai to wabuntai no aida."

[13] *Hiragana* and *katakana* are the two Japanese syllabic alphabets developed from the simplification of the Japanese phonetic script based on Chinese characters. See Seeley, *History of Writing*, p. 50. With the term "*hiragana,*" I hereto indicate the use of *hentaigana* 変体仮名 cursive *kana* script, and not the modern and standard form of the Japanese syllabary.

Katakana style and *hiragana* style are writing forms that employ a mixed use of Chinese characters and the phonetic scripts developed in Japan. These two types of *buntai* can be broken out further on the basis of the incidence of Chinese characters in the text, although it must be kept into consideration that there not exists an exact ratio of usage of phonetic scripts and Chinese characters to refer to.

(2) *Hiragana* style

In the Chinese writing system, each character has both sound and meaning. The Japanese used different strategies to adapt Chinese characters to their language, starting with the use of *man'yōgana* 万葉仮名 (the *Man'yōshū kana*), a writing system used in the poetry collection *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (*Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*, eight century), in which each Chinese character was read as a Japanese syllable, in some cases also using the character's meaning, but more commonly simply as a phonetic sign. *Man'yōgana* later underwent a process of standardisation, which around the ninth century resulted in the *hentaigana* 変体仮名 (literally, "variant *kana*") writing system, from which *hiragana*, one of the two phonetic syllabaries still in use today, is derived. *Hiragana* style was used to write Japanese poetry (*waka* 和歌) and poetic treatises (*karon* 歌論), travel diaries (*nikki kikō* 日記紀行), essays (*zuihitsu* 随筆), tales (*monogatari* 物語), popular stories (*sezoku setsuwa* 世俗説話), and for the text sections of picture scrolls (*emaki* 絵巻).[14]

From the visual point of view, *Hiragana* style can be divided in different sub-styles, which include:

(2.1) *Hiragana* style mixed with Chinese characters (*kanji majiri hiragana bun* 漢字交じり平仮名文), a style based on the *hiragana* script mixed with sparse use of Chinese characters.

(2.2) Mix of *kanji* and *hiragana* (*kanji-hiragana majiri bun* 漢字平仮名交じり文), a style developed in the Kamakura period (1185-1333), characterised by a major increase of the use of Chinese characters.

[14] Misumi, "Kanbuntai to wabuntai no aida," p. 100.

The term *wabun* 和文 ("Japanese style") indicates a style mainly written in *hiragana* with sporadic use of Chinese characters. It follows the Japanese syntactical order and uses Japanese grammar and vocabulary with little to none Chinese elements. This style is usually referred in English as "classical Japanese" in the context of Heian period works.

(3) *Katakana* style

Katakana style, on the other hand, can be divided in three types, depending on the amount of *kanji* used:

(3.1) Chinese characters style mixed with *katakana* (*katakana majiri kanjibun* 片仮名交じり漢字文) where the *katakana* syllabary is added in a smaller size to the main *kanji* script to indicate verb conjugations and other dependent parts of speech; [15]

(3.2) *Katakana* style mixed with Chinese characters (*kanji majiri katakana bun* 漢字交じり片仮名文) a script based on *katakana* with more sporadic use of *kanji*; and finally the

(3.3) Mixed style with Chinese characters and *katakana* (*kanji katakana majiri bun* 漢字片仮名交じり文), which presents an even distribution of *kanji* and *katakana*.

2.1.2 *Buntai* in use at the time of Dutch studies

As in earlier periods, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries different writing forms were in use. Not all of these *buntai* will be examined in the present thesis, but to give the reader a sense of the linguistic variety in which the scholars operated, in the following paragraphs I will summarise the main characteristics of the writing styles available at the time of Dutch studies.

It can be said that in this period the *buntai* fluctuated on a spectrum that went from (1.1) pure *kanbun* (*jun kanbun* 純漢文), passing through various degrees of variant Chinese (*hentai kanbun* 変体漢文, using only Chinese characters, but with the addition of Japanese elements),[16] to vernacular Japanese written with *kana*.

[15] Also called *katakana senmyōgaki* 片仮名宣命書き, as it was a style used for recording imperial pronouncements (*senmyō* 宣命) and Shintō prayers (*norito* 祝詞). Misumi, "Kanbuntai to wabuntai no aida," p. 106.

[16] On *hentai kanbun*, also see Rabinovitch, "Introduction to Hentai Kambun."

(1.1) Pure *kanbun* (*jun kanbun*) was still in use for official documents of a bureaucratic and legal nature, and for religious texts. Different degrees of mixed Chinese and Japanese (*wakan konkōbun* 和漢混交文) involving a combination of Japanese and *kanbun* grammar and a mix of *kana* and Chinese characters were used for diaries and other kinds of literature, such as historical novels (*yomihon* 読み本).

The epistolary *buntai, sōrōbun* 候文 was the language of the Tokugawa bureaucracy and was used for all formal correspondence. *Sōrōbun* takes its name from the extensive use of the polite auxiliary *sōrō* at the end of the sentences. It was connected to (1.2) Japanese-oriented *kanbun*, was written in Chinese characters, but followed the Japanese grammar and syntax

The existence of the *gikobun* 擬古文 (literally, "imitation of the ancient style") deserves a special mention. This *buntai,* which was written in *hiragana* with the use of a few Chinese characters, was following the grammar, syntax and lexicon of "classical Japanese (*wabun* 和文)," therefore representing a form of (2.1) *hiragana* style mixed with Chinese characters.[17] It was perfected by National Studies scholars (*kokugakusha* 国学者), and was a written form used in National Studies scholarship. It was especially refined by the scholar Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801), who - in line with the thought that a certain text corresponds to a certain writing form - argued that "to write about the past […] one had to adopt that mode of expression."[18] In fact, *gikobun* aimed to imitate the by then "classic" *buntai* used in Heian period (794-1185) court literature. A similar idea of using the appropriate *buntai* to write about a certain topic can be found in Dutch studies writings as well as in the work of Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728). (On the matter, see chapters 5 and 6).

Furthermore, *zokugo* 俗語 (or *zokubun* 俗文, written in *kana* with a mixture of few Chinese characters), the writing form nearest to the oral language, was used for the many genres of popular literature.

In-between the employment of the *buntai* described above came along the continued use of the *kundoku* method, which was used to access Chinese original texts, but also to "compose" texts in "Chinese." This practice and its different perceptions (to which the

[17] Here, for classical Japanese I refer to the variety of written Japanese of the *monogatari* and *waka*, in use during the Heian period (794-1185).
[18] Burns, *Before the Nation*, p. 72.

following three sections are dedicated to) had a fundamental role in the Japanese discourse of translation.

2.2 The perception of Chinese culture and *kanbun kundoku*

As Sinitic elements were introduced to Japan thanks to travelling scholars, the acquisition of books, and trade, through the centuries Chinese culture came to hold great prestige in Japan.[19] The practice of translation as a whole (including the *kundoku* method) played a major part in the development of such status. Chinese culture and civilisation maintained an important role of model or alterity throughout the history of Japan, its evaluation fluctuating between positive and negative terms, depending on the historical circumstances.[20] This was at least until Japan's defeat of China in the first Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, which marked a definitive change in perspective as to what constituted the Japanese ideal model of civilisation, culminating in a shift towards European models.[21] Ever since the inception of writing in the archipelago, Chinese characters were associated with the written language and the concept of "foreign language" as commonly perceived today was introduced only at a later stage. Thus, from its earliest introduction until the late nineteenth century, the Chinese language - and its different adaptations, as described in the previous sections - occupied a key position in the Japanese linguistic and literary system.

The practice of *kanbun kundoku* 漢文訓読, which can be rendered in English as "reading Chinese (lit. Han Dynasty) texts in Japanese," was one of the first strategies adopted to read and write in the seventh and eighth centuries. In *kundoku*, reading marks and glosses helped the reader to decode Chinese source-texts and also to compose "in Chinese," thus giving the impression of reading and writing in the model language used to express the higher culture.[22] The language resulting from *kanbun*

[19] As discussed in section 1.7 of the introduction, in this thesis I use the term "Chinese" instead other available expressions. I do so as I believe it reflects the perception of China had by the authors discussed in the present work, and in general it suggests the kind of awareness disseminated in the Dutch studies discursive writings from the period taken into consideration here.
[20] Sakaki, *Obsessions*.
[21] Jansen and Rozman, *Japan in Transition*.
[22] The *kundoku* technique was not unique to Japan. There are parallel experiences of *kanbun kundoku* in Korea and Vietnam as well, and the technique was likely transmitted to Japan via Korean texts. For a discussion of what is nowadays called "area of influence of Chinese characters (*kanji bunkaken* 漢字文化圏)," or "the cultural sphere of Han [Chinese] writing (*kanbun bunka ken* 漢文文化圏)" see Kin, *Kanbun*

kundoku is a hybrid that challenges the boundaries of reading and translating and creates confusion between the oral and visual aspects of the text.

However, beyond the technical peculiarities of this technique, the most significant characteristic of *kundoku* for the purposes of this thesis lies in what it represents. In the Tokugawa period, the use of *kanbun kundoku* was the prerogative of Confucian scholars, who were the public façade of Chinese tradition in Japan, and thus the *kundoku* method was a tool of expression associated with officialdom: the shogunal government and government-sponsored academia. It is for this reason that great attention should be placed upon translative choices such as using or not using *kundoku* when engaging with Chinese texts, or choosing to translate European languages into *kanbun* or into a *buntai* that was closer to the Japanese spectrum. For a comparison, as Martha Cheung explains in her discussion of the Chinese case, when scholars and translators in China faced the need to translate the Buddhist canon from Sanskrit, they chose to borrow the already existing lexicon of the previous canonical Confucian works. Each of these pre-existing words was already connected to a set of meanings, and were bound to resonate in a certain way when used in another context.[23] These translation choices may be justified by the necessity to find a term, in order to familiarise the reader with the text, and to legitimate the text itself as well.

The same attention should be also given when investigating the methodologies and the associated terminology chosen by the Dutch studies scholars to describe their own practice. In fact, it is my argument that, in a similar way in Japan, scholars and translators of Dutch made choices (such as translating Dutch vocabulary with Chinese terms, or associating their strategies with the terminology originated from the Buddhist translation tradition) to legitimize their work and, in doing so, turned to the writings and methodology of Japanese scholars of Chinese for inspiration.

to higashiajia; Komine, *Kanbun bunkaken no setsuwa sekai*; Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts*. For an exhaustive discussion of *kanbun kundoku*, see Lurie, *Realms of Literacy*. Methods of rendering the source-text into a different target language can also be found in other linguistic traditions, for example in the Akkadian writing system. For a linguistic comparison, see Ikeda, "Early Japanese and Early Akkadian."

[23] Cheung, *Anthology of Chinese Discourse*, p. 4.

2.3 Chinese and Japanese literacy

Traditionally, scholarship in Japan and in the West described the Japanese culture as separated into two different spheres, one of Chinese culture and language and one of Japanese culture and language. This stark divide can be associated with the rise of the *kokugaku* 国学 (National studies) movement in the Tokugawa period, when scholars like Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801) began a quest to uncover the true spirit of the Japanese language and culture, before it was allegedly corrupted by Chinese culture and language. Therefore, the domain of literacy came to be conventionally divided into two main axis, the one of *wabun* 和文 ("classical Japanese," literally, "Japanese writing"), properly Japanese and the one of *kanbun* 漢文, Chinese and therefore alien.[24]

However, this separation was born out of modern interpretations of the early modern context. In truth, throughout the history of Japan, Japanese and Chinese literacies were actually tightly interconnected. LaMarre argues that binarism between the Japanese and Chinese spheres[25] in the Heian period (794-1185) simply denoted "various modes of production and types of expression," rather than expressing opposition or negation towards the "Chinese" elements.[26] Similarly, Lurie talks about the necessity to overcome the "bilingual fallacy" that presumed a conceptualisation of Japanese culture in terms of a Chinese/Japanese linguistic opposition, and that had been fabricated by nationalistic revisionism from the nineteenth century.[27] In fact, before the dynamics in act in the early modern era, such as a rising interest in spoken Chinese and the diffusion of contemporary Chinese vernacular fiction, the consciousness of Chinese script as connected to a foreign language was far less widespread or possibly not present at all. Before that point, the perceived difference was rather between *mana* 真名 ("real names," i.e. Chinese characters employed for their meaning) and *kana* 仮名 ("borrowed names," characters only used for their sound), and the use of Chinese script was not directly connected to the Chinese language.[28]

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[24] On the concepts of "Chinese" and "*kanbun*," see section 1.7 of the introduction.
[25] LaMarre actually uses the terms "Yamato" (the early Japanese state) and "Han/Tang" (Chinese dynasties). See LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan*.
[26] LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan*, pp. 30-31.
[27] Lurie, *Realms of Literacy*, pp. 323-34.
[28] Lurie, *Realms of Literacy*; LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan*. On the process of vernacularisation of the Sinitic script in East Asia, see Kornicki, *Language, Scripts, and Chinese Texts*, pp. 42-71.

For a long time, literacy was mainly limited to court and monastic institutions, and was later extended to the warrior class during the medieval period.[29] In the early modern era, more people from different classes had access to reading and writing, prompting the development of new writing forms.[30] Due to the urbanisation and the social transformations of the seventeenth century, a dramatic expansion of education can be observed in the Tokugawa period,[31] when the diffusion of domain schools (mainly for offspring of the samurai class) and *terakoya* 寺子屋 (schools dedicated to the children of the commoners)[32] led to an increase of the literacy rate, which went hand in hand with the growth of the publishing market.

Literary Chinese was surely still connected to more prestigious domains, such as the Confucian and the Buddhist canon, but became also at least on some level familiar to larger sections of the urban population. Literary Chinese played a significant part in women's lives as well, demonstrating that the traditional division between "Chinese" masculine writing and "Japanese" feminine writing were also a fabrication of history.[33] An exemplary case of how familiar the *kundoku* method was to the general public is the case of the *Plenty of Teachers of the Classics* series (*Keiten yoshi* 経典餘師 1786-1843) promoted by Confucian scholar Tani Hyakunen 溪百年 (1754-1831). *Plenty of Teachers* was a serialised edition of the Confucian and Neo-Confucian canon published in the late Tokugawa period with *kundoku* reading marks and glosses to the source text in literary Chinese and the addition of *kakikudashi* 書き下し (so with the *kundoku* text written down separately) and explanatory notes. It became so popular that its woodblocks for printing had to be re-cut numerous times.[34]

[29] On literacy, see Kornicki, *Book in Japan*, pp. 30-38 and pp. 251-76; Lurie, *Realms of Literacy*.
[30] Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*, pp. 16-46. About literacy rates in Japan, see Kornicki, *Book in Japan* and Kornicki, Patessio, Rowley, *Female as Subject*.
[31] Lurie, *Realms of Literacy*, p. 319.
[32] Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*.
[33] On the matter, see Sakaki, *Obsessions*, pp. 103-42 and Kornicki, Patessio, Rowley, *Female as Subject*.
[34] Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*, p. 117-19, Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts*, pp. 181-82.

2.4 The characteristics of the *kundoku* technique and its position among the Japanese *buntai*

As pointed out in the introduction, detailed discussion of uses and perceptions of Chinese language and *kundoku* do not usually appear together with research on Japanese Dutch studies. In fact, the latter is more commonly described in isolation or simply mentioned in studies focussing on other subjects; this situation is not helpful for translation researchers who are not specialists of Japan, and possibly would not immediately consider a connection between these two translation traditions. However, the presence of *kundoku* characterised the Japanese discourse of translation from its initial elaboration to the contemporary era, and it was a significant feature of Dutch studies' translation discourse. It is therefore worthy to have in mind its characteristics and its position in the Japanese literary field.

The application of the *kundoku* method in the Japanese context was possible because of the linguistic peculiarities of the Chinese and Japanese languages (such as different syntax and morphology) and for the fact that Chinese characters are logographs,[35] and therefore could be easily associated with words in Japanese. Different styles of *kundoku* had been in use in Japan since its development in the Heian period (794-1185). However, by the latter part of the Tokugawa era, the *Issaiten* 一斎点 method, ideated by Satō Issai 佐藤一斎 (1772-1859) a Neo-Confucian scholar from the *Shōheikō* 昌平黌, the official government sponsored academy established in 1691, came to be more widely used than other *kundoku* styles because of its simplification of the Chinese grammar.[36]

Among the first strategies employed to access Chinese source texts, there were the use of dry-point glosses[37] and *okototen* ヲコト点, red dots marked near the characters representing case particles to be added. Later, the more commonly used *kunten* 訓点 (*kun* punctuation) were the *kutōten* 句読点 (punctuation marks) and the *kaeriten* 返り点, glosses that indicated the order to rearrange the characters. The most used *kaeriten* were 一, 二, 三 (and less commonly 四), followed by 上, 中, 下, and more rarely 甲, 乙,

[35] Today, in China not all Chinese characters are still in use as logographs.
[36] Saitō Fumitoshi, "*Kinsei ni okeru kanbun kundokuhō*;" Saitō Fumitoshi, *Kanbun kundoku to kindai Nihongo*, pp. 69-97.
[37] Punctuation and attention glosses made by leaving an impression on the paper. They are called *kakuhitsu* 角筆 in Japanese. Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese texts*, pp. 158-59.

丙, 丁; *re ten* レ点, which signalled the inversion of two characters. A long mark between two characters would indicate that they are to read as a compound. In addition to the use of *kunten*, added on the left side of the characters, *kana* could be added on the right to indicate particles, the conjugation of verbs and adjectives and particular readings of the characters.[38]

From the point of view of grammar and syntax, once it has been rearranged, the language of *kundoku* follows the SOV order of the Japanese language. In comparison with *wabun* 和文 (classical Japanese), which presents a richer landscape of auxiliaries, *kanbun kundoku* grammar could be described as a "simplified" form of literary Japanese grammar. In addition, it presents some peculiar grammatical forms and expressions, and it is characterised by the preferred use of Sino-Japanese readings.

The *kundoku* technique blurs the lines between reading, writing and translating, connecting the Chinese and Japanese polarities. For the problematics sparked by its inherent characteristics, *kundoku* occupies a significant position in the system of the Japanese written language and consequently in the discourse of translation. The position of *kanbun kundoku* 漢文訓読 in the constellation[39] of *buntai* is problematic, as it is clearly connected to both the use of pure *kanbun*, the language of prestige, and the mixed style with Chinese characters and *katakana*. It is devised to "look" Chinese, but it is then read/translated according to Japanese language rules.

There is not – and there never was – any general scholastic agreement on the status of *kanbun kundoku*, since it creates a peculiar confusion between both source and target-texts and their aural and visual aspects. In most cases, the *kundoku* reading marks were appended to the source text, and hence no new written target text was produced (in modern Japanese, where such new written target texts are produced, this is called the *kakikudashi bun* 書き下し文, or the "text written down"). Further confusing matters, the language that results from this highly bound translation method is not a natural language; nor it is a spoken language, even if the practice of reading it aloud was common. David Lurie describes it as "an unexpected compatibility of reading with

[38] As a reference, see Crawcour, *Introduction to Kambun*.

[39] Wiebke Denecke in her *Classical World Literatures*, p. 10, used the word "constellation" to talk about the comparison between the Chinese and the Greco-Roman worlds, while here I use it as a metaphor for the kind of connection between the *buntai*.

writing,"[40] being the result of the commixture of Chinese script and Japanese language, and Yukino Semizu rightly talks about *kundoku* as "invisible translation."[41] Although the Japanese writing system evolved over the centuries, the *kundoku* method was never abandoned; it is still taught, however vestigially, as part of the "National Language" (*kokugo* 国語) curriculum at Japanese high schools today.

2.5 Concluding remarks

As discussed in this chapter, categorising the Japanese *buntai* is challenging, since their description pertains to the overlapping of the visual, functional and linguistic domains. Some reasons behind the choice of a particular *buntai* instead of another remain unanswered, and require further research. However, as will be exemplified in the next chapters, by analysing the Japanese discourse of translation on different levels, it is indeed possible to identify interconnected systems of people, texts and, accordingly, a system of writing styles. We can thus consider *buntai* a system within a system, in itself characterised by a hierarchy established depending on the historical moment.

In such system, the method of *kundoku* occupies a peculiar position, challenging the Western-European notions of translation and, as will be discussed in the latter part of this thesis, playing a significant part in the discourse of translation.

[40] Lurie, *Realms of Literacy*, p. 175.
[41] Semizu, "Invisible Translation."

Chapter 3: Constructing a narrative for a new field through hierarchical relations

The relations between texts and individuals involved in a cultural polysystem constituted the backbone of the Japanese early modern translation discourse. In order to comprehend the nature of such relations, the examination of the context and the narrative in which they took place is a fundamental step. In this chapter, I will unravel the perception of the field of Dutch studies as it was portrayed by two of the most well-known Edo-based Dutch studies scholars, Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白 (1733-1817) and Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 (1757-1827) in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

The focus of this chapter will be the analysis of Sugita Genpaku's narrative as promoted in his *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (also known as *Dawn of Dutch Studies*, *Rangaku kotohajime*, *Rangaku jishi* or *Rantō kotohajime* 蘭学事始, 1815).[1] In section 3.1, I will introduce Sugita and his work, considering the implications of using *Beginnings* as a source for historical research. *Beginnings* was an account of the origins and development of Japanese Dutch studies, and, at the same time, scholars have noted that it is a would-be retelling of the history of translation from Dutch in Japan.[2] My aim will be to delineate the reasoning that led Dutch studies scholars and translators like Genpaku to overemphasize a divide between the professions of scholars and interpreters, the polarities of written and spoken translation, and ultimately of the Chinese and Japanese spheres. In section 3.2, I will focus on the perception of the interpreters' abilities and attitudes as popularised by Genpaku, reflecting on which interpreters were mentioned, and how they were depicted. Section 3.3 is dedicated to further matters of translation discourse that appear in *Beginnings* (i.e. Genpaku's terminological choices and the problematics of the interpreters' approaches); in addition, I will use this text as further evidence of the Dutch studies scholars' possible contribution to the discourse of translation in Japan during the modern era. In section 3.4, I will consider the dichotomy between the Dutch studies scholar and the Confucian

[1] For a complete English translation of this text, see Matsumoto, *Dawn of Western Science in Japan*.

[2] Sugimoto Tsutomu discussed the matter in many of his works, for example see Sugimoto, *Edo jidai rangogaku*, vol. 1, pp. 1-25 and Sugimoto Tsutomu, *Kaitai shinsho no jidai*. Also see Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*, pp. 146-49 and Horiuchi, "When Science Develops," pp. 165-71.

scholar in Genpaku's eyes in order to show how Genpaku located Dutch studies with respect to the authoritative Chinese studies tradition.

In this chapter, I will maintain that, from the point of view of translation discourse, Sugita Genpaku presented the relationship between the self-proclaimed "scholars of Dutch (*rangakusha* 蘭学者)" and other external entities through hierarchical relations, in order to carve a position for Dutch studies in the Japanese cultural polysystem. By constructing the discourse of translation in this fashion, Genpaku influenced the reception of the contribution that had been made to the field by the Nagasaki interpreters, as well as the perception of their translation approaches. I will investigate the vocabulary used by Sugita Genpaku and Ōtsuki Gentaku and I will discuss the terminological dichotomies contained in *Beginnings*. I will show how Dutch studies scholars recurrently defined their identity through a mechanism of distinction and comparison with "the other," an entity constructed either from within or from outside the field. From within, this separation was built through the opposition/cooperation with the Nagasaki interpreters. From the outside, it was formulated via the comparison with the figure of the Confucian scholar (*jusha* 儒者), which belonged to the tradition of Chinese studies in Japan and, at least in part, via the Buddhist translation tradition in China. Finally, I will argue that the manipulation of the discourse on translation can have consequences in the wider perception of historical facts.

3.1 Sugita Genpaku's *Beginnings of Dutch Studies*

Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白 (1733-1817) is popularly regarded as one of the founders of Dutch studies in Japan. Son of Sugita Hosen 杉田甫仙 (dates unknown), an official doctor of the Wakasa 若狭 Domain (modern day Fukui prefecture), Genpaku was a surgeon and a scholar active in Edo. Genpaku studied Dutch medicine under a member of a well-known family of interpreters, Nishi Gentetsu 西玄哲 (1681-1760) and, as was conventional for the times, he also trained in Chinese studies with a Confucian scholar, Miyase Saburoemon 宮瀬竜門 (1720?-1771).[3]

[3] Matsumoto, *Dawn of Western Science*, pp. xiii-xvii; Sugimoto, *Edo jidai rangogaku*, vol. 4, pp. 343-53.

In *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime* 蘭学事始, 1815), Genpaku recounted his version of the circumstances of the inception of the study of Dutch in Japan, from the activity of the first families of interpreters employed for the trade with the Dutch through to the translation of *A New Treatise on Anatomy* (*Kaitai shinsho* 解体新書, 1774) by himself and his colleagues. *A New Treatise* was a translation in *kanbun* of the Dutch version of a German work of medicine, Kulmus' *Anatomical Tables* (*Anatomische Tabellen*, 1722, for more on this text, see chapter 4). In *Beginnings*, Genpaku presented the translation of *A New Treatise* as the defining event in the history of the field, as well as a central moment in the development of Japanese scientific knowledge. In the text, he concentrated on the contributions made by himself and his co-translators, a group of scholars and translators based in Edo.

In *Beginnings*, as well as in other Dutch studies texts, Genpaku and colleagues reiterated their position as pioneers at the dawn of a new scholarly tradition, deserving of a monopoly in the field, and calling themselves "scholars of Dutch (rangakusha 蘭学者)." To describe this situation, in the first few lines of *Beginnings of Dutch Studies*, Genpaku wrote:

> 今時、世間に蘭学といふこと専ら行われ、志を立つる人は篤く学び、無識なる者は漫りにこれを誇張す。その初めを顧みを思ふに、昔、翁が輩二三人、ふとこの業に志を興せしことなるが、はや五十年に近し。今頃かくまでに至るべしとはつゆ思はざりしに、不思議にも盛んになりしことなり。
> […] 然るにかく成り行きしはいかにと思ふに、それ医科のことはその教へかたすべて実に就くを以て先とすることゆゑ、却つて領会すること速かなるか、または事の新奇にして異方妙術もあることのやうに世人も覚え居ることゆゑ、奸猾の徒、これを名として、名を釣り利を射るために流布するものなるか。[4]

> Recently, Dutch studies has become widely practiced in our society: those who have set their minds on it study zealously, those who are ignorant exaggerate [their knowledge] shamelessly. If I look back to

[4] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), pp. 11-12.

> the past and think about the beginnings, [I remember that] at that time only two or three colleagues of mine and I unexpectedly became deeply interested in Dutch studies; it is already almost fifty years ago. Now Dutch studies have progressed so much and have become inexplicably popular.
> […] However, when I think about how far [Dutch studies] has come, [I wonder why] it has spread so widely. Is it because the way of teaching medicine was wholly practical (*jitsu ni tsuku* 実に就く) from the beginning? Or is it because it is easy to understand (*ryōkai suru koto sumiyaka* 領会すること速か)? Or was it because since the public thought it was a novelty (*shinki* 新奇), a foreign (*ihō* 異方) and miraculous art (*myōjutsu* 妙術), some deceitful people (*kankatsu no to* 奸猾の徒) looking for fame, took advantage [of it]?

According to Genpaku, while the *rangakusha* became involved in Dutch studies in a quest for scientific knowledge that would be beneficial to the whole country, other individuals, moved by a selfish disposition, were actually ignorant people who only became interested in Dutch studies for fame and personal gain, exploiting the rising popularity of the field. Despite the fact that there might have been some truth in Genpaku's words, as will be discussed in section 3.1.1, a good deal of his account was a calculated manipulation of the Japanese translation discourse.

Genpaku's disciple Ōtsuki Gentaku reiterated the claims contained in *Beginnings*, even promoting Genpaku's work as a source of information on the history of the movement. In *Upward and Forward in Dutch Translation* (*Ran'yaku teikō* 蘭訳梯航, 1816), Gentaku sketched out the grounds on which the Dutch studies movement should have been perceived, by listing the essential books that touched upon the history of the field. Gentaku wrote:

> 今世の通称となりし蘭学といへる名も当時社中にて偶々私称せしに始れり。抑此学の起源せしことは蘭化先生の『蘭訳筌』及『蘭訳草稿』並鵬斎先生の『蘭学問答』[…]『蘭学事始』等の撰書に見え、亦翁少かりし時訳述せる『六物新志』の題例中に其来由の略を述べたれば読んでこれを知るべし。其前後翁が『階梯』及『佩

觸』の著作は頗る開け初めし頃にて略其学式の大法を述べしまでなれば、今に在ては人々軽易に見過すべき雑編なり。然ども世に此学に志を興し才識あるものは憤然としてこれに従事し、又其真術を修むるの本意なきも声に吠るもの多き事となり来り。又或は崎陽の訳官等も漸く其家業に勉礪の心を動かせしかとも思えしなり。[5]

Even the name "Dutch studies (*rangaku* 蘭学)" that is commonly used nowadays came from that time and from inside that circle (*sha* 社) [of scholars/translators in Edo], who casually started to call themselves as such. After all, the origins (*kigen* 起源) of [Dutch] studies can be seen from works by Master Ranka 蘭化 (i.e. Maeno Ryōtaku 前野良沢, 1723-1803) like *The Keys to Dutch Translation* (*Ran'yaku sen* 蘭訳筌, i.e. 1785), and *Brief Translations from the Dutch* (*Ran'yaku sōkō* 蘭訳草稿, i.e. *Oranda yakubun ryaku* 和蘭訳文略, postscript dated 1771, manuscript) and from works by Master Isai 鸛斎 (i.e. Sugita Genpaku) like *Questions and Answers on Dutch Medicine* (*Rangaku mondō* 蘭学問答, i.e. *Oranda iji mondō* 和蘭医事問答, 1795) […] and *Beginnings of Dutch Studies*. In the introduction (*dairei* 題例) of my own work, *New Record of Six Things* (*Rokubutsu Shinshi* 六物新志, 1786), which [contains excerpts of Dutch books] I translated (*yakujutsu* 訳述) in little time, you can read a short summary (*ryaku* 略) of those origins (*raiyu* 来由). Around those years, which is when I had just started writing my books, *A Guide to Dutch Studies* (*Kaitei* 階梯, i.e. *Rangaku kaitei* 蘭学階梯, 1783) and *Understanding Dutch Studies* (*Haikei* 佩觿, i.e *Rangaku haikei* 蘭学佩觿, 1811). [There], I showed the main rules of the learning style (*gakushiki no daihō* 学式の大法), but people now should simply overlook them, as they were very unorganised (*zappen* 雑編). However, those who now are deeply interested in this study and have intelligence and discernment (*saishiki* 才識) are annoyed with those who study that true art (*shinjutsu* 真術) [i.e. Dutch

[5] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Upward and Forward* (*Ran'yaku teikō*), vol. 1, pp. 17-18.

> medicine][6] without [understanding] the real meaning (*hon'i* 本意) [of Dutch texts], and many came to follow that bad habit. I think that even the interpreters (*yakkan* 訳官) in Nagasaki finally had their hearts moved to study with more accuracy (*benrei* 勉礪) for the sake of their families' business (*kagyō* 家業).[7]

The similarities between *Beginnings* and *Upward and Forward* are quite evident, such that one wonders whether Gentaku may be the author of *Beginnings*. Similarly to what was laid out by Genpaku, in *Upward and Forward* as well, the expertise of the first wave of Nagasaki interpreters was downplayed. Interestingly for the purposes of this thesis, the works that Gentaku is mentioning in the passage above (by the likes of Sugita Genpaku, Maeno Ryōtaku and of course himself) were not only language manuals or works focussing on the field's history, but texts that included at least in part matters of translation discourse, suggesting the importance attributed to such discourse by Gentaku (for detailed discussion of the matter, see chapter 6).

3.1.1 The position of *Beginnings* in Dutch studies literature

For a long time, the veracity of Genpaku's account in *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* was taken for granted by modern scholars both in Japan and abroad. However, as more recent scholarship has pointed out, this text, which represents a testament to the Edo-scholars' contribution to the introduction of Dutch science and technology in Japan, is far from being a reliable source and includes many mistakes and misconceptions.[8] Moreover, the extent of Dutch language knowledge that Genpaku and colleagues claimed to possess is debatable, making some assertions contained in the text rather

[6] The term *shinjutsu* 真術 also appears in *Beginnings*. Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 69. In his English translation of *Beginnings*, Matsumoto Ryōzō renders it as "true art of healing." Matsumoto, *Dawn of Western Science*, p. 70.

[7] The last two sentences of this passage are extremely similar to the incipit of Sugita Genpaku's *Beginnings* reported above.

[8] Sugimoto Tsutomu discussed the matter in many of his works, for example see *Edo jidai rangogaku*, vol. 1, pp. 1-25 and *Kaitai shinsho no jidai*. Also see Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*, pp. 146-49 and Horiuchi, "When Science Develops," pp. 165-71.

implausible (for example the fact that they translated from Dutch without the interpreters' help, as reported in the following sections).[9]

Beginnings is a text popularly associated to Sugita Genpaku. However, this work was completed by Genpaku's pupil Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 (1757-1827) and, it must be made clear that, as Honma Sadao notes, since Genpaku's work was transmitted by Ōtsuki Gentaku and then by other members of the Ōtsuki family, and it is known that Gentaku made additions to the text, the boundaries of *Beginnings*' authorship are blurred.[10] Therefore, Ōtsuki Gentaku could be the one behind some statements contained in the text, especially the ones that can be found repeated *verbatim* in his own writings.

Beginnings had then been transmitted and popularised beyond the Tokugawa period by some distinguished Meiji intellectuals (and former Dutch studies scholars) such as Kanda Takahira 神田孝平 (also known as Kanda Kōhei, 1830-1898), Fukuzawa Yūkichi 福澤諭吉 (1835-1901), and in the contemporary era by the renowned scholar Ogata Tomio 緒方富雄 (1901-1989).[11] As a consequence, this work became a source for later research and history textbooks,[12] in spite of the inaccuracies and fabrications of Sugita's report.

It is necessary to clarify that *Beginnings* is presented here not as an accurate historical account, but rather as evidence of the narrative that the Edo scholars wished to pass on, together with the perception of the field they wanted to promote. Because of the aforementioned shortcomings and for the process of manipulation it likely underwent, *Beginnings* will always be a controversial text to discuss. However, despite the fact that it evidently describes only one side of the story, it is still a useful source for the investigation of the discourse of translation that permeated Dutch studies. Indeed, many characteristics behind the Japanese translation discourse emerge from the reading of *Beginnings*, such as the scholars' pursuit of social prestige and government approval, the alleged importance of linguistic correctness and the choice of writing style (themes which will appear in a number of texts examined in the following chapters) and,

[9] See Sugimoto, *Edo jidai rangogaku*, vol. 4; De Groot, *Study of the Dutch Language*; Gardner-Nakamura, *Practical pursuits*.
[10] Honma, "Nagasaki *Rangaku*."
[11] As noted by Matsumoto Ryōzō in *Dawn of Western Science*, pp. xviii-xxi.
[12] Honma, "Nagasaki *Rangaku*."

perhaps above all, the clear preference and reverence for the written text in opposition to spoken translation.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter of this dissertation, the discourse of translation within the field of Dutch studies reached a higher grade of complexity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This development could be partially explained by the advancements in the domain of linguistic knowledge, which led to more complex theorisation of translation. However, in this thesis I maintain that, rather than being the "founders" of Dutch studies, Sugita Genpaku and his colleagues and disciples were the ones who wrote the discourse of Dutch studies. In particular, by manipulating the discourse of translation, they influenced the perception of the whole field, and once this perception was instituted, the major part of Dutch studies' later developments fell into the grid Genpaku and his colleagues created. According to Even-Zohar:

> When a repertoire is established and all derivative models pertaining to it are constructed in full accordance with what it allows, we are faced with a conservative repertoire (and system). Every individual product (utterance, text) of it will then be highly predictable, and any deviation will be considered outrageous.[13]

I therefore maintain that at the time when Genpaku wrote *Beginnings*, the field of Dutch studies had reached, in polysystemic terms, a state of a perceived "canonized repertoire,"[14] and that what was later transmitted as the history of the field, depended on the paradigms set by it. As will be discussed in chapter 4, I claim that this paradigm was initiated by the discussion of translation in the introduction of *A New Treatise on Anatomy* (*Kaitai shinsho* 解体新書, 1774).

3.2 The perception of the Nagasaki interpreters' work

When delving into Genpaku's writings, a number of key terminological distinctions that shaped the broadly conceived field of Dutch studies come to light. As will be noted in the sections below, in *Beginnings*, the vocabulary used to describe actors and practices

[13] Even-Zohar, "Polysystem Studies," p. 21.
[14] Even-Zohar, "Polysystem Studies," pp. 15-17.

of translation is frequently characterised by a positive or negative connotation, either implicitly or explicitly. The examination of such characterisations are revealing of the dynamics among the parts that are called into play.

3.2.1 Scholars *vs* Interpreters

The first evident divide emerging from Genpaku's account is the differentiation between "scholars (*gakusha* 学者)" and "interpreters (called *tsūji* or *tsūshi* 通詞)." As discussed in the introduction (section 1.7 on problematic terms), in this thesis I make use of the distinction between "scholar" and "interpreter" that featured in the discourse which is my object of study. In reality, many "interpreters" were also scholars and intellectuals. This split surely stems from the diversification of the two roles, but ends rooted in practice and approaches to translation, and it is a crucial feature of the narrative promoted in *Beginnings*.

It is true that records from Dutch residents of Dejima describe a certain discontent with the interpreters' ability to understand Dutch. In his *History of Japan* (1727), Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) generally dismissed the interpreters' abilities as "little else than a simple and indifferent connexion of broken words," complaining that they translated "in so odd a manner, that often other interpreters would be requisite to make them understood."[15] At a later time, Carl Peter Thunberg (1743-1828) complained as such:

> Some of the oldest interpreters express themselves on ordinary subjects with tolerable clearness and precision in the Dutch language, but as their own tongue differs so widely from the European languages in its phrases and construction, one frequently hears from most of them very laughable expressions and strange idioms. Some of them never learn it well.[16]

Indeed, Nagasaki interpreters presented different abilities. At the time, the interpreters were organised in a "Guild," or "College" (*tsūji nakama* 通詞仲間) and, depending on their level of proficiency and seniority, were appointed as senior

[15] Kaempfer, *History of Japan*, Vol. 2, p. 101. This passage is also mentioned in Vande Walle, *Dodonaeus in Japan*, p. 130.
[16] Screech, *Japan Extolled and Decried*, p. 84.

interpreters (*ōtsūji* 大通詞), junior interpreters (*kotsūji* 小通詞) and apprentices (*keikotsūji* 稽古通詞). In addition to these categories, there was a group of private interpreters (*naitsūji* 内通詞) only active to during the annual sale of Dutch goods.[17]

Nonetheless, the interpreters performed a challenging role as intermediaries in difficult circumstances, laying the foundations for subsequent scholarship despite the lack of study materials and the somewhat limited scope of their daily job, primarily involving, but not limited to, business transactions. Some interpreters actually demonstrated great capabilities and advanced linguistic knowledge of Dutch in Japan, bridging the distance between scholars and interpreters.[18]

As Sugimoto points out, on the whole the actual historical role of the interpreters has been highly affected (and diminished) by the falsehood and disinformation spread by scholars of Dutch studies based in Edo, and especially by *Beginnings*.[19] The core reasons behind this distinction can be traced back to the necessity of defending the aforementioned monopoly on the field by the Edo-based scholars and the aim of elevating the social status of Dutch studies scholars.

The people who came to be called Dutch studies scholars came from many diverse backgrounds: a great number of them started out as provincials pursuing a career as domain doctors (*han'i* 藩医), and then, typically, used the study of Dutch language to advance their standing.[20] The scholars did not actively compete with the interpreters, and in fact many translation projects were born out of team collaboration. In addition to that, it must not be forgotten that travelling to Nagasaki and studying under the most capable interpreters had been a rite of passage for most of the scholars.[21] At least to some extent, the scholars did publicly recognise the value of the interpreters' work and their expertise with spoken Dutch: as recounted by Genpaku himself (and by Ōtsuki Gentaku, see section 3.2.4 of this chapter), some of the interpreters' language proficiency was considered instrumental for the development of the field.

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[17] For a detailed study on the history of interpreting in Nagasaki and the structure of the interpreters' guild, see Katagiri, *Nagasaki tsūji no kenkyū* and Sugimoto, *Nagasaki tsūji*.

[18] Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*, pp. 154-58; Horiuchi, "When Science Develops;" Sugimoto, *Nagasaki tsūji*; Sugimoto, *Edo jidai rangogaku*, vol. 1.

[19] Sugimoto, *Edo jidai rangogaku*, vol. 1, pp. 1-25.

[20] On the lives and backgrounds of the Dutch studies scholars, see Sugimoto, *Edo jidai rangogaku*, vol. 4.

[21] Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*.

However, from the point of view of translation discourse it is possible to detect a dynamic of struggle and competitive engagement (at least coming from the scholars' side), that is reflected in the distinction in roles and terminology. To this regard, I would maintain that Sugita Genpaku's recurrent disapproval towards the interpreters reveals a sharp awareness of the scholars' perceived position in the cultural system. Genpaku probably believed that the interpreters represented a possible threat to the status of the Dutch studies field. As Even-Zohar argues:

> To be recognised as a great writer yet be rejected as a model for living literature is a situation no writer participating in the game can indifferently resign himself to. Writers whose awareness of their position is more acute, and whose maneuvering capacity is more vigorous and flexible, have always tried to alter such a position if they happened to find themselves in it.[22]

From *Beginnings*, it is easy to infer that one of Genpaku's aims was precisely to regulate the field, and he even explicitly admitted as much. For example, to some younger scholars who made fun of his "haste (*seikyū* 性急)"[23] in his translating efforts and in his attempts at getting official recognition for Dutch studies, he replied:

> 始めて発するものは人を制し、後れて発するものは人に制せらるといへり。[24]

> They say that he who initiates something for the first time controls (*sei shi* 制し) people. He who is late to initiate, is controlled.[25]

[22] Even-Zohar, "Polysystem Studies," p. 20.
[23] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 48.
[24] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 48.
[25] This is a quote from *Historical Records* (or *Records of the Historian*, *Shi*ki 史記, around 85 BC), vol. 7 of the Annals (*hongi* 本紀), *The Annals of Xiang Yu* (*Kōu hongi* 項羽本紀) by the famous Chinese historian Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c. 145-86 BC). The original phrase is "先即制人，後則為人所制." https://ctext.org/shiji/xiang-yu-ben-ji/zh. Other examples of quotations of Sima Qian's work in Dutch studies sources can be found in chapter 6.

And what Genpaku tried to do in *Beginnings* was exactly this: he tried to control the perception of the people involved in the field, furthering his own cause.

As will be made clear in the rest of this chapter, essentially the line between scholars and interpreters was drawn on the basis of the difference in their linguistic training. As sketched out in the introduction to this dissertation, faced with the necessity of arranging commercial relations with the Dutch in Dejima, the shogunate gave the responsibility of learning Dutch to a few families of interpreters in Nagasaki, who were already dealing with Chinese and Portuguese.[26] Despite enjoying the prestige of holding an official position, the interpreters were not traditionally proficient in Chinese studies (*kangaku* 漢学), which instead represented the standard educational background for the scholars. In fact, the circumstances in which the interpreters had acquired Dutch language proficiency were an inconvenient truth from the point of view of social status: at the time, learning foreign languages (of course, with the exception of literary Chinese) was customarily a hereditary activity deputised to the interpreters' families. It was knowledge born out of the necessities of commerce[27] and was therefore not associated with prestige. This means that the interpreters, despite representing a concrete connection with Dutch traders and scientists, did not embody the kind of figure that could elevate the field to a higher status.

In the following subsections, different kinds of relations between the scholars and the figure of the interpreter are examined. In these instances, the interpreters are represented as an obstacle to Dutch language learning, and their supposed incompetence and ignorance in matters of styles is used to justify the scholars' work.

3.2.2 The encounter with Nishi Zenzaburō

A first passage from *Beginnings* that is fundamental to understand the nature of the relation that Genpaku wished to be perceived between the scholars and the interpreters, is the description of the encounter with a member of the Nishi family, Nishi Zenzaburō 西善三郎 (1718-1768).

While the next excerpts also express the interpreters' desire to likewise maintain a monopoly on translation affairs, they testify how Genpaku, by quoting the words of a

[26] Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, pp. 32-42.
[27] Sugimoto, *Nagasaki tsūji*, pp. 9-53.

senior interpreter, tried to demystify the role that the interpreters played in Dutch-Japanese relations, hinting at their unrefined linguistic knowledge. In particular, I would argue that Genpaku (not so) subtly underlined the point that the major difficulty for the interpreters was the translation of abstract concepts which are connected to the domain of the scholar, rather than the daily necessities of a business exchange.

In the text, Genpaku recounted of when he accompanied his senior colleague Maeno Ryōtaku 前野良沢 (1723-1803) to the *Nagasakiya* 長崎屋, the inn where the Dutchmen and their Japanese interpreters were staying during one of their yearly visits to Edo. Here, Genpaku reported on how Zenzaburō seemed to discourage the learning Dutch by anyone who was not from a family of interpreters. Genpaku wrote:

> その年大通詞西善三郎と申す者参りたり。良沢引合せにてしかじかのよし申し述べたるに、善三郎聞きて、それは必ず御無用なり、それは何故となれば、かの辞を習ひて理会するといふは至つて難きことなり。[28]

> That year, a senior interpreter (*ōtsuji* 大通詞) called Nishi Zenzaburō came along. I met him through [Maeno] Ryōtaku 良沢, and when I expressed to him my reasons [for wanting to learn Dutch], [Zenzaburō said that] it was absolutely useless (*muyō* 無用), because getting to learn and understand (*narahite rikai suru* 習ひて理会する) Dutch words (*ji* 辞) was a very difficult thing (*muzukashiki koto nari* 難きことなり).

During their meeting, Zenzaburō explained to Genpaku and Maeno Ryōtaku that even if the words (*ji* 辞) that referred to concrete objects were easier to acquire (for example "drinking, *nomu* 呑む," therefore an action that can be easily replicated with gestures), abstract concepts and ideas were instead "a matter of feeling (*jō no ue no koto* 情の上のこと)"[29] - quite an unclear (and ambiguous) statement. Zenzaburō then took as an

[28] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), pp. 21-22.
[29] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 22.

example the Dutch verb *ānterekken* アーンテレッケン (NL: *aantrekken*, "to attract," or "to have interest in something"), and explained:

> さてその好き嗜むといふことは「アーンテレッケン」といふなり。わが身通詞の家に生れ、幼よりそのことに馴れ居りながら、その辞の意何の訳といふことを知らず。年五十に及んてこの旅の道中にてその意を始めて解し得たり。[30]

> So, [the word] "like" or "love" is *ānterekken* アーンテレッケン in Dutch. I was born in a family of interpreters (*tsūji* 通詞), I have been used to [the Dutch language] since I was a child, and yet I did not know how to translate (*nan no yaku* 何の訳) the meaning (*i* 意) of that word (*ji* 辞). Now that I am fifty, I understood its meaning (*i* 意) for the first time along the way of this journey [from Nagasaki to Edo].[31]

Zenzaburō further tried to discourage Genpaku and Ryōtaku from learning Dutch. From the words reported in *Beginnings*, it can be inferred that for Zenzaburō the only possible approach to learning Dutch was a hands-on spoken language practice, very far from the (supposedly) accurate study performed by the scholars on the written texts. Zenzaburō concluded:

> かの言語を更に習ひ得んとするには、かやうに面倒なるものにして、わが輩常に和蘭人に朝夕してすら容易に納得し難し。なかなか江戸などに居られて学ばんと思ひ給ふは叶はざることなり。それゆゑ野呂・青木両先生など、御用にて年々この客館へ相越され、一かたならず御出精なれども、はかばかしく御合点参らぬなり。そこもとにも御無用のかた然るべしと意見したり。[32]

> Moreover, learning Dutch is such a trouble (*mendō* 面倒) that understanding (*nattoku* 納得) this language easily is difficult even for

[30] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 22.
[31] The interpreters went along with Dutch traders in their journeys to the capital. Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, pp. 25-31.
[32] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 23.

> us, and we spend every day, from morning to night with the Dutch. If you live somewhere like Edo and you want to learn Dutch, [then] it is absolutely impossible (*kanawazaru koto nari* 叶はざることなり). Masters like Noro (Noro Genjō 野呂元丈, 1693-1761) and Aoki (Aoki Kon'yō 青木昆陽, 1698-1769) come over at this hotel every year by order of the government, and even though they apply themselves enormously, they have not got much grasp of it. I think it would be naturally useless (*muyō* 無用) for you as well.

Finally, at least from Genpaku's report, Zenzaburō even seems to discredit two well-respected and government sponsored scholars, Noro Genjō and Aoki Kon'yō. As known, the Dutch studies scholars were engaged in government sponsored projects, and actively sought shogunal approval. As mentioned before, scholars were known for working alongside the interpreters, however here Genpaku almost suggests that the interpreters were questioning the government's mode of action, thus depicting them in a negative light.

Later in the text, Genpaku briefly dismisses Zenzaburō's efforts in written translation. He wrote:

> 昔、長崎にて西善三郎はマーリンの釈辞書を全部翻訳せんと企てると聞きしが、手はじめまでにて、事成らずと聞けり。[33]

> I heard that in the past Nishi Zenzaburō planned to translate (*hon'yaku* 翻訳) Marin's dictionary[34] in its entirety. I heard that he did so much as to start and did not complete the thing.

Unsurprisingly, Genpaku highlights that even if Zenzaburō tried to engage with the written text (in this case, the challenging endeavour of translating a Dutch-French dictionary), he did not complete the task. Genpaku does not provide a specific reason, but from the view of the interpreters' work that emerges from *Beginning*, it is easy to

[33] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 67.

[34] Here Genpaku is referring to Great Dictionary of Dutch and French (*Groot Nederduitsch en Fransch Woordenboek*, 2nd edition, 1730), a Dutch-French dictionary by Pierre (Pieter) Marin.

infer that such failure must be attributed to the interpreters' supposed lack of understanding of the subtleties of Dutch texts and written translation.

3.2.3 Working without the interpreters

Further denial of the interpreters' work recurs throughout the text. In another passage, Genpaku explicitly states that he and Maeno Ryōtaku had the wish to become independent from the interpreters' assistance in translating from Dutch. In this case, Genpaku recounted the moment when he, Ryōtaku, and their colleague Nakagawa Jun'an 中川淳庵 (1739-1786) decided to undertake the translation of *A New Treatise on Anatomy* (*Kaitai shinsho* 解体新書, 1774). Genpaku reported that witnessing a dissection performed in Edo in 1771 made the three of them realize how little they knew of the workings of the human body.

> なにとぞ、この実験に本づき、大凡にも身体の真理を弁へて医をなさば、この業を以て天地間に身を立るの申訳もあるべしと、共々に嘆息せり。良沢もげに尤も千万、同情のことなりと感じぬ。その時、翁、申せしは、何とぞこのターヘル・アナトミアの一部、新たに翻訳せば、身体内外のこと分明を得、今日治療の上の大益あるべし、いかにもして通詞等の手をからず、読み分けたきものなりと語りしに、良沢曰く、予は年来蘭書読み出したきの宿願あれど、これに志を同じうするの良友なし。[35]

> Based on this experience [i.e. the dissection], together we lamented that if we, by all means, performed medicine being aware, even approximately, of the truth about the human body, [then] we would have an excuse to establish ourselves with medicine in this world. I had the feeling that Ryōtaku too had absolutely the very same idea. In that moment, I said, "if we translated (*hon'yaku* 翻訳) afresh (*arata ni* 新たに) a part of *Anatomical Tables* (*Tāheru Anatomia* ターヘル・アナトミア), we would obtain a clear understanding of the inside and outside of the human body, and it would be greatly beneficial for today's medical treatments." When I said that I wanted to read and

[35] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 36-37.

> understand (*yomiwaketaki* 読み分けたき) [Dutch] without the interpreters' (*tsūji* 通詞) help, Ryōtaku said, "For some years, I had the longstanding desire to read Dutch books (*ransho yomi* 蘭書読み), but I did not have a good friend (*ryōyū nashi* 良友なし) with the same ambition."[36]

While it is perfectly reasonable that as surgeons Genpaku and colleagues wished to extend their scientific knowledge, why would they feel the need to translate without consulting the interpreters? Later in the text, Genpaku provides more detailed motives connected to the interpreters' translation ability; however, here as well, Genpaku gives away a clue of his attitude by using the term *hon'yaku* 翻訳 for "translation." This word was associated to the close translation of a written text, in particular in connection with the Buddhist translation tradition in China.[37] As will be discussed in the following sections, Genpaku tended to make use of this term in opposition with other expressions connected to translation into simple Japanese or oral or written interpretation, like *wage* 和解. In the passage above, Ryōtaku did in fact specify that his aspiration was "to read Dutch books (*ransho yomi* 蘭書読み)," and not to communicate verbally with the Dutch. As I will argue in section 3.3 (as well as in the following chapters, in which additional translation-related terms are discussed), Dutch studies scholars' terminological choices carry deeper implications and suggest the presence of complex dynamics in action.

3.2.4 When the interpreter is valued: the cases of Nishi Kichibei and Shizuki Tadao

Genpaku's mention of the interpreters' work in *Beginnings* was quite limited. As shown in section 3.2.2, Genpaku's description of his encounter with Nishi Zenzaburō was not free from antagonism. However, not all interpreters were considered in the same way; some were held in high regard on the basis of their official accomplishments, or for prioritising the study of written texts.

[36] The expression "not having a good friend (*ryōyū nashi* 良友なし)" could be interpreted as a subtle allusion to Ogyū Sorai's *A Tool for Translation*. See section 6.5 where a similar phrasing is used.
[37] Cheung, *Anthology of Chinese Discourse*.

As mentioned in section 3.2.1, before setting on the aim of becoming specialists of Dutch and engage in Edo's intellectual life, quite a few scholars of Dutch studies, including the most celebrated ones, were pursuing the medical career. Hence, from the point of view of Genpaku and his cohort, who mostly were surgeons aspiring to turn into scholars (*gakusha* 学者), it is possible that those instances in which some interpreters became surgeons or had gained scholarly positions, were seen as an acceptable circumstance, especially in case endorsement by the government was also involved.

In *Beginnings*, Genpaku reported the case of the interpreter Nishi Kichibei 西吉兵衛 (?-1684) as the first example of Dutch medicine at the service of the shogunate. Kichibei was an interpreter from the same family of the aforementioned Nishi Zenzaburō and of Nishi Gentetsu 西玄哲 (1681-1760), Genpaku's own teacher. To Genpaku's eyes, Kichibei was worth of mention for his linguistic accomplishments and his ties with the ruling class. He wrote:

> その頃西流といふ外科の一家出来たり。この家は、その初め南蛮船の通詞西吉兵衛といへる者にて、かの国の医術を伝へ、人に施せしが、その船の入津禁止せられて後、また和蘭通詞となり、その国の医術も伝はり、この人南蛮和蘭両流を相兼ねしとて、その両流と唱へしを、世には西流と呼びしよし。その頃は至つて珍しきことにてありければ専ら行はれ、その名も高かりしゆゑにや、後には官医に召し出され、改名して玄甫先生と申せしよし。 […]
> 右の玄甫先生、初めて西洋医流を唱へられしより、公儀にも御用ひ遊ばされしことにて、和蘭医事御用に立ちし初めなり。[38]

> At that time, the family that practiced Nishi-style surgery was established. The origin of this family was an interpreter (*tsūji* 通詞) [who worked with] the Spanish and Portuguese ships, Nishi Kichibei, who transmitted the medical science of those countries, and used it on his patients. After those [Spanish and Portuguese] ships were prohibited to enter the port, he then became a Dutch interpreter (*Oranda tsūji* 和蘭通詞), and transmitted the medical science of that country as well. As this person combined the Spanish-Portuguese and

[38] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 13.

> Dutch styles, he was called the "double style" (*ryōryū* 両流) and that became known as the Nishi-style. At that time, since such accomplishment was rare, his name soared and afterwards he was appointed surgeon of the shogunate (*kan'i* 官医), changing his name in doctor Genpo 玄甫. […] Beyond advocating Western medicine for the first time, the fact that doctor Genpo made use of it at the shogunate as well, was the beginning of Dutch surgery serving [the government].

Notably, in the same passage, Genpaku does not fail to mention that his own family was connected to the Nishi family, since his father Sugita Hosen 杉田甫仙 (dates unknown) became a doctor studying under their guidance.[39]

Another useful case to delineate Genpaku's attitude towards the interpreters' work is the example of the famous interpreter Shizuki Tadao 志筑忠雄 (also known as Nakano Ryūho 中野柳圃, 1760-1806). As widely demonstrated by contemporary research, Tadao's scholarly merits and his role in the development of the field are undisputable, both in the realms of scientific advancement and of Dutch linguistic knowledge.[40] Telling of his reputation within the circle of the Edo-based scholars is also the fact that Tadao was one of the few interpreters that Sugita Genpaku decided to mention in *Beginnings* precisely for their linguistic contributions to the field.

I would argue that, in Genpaku's view, it was crucial that Tadao was an interpreter who left the profession and decided to become a scholar, dedicating his talents to written translation. In fact, about him, Genpaku wrote:

> […] 志筑忠次郎といへる一訳士ありき。性多病にして早くその職し、他へゆづり、本姓中野に復して退隠し、病を以て世人の交通を謝し、ひとり学んで専ら蘭書に耽り、群籍に目をさらし、その中かの文科の書を講明したりとなり。[41]

[39] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 13.
[40] Boot, *Patriarch of Dutch Learning*; De Groot, *Study of the Dutch Language*, Horiuchi, "When Science Develops."
[41] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 67.

> There was an interpreter (*yakushi* 訳士) called Shizuki Chūjirō 志筑忠次郎 (i.e. Shizuki Tadao). He was a man of weak constitution; early on, he got involved in the field [of Dutch studies], and then avoiding others, he went back to his former name Nakano 中野 and retired. Because he was sick, he transferred his position [of interpreter] to another person, thus studying alone and dedicating himself exclusively to Dutch texts (*ransho* 蘭書). He examined a great deal of books (*seki* 籍), and among them he [also] explicated (*kōmei* 講明) literary texts (*bunka no sho* 文科の書).[42]

Tadao was surely praised by Genpaku for his linguistic expertise. However, the key-factor here is that Genpaku stressed that Tadao turned his attention to the study of Dutch texts (*ransho* 蘭書), thus turning his focus to scholarly written material in opposition to oral translation.

It is interesting to note that, as will be showed in the passage below, Genpaku talked about Tadao's contribution as filtered by one of his most known disciples, the interpreter Baba Sajūrō 馬場佐十郎 (also known as Baba Teiyū 馬場貞由, 1787-1822). As noted by De Groot, Sajūrō was indeed instrumental for the transmission of Tadao's work to the posterity.[43] However, I would say that this was also a subtle way, from Genpaku's part, to shift the emphasis from Tadao to Sajūrō, who was an interpreter more engaged with the scholars' circle (Sajūrō was appointed, together with Ōtsuki Gentaku to the Office for the Translation of Barbarian Books, *Bansho wage goyō*, 蛮書和解御用 in 1811). In fact, Genpaku continued:

> 文化の初年、吉雄六次郎、馬場千之助などいふ者、その門に入りて、かの属文並びに文章法格等の要を伝へしとなり。この千之助は今は佐十郎（貞由）と改名し、先年臨時の御用にて江戸に召し寄せられしが数年在留し、当時御家人い召し出され、永住の人となり、専ら蘭書和解の御用を勤め、この学を好めるもの、皆その

[42] As mentioned in section 4.6.2, Shizuki Tadao even faced translation from Latin. Among other things, Tadao also translated the Dutch version of *The History of Japan* by Engelbert Kampfer, from which the word *sakoku* 鎖国 ("closed country") originated. Mervart, "Republic of Letters."
[43] De Groot, "The Influence of Shizuki Tadao's Linguistic Works," pp. 133-38.

> 読法を伝ふることとなれり。わが子弟孫子、その教へを受くることなれば、各々の真法を得て、正訳も成就すべし。[44]
>
> In the first year of the Bunka 文化 era (1804), people like Yoshio Rokujirō 吉雄六次郎 (?-?) and Baba Sen'nosuke 馬場千之助 became [Shizuki Tadao's] disciples. [Tadao] introduced them to the essentials (*kaname* 要) [of Dutch language learning], like composition and phrase rules. Sen'nosuke changed his name in Sajūrō 佐十郎 and some years ago was called to Edo by a special order of the government and resided there for many years. At that time, he was appointed as a *houseman* (i.e. a direct vassal of the shogunate, *gokenin* 御家人). Sajūrō became a permanent resident [of Edo] and exclusively worked on translation (*wage* 和解) of Dutch texts (*ransho* 蘭書). Of those interested in this study [of Dutch], everyone went along with [Sajūrō's] way of reading (*dokuhō* 読法) [texts]. My sons and descedants received those teachings (*oshie* 教へ), thus, each of them acquired that true method (*shinhō* 真法) and will accomplish correct translations (*seiyaku* 正訳).

In the text, Genpaku did not give us much detail about the actual characteristics of Tadao's "way of reading (*dokuhō* 読法)" or of his "true method (*shinhō* 真法)," but as it likely derived from the Nagasaki's interpreters' work, it must have been at least somewhat similar to the hands-on "Nagasaki method" as promoted by Ogyū Sorai in *A Tool for Translation* (i.e. teaching Chinese using contemporary Chinese pronunciation and translating in a simple form of Japanese. On Sorai and this text, see chapters 5 and 6).[45]

Notably, here Genpaku used the word *wage* 和解 (and not *hon'yaku* 翻訳) to describe the translation activity of Baba Sajūrō. This choice could simply be attributed to the fact that Sajūrō was translating into Japanese; however, the presence of deeper implications

[44] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), pp. 67-68.

[45] In fact, De Groot notes that to help his students in Nagasaki Shizuki Tadao "provided translations from Dutch both in the contemporary Nagasaki dialect and in literary form." De Groot, "Influence of Shizuki Tadao," pp. 29-130.

cannot be excluded. On the perception of the interpreters' translation activity and the use of translation-related terminology, see section 3.3.

Finally, while recognising his merits in the linguistic arena, ultimately Genpaku still tried to attribute Tadao's accomplishments to the activity of the scholars in Edo:

> さて、忠次郎は本邦和蘭通詞といへる名ありてより前後の一人なるべしとなり。若しこの人退隠せずして在職にてあらば、却つてかくまでには至らざるべきか。これ、或は江戸にてわが社の師友もなくして、推してかの国の書を読み出だせることのはじまりしに、かの人も憤発せるのなすところかとも思はる。これまた昇平日久しく、これらのことも世に開くべきの気連といふべし。[46]

> Thus, Chūjirō 忠次郎 (i.e. Shizuki Tadao) became the best [officially recognised] Dutch interpreter (*Oranda tsūji* 和蘭通詞) in this country since this word ever existed. If he did not retire and if he kept working [as an interpreter (*yakushi* 訳士)] would have he made it to this point? If we, in our circle (*sha* 社) without teachers and friends (*shiyū mo nakushite* 師友もなくして) in Edo, had not started reading Dutch texts (*sho o yomidaseru* 書を読み出だせる) for the first time, would [Shizuki Tadao] have got the sparkle (*funpatsu* 憤発) [for his own work]? Again, these things were [happening thanks to] the long days of peace and the spirit [of the Tokugawa period].[47]

A similar attitude towards Tadao's accomplishments can be recognised in the work of another praised scholar from within the movement, Ōtsuki Gentaku, whose work *Upward and Forward in Dutch Translation* (*Ran'yaku teikō* 蘭訳梯航, 1816) is briefly brought up below and will be the main object of investigation of chapter 6. In *Upward and Forward,* using the dialogic form of "questions and answers (*mondō* 問答)," Ōtsuki Gentaku discussed several topics related to translation and the developments of Dutch

[46] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 68.

[47] As mentioned in note 36, "without teachers nor friends (*shiyū naki* 師友無き)" is an expression also used by Ogyū Sorai in *A Tool for Translation* when Sorai describes the conditions of his exile in Nansō. The word *shiyū* 師友 occurs three times in the text. Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 23-24. An extract from *A Tool for Translation* containing this phrase is quoted in section 6.5.

studies in Japan. Reiterating Sugita Genpaku's idea, Gentaku upheld that the scholars active in Edo should be considered the founders of the discipline.

Gentaku as well commented on the role of the interpreters in the development of the field, dedicating a few words to their contribution. In one of his answers, Gentaku retraced the information given by Sugita Genpaku on the impact that Shizuki Tadao had on the study of Dutch language and translation. Again, the fact that Gentaku seems to exactly quote *Beginnings*, in this passage and in others, keeps rising doubts on *Beginnings'* real authorship.[48]

In the text, Gentaku too traced the origin of the so-called Nagasaki method back to Shizuki Tadao, to whom great progress in the domain of translation methods was owed. Gentaku wrote:

> 問曰：精粗虚実の根由尽くこれを聞くことを得たり。但其学びかた昔は疎にして今は甚だ密なりといふの由如何。
> 答曰：其学の詳密に至りしといふは天明の初年長崎に於て中野柳圃といふ人よりして其正法起れり。此人もと訳司なりしが多病にして、其識を辞し、獨隠れて、病を養ひ、其自ら好む所の和蘭書に耽り、専ら其学を研究し、其中彼文科の書を読んで能く其法を了解教諭せしに始れり。従来の訳家の本務とする所は右に云へる如くなれば、絶て此事には及ばざるなり。今東西の学者は此遺教を承けて彼書を解する事なれば、其所説の正を失はず意義の全きを得ると聞ゆるなり。[49]

> Question: I could hear all about the origin of Dutch studies.[50] However, why was that way of study (*manabikata* 学びかた) so sporadic (*so* 疎) in the past, and how come it is so very accurate (*mitsu* 密) today?
> Answer: The achievement of such elaboration (*shōmitsu* 詳密) in our study (*gaku* 学) dates back to the first year of the Tenmei 天明 era [1781] in Nagasaki, and [goes back] to a man called Nakano Ryūho 中

[48] As noted before, Gentaku might have influenced Sugita Genpaku's *Beginnings of Dutch Studies*. Honma, "Nagasaki *Rangaku*," also quoted by Boot in "Words of a Mad Doctor," p. 43.
[49] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Upward and Forward* (*Ran'yaku teikō*), vol. 2, pp. 3-4.
[50] Literally, the "fineness (*so* 精) and the coarseness (*mitsu* 粗), and of the empty (*kyo* 虚) and the practical (*jitsu* 実)."

> 野柳圃 (i.e. Shizuki Tadao), from whom that correct method (*seihō* 正法) originated. This man was an interpreter (*yakushi* 訳司), however, as he was frequently sick, he resigned from that job, he retired to private life and took care of his illness. He dedicated himself to the Dutch texts (*Oranda sho* 和蘭書) he was interested in, only doing research on this field (*gaku* 学). Among those texts, he read [Dutch] literary (*bunka* 文科) texts and he started to understand and teach the rules (*hō* 法) [of Dutch]. Since up to that point the work (*honmu* 本務) of the translators (*yakuke* 訳家) was as I was describing it earlier, it did not comprise these things at all. Today, the scholars (*gakusha* 学者) of the East and the West receive the teaching of the people from the past (*ikyō* 遺教) and because they understand the texts, they can get the totality of the meaning (*igi* 意義) without losing the correctness (*sei* 正) of those explanations (*shosetsu* 所説).

Opposite to what was discussed in the previous section regarding Genpaku's opinion of Nishi Zenzaburō's lack of engagement with the written text, for Gentaku here, Tadao's main merit was to have tackled Dutch written sources, placing the emphasis on the translation of the written text. In fact, as will be further shown in chapter 6, for Gentaku one could acquire knowledge only through the understanding of the written source text.

3.2.5 When the interpreter is an ally: Yoshio Kogyū and his preface to *A New Treatise on Anatomy*

Yoshio Kogyū 吉雄耕牛 (1724-1800, also known as Yoshio Kōsaku 吉雄幸作, or 吉雄幸朔) was the famed interpreter, translator, doctor and scholar who was asked to write the preface (*jo* 序) to *A New Treatise*.[51] Kogyū had been a teacher to both Genpaku and Maeno Ryōtaku, and was one of the few interpreters that Genpaku mentioned by name and talked about in *Beginnings*. In his account, Genpaku goes as far as saying that the encounter between Ryōtaku and Kogyū was considered to be "one of the events that

[51] For a brief overview of Kogyū's life and work, see Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, pp. 70-72.

initiated Dutch studies [in Japan] (*rangaku no yo ni aku beki hitotsu* 蘭学の世に開くべき一つ)."[52]

Like Shizuki Tadao (introduced in the previous section), in Sugita Genpaku's vision, Kogyū was one of those individuals that best bridged the divide between the interpreters in Nagasaki and the group of scholars active in Edo. This was surely thanks to his ability as a doctor, his knowledge of Dutch and his official position of senior interpreter. However, again, one of the key-factors in his inclusion in *Beginnings* seems to be Kogyū's keen interest in Dutch texts. Genpaku wrote:

> […] 幸左衛門一珍書を出し示せり。これは去年初めて持ち渡りしヘイステル（人名）のシュルゼイン（外科治術）といふ書なりと。われ深く懇望して境樽二十挺を以て交易したりと語れり。[53]

> [One time], Kōzaemon 幸左衛門 [i.e. Yoshio Kogyū] showed me one rare book that had been imported [to Japan] for the first time last year. It was a book on surgery and medical treatments titled *Shuruzein* シュルゼイン [i.e. *Heelkundige Onderwyzingen*] and it was by a man called Heisuteru ヘイステル [i.e. Lorenz Heister, 1683-1758].[54] [Kōzaemon] recounted that he was so deeply eager to get it, that he exchanged twenty barrels of [very expensive] Sakai sake for it.

In his preface to *A New Treatise*, Kogyū briefly recounted the inception of Dutch studies in Japan, commending the Dutch people for their skills and knowledge. As customary of this kind of writings, Kogyū sang the praises of the book's authors (in this case, its translators and editors). He talked about his longstanding relationship with Maeno Ryōtaku born from Ryōtaku's visits at the Nagasakiya, the place the Dutch were staying during their visits to Edo, also resulting in Kogyū's encounter with Sugita Genpaku. Kogyū particularly complimented Ryōtaku's efforts in learning Dutch, while remarking the fact that during his studies, Ryōtaku often sought Kogyū's guidance.[55]

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[52] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 26.
[53] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 25.
[54] I got the title of the book from Matsumoto, *Dawn of Western Science*, p. 18.
[55] Yoshio Kogyū, *A Preface* (*Kaitai shinsho o koku suru no jo*), p. 209. As also noted by Annick Horiuchi in Horiuchi, "When Science Develops," p. 168.

Intriguingly, in this preface we find many observations that Genpaku will almost exactly retrace in *Beginnings*. As a first example, Kogyū wrote about people wanting to get into Dutch studies as such:

> 或は名高を好むの徒曰く、吾蘭書を好むと。一、二これを訳家に叩ぬと雖も、その終りや、徒らに以て孟浪となし、中道ならずして廃る者も、また固より少からず。或は訳家に従ひてその術を学ぶに、これを習ふこと久しく、これをなすこと熟すと雖も、書と言に臨めば、則ち眴若として看過する者、また固より少からずとなす。[56]

> Sometimes, students attracted to notoriety say, "I am interested in Dutch texts (*ransho* 蘭書)." Even if they knock [on the door of] one or two interpreters' (*yakuka* 訳家), in the end, many are careless all along, and desist when they're not even half-way through [learning Dutch]. Other times, many get training with an interpreter (*yakuka* 訳家) all along, to study his art (*jutsu* 術); however, it takes a long time to learn [Dutch], and even if they gain [those interpreting skills], when they deal with books (*sho* 書) and sentences (*gen* 言), they [cannot read, as if they were] blinded by the light.

And then, about his own experience in learning Dutch, he details a similar experience as the one Genpaku assigned to Nishi Zenzaburō above:

> 余は訳家に生れて箕裘を継ぎ、丱兮よりその事に習ひ、左右にこれを取り、まさにその原に逢はんとす。然れどもその事理の窈奥、彼の精工にして進む所の者に至りては、余と雖も、窮詰し易からざるなり。[57]

> I was born in a family of interpreters (*yakuka* 訳家), I continued the family business and I have been learning the job since I was a child. I

[56] Yoshio Kogyū, *A Preface* (*Kaitai shinsho o koku suru no jo*), p. 208.
[57] Yoshio Kogyū, *A Preface* (*Kaitai shinsho o koku suru no jo*), p. 208-09.

have always been familiar with it, and I wished to know it intimately. However, to reach the most obscure parts [of Dutch studies] and to get to its minutiae, even for me, it is not easy to master thoroughly.

According to what he wrote in the preface, Kogyū was asked by Sugita Genpaku to assess Genpaku and Ryōtaku's translation of the Dutch version of Kulmus' book. Kogyū commented about it in such fashion:

余受けてこれを読むに、詳覈明鬯にして、その事言、これを彼に挍するに、一も差忒することなし。乃ちその篤好なることかくの如きに感じ、覚えず泫然として涙下がる。遂に喟然として書を廃し歎じて曰く、ああ至れるかなこの挙や。我が　東方、彼を召す者数百年なり。その際、学者何ぞ限りあらん。然れども学者、訳を成す能はず。訳者もまた文に拙なり。ここを以ていまだ嘗て条理して能くこの道を世に弘むる者あらざるなり。[58]

I received [their text] and read it, I examined it closely (*shōkaku* 詳覈) and looked through its arguments (*meichō* 明鬯). Then, with regard to the language (*gen* 言), I compared [their translation] to the [original] and there was no discrepancy (*sa* 差) nor mistake (*toku* 忒). Thus, I felt like it was so faithfully and beautifully (篤好 *tokkō*) done that, without even realising, I cried out and burst into tears. Finally, I sighed, I put down the book and longed, saying "Ah, what an enterprise they achieved!" It has been a hundred years since our government allowed [the Dutch to dock in Dejima]. From that moment, there has been an endless number of scholars (*gakusha* 学者). However, such scholars (*gakusha* 学者) would not be able to complete a translation (*yaku* 訳). Even the interpreters (*yakumono* 訳者) are very clumsy with the written language (*bun ni setsu nari* 文に拙なり). Because of this, until now there had been no one to unravel this path (*dō* 道) in the world skilfully and with reason.

[58] Yoshio Kogyū, *A Preface* (*Kaitai shinsho o koku suru no jo*), p. 209-10.

The passage reported above is the most interesting in connection with the arguments discussed in this chapter. First, like Genpaku in *Beginnings*, Kogyū clearly differentiates between the interpreters and the scholars using different terminology (the interpreters are referred to as *yakumono* 訳者, while the scholars are *gakusha* 学者) - even pointing out that not all scholars are equally capable. Secondly, Kogyū's words confirm the idea advocated by Genpaku that despite the interpreters being skilled in Dutch, they are unable to deal with the written text, a responsibility that the Edo scholars fulfil in a most accomplished way, and with great regard to the original text.

Kogyū, a proficient translator of several medical texts, must have had a much crucial role (at least as an advisor) in *A New Treatise*'s translation project, a role that, as Sugimoto also notes, Genpaku failed to disclose in *Beginnings*.[59] This is thus a further proof of Genpaku's manipulation of translation discourse to the detriment of the interpreters.

3.3 Genpaku's comparison of the scholars' and the interpreters' translation approaches

Genpaku's negative judgement of the interpreters' work in *Beginnings* becomes more strictly concerned with translation practice when a further terminological distinction comes into sight, the one between "translation" as produced by the scholars (recurrently referred to as *hon'yaku* 翻訳) and "translation" produced by the interpreters (in most cases defined *wage* 和解). It is worth remembering that there were many other translation-related words in early modern Japan (some of them will be surveyed in the following chapter); here I focus on these two because they are especially relevant to Genpaku's discussion of translation in *Beginnings*. [60]

In line with the customary multiplicity of the Japanese vocabulary relating to translation, throughout *Beginnings* the usage of these words is not always clear or systematic. In effect, the terms in question are at times used for their primary meanings (which are discussed below), and at times are given a new significance or specific

[59] Sugimoto, *Kaitai shinsho no jidai*, pp. 292-97.

[60] On the multiplicity of translation terms in early modern Japan see Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*, pp. 10-12; Clements, "In Search of Translation;" Wakabayashi, "Etymological exploration of 'translation.'"

undertones. Along with the examination of the narrative promoted in *Beginnings* and the Japanese translation discourse of the Tokugawa era, in the rest of this chapter and the following ones, I will put forward the hypothesis that Genpaku's treatment of the word *hon'yaku* and the connotations that are given to it may constitute the set up behind the extension of its use as the general term for "translation" in modern and contemporary Japanese.[61]

3.3.1 Two key terms: translation (*hon'yaku* 翻訳) *vs* interpretation (*wage* 和解)

Before delving into Genpaku's arguments on the interpreters' and the scholars' work, in this section I will consider two recurrent terms that characterised Genpaku's discussion of translation in *Beginnings*, *hon'yaku* 翻訳 and *wage* 和解. The translation discourse relating to these terms as expressed in *Beginnings* and in a few other sources, is certainly connected to their characteristics, which are outlined in the following paragraphs. However, in this thesis I argue that the reasoning behind Sugita Genpaku's choice of words was related to a need to create the scholars' own translation discourse. As will be illustrated in the rest of this chapter, Genpaku's use of terminology described a complex dynamic that is not exhausted in the simple opposition of close translation versus interpretation, or in the production of a target text in Chinese or in Japanese. In fact, it is my view that *hon'yaku* was initially associated with translation in *kanbun* or *kanbun kundoku*, and in its later elaborations ended up encompassing the mixed style of Chinese characters and *katakana*. I will argue that in Genpaku's words there is an antagonism that stems from professional rivalry and that dives in the emphasis that Genpaku (and others, like Ōtsuki Gentaku, as discussed in chapters 4 and 6) attributed to matters of style and correctness.

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[61] It is also possible that such general use of the term *hon'yaku* 翻訳 was initiated by Ōtsuki Gentaku, who in this thesis I consider the architect of Dutch studies' translation discourse. As a matter of fact, in the introduction to *A New Treatise on Anatomy* (which can be regarded as the earliest evidence of translation discourse by the Edo-based scholars, see chapter 4) Sugita Genpaku listed *hon'yaku* only as one of the types of translation adopted by the Dutch studies scholars, rather than the general term.
The usage of *hon'yaku* as the general term for "translation" can be found in Ōtsuki Gentaku's revised version of *A New Treatise on Anatomy* (*Jūtei Kaitai shinsho* or *Chōtei Kaitai shinsho* 重訂解体新書 1826) and *New Record of Six Things* (*Rokumotsu shinshi*, 六物新志, 1786) discussed in chapter 4 and in *Upward and Forward in Dutch Translation* (*Ran'yaku teikō* 蘭訳梯航, manuscript, 1816), which is the main object of investigation of chapter 6. This usage of the term *hon'yaku* also appears in the preface to *A New Treatise on Anatomy, extensively revised*, authored by Katsuragawa Hoshū 桂川甫周 (1751-1809) and Nakagawa Jun'an 中川淳庵 (1739-1786), see section 4.4.4.

The first term under scrutiny here is *hon'yaku*, a word heavily charged with significance.[62] *Hon'yaku* is used in modern and contemporary Japanese to render the English word "translation," however it was not a commonly used expression in early modern Japan.[63] It originated in China (CH: *fānyì*) and it has been traditionally associated with sutra translation (so, mainly with translation from Sanskrit into Chinese), therefore being closely tied to written translation. It was associated with word-for-word translation strategies, as well as with the idea of producing a target text which ought to be faithful to the source in both contents and style.[64] Interestingly, as will be noted in the following chapter on translation paratexts, in the introduction to *An New Treatise on Anatomy*, *hon'yaku* was listed as one kind of translation (the "proper" or equivalent translation), and was not used as the general term.

On the other hand, *wage*, literally "Japanese interpretation," or "simple interpretation," implied the idea of an easy translation into Japanese,[65] and it is the term that Genpaku used to describe the translations produced by the interpreters. It must be noted that *wage* was a common, widely used term that did not have an inherently negative connotation, and that the Dutch studies scholars themselves used this term to describe their own work. Notable examples can be seen in the title of the dictionary *Haruma Translated* (*Haruma wage* 波留麻和解, 1796) or in the preface to of *A New Compendium for Health* (*Kosei shinpen* 厚生新編, 1811-1839).[66]

Yet, since Genpaku made use of this term to label the mistranslations produced by the interpreters in *Beginnings*, the word *wage* results pictured in a bad light. With *wage*, Genpaku contrasted the (according to him) interpreters' poor-quality process and translation product with the translations produced by the scholars (which he recurrently referred to as *hon'yaku*). I argue that Genpaku considered *wage* not only a simplified interpretation or a translation into Japanese, but also an inaccurate product, apparently

[62] On the conceptualisations of this word in the Chinese context, see Cheung, "Reconceptualizing Translation."

[63] Clements, "In Search of Translation."

[64] Clements, "In Search of Translation," pp. 5-10.

[65] Clements, "In Search of Translation," p. 11, and Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*, p. 11. The character for *wa* 和 can mean "simple," "gentle" or "Japanese".

[66] In fact, Clements reports that the word *wage* appears in the title of 516 translations produced in Tokugawa Japan. In comparison, translations that come along the term *hon'yaku* are only 49. Clements, "In Search of Translation," p. 7.

even irrespective to the strategies employed and the target language or style of the target text.

While *wage* was associated with both the groups' work, *hon'yaku* was not connected to the interpreters' practice in Genpaku's writings. Here, I argue that Genpaku, in doing so, reserved the right to claim an accurate and appropriate translation for the scholars. A number of instances of the use of these two terms are discussed in the sections below.

3.3.2 Occurrences of *hon'yaku* and *wage* in *Beginnings*

In the following passage, Genpaku used *wage* in the sense of Japanized translation, accompanying it with a strong connotation of inaccuracy. *Wage*'s association with a negative example ends up suggesting an eventually ineffective approach by the interpreters. *Wage* could also be used to refer to spoken translation; however, here the fact that this term is employed when referring to the Japanized rendition of a phrase like "part one (*ichibu* 一部 or *ippen* 一篇)" indeed implies that Genpaku is referring to written translation since this phrase refers to the sections of a book.

Talking about the aftermath of the publication of *A New Treatise on Anatomy*, Genpaku commented on the interpreters' alleged jealousy towards the Edo-based scholars' achievements. Genpaku complained about the interpreters' ignorance in matters of translation and interpreting, likely caused by their lack of enough linguistic refinement necessary to engage correctly with the written text.

> この業江戸にて首唱し、二三年も過ぎしころ、年々拝禮に參向する和蘭便りにて、長崎にも聞き伝へ、蘭学といふこと江戸にて大いに開けしといふこと、通詞家などにては、忌み憎みしよし。さもあるべし。如何さま、そのころまでは、かの家々は通弁までのことにて、書物読みて翻訳するなどいふこともなかりし時節にて、冷めしをさむめしといひ、一部一篇とも訳すべきエーンデールといふ語を、一のわかれ二のわかれと和解し、通じ合ひて事済むやうなることにてありしと見えたり。[67]

[67] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 52-53.

> Two-three years after we promoted our endeavour in Edo, the news was transmitted to Nagasaki as well, thanks to the Dutch that come to pay homage to the Shōgun every year. I heard that the families of interpreters (*tsūjika* 通詞家) hated that Dutch studies had become so widespread in Edo. Well, of course. Certainly, until that period, those families only practiced interpreting (*tsūben* 通弁), and did not engage in reading (*yomi* 読みて) and translation (*hon'yaku* 翻訳) of texts. Like for example, saying *samumeshi* (wrong reading of *hiyameshi* 冷めし, "cold rice") instead of *hiyameshi*, or translating (*wage* 和解) the word *ēndēru* (エーンデール "een deel"), which translates (*yakusu* 訳す) as "part one" (*ichibu* 一部) or "section one" (*ippen* 一篇) with "separation one" (ichi no wakare 一のわかれ) or "separation two" (二のわかれ). You can see that [this kind of translation] was [only] made in order to understand each other (*tsūjiaite* 通じ合ひて).

From Genpaku's words, it is possible to note a certain hostility towards spoken translation (*tsūben* 通弁). In particular, his reiteration of the fact that (according to him) the interpreters did not engage in reading the texts, nor in textual translation (*hon'yaku* 翻訳), could be understood as a sign of his graphocentric attitude, which traditionally characterised the Chinese studies tradition both in Japan and China.[68]

From Genpaku's stance as presented above, one could suppose that thus in Genpaku's eyes, *wage* was an inaccurate rendition, and *hon'yaku* an accurate translation. While the term *hon'yaku* could be mostly associated with close translation, in the passage quoted below Genpaku used it instead to define a translation that in his own judgement was not textually accurate, but that still conveyed the general meaning of the source text. Talking about the Dutch studies scholars' approach in reference to their translation of *A New Treatise on Anatomy*, Genpaku claimed that since at the time he and his colleagues needed to transmit Western medical knowledge to Japan as quickly as possible, they had no time to waste in producing an accurate translation. In doing so,

[68] For a comparison of graphocentrism in the Chinese society, see Hung, *Education between Speech and Writing*.

Genpaku causes a shift in the perception of *hon'yaku*, which now could be considered "right" more in its intent than in the accuracy of its realisation. Genpaku wrote:

> […] そのあらましの大方ばかりを唱へ出だせしなり。これを手初めにして世医の為に翻訳の業を首唱せしなり。もとより浮屠氏翻訳の法は弁へず、殊に和蘭書翻訳といふことは、古今になきところの最初なれば、この読み初めの時にあたりて、細密なるところはもとより弁ずべきやうもなし。[69]

> […] we decided to proceed only with a summary of the main points. With this in mind, we promoted our work of translation (*hon'yaku* 翻訳) for the sake of the medical world. All along, we did not know the rules (*hō* 法) of translation (*hon'yaku* 翻訳) of the Buddhist scholars and monks' (*futoshi* 浮屠氏), and because in particular translation (*hon'yaku* 翻訳) of Dutch books did not exist before that moment, and that was the first time we read them (*yomi* 読み), all along there have been some *minutiae* that we did not understand.

A New Treatise on Anatomy was indeed the first example of a translation completed by Edo-based Dutch studies scholars. It represented a milestone for the group and probably for this reason, even if Genpaku admitted that their translation was at times unprecise and done with haste, it still qualified as *hon'yaku* to him. As a reminder, *A New Treatise on Anatomy* was not the first Japanese translation of a Dutch book. At the time, the interpreter Motoki Ryōi 本木了意 (1628-1697) had already translated from Dutch *Microcosmic Diagrams* (*Pinax Microcosmographicus*, 1667) a work on anatomy by Johannes Remmelin (1583-1632).[70] Thus, stating that there had never been a similar practice before is not only an exaggeration, but another fabrication to the detriment of the Nagasaki interpreters.

It is interesting that, in order to justify the lower quality of their translation, Genpaku specified that at the time they did not know the "translation rules (*hon'yaku no hō* 翻訳

[69] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 50.

[70] See Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*, pp. 147-49 and Sugimoto, "Inception of Translation Culture," p. 26.

の法)" of the Buddhist scholars and monks who translated the sacred scriptures in China. Such a comment indeed implies that at a later time, and at least at the moment of the compilation of *Beginnings*, he came to know such rules. Thus, Genpaku's observation reveals another small but significant detail of the process behind the development of the scholars' translation discourse; indeed, the Buddhist translation tradition will be mentioned again by Genpaku himself and other Dutch studies scholars (see section 3.4 below and chapters 4 and 6).

Another comparison with the Buddhist translation tradition comes into play in *Beginnings* when Genpaku complains about the interpreters' usual mode of transmission of knowledge. As pointed out in section 3.2.1, the profession of interpreter was hereditary. Thus, like many occupations in Japan at this time, interpreters' teachings and translations were transmitted via *densho* 伝書, a sort of "secret manuals," often in form of handwritten notes, handed down from master to disciple in manuscript form, generation after generation. Literally "transmission books," *densho* were a growing common trend in the Tokugawa period [71] and were used to pass on all sorts of knowledge, from poetic composition to medical teachings. The custom of secret transmission (*hiden* 秘伝), either done orally or in writing, could entail authority and prestige, especially in the arts; however Genpaku depicted the interpreters' practice in a wholly negative light.[72] Discussing the shortcomings of *densho* in an exchange of letters with Tatebe Seian 建部精菴 (also called Yoshimasa 由正, 1712-1782),[73] Genpaku wrote:

> これまでの和蘭流外科片仮名書きの伝書をこの術の基とするまだなるは、さてさて残念なり、世に有識の人出でて昔漢土にて仏経

[71] Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*, pp. 22-24.

[72] One of the most famous examples of *densho* is Zeami's *Fushikaden* 風姿花伝, a manual about Noh theatre and acting. For a complete discussion of *densho*/*hiden* 秘伝, see Morinaga, *Secrecy in Japanese Arts*.

[73] Tatebe Seian was one of Sugita's pupils and a domain doctor from Ichinoseki, (part of present-day Iwate Prefecture in North-eastern Japan). As Sugita himself notes in *Beginnings of Dutch Studies*, the letters mentioned here were copied and published in 1795 by his pupils, under the title *Questions and Answers on Dutch Medicine* (*Oranda iji mondō* 和蘭医事問答). Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 49.

を翻訳せしごとくに和蘭の書をも和解なしたらば、正真の和蘭医流成就すべしと記せられたり。[74]

[Tatebe] wrote, “until now, Dutch style surgery has been transmitted by handing down secret notes (*densho* 伝書) written in *katakana* (*katakanagaki* 片仮名書き), which only comprise the basics (*ki* 基) of this art, and this is such a shame. If knowledgeable people were to appear and translated (*wage* 和解) Dutch books in the same way as Buddhist texts (*bukkyō* 仏経) were translated (*hon'yaku* 翻訳) in China in the past, then they would surely realise that the teachings of Dutch medicine are the real truth (*shōshin* 正真).”

In this passage, yet again Genpaku disdained the interpreters' practice, this time focussing on the use of the simple *katakana* style in which their notes were couched. In doing so, Genpaku lamented the lack of a textual translation tradition for Dutch texts in Japan, one that according to him, should be similar to the translation of Buddhist scriptures in China. Here Genpaku is talking about a writing style (*buntai* 文体) characterised by the preponderant use of *katakana*, one of the two Japanese syllabaries, and a few Chinese characters, mostly following Japanese grammar, syntax, and lexicon. Genpaku probably found this simple *katakana* style employed by the interpreters inappropriate for scholarly work, perhaps considering it evidence of poor education. However, I would say that, even more than their writing style, Genpaku here is challenging the interpreters' approach, which springs from the observation of Dutch surgeons' practice and the method of spoken translation, and not from the study of Dutch books. In the later developments of the field, Dutch studies scholars as well employed simple academic Japanese for translating, despite the fact that their aim was not to educate the general public. It is possible that in practice the interpreters' work influenced the Edo-based scholars much more than the latter liked to admit. However, from the point of view of translation discourse, this eventual influence was inconvenient and had to be covered with associations with more prestigious antecedents (on the matter, see chapter 6).

[74] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 49.

In another answer from *Upward and Forward*, Ōtsuki Gentaku further elaborated on the matter of *densho*, explaining that the problem lay in the interpreters' approach to the study of Dutch language and knowledge. Gentaku criticised their generalised inaccuracy and in particular the way they used to take notes (as will be discussed in the next subsection, Sugita Genpaku had the same view on the interpreters' work and problematized the way the interpreters recorded information).

Gentaku wrote:

> 問曰：今は易く昔は難かりしの由如何。
> 答曰：昔東都府下にて創業せしは先師等見る所ありて如何にもしてこれを開き試みんと夫れといふ。師友もなく、推してこれを読み出せるの刻苦に始れり。尤其本は長崎訳官の伝より出たる事なれども、親く其教を受たるにもあらず。特其一端を聞て余は皆自ら苦める勉強の功に出たる事なり。[75]
>
> Question: Why is [studying Dutch] easy today, and why was it difficult in the past?
> Answer: In the past, a few [of my] older teachers founded [this discipline] at the Capital Edo and by any means began [Dutch studies]. Without teachers or friends (*shiyū mo naku* 師友もなく),[76] they started to read [Dutch books], working very hard. Even though [the contents of] those books appeared in the Nagasaki interpreters' (*Nagasaki yakkan* 長崎訳官) notes (*den* 伝), they were not understood (*uketaru* 受たる) very well. [However, even starting with] so little knowledge, we studied hard and had success by ourselves.

Again, the interpreters are antagonised on the basis of the flaws in their method, in particular for the problem of the incorrectness of their notes (*den* 伝).

[75] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Upward and Forward* (*Ran'yaku teikō*), vol. 1, pp. 17-18.
[76] Again, "without teachers or friends" is reminiscent of Sorai's *A Tool for Translation* (see section 6.5) and is a recurrent expression in Edo-based scholars' writings.

3.3.3 Problematics in the use of *densho* 伝書

As previously noted, in the initial developments of the field in the seventeenth century, the necessity of learning Dutch was simply motivated by the trading taking place in Nagasaki. It was then guided by the government's wish to study Western science in order to acquire information from fields such as Dutch medicine and calendrical science.[77] In this initial phase, the task of learning Dutch and acquiring Western knowledge was the territory of the families of interpreters, who watched the Dutch surgeons closely and noted down what they saw and learned.

> それよりは年々長崎の津に船を来たすこととはなりぬ。これは寛永十八年のことなるよし。その後、その船に随従し来れる医師に、またかの外治の療法を伝へし者も多しとなり。これを和蘭流外科とは称するなり。[78]

> From that moment [when the other European ships were banned from docking in Japan], the Dutch ships came year after year in the port of Nagasaki. This was the eighteenth year of the Kan'ei 寛永 era [1641]. Then, doctors came together with those ships, and therefore many people who transmitted those surgical treatments. These were then called "Dutch style surgery."

As no previous knowledge of Dutch medicine was present in Japan, and the Japanese still had little understanding of Dutch language, the first notions of Dutch medicine were acquired just by looking at the doctors' practice, taking note of their prescriptions. This situation was mainly caused by a lack of such basic study materials as primers and dictionaries.[79] In *Beginnings*, as a further reason Genpaku mentions that shogunal censorship of Western books had been an obstacle for the development of Dutch

[77] Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, p. 6.

[78] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), pp. 12-13.

[79] The first examples of Dutch translations were the interpreters' spoken translation and *kana* glossaries. However, the interpreters did also produce a number of partial written translations. Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*, pp. 144-49.

studies; however, in truth such restrictions were limited to foreign texts mentioning Christian teachings, and control was likely not strictly enforced.[80]

As introduced in the previous section, Genpaku criticised the fact that the teachings acquired from Dutch surgeons were only written down in form of notes, reiterating that no translation of books was involved:

> これもとより横文字の書籍を読みて習ひ覚えしことにはあらず、ただその手術を見習ひ、その薬方と聞き、書き留めたるまでなり。尤も、こなたになきところの薬品多ければ、代薬がちにてぞ病者も取扱ひしことと知らる。[81]

> At the beginning, Dutch surgery was not learnt through the reading of books with horizontal writing (*yokomoji no shoseki* 横文字の書籍, i.e. Dutch books), but only by looking at surgical operations, listening to the way the Dutch prescribed medicines, and taking notes (*kakitometaru* 書き留めたる). Moreover, since many medicines were not available, it is known that patients also used some substitutive medicines.

Genpaku's often negative view of the interpreters was also accompanied by a continuous necessity to justify the presence of Dutch studies in Japan. Despite the fact that Genpaku criticised the use of *densho* by the Japanese doctors performing Western-style medicine, he also recognised the superiority of the medical information that the interpreters' notes transmitted in comparison with the unsatisfactory notions contained in texts imported from China and in old Japanese sources. He wrote:

> その諸家の伝書といふものどもを見るに、みな膏薬油薬の法のみにて、委しきことなし。かくの如き類にて、備はらざる事のみなれども、その業は漢土の外科には大いに勝り、また本邦の古へより伝はりたる外治には大いに勝れりといふべきか。[82]

[80] On censorship in the Tokugawa period, see Kornicki, *Book in Japan*, pp. 320-52.

[81] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), pp. 12-13. Again, here Genpaku exalts the practical nature of Dutch studies.

[82] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), pp. 15-16.

> All the *densho* from these families [of surgeons and interpreters] are only about methods for plasters and ointments, and are not much detailed (*kuwashiki koto nashi* 委しきことなし). Even if they were [manuals] of this kind and we are used to see them as inadequate (*sonawarazaru koto* 備はらざる事), those techniques are far better than Chinese surgery, and even better than the external medicine transmitted from the past in Japan.

Genpaku's disapproval of *densho* can be interpreted in different ways. Given that one of the goals of the Edo-based scholars was to disseminate Dutch medical knowledge in the country, it is possible that by criticizing the transmission of knowledge via notes, Genpaku was lamenting the non-accessibility of medical knowledge, thus complaining about the invisibility of Dutch studies in the cultural system. On the other hand, one of the most famous translations produced by the Dutch studies scholars, *A New Treatise on Anatomy* was translated into literary Chinese, and not into Japanese. The fact that only people educated in Chinese studies could therefore access it, demonstrates that knowledge did not need to be visible to everyone; it should remain in the domain of the educated class. This translation choice was in fact criticised as counterproductive for the purposes of the dissemination of the work among the general public by the famous Tokugawa period artist Shiba Kōkan 司馬江漢 (1747-1818), who pointed out that "as it was in *kanbun*, it was difficult to understand for the illiterate (*kanbun ni shite dōmō kai shikataku* 漢文にして童蒙解しかたく)."[83]

Dynamics of perceptions of written translation tradition come again into play when the Dutch studies movement faced the figure of the Confucian scholar.

[83] Shiba Kōkan, *Falsehoods of Solitary Musing* (*Dokushō bōgen*), p. 24. As noted by Clements, Kōkan was not opposed to the use of *kanbun* per se, but rather to the use of *kanbun* in works meant for beginners or the general readership. On Shiba Kōkan's criticism of *A New Treatise*, see Screech, "Birth of the Anatomical Body," pp. 107-108. On Kōkan's views on the use of *kanbun* see Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*, p. 169.

3.4 The relationship with the Confucian scholar: the importance of knowing literary Chinese

As discussed in the introduction, the Tokugawa era saw the proliferation of a multitude of translation practices, including translation of tenth- and eleventh-century court classics into eighteenth-century vernacular Japanese. However, since Dutch scholars were educated in Chinese studies, it seems more likely that they sought inspiration and insight in what they perceived to be the more prestigious Chinese tradition. The influence of vernacular Japanese translation practices, even if actually present, remained purposefully covert.

Dutch studies scholars used the figure of the Confucian scholar to define themselves. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Sugita Genpaku and his colleagues proclaimed themselves scholars (*gakusha* 学者), in order to be perceived differently from the profession of interpreter (*tsūji* 通詞), and to be associated with Confucian scholars (*jusha* 儒者), who at the end of the Tokugawa era, already withheld a prestigious social status. The job of the scholar was a relatively new invention in the Tokugawa period, and the institution of this new professional figure was due to the well-known Japanese intellectual Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657). For Marcon, "Razan helped to invent the Neo-Confucian scholar (*jusha*), a profession that did not exist during his lifetime but that became a reality for future generations of scholars in part because of his activities."[84]

As said before, the Dutch studies scholars' knowledge of literary Chinese played a major role in the making of the distinction between scholar and interpreter. The majority of the interpreters had not received a formal education in Chinese studies and therefore were not traditionally proficient in writing - or translating into - literary Chinese.[85] The interpreters' work had mostly been based on oral translation, therefore was not directly connected with writing or with the choice of a specific *buntai* (writing style) for translation; nor, for the purpose of the job, knowledge of literary Chinese was essential. Moreover, coming from a lower social class, I would argue that probably the interpreters did not have the same attachment and the same perspective of the prestige

[84] Marcon, *Knowledge of Nature*, p. 57.
[85] Clements, "Possibility of Translation," p. 3.

culture as the scholars, who were educated in Chinese studies. Such divide (deliberately constructed by Sugita Genpaku and colleagues) resulted in the exclusion of interpreters from the elaboration of translation discourse by the Edo scholars, despite the fact that some interpreters did write about translation discourse/theory (i.e. Motoki Ryōei 本木良永 (1735-1794), mentioned in chapter 4).

Chinese medicine was at times criticised for its shortcomings in comparison with the new Western knowledge; however, on the whole, Chinese studies were looked at as a role model and equal. Dutch studies scholars displayed their connection with Confucian scholars quite transparently (although not always, as happened with the case of Ogyū Sorai, see chapters 5 and 6). Parallelisms and examples from Chinese translation tradition appear often in the literature connected to the field of Dutch studies, and more than once the celebrated intellectual Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657-1725) was listed among the "master founders" of Dutch studies movement in Japan, despite being only loosely connected to the discipline.[86] However, despite this purposefully constructed link, the relationship between Dutch studies and Chinese studies was not trouble-free either. For example, beyond the criticism of the inaccuracies of Chinese medicine, Dutch studies scholars refuted the *kundoku* method, which was closely connected to Chinese studies and the official academia.

Genpaku seems to propose a synergy between the existence of Dutch studies and Chinese studies, affirming that the presence of the latter could have been instrumental to preparing the terrain for the popularity and the proliferation of the movement. He wrote:

> 翁が初一念には、この学今時の如く盛んになり、かく開くべしとは曾て思ひよらざりしなり。これわが不才より先見の識乏しきゆゑなるべし。今に於てこれを顧ふに、漢学は章を飾れる文ゆゑ、その開け遅く、蘭学は実事を辞書にそのまゝ記せしものゆゑ、取

[86] In *New Record of Six Things*, Gentaku mentions "four Masters (shisensei 四先生)" of Dutch studies: the scholars Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657-1725), Aoki Kon'yō 青木昆陽 (1698-1769), Sugita Genpaku and Maeno Ryōtaku 前野良沢 (1723-1803). Ōtsuki Gentaku, *New Record of Six Things* (*Rokubutsu shinshi*), p. 7.

り受けはやく、開け早かりしか。また、実は漢学いて人の智見開けし後に出でたることゆゑ、かく速かなりしか、知るべからず。[87]

Even in my dreams of the beginnings, I did not think that Dutch studies would become popular like they are recently, and would reach this diffusion. This was due to my poor foresight rather than my incompetency. If I think about it now, I do not know if it is because Chinese studies took long to spread due to its elaborated language (*shō o kazareru bun* 章を飾れる文), and Dutch studies was fast to spread because facts are noted down following the dictionary, and [Dutch] is quick to acquire (*toriuke hayaku* 取り受けはやく). Or, actually, Dutch studies [spread] quickly because it started out after Chinese studies already existed and opened up people's comprehension.[88]

Thus, *Beginnings* contains a seeming contradiction: on one hand, Genpaku promoted the idea of the superiority of Dutch studies over the older Chinese medical knowledge, on the other he showed a desire to be recognised by the prestigious alter ego, the Confucian scholar. In the following passages, Genpaku's words tell a story between the lines, and reveal the unease generated from the comparison between Dutch learning (*ransetsu* 蘭説) versus Chinese learning (*kansetsu* 漢説).

さて、右の如く、一通り訳書出来たれども、その頃は蘭説といふこと少しにても聞き及び聞き知れる人絶えてなく、世に公にせし後は、漢説のみ主張する人は、その精粗を弁ぜず、これ胡説なりと驚き怪みて、見る人もなかるべしと思ひ、先づ解体約図といふものを開板して世に示せり。これは俗間にいふ報帖同様のものにてありたり。[89]

[87] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), pp. 54-55.
[88] The idea that Dutch is "easy to acquire" is in stark contrast with the views expressed by Nishi Zenzaburō as recounted by Genpaku in section 3.2.2.
[89] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 52.

> Then, as just said, this is roughly how we made the translation (*yakusho* 訳書) [of *A New Treatise on Anatomy*]. However, at that time there were only a few people who heard or learned about Dutch learning (*ransetsu* 蘭説). So after we made [our book] public, since we thought that the people who only advocated Chinese learning (*kansetsu* 漢説) could be surprised and would suspect it was something illogical (*kosetsu* 胡説) without distinguishing its fineness or coarseness (*seiso* 精粗), and that there would not have been people to read it, we first printed and published *Anatomical Diagrams* (*Kaitai yakuzu* 解体約図, 1773), which was like a leaflet for the population.

The sole linguistic parallel between the two terms *ransetsu* 蘭説 and *kansetsu* 漢説 implies that Genpaku saw the two disciplines on the same level, yet the anxiety revealed by the thought that Chinese studies scholars would have looked down the Dutch studies endeavour cannot be ignored.

Genpaku continued his comparison between Dutch studies and Chinese studies, reaching far back in time to the arrival of Chinese writing in Japan and the dawn of the study of Chinese textual tradition. He wrote:

> その節思慮するに、応神帝の御時百済の王仁初て漢字を伝へ書籍を持ち渡りてより、代々の天子、学生を異朝へ遣はされ、かの書を学ばせ給ひ、数千歳の今に至りてはじめて漢人にも恥ぢざる漢学出来る程になりたるなり。今はじめて唱へ出だせるの業、何として俄かに事整うて成就すべきの道理なし。[90]

> When I reflect on it, from the time when during the reign of the Emperor Ōjin 応神 (201-310), Wani 王仁 (dates unknown) of Kudara 百済 transmitted the Chinese characters and brought Chinese texts [to Japan] for the first time, generation after generation of Emperors sent scholars to the foreign courts, to have them studying those texts. After thousands [sic] of years, now for the first time, they mastered Chinese studies (*kangaku* 漢学) to the extent that they are not humiliated even

[90] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), pp. 47-48.

> by the Chinese people. It is illogical [to think] that Dutch studies, which came out to be advocated now for the first time, can be suddenly [already] organised and realised.

Here, Genpaku goes as far as associating the inaccuracies and the first phase of Dutch studies in Japan with the inception of Chinese studies in the country, in order to justify the limitations that characterised the first phase of the movement.

Further, Genpaku compared more directly translation from Dutch with the translation of Buddhist texts, drawing a parallel between the translation of *A New Treatise of Anatomy* and the Chinese version of the *Sutra of the Forty-two Chapters* (*Shijūni shō kyō* 四十二章経). Genpaku wrote:

> 尤もその頃はかの国俗の精密微妙のところは明了すべきことにはあらず、今の如く思ひよらず開けしところより見る人はさぞ誤解のみといふべし、はじめて唱ふる時にあたりては、なかなか後の譏りを恐るるやうなる、碌々たる了簡にて企事は出来ぬものなり。くれぐれもかの大体にもとづきて、合点の行きしところを訳せしまでなり。梵訳の四十二章経も、漸々今の一切経に及べり。これ翁がその頃よりの宿志にして企望せしところなり。[91]

> Moreover, at that time, the details and the complexities of the Dutch customs were not clear, and the people who read [*A New Treatise on Anatomy*] nowadays, comparing it with the knowledge we have today, will say it is full of mistakes. In advocating something for the first time, if you are excessively worried about the criticisms that will come later, you cannot even barely plan anything. In all sincerity, we only translated (*yaku* 訳) - how we could - what we came to understand, based on those main points. Even the translation from Sanskrit (*bon'yaku* 梵訳) of the *Sutra of the Forty-two Chapters*, gradually led to today's *Complete Canon* (*issai kyō* 一切経). This was my longstanding desire from those times, and the plan I made.

[91] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), pp. 51-52.

The mentioning of this specific text is everything but casual, since the *Sutra of the Forty-two Chapters* was traditionally regarded as the first sutra translation that introduced Buddhism in China.[92] This is further proof of the extent to which Genpaku and other Edo-based scholars portrayed their own role in the bigger picture of translation history and discourse in Asia (an issue that will be brought up again in the following chapters).

3.5 Conclusions

As outlined in the introductory chapter, in this thesis I investigated the relations between various parties involved in generating Dutch studies translation discourse, in order to understand their role, under the assumption that translation discourse is "never pure and simple,"[93] and thus terminological choices inevitably emerge from antagonism and competition among them.

In this thesis, I argue that in the eyes of the Dutch studies scholars, the creation of a body of texts, that we would call a "discourse" of translation, was crucial to legitimise their own work. I would contend that one of the purposes of Genpaku and colleagues was setting up a discourse of translation that could be disseminated and repeated by other scholars (in fact, some of such reiterations will be discussed in chapter 4).

In *Beginnings of Dutch Studies*, while still recognising the role of some interpreters in the initial development of Dutch linguistics and their responsibility in starting the collaboration with the government, Sugita Genpaku clearly pointed out how unsuitable they were for the proper development of Dutch studies, and how detrimental they were to the prestige of the field. Genpaku's words imply that he held interpreting (*tsūben* 通弁) and the practice of *wage* in low regard, as they were activities that did not directly involve working closely and correctly with a physical text (in opposition to the scholars' translation, *hon'yaku*), demonstrating how the existence of a written tradition was perceived crucial to the scholars' eyes.

[92] However, most probably, this was not the case. This is almost ironical, given the fact that *A New Treatise on Anatomy* was compared to it exactly for this reason. See Cheung, *Anthology of Chinese Discourse*, vol. 1, note 47, p. 49 and note 301, p. 186.

[93] Cheung, *Anthology of Chinese Discourse*, p. 1.

In relation to this, my stance is that Genpaku's narrative helped to discard a more widely used term, *wage*, and enforce *hon'yaku* in its place, on the basis of the latter's connection to Chinese studies in Japan and the Sanskrit translation tradition in China, with which the Dutch studies scholars of the last years of the Tokugawa era sought continuity, at least from the point of view of translation discourse. Considering the connection between *hon'yaku* and translation into Chinese and *wage* and translation into Japanese, I would argue that, doing so, Genpaku accentuated the divide between the Chinese and Japanese polarities.

Considering the sporadic use that was made of the term *hon'yaku* before it entered the Dutch studies scholars' translation discourse in the preface of *A New Treatise on Anatomy*,[94] I would say that this use could be considered the birth of *hon'yaku* as the general term for "translation" in Japan. This was a usage that continues until the present day and that represents a direct legacy from the Dutch studies in the Tokugawa period. As it will be discussed in chapters 5 and 6, Dutch studies scholars active in Edo probably saw in the well-known Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728) a scholarly legitimisation for abandoning *kanbun* and the *kundoku* method, adopting simple Japanese (in the form of mixed Chinese characters and *katakana*) as a style for translation. In chapter 6, I argue that Ōtsuki Gentaku and, before him, Maeno Ryōtaku, were influenced by their reading of Sorai's *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei* 訳文筌蹄, 1715). However, while Sorai used similar terminology, the word *hon'yaku* specifically is never used in *A Tool for Translation* (a text which, as argued in chapter 6, constituted an essential source for the scholars' ideas), so it could actually be that this particular use of *hon'yaku* was inspired by Buddhist translation tradition and was original to Dutch studies scholars' translation discourse.

[94] In which it was actually listed as only one of the translation strategies, as can be seen section 4.4.1.

Chapter 4: Characteristics of translation discourse in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Dutch studies

In this chapter, my goal will be to highlight the main characteristics of the discourse of translation that took place in Japan from the late eighteenth century onwards - a time when the Dutch studies movement reached its highest stage of expansion before a switch to other languages in scholarship (primarily English), occurred in the late nineteenth century.[1]

In this thesis, I maintain that in the last years of the Tokugawa era (1603-1868), the Japanese scholars of Dutch assembled a discourse of translation influenced by the tradition of Chinese studies in Japan and Buddhist translation tradition in China. As already mentioned in the introductory chapter, it is true that discussion of translation became prominent in the Meiji period, and as Clements observes, no one field of translation dominated the intellectual sphere of the early modern era.[2] It is also true that in comparison with later praxis, translation discourse from the Tokugawa period may appear less sophisticated. For example, Yoshino Masaharu notes that theorisation of translation strategies among Dutch studies scholars focussed on the word-level, and that discussion of problematics occurring at the sentence-level or at the text-level were the exception rather than the norm.[3]

However, looking at a wide range of para-textual evidence produced by Dutch studies scholars, translators and interpreters, I argue that it is possible to reconstruct an ongoing conversation about translation that for a number of scholars went beyond the word-level, including wider reflections on writing styles. Moreover, as I argue in the rest this thesis, this extended to the realms of teaching and learning. This scholarly exchange took place from the second part of the eighteenth century, across various kinds of

[1] As briefly mentioned in the introduction, this happened when, between the end of the *bakufu* and the beginning of the Meiji era, the Japanese government encouraged translation activity in a more systematic way.
[2] Clements, "In Search of Translation."
[3] Yoshino, *Ransho yakujutsugo kōsō*, p. 36.

printed and manuscript materials, in the form of prefaces, notes to translations, language manuals and sometimes stand-alone discursive texts.[4]

In this chapter, I will survey a selection of Japanese Dutch studies sources in the form of translation para-texts (on this term, see section 1.5). Here, we will see how Dutch studies scholars borrowed concepts from the Chinese studies tradition and adapted them to the needs of translation from Dutch. As will be discussed, by choosing to use terms and strategies connected to the translation of Buddhist texts, these scholars inserted themselves in a translation tradition rooted in Chinese studies, thus attaching new perceived prestige to their work. While doing so, the Edo-based scholars wrote out the contribution of the Nagasaki interpreters, not only from the practice of translation from Dutch (as seen in the previous chapter), but also from the realm of translation discourse.

In sections 4.1 and 4.2, I will introduce the context in which the sources presented should be considered, and in the rest of the chapter I will analyse selected passages. Due to the non-systematic nature of the excerpts investigated, thematic overlapping may occur across the sections; however, for the most part, section 4.4 and 4.5 deal with word-level translation strategies, whereas section 4.6 is dedicated to problematics of style. I will look at the sources through the lens of Even-Zohar's polysystem theory. In fact, it is precisely by looking at these works with a systemic view that allows us to uncover and observe the relationships between the texts, and possibly the intentions of the people behind them.

In my analysis, I will reflect on two aspects of translation discourse: on the one hand I will consider statements about translation and translation strategies (i.e. explicit information supplied by the author/translator), and on the other, I will take into account the writing styles (*buntai* 文体) in which these statements and the translations they accompanied were written. In the Japanese context, the choice of writing style was often a factor that carried implicit information, as it conveyed some of the translator's or the author's thinking, to such an extent that the choice of writing style for a translation can be considered the first step of the interpretation of the source-text. As

[4] Main examples of the latter are *Beginnings of Dutch studies* by Sugita Genpaku, which was the object of the previous chapter, and *Upward and Forwad in Dutch Translation* by Ōtsuki Gentaku, a text that is examined in chapter 6.

discussed in chapter 2, the Japanese *buntai* escape any clear-cut categorisation; in addition to that, many variables can be behind the choice of a *buntai* for writing or translating.

However, it might be possible to say that Dutch studies scholars who gave importance to the source text tended to translate in mixed style with Chinese characters and *katakana*, rather than in literary Chinese. The mixed style with Chinese characters and *katakana* is a *buntai* born out the practice of *kundoku*, and can therefore be still considered close to literary Chinese. However, following the syntax of Japanese and presenting *katakana* of the same size as the Chinese characters, it is unquestionably perceived as different from literary Chinese.

4.1 Dutch studies' discourse of translation in paratexts

The field of Dutch studies underwent a long process of development, starting with the experience of the first interpreters (from the time when the Dutch became the only Europeans officially allowed trade with Japan, in 1639) and culminating with the later surge of translation production in the nineteenth century. From a rudimental linguistic knowledge due to an initial lack of study materials, the discipline evolved into a more systematic scholarship. Once the narrative of the movement was constructed by the Edo-based scholars, the discourse of translation that came to be established along with it naturally merged with themes and ideas already present in Japan that were strongly connected to the Chinese studies tradition. Across the vast spectrum of publications that characterised Dutch studies in the latter part of the Tokugawa period - works that range from medical science to geography and from botany to language manuals - various common themes related to the theorisation and practice of translation can be found.

As will be shown, despite the fact that the statements about translation appearing in texts and para-texts may not be described as very complex or of detailed elaboration, they nonetheless represent the development of a new realm of translation discourse in early modern Japan. This new realm was driven by a number of factors. Firstly, there was the rise of the figure of the scholar (*gakusha* 学者, as mentioned in section 1.3), which gave space to the aspirations of a group of individuals that saw in the scholarly pursuit an outlet for their academic recognition. Then, the historical circumstances that

led to the close encounter with European languages played a key-role by sparking new concepts and ideas in the domain of linguistics. The clash between European languages and the sociolinguistic environment of the Japanese written language, which consisted of an intricate amalgam of writing styles and translative practices, ignited a new set of questions and problematics connected to translation production.

Since, as noted above, a dominant canonical translation tradition was lacking, Dutch studies scholars seized the opportunity to unify the pre-existing fragmented ideas and concepts connected to translation, deciding on what features they deemed worthy of preservation (chiefly elements from the Chinese tradition) and what was best to leave out: the interpreters' contribution, due to the little prestige of their profession and the supposed lack of focus on the written text in their translation practice. In *Beginnings of Dutch Studies*, Sugita Genpaku reiterated that "he who initiates something for the first time controls people. He who is late to initiate, is controlled" (see section 3.2.1).[5] Thus, taking advantage of the absence of an organic, unified tradition, the Edo-based group put together a discourse that drew upon Sanskrit sutra translation and what in Chinese studies had been articulated in Japan before them (e.g. mainly Ōgyu Sorai, as discussed in chapters 5 and 6, and at least nominally, Arai Hakuseki). In this way, Dutch studies scholars started to theorise about translation (or at least, to re-elaborate previous theorisations) in order to bestow prestige on their work and gain the reputation of a recognised scholarly field.

In this thesis, I maintain that the early modern Japanese discourse of translation moved across the different axes of translating, teaching and learning. Japanese translation discourse of this era encompasses some interesting similarities with discourses occurring in other contexts, despite not necessarily mapping into the traditional North American and Western European experiences of translation. Like their counterparts in other areas of the world, Japanese scholars, interpreters and translators faced matters of fidelity to the source-text and source-languages, together with issues related to translation strategies, such as have been described in the European discourse as "word-for-word" and "sense-for-sense."[6] However, the Japanese discourse of translation extended beyond reflection about translating and was closely associated with other

[5] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 48.
[6] See for example Nergaard, *Teorie Contemporanee* and Robinson, *Western Translation Theory*.

aspects of scholarly engagement, in a way that could be considered unique to Japan. In fact, a great deal of reflection on the sphere of teaching and learning is embedded in Dutch studies scholars' writings, so that they became closely intertwined with translation-related issues. In this thesis, I thus maintain that to truly understand the scope of Japanese translation discourse, the three spheres of translation, teaching and learning should be examined organically as one field.

The spheres of teaching and learning are mainly addressed in chapter 6. Along the axis that more closely relates to translating, the discourse mainly occurred at two levels: word-level and stylistic-level. At the word-level, the scholars' concern primarily lied with the choice of translation strategies connected to the use of Chinese characters. At the stylistic-level, the scholars started from the preoccupation about the kind of writing style (*buntai*) that was to be used to convey the source language and the content of the translated material, extending their discussion to include matters of relationship with the source-text and comparisons with other translation traditions.

4.2 Construction of a narrative: the position of *A New Treatise on Anatomy* in Dutch studies' textual polysystem

As discussed in the previous chapter, the history of Dutch studies in Japan was transmitted to modern scholarship by a group of Edo-based scholars, who constructed a narrative that bestowed on themselves the central role in the development of the field. A well-known work by Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白 (1733-1817), *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*, *Rangaku jishi* or *Rantō kotohajime* 蘭学事始, 1815) has been crucial in establishing this narrative. In *Beginnings*, a text which contained many mistakes and misconceptions, Genpaku promoted a version of the facts that strongly downplayed the contribution of the first interpreters of Dutch, professionals who initially worked with Spanish and Portuguese and were active first in the port of Hirado and then in Nagasaki from the seventeenth century.[7]

At the core of Genpaku's account were the circumstances of the publication of *A New Treatise on Anatomy* (*Kaitai shinsho* 解体新書, 1774), a translation of the Dutch version

[7] On the interpreters, see Sugimoto, *Nagasaki Tsuji*. The use of Portuguese language actually persisted long after the Portuguese's departure from Japan: see Vande Walle, *Dodonaeus in Japan,* pp. 130-31.

of *Anatomical Diagrams* (*Anatomische Tabellen*, 1722) by the German doctor Johann Adam Kulmus (1689-1745).[8] In *Beginnings*, Genpaku recounted that the translation was carried out by a small group of scholars, intentionally without the help of the Nagasaki interpreters, and presented it as the first translation of a medical work from Dutch in Japan. Not only *A New Treatise on Anatomy* was not the first translation of a medical work from Dutch (as mentioned in the previous chapter), but also the fact that interpreters were not consulted during the translation process is very unconvincing.[9] It is likely that the importance of *A New Treatise* in the development of Dutch studies had been exaggerated by Sugita Genpaku. However, *A New Treatise* is not discussed here for its contribution to the advancement of medical knowledge in Japan, but for its position in the scholarly conversation.

I maintain that from the point of view of translation discourse, *A New Treatise* was forcefully pushed towards a primary position in the Japanese polysystem by Dutch studies scholars, imposing its presence not only as a milestone in Japanese medical knowledge, but also for the popularisation of translation terminology. In fact, as will be shown later, a few sources directly or indirectly refer to *A New Treatise on Anatomy* well before the publication of *Beginnings of Dutch studies*, indicating the perceived prestigious status of *A New Treatise*. Different scholars built on or reiterated the ideas on translation that Sugita Genpaku expressed in the introduction to *A New Treatise*, although, more often than not, as Yoshino Masaharu points out, such terminology returns in the form conceived by Ōtsuki Gentaku in his revised edition of the text.[10]

Before going further, it is necessary to clarify a point about the Sugita Genpaku-led translation project. The terminology and the ideas found in *A New Treatise* are not original to Genpaku's work, nor were they exclusive to the texts discussed here. Analogous ideas were in circulation in the field of Dutch studies at the same time, possibly even before the publication of *A New Treatise*. In fact, similar terminology was characteristic of the translation tradition within Chinese studies[11] and can also be found

[8] As he was born in Breslau (now, Wrocław), today Kulmus would be considered Polish. Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, p. 82.

[9] Different scholars questioned the Dutch studies scholars' actual proficiency in Dutch, see for example De Groot, *Study of the Dutch Language*.

[10] Yoshino, *Ransho yakujutsugo kōsō*, p. 34.

[11] Texts like *Hon'yaku myōgi shū* 翻訳名義集 (*A Collection of Names and their Explanations in Buddhist Translations*, c. 1143-1158) or the writings of Sorai, which will be discussed in the next two chapters. On

in the writings of a noteworthy Nagasaki interpreter of Dutch, Motoki Ryōei, discussed in the section below.

4.2.1 The exclusion of the interpreter Motoki Ryōei from translation discourse

Motoki Ryōei 本木良永 (1735-1794, also known as Yoshinaga 良永 and Einoshin 栄之進) is mainly recognised for the introduction of the heliocentric theory in Japan. From the same family of Motoki Ryōi 本木良意 (also known as Shōdayū 庄太夫, 1628-1697), who was the interpreter who translated the first book of anatomy in Japan, in Nagasaki Ryōei had been the teacher of both Shizuki Tadao (also known as Nakano Ryūho 中野柳圃, 1760-1806, a scholar discussed in the previous chapter) and Ōtsuki Gentaku.[12]

Despite his contribution to Dutch studies and Dutch translation, Ryōei is only briefly mentioned in *Beginnings of Dutch Studies*, in function of being Shizuki Tadao's teacher. About Ryōei, Genpaku wrote:

> 明和安永の頃にや、本木栄之進といふ人、一二の天文暦説の訳書ありとなり。その余は聞くところなし。[13]
>
> Around the Meiwa 明和 (1764-1772) or the An'ei 安永 (1772-1781) era, they say a man called Motoki Einoshin 本木栄之進 (i.e. Motoki Ryōei), had one (*ari* あり) or two translations (*yakusho* 訳書) on astronomy and calendrical science. I have heard nothing more than this.

Given the importance that Ōtsuki Gentaku played in Genpaku's scholarly life (as a reminder, Ōtsuki Gentaku was Genpaku and Maeno Ryōtaku's pupil, and the editor of *Beginnings*), such an abrupt introduction to his disciple's former teacher does cast a shadow of suspect. It is also interesting that in the passage above Genpaku does not use any translation-related vocabulary (such as *wage* 和解 or *hon'yaku* 翻訳), to indicate Ryōei's practice, as he did instead with other interpreters, like Nishi Zenzaburō 西善三

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the impact of *Hon'yaku myōgi shū* on Sugita Genpaku and Motoki Ryōei, see Yoshino, *Ransho yakujutsugo kōsō*, pp. 20-24. Also see Clements, "In Search of Translation," pp. 5-7.

[12] Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, p. 104 and p. 120.

[13] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 67.

郎 (1718-1768) and Shizuki Tadao 志筑忠雄 (1760-1806),[14] but just says that Ryōei "had (*ari* あり)" a few translations. Always in *Beginnings*, Genpaku recounts the instance in which a small group of interpreters sought the government's approval for the first time; there, Genpaku mentioned Nishi Zenzaburō and Yoshio Kōgyū 吉雄耕牛 (1724-1800, also known as Kōsaku 幸作 or Kōzaemon 幸左衛門), omitting the name of a third person. In his edited edition of *Beginnings*, Ogata Tomio reports that, according to Ōtsuki Nyoden 大槻如電 (1845-1931), Ryōei could be the interpreter whose name Genpaku said to have forgotten; Ogata specifies however that there seems to be no evidence of this.[15]

In *Examples of Dutch-Japanese Translation* (*Wage reigen* or *Wage reigon* 倭解例言, dated 1774, the same year of publication of Genpaku's *A New Treatise*) Ryōei described his ideas on translation using the terms *seiyaku* 正訳 (correct translation), *giyaku* 義訳 (translation of meaning) and *kasha* 仮借 (phonetic transliteration).[16] Despite the use of different terms, the processes described by Ryōei are essentially the same as the ones promoted by Genpaku in *A New Treatise* (see section 4.4.1). As pointed out by Yoshino Masaharu, Ryōei's terminology was partially reused by Maeno Ryōtaku in at least two cases in which Ryōtaku employed the terms *seiyaku* 正訳 and *giyaku* 義訳, once in *Miscellaneous* (*Shishi mitsū* 思思未通, manuscript, undated),[17] and again in *The Keys to Dutch Translation* (*Oranda yakusen* 和蘭訳筌, completed in 1785).[18] However, Ryōei's name does not appear in neither the texts. The term *kasha* 仮借 apparently disappears in later elaborations of translation discourse in Dutch studies.[19]

The relationship between Ryōei's and Genpaku's work is not clear, and it is not impossible that the similarities might be coincidental. However, a most important

[14] For more detailed discussion on the matter, see chapter 3.
[15] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), note 8, p. 80. The passage in question is at pp. 16-17.
[16] As quoted by Sugimoto Tsutomu in "Edo no hon'yakuron to hon'yakuhō," p. 64. More detailed discussion of this work can be found in Vande Walle, *Dodonaeus in Japan*, pp. 134-140; Horiuchi, "When Science Develops," pp. 163-64; De Groot, *Study of the Dutch Language*, pp. 36-38; Wakabayashi, "Evaluating Historical Views." (Also see Wakabayashi, "Evaluating Historical Views," pp. 178-179 for a detailed publication history of Motoki Ryōei's text.)
[17] *Miscellaneous* (*Shishi mitsū* 思思未通) is a text contained in a collection of writings by Maeno Ryōtaku called *Rangaku hizō* 蘭学秘蔵, vol. 2, (manuscript, undated), pp. 32-37. https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko08/bunko08_b0016/index.html.
[18] Yoshino, *Ransho yakujutsugo kōsō*, pp. 25-26.
[19] As can be seen from the sources analysed in this chapter, and by Yoshino Masaharu's table in *Ransho yakujutsugo kōsō*, p. 34.

characteristic of Ryōei's discourse of translation that does not seem to have been discussed before (in his study of scientific translated terminology, Yoshino Masaharu only talks about the scholars' labels for translation strategies) is that Ryōei used the term *hon'yaku* as the general term for translation well before Ōtsuki Gentaku's use.[20]

On the basis of the facts above, it is my hypothesis that Ryōei may have had a bigger role in the construction of the Japanese discourse of translation than what is currently thought. However, proving this point requires further investigation that goes beyond the reach of this thesis. Be that as it may, this controversy is an additional proof of the vitality and complexity of the field and the scope of circulation of translation-related ideas.

4.3 Dutch translations' paratexts: organisation of the material presented

In the sections to come, I will present some extracts from canonical texts and lesser known works in the field of Dutch studies, in order to illustrate the main themes of the discourse on translation that was taking place in the period under examination. The sources that have been chosen for discussion represent a wide spread of authors as well as decades, including both well-known and less central figures. The selection is intended to give a sense of the extent to which translation discourse permeated the world of Dutch studies, so as to show the depth and breadth of translation discourse of the time. For these reasons, the selected passages are provided here as much as possible in their entirety.

In addition to language manuals and stand-alone theoretical texts, "explanatory notes" (called *hanrei* 凡例 in Japanese) played an important role in the dissemination of translation discourse among scholars and translators. In Japanese early modern sources, explanatory notes were usually dedicated to the description of a book's premises, aims and stylistic conventions. They were part of the para-textual materials that accompanied translations as well as other kinds of publications and sometimes reserved space to illustrate the translation strategies chosen by the author/translator. When present, they were often found accompanying a short preface written in literary Chinese or *kanbun kundoku* (usually called *jo* 序 or *jo* 叙, which was customarily written by another scholar)

[20] As quoted by Sugimoto Tsutomu in "Edo no hon'yakuron to hon'yakuhō," p. 64.

and/or a longer introduction written either by the author (which in that case was titled *jijo* 自序) or again by another scholar. Other para-textual materials could include a table of contents (called *mokuroku* 目録) and information about the year of publication and the publisher. In Dutch studies literature, para-textual materials were often composed either in literary Chinese (commonly annotated with *kundoku* glosses) or in the mixed style with Chinese characters and *katakana*.

For convenience of description, the extracts presented below are split in three parts: the first (4.4) deals with statements about word-level translation choices, a common issue faced by Dutch studies scholars. In the extracts, different authors discuss translation strategies using the same structure and vocabulary employed in Sugita Genpaku's *A New Treatise on Anatomy*. The second part (4.5) includes extracts where different authors still make use of the terms from *A New treatise*, however now to express problematics of transliteration of Dutch words and, indirectly, their relationship with the Dutch source-texts. The third part (4.6) deals with translation choices concerning wider matters of style - here, the connection with other translation traditions becomes more explicit.

Before delving into the primary sources, first and foremost it must be noted that the texts taken into consideration in this chapter do not present a systematic terminology. This is due to the fact that, as observed by Clements, in premodern and early modern Japan there was no encompassing term for the English word "translation," but rather a profusion of expressions and practices.[21] Further complicating matters, translation-related words were employed with different connotations in various contexts, and with different meanings even within the works of a same author.[22] In addition, as Wakabayashi comments, even the study of the etymology of the terms is of little help in identifying their implications.[23] For these reasons, in this thesis the English translation of the same Japanese term can vary from text to text, as well as among works by the same author/translator. Therefore, the Japanese term is always given in brackets for clarity.

[21] Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*, pp. 8-13.
[22] For example, the term *chokuyaku* 直訳, used both for word-for-word translation and phonetic transcription.
[23] Wakabayashi, "Etymological Exploration of 'Translation,'" pp. 175-94.

Despite the mutability of translation-related terminology, it is nonetheless possible to identify that some specific choices in the recording of translation discourse were determined by a purpose and the fact that a writer chose particular terms instead of others could make those choices even more significant. One of the words I will concentrate on more here is *hon'yaku* 翻訳, which is the term commonly used to generally define "translation" in contemporary Japanese. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in the early modern era *hon'yaku* was not the most common word to refer to translation, and yet, it became common around the Dutch studies time to describe translations from European languages. As we will see, this term recurs in different texts within the field of Dutch studies, and quite often it appears characterised by a positive connotation and perceived prestige.

4.4 Word-level translation strategies

As will be shown, the nature of the word-level strategies involved mainly stems from the Japanese use of Chinese characters. In this first part of sources analysis, I will discuss the vocabulary related to word-level translation strategies that were popularised by Sugita Genpaku and Ōtsuki Gentaku. The terminology discussed below was spread out in Dutch studies literature; as a reference, Yoshino Masaharu collected examples from seventeen scholars that employed such terms in their writings.[24]

Before the publication of *A New Treatise on Anatomy*, traces of translation discourse in Dutch studies were very sparse (like the example of Motoki Ryōei above), while after its publication, recurrent expository structure and similar terminology starts to appear in other paratexts (e.g. the term *tō* 等, degrees, to indicate the types of translation). Genpaku's text is also mentioned directly by his disciple Ōtsuki Gentaku in the *New Record of Six Things* (see 4.4.2).

4.4.1 *A New Treatise on Anatomy*, Sugita Genpaku (1774) - Part 1

As explained in the previous sections, the explanatory notes (*hanrei* 凡例) of *A New Treatise on Anatomy* (also known as *New Book on Anatomy*, *Kaitai shinsho* 解体新書,

[24] Yoshino, *Ransho yakujutsugo kōsō*, pp. 25-35.

1774) are our starting point for the discussion of word-level translation strategies. This team translation project was led by Sugita Genpaku and included some well-known scholars such as Maeno Ryōtaku 前野良沢 (1723-1803) and Nakagawa Jun'an 中川淳庵 (1739-1786). Ryōtaku and Genpaku in particular are commonly regarded as two of the founders of the Dutch studies movement in Japan. As discussed in section 4.2, *A New Treatise* was pushed to the centre of Dutch translation discourse after falsely being considered the first translation of a Dutch medical book. The preface (*Koku kaitai shinsho jo* 刻解体新書序), the explanatory notes, the introduction written by Genpaku (*jijo* 自序) and the translation of the text are all composed in literary Chinese with appended *kunten* glosses.

In the explanatory notes, Sugita Genpaku describes three different types (or, as he calls them, "degrees," *tō* 等) of translation, and as will be seen his terminology is connected to the words used in the Chinese translation tradition. Genpaku does not explicitly mention other sources in this extract; however, he was clearly well aware of the Sanskrit translation tradition, as he hinted at Buddhist translation in his other works *Questions and Answers on Dutch Medicine* (*Oranda iji mondō* 和蘭医事問答, 1795) [25] and *Beginnings of Dutch studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime* 蘭学事始, 1815. On Genpaku's mention of Sutra translation in *Beginnings*, see the previous chapter).

Genpaku wrote:

訳有二三等一。一ニ曰ク翻訳。二ニ曰ク義訳。三ニ曰ク直訳。如下和蘭呼テ曰二価題験一者即骨也。則訳シテ曰フカ上レ骨ト。翻訳是也。又如丙呼テ曰二加蝋假価ト一者。謂二骨ニシテ而軟ナル者一也。加蝋假者。謂下如ク二鼠嚙ムレ器音ノ一然ヲ上也。蓋取ル二義ヲ於脆軟ニ一価者価題験之略語也。則訳シテ曰乙軟骨甲。義訳是也。又如下呼テ曰二機里爾一者。無ク二語可当。無キハ二義可一レ解ス。則訳シテ曰中機里爾上直訳是也。余之訳例皆如レ是也。読者思ヘ諸。[26]

[25] As quoted in Sugimoto, "Edo no hon'yakuron to hon'yakuhō," p. 62.
[26] Sugita Genpaku, *A New Treatise on Anatomy* (*Kaitai shinsho*), vol. 1, p. 13.

> There are three types (*santō* 三等, "three degrees") of translation (*yaku* 訳): the first is proper translation (*hon'yaku* 翻訳), the second is translation of meaning (*giyaku* 義訳) and the third is phonetic translation (*chokuyaku* 直訳). What is called *benderen* 偏題験 (NL: beenderen, EN: bones) in Dutch is *hone* 骨 (EN: bones) [in Japanese]. So we translate it *hone*, and that is proper translation (*hon'yaku* 翻訳). Or again, [the Dutch] *karakaben* 加蝋假偏 (NL: kraakbeen, EN: cartilage), indicates bones that are soft. Clearly, [the word] *karaka* 加蝋假 (NL: kraak, EN: to crack) is similar to the sound of a mouse that gnaws some little thing, so we get the meaning of *nankotsu* 軟骨 (literally "soft bone"). *Ben* 偏 is the abbreviation (*ryakugo* 略語) of *benderen* 偏題験. Therefore, translating it as *nankotsu* is a translation of meaning (*giyaku* 義訳). Another example is what is called *kiriiru* 機里爾 (NL: klier, EN: gland) [in Dutch]. It does not correspond to any word [in Japanese]. We cannot understand its meaning, so when we translate (*yaku* 訳) we retain it as *kiriiru*. This is phonetic translation (*chokuyaku* 直訳). The rest of [our] translation examples (*yakurei* 訳例) are all like these. Think about this [explanation] while you read [this book].

In this extract, Genpaku thus describes three types of translative practices aimed at the word-level:

(1) Proper translation (*hon'yaku* 翻訳), a strategy that aims to find an equivalent term for the Dutch word (NL: *bendeeren,* EN: bones, is translated as JA: *hone*, "bones"). In this context, I rendered this term as "proper translation" because of the positive characterisation that Sugita Genpaku gives to the word in *Beginnings of Dutch Studies*, especially when used in opposition to the term *wage* 和解 (on this, see chapter 3).

(2) Translation of meaning (*giyaku* 義訳), which consists in the translation of the etymological meaning of a word through the combination of Chinese characters (NL: *kraakbeen*, literally "soft bone," EN: cartilage, is translated as JAP: *nankotsu*: *nan* 軟,

"soft" plus *kotsu* 骨, "bone"), *de facto* coining a new term (this process is called *zōgo* 造語 in Japanese).[27]

(3) Phonetic translation (*chokuyaku* 直訳, literally "direct translation"), in which a loanword is created through a transliteration with Chinese characters used only for their sound (NL: *klier* "gland" is rendered as JAP: *kiriiru* 機里爾 "gland"). By listing "phonetic translation" as last, Genpaku seems to imply that this final strategy is to resort to when nor (1) proper translation (*hon'yaku* 翻訳) or (2) translation of meaning (*giyaku* 義訳) are viable.

As we will see in the rest of this chapter, similar terminology, albeit with slightly different meanings, or similar concepts described by different terminology, were employed in other works in the field of Dutch studies, both in published and manuscript form.

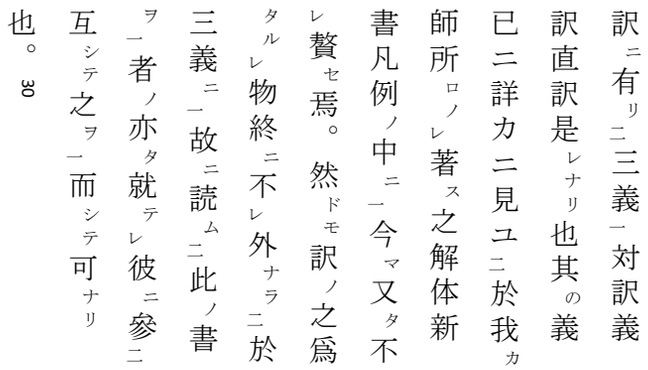
4.4.2 *New Record of Six Things*, Ōtsuki Gentaku (1786) - Part 1

New Record of Six Things (also known as *New Descriptions of Six Topics, Rokumotsu shinshi* or *Rokubutsu shinshi* 六物新志, 1786) is a book by the celebrated scholar Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 (1757-1827). It is a work of natural history that contains translations of extracts from various Dutch sources.[28] The book was first published in 1786, however the manuscript was written in 1780,[29] just a few years after the publication of *A New Treatise on Anatomy*.

The text is accompanied by a preface written in literary Chinese (*Rokumotsu shinshi jo* 六物新志序), and by an introduction ("A preface in seven points," *Daigen nanasoku* 題言七則) and explanatory notes ("Thirteen explanatory rules," *Hanrei jūsansoku* 凡例十三則) both written in literary Chinese with *kundoku* glosses.

[27] According to the *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, this is the first recorded occurrence of the word *nankotsu*.
[28] The six things mentioned in the title are: unicorns (actually narwals), saffron, nutmeg, mummies, *laricifomes officinalis* (a kind of mushroom that grows on trees) and mermaids. The work was revised by Sugita Hakugen 杉田 伯元 (1763-1833), adopted son of Sugita Genpaku. The book was sponsored by the wealthy sake brewer Kimura kenkadō 木村蒹葭堂. According to Yabe Ichirō, this book actually entered the market in 1795. Yabe Ichirō, "Ōtsuki Gentaku," pp. 194-199.
[29] Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, p. 123.

In the explanatory notes, in the same guise as Sugita Genpaku's description in *A New Treatise on Anatomy*, Gentaku discusses three types of translation. Gentaku uses a slightly different terminology compared to Genpaku's work; however, in this excerpt, Gentaku directly mentions *A New Treatise on Anatomy* as the reference to his translation strategies.


訳ニ有リ三義一対訳義
訳直訳是レナリ也其の義
已ニ詳カニ見ユニ於我カ
師所ロノレ著ス之解体新
書凡例ノ中ニ一今マ又タ不
レ贅セ焉。然ドモ訳ノ之爲
タルレ物終ニ不レ外ナラニ於
三義ニ一故ニ読ムニ此ノ書
ヲ一者ノ亦タ就テレ彼ニ參ニ
互シテ之ヲ一而シテ可ナリ
也。30

> There are three meanings (*gi* 義) of translation (*yaku* 訳): they are correspondent translation (*taiyaku* 対訳), translation of meaning (*giyaku* 義訳), and phonetic translation (*chokuyaku* 直訳). These meanings have already been written about in detail by my teachers. They are in the explanatory notes (*hanrei* 凡例) of *A New Treatise on Anatomy* (*Kaitai shinsho* 解体新書, 1774) and I will not indulge in them again now. In the end, translation (*yaku* 訳) do not extend beyond these three meanings (*gi* 義). Thus, those who read this book can refer to that one.

Thus, the terminology Gentaku used did not exactly correspond to the one employed by Sugita Genpaku. The first difference is the use of *gi* 義 (meaning) instead of *tō* 等 (degree) to list types of translation strategies. Then, in the place of Genpaku's "translation/proper translation (*hon'yaku* 翻訳)," Gentaku uses the term "correspondent translation (*taiyaku* 対訳)."[31] Choosing the term *taiyaku* (*tai* 対 means "opposite, equal") Gentaku also seems to stress the idea of one-to-one equivalence that

[30] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *New Record of Six Things* (*Rokumotsu shinshi*), p. 13.
[31] This use of the term *taiyaku* 対訳 is also documented in another work by Sugita Genpaku, *Oranda iji mondō* 和蘭医事問答, 1795, as quoted by Sugimoto in "*Edo no hon'yakuron to hon'yakuhō*," p. 64.

Sugita Genpaku had described with the term *hon'yaku* 翻訳 in his explanatory notes to *A New Treatise on Anatomy*. Gentaku did not provide any practical examples in the note, but since he said he was explicitly retracing Sugita Genpaku's words, even if he is using *taiyaku* 対訳 instead of *hon'yaku* 翻訳 to refer to equivalent translation, all the terms most likely retain the same connotations as in *A New Treatise on Anatomy*.

Notably, in this work Gentaku used the word *hon'yaku* as the general term for translation. He did so in the introduction to the text, "A preface in seven points," in which the beginnings of Dutch translation in Japan are discussed, as well as in the note quoted in section 4.6.1. This use also returns in a note where Gentaku states that the book was translated "for leisure, and with no particular reason (*yoka manji* 余暇漫爾)," [32] yet using the word *hon'yaku* (as said before, a word associated with a certain prestige) to refer to it.

4.4.3 *Dutch Treatments Methods*, Hirokawa Kai (1804)

Another detailed description of different types of translation can be found in *Dutch Treatments Methods - Anmideru* (*Ranryōhō Anmideru* 蘭療方安米的爾, preface dated 1804), a work on Dutch medicine translated by Hirokawa Kai 広川獬 (dates unknown).[33] Kai was a doctor from Kyoto who studied Dutch medicine in Nagasaki.[34] In comparison with other sources presented here, Kai's work can be considered more peripheral in relation to the cultural polysystem, as not much is known about the author and Kai is not a scholar mentioned by Sugita Genpaku in *Beginnings of Dutch Studies*.

The preface (*Ranryōhō jo* 蘭療方序), the introduction (*Ranryōhō dai* 蘭療方題) and the explanatory notes (*Ranryōhō hanrei* 蘭療方凡例) of this text are all composed in literary Chinese with *kundoku* glosses.

As will be clear form the extract, Kai's description is fairly similar to Genpaku's one in *A New Treatise on Anatomy,* both for its structure and its contents. In the explanatory notes, there is a long paragraph dedicated to translation choices in which Kai describes

[32] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *New Record of Six Things* (*Rokumotsu shinshi*), p. 15.
[33] The book was curated and revised by Kurisaki Tokuho 栗崎 徳甫 (dates unknown) and Yoshio Jōnosuke 吉雄永貴 (dates unknown), and illustrated by Yamaguchi Soken 山口素絢 (1759-1818).
[34] Sōda Hajime, *Ranryōhō*, p. 5, as quoted in Ng, *The I Ching in Tokugawa Thought*, p. 166. Interestingly, Screech notes that this was the first Japanese book to have a copperplate frontispiece. *The Lens within the Heart*, note 17 p. 274.

four types of translation, employing the same term, “degrees (*tō* 等),” used by Sugita Genpaku.

翻訳有二四等一。曰直訳。曰義訳。曰省略語。曰素語。所レ謂直訳者。血謂二之蒲児度（ブルード）一。直訳シテ曰レ血。水謂二之呿的爾（ワーテル）一。直訳曰レ水是也。所レ謂義訳者。私碌窟太児謨窩邉（スロツクダルマナナペン）。直ニ訳レ之則食道開薬也。而考二其方一則為二利膈剤一。仍訳曰二利膈剤一。斯篤福鳥突（スードホウト）。直ニ訳レ之則甘木也。而詳二其物一則為二甘草一。仍訳曰二甘草一是也。所レ謂省略語者。蔑児屈律須布剌失必太点私律白児稱（メルキュリュスポラシビタチュスリュベル）。稱二之布剌失必太（プラシピタ）一。以意義通焉。鐸落都捗漢斯篤福鳥突（ドロツプハンスートホウト）稱二之斯篤福鳥突（スートホウト）一以意義通是也。所レ謂素語者。或布剌矢必太（フラシピタ）。或鐸落都捗漢（ドロツプハン）。諸無二物の可一レ當無二義可一レ訳。則姑ク称二其原語一是也。[35]

There are four types (*yontō* 四等, “four degrees”) of translation (*hon’yaku* 翻訳): direct translation (*chokuyaku* 直訳), translation of meaning (*giyaku* 義訳), abbreviated words (*shōryakugo* 省略語) and plain words (*sogo* 素語). With regards to direct translation (*chokuyaku* 直訳), the Dutch word *burūdo* 蒲児度 (NL: bloed, EN: blood), translated directly is blood (*chi* 血). *Wāteru* 呿的爾 (NL: water, EN: water) in Dutch, is water (*mizu* 水) [in Japanese]. With regards to translation of meaning (*giyaku* 義訳), the word *surokkudarumananapen* 私碌窟太児謨窩邉 (NL: slokdarm opening? Unclear. EN: pit of the stomach) directly translated (*choku ni kore yaku* 直に之訳) would be “medicine for the oesophagus opening” (*shokudōkai yaku* 食道開薬) However, if we reflect about it, it means

[35] Hirokawa Kai, *Dutch Treatments Methods* (*Ranryōhō*), pp. 8-9.

(*naru* 為る) “medicine for the diaphragm” (*rikakuzai* 利膈剤).[36] Thus, we translate it “medicine for the diaphragm.” The direct translation for the word s*ūtohouto* 斯篤福鳥突 (NL: zoethout, literally “zoet,” “sweet” plus “hout,” “wood,” EN: liquorice), would be “sweet wood” (*amaki* 甘木). However, specifically, that thing means (*naru* 為る) “Chinese liquorice” (*amagusa* 甘草). Thus, we translate it “Chinese liquorice.” With regards to abbreviated words (*shōryakugo* 省略語), [for example] we call *merukyuryusu-purashipitachusuryuberu* 蔑児屈律須布剌失必太点私律白児稱 (NL: Mercurius pleister jus ribbel? Unclear. EN: Plaster with Mercury juice) just *purashita*, as it conveys the meaning, and we call *dorotsupu-han-sūtohouto* 鐸落都捗漢斯篤福鳥突 (NL: drop van zoethout, EN: liquorice pills)*,* just s*ūtohouto.* With regards to plain words (*sogo* 素語), things like *purashipita* and *dorotsupuhan* do not correspond to anything [in Japanese], so the meaning cannot be translated. Therefore, we retain the original words (*gengo* 原語).

In this passage, four types of translative practices are exemplified by Kai:

(1) Direct translation (*chokuyaku* 直訳, for example, NL: bloed, EN: blood is translated as JA: *chi* EN: blood) which corresponds to what Sugita Genpaku calls “proper translation (*hon’yaku* 翻訳).”

(2) Translation of meaning (*giyaku* 義訳) - differently from Genpaku’s idea of translation of meaning (i.e. where the literal meaning of a word is translated with the help of Chinese characters), Kai described what could be called - using Nida’s terms - “a translation of dynamic equivalence.” [37] For example, Kai explains that the word “liquorice” (NL: zouthout) should not be translated literally as “sweet-wood” (*amaki* 甘木), but rather as its closest equivalent in the target culture, *amagusa* 甘草, “Chinese

[36] This term is also mentioned later in the text: Hirokawa Kai, *Dutch Treatments Methods* (*Ranryōhō*), p. 89.

[37] I.e. a translation that “aims at complete naturalness of expression, and tries to relate the receptor to modes of behaviour relevant within the context of his own culture.” Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating*, p. 159.

liquorice," a plant used in traditional medicine (possibly, familiar to the audience of his book).

(3) Abbreviation (*shōryakugo* 省略語), where a longer transliterated word is shortened. This strategy was also mentioned by Sugita Genpaku as *ryakugo* 略語. However Genpaku did not list it as one of the degrees of translation.

(4) Plain words (*sogo* 素語), which consists of phonetic transliteration of a Dutch term using Chinese characters only for their sound, and corresponds to what Genpaku calls *chokuyaku* 直訳.

Like Sugita Genpaku, Kai divides translation strategies into "degrees (*tō* 等)" and the way he structured the presentation of his terminology mostly looks like a re-elaboration of Genpaku's words in *A New Treatise on Anatomy*.

However, some notable differences can be found: contrary to Genpaku's description in *A New Treatise*, Kai utilised the word *hon'yaku* 翻訳 as the general term for "translation." Then, he used the term *chokuyaku* 直訳 (direct translation) in the sense of equivalent translation and not of phonetic transliteration. Thus, despite the fact that the excerpt above does indeed remind of Genpaku's *A New Treatise*, Kai's usage of both these terms mirrors Ōtsuki Gentaku's ideas expressed in 4.4.4 *A New Treatise on Anatomy, extensively revised*. Indeed, Kai could have actually been influenced by Ōtsuki Gentaku's ideas: in fact, even if Gentaku's version of *A New Treatise* was only published in 1826, its composition dates to 1798 and manuscript copies may have been already in circulation.[38]

In continuity with the previous passage, in another note Kai also explains that:

翻訳者直訳為レ要。然反迂二於達一意一者有レ之。如二此書一則要二達一意一。故多用二義訳一。覧者勿レ異乙一言一句與二原書一齟齬甲也。[39]

[38] For more on this text, see Sakai, "'*Kaitai shinsho*' to '*Jūtei kaitai shinsho*,'" pp. 99-157.

> In translation (*hon'yaku* 翻訳), direct translation (*chokuyaku* 直訳) is pivotal. However, it can be far from clear, and in a book like this, clarity is pivotal. Therefore, translation of meaning (*giyaku* 義訳) is often used. Do not compare [lit. "read"] the original text (*gensho* 原書) word for word, as it is different and discords [from the translation].

Once more in contrast with Sugita Genpaku's ideas, Kai seems to prefer translation of meaning (*giyaku* 義訳) over direct translation (*chokuyaku* 直訳).

Finally, it is interesting that, similarly to other works presented in this chapter (for example, Sugita Seikei in 4.5.5), Kai remarks that his translation does not perfectly adhere to the original text. I would maintain that this indicates Kai's awareness of the possible expectations of his audience: his readers (likely, fellow scholars and translators) may want to access the original and may assume (possibly due to a prevalence of *kundoku*-based translation practice) that the translation closely adheres to the source-text.

4.4.4 *A New Treatise on Anatomy, extensively revised*, Ōtsuki Gentaku (1826)

The draft of the heavily revised edition of Sugita Genpaku's *A New Treatise on Anatomy* was completed by Ōtsuki Gentaku in 1798, and was finally published in 1826 under the name of *Jūtei Kaitai shinsho* (or *Chōtei Kaitai shinsho*) 重訂解体新書.[40] With this text, Gentaku provided a longer and more accurate version of Kulmus' work, as well as went on revising the contents of the introduction, the explanatory notes and the anatomical diagrams.

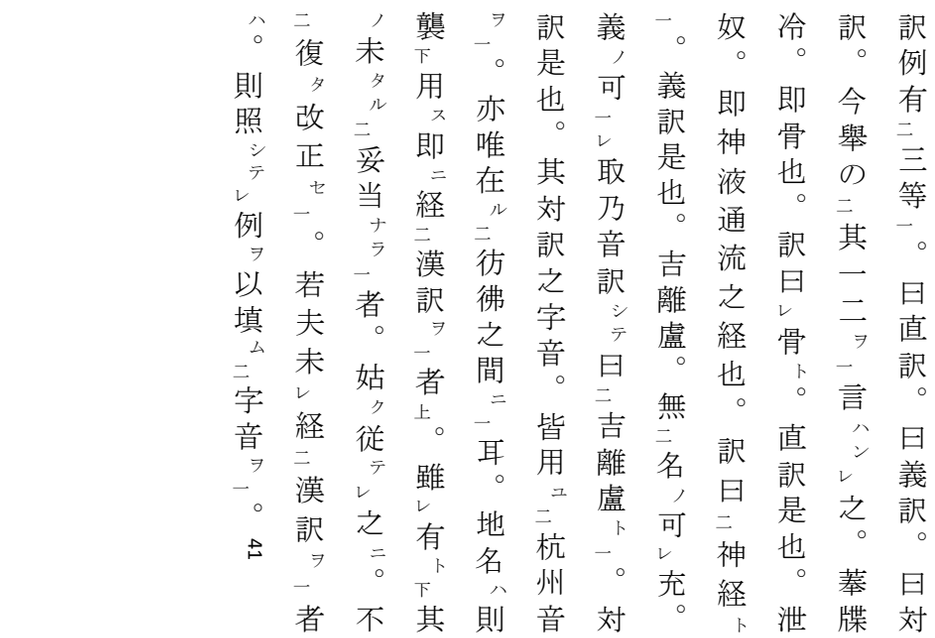
Differently from Sugita Genpaku's *A New Treatise,* the preface (*Jūtei Kaitai shinsho jo* 重訂解体新書序) is written in literary Chinese without glosses, while the explanatory notes and the text are composed in literary Chinese with attached *kunten*.

Gentaku's changes and revisions certainly imply a thorough reflection about the contents of the text. However, for the purposes of this thesis, what is most interesting about these notes is that they also demonstrate a developing preoccupation with the

[39] Hirokawa Kai, *Dutch Treatments Methods* (*Ranryōhō*), p. 9.
[40] Sakai, "'Kaitai shinsho' to 'Jūtei kaitai shinsho,'" pp. 99-157; Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, p. 127.

theory behind the translation process (Gentaku's discourse of translation is discussed in more detail in chapter 6).

In one of the explanatory notes, Gentaku rewrote *A New Treatise*'s definition of types of translation strategies (reusing some of Sugita Genpaku's examples) and explained as follows:



訳例有二三等一。曰直訳。曰義訳。曰対訳。今擧の二其一二一ヲ一言ハンレ之。蓁牒冷。即骨也。訳曰レ骨ト。直訳是也。泄奴。即神液通流之経也。訳曰二神経ト一。義訳是也。吉離盧。無二名ノ可レ充。義ノ可一レ取乃音訳シテ曰二吉離盧ト一。対訳是也。其対訳之字音。皆用ユ二杭州音ヲ一。亦唯在ル二彷彿之間ニ一耳。地名ハ則襲下用ス即ニ経二漢訳ヲ一者上。雖レ有ト下其ノ未タルニ妥当ナラ一者。姑ク従テレ之ニ。不二復タ改正セ一。若夫未レ経二漢訳ヲ一者ハ。則照シテレ例ヲ以填ムニ字音ヲ一。[41]

There are three types (*santō* 三等, "three degrees") of translation practice (*yakurei* 訳例). Direct translation (*chokuyaku* 直訳), translation of meaning (*giyaku* 義訳) and phonetic translation (*taiyaku* 対訳). Now I am going to give one or two [examples for each of them]. [The Dutch word] *bēnderen* 蓁牒冷 [means] bones. If we translate (*yaku* 訳) it as *hone* 骨 (EN: bones), it is a direct translation (*chokuyaku* 直訳). [The word] *sēnyu* 泄奴 (NL: zenew, EN: nerve) indicates the channel (*kei* 経) through which the mind (*shi* 神) fluids flow. If we translate it as *shikei* 神経 ("nerve"), it is a translation of meaning (*giyaku* 義訳). [In the case of the word] *kiriru* 吉離盧 (NL: klier, EN: gland), we do not have a matching word, nor we can understand its [etymological] meaning (*gi* 義), therefore we do a translation of sound

[41] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *A New Treatise of Anatomy, extensively revised* (*Jūtei Kaitai shinsho*), pp. 24-25.

(*on'yaku* 音訳) and we read it as *kiriru*. That is a phonetic translation (*taiyaku* 対訳). In phonetic translation [we employ] the pronunciation of the [Chinese] characters (*jion* 字音). We all use the pronunciation from Hangzhou (*kōshū on* 杭州音), and use those [characters] that have some resemblance (with the Dutch word). Then for names of places, we adopt Chinese translations (*kan'yaku* 漢訳) that already exist. Even if they are not yet validated (*datō* 妥当), we follow them for the time being and we do not revise them again. In case [a term] does not have a Chinese translation yet, we compare it with [other similar] examples (*rei* 例) and we adapt a Chinese pronunciation (*jion* 字音).[42]

In relation to our discussion of the general term for "translation," it is noteworthy that in the post-scriptum to the text (*Jūtei Kaitai shinsho fugen* 重訂解体新書付言) the scholars Katsuragawa Hoshū 桂川甫周 (1751-1809) and Nakagawa Jun'an 中川淳庵 (1739-1786), wrote that *A New Treatise on Anatomy* had been "translated" using the term *hon'yaku* 翻訳:

旧編ノ刋行。在ニ安永ノ初年ニ一。距ルコト今ヲ殆ント三十年。此レ我邦翻ニ訳スル遠西医学籍ヲ一之権輿也。蓋シ遠西和蘭之始メテ入ニ於我一也。在ニ慶長中ニ一。初建ツ二商館ヲ於肥之平戸ニ一。寛永中。奉二

The first edition of this book dates back to the early years of the An'ei 安永 era (1772-1781) and almost thirty years passed from then. That was the inception of the translation (*hon'yaku* 翻訳) of far Western medicine books in our country. However, the introduction of far Western Dutch medicine was in the Keichō 慶長 era (1596-1615), and

[42] These last few lines are also quoted and translated by Valle Wande in *Dodonaeus in Japan*, p. 140. For more on the use of "pronunciation from Hangzhou (JAP: *kōshū on* 杭州音)," see section 4.5.
[43] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *A New Treatise of Anatomy, extensively revised* (*Jūtei Kaitai shinsho*), p. 5.

> during the Kan'ei 寛永 era (1624-1644) the offices for foreign merchants were established in Hirado.

In this passage, the scholars also reiterate that, despite the knowledge of Dutch medicine being already present in the archipelago, the publication of *A New Treatise on Anatomy* represented a milestone in the development of Dutch studies, thus reinforcing the view of the work's centrality in the Dutch studies textual polysystem.

Katsuragawa Hoshū and Nakagawa Jun'an contributed significantly to Japanese Dutch studies and enjoyed great popularity within and without the scholars' circle.[44] In particular, Hoshū was instrumental to the publication of *A New Treatise*, thanks to his close connections to the official government.[45] It is interesting to note that, despite participating in translation discourse,[46] neither of them seemed to produce the kind of longer, more discursive texts as those by Sugita Genpaku, Maeno Ryōtaku and Ōtsuki Gentaku examined throughout this thesis. The reasons why some scholars did not partake in the discourse to the same extent and length as others, despite playing an overall important role in the movement, merit further study.

4.4.5 *Pronunciation of Western Sounds*, Ōtsuki Banri (1826)

Pronunciation of Western Sounds (*Seion hatsubi* 西音発微, 1826) by Ōtsuki Banri 大槻盤里 (also known as Genkan 玄幹, 1785-1837, son of Gentaku) is a book on Dutch phonetics. The preface (*Seion hatsubi jo* 西音発微序) is composed in literary Chinese with *kunten* glosses, the explanatory notes (*hanrei* 凡例) and the text are written in mixed style with Chinese characters and *katakana*.

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[44] As can be inferred for example by Genpaku's words in *Beginnings* (see Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*) - Jun'an is talked about at pp. 29-30 and pp. 46-47, Hoshū at pp. 44-45, p. 47, pp. 60-61) and Carl Thunberg's account (see Screech, *Japan Extolled and Decried*).

[45] Goodman, *Dutch in Japan*, p. 85

[46] In addition to the excerpt reported above, Hoshū also used terminology analogous to the one described in this chapter in the explanatory notes of his own translation works, such as *Explanatory diagram of a newly constructed world* (*Shinsei chikyū bankoku zusetsu* 新製地毬万国図説, 1786, https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko08/bunko08_c0179/index.html) and *Dutch Dictionary* (*Oranda jii* 和蘭字彙, 1858, https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/ho10/ho10_00379/index.html).

In the introductory notes, we can see that Banri follows the terminology set by Ōtsuki Gentaku in 4.4.4 *A New Treatise of Anatomy, extensively revised*, and thus mentions the practices of "direct translation (*chokuyaku* 直訳)," "translation of meaning (*giyaku* 義訳)" and "phonetic translation (*taiyaku* 対訳)." In a note, Banri retraces the three types of translation described by Gentaku mentioning the difficulties of producing a phonetic transliteration of Dutch words.

> 本編を述する職として之由る所は和蘭言詞を訳するに臨て直訳と義訳を作す可からざる者は唐山音を以て対訳するに従来其訳字に窮する者多し。而今此対註に困て訳者の勞を省くのみ。[47]

> The main reason we put together this volume is because among those who are faced with making a direct translation (*chokuyaku* 直訳) or a translation of meaning (*giyaku* 義訳) of Dutch words, there are many who encounter difficulties when trying to produce a phonetic translation (*taiyaku* 対訳) with Chinese sounds (*tōzan on* 唐山音) with the characters conventionally used to translate (*yakuji* 訳字). These phonetic notes (*taichū* 対註) are intended to avoid that trouble.

Here, Banri uses the term *tōzan on* 唐山音, literally "Chinese sounds" (*tōzan* 唐山 was another name for "China" in the Tokugawa period). The problematic of phonetic transliteration is another constant of Dutch studies translation discourse that let us perceive some of the Dutch studies scholars' thought, and will be discussed in the section below.

4.5 Problematics of transliteration and translation of technical terms

In the following subsections, I will introduce the second part of my analysis of para-textual sources. The texts presented here handle the issue of the translation of Dutch technical terms, to be rendered with phonetic transliterations either in Chinese characters or *katakana*. As said in the previous chapter, transcribing Dutch words using

[47] Ōtsuki Banri, *Pronunciation of Western Sounds* (*Seion hatsubi*), p. 6.

the *katakana* syllabary was a common practice among the interpreters; however, it was an exercise heavily criticised by Sugita Genpaku in *Beginnings of Dutch Studies*.

The use of *katakana* instead of Chinese characters in the transliteration of Dutch terms could be seen as an insignificant feature of the Japanese translation discourse, and nothing more than a simpler way to handle phonetic transliterations. However, what emerges from the explanatory notes discussed here is a glimpse of the attitude that the authors/translators had towards the Dutch source-texts. In fact, such use can also be interpreted as a sign of deviation from the norm and, interestingly, it seems to go hand in hand with the choice of the *buntai* mixed style with Chinese characters and *katakana* for translation. It is thus my hypothesis that the use of *katakana*, which the scholars presented as a strategy to preserve the original Dutch word (*genmei* 原名)[48] denotes a newly found approach to the Dutch text and indicates further developments in the theorisation of translation from Dutch.

4.5.1 *A New Treatise on Anatomy*, Sugita Genpaku (1774) - Part 2

As was shown in the first part of sources analysis, whenever the strategies of equivalent translation and translation of meaning (i.e. the coinage of a new word with the help of Chinese characters or, in Hirokawa Kai's example, a translation of dynamic equivalence) were not viable, a common way to deal with Dutch words was the use of an approximated phonetic transliteration. For that purpose, scholars could either borrow a pre-existing phonetic rendition established by previous Chinese translations of Dutch books, or could create a new one.[49]

In an explanatory note from *A New Treatise*, Sugita Genpaku explained that he and his colleagues preferred employing pre-existing Chinese transliterations of Dutch terms, rather than coming up with new renderings. He wrote:

斯書所ノニ直訳一文字。皆取テニ漢人所ノレ訳西洋諸国ノ地名ヲ蘭万国地図一相参勘シ。而合シテニ諸レヲ和一。集テ以訳スレ之。傍ラ書シテニ倭訓ヲ一以便ニスニ読者ニ一也。一モ不レ用ニ臆見ヲ一也。g

[48] De awa
peri
[49] As ion)
by S suki
Gentaku in (4.4.4 *A New Treatise revised*).

> In this book, the characters (*moji* 文字) [used for] direct translation (*chokuyaku* 直訳, i.e. phonetic transliteration), are all taken from the translations (*yaku* 訳) made by the Chinese (*kanjin* 漢人) for names of places of different Western countries. We confronted them with Dutch maps of different countries and we used them as reference. We collected [them] and we translated (*yaku* 訳) them, writing down their *wakun* 倭訓 (i.e. *kana* readings next to the characters) for the readers' convenience. For none of them we used [our own] conjectures.

According to Vande Walle, in general the preferred use of pre-existing Chinese translations of Dutch terms was an indication of the enduring importance of Chinese studies and of Western texts transmitted in Japan via Chinese translations, which were for a large part based on Spanish and Portuguese learning.[51] It is natural that the same went for phonetic transliterations.

In the note reported in the subsection below (4.5.2 *Picking Blossoms*), Ōtsuki Gentaku will specify that the established norm for the creation of new transliterations seemed to have been some form of *tō'on* (also read *tō'in* 唐音) pronunciation (i.e. the pronunciation of contemporary spoken Chinese, *tōwa* 唐話).[52]

---

[50] Sugita Genpaku, *A New Treatise of Anatomy* (*Kaitai shinsho*), vol. 1, p. 14.

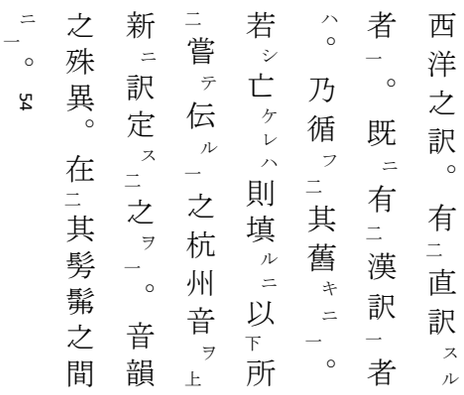
[51] Vande Walle, *Dodonaeus in Japan*, pp. 133 and 141.

[52] *Tō'on* 唐音, literally, "Tang sounds," is a type of *on* reading. Here, "Tang" does not refer to the Chinese ruling dynasty (618–907), but to "China" as a whole. There are two main kinds of readings for the Chinese characters used in Japan (漢字 *kanji*): *kun* readings (*kun'yomi* 訓読み) which are Japanese native words assigned to the characters, and *on* readings (*on'yomi* 音読み), which are readings based on the Japanese approximations of the Chinese pronunciations of a character. Generally speaking, depending on what period and from what part of the mainland *on* readings arrived in Japan, they are divided in *go'on* 呉音 (from Wu area of southern China, introduced in the sixth century) *kan'on* 漢音 (from Luoyang and Chang'an in early eight century) and *tō'on* 唐音 (from the Hangzhou area in the fourteenth century). See Shibatani, *Languages of Japan*, pp. 120-21 and the voices "on readings" and "kun readings" in *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*.
During the Tokugawa period, *tō'on* circulated in Japan thanks to Chinese Zen Buddhist monks living in Japan, Chinese residents in Nagasaki and Nagasaki interpreters of Chinese. Pastreich, "Grappling with Chinese Writing," p. 126.

4.5.2 *Picking Blossoms from a Field of Orchids*, Ōtsuki Gentaku (1817) - Part 1

Picking Blossoms from a Field of Orchids (*Ran'en tekihō* 蘭畹摘芳, first published in 1817, however it was written over a span of more than 40 years) by Ōtsuki Gentaku is a compilation of Dutch, Chinese and Japanese sources on different topics, with a focus on natural medicine.[53] The preface (*Ran'en tekihō jo* 蘭畹摘芳序) is composed in literary Chinese with no glosses, while the explanatory notes (*hanrei* 凡例) and the translation itself are written in literary Chinese with *kunten*.

In one of the explanatory notes, Gentaku wrote:


西洋之訳。有二直訳スル者一。既ニ有二漢訳一者ハ。乃循フ二其舊キニ一。若シ亡ケレハ則填ルニ以下所二嘗テ伝ル一之杭州音ヲ上新ニ訳定ス二之ヲ一。音韻之殊異。在二其髣髴之間一。54

> In the translation (*yaku* 訳) of Western [languages], there are those who [make new] phonetic translations (*chokuyaku* 直訳), and those who [use] the [pre-existent] Chinese translations (*kan'yaku* 漢訳). We abide by the old [terms], and if there is not one, when we adapt (*hamaru* 填る) [one], we decide on a new translation with the pronunciation that has been transmitted in the past from Hangzhou (JAP: *kōshū on* 杭州音). The peculiarity of these sounds lies in their resemblances [to Western languages/Dutch].[55]

[53] This work was edited by Gentaku's son Ōtsuki Banri 大槻磐里 (also known as Genkan 玄幹, 1785-1837) et al. Yabe Ichirō, "Ōtsuki Gentaku," pp. 194-99.

[54] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Picking blossoms from a field of orchids* (*Ran'en tekihō*), p. 8.

[55] Here Gentaku uses the term *chokuyaku* 直訳 most possibly in the sense of "phonetic transcription." The composition of this text is closer in time to Sugita Genpaku's *A New Treatise of Anatomy*, where the term was used with the same connotation. As a reminder, in Gentaku's revised version of *A New Treatise* (see 4.4.4), *chokuyaku* 直訳 was used as "equivalent translation."
The issue of preferring Hangzhou pronunciation for the transliteration of Dutch terms was also raised by Gentaku in 4.4.4.

Like Sugita Genpaku in the previous subsection, in this work Gentaku expresses his preference for pre-existing Chinese translations of Dutch terms. Gentaku then specifies the choice of *tō'on* pronunciation (Gentaku calls it *kōshū on* 杭州音, "Hangzhou sounds")[56] when one has to deal with phonetic transliterations.[57]

In the use of *tō'on*, Dutch studies scholars were influenced by their contemporary interpreters of Chinese active in Nagasaki; as an example, the well-known interpreter Okajima Kanzan (岡島冠山 1674-1728) produced a number of manuals and dictionaries to help independent scholars to learn Chinese (*tō'on*) pronunciation.[58] The *tō'on* norm also overlaps with Motoki Ryōei's practice. As reported by Vande Walle, in Nagasaki, Ryōei consulted the interpreter of Chinese Ishizaki Jirōzaemon (石崎次郎左衛門, dates unknown), who taught him *tō'on* pronunciation.[59] As for the reasons of Ryōei's choice of *tō'on* for the transliteration of Dutch words, Vande Walle comments that:

> Whether the prestige of Chinese is enough to explain this choice is hard to tell. It may also be inspired by a desire to distance himself from a practice which might have reminded the authorities of Christianity, for during the period of *Nanban*[60] culture, it was common practice to transcribe foreign words into hiragana. Another reason why *Rangakusha* [Dutch studies scholars] may have preferred to transliterate Dutch into *Tō'on*, was perhaps that some phonological features of Dutch were easy to assimilate to *sokuon*, *batsuon* and *yōon*,[61] which were and are characteristic of Japanese words derived from Chinese (*kango* [漢語]). In addition we may also point out that among some segments of the Edo period intelligentsia there was a strong interest in contemporary spoken Chinese (*Tōwa* [唐話]).[62]

[56] According to Xu Kewei, it is possible that with *kōshū on* 杭州音 Gentaku intended a general sense of "Southern pronunciation (*nanbō'on* 南方音)" or a pronunciation that received the influence of "Wu Chinese (*gogo* 呉語)." Xu, "'*Kosei shinpen,*'" p. 94.

[57] This was also the norm followed by Ōtsuki Banri in 4.4.5 *Pronunciation of Western Sounds*.

[58] For a list of these, see Pastreich, *Observable Mundane*, pp. 114-15.

[59] Vande Walle, *Dodonaeus in Japan*, p. 136.

[60] *Nanban* 南蛮, literally "Southern barbarian," is a term that indicated the Portuguese and Spanish.

[61] These are types of Japanese syllables: geminate consonants (*sokuon* 促音), syllabic nasal (*hatsuon* 撥音), palatalised or labio-velarised syllable (*yōon* 拗音).

[62] Vande Walle, *Dodonaeus in Japan*, p. 136. On the phonological aspects of using *tō'on* pronunciation as the closer representation of Chinese sounds, Vande Walle is quoting Sugimoto, *Nihongo no rekishi*, p. 73.

Nonetheless, the use of Chinese characters was not the only option available for the transliteration of Dutch terms. Other scholars, like Ogata Kōan, Yoshio Shunzō and Sugita Seikei discussed in the subsections below, choose different strategies.

4.5.3 *Introduction to the Study of Illness*, Ogata Kōan (1849) - Part 1

Introduction to the Study of Illness (*Byōgaku tsūron* 病学通論, 1849) is a work by the celebrated doctor and Dutch studies scholar Ogata Kōan 緒方洪庵 (1810-1863), and it is known for introducing the study of Pathology in Japan.[63] The translation is accompanied by two prefaces (both named *Byōgaku tsūron jo* 病学通論序)[64] and one author's preface (*jijo* 自序) composed in literary Chinese without glosses. The explanatory notes (titled "Introduction," *Daigen* 題言) and the translation itself are written in mixed style with Chinese characters and *katakana*.

In the introductory notes, Kōan wrote:

> 諸名称大概榛斎先生の訳例に随ふ。其闕如する者は章が膚見を以て之れを搆成す。固より穏当ならさる者居多し。故に毎名条下各々原名を付して考照に具へ以て後の君子を俟つ。但其原名は和蘭語羅甸語に限らす。之れを襲用す人の慣習する所に随て参閲に便するのみ。[65]
>
> In general, for all names I follow the translation examples (*yakurei* 訳例) of Master Shinsai 榛斎 (i.e. Udagawa Genshin). When they are not sufficient, I make [new ones] from what I understand. Naturally, many of them are not proper (*ontō* 穏当) [translations/transliterations]. Therefore, I attached the original word (*genmei* 原名) to every name, providing a reference and waiting for the wise men (*kunshi* 君子) to come [and find better solutions]. Those original words are not only from Dutch or Latin. [I attached them] for easier reference for the people who will make use of this [text].

[63] Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, p. 182.
[64] One by Udagawa Kōsai 宇田川興斎 (also known as Udagawa Ei 宇田川瀛) and one by Tsuboi Shindō 坪井信道.
[65] Ogata Kōan, *Introduction to the Study of Illness* (*Byōgaku tsūron*), p. 11.

By stating that he relies on the work of Udagawa Genshin 宇田川玄真 (1770-1835), a fellow famous scholar and adopted son of Udagawa Genzui 宇田川玄随 (1755-1797), Kōan explicitly pointed out that his first strategy was drawing from translated words employed by previous scholarship, a characteristic of Dutch studies practice.[66]

However, Kōan also decided to attach the "original word (*genmei* 原名)," i.e. a *katakana* phonetic transliteration of the foreign term, to all translated vocabulary. Kōan explained that he did so for his readership and future scholars, to facilitate others to come up with new translation options. Nonetheless, as will be made clear in section 4.6.3, in which Kōan's thoughts on translation style are examined, Kōan's position in relation to matters of transliteration can be interpreted as revealing of his positive attitude towards the Dutch original text.

4.5.4 *Essential Selection of Surgery with charts*, Yoshio Shunzō (1814)

Essential Selection of Surgery with charts (*Yōka seisen zufu* 瘍科精撰図符, manuscript, date unknown; the explanatory notes translated here are dated 1814) is a work by Yoshio Shunzō 吉雄俊蔵 (1787-1843), a doctor and Dutch studies scholar from Nagasaki.[67] He was the grandson of the famous Dutch interpreter Yoshio Kōgyū 吉雄耕牛 (also known as Yoshio Kōsaku 吉雄幸作, 1724-1800). As illustrated in the text's explanatory notes, this book of medicine was a translation of the Dutch version of *Chirurgie* (1731) by the German doctor, anatomist, and botanist Lorenz Heinster (1683-1758).[68] Both the explanatory notes (*hanrei* 凡例) and the translation are written in mixed style with Chinese characters and *katakana* (no other para-text is present in the 1814 manuscript).

In the explanatory notes, Shunzō discussed the issue of translating technical terms (literally, "names of things," *butsumei* 物名), explaining that rather than producing an obscure translation of meaning (*giyaku* 義訳) in many cases it is better to use a paraphrase or a phonetic transliteration.

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[66] Yoshino, *Ransho yakujutsugo kōsō*, p. 7.

[67] In this book, he uses the pseudonym Haguri Chōin 羽栗長隠.

[68] Yoshio Shunzō, *Essential Selection of Surgery* (*Yōka seisen zufu*), p. 2. In *Japan and the Dutch*, p. 125, Goodman explains that Ōtsuki Gentaku finished a translation of this same text that had been begun by Sugita Genpaku, under the title of *New Book on Surgery* (*Yōi shinsho* 瘍医新書, published in 1825).

Shunzō wrote:

> 物名を訳するに最も困しむ所あり。綿布を方寸に煎り解きて其糸を喎蘭名て「プリュクセル」と云ふ。義訳して撒糸と云ふ。撒糸を策ねて膏を攤ぶべく造る者を味吉と云ふ。今姑く直訳して篇中間々味吉と云ふ者これなり。又諸金創或は瘡孔ほこ挿むべく味吉を策ねたる者を「ステーキウイーキ」と云ふ。今義訳して挿徐と云ふ。俗に「メイチヤ」と云ふこれなり。其他篇中の物名多く的当を得されとも絶海万里東西懸隔の国にして語脈の異へる所已むことを得す。故に悉く原名を存して後進に便す。本假字を以て記す者は　皇国の外科者流従来呼ふ所の名なり。[69]

> Translating (*yakusu* 訳す) names of things (*butsumei* 物名) can be very problematic. [Take for example] the cotton compress you boil and cut in squares; in Dutch that cloth is called *puryukuseru* プリュクセル (NL: pluksel, EN: pledget). The translation of meaning (*giyaku* 義訳) would be *sanshi* 撒糸 (literally, “gauze/bandages” and “thread”). The sense (*ajiyoshi* 味吉, literally, “good taste”) would be “using a gauze and spread an ointment.” In this book I sometimes used direct translation (*chokuyaku* 直訳, i.e. phonetic transliteration) and other times, the sense (*ajiyoshi* 味吉) [translation]. [As another example], all the blade wounds with the sense (*ajiyoshi* 味吉) of “stabbing with a pike (*hoko hasamu* ほこ挿む),” let’s say wounds or punctures, are called *sutēkiuīki* ステーキウイーキ (NL: steekweek? steekwond? Unclear. EN: stab wound?). The translation of meaning (*giyaku* 義訳) would be *sōjo*? 挿徐? (literally, “stab” and “soft”?). Commonly, this is called *meicha* メイチヤ (NL: messteek? Unclear. EN: knife wound?). Even if we get appropriate (*tekitō* 的当) [translations] for many other names of things in this book, since [Western] countries are very

[69] Yoshio Shunzō, *Essential Selection of Surgery* (*Yōka seisen zufu*), p. 3.

> different and large seas and considerable distances[70] separate the East and the West, the contexts of their languages (*gomyaku* 語脈) can be very different. Therefore [in this book], for the convenience of posterity, you can always find the original word (*genmei* 原名). The annotations with *kana* 假字 are the names that fellow doctors of Japan used up to now.

In this excerpt, Shunzō explained that in the text he always added a phonetic transliteration in *kana* 假字 of the original word to present Dutch terms to his readers. Coming from a family of interpreters, for whom *kana* transliteration likely was a customary practice, it is possible that Shunzō was not concerned by Sugita Genpaku's criticism of the method (see chapter 3).

Also notably for the study of translation terminology, here Shunzō made a distinction between the translation of the etymological meaning of a word (*giyaku* 義訳) and the translation of the "sense" of a word (*ajiyoshi* 味吉), expressed by a periphrasis for better clarity. The term he used, *ajiyoshi* 味吉, seems to be unique to this work, and it is possibly showing a hint of Shunzō's further elaboration of translation strategies. Interestingly, another metaphor of translation style associated with the "taste" of the original is also present in Ogata Kōan's work discussed in 4.6.3.

4.5.5 *Three Chief Remedies*, Sugita Seikei (1849)

Three Chief Remedies (*Saisei sanpō* 済生三方, 1849) is a translation by the scholar (and Genpaku's grandson) Sugita Seikei 杉田成卿 (1817-1859) of *Enchiridion medicum: Or, Manual of the Practice of Medicine. The Result of Fifty Years' Experience* (*Enchiridion medicum: oder, Anleitung zur medizinischen Praxis. Vermächtniss einer funfzigjährigen Erfahrung*, 1842), a work of medicine by the German doctor Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland (1762-1836). The explanatory notes (*hanrei* 凡例) and the text are composed in mixed style with Chinese characters and *katakana*.

Notably, like Sugita Genpaku in 4.4.1 and Hirokawa Kai in 4.4.3, Seikei here lists translation strategies using the term *tō* 等 "degree." However, in addition to the terms

[70] Literally, "a thousand *ri*." A *ri* 里 is a traditional Japanese unit of measure, corresponding to approximately 3.9 km. The expression "a thousand *ri*" means "a considerable distance."

employed by Genpaku and Gentaku (*giyaku* 義訳, *chokuyaku* 直訳 and *taiyaku* 対訳), Seikei included the term *on'yaku* 音訳 (translation of sound) which was less commonly used.[71] It is not clear what strategies Seikei is referring to, but it is possible that this is simply an allusion to the fact that there were different terms for the same translative practices, as well as different uses for the same terms.

Beyond matters of translation terminology, more importantly for the purpose of the present section, this text is another example of the use of *kana* transliterations for the rendering of Dutch technical terms. Seikei wrote:

> 訳法に音訳、義訳、直訳、対訳等の別あることは、先輩已に論辨する所なるを以て、復た此に贅せず。但原本文章雄偉正大にして、予が鹵莽拙劣能く其深意を通達することを得ず。只務めて原文に因循して以て訳字を下すのみ。看者其陋を嗤ふこと無く。訳に就て以て原文の意を索めば。我術に於て小補なきにあらじ。[72]

> Since the difference in the various types (*tō* 等) of translation methods (*yakuhō* 訳法), such as phonetic transliteration (*on'yaku* 音訳), translation of meaning (*giyaku* 義訳), direct translation (*chokuyaku* 直訳) and parallel translation (*taiyaku* 対訳) has already been discussed by previous scholars, I will not indulge in it again here. However, the writing style (*bunshō* 文章) of the original text (*genpon* 原本) is excellent (*yūi* 雄偉) and commendable (*seidai* 正大), while I am coarse and clumsy and I could not convey (*tsūtatsu* 通達) well its deep meaning (*shin'i* 深意). So I followed the original text (*genpon* 原本) as much as possible and I wrote down phonetic transliteration (*yakuji* 訳字, literally, "translated characters"). Readers do not have to laugh at such narrowness. If [they] want to go back to the meaning (*i* 意) of the original text (*genpon* 原本) when [they] approach [this] translation (*yaku* 訳), there will be the need for some replenishment of my technique (*jutsu* 術).

[71] Yoshino, *Ransho yakujutsugo kōsō*, pp. 25-35.
[72] Sugita Seikei, *Three Chief Remedies* (*Saisei sanpō*), p. 5.

In the excerpt, Seikei described the Dutch source in terms of style (*bunshō* 文章) as "excellent (*yūi* 雄偉)" and "commendable (*seidai* 正大)," thus expressing a certain reverence towards the original (*genpon* 原本). The perceived prestige and the consequent respect for the Dutch source texts will be discussed in the next section.

4.6 Problematics of style

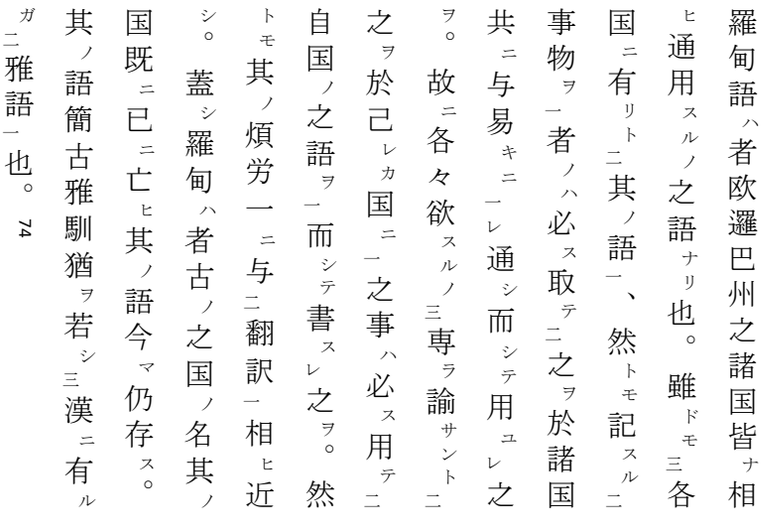
In this final section of my sources analysis, I will present some passages that, while still partially dealing with word-level translation strategies, expand their reflection into wider matters of language status and problematics of style in translation. In the following subsections, we will see that the scholarly conversation about translation from Dutch included reflection on languages of prestige outside the Japanese context, i.e. Latin and Sanskrit. The comments that spark from the consideration of this extended perspective are revealing of the depth of the scholars' reflection about translation. Among the concerns expressed by the Dutch studies scholars, we will find the issues of the appropriate rendition of the source vocabulary and the choice of writing style (*buntai*) for translation.

As will be discussed in chapter 6, Ōtsuki Gentaku promoted a discourse of translation that while still celebrating literary Chinese as the best option for translation, also offered an acceptable alternative: the use of mixed style with Chinese characters and *katakana*. Scholars like Ogata Kōan, Sugita Seikei and Yoshio Shunzō, whose works are discussed in this chapter, seem to fall into this category, which deviates from the more conservative norm of using literary Chinese, promoted by Sugita Genpaku in *A New Treatise*. As Saitō Mareshi notes, literary Chinese was a crystallized language, characterised by a number of rhetorical features, such as fixed expressions, parallelisms, Classical references, while the mixed style with Chinese characters and *katakana* more easily allowed mixture with external/Japanese influences (and newly created *kango*).[73]

[73] Saitō Mareshi, *Kanbunmyaku*, pp. 104-06.

4.6.1 *New Record of Six Things*, Ōtsuki Gentaku (1786) - Part 2

In the explanatory notes (titled "Thirteen explanatory rules," *Hanrei jūsansoku* 凡例十三則) from *New Record of Six Things* (*Rokumotsu shinshi* 六物新志*,* 1786), Ōtsuki Gentaku discussed the use of Latin in Europe as a written lingua franca. Gentaku wrote:


羅甸語ハ者欧邏巴州之諸国皆ナ相ヒ通用スルノ之語ナリ也。雖ドモ三各国ニ有リト二其ノ語一、然トモ記スル二事物ヲ一者ノハ必ス取テ二之ヲ於諸国共ニ与易キニ一レ通シ而シテ用ユレ之ヲ。故ニ各々欲スルノ三専ラ諭サント二之ヲ於己レカ国ニ一之事ハ必ス用テ二自国ノ之語ヲ一而シテ書スレ之ヲ。然トモ其ノ煩労一ニ与ニ翻訳一相ヒ近シ。蓋シ羅甸ハ者古ノ之国ノ名其ノ国既ニ已ニ亡ヒ其ノ語今マ仍存ス。其ノ語簡古雅馴猶ヲ若シ三漢ニ有ルガ二雅語一也。[74]

> Latin is a language that is used as a common idiom (*mina aitsūyō suru no go* 皆な相ひ通用スルノ之語, literally, "a language that everyone uses [to understand] each other") in various countries of Europe. Each country has its own language; however, when [people in] different countries want to understand each other, they always use Latin to record things. Therefore, [when people] in their own country exclusively want to address each other, they certainly are going to write using only the language of one's own country. Thus, this trouble is entirely similar to translation (*hon'yaku* 翻訳). In any case, Latin is the name of a country of the past. That country already disappeared, and yet its language remains today. This language is simple, ancient and civilised (*kanko gajun* 簡古雅馴), and thus is more or less like an elegant language (*gago* 雅語).

In the passage above, Gentaku is describing a situation in which there are two languages involved: a national language and a supranational language or a lingua franca,

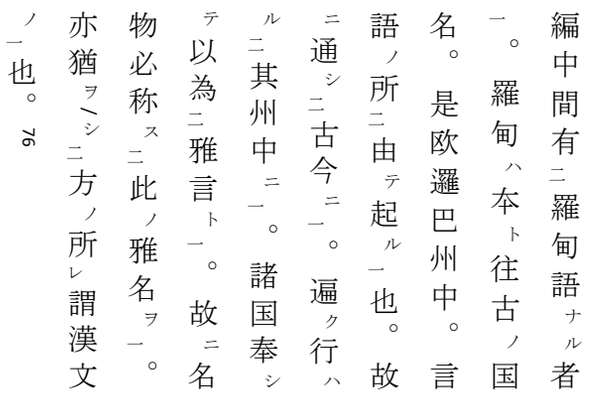
[74] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *New Record of Six Things* (*Rokumotsu shinshi*), pp. 13-14.

both supposedly understood by (elite) individuals of a given country. In this picture, Latin, the common language of Europe, is described as an "elegant language (*gago* 雅語)" that is "simple, ancient and civilised (*kanko gajun* 簡古雅馴)."

Gentaku then compares such condition to the practice of *hon'yaku* 翻訳. As discussed in the previous chapter, given that this was a term originally employed to describe translation of Sanskrit sutra into Chinese, in general *hon'yaku* can be interpreted as "translation into Chinese," and/or "proper translation." What Gentaku exactly meant in this note is still not perfectly clear; however, it is nonetheless interesting that he made a parallel between the practices of translation in Europe and the translation in Japan taking into consideration language status. Gentaku's perceptions become more explicit in his other work *Picking Blossoms* (4.6.2) described below, where he directly compares the use of Latin in Europe to literary Chinese in Japan.

4.6.2 *Picking Blossoms from a Field of Orchids*, Ōtsuki Gentaku (1817) - Part 2

In an explanatory note (*hanrei* 凡例) from *Picking Blossoms from a Field of Orchids* (*Ran'en tekihō* 蘭畹摘芳, 1817, on this text also see 4.5.2), Ōtsuki Gentaku drew a direct parallel between the role and the perceived prestige of Latin in Europe and of literary Chinese (*kanbun* 漢文) in East Asia.


編中間有ニ羅甸語ナル者一。羅甸ハ本ト往古ノ国名。是欧邏巴州中。言語ノ所ニ由テ起ル一也。故ニ通シ二古今ニ一。遍ク行ハルニ其州中ニ一。諸国奉シテ以為ニ雅言ト一。故ニ名物必称ス二此ノ雅名ヲ一。亦猶ヲ二方ノ所レ謂漢文ノ一也。[76]

> In this work, there are some Latin words. Originally, Latin was the name of a country of the past. It is a language that came about in Europe, and it was used in past and present times. It is used everywhere within that region. It is considered an elegant language

[75] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Picking blossoms from a field of orchids* (*Ran'en tekihō*), pp. 8-9.

(*gagen* 雅言) in many countries. Therefore, we always mark (*shō su* 称す) [these] distinguished things (*meibutsu* 名物) with elegant words (*gamei* 雅名). [Latin] is like literary Chinese (*kanbun* 漢文) in this country.

Here again, Latin is described again as an "elegant" language (*gagen* 雅言) that was understood everywhere in Europe. As the tone of the original text was supposed to be transferred in translation (such matter of style is also discussed in chapters 5 and 6), for Gentaku the obvious choice for rendering Latin words in the target-text was using literary Chinese.

Gentaku's awareness of Latin is rooted in previous experiences of this language in Japan. Knowledge of Latin was attested in the archipelago from the second part of the sixteenth century, when Jesuit missionaries were sent to Japan in order to disseminate the Christian doctrine in the region.[76] However, this most interesting textual production was almost completely destroyed and thus did not have a direct influence on the immediately successive translation theory and practice.[77] Nonetheless, even after the ban on Christian texts, awareness of the Latin language continued in Japan thanks to the contact with Dutch surgeons and traders and the texts they brought in the country.

Despite not being a major language in scholarship, from time to time Dutch studies scholars came across Latin in their practice. For example, the famous intellectual and Confucian scholar Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657−1725) mentions Latin in his *Collected Views and Strange Words* (*Sairan igen* 采覧異言, 1713), a work on world geography resulting from Hakuseki's conversations with Giovanni Battista Sidotti (1668-1714).[78]

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[76] As touched upon in the introductory chapter of this thesis, the encounter with the Jesuits represented the first experience of translation of European languages in Japan (Jesuit translation was mainly carried out by Europeans though, while Dutch interpreting and translation was practiced basically only by the Japanese). The Jesuit instituted missionary schools (called *seminarios*) and produced various printed materials, such as different editions of *Aesop's Fabulae*, the *Nippo jisho* 日葡辞書 (or *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam,* a Japanese to Portuguese dictionary) and more explicitly evangelical texts like *Catechismo*. For more on the Jesuit presence in Japan, see Boscaro, *Ventura e sventura*.

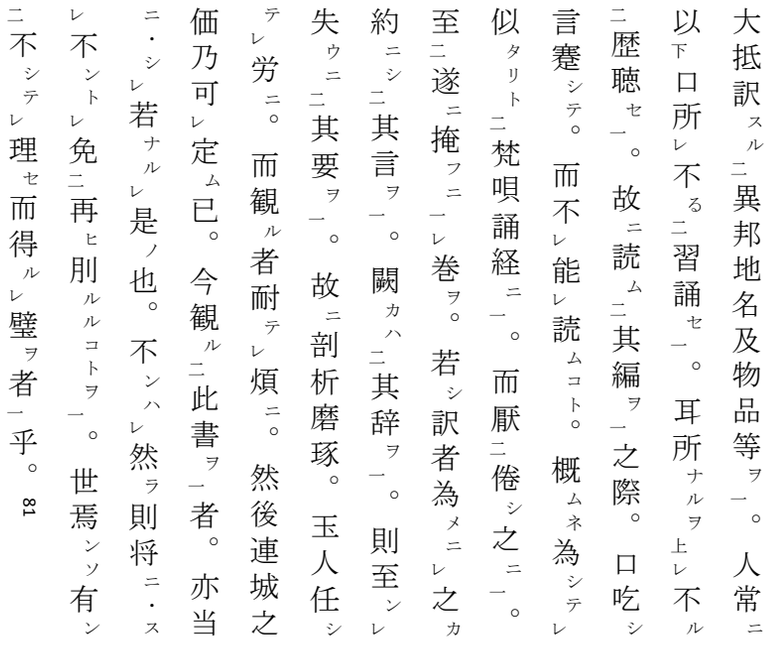
[77] Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*, pp. 144-45.

[78] Arai Hakuseki, *Collected Views and Strange Words* (*Sairan igen* 采覧異言, 1713), p. 13. https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/ru02/ru02_00959/index.html.
Sugimoto, *Edo jidai rangogaku*, vol. 2, pp. 23-29.
Sidotti was an Italian Jesuit missionary that was imprisoned in Japan for spreading Christianity. Arai Hakuseki had the chance to interview him with the help of the interpreter Imamura Gen'emon 今村源右衛門 (1671-1736) and his disciples, who spoke with him in Latin. See De Groot, "Engelbert Kaempfer," pp. 206-08.

Among other well-known Dutch studies scholars, Maeno Ryōtaku 前野良沢 (1723-1803) had experience with translation from Latin (despite producing some evident mistranslations).[79] Shizuki Tadao 志筑忠雄 (1760-1806) also faced the challenge of translating Latin.[80] From the understanding that they were equally languages of prestige, both Ryōtaku and Tadao decided to translate Latin into literary Chinese. From the passage above, it is easy to infer that Gentaku followed this same reasoning.

In another note from the same text, Gentaku described some of the peculiarities encountered by the Japanese translators of Dutch, stressing on the importance of producing an accurate translation.

He wrote:


大抵訳スルニ異邦地名及物品等ヲ一。人常ニ以下口所レ不ル二習誦セ一。耳所ナルヲ上レ不ル二歴聴セ一。故ニ読ム二其編ヲ一之際。口吃シ言蹇シテ。而不レ能レ読ムコト。概ムネ為シテレ似タリト二梵唄誦経ニ一。而厭二倦シ之ニ一。至二遂ニ掩フニ一レ巻ヲ。若シ訳者為メニレ之カ約ニシ二其言ヲ一。闕カハ二其辞ヲ一。則至ンレ失ウニ二其要ヲ一。故ニ剖析磨琢。玉人任シテレ労ニ。而観ル者耐テレ煩ニ。然後連城之価乃可レ定ム已。今観ル二此書ヲ一者。亦当ニ・シレ若ナルレ是ノ也。不ンハレ然ラ則将ニ・スレ不ントレ免ニ再ヒ刖ルルコトヲ一。世焉ンソ有ンニ不シテレ理セ而得ルレ璧ヲ者一乎。[81]

> Generally, people who translate names of places and things from foreign countries (i.e. Western countries), usually do not always learn [foreign words] by repeating them (*shūshō* 習誦) and by listening [to them being read] one after the other. Therefore, when they read these books, they stammer and stutter as they do not know how to read them. All in all, it is similar to the chanting of the Sanskrit verses (*bonbai* 梵唄) or reading the Sutras aloud (*jokyō* 誦経), it is tiring and

[79] Taida, "History and Reception," pp. 76-79.
[80] Mervart, "Republic of Letters."
[81] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Picking blossoms from a field of orchids* (*Ran'en tekihō*), p. 8.

> annoying. In the end [however], we get to disseminate [this] volume. If, for this reason, translators (*yakusha* 訳者), simplify (*yaku ni su* 約にす) those words (*gen* 言) and miss out (*kaku* 闕く) those terms (*ji* 辞), their importance will be lost. Therefore, we analyse and polish [them], working hard [like] gem-cutters. The readers will bear with the trouble, and afterwards will decide if it was valuable. Those who read this book now should definitely do like this. Otherwise, surely they will not escape the punishment twice. There will never be people that gain treasures without studying.

In the passage above, Gentaku goes over different topics. By saying that Western languages are not learnt by the study and repetition aloud of a text, Gentaku here is likely referring to the practice of "plain reading (*sodoku* 素読)," the most common way to learn literary Chinese in Tokugawa Japan. With plain reading, the student learned how to read Chinese writings aloud with the *kundoku* method, without focussing on the meaning of the text;[82] Gentaku compares such practice with the chanting of Sanskrit verses and the vocalisation of Buddhist sutra, which could also be read aloud without focussing on the meaning. Thus, in the excerpt, Gentaku highlights the importance of understanding the text, in contrast with the practice of vocalisation without comprehension. As will be discussed in the following chapters, this practice was heavily criticised by the Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai. In this thesis, I maintain that Gentaku's argument was directly inspired by his reading of Sorai's *A Tool for Translation*, and as I will discussed again in chapter 6, such problematic returns in Gentaku's discursive work *Upward and Forward in Dutch Translation*.

In the second part of the quote, Gentaku described the necessity of accuracy in refining the choice of translated words, comparing the work of the translator to that of the jade-cutter. The problem of the simplification of foreign terms was also a theme in Buddhist translation discourse. In general terms, Gentaku's perspective is reminiscent of the position of the monk and translator Hui Chang (慧常, active 314-385), a scholar that Martha Cheung described as "probably the first monk in the history of Chinese discourse on translation to advocate what in modern theoretical language is called translating in

[82] On the practice of plain reading, see Saitō Mareshi, *Kanbunmyaku*, pp. 35-38 and Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*, pp. 127-36.

accordance with the text type." [83] As quoted by Buddhist scholar Dao An (道安, 312-385) Hui Chang stated that when translating, "rather than aiming at skill [*qiao* 巧] and ease [*bian* 便], we should adhere to that which is elegant [*ya* 雅] and that which is proper and correct [*zheng* 正]." [84] Thus, instead of simplifying the original and risking to lose its value, it is better to work with precision to maintain the characteristics (and the tone) of the source text.

Gentaku's further elaboration of translation discourse will be discussed in chapter 6. At the present stage, let us just notice that with the reasoning delineated in this passage, Gentaku is locating translation from European languages on a very high standard. It is often said, and it is certainly true, that practicality is what guided Dutch studies scholars in their translation activity. Nevertheless, as shown above, a concern for the stylistic component was indeed present, and so were the preoccupation with fidelity to the prestige of the source text and the importance of the work of the translator.

4.6.3 *Introduction to the Study of Illness*, Ogata Kōan (1849) - Part 2

Through other explanatory notes to *Introduction to the Study of Illness* (*Byōgaku tsūron* 病学通論, 1849), we can look further into Kōan's considerations on translation theorisation and practice, and especially into more detailed discussion of his ideas on style, in this case as well rooted in earlier translation discourse.

As mentioned in 4.5.3, both the explanatory notes and the translation are written in mixed style with Chinese characters and *katakana*. About such choice, Kōan wrote:

> 或云此編意義通達理論精密を尽せりと謂べし。惜哉文字鄙俗にして雅ならす。恰も美羹を馬槽に盛れるか如し。人顧る者あること尠からん。蓋し此挙は所謂病学の嚆矢なり。[85]

> In this book, I wanted to achieve meaning (*igi* 意義), communication (*tsūtatsu* 通達), logic (*riron* 理論) and precision (*seimitsu* 精密) as much as possible. Unfortunately, [these] characters (*moji* 文字) are

[83] Cheung, *Anthology of Chinese Discourse*, p. 78.
[84] The translation is from Cheung, *Anthology of Chinese Discourse*, p. 78.
[85] Ogata Kōan, *Introduction to the Study of Illness* (*Byōgaku tsūron*), p. 11.

> vulgar (*hizoku* 鄙俗) and not elegant (*ga narazu* 雅ならす). It is like filling up a horse trough with some beautiful hot food. The things that one [can] look back to are [more than just] a few. However, this work can be considered the beginning of the study of Pathology [in Japan].

Here, Kōan deemed the "characters (*moji* 文字)" used in his translation "vulgar (*hizoku* 鄙俗)" and "not elegant (*ga narazu* 雅ならす)," even emphasising their unrefined style comparing the source text to hot food given to horses. He is probably referring to the choice of mixed style with Chinese characters and *katakana* for the translation of the Dutch text, instead of the use of literary Chinese.

Kōan's ideas are expressed in more detail in the following extracts:

> 然り余も亦嘗て文字を正し、章句を明にし、法を後世に重んことを庶幾せり。然れとも余少ふして西学に志し東西に奔走して、文を学ふの余暇を得ず。卑拙浅陋悔ゆとも及ばす。以為らく。遺ㇾ芳の備らさらんよりは寧ろ臭を伝ざる者勝れりと。将さに此稿を擲て篋中に投し、終歳顧ること亡らんとす。比四方有志の士余か此挙あるを聞て其公行の遅きを責むる者多く、或は之れを請て止まさること饑渇の飲食を望むか如き者あり。斯に於て復た遺命の遅遅す可らさることを念ひ其卑陋を省みす遂に梓して以て後の君子を俟つのみ。[86]

> Once and again I corrected (tadasu 正す) the characters (*moji* 文字), made the period (*shō* 章) and the verse (*ku* 句) clear, and earnestly wished to accumulate rules (*hō* 法) for the next generations. However, I only dedicated myself a little to the study of the West (*shigaku* 西学): I am always on the move, and I did not get enough time to study those languages (*bun* 文). There is no need to [say that I] regret to be rustic and shallow. What I think is that it is better not to pass on a bad smell, rather than never have a good perfume to leave behind. Naturally, I wanted to abandon this manuscript and to close it in a box; I often look back and I wish it did not exist. These interested gentlemen from

[86] Ogata Kōan, *Introduction to the Study of Illness* (*Byōgaku tsūron*), pp. 11-12.

> everywhere asked if I had this work, and many criticised the delay of its publication, never ceasing to request it, as if they desired drinks and food for being starved and thirsty. Thus, I took it to heart again that last commands will not be delayed, and without looking back at [the work's] vulgarity (*hiru* 卑陋), I finally published it, however awaiting for the wise men to come [and do a better job].

Beyond the author's expression of humility (a common feature in early modern Japanese texts), Kōan here articulates two interesting ideas. The first is that for him translation is a meticulous job, or at least one that always requires continuous revisions and improvements, showing great preoccupation with the use of written language (Ōtsuki Gentaku makes a similar point in the second quote from 4.6.2 *Picking Blossoms*, comparing translators to "gem-cutters").[87] The second is the admission of his own inability to understand the source, similarly to what Sugita Seikei articulated in 4.5.5 ("I am coarse and clumsy and I could not convey well its deep meaning").[88] Kōan also writes that he feels like he had not studied Dutch well enough or long enough (notably, accurate knowledge of the source language was strongly recommended by Ogyū Sorai as well, see the next chapter).

Later in the same note, Kōan goes on explaining his position, now comparing the difficulties of his translation choices with the case of Sutra translation from Sanskrit into Chinese:

> 鳩摩羅什与二彗叡一書に云く。「天竺の国俗甚重すレ文(中略)。但改てレ梵為すレ秦と。失ふ二其藻蔚一。雖レ得と二大意を一、殊に隔つ二文体を一。有レ似たる二嚼らレ飯を与るに一レ人に。不二徒に失ふのみ一レ味を。乃今る二嘔噦せ一也。」と余か聞く所を以てするに梵経は支那碩儒会議して訳せし所なり。而して尚ほ此の非毀あり。況んや余か嚼与の飯。人必ず数里の外に唾せん嘔噦も何そ得べけんや。然りと雖とも亦之れを以て夫の饑者に与へ

[87] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Picking blossoms from a field of orchids* (*Ran'en tekihō*), p. 8.
[88] Sugita Seikei, *Three Chief Remedies* (*Saisei sanpō*), p. 5.

は、その徒らに溝壑に塡るを忍ひ視るには勝らんか豈に勝らずや。[89]

As his disciple Hui Rui 慧叡 wrote,[90] Kumārajīva (JP: Kumarajū 鳩摩羅什, 334-413) said: "The customs of the Indian subcontinent (天竺)[91] give great importance to the written language (*bun* 文). (Omissis [*chūryaku* 中略]). However, changing (*aratameru* 改る) the Sanskrit and making it Chinese (Qin 秦), you lose the style (*sō* 藻) and the pattern (*utsu* 蔚). Even if you get the main idea (*tai'i* 大意), the writing styles (*buntai* 文体) are really different. Since it is similar to giving people a meal that had already been gnawed, not only you lose the taste (*aji* 味) for nothing, but it also causes you vomit and nausea."[92] So, as I heard, the great Confucian scholars of China (*Shina sekiju* 支那碩儒) came together and translated (*yaku* 訳) the Sanskrit scriptures (*bonkyō* 梵経). And then, here comes this denigration [of a book]. Even [worse] than a meal that I gnawed. Will not people for sure and everywhere despise [this work]? What can they get [from it], more than vomit and nausea? Nonetheless, I'm giving this work to those hungry men, but would not it be better to conceal it in a ditch?

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[89] Ogata Kōan, *Introduction to the Study of Illness* (*Byōgaku tsūron*), p. 12. The characters for Hui Rui 彗壑 are variations (*itaiji* 異体字) of 慧叡.

[90] Another name of Seng Rui 僧叡, 353?-440?). Seng Rui was one of Kumārajīva's main assistants. See Cheung, *An Anthology of Chinese Discourse on Translation*, p. 91.

[91] I got the translation of this term from Cheung, *Anthology of Chinese Discourse*, p. 94.

[92] As can be seen from the source text reported above, the *buntai* (writing style) here briefly switches to *kanbun kundoku* to address the quote from Kumārajīva and his disciples. This was a common practice in early modern texts.

Here, Kōan is possibly quoting an extract of "A Biography of Kumārajīva" (*Kumarajūden* 鳩摩羅什伝) from *A Collection of Records on the Emanation of the Chinese Tripitaka* (*Shutsusanzō kishū* 出三蔵記集, c. 402-413), vol. 14, compiled by the Chinese scholar Seng You 僧祐 (JP: Sōyū, 445-518.) http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/T55n2145_014. For a complete translation of the extract, see Cheung, *An Anthology of Chinese Discourse on Translation*, p. 94.

This quote is also contained in "Kumārajīva" (*Kumarajū* 鳩摩羅什) from vol. 2 of *Memoirs of Eminent Monks* (*Kōsōden* 高僧伝) compiled by the Chinese monk Ekō (Hui Jiao 慧皎 497-554). https://tripitaka.cbeta.org/T50n2059_002.

The original quote from "A Biography of Kumārajīva" would actually be "The customs of India give great importance to the language (*bun* 文) and style (*sō* 藻)" ("天竺國俗甚重文藻." The quote is "天竺國俗甚重文製" (with 製 instead of 藻) in the *Kōsōden* version).

In this passage, Kōan reiterated the importance of the written text and of the original language, discussing matters of translation style. As much as translating the "main idea (*tai'i* 大意)" of a source text is important, the loss of "style (*sō* 藻)" and "pattern (*utsu* 蔚)" that occurs because of the "changing" of the source text into another language seems to produce a significant loss of the original qualities of the source.

The quote by Kumārajīva reported by Kōan is one of the most famous lines of the Chinese discourse of translation. As Cheung notes, with this metaphor Kumārajīva was probably lamenting a stylistic loss, rather than the inferiority or "impossibility" of translation.[93] Originally, in this quote Kumārajīva was referring to the loss of "the aesthetic beauty of a Buddhist sutra (that is the harmony between words and music),"[94] therefore, to something that in practice had little to do with Dutch translation in Japan. However, it is possible that Kōan was complaining about the same idea of stylistic loss. (A fairly similar idea of loss of the "taste" of the original text can be found in Yoshio Shunzō's work in 4.5.4).

However, somewhat echoing Ogyū Sorai's ideas in *A Tool for Translation*, Kōan seemed to imply that, at least in the form presented in this text, and despite the limitations that came with it, translation was a necessary tool to allow "hungry men" to access (in this case) medical knowledge. In fact, the Dutch studies scholars felt, similarly to Kumārajīva, the necessity of translating sacrificing the source for the need to transmit as much knowledge as possible in a short amount of time.[95]

Finally, Kumārajīva is a key figure in the history of translation in East Asia. He translated more than thirty sutras in the last years of his life and "in range, sophistication and style he still stands foremost in the history of Buddhist translation in China."[96] As Vande Walle notes, Indian culture had a deep impact on Chinese culture through the medium of Sutra translation, and later an amalgamation of Indian and Chinese culture "was transmitted to Japan in a process that was even more incisive and long-lasting."[97] What is most worthy of note here, is that by quoting Kumārajīva and his disciples, Kōan posited

[93] Cheung, *Anthology of Chinese Discourse*, pp. 94-95.
[94] Cheung, *Anthology of Chinese Discourse*, p. 94.
[95] As Cheung comments, "In the last years of his life, Kumārajīva raced against time, trying his very best to get as many sutras translated as possible and to promote the teachings of the Buddha as much as possible. Given the time constraint, he had to present the translations in an abbreviated rather than complete form." Cheung, *Anthology of Chinese Discourse*, p. 109.
[96] Cheung, *Anthology of Chinese Discourse*, p. 93.
[97] Vande Walle, *Dodonaeus in Japan*, p. 124.

himself and his work - and in a wider sense the movement of Dutch studies - in a larger field of translation in Asia. This choice can be explained as a way to gain prestige as well as to reach for a continuity between the Chinese translation tradition and the study of the Dutch language and Dutch scientific literature. It is interesting that prestige seems to be relative for Dutch studies scholars - i.e. not strictly connected to a language or culture in particular, but rather to the idea of the original.

4.7 Conclusions

The picture that emerges from this examination of paratextual sources is a complex one. From the systemic point of view, it is noteworthy that problematics of translation echo from one scholar to the other, sewn together by quotes and cross references. These ideas and practices were not limited to Japanese Dutch studies, but covered great distances in space and time, indicating that Dutch studies scholars aimed at carving a space for themselves not only in the home polysystem, but also in a perceived larger discourse of translation in East Asia. From the sources presented in this chapter, it is thus possible to claim that far from being unsystematic as previously characterised by modern scholarship, Dutch Studies scholars did in fact develop a discourse on translation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Similarly to what happened with the narrative constructed by Sugita Genpaku in *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* discussed in the previous chapter, it seems like the ideas expressed in *A New Treatise* and by the Edo-based group were put forward as a façade, behind which a plethora of other ideas and practices existed.

From the point of view of the study of translation terminology, it is interesting that for a number of scholars (i.e. Ōtsuki Gentaku, Sugita Hakugen, Hirokawa Kai, Katsuragawa Hoshū and Nakagawa Jun'an), the term *hon'yaku* 翻訳 already seemed to have gained the more generic meaning of "translation" that it has today, in contrast with Sugita Genpaku's initial use of *yaku* 訳 as a general term and *hon'yaku* as one of the types of translation strategies in *A New Treatise*.

Finally, I would conclude that Dutch studies scholars' translation choices were not casual, and that the use of mixed style with Chinese characters as the *buntai* for translation and *katakana* as the method for transliterations are signs of deviation from

the established norm. This was not a rebellion against literary Chinese (which maintained its status of language of prestige) and the *kundoku* method per se, but rather a change of shift in perception - literary Chinese became less important to the eyes of the translator as the Dutch text gained more prestige.

Chapter 5: Ogyū Sorai's linguistic thought and its influence on the Dutch studies movement

In this chapter, I will focus on two linguistic-related works by the famous Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728), *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei* 訳文筌蹄, 1715) and *Glossed Translations for Instructing the Ignorant* (*Kun'yaku jimō* 訓訳示蒙, 1738). In these works, Sorai expressed his ideas on language, translation and writing styles. Sorai's connections to the Dutch studies' discourse of translation have already been mentioned throughout this dissertation; here, I will consider the main features of Sorai's thought and I will highlight the themes, concepts and approach to learning that became a feature of the discourse of translation in Dutch studies and that will be further elaborated in the following chapter.

In this thesis, I maintain that a discourse of translation was taking place within the field of Dutch studies in early modern Japan. This discourse was characterised but not limited by the discussion around the practice of *kundoku*,[1] and involved a wider reflection on translation and the spheres of teaching and learning; it was not always systematic and organised, and likely did not involve every individual engaged in Dutch studies, but it was nonetheless part of the Japanese cultural history and connected a number of intellectuals. As said before, Dutch studies scholars looked up to the tradition of Chinese studies in Japan both as a model and as a rival in prestige. To further prove my arguments, in the following sections and in more detail in chapter 6, I will investigate how the discourse of translation assembled by Ogyū Sorai influenced a few central individuals in Dutch studies.

5.1 The relationship between Sorai and Dutch studies

One of the most influential Japanese scholars of Chinese, Sorai has loomed large in modern histories of the Tokugawa period. Sorai has been famously celebrated for popularising the fact that Chinese and Japanese are two different languages - an obvious concept for today's sensibility, but not widespread in the Japanese early modern

[1] On the characteristics of *kundoku* and its relevance among the Japanese *buntai*, see chapter 2.

context.[2] Famously, Sorai advocated the knowledge of spoken Chinese, and encouraged the study of Chinese as a foreign language.

In *A Tool for Translation* (first published in 1715, although Sorai dates its composition back to the early 1690s),[3] Sorai controversially criticised the use of the *kundoku* method for the study of Chinese texts. Sorai stated that:

> 学者の先務、唯々其の華人の言語に就きて、其の本来の面目を識らんことを要す。[4]

> […] the primary duty of the scholar is to approach the Chinese language [*kajin no gengo* 華人の言語, literally, "the language of the Chinese people"] and to understand its original characteristics (*honrai no menmoku* 本来の面目).[5]

While maintaining that knowledge of Chinese should remain the goal of the scholar's efforts, whenever that was not possible, Sorai proposed that Chinese texts should be translated into vernacular Japanese, rather than approached with *kundoku*, in order to obtain a better, deeper understanding of the real meaning of the original text.

Thus, when explaining the precepts of learning that he assigned to his students of Chinese language, Sorai describes the superiority of the "Nagasaki method," (*Kiyō no gaku* 崎陽の学, where Kiyō is the Chinese name for Nagasaki) a modus of teaching and approaching foreign languages used by the interpreters of Chinese in the harbour city. This connection to the Nagasaki method was brought to Sorai thanks to the work of Okajima Kanzan 岡島寒山 (1674-1728), one of the most famed interpreter of spoken Chinese of his time. Sorai wrote:

[2] Pastreich, "Grappling with Chinese Writing," p. 131.
[3] Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*)*,* p. 23.
[4] Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei)*, p. 24.
[5] The understanding of the "original characteristics (*honrai no menmoku* 本来の面目)" of the Chinese characters was quoted in Shizuki Tadao's introduction to *Dutch Studies in Memory of the Lost Father*, reported below in this section.

> […] 故に予嘗て蒙生のために学問の法を定む。先づ崎陽の学を爲し、教ふるに俗語を以てし、誦するに華音を以てし、訳するに此の方の俚語を以てし、絶して和訓廻環の讀を作さず。[6]
>
> […] So, for the sake of my students, I established these rules for learning. First, you have to follow the Nagasaki method, where you teach in the [current] vernacular language (*zokugo* 俗語, i.e. Japanese), use Chinese pronunciation (*kaon* 華音) when you read aloud, and the Japanese language (lit. "vernacular language of this land," *kono hō no rigo* 此の方の俚語) when you translate (*yakusuru* 訳する), so to avoid all the distortions of the *wakun* reading.[7]

By problematizing the widespread use of *kundoku*, Sorai was attacking the modes and way of teaching of the mainstream Confucian scholarship of his day.[8] As a result, Sorai's ideas on translation were accepted by only a few of his contemporaries - mainly his disciples - and were extraneous to the Confucian tradition in Japan. In fact, consequently to the Kansei 寛政 era (1789-1801) ban on heterodoxy, at the end of the eighteenth century Sorai's teachings were formally excluded from the official academies sponsored by the government, which at the time was promoting Neo-Confucianism as an official ideology.[9] The government's ban on heterodoxy was not very strict, however Edo-based Dutch studies scholars seemed to observe it, at least formally. Finally then, Sorai himself recommended the idea of vernacular translation only in *A Tool for Translation* and in *Glossed Translations*, but he did not mention it in his other writings. For the reasons outlined above, even though Sorai was one of the most prominent scholars of his age, by the time in which the Dutch studies scholars examined in this thesis were active, his work can be considered to be at the outskirts of the Japanese literary polysystem.

It is thus a fact of great interest that Sorai's ideas nonetheless seem to have influenced the field of Dutch studies through the work of the scholars examined in this thesis, who

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[6] Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 28.
[7] Pastreich suggests Sorai meant a "transposition into a fluent contemporary Japanese that was neither pedantic nor obscure." Pastreich, "Grappling with Chinese Writing," p. 129.
[8] Pastreich, "Grappling with Chinese Writing," pp. 119-20.
[9] Also known as "Kansei Reforms." Backus, "Kansei Prohibition" and Tucker, *Ogyū Sorai*, pp. 3-134.

explicitly sought to be associated with government endorsement.[10] In fact, as will be shown through a close reading of the primary sources examined in the following chapter, Sorai was undeniably one of the sources that informed the discourse of translation of Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 (1757-1827) and Maeno Ryōtaku 前野良沢 (1723-1803), despite the fact that Sorai's name is never mentioned in Ryōtaku and Gentaku's texts examined in this thesis.[11]

The fact that Sorai's thought reached the field of Dutch studies even from a peripheral position does not come as a surprise from the point of view of polysystem theory. As Even-Zohar explains:

> […] contrary to common belief, interference often takes place via peripheries. When this process is ignored, there is simply no explanation for the appearance and function of new items in the repertoire. Semiliterary texts, translated literature, children's literature - all those strata neglected in current literary studies - are indispensable objects of study for an adequate understanding of how and why transfer occurs, within systems as well as among them.[12]

Due to some aspects of his linguistic thought, such as the aforementioned consideration of Chinese as a foreign language and the coming into play of vernacular Japanese as an acceptable language for translation, Sorai's teachings and ideas have a modern feel to them that certainly echoes throughout Dutch studies writings. However, the relationship between Sorai's thought and the Dutch studies scholars was blurred, and it was not clear if Dutch studies scholars were directly influenced by his work, or they rather just absorbed teachings and ideas that were already in circulation in Nagasaki, via the interpreters and other scholars of Chinese. In this thesis, I claim that there was a direct link between Sorai and a number of scholars of Dutch.

A likely point of entry can be identified in the well-known scholar and interpreter Shizuki Tadao 志筑忠雄 (also known as Nakano Ryūho 中野柳圃, 1760-1806, a scholar

[10] As discussed in chapter 3. Also see Horiuchi, "When Science Develops," pp. 165-69.
[11] Instead, Ōtsuki Gentaku explicitly quoted the celebrated Confucian scholar Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657-1725) as one of the founders of Dutch learning in Japan. Ōtsuki Gentaku, *New Record of Six Things* (*Rokubutsu shinshi*), p. 7.
[12] Even-Zohar, "Polysystem Studies," p. 25.

mentioned in the previous chapters).[13] As Sugimoto argued, Tadao was influenced by Ogyū Sorai's linguistic thinking and terminology, as well as by his ideas on translation.[14] In the introduction (*jo* 序) to his work *In Memory of the Late Father of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku seizenfu* 蘭学生前父, manuscript, early 1780s)[15] as quoted by Sugimoto, Tadao explicitly mentioned Sorai's name and *A Tool for Translation*:

> 物氏の訳筌に漢学をせんものは文字の本来の面目を識れといへる如く蘭学もまたさるわざなるからおのれ此ころ和漢の語をゑらひて訓訳しつる。[16]
>
> Butsu's 物 [i.e. Ogyū Sorai] *Translation Tool* (*Yakusen* 訳筌, shorten title for *A Tool for Translation*, *Yakubun sentei* 訳文筌蹄, 1715), is about the original characteristics (*honrai no menboku* 本来の面目) of the [Chinese] writing (*moji* 文字). In Dutch studies too, we do similar things. We choose [the right] Japanese or Chinese (*wakan* 和漢) term (go 語), and we translate in *kun* (literally, *kun'yaku* 訓訳, i.e. translate according to Japanese readings).

Tadao's introduction above seems to be the only Dutch studies related writing in which Sorai's name is explicitly mentioned. However, at the light of the textual evidence discussed in chapter 6, I will argue that Sorai's influence extends beyond Tadao's case, starting with the example of Maeno Ryōtaku's *Brief Translations from the Dutch* (*Oranda yakubun ryaku sōkō* 和蘭訳文略艸稿, manuscript, date unknown, but postscript dated 1771). In particular, in this thesis I maintain that in *Upward and Forward in Dutch Translation* (*Ran'yaku teikō* 蘭訳梯航, manuscript, 1816), the scholar Ōtsuki Gentaku was referring to and quoting directly Ogyū Sorai's *A Tool for Translation*, and I claim that

[13] Shizuki Tadao's contribution to Dutch studies discourse is stated explicitly by both Sugita Genpaku in *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* and by Ōtsuki Gentaku in *Upward and Forward in Dutch Translation* (as cited in chapter 3).

[14] Sugimoto, *Edo jidai rangogaku*, vol. 1, pp. 562-76. On the influence of Ogyū Sorai and Motoori Norinaga's schools on Shizuki Tadao's *Rangaku seizenfu* see Oshima, "*Ranbun wayakuron no tanjō*." On Shizuki Tadao's life and works, also see De Groot, *Study of the Dutch Language*, pp. 140-69.

[15] As reported by De Groot's catalogue of primary sources, *Study of the Dutch Language*, p. 278.

[16] Sugimoto, *Edo jidai rangogaku*, vol. 1, p. 562. As Sugimoto notes, this introduction is only present in a few versions of the text.

Sorai was indeed a major source for Gentaku's discourse of translation and approach to teaching and learning.

5.2 Modern reception of Ogyū Sorai

Ogyū Sorai has been one of the most studied intellectuals of the Tokugawa period in the modern age, by both Japanese and American and Western-European scholarship.[17] From the post-war period onwards, the reception of Sorai's (mainly philosophical) thought has been strongly influenced by Sinologist Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎 (1904-1980) and political scientist Maruyama Masao 丸山 眞男 (1914-1996).[18] In particular, Maruyama's *Nihon seiji shisōshi kenkyū* 日本政治思想史研究 (1952, also published in English under the title of *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan,* 1974) shaped the idea of Ogyū Sorai as a central figure among the Tokugawa intellectuals, or, as Boot puts it, as "the hero of Edo Confucianism."[19] Boot summarises four main motives behind the popularity in the reception of Sorai: (1) the fact that he preached "empathetic reading," where reading a text multiple times lead to its comprehension, (2) the denial of self-cultivation, stressing political practice and practical utility instead, (3) Sorai's lack of "chauvinistic" instinct and (4) his interest not only in Chinese literature, but in military lore, practical politics and Chinese law.[20]

Notably, Ogyū Sorai's work dominates the landscape of the Japanese tradition's branch of contemporary English language Translation studies as well,[21] even if he was not the only scholar who talked about translation or discussed the characteristics the *kundoku* method during the Tokugawa period.[22] It is possible that this situation has been

[17] In the pre-war era, Sorai's linguistic thought has been researched by the Japanese scholars Iwahashi Junsei 岩橋遵成 (1883-1933) and Ishizaki Matazō 石崎又造 (1905-1959). Tajiri, "'*Kundoku' mondai*," pp. 221-24.

[18] Part of Yoshikawa Kōjirō's work on Sorai has also been translated into English and was published in 1983, under the title *Jinsai, Sorai, Norinaga. Three Classical Philologists of Mid-Tokugawa Japan*.

[19] Boot, "Introduction," p. 1. Maruyama Masao's interpretations of Sorai as a revolutionary and a hero of Edo Confucianism can be found for example in H. D. Harootunian's *Toward Restoration: The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan*, published in 1970. See Tucker, *Ogyū Sorai*, pp. 115-16).

[20] Boot, "Introduction," pp. 4-5.

[21] See the works of Judy Wakabayashi referenced in the bibliography, and the volume *Translation in Modern Japan*, edited by Indra Levy.

[22] For example, Amenomori Hoshū 雨森芳洲 (1668-1755) and Sorai's disciple Dazai Shundai 太宰 春台 (1680-1747), see Wakabayashi, "Reconceptionization of Translation," p. 141. Also, Itō Tōgai 伊藤東涯 (1670-1736), see Kin, *Kanbun to higashiajia*, pp. 73-76.

influenced by the modern interest in Sorai and by the proliferation of Sorai-related secondary works, and when examining Sorai's work in the present day, this is an important element to keep in mind. However, no other scholar wrote about translation in the same amount and in the same structured way as Sorai did, thus the sustained interest in his linguistic writings, and especially in *A Tool for Translation* can surely be motivated by the fact that they have intrinsic value for the Japanese translation discourse and likely represented a model for Dutch studies scholars eager to assemble their own version of such discourse.

As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis (section 1.7), a problematic that arises when dealing with early modern Japan, is the employment of Western concepts in the analysis of a non-Western context, as well as the use of modern concepts on early modern contexts. For example, as Tajiri Yūchirō rightly points out, even Sorai's conception of translation is different from today's image of translation as a text independent from the source text.[23] Another thing to consider is that, as Shirane explains, Western literary models have strongly influenced the conception of genres in modern Japan. The notion of disciplines was affected as well, leading to the separation between history and literature, and the fragmentation of what was the unified field of Chinese studies (*kangaku* 漢学) in the newly instituted subjects of history, literature and philosophy.[24]

This kind of fragmentation also affected the way modern and contemporary scholarship handles early modern figures. Talking about Ogyū Sorai, an all-round intellectual like many other of his peers, Boot argues:

> How should he be classified? As a thinker? As a poet? As a philologist? As a calligrapher? Of course, in his own time, there was no problem. Sorai was a Confucian, a *jusha* 儒者: he read Chinese and taught Chinese - the Chinese Classics everyone aspiring to the title of intellectual needed to know because they were the basis of the East-Asian general education […].[25]

[23] Tajiri Yūchirō, "'*Kundoku' mondai*," p. 257.
[24] Shirane, "Introduction," pp. 4-9.
[25] Boot, "Introduction," p. 2.

As just seen, Sorai and his reception are controversial. Although this thesis concentrates on Sorai's writings about translation, since Sorai's discourse affected the work of Dutch studies scholars not only through the field of translation, but also via his the general approach to teaching and learning, it is important to note his work must be understood in the context of the Confucian tradition as it was received in Japan.

5.3 *A Tool for Translation*, 1715

Ogyū Sorai's *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei* 訳文筌蹄, 1715)[26] is a *kundoku* dictionary; the introduction that comes with it is the most complex and comprehensive of Sorai's linguistic writings. Indeed, from this text it is possible to understand a great deal of Sorai's views on translation, as well as his ideas on the right methodology for teaching and learning.[27] This work is mostly known for articulating Sorai's critique of the *kundoku* method.[28] In this text (as well as in 5.4 *Glossed Translations*) Sorai talks about the *kundoku* method using the term *wakun* 和訓 "Japanese reading," a word used to refer to the practice of *kundoku* in the Tokugawa period.

In *A Tool for Translation*, Sorai raises a number of themes and problematics of a sociolinguistic, literary and philosophical nature, which cannot be covered in their entirety in this thesis. In what follows, I will only articulate those of Sorai's themes that were subsequently to be found in Dutch studies writings.

5.3.1 Sorai, the *kundoku* method and the concept of "new translation"

The employment of the *kundoku* technique in the teaching of Chinese texts was common in the Confucian schools of the Tokugawa period. As discussed in chapter 2, the *wakun*/*kundoku* method allows the student to read, or *vocalise* a text, following the

[26] For a complete English translation and commentary of *A Tool for Translation*'s introduction, see Pastreich, "Grappling with Chinese Writing."

[27] Sorai expressed his ideas on teaching and learning also in his work *Instructions for Students* (*Gakusoku* 学則) composed between 1711 and 1717 and published in 1727. For an English translation and commentary, see Minear, "Ogyū Sorai's *Instructions for Students*."

[28] Interestingly however, the introduction to *A Tool for Translation* is in fact composed in *kanbun* with appended *kunten* marks. The reason for this choice is not clear and seems in contrasts with the point of view expressed in the work. Such choice could be justified by the fact that, as reported by Pastreich, with the publication of *A Tool for Translation* Sorai wished to reach the wider readership of Japanese scholars interested in learning how to read Chinese texts. See Pastreich, "Grappling with Chinese Writing," p. 129.

appended annotations, without the need to understand it. Essentially, as Pastreich synthetises it:

> When *kundoku* took root as the system for reading, little flexibility remained for translation. […] One merely follows the rules of *kundoku* syntactic transformation learned from one's teacher, dutifully translates the verbs in Japanese, and read the nouns according to Japanese pronunciation. The reader is thus misled into believing some form of understanding has resulted from a mechanical manipulation, not a thoughtful reading or more fluent translation.[29]

As will be shown below, Sorai thought that the point of reading a text was the comprehension of its true meaning (as well as the awareness of the text's tone and style). Starting from this assumption, it is easy to understand why the use of *kundoku* made no sense to Sorai, and actually fuelled his distrust for his contemporary Confucian scholars. For Sorai, rather than the use of *kundoku*, an accurate knowledge of Chinese language was the only way to access the Chinese source text. As Tucker argues, "Sorai's purpose in emphasizing Chinese was neither academic nor simply linguistic: he believed that the grammar of classical Chinese - as distinguished from that of modern Chinese, *kanbun*, classical Japanese, and the vernacular Japanese of his day - conveyed most authentically the minds and thoughts of the ancient Sage Kings."[30]

Wakun was for him an instrument of inexcusable imperfection. The language resulting from its employment might have been perceived as "urbane and elegant style" (*fūryū tobi* 風流都美)[31] by the Japanese of the Tokugawa period, but for Sorai it remained a practice of "primitive simplicity" (*koboku* 古樸).[32]

Sorai explained that the process of translation (*yaku* 訳) and the use of *wakun* are essentially the same thing ("Say *wakun* or say translation, there is not too much difference." *Iwaku wakun, iwaku yaku, hanahadashiki sabetsu nashi* 曰く和訓、曰く訳、甚しき差別無し).[33] The crucial distinction between these two practices lies in the

[29] Pastreich, *Observable Mundane*, p. 151.
[30] Tucker, *Ogyū Sorai*, p. ix.
[31] Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 26.
[32] Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 26.
[33] Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 26.

level of engagement that the reader/translator achieves with the written source text. Sorai's argument is that the use of *kundoku* only provides a mechanical and often obscure reading, while translation into Japanese allows the reader/translator to grasp the meaning of the text. He wrote:

> 又文章を作るが如き、 固より和訓同じにして義別なる者あり、又義同じにして意味別なる者あり、又意味同じにして氣象別なる者あり、此れ耳根口業 の能く辦ずる所にあらず。唯々心と目と雙照らして、始めて其の境界を窺ふことを得。故に訳語の力、終に及ばざる所の者の存するあり。訳は以て筌となす、是が爲の故なり。然れど讀の眞正なるは、必ず眼光帋背に透る者を須て、始めて得。[34]

> In the same way, when you compose a text, there are [characters] that have the same reading in *wakun*, but a different meaning (*gi* 義), or [characters] that have the same meaning (*gi* 義), but a different sense (*imi* 意味), or the same sense and a different connotation (*kishō* 氣象). Listening to [a teacher's] explanations is not something that [automatically] give us the ability to understand. Only at the light of [using] our heart and eyes together, it is possible to peek on the limits of such world. Therefore, the strength of a translated word (*yakugo* 訳語) cannot reach everywhere. It is for this reason that translation (*yaku* 訳) is a tool (*sen* 筌). True (*shinsei* 真正) reading (*doku* 読, here, in the sense of "comprehension") is obtained only after one really looks beyond the words written on the page.

In the passage above, Sorai explains one of the features of *wakun* that hinder the reader's true understanding of a text, that is the fact that in many cases a same Japanese reading was assigned to two (or more) different Chinese characters, concealing different

[34] Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), pp. 29-30.

meanings and nuances present in the original source.[35] Even following an instructor's teachings is useless, as knowledge is still acquired indirectly.

Nonetheless, for the difficulty of reaching fluency in Chinese, Sorai professed the necessity to actually keep using *wakun*, however with the addition of a new translation (*shin'yaku* 新訳, i.e. a separate text) [36] of the Chinese source in vernacular Japanese.

> 始め便めて新訳を爲し、悉くに和訓廻環の讀を去らんと欲しき、而して其の世々久く相承、讀書の法と爲る、終に廢すべからざるなり。亦猶ほ華音訛轉して國音と爲れども、而も國音亦廢すべからざるが猶き者なり。故に但々和訓に就きて、附するに新訳を以てして、学者をして此に據りて推擴益々精して、以て或は不卽不離の妙を和訓廻環讀の外に得しむる者、是れ其の筌蹄なること爾。[37]

> At the beginning, I wanted to make a new translation (*shin'yaku* 新訳), completely avoiding the twisting of the *wakun* reading. However, since [*wakun*] has been used for a long time, and has become the method to read texts, in the end it is not possible to discard it. Moreover, even if the sounds of the Chinese language (*kaon* 華音) have been imported and distorted, they became sounds of the Japanese language (*kokuon* 國音), and cannot be discarded. For these reasons, anytime *wakun* is used, a new translation (*shin'yaku* 新訳) should be attached. Doing so, scholars (*gakusha* 学者) would increment their knowledge, and would get a product that is better and closer to reality (*fusoku furi* 不卽不離, literally, "neither too close, nor too distant"), going beyond the twisting of *wakun* reading. This is the aim of this *sentei* 筌蹄 [i.e. this manual].

[35] In *A Tool for Translation*, Sorai gives the example of the characters *jìng* 静 and *jiān* 間 (see *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 48). Both are read as *shizuka* in *wakun*, and in general mean "quiet, peaceful," however have slight nuances; the first is closer to a feeling of "calmness," the second to an idea of "not being busy." Also see Pastreich, "Grappling with Chinese Writing," p. 129.
[36] The term *shin'yaku* is also used by Ōtsuki Gentaku in *Upward and Forward* (*Ran'yaku teikō*), pp.16-17.
[37] Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 25.

Finally, for Sorai the new translation (*shin'yaku* 新訳) is a tool that allows the reader to access directly any kind of knowledge, to be discarded when one finally understands the original language well enough. The original title of this work, *Yakubun sentei* 訳文筌蹄, is explicative of this point. As explained by Pastreich, *yakubun* 訳文 is intended as "translation into vernacular Japanese;" *sentei* 筌蹄 instead (from the Chinese *quántí*), comes from the classic Chinese work *Zhuangzi* 莊子. It is a term made of the words *sen* 筌, "a trap for fish" and *tei* 蹄, "a snare for rabbits," meaning by extension a "tool" that can be used to obtain something valuable and that can be discarded after it served its purpose.[38] Sorai uses it because for him translation into Japanese is secondary to reading a text in the original Chinese. Like a trap, which use ends with the catching of an animal, translation as well is a temporary tool that can be discarded once true understanding (i.e. fluency in Chinese) is achieved.[39]

As will be discussed in chapter 6, Dutch studies scholars shared Sorai's utilitarian view of translation, treasuring the importance of accessing the original text directly. Accordingly, Edo-based Dutch studies scholars used the *kundoku* method in a first phase of their translative practice and abandoned it at a later stage; such elements can be seen as Sorai's influence. In addition to these, in the following sections, I will show further points of contact between Sorai and the Dutch studies scholars.

5.4 *Glossed Translations for Instructing the Ignorant*, 1738

Glossed Translations for Instructing the Ignorant (*Kun'yaku jimō* 訓訳示蒙), was published in 1738, ten years after Sorai's death. It contains a good share of Sorai's ideas on *kundoku*, and, according to Lidin, the more well-known piece *A Tool for Translation* might have developed from this work.[40] In fact, *Glossed Translations*, a *kundoku* dictionary made of three books, not only looks like a shorter version of *A Tool for Translation,* but also a more approachable one. Unlike the introduction of *A Tool for Translation*, composed in literary Chinese with appended *kundoku* reading marks, the introduction of *Glossed Translation* is written in the mixed style with Chinese characters

[38] Pastreich, "Grappling with Chinese Writing," pp. 129-31.
[39] Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*, pp. 123-24.
[40] Lidin, *Life of Sorai*, p. 33.

and *katakana,* which, as discussed in chapter 2, is a style that presents an even distribution of Chinese characters and *katakana*. This script was common to academic Japanese writing in the Tokugawa period when literary Chinese was not employed. Since the main subject of *Glossed Translation*s is the use of the *kundoku* technique - therefore not a relevant matter for the common reader at the time - the generally simpler phrasing and the choice of *buntai* suggests it could indeed have been a preparatory draft for *A Tool for Translation*.[41] In the following sections, I will highlight the features of Sorai's thought expressed in this work that recur in Dutch studies sources.

5.4.1 The macroscopic view

As seen in the previous chapters, mention of other translation traditions was relatively common in Dutch studies literature. Such references can occasionally be found in Sorai's work as well. As an example, in the introduction of *Glossed Translations*, Sorai described the process of translation as changing the words of one language in the words of another language. He did so not only with reference to the contrast between Japanese *kana* and Chinese characters, but also in comparison with other languages that, like the Japanese script, make use of phonetic writing systems. Sorai wrote:

> 訳文とは、畢竟唐人の語を日本の語に直すことなり。そこに唐人詞と日本詞の大段の違あり。それは唐人の詞は字なり。日本の詞は仮名なり。日本ばありにあらず、天竺の梵字、胡国の胡文、韃子の蕃字、安南の黎字、南蛮の蛮字、朝鮮の音文、皆仮名なり。仮名は音はかりにて意味なし。仮名をいくつも合せて、そこで意出来るなり。字は音あり、意あり。[42]

> Ultimately, translation (*yakubun* 訳文) is transforming the language (*go* 語) of the Chinese people into the Japanese language (*go* 語). In fact, there is a main difference between the words (*shi* 詞) of the Chinese and the Japanese words (*shi* 詞). [The difference is that] the words of the Chinese people are the [Chinese] characters (*ji* 字, i.e.

[41] Just as a reminder to the reader, Sorai's *A Tool for Translation* was in fact a dictionary of *kundoku* readings, and the more discursive part that scholars mention is the introduction to the dictionary.
[42] Ogyū Sorai, *Glossed Translations* (*Kun'yaku jimō*), p. 370.

> characters with both sound and meaning). The Japanese words are *kana* 仮名 (i.e. only phonetic characters). [The use of a phonetic script] It is not only [a characteristic of] Japan: the Indian subcontinent (*tenjiku* 天竺) and the Sanskrit (*bonji* 梵字), the countries of Northern China (*kokoku* 胡国) and their script (*kobun* 胡文), the Tartars (*tāzu* 韃子) and their foreign script (*banji* 蕃字), the Annam 安南 [present day Vietnam] and the Li script (*reiji* 黎字), the Southern barbarians (*nanban* 南蛮) and their barbarian script (*banji* 蛮字) [Sorai refers to the Spanish and the Portuguese], the Korean peninsula (*chōsen* 朝鮮) and its phonetic script (*onmon* 音文), they all are *kana* 仮名. *Kana* have a "temporary" sound, and do not have meaning (*imi* 意味). When you put together a number of *kana*, there you can have meaning (*i* 意) as well. [Chinese] characters (*ji* 字) instead, have both sound (*oto* 音) and meaning (*i* 意).

By mentioning the presence of various phonetic scripts, Sorai links translation from Chinese into Japanese to a worldwide writing practice that encompasses other Asian translation traditions, as well as the Spanish and Portuguese. This macroscopic view of writing and translating (which will be discussed again in chapter 6) is a recurring theme of Dutch studies as well, and has the effect of bestowing prestige (especially for the mentioning of Sanskrit, the original language of the Buddhist sutras) and universality to the act of translation. While it is not really possible to directly link *Glossed Translations* to any specific Dutch studies source, it is interesting to see how the conversation about the characteristics of the written language is always at the core of translation-related writing (for both Sorai and the Dutch studies scholars examined in this thesis), revealing how the visual aspect, i.e. the kind of script used and the materiality of the texts, play a very important role in perception and prestige of the language used.

5.4.2 The importance of translation in teaching and learning

Beyond his exposition of the intrinsic problematics of translation, Sorai provided us with extensive reflections about teaching and learning. One of the ideas he particularly stressed was that, in any discipline, one must begin to study from the basic notions. In

Glossed Translations, Sorai talks about the correct approach to "learning" (*gakumon* 学問, a term that in early modern Japan indicated Chinese studies)[43] explaining that focussing on more advanced topics without grasping the fundamentals first is ineffective. As a first example, he wrote:

> 今時の人学問の門戸を得ず。門戸を得ずして学問せば終にその学問の成就すること有べからず。先つとくとよく料簡して見へし。今時の人経学と云えば、初手からはや理の高妙を説き、詩学と云えば、はや句の功拙を論し、興の幽玄を談することいかばかり拙きと云事を知らず。[44]

> Our contemporaries do not acquire the basics of learning (*gakumon* 学問). Since they do not acquire the basics of learning, when they study, they do not end up succeeding. Until now, I reflected well and carefully [on this matter] and [this is what] I have seen. When our contemporaries talk about the study of Confucian Classics, from the very beginning they explain the eminence of the *ri* 理,[45] and when they talk about Chinese poetry they immediately debate if the verses are well-composed or not, or they discuss the grace of their natural scenery (*kyō* 興):[46] they do not know how foolish that is.

In Dutch studies as well, the idea of tackling the basics first was a fundamental step before approaching Dutch books. Interestingly, there is a great number of published language manuals solely focussed on learning the Western alphabet, produced in the second part of the Tokugawa period. This could be surely also be explained by the general curiosity of the population towards Western things or by the lack of advanced

[43] "Throughout the premodern period, *gakumon*, the Japanese word for learning, meant the study of Chinese texts (*kangaku*), which was the centre of various premodern discourses, and it was not until the establishment of *kokubungaku* (national literature studies) in the mid-Meiji period that the Japanese literature was conceived largely, though not entirely, as kana-based literature." Shirane, "Introduction," p. 5.

[44] Ogyū Sorai, *Glossed Translations* (*Kun'yaku jimō*), p. 369.

[45] The *ri* 理 is a Confucian notion. It is often rendered in English with terms like "principle," "reason," or "order."

[46] Here Sorai is referring to the six forms of poetry (*rikugi* 六義) of the *Shi Jing* 詩經 (in English the "Classic of Poetry" or the "Book of Songs"), one of the Five Classics.

linguistic knowledge and learning materials that characterised the first phase of Dutch learning in Japan; however, this practice resonates with Sorai's approach, oriented to the mastering of basic notions. Another example of such attitude can be recognised in the importance that Dutch studies scholars gave to discussion on translation at the word level (as seen in chapter 4).

Sorai thought that handling the sources directly was a fundamental step for the student; the importance of the written text was always reiterated and so was the indissoluble tie between understanding the original texts and learning. Sorai wrote:

> さてその儒学をしたく思ひ、経学をしたく思ふときに、書物を見ずしてはならぬことなり。書物は何事ぞと云ときに、唐人の書きたるものなり。今時の人は書物を何やらむつかしく思案して唐人が作りたるものと心得るなり。此又大いなる取りそこなひなり。[47]

> Now, when you want to study Confucianism (*jugaku* 儒学) and the Confucian Classics (*keigaku* 経学), you cannot do it without reading the texts (*shomono* 書物). If you ask, "What are the texts?" [The answer is that] they are the writings of the Chinese people. Our contemporaries hardly reflect on what the texts are, or really understand that [the texts] are things that the Chinese people have written. This again is a great mistake.

As a consequence of thinking that the act of studying equals to the act of reading the texts, Sorai goes on to explain that "the gist of learning" (*gakumon no tai'i* 学問の大意) is thus learning Chinese language (actually, *kangaku* 漢学, so literally "Chinese studies," but in this context it can be interpreted as "the study of the Chinese language") through the study of translation (*yakubun* 訳文). Again from *Glossed Translations*:

> 然れば書籍に書きたるは唐人語（コトバ）と心得るが学問の大意なり。学問は畢竟して漢学なりと心得へし。佛学は畢竟して

[47] Ogyū Sorai, *Glossed Translations* (*Kun'yaku jimō*), p. 369.

梵学なりと意得へし。某箇様に存するゆえ訳文と云ことを立て、学者を教ふることなり。訳文とは唐人詞の通事なり。[48]

Therefore, the gist of learning is to really understand the Chinese words (語) written in the books. We need to really understand that learning, finally, is *kangaku* 漢学 (i.e. the study of the Chinese language). We need to understand that Buddhism (佛学), finally, is the study of Sanskrit (梵学). Therefore, since it has this role, we have to teach translation (*yakubun* 訳文) to the students. Translation (*yakubun* 訳文) is the transmission of Chinese words.

By also making the example of Buddhism corresponding to the study of Sanskrit, Sorai tells us that, basically, translation is *the* tool of learning. Therefore, he argues, translation is an instrument that must be taught to students, so that they can comprehend the source texts.

今の学者、経学にても、詩学にても、文学にても、たといは佛学にても、医学にても、此の訳文の学をせずんば唐人詞に通せざるゆえ、とりこし問答なり。成就することあるべからず。今時大儒とよばるるもの書たる文、又は書を講ずるに誤り多く、又は儒道を行うとてあしき風俗になるも、皆唐人詞を合点せす、笑（をか）しく心得るゆえなり。[49]

When today's scholars study the sutra (*keigaku* 経学), Chinese poetry, literature, or for example Buddhism or Medicine, the fact that they do not study translation (*yakubun no gaku* 訳文の学) and they do not understand the words (*shi* 詞) of the Chinese, becomes a predictable (*torikoshi* とりこし) problem. They will not accomplish anything. Nowadays, the writings compiled by those called great Confucian scholars, when they read aloud the text there are many mistakes, and they say they practice Confucianism and then have bad manners and

[48] Ogyū Sorai, *Glossed Translations* (*Kun'yaku jimō*), p. 369.
[49] Ogyū Sorai, *Glossed Translations* (*Kun'yaku jimō*), p. 371.

> customs, they do not understand the words of the Chinese and therefore their comprehension is laughable.

The way in which Sorai belittles scholars that do not understand the language of the Chinese source (i.e. the written text) is similar to the arguments used by some Dutch studies scholars to criticise the interpreters' work and approach to Dutch language (see chapter 3). Similarly, Sorai accuses other Confucian scholars of being incapable of understanding the tone/feeling of a text, because of their lack of knowledge of the study of translation (*yakubun no gaku* 訳文の学). He wrote:

> 故に此訳文を学はずして書籍を見て理の高妙を談し、詩を作りて巧みならんことを欲するは、たとえば倭語を知らぬ唐人が倭の双紙を学び歌を上手にならんと云がごとし。此れとりこし問答に非すや。勿論理は和漢の隔てなく、人の心は華夷の分ちあるまじけれとも、辞の趣きを合点せずんは、氣味あんばいの違うこと必あるへきことなり。[50]

> Therefore, without studying translation (*yakubun* 訳文), they read the texts and discuss the complexities of the *ri* 理, they make Chinese poetry and they wish they were skilled. But that would be as, for example, Chinese people who do not understand Japanese, studied Japanese books (*sōshi* 双紙), or would became good at composing Japanese poetry. Is this not a predictable (*torikoshi* とりこし) problem? Clearly, there is no difference in the principle (*ri* 理) between the Japanese and Chinese (*wakan* 和漢), even if there was no divide between the Chinese and the barbarians (*kai* 華夷) in the heart of people, if the tenor (*omomuki* 趣き) of the words (*ji* 辞) is not understood, there will certainly be a difference in the way of feeling.

In fact, for Sorai, the understanding of the written language on a deeper level, thus appreciating not just the meaning, but the style and the tone of a text, was fundamental

[50] Ogyū Sorai, *Glossed Translations* (*Kun'yaku jimō*), p. 371.

for full comprehension of the source (a way of thinking that clearly resonates in the writings of various Dutch studies scholars, as discussed in chapters 4 and 6).

5.4.3 The importance of style in writing and translation

Later in the text, Sorai goes onto the importance of the right choice of style (*fū* 風) in writing. He does so by comparing the various registers and writing styles of the Japanese and Chinese languages that occur in different genres. Sorai's argument is that, since there are different forms of Chinese language (that depend on the historical period and on the sociolinguistic context) correspondingly there are different forms of Japanese, and it is important to maintain a distinction of style when writing within a certain genre.

> 倭語にさまざまの風あり。常の詞あり。常の詞にも都と鄙の違いあり。書礼の詞あり。双紙の詞あり。其如く唐人詞にもさまざまあり。唐の俗語は日本の常の世話なり。鄙の語は唐の方言なり。書礼の文は唐の書礼の語なり。歌は唐の詩なり。[51]

> There are different styles (*fū* 風) of Japanese language (*wago* 倭語). [For example] there are everyday words (*tsune no shi* 常の詞). Among the everyday words as well, there is a difference between the ones used in the capital (*miyako* 都) and the ones used in the villages (*hina* 鄙) [i.e. the refined and the popular registers]. Then, there are the words used in letters and documents (*shorei* 書礼), and the words of the Japanese books (*sōshi* 双紙). In the same way, the words of the Chinese people have different [styles]. The Chinese vernacular (*zokugo* 俗語) is [like] the Japanese used in ordinary conversation. The language of the [Japanese] villages corresponds to the Chinese dialect (*hōgen* 方言). As [in Japan] we have a language for letters and documents, so the Chinese have one [of their own]. Japanese poetry (*uta* 歌) corresponds to Chinese poetry (*shi* 詩).

[51] Ogyū Sorai, *Glossed Translations* (*Kun'yaku jimō*), p. 371.

Following the same principle for which in both China and Japan writing style is appropriate to the content and genre of a book, the same idea should apply to translation, where the style of the target text should be chosen depending on the style and context of the source text. However, as Sorai explains:

> 双紙の詞は唐の書籍の文なり。其内に又時代の古今に隨て詞の趣違うことなり。訳文をせんと思わば、此意を合点すべし。その内日本にては双紙の詞か正当なる詞なり。唐にても書籍の文が正当なる詞なり。然れとも日本の双紙の詞は日本久しく文盲になりたるゆえ、歌学せざるものは此双紙の詞を会得せぬなり。又唐の俗語は当用に非す。故に今風の違たるものながら倭の俗語を以て唐土書籍を訳することなり。[52]

> The words of the [Japanese] books (双紙) are the writing (*bun* 文) of Chinese books (*tō no shoseki* 唐の書籍). Among them, then, depending on the period, ancient or contemporary, the taste for the words changes. If you want to translate (*yakubun* 訳文), you have to adhere to this idea. Then, in Japan, the words of the books are appropriate (*shōtō* 正当) [to the genre]. In China as well, the writing of the books is appropriate (*shōtō* 正当) [to the genre]. However, since the words of the Japanese books have become unreadable for a long time, without the study of Japanese poetry, you cannot understand the words of such books. [Similarly], Chinese vernacular language (*zokugo* 俗語) is not currently used [in Japan]. Therefore, while now there are different styles (*fū* 風), you have to translate (*yakusuru* 訳する) Chinese books (*shoseki* 書籍) with the vernacular language of Japan (*wa no zokugo* 倭の俗語).

Therefore, the use of vernacular Japanese comes into play in translation as Sorai recognises that some forms of Japanese are so crystalized into outdated uses that they

[52] Ogyū Sorai, *Glossed Translations* (*Kun'yaku jimō*), p. 371.

have become incomprehensible for the reader, and in that case, translation becomes a necessary tool to access knowledge.[53]

5.4.4 Terminology of translation

Finally, analogously to what was discussed in chapter 4 with regards to the terminology used to refer to translation within Dutch studies, in *Glossed Translations*, Sorai explains that there are two kinds of translation and provides translation examples using a similar structure as the Dutch studies sources previously examined:

> 訳文に直翻・義翻の二つあり。直翻は一々めのこ算用に唐の文字に日本の詞を付るなり。義翻とは倭漢風土の異あるゆえ語脈もそれにつれてかわることあり。故に直翻にならぬ所をは、一句の義を以て訳するを義翻と云なり。たとえば不短をみぢかうなひと云は直翻なり。その所により長ひとなりとも、ちょうどぢやとなりとも云は義翻なり。総して語脈の違うと云こと日本の内にてもあることなり。江戸などにてかふするなと云詞を、上総などにてはなぜかふすると云なり。江戸の詞で見れば、かふするなと云は後を制する詞、なぜかかふすると云は今を咎むる詞にて違うことなれとも、風土の異にて上総てはさやうに云なり。是を以見れは萬里の海を隔てたる唐土ゆえ語脈の異あるへきことなり。[54]

> There are two [types of] translation (*yakubun* 訳文), direct translation (*chokuhon* 直翻) and translation of meaning (*gihon* 義翻). In direct translation, a Japanese word is assigned to a Chinese character more or less one to one. Translation of meaning [happens] because the natural features of Japan and China are different (*wakan fūdo no i* 倭漢風土の異), so their languages are dissimilar as well. Therefore, when there is not a direct translation, and [a word is] translated using the meaning (*gi* 義) of a phrase (*ikku* 一句), that is called a translation

[53] The idea of using vernacular Japanese for easier approach of the Chinese texts was not new. See Kornicki, "Hayashi Razan."
[54] Ogyū Sorai, *Glossed Translations* (*Kun'yaku jimō*), p. 371-372.

> of meaning. For example, [translating the phrase] *futan* 不短 (ZH: bù duǎn, EN: "not" and "short") as *mijikaunai* みぢかうなひ (EN: not short) is a direct translation. If instead I translate it as *nagai* 長ひ (EN: long) that is a translation of meaning. In general, there are linguistic (*gomyaku* 語脈) differences even within Japan. The expression (*shi* 詞) "*kausuruna* かふするな" (EN: do not do like this) as it is said, for example in Edo, becomes "*nazeka kausuru* なぜかかふする" (EN: why do you do like this), for example in Kazusa. From the point of view of the Edo language (*Edo no kotoba* 江戸の詞), "*kausuruna"* is an expression that is established, but even if "*nazeka kausuru*" is criticised and it is different, it is because of the differences of the natural features, and that expression is used in Kazusa. Thus, if you think about it, the fact that the Chinese land is distant a thousand *ri* of sea is the reason there are linguistic differences [between the Chinese and Japanese languages].[55]

As seen above, Sorai utilises the terms *chokuhon* 直翻 and *gihon* 義翻 to describe two kinds of translation, respectively "direct translation" and "translation of meaning," for which he provides a few examples. The combination of the characters *choku* 直 and *gi* 義 with *hon* 翻 (probably employed as an abbreviation of *hon'yaku* 翻訳, "translation" - on the significance and use of this term in Dutch studies, see chapter 3) was not very common. As well known, in his writings Sorai purposefully used many unusual expressions; the terms *chokuhon* and *gihon* were probably modelled on the Chinese concepts of *zhíyì* 直訳 and *yìyì* 意訳,[56] a legacy from Buddhist translation tradition,[57] (the use of these terms in the form of the more used *chokuyaku* 直訳 and *giyaku* 義訳 by the Dutch studies scholars was discussed in chapter 4). Sorai's use could be seen as a

[55] Kazusa 上総 was the province where Ogyū Sorai spent a few years during his father's banishment from Edo (it corresponds to today's Chiba prefecture). The matter of Sorai's exile is mentioned again in chapter 6.

[56] In *An Anthology of Chinese Discourse on Translation*, Cheung translates these terms as "direct translation" and "free translation" or "sense translation." Here I kept "translation of meaning" in continuity with the discussion of the previous chapters.

[57] It is also interesting to note that some aspects of Sorai's thought of translation (such as the focus on style, and the distinction between the ancient and contemporary language) are similar to Dao An 道安 (312-385) and Kumarajiva's 鳩摩羅什 (344-413) ideas on translation. Cheung, *Anthology of Chinese Discourse*.

missing link between Sutra translation tradition in China and the Dutch studies scholars in Japan.

5.5 Conclusions

It is difficult to assert that Sorai's claims about translation were meant to have a universalistic nature: they are deeply rooted in his conception of the Chinese classics, and of course a consequence of his religious and philosophical beliefs.[58] As mentioned in section 5.4.1, Sorai was aware of other translation practices in other traditions, and yet his considerations are bound to the Chinese classics only, and are only concerned about strategies for translating from Chinese. In general, Sorai showed little to no interest for "the West," and yet his ideas keep coming back in later scholarship. Nonetheless, it is possible that Sorai's work influenced later practices involving other languages even if that was not the intended aim.

In the sections above, I discussed various themes and ideas that can be found in Sorai's linguistic works and that return as a feature of Dutch studies sources. Some have already been encountered in the previous chapters, for example the discussion of the importance of writing styles and the terminology employed by Sorai in section 5.4.4. In the next chapter, I will investigate in more detail how Sorai's ideas relate to the scholars Ōtsuki Gentaku and Maeno Ryōtaku's ideas of translation, teaching and learning, such as their shared views on the method of *kundoku*, the importance of a hands-on approach oriented to self-learning, the goal of acquiring proficiency in the source language in order to comprehend the true meaning of a text, and the production of a separate text for translation.

[58] See Tucker, *Ogyū Sorai*, pp. 3-134.

Chapter 6: Maeno Ryōtaku and Ōtsuki Gentaku's use of Sorai and the Chinese tradition

As discussed in the introduction, in this thesis I maintain that from the investigation of various kinds of writings produced by Dutch studies scholars, it is possible to identify a discourse of translation functioning within the Japanese cultural polysystem. In order to gain social prestige, a group of Edo-based scholars attempted to push the Dutch studies movement towards the centre of the literary field, superimposing their work onto their own perception of a larger Japanese discourse of translation. To do so, they tried to build a connection with the Chinese studies tradition in Japan and even positioned their work in relation to other East Asian translation traditions. In this vein, in this chapter I will show how Ogyū Sorai's ideas about translation were incorporated into the Dutch Studies tradition by two of its most important scholars, Maeno Ryōtaku 前野良沢 (1723-1803) and Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 (1757-1827).

I will also show how Ōtsuki Gentaku took this association with the Chinese tradition further, in order to strengthen the position of Dutch Studies in the Japanese literary field, and to write his own history of the discipline. I will examine Gentaku through the words of one of his lesser-studied works: *Upward and Forward in Dutch Translation* (*Ran'yaku teikō* 蘭訳梯航, manuscript, 1816). In this standalone text, couched in the dialogical form of *mondō* 問答 (questions and answers), Gentaku summarised his views about translation much like as he did in other prefaces and introductions to his works.[1] However, In *Upward and Forward*, Gentaku expressed his ideas in a much longer form, ending up writing what can be considered the most detailed history of the discourse of translation in the field of Dutch Studies.

As discussed in chapters 3 and 4, before Gentaku, Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白 (1733-1817) had attempted to transmit a (one-sided) history of the field through his work *Beginning of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime* 蘭学事始, 1815, first published in

[1] Gentaku exposed his views on translation in *A Guide to Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kaitei* 蘭学階梯, 1783), or in the introductory notes of his revision of Sugita Genpaku's *A New Treatise on Anatomy* (*Jūtei Kaitai shinsho* or *Chōtei Kaitai shinsho* 重訂解体新書, 1826) and of *New Record of Six Things* (*Rokumotsu shinshi* or *Rokubutsu shinshi* 六物新志, 1786). The latter two works are discussed in chapter 4 of this thesis.

1869).[2] Famously, Genpaku transmitted a narrative of Dutch Studies that was centred on Edo-based scholars and that aimed to manipulate later interpretations of the field. In the following sections, I will argue that from what emerges from *Upward and Forward*, there are enough indications to consider Gentaku the architect of Dutch studies' translation discourse. Here, I argue that Ōtsuki Gentaku, for his effort in collating sources and ideas to be transmitted to posterity, in a similar way to Genpaku, made another attempt to record and manipulate the narrative of Dutch Studies, although choosing focus on the history of translation discourse. I will show that, beyond the references from more canonical sources (for example the Buddhist translation tradition discussed in chapters 3 and 4) Dutch studies' translation discourse had been influenced by what at the time could have been considered the periphery of the cultural polysystem, i.e. the ideas of the well-known Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728).

The structure of this chapter is as follows: In section 6.1, I will compare side by side Sorai's *A Tool for Translation* with a text by Ryōtaku, *Brief Translations from the Dutch* (*Oranda yakubun ryaku* 和蘭訳文略, manuscript, date unknown, postscript dated 1771). From section 6.2 through section 6.5, I will compare Sorai's *A Tool for Translation* with Gentaku's *Upward and Forward*. I will explore the similarities between Gentaku and Sorai's texts, as well as their general approach to translation, teaching and learning. Finally, in section 6.6, I will investigate Gentaku's further quotations of other sources, such as Chinese texts concerning the Sanskrit translation tradition in China and the words of two of Sorai's disciples, Dazai Shundai 太宰春台 (1680-1747) and Kamei Nanmei 亀井南冥 (1743-1814).

In section 6.5 and 6.6 I note that Gentaku referred to the Dutch studies scholars' work with the term *yakugaku* 訳学, literally, the "study of translation" (where *gaku* 学 is "studies," in the same guise as in the words *kangaku* 漢学, "Chinese studies" and *rangaku* 蘭学, "Dutch studies"). I will show that Gentaku's sense of this term substantiates my choice of the expression "discourse of translation" to describe a systemic entity made of the interconnected spheres of translating, teaching and learning. Finally, in continuity with what was discussed in the previous chapters, we will see how in *Upward and Forward* Gentaku used the term *hon'yaku* 翻訳 as the general term to

[2] Gentaku could be at least partially responsible for the authorship of *Beginnings of Dutch Studies*, see section 3.1.1.

refer to "translation." As I argued before, I believe that this was a strategy to have readers regard the field of Dutch studies with the same prestige associated with Chinese studies and the translation of Buddhist sutras.

6.1 Textual references to Ogyū Sorai's *A Tool for Translation* in Maeno Ryōtaku's *Brief Translations from the Dutch*

Before delving into Gentaku's *Upward and Forward*, it is worth noting that a number of quotations from Sorai's *A Tool for Translation* can also be found in *Brief Translations from the Dutch* (*Oranda yakubun ryaku* 和蘭訳文略, manuscript, date unknown, but postscript dated 1771), a work by Maeno Ryōtaku that will be surveyed in this section. *Brief Translations* is an introductory book on Dutch linguistics, which also covered some wider translation-related problematics. It is likely that only a handful of manuscript copies of this text were in circulation.[3] Alongside investigating Maeno Ryōtaku's ideas on translation, in the next paragraphs I will demonstrate that Ryōtaku likely read Ogyū Sorai's *A Tool for Translation*, and thus possibly borrowed ideas and concepts from it, adapting them to the discourse of Dutch translation.

One of the most celebrated personalities of the Dutch studies movement, Ryōtaku is best known for being the scholar who, together with Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白 (1733-1817), Nakagawa Jun'an 中川 淳庵 (1739-1786) and Katsuragawa Hoshū 桂川甫周 (1751-1809), worked on the translation of *A New Treatise on Anatomy* (*Kaitai shinsho* 解体新書, 1774), the Dutch version of *Anatomical Diagrams* (*Anatomische Tabellen*, 1722) a work by the German anatomist Johann Adam Kulmus (1689-1745). For his renowned expertise of all things Dutch, in several writings by fellow Dutch studies scholars, Ryōtaku was often referred to as Master "Ranka 蘭化" (the "Dutchified") and for many he stood as a front runner in the field. According to Sugita Genpaku's account in *Beginnings of Dutch Studies*, Ryōtaku was the most experienced scholar of Dutch in their Edo-based circle, and therefore their designated leader during the translation process of *A New Treatise*. Genpaku wrote:

[3] The *Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books* only lists one existent copy held at Tenri Library, part of a collection called *Kōkai ruisho* 崇禎類書 edited by Toita Yasusuke 戸板保佑 (1708-1784). This version is dated 1796. There is also a copy at the Waseda University Library. The Waseda version has a postscript by Honda Kōsuke 本田孝輔 (dates unknown) dated 1771.

> […] 良沢はかねてよりこのことを心にかけ、長崎までも行き、蘭語並びに章句語脈の間のことも少しは聞き覚え、聞きならひし人といひ、齢も翁などよりは十年の長たりし老輩なれば、これを盟主と定め、先生とも仰ぐこととなしぬ。[4]
>
> […] Ryōtaku had previously took the matter [of learning Dutch] to heart; he even went to Nagasaki and learned by ear (*kikioboe* 聞き覚え) a little about Dutch word order (*rango narabi* 蘭語並び), phrases (*shōku* 章句) and morphology (*gomyaku* 語脈). People said he was well-studied and since he was ten years older than us, we decided he was to become our leader, and we looked up to him as our teacher.

As mentioned above, *Brief Translations* is a short primer on Dutch language and script. This work mainly contains explanations about the characteristics of the Dutch alphabet; however in the text's "General Notes" (*Sōsetsu* 総説), Ryōtaku's explanations stretched out into more discursive arguments, such as the comparison between the acquisition of knowledge from Chinese and Dutch sources. As will be shown in this section, echoes from Ogyū Sorai's linguistic thought begin to resurface from Ryōtaku's words, as in a few instances Ryōtaku seems to quote *A Tool for Translation* and his general approach is reminiscent of Sorai. As a first example, Ryōtaku wrote:

> 然るに、「ヲランド」は「ヱウロパ」の一小国、大州の中、最も西北に倚りて、吾　邦と異域数万里、夐隔るといへども、其術芸、彼に取るもの頗多し。其余、邦国民用に利益あるもの亦尠からず。且夫、支那は聖人教化の国と称す。而も私に思うに、其制作技術、実に西土より来るものあり。況や「ヲランド」の図書における、予を以てこれを見るに、其善美なること殆ど支那に勝れる者あり。唯憾らくは、吾　邦[5]の伝習する所の者、或は支那の翻する所、或は訳家の伝る所にして、粗其事理を窺う

[4] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies*, (*Rangaku kotohajime*), (Ogata), p. 38.
[5] A space left before certain words was commonly used in early modern writing to indicate the composer's deference towards a subject, here, "our country," i.e. Japan.

に啻隔靴の痒を掻のみならず、其謬誤・杜撰の多き、亦枚挙するに勝へず。[6]

Holland is a small European country, located in the middle North-West of the continent. Even if Holland is a different [country] and it is distant several thousands of *ri* 里 from our country,[7] there are many things we can acquire from [Dutch] techniques and arts, and the benefits for the people of our country are more than just a few. China (*Shina* 支那) is called the country of the civilisation of the Sages (*seijin kyōka* 聖人教化). However, I think that some of its products and techniques actually came from the West. Even more, when I read books (*tosho* 図書) from Holland, there is a goodness and a grace (*zenbi* 善美) in them, which almost exceeds the Chinese one. However, what I resent is that the learning and transmission (*denshū* 伝習) in our country is either what is translated from China (*Shina no honsuru tokoro* 支那の翻する所) or what it is transmitted by the translators (*yakuke no tsutaeru tokoro* 訳家の伝る所).[8] When you examine their logic (*jiri* 事理), even roughly, not only it is [like] scratching an itch [on your foot] with your shoes on (*kakka no kayuki o kaku* 隔靴の痒を掻), but also there are mistakes (*byūgo* 謬誤) and sloppiness (*zusan* 杜撰) in abundance, so many that you cannot count them.[9]

In the passage above, Ryōtaku touches upon a few elements reminiscent of Sorai's writings. First, Ryōtaku considers the fact that while China was considered "the country of the civilisation of the Sages (*seijin kyōka no kuni* 聖人教化の国),"many valuable arts and techniques originated from the Netherlands. The idea of China as source of

[6] Maeno Ryōtaku, *Brief Translations* (*Oranda yakubun ryaku*), pp. 74-75.
[7] A *ri* 里 is a traditional Japanese unit of measure, corresponding to approximately 3.9 km. The expression "a thousand *ri*" means "a considerable distance."
[8] The kind of translators Ryōtaku is talking about is unclear from the source text.
[9] About the phrase "*kutsu o hedatete kayuki o kaku* 靴を隔て痒を掻く," the dictionary *Dejitaru daijisen* デジタル大辞泉 says it is from the introduction of the *Mumonkan* 無門関 (*The Gateless Barrier*) a collection of *kōan* that the Chinese Zen monk Wumen Huikai 無門慧開 (Mumon Ekai in Japanese, 1183-1260) compiled in the early 13th century. The earliest appearance of the phrase listed in the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典 is in the *Ukiyo monogatari* 浮世物語, a *kanazōshi* 仮名草子 (book written in *kana*) published around 1665.

knowledge, and obviously China as the birthplace of the Sage-Kings were of course common notions in early modern Japan, however they were also are concepts that permeated Sorai's discussion in *A Tool for Translation*.[10]

Next, Ryōtaku claims that there is something "good and gracious (*zenbi* 善美)" in Dutch texts, comparable and possibly superior to the "goodness and grace" of Chinese sources. However, according to him, such "graciousness" of the Dutch original is at risk of being lost through the process of translation due to the translators' incompetence and lack of logic (*jiri* 事理).[11] Ryōtaku does not specify which translators he is exactly talking about; however, on the basis of the narrative exposed by Genpaku in *Beginnings*, and based on the fact that he is criticising the translators' lack of deeper language command, he is most likely referring to either the Nagasaki interpreters or at least to Dutch studies scholar from beyond the Edo-based circle.

Just as Sorai discarded other Confucian scholars' methodology (despite being a teacher and a scholar himself), Ryōtaku also, despite being a teacher and a scholar/translator, seemed to reject the explanations produced by other translators (*yakuke* 訳家), denouncing their ineptitude. In particular, the metaphor Ryōtaku adopted in this passage, "scratching an itch with your shoes on (*kakka no kayuki o kaku* 隔靴の痒を掻)" is a Chinese expression that can also be found in *A Tool for Translation* and that Sorai, in a similar way, famously used to express disapproval of his colleagues:

> […] 卽其の識淹通と稱せられ、学宏博を極むるも、倘其の古人の語を解する所以の者を訪へば、皆靴を隔てて、痒きを掻くに似たり。[12]

> […] Even if they induce you to think that they are immensely wise and that they have reached an extensive knowledge, using this method (i.e. *wakun*/*kundoku*) to understand the language of the ancient is like

[10] Patreich, "Grappling with Chinese Writing."
[11] Similar ideas on the incomprehensibility of the Dutch text were raised by other Dutch studies scholars analysed in chapters 3 and 4. In particular see sections 4.6.3 on *Introduction to the Study of Illness* (*Byōgaku tsūron* 病学通論, 1849) by Ogata Kōan and 4.5.5 on *Three Chief Remedies* (*Saisei sanpō* 済生三方, 1849) by Sugita Seikei.
[12] Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 24.

> scratching an itch [on your foot] without taking off your shoes (*kutsu o hedatete kayuki o kaku* 靴を隔てて痒きを掻く).

Clearly, the contexts in which these words are used were different. In *A Tool for Translation*, the saying is rooted in Sorai's critique of his contemporary Confucian scholars, who relied on the *kundoku* technique to study and teach Chinese texts. Sorai utilised this expression to argue that the many mistakes and inaccuracies of the *kundoku* method did nothing but reinforce his idea that it was necessary to learn Chinese as a foreign language (or again, when that was not possible, to access Chinese texts via vernacular Japanese).[13] Finally, the abundance of mistakes and the shortcomings of translation lamented by Ryōtaku were features criticised by Sorai as well in various occasions in *A Tool for Translation* (as was discussed in the previous chapter).

In *Brief Translations*, Ryōtaku then continues to deliberate on the difficulty of approaching Western languages, describing Dutch as a "barbarian babble and the tongue of the birds" (*shuri gekizetsu* 侏儒鴃舌):[14]

> 然而、彼文を学び、書を読て、其事を徴証する者、千古寥々として、竟にいまだこれを聞ものあらず。或は稍其然ることを知る者ありといえども、以謂侏儒鴃舌与に学び難と、遂にこれを尽て、其力を用ることなし。又、或は坐に訳家に問て、漫に其説く所に聴せ、或は適々一二の奇説を聞ことあれば、則苟も得たりとして、所謂小成に安ずるものなり。是皆、実に其善美を知らざるが為の故なり。[15]

> However, in antiquity, these [Dutch] things were so rare that I have never heard of people learning [Dutch], reading [Dutch] books, or testing [Dutch] knowledge. And then, even if there are people that somewhat more naturally understand it, it is difficult to learn the

[13] The reasons behind Sorai's refusal of the *kundoku* method in *A Tool for Translation* are not completely clear. See Lidin, *Life of Ogyū* Sorai and Pastreich, "Grappling with Chinese Writing."

[14] Ryōtaku also repeated a similar phrase in the explanatory notes to the text (*dairei* 題例), where he wrote: "When you look [at Dutch writing], it is like tadpoles and mosquitos' legs, when you read it, it is like the chirping language of the birds (*kore o miru ni, kato bunkyaku, kore o yomi ni, gekizetsu chōgo* これを看るに、科斗蚊脚、これを読に、鴃舌鳥語)." *Brief Translations* (*Oranda yakubun ryaku*), p. 69.

[15] Maeno Ryōtaku, *Brief Translations* (*Oranda yakubun ryaku*), p. 75.

> barbarian babble and the tongue of the birds (*shuri gekizetsu* 侏偶鴃舌), finally, completely and without effort. Again, if we sit with the translators (*yakuke* 訳家) and ask them, or listen vaguely to their explanations (*sono toku tokoro ni kiku* 其説く所に聴く),[16] or if we accidentally hear one or two strange explanations (*kisetsu* 奇説), if we understand anything, it is just a so-called minor success to be content of. All this is because they do not understand the goodness and grace (*zenbi* 善美) [of the Dutch texts].[17]

Similar expressions can be found in *A Tool for Translation* in two occasions. In the first one, Sorai used the phrase *shuri chōgen* 侏偶鳥言 (with two different characters, but with practically the same meaning) to criticize his contemporary Confucian scholars and their use of the *kundoku* method. Interestingly, in the phrase "*shuri gekizetsu* 侏偶鴃舌," Ryōtaku used the character 偶 instead of the more common 離,[18] exactly as Sorai did. In *A Tool for Translation*, Sorai wrote:

> 其の毫を援きて思を攄る者も、亦悉く侏偶鳥言、其の何の語たることを識るべからず。此れ它無きなり。嚮きに所謂る、力を爲すに易き者、實は之が祟りを爲せばなり。[19]

> Even when they [i.e. other Confucian scholars] take the brush in their hand to express their thoughts, they have no idea of what they are talking about, and they sound like the mumbling of the barbarians or the singing of the birds (*shuri chōgen* 侏偶鳥言). There is nothing more than this. As I said before, [*wakun*/*kundoku*] makes everything easier, but actually, it is a curse (*tatari* 祟り).

[16] Another allusion to Sorai in Ryōtaku's text might be recognised in the expression "to listen to their explanations (*sono toku tokoro ni kiku* 其説く所に聴く)," which is similar to the phrase "to listen to [their] lectures (*kōsetsu o kiku* 講説を聴く)" from *A Tool for Translation* (Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 18). In both the occurrences, the scholars were referring to explanations provided by translators or teachers.

[17] Again, the idea that the "goodness and grace (*zenbi* 善美)" of the Dutch texts cannot be understood because of the translator's own limits can be seen in different works quoted in chapter 4.

[18] As observed in Maeno Ryōtaku, *Brief Translations* (*Oranda yakubun ryaku*), p. 75, note to the text.

[19] Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 24.

In the second occasion, Sorai used once more a related phrase, "the chirping of birds and the beasts' calls (*chōmei jūkyō* 鳥鳴獣叫)" - this time exactly to portray the sounds of the Dutch language. With these words, Sorai wanted to describe the difficulty of learning European languages, which he perceived as foreign and unfamiliar, in contrast with the easier acquisition of Chinese language, that he considered closer to the "Japanese feeling (*ninjō* 人情)."

Sorai wrote:

> 其の荷蘭等の諸國、性稟常に異なるが如きは、當に解し難き語、鳥鳴獣叫の如く人情に近からざる者有るべし。而して中華と此の方と、情態全く同じ。人多く古今の人相及ばずと言ふ。予三代以前の書を讀むに、人情世態、符契を合せたるが如し。此の人情世態を以て、此の語言を作す。偆に何の解し難きことの有らんや。[20]

> The peculiar characteristics of all those countries like Holland are all different and without doubt difficult. As the chirping of birds and the beasts' calls (*chōmei jūkyō* 鳥鳴獣叫), they are in no way near the human sensibility (*ninjō* 人情). China and Japan instead, share the same exact circumstances (*jōtai* 情態). People often say that the ancient people and the contemporary have nothing in common. When I read a text from the period before the Three Epochs [Xia, Yin and Zhou], it is like the feelings (*ninjō* 人情) and the situation of that era were a perfect metaphor of those of our present. Our feelings (*ninjō* 人情) and culture (*seitai* 世態) are the things that make the Japanese language. Then, what is it so difficult to understand?

In the passage above, it can be noted that for Sorai engagement with foreign languages was a matter where feeling and sensibility played a large part. This view was shared by various Dutch studies scholars discussed in this thesis, like Maeno Ryōtaku and Ōtsuki Gentaku here, and other scholars discussed in chapter 4, such as Ogata Kōan (4.6.6),

[20] Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 25.

Sugita Seikei (4.5.5) and Yoshio Shunzō (4.5.4). The matter of feeling/sensibility (*ninjō* 人情) will be mentioned again in relation to Gentaku's work in sections 6.4 and 6.6.

A final allusion to be found in Ryōtaku and Sorai's texts compared in this section is the phrase *ki o konomu* 奇を好む, "to like the unconventional/the strangeness," which both the scholars used in a paragraph devoted to defend themselves from the accusation of being eccentric because of their academic interests. This surely can be seen as a conventional expression of humility; however the phrase "*hào qí* 好奇" was also used by Sima Zhen 司馬貞 (c. eight century), a major commentator of the *Historical Records* (or *Records of the Historian*, *Shik*i 史記, around 85 BC) to describe the compilation style of Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c. 145-86 BC) in his selection of historical accounts.[21] Sima Qian was explicitly cited by Sorai in *A Tool for Translation*, and also by Gentaku in *Upward and Forward* (see section 6.6). In *Brief Translations*, Ryōtaku used the phrase to defend himself against potential detractors of his work. He wrote:

> 予、晩年にして、漸くこれに志あり。特に老健耐ざる所といへども、猶消々止ざる者あり。是、奇を好にあらず。聊以て　民用の一助を求めんことを希ふのみ。[22]
>
> I, in my closing years, am willing to do this. In particular, even if not resisting in good health in my old age, I will not stop and extinguish. This, it is not because I like the unconventional (*ki o konomi ni arazu* 奇を好にあらず). My only desire is to gain something that will be even just a small help for the people.

In *A Tool for Translation*, while talking about the use of vernacular Japanese as the language of translation from Chinese, Sorai wrote:

> 此を以して、中華文字を訳すれば、能く人をして奇特の想を生ぜず、卑劣の心を生ぜず、聖經賢伝、皆吾が分内の事、左騷莊遷、都て佶屈ならずと謂ひて、遂に歴代の古人と、臂を交へ晤

[21] Klein, *Reading Sima Qian*, p. 113.
[22] Maeno Ryōtaku, *Brief Translations* (*Oranda yakubun ryaku*), p. 75.

言し、千載に尚論せしむる者、亦是に由て至るべし。是れ訳の一字、利益尠からず、孰ぞ吾奇を好むと謂はんや。[23]

If we use this language [current vernacular Japanese] to translate the Chinese characters (*Chūka moji* 中華文字), without reinforcing the idea that it is something out of the ordinary, and without envy in our hearts, the writings of the Sages and the biographies of the virtuous will feel close to us. It will be said that the *Zuozhuan* 左伝, *Lisao* 離騒, *Zhuangzi* 荘子, and the work of Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c. 145-86 BC) are not all incomprehensible, and finally, if we will meet and speak elbow to elbow with the ancients of all ages, it will get to this, to converse for a thousand years. Since this word, "translation" (*yaku* 訳) is not of little benefit, how can it be said that I like the unconventional (*ki o konomu* 奇を好む)?

In general, both scholars seem to justify their methodologies and studies with the benefits coming to the people of Japan, Ryōtaku intending to bring useful Dutch knowledge to the country, while Sorai has the aim of engaging people in the study of Chinese texts.

The similarities between Ryōtaku's and Sorai's works may appear slight at first glance. However, when one considers that all these quotations can be traced back to a single text by Sorai, *A Tool for Translation*, and when they are taken all together and placed in a wider context with other Dutch studies scholars who can also be connected to Sorai, i.e. Shizuki Tadao (as mentioned in section 5.1) and Ōtsuki Gentaku in the following sections, Sorai's presence in the Dutch studies movement becomes increasingly evident.

6.2 Ōtsuki Gentaku and his relationship with Sorai

A prolific writer, a translator and a leading personality in the field, Ōtsuki Gentaku is a key figure in Dutch studies. Gentaku was one of the first scholars (together with the interpreter Baba Sajurō 馬場佐十郎, 1787-1822) to be appointed by the Tokugawa

[23] Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 26.

government to the Office for the Translation of Barbarian Books (*Banshō wage goyō* 蛮書和解御用), a workforce devoted to the study of Western texts, founded in 1811.

Clements has recently suggested that Gentaku's ideas on foreign languages and translation are analogous to those of Ogyū Sorai.[24] Sorai and Gentaku are not traditionally associated with one another, and yet, the many similarities in their ideas can be supported by a number of textual connections. In the following sections, I shall suggest that Ōtsuki Gentaku did in fact look at Ogyū Sorai's writings, and that in particular *A Tool for Translation* was a key source for Gentaku's ideas on translation and *kundoku*. I will conduct my analysis through the reading of one of Gentaku's less studied writings, *Upward and Forward in Dutch Translation*, an unpublished work dated around one hundred years after *A Tool for Translation*.

It is also interesting that the two scholars also shared similar concerns about their lives and careers. In fact, they both originally trained as doctors, and then chose to move into other scholarly fields. They both had diverse interests, such as music and language studies. Further, they owed their fame to their language skills: literary and vernacular Chinese in the case of Sorai, Dutch in the case of Gentaku.[25] Both were employed by the government for extensive translation projects,[26] and both dedicated part of their scholarship to reflection about translation. It is not completely unlikely then, that Gentaku looked to Sorai as a sort of predecessor, perhaps even an equal.

6.3 Upward and Forward in Dutch Translation (1816)

Upward and Forward in Dutch Translation (*Ran'yaku teikō* 蘭訳梯航, manuscript, 1816) by Ōtsuki Gentaku was completed around 1816, more than thirty years after his more famous work, *A Guide to Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kaitei* 蘭学階梯, 1783). *Upward and Forward* is written in the mixed style with Chinese characters and *katakana*. As Boot notes, this choice indicates that the writing's goal was to be considered "serious," scholarly literature, although meant for the general public,[27] as the plain and direct

[24] See Clements, "Possibility of Translation."
[25] On the lives of Ogyū Sorai and Ōtsuki Gentaku, see Lidin, *Life of Ogyū Sorai* and *Yōgakushi kenkyūkai*, *Ōtsuki Gentaku*.
[26] Clements, *Cultural History of Translation* and Pastreich, "Grappling with Chinese Writing."
[27] Boot, "Words of a Mad Doctor," p. 44, note 6.

prose and the easy-to-navigate structure also suggest. This text was never published in print and few copies were in circulation.[28]

The text comes in the dialogic format of the *mondō* 問答 (questions and answers), a literary genre of Chinese origin that was common for Buddhist and Confucian texts. As it was usually the case with *mondō* works, Gentaku's intended readers were probably his pupils and disciples. However, this would not preclude the possibility that Gentaku wished to also address a larger public, composed by other Dutch studies scholars and Confucian scholars. The conversation takes place between Master Gentaku and an unidentified young student from his school; the first volume is articulated in eleven questions and answers, while the second volume contains sixteen. Volume one is dedicated to the explanation of the state of the art in Dutch studies, the changes from the past, the difficulties faced by Nagasaki interpreters, and a comparison between Dutch medical science and the traditional Japanese methods. Volume two engages with problems of a more linguistic nature and attempts to connect the Dutch studies discourse with a wider translation tradition in Japan.

6.4 Textual references to Ogyū Sorai's A Tool for Translation in Ōtsuki Gentaku's Upward and Forward in Dutch Translation

As I did in section 6.1, in the next paragraphs I will document the quotations from Sorai's work *A Tool for Translation* that can be found in Gentaku's *Upward and Forward*, and at the same time I will examine the two scholars' ideas on translation. In comparison with Maeno Ryōtaku's *Brief Translations*, *Upward and Forward* is a much longer and discursive text, and Gentaku's citations from *A Tool for Translation* are more abundant.

The first similarity is that both Sorai and Gentaku quote the same passage from the *Guanzi* 管子 (a Chinese collection of philosophical and political treatises, ca. seventh century BCE), a short excerpt about the miraculous appearance of the answer through the extensive consideration of the problem.[29] In *Upward and Forward*, when asked about the right way to study Dutch texts, Ōtsuki Gentaku wrote:

[28] Boot, "Words of a Mad Doctor," pp. 44-45. The *Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books* only lists one manuscript copy held at *Seikadō Bunko Art Museum*. Waseda University Library holds an undated printed characters version that was collected in the two volume 1912 edition *Bansui sonkyō* 磐水存響. In this thesis, I quote this latter one.

[29] Pastreich, "Grappling with Chinese Writing," p. 145, note 45.

> これを思い、これを思う。又重ねてこれを思う。これを思って而して通せず、鬼神將さにこれを通ぜんとすと言へる管子の古語の如くにもありしにや。[30]
>
> "Think about it, think about it. Again, think about it more. If you think about it and don't understand it, the gods surely will make you understand:" it is just as the ancient language of *Guanzi* 管子 tells us.

Analogously, in *A Tool for Translation*, Sorai expressed his attitude about the necessity to perform a focused reading of Chinese texts in order to fully understand them. Sorai wrote:

> 管子曰く。之を思ひ、之を思ふ。又重ねて之を思ひ、之を思ひて通ぜず、鬼神將に之を通ぜんとす。[31]
>
> The *Guanzi* 管子 said, "Think about it, think about it. Again, think about it more, and if you think about it and cannot understand it, the gods surely will make you understand."

Next, in their texts, both Sorai and Gentaku expressed similar ideas on the *kundoku* method, employing the same phrases and terminology. Describing the way translation in Dutch studies was conducted using the *kundoku* method at the time of his teacher Maeno Ryōtaku, Gentaku wrote:

> 但後々には毎語に訳字を施し、順逆廻環の訓点を爲せしにも及ばざれども、心には逆読顛倒の意をなして、推して、大意を得し者なり。これも艸創の時には優れしかなれども、実に靴を隔て、痒を掻くが如きこと多かりしなり。[32] […]

[30] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Upward and Forward* (*Ran'yaku teikō*), vol. 2*,* pp. 5-6.
[31] Ogyū Sorai, *Yakubun sentei* (*A Tool for Translation*), p. 23.
[32] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Upward and Forward* (*Ran'yaku teikō*), vol. 2*,* p. 6.

漢土の書も其国音にて直読せざれば、其真の意味は解しがたく逆読してこれを解するは実は上すべりの牽強なりと語りし人あり。[33]

If, after giving a translation (*yakuji* 訳字) for every word, the use of the back-to-front (*jungyaku* 順逆) *kundoku* glosses (*kunten* 訓点) twisting (*kaikan* 廻環) is not enough, you can form an idea of the meaning (*i* 意) from reading in the reverse order, then follow your feeling and get the general meaning (*dai'i* 大意). Even if at the beginnings [of Dutch studies] [*kundoku*] was naturally preferred, many say that actually [this technique] is like scratching an itch on your foot without taking off your shoes (*kutsu o hedatete kayuki o kaku* 靴を隔て痒を掻く). […]
There is someone who said that if one does not read directly (*chokudoku* 直読, i.e. without using *kunten*) Chinese books with Chinese pronunciation, and wants to understand the real meaning (*makoto no imi* 真の意味) [of those texts] using the inverted reading (*sakayomi* 逆読), what they understand it is actually a superficial forced interpretation (*kenkyō* 牽強).

I believe this "person" (or "people," *hito* 人) Gentaku is talking about was most likely Sorai, who, in *A Tool for Translation*, to criticise other Confucian scholars at fault of employing the *kundoku* method, wrote:

但々此の方自から此の方の言語有り、中華自から中華の言語有り、體質本殊なり、何に由て胎合せん。是を以て和訓廻環の讀み、通ずべきが若きと雖も、實は牽強たり。而も世人省みず、書を讀み文を作るに一に唯和訓是れ靠る。[34]

However, in Japan we have the Japanese language, in China they have the Chinese language, both with their peculiar characteristics; how can

[33] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Upward and Forward* (*Ran'yaku teikō*), vol. 2, p. 7.
[34] Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 24.

> we make them line up? And so, the distorted (*kaikan* 廻環) *wakun* 和訓 reading, although flowing, it is in truth a forced interpretation (*kenkyō* 牽強). However, our contemporaries do not reflect about it, and when they read and write, they only rely on *wakun*.

As can be seen in the passages above, Gentaku and Sorai both use the word *kaikan* 廻環, "twirl and twist," to describe the process of *kundoku* reading, and the term *kenkyō* 牽強, a "distortion" or "forced interpretation," in discussing the outcomes of the *kundoku* reading/translation.[35] The word *kaikan* 廻環 in particular does not seem to be commonly used, nor does it seem to be a classical reference, thus it is even more likely that Gentaku was referring precisely to Sorai´s work. Also, intriguingly, as was noted in section 6.1 dedicated to Ryōtaku's *Brief Translations*, "scratching an itch on your foot without taking off your shoes" is the same comparison used by Ogyū Sorai to criticise the employment of *kundoku* practice by his contemporary Confucian scholars (for a translation of the except in question, see section 6.1).

Another phrase that can be found in both *Upward and Forward* and *A Tool for Translation* is "[reading a text] from the beginning to the end (*shōtō chokka* 従頭直下)," i.e. reading a source without the turns and inversions of the *kundoku* method. Talking about the differences in the way of reading Western and Chinese texts, Gentaku wrote:

> 西文も横行こそかはれども、皆従頭直下なれば、これ亦其類にもあらんか。我方語固より逆といふにもあらざるべけれども、異方の書を読むには必ず逆読ならざれば、これを解しがたし。唯これ早くこれを暁らしめんとするの假法にして己むことを得ざるの教なり。此業艸創の時に譬れば上代　応神天皇の御宇百済国より初めて漢字を伝へ論語千字文を持渡りし時の如くなるべく夫れより翁等が志学の頃は其三四百年も過し世のありさまならん。[36]

[35] *Kaikan* in Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Upward and Forward* (*Ran'yaku teikō*), vol. 2, pp. 5 and 6; in Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), it occurs 5 times on pp. 24-5 and once on p. 28. *Kenkyō* in Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Upward and Forward* (*Ran'yaku teikō*), vol. 2, p. 7; in Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 24.

[36] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Upward and Forward* (*Ran'yaku teikō*), vol. 2, p. 7.

> Even if Western texts are written horizontally, since they are all [read] from the beginning to the end (*shōtō chokka* 従頭直下), is it not the [same] kind [of thing]? Even if the language of our country was not [read] the other way around from the beginning, since books from different countries were not read with the inverted reading (*gyakudoku* 逆読), this is difficult to understand. Early on, we did not realise that we could avoid this empty method (*kehō* 假法). For example, the beginnings of our field were similar to the time when, in ancient times, during the reign of Emperor Ōjin 応神, for the first time, Chinese characters (*kanji* 漢字) were transmitted with the dissemination of the *Analects* (*Rongo* 論語) and the *Thousand Character Classic* (*Senjimon* 千字文) from the country of Kudara 百済. Compared to that, fifteen years of Dutch studies would [cover the span of] three-four hundred years [in Chinese studies in Japan].[37]

In *A Tool for Translation*, Sorai touches upon the "[way of reading] from the beginning to the end (*shōtō chokka* 従頭直下)," remarking the fact that in the years spent in exile in his youth, he was not even aware that one could read Chinese texts without the *kundoku* method, i.e. reading by following the syntactical order of the source.[38] Sorai explained:

> 予幼なかりし時、切に古人其の義未だ見へざる時に方りて、如何が能く讀むと怪む。殊に知らず中華書を讀むに、従頭直下、一に此の方の人の佛經陀羅尼を念ずるが如し。故に未だ其の義を解せずと雖も、亦能く之を讀むのみといふことを[39]
>
> When I was a boy, I wondered how people from the past could read Chinese texts, when they did not understand their meaning (*gi* 義) yet.

[37] Sugita Genpaku makes the same association between the field of Dutch studies and the advent of Chinese characters in Japan in *Beginnings to Dutch Studies*; the wording as well is almost identical. Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), pp. 47-48. A translation of the passage in question can be found in section 3.4. Again, since *Beginnings'* authorship might be blurred (see section 3.1.1), it is unclear if Gentaku is quoting Genpaku, or if this was an addition by Gentaku to Genpaku's text.
[38] Pastreich, "Grappling with Chinese Writing," p. 146, note 53.
[39] Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 24.

> In particular, I did not know how people in this country read texts from beginning to the end (*shōtō chokka* 従頭直下), like one reads the sutras (*Bukkyō darani* 佛經陀羅尼). Therefore, even if one has not understood the meaning (*gi* 義) yet, can still read them [aloud].

Later in the passage, Gentaku quoted Sorai's exact words as they appear in *A Tool for Translation*, namely "as the chirping of birds and the beasts' calls (*chōmei jūkyō* 鳥鳴獣叫), [Holland and Japan] are in no way near the human sensibility (*ninjō* 人情)."[40] The passage in question was quoted and translated in full in section 6.1, as Ryōtaku as well made use of a similar expression to describe Dutch. Gentaku wrote:

> 某翁の説に「如其荷蘭等書国。性稟異常。当有難解語。如鳥鳴獣叫。不近人情者。」と曰れしは絶て彼に文章あるを知らざるの論なり。何れの国といふとも字あれば文あり。少しも和漢とかはれることなしと見ゆ。[41]

> Someone said that: "The peculiar characteristics of all those countries like Holland are all different and without doubt difficult. As the chirping of birds and the beasts' calls (*chōmei jūkyō* 鳥鳴獣叫), they are in no way near the human sensibility (*ninjō* 人情)." It is an argument (*ron* 論) that people do not know, that those [languages] have a [literary] prose (*bunshō* 文章). Because every country has its writing (*ji* 字), it has its literature (*bun* 文). It can be seen that it is not much different from Japan and China.

Finally, like Sorai, Gentaku explained the importance of translation, which was a "key concept (*shinketsu* 真訣)" for Dutch studies. Gentaku wrote:

> 問曰：其訳文をなすには法ある事にや。
> 答曰：訳は蘭学者の真訣なり。訳とは彼言を此語に取り換へ、彼言にて説きたる文を此方の人に能く通じて、其事速に我用に

[40] Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 25.
[41] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Upward and Forward* (*Ran'yaku teikō*), vol. 2, pp. 8.

供するやうにする事なり。法といふは此方の仕方なり。彼文科を学ぶは彼方の文法を能知て、其説を誤り解せざるやうにするためなり。熟く彼文法を理会して、猶漢土の書籍を我国語に諺解するが如しと知るべし。又漢文に書くべきの学才あらば、直に漢文にも訳すべきなり。唯これ迄の事にて其外に法とては無かるべし。古来我方の人漢土の学問をするための訳学とは差ふべく又梵文を漢文に翻訳したる意味とも差ふなり。[42]

Question: Is there a method (*hō* 法) for when one produces a translation (*yakubun* 訳文)?
Answer: Translation (*yaku* 訳) is a key concept (*shinketsu* 真訣) for the Dutch studies scholar. Translation (*yaku* 訳) is changing a foreign language into our words, transmitting correctly a sentence/a text expressed in a foreign language so that it can be properly understood by us and it may become of use to us quickly. Regarding the method (*hō* 法) and the [right] way of doing (*shikata* 仕方) [translation] in this country goes like this. In order to not misunderstand something, you study the country's literature (*bunka* 文科) and get a good knowledge of the foreign language. After you have understood the foreign grammar, you translate it with simple words (*genkai* 諺解), in Japanese (i.e. translation into vernacular Japanese), as you would do with Chinese texts. Then, if you have the ability to write in *kanbun* 漢文, you translate (*yakusu* 訳す) it directly into Chinese (*kanbun* 漢文) as well. There is no method (*hō* 法) other than this. In the past, the study of translation (*yakugaku* 訳学) for the people of our country who carried out the study of China (*kanshi no gakumon* 漢土の学問) was different, and the meaning (*imi* 意味) of translation (*hon'yaku* 翻訳) from Sanskrit (*bonbun* 梵文) into Chinese (*kanbun* 漢文) is different as well.

The term *shinketsu* 真訣 ("the truth," "the essence," or "the secrets") used above is yet another word employed by Sorai as well in *A Tool for Translation*.

[42] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Upward and Forward* (*Ran'yaku teikō*), vol. 2, p. 17.

訳の一字、讀書の眞訣爲り。蓋し書は皆文字にして、文字は卽ち華人の語言なり。[43]

The word *yaku* 訳 (translation), contains the secret (*shinketsu* 眞訣) for reading the texts (*dokusho* 讀書). Texts (*sho* 書) are all made of characters (*moji* 文字), and characters (*moji* 文字) are what constitute the language of the Chinese people (*kajin no gogen* 華人の語言).

Finally, the practice of "translation with simple words (*genkai* 諺解, i.e. translation in vernacular Japanese)" is also mentioned in *A Tool for Translation*, when Sorai recounted that in his youth he used a copy of *Vernacular Explanation of the Great Learning* (*Daigaku genkai* 大学諺解) by Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657) to teach himself how to read Chinese texts when he lived in exile (the translation of the related passage can be found below in 6.5).

Beyond the textual references reported above, from which it is possible to assert that Gentaku read Sorai's *A Tool for Translation*, in the following sections I will elaborate on how Sorai's and Gentaku's views on translation, teaching and learning further overlapped.

6.5 Translation, teaching and learning for Gentaku and Sorai

In *Upward and Forward*, Gentaku shared his experience in the field of Dutch studies and gave his advice to those interested in knowing more or becoming involved in the movement. However, his aim was also likely to transmit his and his colleagues' scholarly contributions to posterity. To do so, Gentaku retraced the narrative of the field, much like what Sugita Genpaku tried to achieve with *Beginning of Dutch Studies*, although focussing on matters of translation discourse. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, in *Upward and Forward* Gentaku used the term *yakugaku* 訳学 to cover the sphere of the "study of translation." In this section and in the following one, I will argue that, in Gentaku's use, this word can be compared with the notion of "discourse of

[43] Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 25.

translation" as described in the introduction to this thesis, i.e. a field in which the realms of translation, teaching and learning are inseparable and that "is never pure and simple but exists in a kind of interlocking relation with ideology and power, and can discipline knowledge, set up epistemological frames, and shape mindsets."[44]

As illustrated in the first part of this chapter, two well-known figures in Dutch Studies, the scholars Maeno Ryōtaku and Ōtsuki Gentaku, clearly read the most famous linguistic-related work by Sorai, *A Tool for Translation*, and integrated some of its themes into Dutch studies discourse. In the paragraphs that follow, I will argue that Ōtsuki Gentaku's approach to teaching and learning was also close to Sorai's general methodology of teaching and learning, namely: 1) the importance of self-learning, 2) their opinions on the method of *kundoku* 訓読, 3) the importance of understanding the source language in order to comprehend the true meaning of a text, and 4) the option of producing a separate text for translation, couched in a form close to vernacular Japanese to engage with the source text in case knowledge of the source language has not been achieved.

A first resemblance between the two scholars is surely the "hands on" and self-study-oriented approach to learning. In *Beginnings of Dutch Studies*, Sugita Genpaku said of Gentaku:

> [大槻玄沢] の天性を見るに、凡そ物を学ぶこと、実地を踏まされば なすことなく、心に徹底せざることは筆舌に上せず。一体豪気は薄けれども、すべて浮きたることを好まず。[45]
>
> When you look at Ōtsuki Gentaku's temperament, [you can see that] when it came to learning, he did not write or speak of anything without putting it into practice and knowing it by heart. Even if he was a little daring, he did not like anything superficial.

When delving into Dutch studies, expressions like "putting things into practice (*jitchi o fumu* 実地を踏む)" quickly become a leitmotiv. In fact, in the Tokugawa period the

[44] Cheung, *Anthology of Chinese Discourse*, p. 1. For more on this matter, see section 1.6.1.
[45] Sugita Genpaku, *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*), p. 55.

approach to language teaching and learning, as other scholarly fields, was influenced by the rise of Practical learning (*jitsugaku* 実学) a school of thought that focused on the idea of investigating and understanding reality by yourself as opposed to relying on traditional teachings.[46] The Practical learning implies a shift from the ideal and theoretical to the practical, concrete, material and specific, and it is thus an approach that rides along the aims of the Dutch studies movement.

In *A Tool for Translation*, Sorai as well explicitly promoted self-education and talked about his own solitary experience in learning without "teachers and friends."[47] By criticising the official academia and its practice of lectures, for Sorai the act of translation in itself seemed to become a sort of political statement against teaching-oriented learning. Sorai wrote:

> 予十四にして南総に流落し、二十五にして、赦に値て東都に還る。中間十有三年、日々に田父野老と偶處。尚ほ何んぞ師友有る無きを問はん。獨り先大夫の篋中、『大学諺解』一本。實に先大父仲山府君の手澤なるを藏に有するに賴りて、予此れを獲て研究し、力を用ふるの久き、遂に講説に藉ずして、遍ねく羣書に通ずるのを得たるなり。[48]

> When I was fourteen, I was exiled in Nansō. When I was twenty-five, I was allowed to go back to the Capital. I spent thirteen years, every day, in the company of the farmers and the ignorant. Then I asked myself, why do I not have teachers and friends (師友有る無き)? The only thing I could count on was a copy of *Vernacular Explanation of the Great Learning* (*Daigaku genkai* 大学諺解), which my grandfather Chūzanfu 仲山府 always kept preserved in a small box, worn with his handling. I acquired [that book], and I studied it with all my strengths, and in the end – even without the teachings (*kōsetsu* 講説) of a master - I made it to understand all kinds of texts.

[46] De Bary and Bloom, *Principle and Practicality*.
[47] Interestingly, the expression "without teachers and friends (師友有る無き)" in relation to scholarly study - in particular to the translation of *A New Treatise on Anatomy*, was used by Sugita Genpaku as well in *Beginnings of Dutch Studies*. See chapter 3.
[48] Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 23.

The work that Sorai is citing in the excerpt above is a translation by Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657) of the Chinese classic the *Great Learning* (*Daigaku* 大学). It is telling that Sorai quoted this work in particular, since Razan made this important text accessible to a non-specialist public using vernacular Japanese (in the form of mixed style with Chinese characters and *katakana*).[49]

In a similar way, self-learning was a key aspect of Dutch studies. The so-called founders of the discipline themselves took pride in the fact that they managed to learn Dutch language and a good deal of Dutch science and medicine on their own, while assisting the doctors of the Dutch East India Company in their medical practice and translating Dutch texts.[50] Likewise, Gentaku encouraged his pupils to study by themselves. Gentaku incited his students to start learning Dutch from his writings and those of his teachers, in order to fully understand Dutch, learning Western science and thus contributing to the prosperity of the country. In the first of his answers from *Upward and Forward* he wrote:

> 塾中の童子問曰：蘭学とは如何なる事にて何にの為めに学ぶことなりや。
> 答曰：これは翁廿五六の時蘭学階梯といへる小冊二巻を著して其学びかたの大略を述べ、其初巻に伝へる如く、若し世の志ある人これを学び得ば医術の事は固より天文地学の道に於ては我国用に補益あるべしと先覚二三子の所見ありしに出でたり。翁も亦弱齢よりこれを継述して今日に至れるなり。請う汝先つ右の階梯を熱読して可なり。[51]
>
> A pupil from my school asked me how to approach Dutch studies (*rangaku* 蘭学), and why we should learn it.
> Answer: There is a little two volume book that I wrote when I was twenty-five or twenty-six years old, called *A Guide to Dutch Studies*

[49] On Hayashi Razan's vernacular translations, see Kornicki, "Hayashi Razan."
[50] Again, this is the version that Sugita Genpaku extensively recounts in *Beginnings of Dutch Studies*, see chapter 3.
[51] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Upward and Forward* (*Ran'yaku teikō*), vol. 1, p. 1.

(*Rangaku kaitei*, 蘭学階梯, 1783)], where I explain the main points of that way of learning (*manabikata* 学びかた). As I say in the first volume, if a person with a purpose (*shi aru hito* 志ある人) achieves Dutch language knowledge, then with medical science, and of course with astronomy and geography, they would bring benefits to our country and they will also be the pioneers of some findings. I as well, when I was young, continued the study of my predecessors and today I can say I achieved [all this]. You can study with passion *A Guide to Dutch Studies* to begin with.

Following Gentaku and Sorai's principles, the pupil becomes his own teacher, going straight to the source of knowledge, after acquiring the hard-earned skill of understanding Chinese for Sorai and Dutch for the Dutch studies scholars. Such goal leads us to a further resemblance between Gentaku and Sorai's thought: their opinions on matters of translation and writing styles.

Firstly, Gentaku and Sorai showed a similar understanding of one of the most common techniques used in Japan to study foreign texts: the method of *kundoku* 訓読 (also called *wakun* 和訓). In the next passage, Gentaku explained that the use of *wakun* was by itself a form of translation and not just a way of reading a text, as it was more commonly understood by the official academia. Gentaku wrote:

問曰：本邦の訳学といふは如何。
答曰：此邦は漢字を取り、漢語漢文を用ゆるなれば、即漢語に邦訓をあて其字義を理會するなり。是れを古来和訓と云う。これ実は漢語の訳といふ者なりとぞ。[52]

Question: What is the study of translation (*yakugaku* 訳学) in this country [Japan]?
Answer: In this country [Japan] we acquired Chinese characters (*kanji* 漢字), and use Chinese language (*kango* 漢語) and Chinese writing (*kanbun* 漢文). Therefore, we assign a Japanese reading (*hōkun* 邦訓) to Chinese words (*kango* 漢語) and [in this way] we understand the

[52] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Upward and Forward* (*Ran'yaku teikō*), vol. 2, p. 19.

> meanings of the characters (*jigi* 字義). Traditionally, this process is called *wakun* 和訓, yet actually it is a translation (*yaku* 訳) of the Chinese words (*kango* 漢語)!

In the introduction of *A Tool for Translation*, one hundred years before him, Ogyū Sorai employed almost the same words to portray the practice of *wakun* and, analogously, described this activity as a translation, using the same term *yaku* 訳:

> 此の方の学者、方言を以て書を讀。號して和訓と曰ひ、諸を訓詁の義に取れり、其の実訳なり。[53]
>
> Scholars of this country read [Chinese] books using the local language (*hōgen* 方言). This [method] is named *wakun* 和訓 and takes its meaning from the word *kunko* 訓詁 (literal interpretation and explanation of the Chinese characters), but actually, it is a translation (*yaku* 訳).

As seen in section 6.4, both Gentaku and Sorai disregarded the employment of the *kundoku* technique, as a merely performative act that actually distanced the reader from the source, hiding the real meaning of a text. Gentaku and Sorai also had the same understanding of what was the final aim of the activity and the study of translation, namely, being instruments for learning, a convenient step one could indulge in before mastering the source language and access the source text directly. Because both scholars attributed great prestige to the original source, the most important thing to achieve in the practice of translation was to convey the "real meaning (*hongi* 本義)" and the general feeling of a text. [54]

In order to do so, accurate knowledge of the source language was essential. Indeed, in the same answer, Gentaku explained further:

[53] Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 24.
[54] Incidentally, here as well Gentaku might be talking about Sorai. The term *hongi* 本義, "true meaning," can also be found in Sorai's writings. Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), p. 27.

其訳を詳にすることを本邦漢学を専ら修むる諸名匠。漢語の本義を取りちがへず。其正当の詞をあてしむるやうに教へ、又却て漢文を書き習ふために、和文を漢文にも訳せしめもするなり。是れ本邦は昔より漢籍を其まゝにて用ひ彼の聖経賢伝を始め、其教を我に取り国民を訓導するのためとし給ふことなれば、其教の書は文字、文字は即漢人の語言なれば、其文法までを書き習はせ其文に熟すれば、自然と其本義も能く通知して失はざるがためなりと見えたり。[55]

To produce an accurate translation (*yaku* 訳), those who have thoroughly mastered Chinese studies in our country, advise to not confuse the real meaning (*hongi* 本義) of Chinese words. To teach how to choose the right word, thus in order to learn how to write *kanbun*, they have [their students] translate *wabun* 和文 into *kanbun* 漢文. From ancient times, in our country people made use of Chinese books (*kanseki* 漢籍) as they are (*sono mama* 其まゝ), starting with the teachings of the Sages (*seikei kenden* 聖経賢伝), they [changed] those teachings according to our [tradition] and [used them] to guide the people of this land. The texts of those teachings are written with characters (*moji* 文字), and since the characters (*moji* 文字) are the words (*gogen* 語言) of people from China,[56] it looks as though making people learn to write according to the grammar rules, they master the written language and they will naturally understand the real meaning (*hongi* 本義) [of the text].

Next in *Upward and Forward*, the student interrogated Gentaku about the differences between translation from Dutch (*Oranda hon'yaku* 和蘭翻訳) and translation from Chinese, wondering about the purpose of studying Dutch. Gentaku explained that the aim of Dutch studies was of course to interpret Dutch texts and to translate them. At

[55] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Upward and Forward* (*Ran'yaku teikō*), vol. 2, p. 19.
[56] This seems another reference to Sorai's words in *A Tool for Translation*. As also quoted in section 6.4, Sorai wrote: "Texts (*sho* 書) are all made of characters (*moji* 文字), and characters (*moji* 文字) are what constitute the language of the Chinese people (*kajin no gogen* 華人の語言)." Ogyū Sorai, *Yakubun sentei* (*A Tool for Translation*), p. 25.

this point, Gentaku claimed that to translate from Dutch the student/translator could use a *buntai* that he calls *shin katakana* 真片仮名,[57] which was the writing style he is already using in writing the present work, and/or *kanbun* 漢文.[58] Similarly to Sorai's idea of "translation (*yakubun* 訳文)," as seen in chapter 5, despite the fact that the goal of studying Dutch was to eventually access the original text, Gentaku deemed it acceptable to render the source in a plainer form to make the useful new knowledge available through the production of a translation independent from the original text. In this way, Gentaku also made clear that his idea of translation and "study of translation" (*yakugaku* 訳学) closely connected to teaching and learning. Gentaku wrote:

> 問曰：和蘭翻訳は右の趣意と差へりと曰ふは如何。
> 答曰：吾業は右の和漢訳学のことを大略にも領会して後、和蘭書籍の所説を解釈し、これを旧来我通用の真片仮名書きなりとも、又文才あらば漢文になりとも、訳し取り我方の雅俗に通ずるやうにすることなり。[59]

> Question: What are the purpose and the differences between Dutch translation (*Oranda hon'yaku* 和蘭翻訳) and [the Chinese translation tradition] we were talking about before?
> Answer: After you understand the main points of the study of Chinese-Japanese translation (*wakan yakugaku* 和漢訳学) that we talked about before, the job of our field is to interpret (*kaishaku* 解釈) the explanations/theories (*shosetsu* 所説) of Dutch books (*Oranda shoseki* 和蘭書籍), and translate (*yakushitori* 訳し取り) them by writing them down through the mixed style of *kanji* and *katakana* (*shin katakana* 真片仮名) that we have been using for a long time, and/or, if one has the talent (*bunsai* 文才), through *kanbun* 漢文, so that they can be

[57] Namely, mixed style with Chinese characters and *katakana* (also known as *kanji katakana majiri* 漢字片仮名交じり) - here *shin* 真 is intended as "real characters," i.e. Chinese characters with both sound and a semantic component, as opposed to *kana*, which literally means "temporary characters," characters with only sound. On the Japanese writing styles see chapter 2.
[58] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Ran'yaku teikō* (*Upward and Forward*), vol. 2, pp. 19-20.
[59] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Ran'yaku teikō* (*Upward and Forward*), vol. 2, p. 20.

> understood by both the refined (*ga* 雅) [people] and the common (*zoku* 俗) [people] of our country.

Moreover, Gentaku continued, as people instructed in Chinese studies know *kanbun* grammar, it is crucial that people interested in Dutch scientific literature should understand Dutch grammar and style as well. In the same answer, Gentaku also made the point that while knowledge of *kanbun* was useful for a number of applications in Japan (not only to read/translate, but also to compose texts), there was no reason to study Western languages if one does not use them to translate Western texts.[60] However, such knowledge was still necessary to avoid losing the "original idea (*hon'i* 本意)" of the words.[61] In fact, referring to the fact that, as was reported above in this section, some teachers of Chinese had their students translate *wabun* texts in *kanbun*,[62] Gentaku wrote:

> 如何にも和漢の訳学に似たる所もあれども、和文を強ひて蘭文に改め換ふるに及ばず。是れ漢説の如くに西文は此方にて其のまゝに取用ふべきことなければなり。而れども真義を解して其本意を失はざるために、其作りかたの文法を学習するは為すまじきことにもあるまじ。[63]

> Of course, even if there are also some similarities with the study of Chinese-Japanese translation, you cannot go as far as to forcibly (*shiite* 強ひて) change (*aratamekau* 改め換ふ) *wabun* 和文 to Dutch. As with Chinese learning (*kansetsu* 漢説, "doctrines transmitted from China"), in our country you have to take Western texts (*seibun* 西文) as they are. However, to understand the true meaning (*shingi* 真義) without losing the original idea (*hon'i* 本意), you absolutely must study how they [Western languages] work grammatically.

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[60] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Ran'yaku teikō* (*Upward and Forward*), vol. 2, p. 20.
[61] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Ran'yaku teikō* (*Upward and Forward*), vol. 2, p. 20.
[62] This as well could be another reference to Sorai's work, as in the example of translation ("A model for translation," *Yakujun issoku* 訳準一則) that Sorai provides after the introduction to *A Tool for Translation*, includes a version of a same text first in *wabun* and then in *kanbun* with *kundoku* glosses. Ogyū Sorai, *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*), pp. 32-35.
[63] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Ran'yaku teikō* (*Upward and Forward*), vol. 2, p. 20.

Gentaku explained above that *wabun* cannot be "forced" on the Dutch language, and that Dutch should be taken "as it is" (*sono mama* 其のまま) as is done with *kanbun* 漢文.[64] Gentaku intended that one should, after mastering the language, access the source text directly, without the *kundoku* method and without producing a translation.

6.6 Further sources of translation discourse in *Upward and Forward*: a regional perspective

In the last part of *Upward and Forward* volume two, Gentaku went over a few more of the sources that informed his discourse of translation. Gentaku quoted both Chinese works on Chinese translation discourse that were available in Japan and other Japanese scholars. Gentaku built on these sources to describe what translation is in general and also letting the Sanskrit sutra translation and Chinese studies coming into play. In this thesis, I argue that, by doing so, he located Dutch studies in a larger discourse of translation that included both the Japanese tradition and beyond.[65] Again, as will be shown in the following passages, Gentaku used again the term *yakugaku* 訳学 to indicate a discourse of translation that also encompassed the spheres of teaching and learning.

In the next excerpt, Gentaku quotes *A Collection of Names and their Explanations in Buddhist Translations* (JP: *Hon'yaku myōgi shū*, CH. *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻訳名義集, c. 1143-1158), a major reference work of Buddhist literature edited by the Chinese monk Fǎ Yún 法雲 (1088-1158). The segment quoted by Gentaku, is originally from the *Book of Rites* and it is considered to be the earliest mention of Chinese translation discourse and contains the various terms used to refer to the practice of translation in the "Four Quarters."[66] Retracing the origins of the word *yaku* 訳 (translation), Gentaku wrote:

[64] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Ran'yaku teikō* (*Upward and Forward*), vol. 2, pp. 19-20.
[65] As common, when Gentaku quotes classical texts, the original is kept in Chinese. The brackets indicates when the text is written in a smaller font in the original.
[66] For translation of the whole passage, see Cheung, *Anthology of Chinese Discourse*, pp. 199-200; Lung, "Perceptions," p. 13.

問曰：漢土の学問をする為に我方にて為せるの訳学と又漢士にて梵文を翻訳せしと云へるにも差へりといふ事は不審し且吾等未だ訳というの本義を知らず我儕蒙生の為に詳にこれを告げよ。答曰：まづ漢土にて訳といふ事の起りを考ふるに礼記の王制に出でて極て古き事なり。訳（音亦）伝夷夏之言。而転告之也。[67] と註し元と通士舌人の事にて即達異方之志之官なり。北曰訳。東曰寄。南曰象。西曰狄鞮。と見へたり。然れば四辺にて其名を異にするなり。而るに後世は四方共に総て訳の字を通称せりと聞えたり。即西竺の佛典を翻訳すといふの類なり。

Question: The difference between the study of translation (*yakugaku* 訳学) that was conducted here in Japan for the study of China (*Kanshi no gakumon* 漢土の学問), and the translation (*hon'yaku* 翻訳) of Sanskrit [that was conducted] in China, is unclear and we still do not know the true meaning (*hon'gi* 本義) of [the word] translation (*yaku* 訳). Tell me in detail, for the sake of our colleagues and our students.
Answer: First, since we think that [the word] translation (*yaku* 訳) originated in China as [told] in the "Royal regulations (*ōsei* 王制)" in the *Book of Rites* (*Reiki* 礼記), it is a very old thing. As it was annotated [in the *Book of Rites*], "[the word] translation (*yaku* 訳) means to transmit the words of the Barbarians and the Chinese (*ika* 夷夏) in order to communicate." Originally, language experts (*tsūshi* 通士) and interpreters (*zetsujin* 舌人) became officials (*kan* 官) that could transmit the [people's] will from different places. It can be seen that [their work] "was called *yaku* 訳 in the North, *ki* 寄 in the East, *shō* 象 in the South and *tekitei* 狄鞮 in the West."[68] Therefore, in the Four Quarters, the denominations were different. However, it is known that the character *yaku* 訳 became the common term for all of them - and it indicates the kind (*rui* 類) of translation (*hon'yaku* 翻訳) of the Buddhist Scriptures of West India.

[67] Gentaku here is probably quoting the *Autobiographical Afterword of the Grand Historian* (*Taishikō jijo* 太史公自序), the autobiography of Sima Qian.
[68] For a complete translation of the passage quoted, see Cheung, *An Anthology of Chinese discourse on Translation*, pp. 199-201.

In the same answer, Gentaku is also quoting three commentaries of the *Book of Rites*, the first by Kŏng Yĭngdá 孔穎達 (574-648), the second is from the *Royal regulations*, and the third is by Jiă Gōngyàn 賈公彥 (seventh century).[69] Gentaku wrote:

> さて訳は註疏に「陳也。陳内外之言。」又「釈也。猶言譖。謂以彼言語。相譖釈而通之也。」又「訳即易。謂換易言語使相解也。」と見えたり。されば異方の言語を譖釈して之を通し又彼と此と言語を換易して解せしむるの義にして其言語のみならず。其書籍の所説をも解釈する事と聞えたり。乃訳文訳説などいふ字面もあればなり。[70]

> Again, as can be seen from the commentaries [of the *Book of Rites*], [the word] translation (*yaku* 訳) "[means] to express, and to express words from inside and from outside [the country]." Also, "[translation means] to explain, thus, to copy words and to say them in [another] language. And reciprocally copying, explaining and transmitting them." Or again, "translation (*yaku* 訳) [means] to exchange (*eki* 易). That is, to change and exchange words to understand each other." Therefore, to copy and interpret the languages of different places, to transmit them, and change these words to those words, to make the meaning (*gi* 義) understandable not just in one language. It is also to interpret (*kaishaku* 解釈) the explanations of those texts. That's why there are

[69] The first quote is by Kŏng Yĭngdá's 孔穎達 (574-648) commentary of the *Book of Rites*: *The Correct Meaning of Liji* (*Lĭjì zhèngyì* 礼記正義), Fascicle 12, annotated by Zhèng Xuán 鄭玄 (127-200). https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=641781.
The second quote is from a commentary of the "Royal regulations (*Ōsei* 王制)" in the *Book of Rites* (*Reiki* 礼記). Reference unidentified.
The third quote is by Jiă Gōngyàn 賈公彥 (dates unknown), from *Zhou Rites, with Annotations and Commentary* (*Zhōulĭ zhùshū* 周禮注疏), Volume 34, annotated by Zhèng Xuán. https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=118714.
Cheung cites Kŏng Yĭngdá and Jiă Gōngyàn's quotes in her article "Reconceptualizing Translation - Some Chinese Endeavours," p. 8. She renders "訳，陳也，謂陳說外內之言" as "[the character 訳 is] to state in an orderly manner and be conversant in the words of the country and those outside the country," and "訳即易，謂換易言語使相解也" as "'to translate' means 'to exchange,' that is to say, to change and replace the words of one language by another to achieve mutual understanding."
[70] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Ran'yaku teikō*, (*Upward and Forward*), vol. 2, pp. 17-19.

[different] terms (*jimen* 字面) like "translations (*yakubun* 訳文)" and "explanations (*yakusetsu* 訳説)."

Next, Gentaku explained his thought in relation to a work of translation by Dazai Shundai 太宰春台 (1680-1747), a well-known Confucian scholar and disciple of Ogyū Sorai. Gentaku discusses Shundai's revision of the *Amithaba sutra* into a more elegant text that aimed to make the meaning of the source-text easier to understand for the target culture readers.

近き世に此方にて春台翁『修刪阿弥陀』と曰ふものを作り唐の翻訳僧等文字に暗く訳文拙くして斯る冗長重複の事を為せしとて試みに此経文を刪正して文字を大に減じ雅文に改定し正訳せしものあり。是れは唐の訳僧等の業いよいよ前にいへるが如くならば、其本意には大に差へることなるべし。而れども却て吾々はその修刪文を取てこれを読めば彼経文の意義能く通暁するやうなり。[71]

Recently, in Japan, Shundai 春台 (Dazai Shundai) made something called *Revision of the Amida Sutra* (*Shūsan Amida kyō* 修刪阿弥陀). Shundai thought that the monks' translation (*hon'yaku* 翻訳) with *tō* 唐 pronunciation was carried out with obscure characters (*moji* 文字), and that the translation (*yakubun* 訳文) was badly made, therefore [the texts] became tedious and repetitive. Thus, [Shundai] tried to revise (*sansei* 刪正) the text of those Sutras, greatly reducing [the number of] characters (*moji* 文字), changing (*kaitei* 改定) them to elegant language (*gabun* 雅文) and producing a correct translation (*seiyaku* 正訳).[72] Even if this can be [seen] like the restoring [of the texts] to before the work of *tō* 唐 translation by the monks, it greatly differs from the [texts'] original idea (*hon'i* 本意). However, we instead,

[71] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Ran'yaku teikō*, (*Upward and Forward*), vol. 2, pp. 23-24.
[72] "Correct translation (*seiyaku* 正訳)" was a term used by the interpreter Motoki Ryōei (and later by Maeno Ryōtaku), see section 4.2.1.

since we read them with those revisions (*shūsanbun* 修刪文), we really understand the meaning (*igi* 意義) of those sutras.

Gentaku then explained that Dutch studies scholars do not follow the methods devised by the celebrated Chinese scholar Xuánzàng Sānzàng 玄奘三蔵 (JP: Genjō Sanzō, 602-664), but rather Dazai's practice. Xuánzàng was a monk and translator of Buddhist sutra also known as the Tripitaka-master (*Sānzàng Fǎshī* 三蔵法師). He is known for his accurate translations, his tendency to retain the original Sanskrit term through transliteration as per his formulation of the "Five guidelines for not translating a term (*wǔbùfān* 五不翻)."[73] Gentaku explained:

> 右に云へる如くにて吾訳学は彼の梵訳の意とは違ふことなれば漢文に訳するならば春台に倣て玄奘三蔵の訳法には由るべからず。尤吾業は芸術の事にて固より道教のことにはあらざれば其事の能く聞ゆて彼療術方薬などの切近緊要の事を取て訳文して雅俗の通ずるやうにして直ちに其用に施し試みたきなればなり。[74]

> As I said before, because our study of translation (*yakugaku* 訳学) is different from the idea (*i* 意) of Sanskrit translation (*bon'yaku* 梵訳), if we translate in *kanbun*, we imitate Dazai and not the translation methods (*yakuhō* 訳法) of Xuánzàng Sānzàng 玄奘三蔵. Since from the beginning our work was about arts and technology (*geijutsu* 芸術) and not the teaching of the Way (*dōkyō* 道教), as it is well known, we took the more urgent and important things from Dutch surgery and medicine, we translated them and so to communicate the vulgar and the refined (*gazoku* 雅俗), because we tried to spread their use directly.

[73] Following Martha Cheung's translation, Xuánzàng's Five Guidelines prescribed that a term should not be translated (therefore should be transliterated) if: 1) a term partakes in the occult; 2) a term has multiple meanings; 3) a term does not exist "in this part of the world;" 4) if a past rendering is already established and accepted; 5) if a term elicits positive associations. On Xuánzàng, see Cheung, *Anthology of Chinese Discourse*, pp. 156-59.

[74] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Ran'yaku teikō*, (*Upward and Forward*), vol. 2, p. 24.

Finally, Gentaku mentions Kamei Nanmei 亀井南冥 (1743-1814), a Confucian scholar and doctor, and, as Dazai Shundai mentioned earlier, a disciple of Ogyū Sorai's school. Similarly to Sorai, and also in line with Gentaku's ideas, Nanmei promoted a translation style easy to comprehend and that could be considered near to the feelings (*ninjō* 人情) of the Japanese people.

> 問曰：縷々示さるる所逐一服膺せり。尚余説あらば其蘊を盡し給はんことを希う所なり。
> 答曰：翁過ぎし年亀井南冥が築紫の廬を訪ひし時吾済不学にして訳文に苦むと語りければ、南冥予に諭して曰ふ異方の事を早く我方の人に暁了させたく思ひたまはば、其便法あるなり。吾儒の教にてこれを譬ふれば、学で而て時に習といふの学は人の道たる道を稽古することなり。時習はあとさらひをすると云ふことなり。稽古してもあとざらひせざれば、忘るるなれば恒に精出せよ云々と講するなり。足下等の訳業も斯くぞあれかし。其後の修文は他に修正の致し手はあるべしと曰ひき。是れ俚俗の語に従へば、平気にして人情に近しといふの訳意を取れるなるべし。翁今に服膺して置かず。先づ此心持にて訳し得たらば、陀羅尼を読むが如くにはあるまじ。又若し文才の人ありて直ちに漢文に直すことあらば、弘く異朝にも伝べきことなれば尤も喜ぶべきことなり。[75]

> Question: I will bear in mind each one of the things you profusely explained. Is there any further comment, or anything you want to add to all that?
> Answer: Many years ago, I visited Kamei Nanmei at his abode in Tsukushi 築紫 [modern Fukuoka Prefecture]. I told [him] I was struggling with translation (*yakubun* 訳文). I was very uneducated, so Nanmei explained to me that if what I wanted was to explain things from abroad clearly and quickly to the people of our land, there was a

[75] Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Ran'yaku teikō*, (*Upward and Forward*), vol. 2, pp. 25-26.

> shortcut (*benpō* 便法). Because I compared it with the learning of Confucianism, [I was thinking about the kind of] study of the people who practice (*keiko* 稽古) the Way, where one studies and reviews periodically. To review periodically means going over after [one's lessons]. In lectures, [they say] things like "even if you practice, because you did not review, you forget, so you will have to work very hard!" Therefore, so is for you all the activity of translation (*yakugyō* 訳業), is not that so? There will be the method of those later embellishments (*shūbun* 修文) or corrections (*shūsei* 修正). Instead, if you follow the vulgar language (*rizoku no go* 俚俗の語), it will be easier (*heiki* 平気), and the meaning of the translation (*yaku'i* 訳意) will be nearer to people's feelings (*ninjō* 人情) and will be understood. I always bear it in mind. First, if I can translate (yakusu 訳す) with this feeling (*kokoromochi* 心持), it will not be like reading the Dharma (Darani 陀羅尼). And if there were people with a talent for writing (*bunsai* 文才), able to translate (*naosu* 直す, literally, "to correct") directly in *kanbun*, because that would mean that [our work] could be largely disseminated abroad as well, I would be even happier.

Later in the text, Gentaku also makes the point that a translation in *kanbun* of the Dutch scholars' work would disseminate it across Asia. I would argue, however, that this was probably not his main concern, nor it was the principal motivation Dutch studies scholars translated in *kanbun*. In fact, I would argue that this practice was followed primarily with the aim of standing shoulder to shoulder with Chinese studies scholars within Japan. Given the abundance of sources quoted by Gentaku, one of his main concerns must have been the necessity to fit in his perception of a discourse of translation that encompassed East Asia.

6.7 Conclusions

The discourse of translation assembled by the well-known Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai echoes within Dutch translation discourse. However, it was unclear if such recurring ideas and concepts had rather been borrowed from the Nagasaki interpreters, to whom

Sorai himself was heavily indebted. As demonstrated in this chapter, two key-figures of the Dutch studies movement, Gentaku and Maeno Ryōtaku were directly influenced by Sorai's work. Even if the links between Ryōtaku's and Sorai's writings might seem tenuous, the same cannot be said in the case of Gentaku's text, in which the amount of references and similarities with *A Tool for Translation* are more punctual and systematic. Gentaku may have come in contact with *A Tool for Translation* through Shizuki Tadao (as mentioned in section 5.1) or even via his senior Maeno Ryōtaku, becoming fascinated by Sorai's thought.

Sorai was not the first, nor the only scholar to talk about translation (or specifically about the use of *kundoku*) in early modern Japan. However, *A Tool for Translation* is indeed a theoretical work of length and great depth, in other words a perfect text to take as a model to formulate a different discourse on translation. As we have seen in this chapter, the more general concerns expressed by Sorai, e.g. the necessity to directly access the source text, the importance of the style in translation and the need to avoid the strategy of *kundoku* were easily re-elaborated adapted to the needs of Dutch translation discourse. Along with these, Sorai's practical, hands on approach to teaching and learning was welcomed by the self-made Dutch studies scholars.

In addition to theoretical crossovers and similarities in approach, resemblances on the human level could have played a part in the popularity of Sorai among some Dutch studies scholars. Like Gentaku (and many of his colleagues), Sorai was not only a linguist, but also a medical doctor and a scholar (*gakusha* 学者) at the service of the shogunal government. It is also interesting to reflect on what Sorai was not: he was not an interpreter, but actually an intellectual who based a good deal of his study on the interpreters' work (e.g. knowledge of spoken Chinese and the "Nagasaki method"). As mainly discussed in chapter 3, differently from the interpreters, whose knowledge of Dutch was acquired on the job, almost all Edo-based scholars were educated in Chinese learning (i.e. proper education), and thus shared with Sorai their intellectual background and knowledge of foundational texts. Interestingly, even Sorai's criticism of other Confucian scholars and the feeling of competition that oftentimes emerges in *A Tool for Translation* transmit a similar sentiment as the cutting or dismissive remarks towards the interpreters (as well to other scholars, who were considered only attracted to personal gain) disseminated in Dutch studies literature. Needless to say, Sorai was held

in high esteem during his time and yet he struggled with his peers in the earlier part of his life: his desire of social vindication must have felt familiar to the Dutch studies scholars.

In order to discover the mechanisms behind the formation of this discourse of translation, it is important to note that while the Chinese translation tradition was openly referred to (as were Sorai's disciples Dazai Shundai and Kamei Nanmei), neither the name of Sorai or the title of *A Tool for Translation* are explicitly mentioned in Gentaku's and Ryōtaku's texts, despite the high likelihood that these authors were referencing Sorai. The reason for this omission was possibly due to the unpopularity of Sorai in official academia at the time of the Dutch studies scholars' activity.[76] As mentioned before in this thesis, Dutch studies scholars often reiterated that Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657-1725) was to be considered a sort of champion or initiator of Dutch studies, and Hakuseki was notoriously a bitter critic of Sorai.[77] This is a further confirmation of the nature of the façade put forward by Dutch studies scholars, who strived to present their field as academically advanced as Chinese studies. Even if the ban on heterodoxy was not strict, nor it had much actual consequences on the development of the Japanese intellectual thought, the avoidance of mentioning Sorai's name is telling of Gentaku's (and Ryōtaku's) wish to make their work more appealing to the official academia, and it is revealing of the manipulative approach they adopted. Such treatment of *A Tool for Translation* is additional evidence that translation discourse is everything but neutral.

In this chapter, I mainly focussed on the different kinds of sources quoted in Ōtsuki Gentaku's work *Upward and Forward*. Amongst the Dutch studies scholars, Gentaku seems to be the one who wrote the most about the discourse of Dutch translation, and the one who more systematically attempted to record a history of it. The sources discussed by Gentaku in *Upward and Forward* covered a considerable span of time and space, purposefully connecting Dutch studies theory and practice to Chinese studies tradition in Japan, (either directly or - as seen with the case of Sorai's *A Tool for Translation* - indirectly), as well as to translation from Sanskrit in China.

[76] As discussed by Backus, "Kansei Prohibition," and Tucker, *Ogyū Sorai*, pp. 3-134.
[77] Tucker, *Ogyū Sorai*, p. 46.

Looking at the bigger picture, the work of both Gentaku and Ryōtaku examined here can be seen as further evidence of the attempts by the Edo-based scholars to present an idealized image of Dutch studies to their readers (fellow scholars and pupils) and to Japanese academia in general. As discussed in chapter 3, in Sugita Genpaku's *Beginning of Dutch Studies* such narrative was constructed in opposition to the Nagasaki interpreters and via the account of the publication of *A New Treatise on Anatomy*. In the case of *Upward and Forward*, it was transmitted through Gentaku's account of the history of Dutch studies discourse of translation. Again, similarly to what Sugita Genpaku did in *Beginnings*, in *Upward and Forward* Gentaku tried to assemble a narrative that would justify the field of Dutch studies, making it appear prestigious and located inside a wider translation tradition in East Asia.[78]

[78] Gentaku already tried to write down the history of the discourse of Dutch studies' translation *in A New Treatise of Anatomy, extensively revised* (on this text, see chapter 3).

Conclusions

In this thesis, my aim has been to investigate the relationships among the writings produced by people involved in translation from Dutch in early modern Japan, as well as the connections constructed by the Dutch studies scholars between such texts and the pre-existent translation traditions. Due to the important developments that took place in the years post 1868, research that deals directly with Japanese translation mainly focusses on the Meiji period, relegating the previous era to a secondary role. However, through the analysis of a variegated array of early modern primary sources, this thesis demonstrates that translation discourse was already a complex systemic entity, at least in the last fifty years of the Tokugawa period.

As discussed across the previous chapters, the development of Dutch studies in Japan was accompanied by a transfer and re-elaboration of ideas, which resonated from one text to another. Translators and scholars produced texts and para-texts about translation which quoted each other and presented a conscious use of intertextuality. This textual production not only created an ongoing dialogue among various Dutch studies scholars, but also became intertwined with other translation traditions, such as the Buddhist sutra translation in China and the tradition of Chinese studies (*kangaku* 漢学) within Japan. It is still true that some aspects of this discourse could be interpreted as shortcomings. The group of people taken under examination here is relatively small, and, as brought up in chapter 4, in early modern Japan there was no systematic usage of translation terminology. However, similarities in the vocabulary and the techniques described by the scholars, recurrent themes and approaches, and factors like the direct citation of texts from both within and outside the field of Dutch studies cannot be ignored. The Japanese scholars of Dutch reflected on different aspects of translation praxis and faced a number of complex choices, which ranged from word-level translation to the selection of an acceptable *buntai* 文体 (writing style/writing form) for translation and to the right methodology to approach the source text. The fact that the Dutch studies' discourse of translation included more specific techniques as well as statements of a wider scope about the field itself shows how far-reaching the scholars' reflection was.

As discussed in the introductory chapter, the general framework provided by Even-Zohar's polysystem theory has been both the driving force of my research - since I approached the materials looking for relations among them - as well as the source of terminology I used to describe such relations. Polysystem theory has proven to be a valuable instrument to assist translation research that investigates the role of individual translators in their larger context. By considering all the events within a literary system interconnected, polysystem theory leads us to find connections among texts and individuals that have the potential to make us reconsider the existent relationships among other elements of the system. Following the polysystem theory's postulations, I individuated relations between various writings, in the form of both textual and thematic connections. Across the chapters of this dissertation, I explored different kinds of relationships; none of them proved to be neutral, and in fact revealed new insights of the Japanese context that will be briefly summarised in the next paragraphs. On the whole, looking at the connections between Dutch studies and Chinese studies through the polysystemic view forces us to rethink the association between these two disciplines, which, as mentioned in section 2.4, are not traditionally researched together.

During the Tokugawa period, Dutch translation was perceived as an unprecedented endeavour in the history of Japan. There was not an already established way to translate the newly acquired European texts. Therefore, since there is no evidence that the shogunal government imposed on the Dutch studies scholars an approach or method of translating Dutch texts, it is likely that the translators made their choices based on their values and educational background.

In order to gain social prestige, a group of Dutch studies scholars based in Edo wished to make space for their practice of translation from Dutch within the Japanese polysystem. In doing so, they superimposed their work onto their perception of a Japanese discourse of translation, and even looked for an association with a larger East Asian translation tradition. Along with the manipulation of the factual history of the movement (as discussed in chapter 3), they also felt the necessity to write their own discourse of translation. Being studied for acquiring knowledge, Dutch texts cannot be said to have "the same kind of cultural weight"[1] as the Chinese classics that were part

[1] Clements, *Cultural History of Translation*, p. 165.

of an elite Tokugawa education.[2] It was thus essential to create a new discourse that explained and justified Dutch translation as a practice in itself. In this thesis, I therefore argued that rather than being influenced by the translation of European literature, such discourse was elaborated on an East Asian trajectory, with references to the Chinese translation tradition in particular.

Thus, Dutch studies scholars assembled strands of previous discourses that were available in Japan and that they perceived as prestigious. They were inspired by the work of Japanese scholars of Chinese and Chinese translators of Buddhist scriptures, in whom they likely saw a reflection of themselves and a model to follow. These influences are evident in the way Dutch studies scholars presented the characteristics of their work and in their aims.

Favouring the study of written texts (as discussed in chapter 3) Dutch studies scholars placed rhetorical distance between their work and the practices of spoken translation in use among the Nagasaki interpreters. Leaning on the fact that the interpreters were not trained in the conventional Chinese learning, the Edo-based scholars reinforced a perceived distinction between "Japanese" and "Chinese" cultural spheres in the Japanese discourse of translation.

As seen in chapter 4, from the terminological point of view, Dutch studies scholars borrowed pre-existent concepts and adapted them to the needs of translation from Dutch. By choosing to use such terms and strategies, they located their work in a translation tradition rooted in Chinese studies and the Buddhist translation tradition, thus attaching new perceived prestige to their work. In addition to the various references to Buddhist translation tradition that have been reported across the previous chapters, the practice of team translation and the professed aim to enlighten the country's population with Dutch scientific knowledge in the same way the diffusion of sacred texts did in China are reminiscent of the Buddhist translation tradition.

In Japan, the practices of translation (including the *kundoku* method) were so closely connected to the acquisition of knowledge that the study of translation itself ended up being considered a fundamental tool to get an education. This was true for Chinese studies, and became true of Dutch studies through the ideas of the Edo-based scholars. The examination of the sources suggests that the spheres of translation, teaching and

[2] Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*.

learning are closely connected. The fact that writings about translation are scattered among texts dealing with teaching and learning, rather than concentrated only in texts about translation may make the discourse of translation in the early modern era appear to be fragmented, however actually it is possible to consider this a specific characteristic of the Japanese context. Translation was regarded as both an instrument to acquire knowledge (strategies and ideas of translation were mainly devised in function of the processes of teaching and learning), as well as a tool to convey the source text in the best way possible. Therefore, what should be taken into account are not only translation strategies, but also the relationship between translation, teaching and learning.

As we have seen throughout this dissertation, a great deal of the problematics faced by scholars and translators of Dutch resulted from the existence of a variety of *buntai* that characterised the Japanese written language. The discussion around the choice of *buntai* for translation is recurrent across the primary sources examined in this thesis, and my work is in part a call to re-centre *buntai* within studies of the intellectual history of the period. The choice of *buntai* can be revealing of the scholars' reasoning; for example, in chapter 4, I argued that the use of the mixed style with Chinese characters and *katakana* signals a shift in perception in regards to the use of literary Chinese. Edo-based Dutch studies scholars explicitly manipulated their narrative, demonstrating great perceptiveness of their circumstances. By their opinions towards the authoritative traditions of Chinese studies and Buddhist translation, as well as their handling of Latin terminology (as seen in chapter 4) it is safe to assume that they were well aware of matters of linguistic prestige.

In this dissertation, I depicted Ogyū Sorai's linguistic work in a new light through the analysis of Dutch studies sources. I argued in particular that Dutch studies scholars saw in Sorai' *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei* 訳文筌蹄, 1715) a precedent for their thinking and a model from which they extrapolated the structure and main points of what a translation discourse was supposed to be. As mainly shown in chapters 5 and 6, the Dutch studies scholars inherited a good deal of Sorai's ideas and views on language and translation. I argued that Sorai's influence on the Japanese scholars of Dutch was of a broad nature, extending to his views of *kundoku*, his general methodology and his approaches to teaching and learning.

Famously, Sorai criticised the use of the *kundoku* method, proposing the practice of translation in vernacular Japanese to access the Chinese source text. For Sorai, one does not study translation in order to learn how to translate. A translated text is merely a temporary detour *en route* towards the final goal of accessing the source text directly. Although Sorai recommended the dismissal of the *kundoku* technique and the idea of vernacular translation only early in his career, and even if his ideas were not mainstream by the end of the eighteenth century, his presence in Dutch studies sources cannot be ignored. The fact that Sorai's ideas were used and re-elaborated by scholars of Dutch studies may not be only motivated by their shared educational background in Chinese studies, but also by the actual relevance that the principles behind Sorai's ideas can have even in a different linguistic environment. Moreover, the fact itself that Sorai's writings on translation were published and read after his death indicates that interest was still alive in them in some quarters.

In addition to his ideas, I argued that Sorai's personal history and character as well could have played a role in the Dutch studies scholars' interest in his work. In fact, since Sorai himself was a scholar (a *gakusha* 学者), it must have been easier for the people involved in Dutch studies to identify with a personality like him, rather than with the Nagasaki interpreters. I believe that since Sorai was also associated with spoken Chinese and Chinese interpreters, he could have represented a missing link between language study and official academia, exemplifying a valuable reference for Dutch studies scholars.

Future directions

The examination of Tokugawa period accounts of translation provides us with a rare insight behind the scenes of the shaping of a literary/cultural system, which in many other historical cases is much more fragmented and concealed in para-textual material. Polysystem theory can be used to research further what has been discussed in this dissertation, and thanks to a shared polysystemic approach and vocabulary, it would be possible to carry on comparative translation history, at least in the East Asian sphere.[3] Polysystem theory can also be used to investigate in more detail the constellation of the Japanese *buntai*, similarly to what I have done in this thesis with people and texts; thus, rather than thinking of *buntai* in terms of simplistic opposition, (i.e. the Chinese vs the

[3] As discussed by Wakabayashi in "Towards a Framework."

Japanese polarities), one may consider them as interconnected, and actually shifting their position in the literary field depending on the historical moment.

At the light of what was examined in the previous chapters, it is clear that more extensive research on both the early modern and the modern context is necessary. As Dutch studies' discourse of translation is both a reflection and a further instrument to control their narrative, research on its characteristics is useful to deepen our understanding of the Japanese context. Finally, in order to investigate the possibility of an East Asian discourse of translation as the basis of further comparative studies, it is crucial to keep looking into Dutch studies prefaces and introductions to further investigate the influence of Chinese studies and the Sanskrit translation tradition on the Japanese translation discourse.

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