The Poetic Knowledge of Shizuki Tadao
Traces of Dutch Poet Jacob Cats in Early Nineteenth-Century Japan

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Abstract In the history of the Dutch-Japanese relations, Shizuki Tadao is recognised as an extraordinary scholar. However, his translations of European books from Dutch into Japanese only paint a partial picture of his research. In fact, he also developed valuable theories on language that allowed the Japanese to better grasp Dutch. Furthermore, he introduced European grammatical concepts and terminology in Japan. A lesser-known interest of Shizuki was poetry, evidenced by three citations from the Dutch poet Jacob Cats (1577-1660), found in Shizuki's works on language, by two Dutch poems attributed to him, and by an additional indirect reference to Shizuki's knowledge on the theory of poetry. The present article aims at better understanding the figure of Shizuki as a scholar of Dutch and to add a piece to the research on the spreading of Cats' emblems.

Keywords Shizuki Tadao. Nakano Ryūho. Jacob Cats. Rangaku. Dutch poetry. Emblems. Rangogaku. Tatoe. Dutch studies.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 The Scholar Shizuki Tadao and His Network of Peers. – 3 Shizuki as a Scholar of Dutch Language. – 4 Traces of Poet Jacob Cats, in Shizuki's Works on Language. – 5 Shizuki as Scholar of Poetry. – 6 Conclusions.

1 Introduction

> De aankomst van de lent, zie nu! komst my bedroeven,
> Wyl dan de Geele kraan hier niet meer wilt vertoeven.
> Blyft toch een wynig tyds en wat gerust by my,
> Alschoon UW Vaderland wel heylig tooren zy.
> Onder de Zinspreuk
>
> Wilgen Akker

> The arrival of the spring, you see it now! Comes to sadden me,
> as the Yellow Crane does not want to linger here anymore.
> Please stay a bit longer and easy with me,
> Even though your fatherland might be a holy tower.
> Under the motto
>
> Wilgen Akker

This Dutch poem was written in Japan in the third month of the fourth year of the Kyōwa 享和 era, that is the year 1804. The author signed himself as Wilgen Akker 'Willow Field', a literal translation of the Japanese name Ryūho 柳圃, birthname of the famous scholar of Dutch who is also known as Shizuki Tadao 志筑忠雄 (1760-1806) (Matsukata 2015, 241-3). Shizuki is well known today thanks to his numerous translations of European books from Dutch into Japanese. His knowledge of the Dutch language is further attested by the many works on Dutch grammar attributed to him.[1] However, a detail which has

[1] Compiling a complete list of Shizuki's works on grammar can be somewhat complicated. His works are rarely ever dated, and it is generally agreed that they survived up to our days through copies made by other scholars of Dutch. The most commonly acknowledged works attributed to him are, in no particular order: *Joshi-kō* 助詞考 (Thoughts on Auxiliary Words); *Rangaku seizenfu* 蘭学生前父 (Master Father of Dutch studies; cf. Ōshima 2019 for an analysis of the meaning of this title); *Sanshu shokaku* 三種諸格 (The Three Genders and All the Cases); *Shihō shoji taiyaku* 四法諸時対訳 (Contrastive Translation of the Four Moods and All the Tenses); and *Oranda shihin-kō*

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hardly ever been pointed out until now, is the fact that Shizuki was also well-acquainted with Dutch poetry, as demonstrated by the poem above, to which we will go back further below. In fact, I have managed to identify, within his works on Dutch grammar, three verses cited from the popular Dutch poet Jacob Cats (1577-1660). In support of this claim, I have also found further evidence of Shizuki's knowledge of Dutch poetry in other sources. Ultimately, I will suggest that the language used by Cats in his poems could have influenced specific theories of Shizuki regarding the grammar of Dutch.

The present article is mostly based on the content of two manuscripts, one allegedly authored by Shizuki himself, titled *Shihō shoji taiyaku* 四法諸時對譯[2] (Contrastive Translation of the Four Moods and All the Tenses, 1805). The second manuscript, in which Shizuki is credited in the list of authors and frequently cited, is entitled *Sangoku shukushō* 三国祝章[3] (Congratulatory Writing on the Three Countries). Shizuki's *Rangaku seizenfu* 蘭学生前父[4] will also be also used, along with two poems transcribed by Matsukata (2015, 241-3).

The goal of this paper is to provide evidence in support of the fact that Shizuki had read Cats, which can be witnessed from some of his explanations concerning Dutch hypothetical/concessive sentences, particularly in connection to his own concept of *tatoe* 仮令,[5] which I will discuss below. Subsequently, I will be able to demonstrate that

和蘭詞品考 (Thoughts on the Parts of Speech of Dutch). We do not have any copy of this last one, although that is generally believed to be the original title of a manuscript titled *Nakano Ryūho sensei bunpō* 中野柳圃先生文法 (Grammar of Master Nakano Ryūho). Further works attributed to Shizuki are *Kuhinshi myōmoku* 九品詞名目 (Index of the Nine Parts of Speech); *Zokubun kin'nō* 属文錦嚢 (Brocade Bag of Text Composition); and *Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō* 柳圃先生虚詞考 (Master Ryūho's Thoughts on Empty Words). Ōshima (2019) considers this last group of works to have been published posthumously.

2 Of this work there are two known copies. Sugimoto (1976) records one as being in possession of Wakabayashi Shōji 若林正治, which is also scanned in its entirety inside Sugimoto 1991. The original is currently part of the Wakabayashi Collection (若林正治コレクション) at Kanda University of International Studies (神田外語大学附属図書館). I will mostly base my research on this copy, which I will henceforth refer to as MsA. The other copy is kept in the library of Kyoto University and goes by the title of *Ranbunpō shoji* 蘭文法諸時 (All the Tenses of Dutch Grammar). I will refer to this as MsB. The main differences between the two, which concern the present article, are evidenced in Sugimoto 1976.

3 Of this manuscript there are two known copies as well. One is kept in the library of Waseda University, in Tokyo, while the other at Kyoto City Library of Historical Documents (京都市歴史資料館). The former presents a more confused writing, with many mistakes and corrections, while the latter is cleaner, yet with fewer notes. Both are currently available online.

4 Of this, I will reference the copy present at the library of Waseda University of Tokyo, which is also currently available online.

5 Specific pronunciation of this term is never provided by the copies of Shizuki's works we have. The reading *karei* is the more intuitive, although *keryō* is also attested. In *kundoku*, this was often read as *tatoe* 'even if'.

Shizuki's knowledge of Dutch poetry must have been much more sophisticated than what has been known until today. This will be done by drawing further evidence from the manuscript titled *Sangoku shukushō* and from the two poems transcribed by Matsukata (2015).

Much material is already available regarding Shizuki and his scientific works and translations. A publication of the *Journal of the Japan-Netherlands Institute* (Remmelink 2008) contains articles from a symposium held in Nagasaki, November 18-19, 2006, in commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the death of Shizuki.[6] Most articles therein cover the biography and bibliography of Shizuki, particularly the two chapters written by Boot (2008a; 2008b). De Groot (2008), already since his unpublished PhD dissertation of 2005, stands out as one of the few who have already attempted an analysis of Shizuki's works on language. The manuscripts of Shizuki on the Dutch language, indeed, have not been covered often, in secondary literature, except for a few philological articles of Ōshima (2018; 2019), along with the ambitious series of Sugimoto (1976), who catalogised and described the content of many of the existing manuscripts on Dutch studies. However, a detailed analysis of Shizuki's theories on grammar is nowhere to be found, nor have I been able to detect any reference to his poetic knowledge in the secondary literature, except for the transcription of the two poems by Shizuki in Matsukata (2015, 241-3).

By the end of the present article I will be able to substantiate that Shizuki must have come into contact with some material of Cats, specifically, with the so-called emblem poetry, which combined short poems with illustrations bearing a motto, often used for didactical purposes. Additionally, I will also discuss how the description of Dutch poetry, contained in *Sangoku shukushō*, is not only a valuable first attestation of the Japanese description of European-style poetry, but it also shares substantial commonalities with the writings of Cats and the theoretical framework of other sources on Dutch which we know Shizuki had read. Furthermore, I will demonstrate a probable connection between the language used in Dutch emblems and Shizuki's theories on Dutch grammar. Ultimately, I will analyse the two Dutch poems written by the Japanese scholar, in order to find evidence of the employment by Shizuki of his knowledge in the active production of poetical text.

2 The Scholar Shizuki Tadao and His Network of Peers

Born Nakano Ryūho 中野柳圃, from a wealthy family of merchants in Nagasaki, Shizuki Tadao was soon adopted into the Shizuki family of interpreters, by Shizuki Magojirō 志筑孫次郎 (Jun 2013, 235; Boot

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[6] These articles had already been published in 2007, in Japanese, in Aikawa 2007.

2008a). Shizuki's most famous work is probably *Sakoku-ron* 鎖国論 (c. 1801) a translation of Engelbert Kaempfer's (1651-1716) *De beschryving van Japan*[7] (The Description of Japan), which initiated the debate about the protectionist nature of the ruling system of the Tokugawa dynasty, thus coining the term *sakoku* itself (Boot 2008b). Shizuki also served as *keiko tsūji* 稽古通詞 'apprentice-interpreter' for roughly one year, forced to quit, in 1776 when he was 18, because of his weak health conditions (Sugimoto 2013, 20). Other sources report that he might have worked as an interpreter until 1782 (Harada 2008), or even until 1786 (Tanaka-Van Daalen 2008). Sources from other Japanese scholars of Dutch suggest that his poor health was the reason for him to quit his career as an interpreter and was also the cause of his death. Yoshimura Usai 吉村迂斎 (1749-1805) refers to a "rare illness" *kishitsu* 奇疾 (in *kanbun*) Shizuki was supposedly suffering from (Sugimoto 1981, 124). Shizuki's most famous disciple Baba Sajūrō 馬場佐十郎 (1787-1822) mentioned a "very weak constitution" in the following text he wrote in Dutch, as a 'preface' (*voorrede*) to *Oranda gohō kai* 和蘭語法解 (Understanding the Rules of the Dutch Language, 1815)[8] by Fujibayashi Fuzan 藤林普山 (Sugimoto 1981, 119):

Hij is zeer zwak van gesteltenis geweest, maar door zijn leerzugtigheid van aart heeft hij altoos den neus op de boeken gehouden, en eindelijk zodanig groot dienst voor ons gedaan, maar tot ons ongeluk is hij drie jaaren daarna, in het vierde jaar boenkwa, op 47 jaar oud, in Nangazaky, gestorven.

De Nakomelingen, van den heer liúho[9] zijn maar drie in het Eerste, namelijk J. Rokziro, N. Kitsemon en de ondergetekende, maar van de Eerste is nú ook in Nagasaky, de tweede is reets dood, en de derde word daarna aan 't hut jedo ontboden. (*Oranda gohō kai*, 1, 8*v*-9*r*)[10]

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7   The book was originally published in English in 1727 with the title *The History of Japan* by J.G. Scheuchzer (1702-29), who translated the original manuscript, written in German. It has thereafter been translated into a multitude of languages but, ironically, the German edition has not been published until recently (Kaempfer 2001). In 1733, the Dutch edition came out and was subsequently brought to Japan and read by Shizuki (Boot 2008b). This book is today commonly known in Japan with the localised title *Nihon-shi* 日本誌.

8   I have referred to the manuscript in possession of Waseda University, catalogued as Coll No. ホ10 01896, which also provides the present transcription in Latin characters. For the numbering of pages of Japanese manuscripts, being them read from right to left, I have repurposed the traditional *recto* and *verso* to correspond to the Japanese 表 and 裏, respectively. This means that *recto* (abbreviated with *r*) corresponds to the first folio, which appear on the left, in the open book, and *verso* (abbreviated as *v*) corresponds to its back, appearing on the right, when turning the page.

9   This is a romanisation of Shizuki Tadao's birth name and pen name: Nakano Ryūho.

10   Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are by the Author.

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He has been very weak in constitution, but he has always kept his nose on the books because of his love for learning and in the end, he was such a great service to us, yet for our misfortune, he died three years later, in the fourth year of the Bunka[11] era, when he was forty-seven, in Nagasaki.

The successors of master Ryūho are only three, namely: Yoshio Rokujirō 吉雄六次郎, Nishi Kitsuemon 西吉石衛門 and the undersigned, but the first is also in Nagasaki now, and the second has also passed, and the third has been summoned in Edo.

Some have assumed that one of the reasons for Shizuki's abandonment of his career as interpreter, could have been a tendency to introversion, which might have also meant he did not have too many disciples around (Sugimoto 1981, 123). This claim is also reinforced by the content of *Rangaku kotohajime* 蘭学事始 (1815) by Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白 (1733-1817) who, although he never met Shizuki, reports him having lived in some sort of hermitage. More recently, the veracity of these claims has been questioned, on the basis of the exceptional skills of Shizuki, which could hardly be explained without proficient networking with other scholars (Boot 2008a). It can be assumed that he still had more than just the three disciples of Dutch studies Baba mentioned in *Oranda gohō kai*: we should at least mention Suetsugu Tadasuke 末次忠助 (1765-1838), who went on studying astronomy. All of Shizuki's works certainly circulated well beyond his disciples, and he is recognised by many as the initiator of the studies on Dutch in Japan, which has also been claimed by the famous scholar of Dutch Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 (1757-1827). It can be assumed that Shizuki drew much of his inspiration from scholars such as Motoki Yoshinaga 本木良永 (1734-94; also read as Motoki Ryōei and also known as Motoki Rankō 本木蘭皋) and Yoshio Kōgyū 吉雄耕牛 (1724-1800) (Sugimoto 1981, 122). After Shizuki had quit his job as an interpreter, he authored some forty manuscripts concerning Dutch studies. He is recognised as the first Japanese who studied Newtonian science and spread it through the country, by providing a translation of the Dutch book *Inleidinge tot waare Natuur-en Sterrenkunde* (Introduction to Real Physics and Astronomy, 1741) – originally published in Latin by the British John Keill (1671-1721) – in his pivotal *Rekishō Shinsho* 暦象新書, (New Book of Astronomy), a topic also covered in *Kyūryoku hōron* 求力法論 (Theory of the Laws of Attraction). Shizuki studied and wrote many documents regarding European astronomy,

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11   The fourth year of the Bunka 文化 era corresponds to the year 1807. However, it is generally believed that Shizuki actually died in 1806. The romanisation which Baba uses mirrors Dutch spelling conventions (*oe* for /u/) and Early Modern Japanese phonetics (*kw* for the labialised pronunciation of /k/).

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physics, history, geography and the Dutch language. Some sources claim that his works on language did not circulate much beyond his disciples and those close to his circle (Katagiri 2016, 316), probably because his treaties on language were intended for scholars of Dutch with particularly advanced language skills. On top of that, his theoretical explanations appeared to be too complicated, even for experienced scholars, such as Ōtsuki Genkan 大槻玄幹 (1785-1838). However, his knowledge of the Dutch language received much attention amongst his contemporaries and was cherished by his disciples (De Groot 2005, 141). Baba reported in *Oranda gohō kai*, in Dutch:

> Voor omtrent 100 jaaren waaren verboden dat de Japanders de hollandsche letteren te schryven, en had men de hollandsche taalen by mondeling geleert, dus was het onmogelyk te bevorderen, maar na het permissie van dezelve te leeren, van tijd tot tijd was merkelijk bevorderd, en dewijl 'er nogtans geen regt regel en wijs van spraaken genoeg bekend was, heeft men wel abuijs zo in het schrijven als in het vertaalen gedaan, maar zedert de ontdekking van de opregt smaak van de spraakkonst, door onzen wijdberoemde meester N: liuho in het jaar boenkwa Eerste, gedaan, zijn de duister' wolken, die hier en daar overhingen, geheel verdweenen, gevolglijk moet men hem altoos in eerbied blijven. (*Oranda gohō kai*, 1, 7*v*-8*r*)

> For about 100 years it was forbidden to the Japanese to write the letters of Dutch and they had learnt the language orally. It was, thus, impossible to make any progress, but after the permission to learn it, from time to time, impressive progress was made. Since no correct rule and knowledge of speech was known sufficiently, mistakes were made in the writing, as well as in the translation, but since the discovery of the correct taste of the grammar by our widely known master N: liúho in the first year boenkwa, the dark clouds which used to hang here and there, above us, have completely disappeared. As a consequence, we must always honour him.

In this excerpt, Baba claims that the study of the Dutch language was made hard for two main reasons. Firstly, the laws of the *bakufu* were very strict, until the ban was lifted by the ruling authorities. This is clearly a reference to the so-called *kinsho* 禁書 'prohibited books' policy, which was only abolished in the year 1720, halting any systematic translation of Dutch books that were not directly ordered by the *shōgun* for more than a hundred years after the arrival of the first Dutch ship (1600). The second reason was a fundamental lack of shared knowledge concerning the correct "taste" (*smaak*) of grammar which, according to Baba, was only reached in 1804 (first year of the Bunka era), by his mentor Shizuki Tadao.

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3 Shizuki as a Scholar of Dutch Language

Shizuki's works on the Dutch language are complex, and they stand out from other Japanese works on this topic for the sophisticated and deep theoretical framework they present regarding the grammar of both Dutch and Japanese. Furthermore, it is generally believed that his publications have only survived until today through copies made by his disciples. This adds to the problematic dating of his works; in this regard, a rather comprehensive and updated overview of the dating of the works which have been considered to be Shizuki's, can be found in Ōshima (2019) who also claims that some of them must have been published posthumously. Amongst those which are believed to have been published before his passing, there is one manuscript which has received little attention from secondary literature, which is titled *Shihō shoji taiyaku* 四法諸時 對譯 (Contrastive Translation of the Four Moods and All the Tenses). This work is dated March 1805 ("Second month of the second year of the Bunka era, spring", 文化二歲乙丑春二月), not too far before Shizuki's death in 1806. As the title suggests, this work covers the concepts of verbal "moods" (*wijs* or *wijze*, in Dutch, translated as *hō* 法, by Shizuki, in Japanese), and "tenses" (*tijd*, in Dutch, literally 'time', translated literally as *ji* 時, by Shizuki, in Japanese). Both the structure and the Dutch terminology are strongly based on *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst* (Dutch Grammar, 1708)[12] by Willem Séwel (1653?-1720). However, the concepts presented in this manuscript are rather consistent with the theory of the grammar of verbs discussed in one of his previous works, namely *Rangaku seizenfu* (henceforth simply *Seizenfu*). Séwel's *Spraakkonst* is a well-known source used by some Japanese to learn the Dutch language, as also reported in De Groot (2005; 2008), and Ōshima (2018), although the exact moment when Shizuki got to read it is still unclear. What we can say is that by the time Shizuki compiled this *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, he had certainly read it thoroughly. That being said, in spite of what is implied by De Groot (2005; 2008), I would not argue that the reading of this book changed Shizuki's perspective with regard to Dutch grammar. Rather, it seems more appropriate to claim that the Japanese scholar adapted Séwel's terminology and explanations within his own decades-old theories. One example of a grammatical concept independently created by Shizuki that he still used often in his later works, is that of *tatoe* 仮令, literally 'even if', which points at a specific type of hypothetical tenses of verbs, mostly occurring within the dimension of the *irrealis*. A characteristic of these tens-

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[12]   There are four known editions of this work whose content has been reworked and extended since the second edition of 1712.

es is, in the protasis of the Dutch sentence, the use of morphological past tenses, combined with specific conjunctions which, generally, convey the meaning of a concessive: e.g. *al* or *schoon*, both meaning 'already' or 'even if', or a condition, like *als* or *indien*, both meaning 'if', 'when'. In such case, the Japanese translation would mostly present a limited number of affixes. If the sentence is concessive, one would generally find either a *-do(mo)* or a *-tomo* (probably conflated in the same suffix, by Shizuki)[13] attached to the predicate, while if the sentence is a conditional, the suffix *-ba* (only the one combining with an *izenkei* form) is more common. These two affixes are used to render, into Japanese, the meaning of the conjunction present in the Dutch sentence. The hypothetical sense of the apodosis in Dutch is conveyed by using specific verbal tenses and moods. In Japanese, it is rendered by adding to the final predicate the affix *-beshi* which, in more literary contexts, corresponds, according to Shizuki, to the suffix *-mashi*.[14] All these ideas are specifically covered in *Seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō* 助詞考, although much of them can be deduced also by reading *Shihō shoji taiyaku*. Here, when presenting the conjugation table of the verb *leeren* 'to learn',[15] Shizuki further mentions the concept of *tatoe* in an additional remark after the subjunctive mood, which we can read below:[16]

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13   Reinforced by the fact that they used to be homographs, the difference between the suffix *-do(mo)* – that combines with a *izenkei* – and the suffix *-tomo* – that combines with a *shūshikei* was probably neglected, to some extent. In Shizuki, the distinction between homographic characters remains blurry, even, for example, in the instance of the two suffixes *-ba*, combining with either a *izenkei* or a *mizenkei*, according to their semantical meaning.

14   This is claimed by Shizuki in *Rangaku seizenfu*, on 20*r* (in Waseda University's copy), where he claims that "Whenever there is a *tatoe*, *zouden* ought to be translated as *-mashi*. However, since *-mashi* is not very commonly understood, we can substitute it with *-beshi*" (惣テ假令ノ時ハZoudenヲましト訳ス但シましト云語ハ耳遠シ故ニ假ニべシニ代フ). In *Joshi-kō* on folio 20*v* (in Waseda's B109, which is read left to right), compounds with the affix *-mashi* are considered to belong to a higher-register literary language (*gago* 雅語).

15   This is a clear influence of Séwel's *Sprakkonst*. Although in Séwel we find a few verbs in a complete conjugation table, the only non-auxiliary verb which gets a full conjugation table is, indeed, *leeren* and its passive version *geleerd worden*. Shizuki, in *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, does the same, although providing his own tenses and theories.

16   In the English translation I have corrected the spelling of the Dutch sentences as found in the manuscript. Their translations can be found below.

増 al leerde ik[17]

<div align="center">

覺ひしかとも
覺ふとも

</div>

前後皆過去詞ナレハ覺ひしかともト訳ス即過去ニシテ alトschoonト同意ナリAl voog ik in de woud leefde ik evenwel in veelder hande zorgen鳥ノ詩ニアル類ナリ現在ニカケテ云トキハ覺フトモナリ Al viel wereld gantsche eengaar, de vrome scgrift voor geen gevaar トプ云類ナリ scrikteトアルトキハ過去ナリ但シ此等ハ假令ナリ. (*Shihō shoji taiyaku*, 7*v*-8*r*)

Addition *Al leerde ik*

<div align="center">

manabishikadomo
manabu tomo

</div>

All these, when they are past both before and after,[18] they are translated as *manabishikadomo*. When in the past *al* and *schoon* have the same meaning. *Al vloog ik de woud, leefde ik evenwel in veelderhanden zorgen*. This is the type found in the "poem of the bird". When one refers to the present, it becomes *manabu tomo*. The type of *Al viel wereld gantsche een gaar, de vrome schrikt voor geen gevaar*. When there is *schrikte*, then it is a past. These are *tatoe*.

Here, Shizuki is trying to convey a slight nuance in the Japanese adaptation of a verbal tense such as *al leerde ik*, which is a concessive subjunctive clause, introduced by a conjunction *al* 'even if' and which features a past simple morphological tense [*ik*] *leerde* 'I learned'. He provides two Japanese renditions: the first one with the affix -*shikadomo*, a combination of -*domo* plus the affix -*ki* (here in its *izenkei* form -*shika*) which, for Shizuki, generally corresponds to a Dutch past simple or, sometimes, a past perfect; the second adaptation only presents the suffix -*tomo*. Since the only relevant difference between these two adaptations is the presence, or lack thereof, of the past affix -*ki*, we can infer that the Dutch phrase *al leerde ik* can be used for both a present time and a past time. This is, indeed, what is claimed in the explanation he subsequently provides, that can

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17 In MsA's copy the word *al* is, at times, written as *als*. This is not done in MsB's copy, as evidenced by Sugimoto (1976, 460).

18 It is not clear what the term *zengo* 前後, literally 'before and after', could be referring to. I assume it to be referring to the verbs of both clauses of the concessive/hypothetical sentence. When the verbs of both 'the clause which comes before' and of 'the one coming after' are conjugated in the past tense in Dutch, then one translates it as -*shikadomo*, in Japanese, thus making it a *tatoe*.

be read above. There, it is claimed that the *-shikadomo* translation is always used whenever the action/event described in the sentence occurs in the past (*kako* 過去), while the adaptation with only the suffix *-tomo* is used when the action/event "entails" or "refers to" the present (*genzai ni kakete* 現在ニカケテ). This is a consequence of the fact that, in these types of sentences, the main function of the past tense, in the Dutch version, is not to point at a past time but rather to construct a hypothesis, or a condition. In fact, it is the main clause, in Dutch, which is only conjugated in a past form if the action/event in question does occur in the past. Otherwise, one would find a simple present. This very specific feature of Dutch grammar is understood by Shizuki who, thus, suggests adapting it into Japanese, with the presence (or absence) of the suffix *-ki*, in the subordinate clause, according to the following formula:

1. *Al*+past + present in the main clause = *-tomo*;
2. *Al*+past + past in the main clause = *-shikadomo* (*-ki* + *-domo*), which is *tatoe*.

In order to illustrate this phenomenon, Shizuki uses two sentences that, in both copies of the manuscript, are spelled quite poorly. The first sentence, which Shizuki calls *tori no uta* 鳥ノ詩 'The poem of the bird', reads *Al vloog ik in de woud, leefde ik evenwel in veelderhanden zorgen* 'Even if I flew in the wood, I still lived/would still live in many worries', (henceforth 'Sentence 1') while the second one reads *Al viel wereld gantsche een gaar, de vrome schrikt voor geen gevaar* 'Even if the whole world fell, the pious startles for no fear' (henceforth 'Sentence 2'). Both these sentences present what was called by Séwel and Shizuki an *"aanvoegende wijze"*, a 'subjunctive mood', with a past tense *vloog* (which, in MsA, is misspelled as *voog*) as preterit of *vliegen* 'to fly', and *viel* as preterit of *vallen* 'to fall'. Both sentences present the conjunction *al* 'even if', only Sentence 1, however, can be considered being *tatoe*, as suggested by the explanation Shizuki provides for Sentence 2. There, Shizuki explains that, if the verb *schrikt* (third person singular of the verb *schrikken* 'to startle') were featured as *schrikte*, its "past" tense, then also this second sentence would have been a *tatoe*. A person who is acquainted with Shizuki's use of Dutch cannot but notice the peculiarity of the language used in these sentences. Words like *veelderhande* 'many (hands)' and *vrome* 'pious' stand out in comparison to Shizuki's average self-made sample sentence. In fact, I have been able to identify the Dutch poet Jacob Cats as the origin of these quotes. In the next paragraph, I will present an analysis of these sentences and their source material.

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4 Traces of Poet Jacob Cats, in Shizuki's Works on Language

The manuscript *Shihō shoji taiyaku* has received little attention in the secondary literature up to now, possibly because of its overt influence form Séwel, that could make it seem to be more of a direct translation of it, rather than an original work by Shizuki. Nevertheless, this work presents many original explanations consistent with the other sources authored by Shizuki. The only relevant and extensive study in this regard is Sugimoto (1976, 453-71), who provides a lengthy description of the content of *Shihō shoji taiyaku*. There, Sugimoto is not able to find any original source for these sentences and he also believed both to belong to the so-called "Poem of the bird". He writes:[19]

> つぎに〈鳥ノ詩〉のことであるが, これもスペリングのミスから全部を解することは難解であるが,〈森ノ中デ歌ウ〉というような意の詩であろう。〈ik〉と名乗るものが鳥なのかもしれない。〈al〉に導かれる分註法を示し,〈zorgen〉(〈京大本〉ではsongen)が過去であるというのであろうか。いずれにせよ蘭詩の一部を柳圃が示している点, 彼が自然科学や医学関係のみでなく, 文学の方面にも−前にはデカルトが出てきて哲学のことがみられた−手をのばしていたことがうかがわれて, これまた興味深い。

Subsequently, we find the "Poem of the bird" (*tori no uta*). Although difficult to interpret because of its misspellings, it seems to be a poem about "singing in the forest" (*mori no naka de utau*). The *ik* ["I"] probably refers to a bird. It illustrates the use of *al* in the "subjunctive mood", where probably *zorgen* (*songen* in Kyōto University's copy [MsB]), is a "past" (*kako*). In any case, the point that Ryūho took a part of a Dutch poem, is also interesting since it shows that he was reaching out to literary sources beyond medicine and natural sciences (as we saw previously about the philosopher Descartes).[20]

In Sugimoto's evaluation of these poems, he mistakes the noun *zorgen* 'worries', for a verb, probably *songen*, as he claims it is written in MsB, which I assume he interpreted as the past simple of *zingen* 'to sing'. In fact, although Shizuki calls it *tori no uta*, where the word *uta* could mean both 'poem', as well as 'song', this piece of text does

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[19] Original quote from Sugimoto (1976, 461-2), my English translation.

[20] When Sugimoto names Descartes he is referencing a quote from another of Shizuki's works, entitled *Sanshu shokaku*, where Shizuki copied an excerpt from James Keill's *Inleidinge tot de waare natuur- en sterrenkunde*, where Descartes was being mentioned. Claiming that Shizuki was 'reaching out' to philosophical sources based on this might not be justified.

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not refer to the act of singing as, instead, Sugimoto seems to imply by interpreting it as depicting the 'singing in the forest' (*mori no naka de utau*).

Both sentences come from the same work, by no means an unknown publication in Dutch literature. These sentences are originally found in the 1627 edition of *Sinne- en minne-beelden*,[21] by the poet Jacob Cats, an extremely popular figure in Dutch literature. Jacob Cats was born in 1577, in the small city of Brouwershaven, in Zeeland, and he managed to pursue his education in the close city of Zierikzee, which allowed him to subsequently work as a jurist. Cats only started publishing poetic works in the second half of his life, from 1618 onwards, when he was already forty-one. The poet Jacob Cats, later known as Vader Cats 'Father Cats', remained well-known in the eighteenth century, cited by many of those authors whose works will become classics in Dutch literature (Ten Berge 1979, 15-38; 198-225).

Cats' *Sinne- en minne-beelden* is composed of numerous poems, that belong to the tradition of emblems, which were generally introduced by an illustration, depicting the short story presented in the poem, mostly portraying the lyrical subject of the poem in question. The general structure of these compositions presents two main parts: the first described the emblem, while the second explained the moral. Emblems, in general, but particularly those by Cats, were aimed at educational purposes and were written in a rather simple language, for everybody to be able to read them (Luijten 1996, 47-8). With this work, Cats initiated the creation of a new style in love emblems, that he will refine with his later compositions. Specifically, Cats brought a new type of 'love', in Dutch and European poetry, where the Petrarchan stone-hearted woman was substituted with more realist stories and daily *topoi* (Stronks, Boot 2007, 4). The presence of Dutch emblems in Edo Japan has also been pointed out by Smits (2020).

The two sentences quoted by Shizuki appear in two different poems. Sentence 1 appears in poem 14, titled *Amissa libertate laetior* (Rejoicing in Lost Freedom) – although it appears that Shizuki had cut out a few clauses from it – which originally read "Al vloogh ic in het wout, al sat ic daer verborgen, | Noch leefd'ic evenwel in veelderhande sorgen" (Even if I flew in the wood, even if I sat there hiding, | still I [would have] lived with many worries). Sentence 2, instead, was featured under emblem 48, titled *Dissidet quod impar est* (What Is Unequal, Does not Agree), as adaptation from Latin, of a verse by Horace, reading "Si fractus illabatur orbis, Impavidum ferient ruinae" (Even if the Earth broke down to pieces, its ruins would find me unafraid). Both only appear in this form since the 1627 edition, al-

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[21]   The term *zinnenbeelden*, literally 'meaning-images' also spelled *sinnebeelden* and similar, was a Dutch adaptation of the Latin term *emblemata*.

though the first one was already present, in a different form, in 1618, when the book was initially titled *Silenus Alcibiadis, Sive, Proteus. Vitae Humanae Ideam, Emblemate Trifariam Variato, Oculis Subijciens*.[22] Apparently, Cats decided to reedit his older poems to make them more easily readable and poignant (Luijten 1996, 46). Of these, Sentence 1 was narrated from the point of view of a caged parrot, which can be seen depicted in its emblem, in **[fig. 1]**, thus explaining Shizuki's use of the phrase *tori no uta* (The Poem of the Bird).

In *Rangaku seizenfu*, Shizuki compiled a chapter titled *Shushu no kotoba-zukai* 種々ノ詞遣ヒ (The Use of Many Types of Words), where he presented twenty-seven Dutch sentences which served the purpose of illustrating his theory on the tenses of verbs. These sample sentences are particularly useful for a contrastive understanding of the different tenses and moods (the latter term is not used by Shizuki, in this work), since they are just modifications of a few sample sentences. One of these sentences surely stands out amongst the others, and that is sentence number twelve, where we read *Al heeft een hoer* [*een*] *mooij gezigt, het is een lantaarn zonder licht* (Even if a whore has a beautiful face, it is a lantern without light). De Groot (2005, 152) had already pointed out that this sentence could be found in a very similar form in *Compleet Nederduitsch en Fransch woordenboek* (Complete Dutch and French Dictionary) by Pieter (Pierre)

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22 For an explanation of the title of this work see Porteman, Smits-Veldt 2016, 310-11.

Figure 2
Emblem of the poem *Mulier sine verecundia, lampas sine lumine* from Jacob Cats' 1632 *Spiegel*

Marin (1667/8-1718), another a well-known source of Shizuki. It is found there, on page 8 of the second volume of the third edition,[23] in the form *'t is een lantaern zonder licht, een groot weetniet* (it is a lantern without light, a big know-nothing), under the entry to *lantaern* 'lantern'. It can also be found in another work by Cats, by the title *Spiegel van ouden en nieuwen tyt* (Mirror of Old and New Time) originally published in 1632, in the form "Al heeft een hoer een schoon[24] gezicht, 't is een lanteerne zonder licht" as the motto of an emblem titled *Mulier sine verecundia, lampas sine lumine* (Woman without Shame, Lantern without Light), as can be seen in [fig. 2], above. This sentence is yet another type of those sentences with *al*, syntactically very similar, to the first two, although in this one both predicates are present tenses. In this case, the sentence is considered to be a *mirai* 未来 'future' not on the basis of some sort of logical deduction (If one says "Even if she has a pretty face" it could be a logical expectation that the main clause could refer to the solution of the conces-

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23 I refer to the third edition of this dictionary since that is the one Shizuki claims he utilised, in *Seizenfu*, folio 8*v*, in Waseda's copy.

24 The fact that in Shizuki we have the adjective *mooi*, instead of *schoon*, both meaning 'beautiful', as in the original, might suggest either that Shizuki cited this verse by memory, or that he changed the word, on purpose, maybe implying *mooi* to be an easier term for a Japanese speaker of Dutch. It could also be that the term ended up changing in the processes of copying over the original manuscript that could have had *schoon*. I have not been able to find a version of this poem with *mooi*, in any Dutch publication.

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sive hypothesis in a future time), but on the basis of the idea that the sense of future is embedded within the word *al* itself. Shizuki phrases it by saying[25] that the verb *zullen* 'shall', 'will' is embedded within *al*. Since *zullen* gets consistently adapted into the affix *-n* (abbreviated form of *-mu*), in Japanese, traditionally conceived of as expressing uncertainty, in his adaptation, the main predicate of the clause gets combined with only this *-n* element, while the predicate in the concessive clause only gets the element *-tomo* adjoined to it.

With three citations of Cats, coming from two different works, and three different poems, we can almost certainly claim that Shizuki did not simply get to read a few quotations of Cats from another source. In fact, I have not been able to find any of these sentences cited in any of the known sources of Shizuki, except for that one similar quote in Marin's dictionary. The presence of these three quotes from Cats might suggest that Shizuki's acquaintance with the poet could extend beyond a couple of random quotes he ran into. Furthermore, it implies that Shizuki believed that the reading of Cats' poems could have helped a Japanese learner of Dutch understand the language in a similar way he did with traditional Japanese poetry in order to describe grammatical characteristics of Japanese. Whether Cats' works were in Japan is now unquestioned, so much so that an early testimony of one of his books reaching Japan can be found in one of the diaries kept by the Dutch captains of Dejima,[26] as already noticed by Screech (2012) and Vermeulen et al. (1986-). There it was attested that Inoue Masashige 井上政重 (1585-1661), who worked as *ōmetsuke* 大目付 (a sort of 'inspector general') had requested a copy of Cats' *Spiegel* to borrow, as he was fascinated by its illustrations, and would have made the interpreters translate some of its content. As far as I could understand, no further information is available, regarding this instance or any further development.

More than a hundred years later, when Shizuki lived, things were changed. After the rule of Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗 (1684-1751, ruled 1715-45), the previously stringent ban on the importation of foreign books started easing, since the year 1720, and the pursuit of Dutch studies was, at times, prompted by the *bakufu*, themselves (Iannello 2012; Goodman 2000). It could still be possible that Shizuki's copy of Cats had been handed down for decades, since that one

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25 Original quote in *Rangaku seizenfu* on folio 15v (Waseda University's copy): "右ノheeft, is ト現在語ヲ使ヘトモalトイフ中ニzullenノ意ヲ含メル故ニ燈ならんト訳スル⌐ヲ得".

26 The name of the artificial island in the bay of Nagasaki where the Dutch were made to stay is nowadays pronounced Dejima 出島 (lit. 'protruding island'). However, it is reasonable to believe that, during the Edo Period, the pronunciation *Deshima* was more common. So much so that, in the Dutch documents of the time, it was generally transcribed as *Decima*. It is common practice, within Dutch-language sources, to call it *Deshima*, still today.

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copy Inoue is attested having borrowed, considering the popularity of Cats in the Republic of the Netherlands and his spreading through European countries. However, for the same reasons, it is very likely that at least another copy of Cats' works reached Japan. Matsuda (1998, 369-75) provides evidence of the presence of some other work by Cats, in two volumes, being recorded in 1808, in Japan. As attested by both Luijten (1996, 18) and Ten Berge (1976, 251-3), from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, the works by Cats started to be collected in bundles with the title *Alle de wercken; so ouden als nieuwen van Jacob Cats* (All the Works, Old and New, of Jacob Cats), with the first edition in 1655, in Amsterdam, by Ian Iacobsz Schipper. Another edition of the *Alle de wercken* was published in 1700, again in Amsterdam, with the name of François Halma (1653-1722) – a well-known name in the context of Dutch studies in Japan – as one of the editors. These editions shared a common feature: the two works *Sinne- en minne-beelden* and *Spiegel van ouden en nieuwen tyt* were both part of the first volume. The same cannot be claimed for the much longer series which came out later in the century, counting nineteen volumes. Although it is certainly possible that more books of Cats were imported, this element might suggest that Shizuki read this first volume. The way these sentences are spelled is also quite unhelpful if one intends to use them to detect the specific edition they come from. They are all full of misspellings, missing words and, perhaps, conscious modifications. It could also be possible that Shizuki himself had reworked the sentences as to make them easier to understand for a student of Dutch. After all, he cited them in order to demonstrate grammatical patterns, connected to the use of a concessive subordinate clause, not to appreciate Dutch poetry, per se.

In fact, it is reasonable to believe that the grammatical rule described by Shizuki with the term *tatoe* was to be understood as a construction typical of poetry and, specifically, of emblems. The idea that hypothetical sentences were more often used in this type of writings, is not only evidenced by the three already mentioned citations from Cats, but it can also be seen in what is claimed by other scholars of Dutch. Artist Shiba Kōkan 司馬江漢 (1747-1818), who found inspiration from Dutch-style paintings, makes a similar claim in his *Kunmō gakaishū* 訓蒙画解集 (A Primer, Explained with Pictures),[27] compiled in the early 1810s (*Kunmō gakaishū*, 5v):

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27 I have referenced the manuscript in possession of the National Diet Library, catalogued as WA21-23. The quote appears on folio 5v.

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彼国の語にシンネベールと云ッて 譬 を以て教へとす聖人道徳 経 と同し 故 に今爰に古人の遺言数十話小子 竊 に数言を 後 に附録して下に画をなし 傍 に国字を 以 解し題して訓蒙画解集とし童蒙の 眠 を 覚 んとて之に云ッのみ

In the language of that country they talk about *zinnebeeld* [Jp. *shinnebēru*], which use analogy [*tatoe*] as a form of instruction; it is the same as the admonitions on virtue by wise men.[28] For this reason, I now [have collected] here several tens of stories left to us by people from the past and I have unobtrusively added several stories at the end. Underneath I have made drawings and next to them I have explained them in Japanese [lit. 'in *kana*']. As title I have chosen *A Primer, Explained with Pictures*. Thinking that it might open the eyes of uninformed youth, I mention it here.[29]

The Japanese term *tatoe* has two different meanings. When used as a noun, it means 'analogy', while when it is used as a conjunction, it means 'even if'. This is mirrored in the written language where the Chinese characters 譬 and 仮令 have specialised accordingly. The combination of the two characters 仮令 is the writing found in Shizuki, which he uses to describe that one specific grammatical rule of concessive hypotheticals in Dutch. The fact that Kōkan uses the term *tatoe* to refer to the nature of the content of these emblems is rather remarkable, yet understandable. However, as Smits (2010) points out, this term and variations of it recur often in other works by Kōkan and other Early-Modern Japanese authors. The writing 譬喩, also read *tatoe*, in Japanese, is found in *Kōmō zatsuwa* 紅毛雑話 (Various Tales of the Red-Haired People, 1787) by Morishima Chūryō 森嶋中良 (1756?-1810), while describing the epigraph on the tombstone of the Dutch Hendrik Godfried Duurkoop (1736-78). Shiba Kōkan also wrote about this tombstone in his *Saiyū ryodan* 西遊旅譚 (1794) and uses the Chinese characters 譬喩 as well, combined with 画 'image', in that context. Kōkan uses the Character 喩 for *tatoe*, in *Oranda zokuwa* おらんだ俗話 (Popular Dutch Stories, 1794), and again 譬, in *Shunparō hikki* 春波楼筆記 (1811), while describing the content of Aesop's fables. Scholar of Dutch Ōtsuki Gentaku is also recorded using the characters 譬喩 to refer to Dutch emblems (Smits 2010, 4-6; Sugano 1977, 302).

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28 The word *dōtokukyō* 道徳経 is often used to refer to Chinese philosopher Laozi 老子.

29 English translation by Smits (2020, 49), original text copied by me from the copy of *Kunmō gakaishū* made available online by the National Diet Library in Tokyo, from folio 5v: https://doi.org/10.11501/2532348.

Considering the above, it can be claimed that the connection between the genre of emblem poetry and the Japanese word *tatoe* is well documented. Shizuki explains his concept of *tatoe* 仮令, by means of citations from Dutch poet and emblem-author Jacob Cats. As I will demonstrate in the following paragraph, there is further evidence suggesting that Shizuki was anything but unlearned regarding Dutch poetry, so much so that he was referred to as a "Master of Dutch poetry" (和蘭之詩先成). First, however, I will need to stress the importance of poetic studies in Early Modern Japan, particularly when concerning the studies of language.

5 Shizuki as Scholar of Poetry

The traditional studies of language, in Japan, including those of the Chinese school, but especially those of the Japanese school, have been investigating the language of poems since the very beginning. Specifically in the context of the 'native' or 'national' studies – so-called *kokugaku* 国学, a new school started during the Edo Period – the exegesis of Japanese classical poetry called for reinterpretations of the language of the classics. One scholar who, grudgingly,[30] allowed himself to be recognised as the major representative of *kokugaku* is Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801) who, during the Edo Period, published a series of annotated versions of the classics, and some works on the interpretation of the grammar therein contained. Amongst the latter, we should mention those works which probably were the most impactful in the history of the studies on the Japanese language, namely *Te ni wo ha himo kagami* てにをは紐鏡 (Mirror string of te ni wo ha, 1771) and *Kotoba no tama no o* 詞の玉緒 (Bead-strings of words, 1779), both presenting a systematisation of the uses, in classical poetical Japanese, of the so-called 'particles' and 'verbal affixes' (*te ni wo ha*), as precursor of the theory of *kakari-musubi* 係り結び.[31] Shizuki cites Mo-

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[30]   Although often named as one of the most important representatives of the *kokugaku* school, Motoori has distanced himself from that label repeatedly, claiming that the use of the term 'national studies', was presenting Japan form an international perspective, whereas being *kokugaku* the study of Japan, no additional attribute needed to be specified to refer to it, and one could simply call it *manabi* 'study' or *mono manabi* 'the study of things'. This is claimed, for example, in his other work *Uiyama bumi* うひ山ぶみ (Tanaka 2020, 3-6).

[31]   Motoori Norinaga studied the relationships between particles – what we nowadays call *joshi* 助詞 – and verbal and adjectival affixes – what we nowadays call *jodōshi* 助動詞. He focused on the distribution across clauses of these parts of speech, typical of Japanese grammar, in the language of the classics of literature. Specifically, he identified patterns in the forms of the verbal/adjectival affixes, influenced by preceding particles within the same sentence. Albeit much broader, this overlaps with what we nowadays call *kakarimusubi*. The literature in this regard is far from being scarce; see, for example, Sugimoto (1987, 268-99).

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toori in his *Seizenfu*, specifically his work *Kotoba no tama no o*.[32] Furthermore, Shizuki often differentiates, mostly in *Seizenfu*, between two styles of Japanese language. Shizuki writes the main body of his work in a mixture of *katakana* syllabary and Chinese characters.[33] Everything he writes in *hiragana* corresponds to the classical (poetic) Japanese language, so much so that many of the grammatical features found in these phrases are never elsewhere used, by Shizuki. In *katakana*, Shizuki also writes the variants of grammar which he labels as *zokugo* 俗語 'popular language'. Thus, this allows us to deduce that what he wrote in *hiragana* corresponded to what we call 'classical Japanese', the earliest historical attestations of which can be traced back to the Nara Period (710-84), with the literary genre of so-called *waka* 和歌 'Japanese poetry'. By reading his works, it appears evident that Shizuki must have relied to a large extent on the research on the poetic classical language carried out by his contemporaries, in his understanding of the theory of Japanese grammar. This suggests that Shizuki was well aware of the contemporary investigations on Japanese language and poetry, carried out by other Japanese scholars.[34]

Shizuki seems to be much more educated in poetry than previously known, up until today. His knowledge of poetry included clearly Chinese-language poetry, as well as Dutch. We can claim this also from another source that gained little attention. The manuscript titled *Sangoku shukushō* 三国祝章, is authored by Ōtsuki Seijun 大槻清準 (1773-1850, also known as Ōtsuki Heisen 大槻平泉), of the renowned Ōtsuki family of scholars of Dutch and Confucianism. The work is dated in the summer of 1805, just a few months before the recorded death of Shizuki. It presents an analysis and translation into classical Japanese and Chinese of a Dutch poem in alexandrine verses, which appears to have been compiled by a Dutchman in Japan, signed Franciscon Emilius Baron van Sandick van Pabst,[35] dedicated to the six-

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32 In *Rangaku seizenfu* (Waseda University's copy), Shizuki cites Motoori (本居民) on folios 4*v*, 21*v*, and his work *Kotoba no tama no o* (本居翁ノ言葉ノ玉) on folio 23*r*.

33 So-called *kanji-katakana majiribun* 漢字カタカナ交じり文. This is a style less common in *kokugaku* literature, for example, where they preferred to write in *kanji-hiragana majiribun* 漢字ひらがな交じり文, with few Chinese characters (*kanji* 漢字) and Chinese-derived terms (*kango* 漢語, also including Japanese-made words coined based on Chinese morphology). In *Sakoku-ron*, Shizuki addresses the issue of choosing the writing systems he adopts in his writings (Boot 2008b, 94).

34 One can also find some *waka* cited across Shizuki's works, generally utilised to explain specific grammatical features and their Dutch correspondence. In *Seizenfu*, for example, on folios 12*v* and 20*r* (Waseda University's copy), we can find two *waka* each, from well-known classics of Japanese literature. Other *waka* can be found in *Joshi-kō*, as well, on folio 20*v* (Waseda's B109). This is not meant to underestimate the influence Shizuki received from Confucianism and Chinese studies, specifically from the author Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728), a topic which, unfortunately, cannot find its well-deserved coverage, in the present article.

35 Matsukata (2015, 243) identified this individual in Franciscus Emilius Baron van Lawick van Pabst (1769-1829).

tieth birthday of either the wife or the mother of the *daimyō* of Ōshū
奥州 (written in Dutch as *oosu*), nowadays known as the province of
Mutsu 陸奥 made in the occurrence of the visit of Ōtsuki Minchi 大槻
民治, another name of Ōtsuki Seijun (written in Dutch as *ootscki min-
zi*). The poem has as obvious goal the saluting of the *vorstin* 'princess',
'ruler' of Ōshū and it employs metaphors alluding to constructions
and buildings. The verses are alexandrines, alternating twelve- and
thirteenth-syllable verses in enclosed rhymes (ABBA CDDC). The poem
can be read below, alongside my English translation:

> O zuil van den weesstand, ons waardigste toeverlaat; (13)
> Daalde van den Hemel en woont op Heilig tooren, (13)
> Zijnde om het behoud van dat huis verkooren; (12)
> Ook wast goed en gezond tot het welzijn van den Staat. (13)
>
> De zon loopt om en om, d'Jupiter keert vijf maalen, (13)
> van uw geboorte af tot op dat plegtigheid; (12)
> Nu wenschen wij alle, zijnde Hertelijk verbleid (12)
> Lang leve de Vorstin, leeft lang en zonder paalen. (13)
> (*Sangoku shukushō*, 11*v*)
>
> Oh pillar of the orphan state,[36] our worthiest support;
> Descended from Heaven, dwelling Holy towers;
> Elected as preserver of that house,
> also good and healthy for the welfare of the state

---

36 The Dutch word *weesstand*, literally 'orphan-state', requires further investiga-
tions. This term is defined in the *Historische woordenboeken Nederlands en Fries*, of
the Instituut voor de Nederlandse taal as *toestand van een staat wanneer er geen staats-
hoofd is* (the situation of a state without a Head of State). In context, one could expect
this to be a misspelling of the word *weerstand* 'resistance', as also annotated in the
annexed folio found in Waseda's copy of *Sangoku shukushō*. However, on folio 15*r* we
find a chapter titled *Kokuji ranshi yakubun* 國字蘭詩譯文 (Translation of the Dutch Po-
em into Japanese Characters), authored by Baba Tamehachirō 馬場為八郎 (1769-1838,
馬場貞歴), foster father of Baba Sajūrō. In this chapter we find this word written in *ka-
takana* as *wēsutanto* エースタント, where the absence of the *kana* for the syllable *ru* ル
makes the interpretation of it as a misspelling of *weerstand* less likely. Furthermore,
in his chapter, Baba Tamehachirō deemed it necessary to explain the meaning of this
difficult term, providing the following definition: "One says *weesstand* when a ruler is
young and orphan" (ウェースタントは國君孤にして幼なき時と云). Even though this definition
does not completely align with the historical dictionary I have quoted above, both seem
to refer to the general idea of a state experiencing a power vacuum. Furthermore, the
use of the Chinese character 孤 'orphan' clearly indicates that the word was interpret-
ed as *weesstand*, where *wees* means 'orphan'. What is sure is that this definition can-
not be interpreted as referring to the idea of 'resistance'. However, another possibili-
ty is that the original, written by the Dutch author, could have featured the word *weer-
stand* which was misread by the Japanese as *weesstand*, who then treated this word as
such even within the exegesis of the poem.

The sun goes up and down, Jupiter revolves five times,
since your birth, until that ceremony,
Now we all wish you, rejoicing from our hearts,
Long live the princess, may you live long and with no
restraint.

In the index (目次) to this work, we find the table of contents of the different sections that were curated each by a different scholar. This work is a collaboration of many learned individuals of Japan, amongst whom we find the name of Shizuki Tadao. He is credited as "former interpreter of Dutch" (前和蘭通詞), who is located in Nagasaki (大日本長崎), and author of the chapter titled "How to Make a Dutch Poem" (蘭詩作法). For some reason, though, in neither of the copies we have of this work is such a section present. In its place, there is a series of empty pages.[37] Ōmori (1973) assumed that this section was lost. However, another possibility is that, although Shizuki was supposed to participate, for some reason he could not proceed with the compilation, maybe because of his weak health conditions. Another reason could be that he was not supposed to write a chapter at all, but only to provide assistance with the compilation of the content. Indeed, the last section of the book, authored by Ōtsuki Seijun presents the title "Complete Theory on How to Make a Dutch Poem and the Differences in the Forms of Poetry in the Three Countries" (蘭詩作法及三國歌詩體制異同總論). In the introduction to the manuscript and in that last chapter, Ōtsuki Seijun refers to Shizuki as a "Master of Dutch poetry" (和蘭之詩先成). Since the supposed explanations on Dutch poetry by this master are not to be found in this manuscript (anymore?), we cannot directly know what Shizuki thought about Dutch poetry. However, since Ōtsuki Seijun cherished Shizuki's teachings so much, he claims that this closing chapter, in this manuscript, is mostly based on what he heard from him. Although written in *kanbun* 漢文, without a very intuitive choice of words, I have tried to render the content of this section into English, as can be read below (*Sangoku shukushō*, 27*r*-28*r*):[38]

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37 In the National Diet's copy. In Waseda University's copy the subsequent chapter follows the previous uninterruptedly.

38 Within my translation I have used parentheses to render the text which was written in a lower case, in the original. Brackets either contain my additions that I deemed necessary for a better English rendition, or Chinese characters I needed to give special attention to. I am mostly basing the transcription on Waseda University's copy, since it also features punctuation, aiding the interpretation.

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和蘭之詩、蓋有數體、準[1]聞其一於志筑忠雄、曰、句、音之積也、音、字之聚也、
故句整其音、音多者十三、寡者十二、共詩右両寡、左両多、謂之豪傑體、
是為通體、或分両多、間両寡、押韻、各倚其等、
又聞之曰、凡音有脩短、脩短之用、或一或両、以度求之、短脩協音、音合短[算][2]脩
之一尺、六尺謂之抑韻句、六尺有半、謂之帯韻句、
又曰、句有小段、分為両、上音六為上段、下音六若七為下段、
和蘭之詩、其猶國之歌、唐之詩乎、而體製各異何也、蓋士隔東西、則語殊
文異、吐又有辞音之別也、惟國則辞吐、字有聲無義、義生於輯字、故整其句、而曰
字、惟唐則音吐、共文有音有義、不貳字[算]言、故字整其句而曰言、
惟和蘭則辞吐、共文無音無義、
是以合字成音、合音鋳辞也、故音整其句而曰音、
唐曰詩、和蘭曰厄遞古多、或韻焉、或不焉、國曰歌、
是以體製異焉、然人之有心也、不能無感、感而宣諸言、歌詩是已、斯其人情
之不能已焉者、雖士隔而吐別、語殊而文異、及體製已立、則其旨未嘗不同也、此乃
三國各歌詩共性情、而其旨無異者邪、

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1 This character was added as correction to the character 臣, in Waseda University's copy. In Kyōto University's copy, only the character 臣 is featured.

2 I cannot confirm the correctness of this character, which repeats in another instance, below. Some other viable matches are 与, 與 or 其.

In Dutch poetry there are many styles. Of these I have heard of one from Shizuki Tadao, who says that a verse [句] is a group of syllables [音], while a syllable is a group of characters [字]. What makes a verse, thus, is the ordering of syllables. [In a poem] if the syllables [in the verses] are few, they are 12, if they are many, they are 13. Two [verses] with few [syllables] on the right, plus two [verses] with many [syllables] on the left make what is called "the heroic style" [豪傑體] (In the original language it is called *Heldendicht*, meaning 'heroic style'). In the common style, verses with many syllables are interrupted by verses with fewer syllables, in rhyme (In the original language, this is called *rijm*, meaning 'rhyme'). They rely on each other accordingly. (The verses associating in couples, concentrate their verses autonomously. The concentrated verses then separate and concentrate again). Furthermore, I heard that syllables can be long or short. In the use of long or short, its either one or both. In order to measure the length or brevity, syllables concentrate. By uniting long and short syllables one makes 'one foot' [一尺]. Six feet are called 'rhyming verse' [押韻句] (In the original language they are called *staande vers*). Half of a six-feet verse is called 'belt-rhyme verse' [帯韻句] (In the original language it is called a *sleepende vers*). It is also said that verses are divided into

smaller parts. In the upper two [verses] we have six syllables, this is the upper part, while in the lower [verse] we have either six or seven, this is the lower part. (Since their books are written horizontally, 'up' means 'left' and 'low' means 'right').

Dutch poetry, Tang poetry and our country's poetry all differ in style. Being lands far apart, things like their languages vary, as well as their texts. Furthermore, the pronunciation has a difference in the sound of words. In our country's language, we "pronounce characters" [辭吐] which have a sound but not a meaning. The meaning is given by the accumulation of characters [字]. Thus, creating a verse. Those are said characters [字] (Be they 5 or 7). The Tang people "pronounce syllables" [音吐], their texts have both sound and meaning. There is no double character. The characters which are ordered in their own sentence are called "words" [言] (Be they 5 or 7). The Dutch "pronounce characters" [辭吐] and their texts have no sound or meaning (In Dutch there are in total 25 characters. They all have no sound or meaning. However, there are 5 syllabic characters which have the sounds *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *yu*. What I have just said having no sound nor meaning, are the majority). Thus, a combination of characters makes a "syllable", and a combination of "syllables" forges a word. Furthermore, the ordering of "syllables" makes a verse. This is what is called a "syllable" [音] (The 12 or 13 'syllables' are exactly this. In the original language it is said *syllabe*, meaning 音). In our country we call them *uta* 歌, the Tang people call them *shi* 詩, the Dutch call them *gedicht* (*gedicht* translates *shi* 詩. Thus, within the present work the term *shi* is used to refer to both Tang, as well as Dutch poetry). There can be or not be rhymes (In Tang and Dutch poetry, the rhyme is at its basis. In our country's *uta*, there are no rhymes). Although the style might change according to the intent of each person, it is impossible [for poetry] not to have feelings. It is the feeling which allows all the words and poems to manifest. This is poetry [*uta* and *shi*]. Human feelings cannot cease there. Although lands are far apart, with different pronunciations, different languages, and different scripts even, once the style has been established their message [what one intends to say with a poem] do not differ. Thus, songs and poems of these three countries, be they *uta* or *shi*, each have their own characteristics, but their message/goal is not different.

The piece of text above can be considered to be one of the oldest Japanese-made essays on Dutch poetry, and European poetry as a whole. Ōtsuki Seijun claims that what he is writing he had learnt from Shizuki, although it is not clear whether he was referring to the entirety of this section, or just the explanations of the *heldendicht* style. He reports having heard from Shizuki that a poetical "verse" (句) must be understood as a collection of "syllables" (音)

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and syllables are a group of "characters" (字). He also claims that, although there are many styles of poems in Dutch, there is one specific type, which he calls with the Sino-Japanese term *gōketsutai* 豪傑體 'heroic style' which, he reports, the Dutch call *Heldendicht*[39] 'heroic poem'. In this style, verses either have twelve or thirteen syllables both alternating in schemes of 'rhyme', which are called *ōin* 押韻, in Sino-Japanese, and *rijm*,[40] in Dutch. The syllables inside a verse can be of two types: 'long' 脩 or 'short' 短, which are to be used together in the creation of a 'foot' (尺).[41] When one reaches six feet, then one has created a "verse in rhyme" called, in Sino-Japanese *ōinku* 押韻句, literally 'pulling-rhyme verse', which is translated into Dutch as a *staande vers*.[42] Half a six-foot verse is called *taiinku* 帶韻句, literally 'belt-rhyme verse', which is called in Dutch *sleepende vers*.[43] In Dutch metrics, a *staande vers* is a verse ending in an accented syllable, which corresponds to the rhyme, while a *sleepende vers* is a verse ending in the succession of an accented syllable and an unaccented one containing a schwa, which together form the rhyme. These are rather basic notions of metrics, that were quite common in Dutch books on *redekonst* 'rhetoric', in the eighteenth century, as we will see below. In his other work *Sanshu shokaku*, on folios 5*v* and 15*r*, Shizuki does indeed refer to a certain *Redenkonst* (*rēdenkonsuto* レーデンコンスト) as a source he used, but the precise book is still to be identified (Ōshima 2018). However, since we know Shizuki must have read Séwel's *Spraakkonst* at some point, we can assume he was also inspired by the chapter on *maat-*

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39 The Dutch terms, in this text, are transcribed in Chinese characters as to approximate their sounds in the original pronunciation. For this reason, their interpretation can be, at times, complicated. The series of characters 邊而匐帝古多, have been interpreted as transcribing the Dutch *heldendicht* 'heroic poem', a position which is also supported by Ōmori (1973) who, however, spelled it *helben digt*.

40 Transcribed as 禮目.

41 The employment of the concepts of long and short syllables has notable relevance. These arose from the Classical Greek and Latin metric systems, which were based on quantitative parameters of syllables, both languages possessing vowel length as distinctive trait. This trait was not distinctive in the Romance languages of the Middle Ages. Consequently, their poets started adopting a so-called syllabic metric system, based on the number of syllables present in each verse. Allegedly, Dutch poet Jan van Hout (1542-1609) was the first to introduce the short-long alternation in Dutch poetry, claiming he was inspired by Italian poet Francesco Petrarca (1304-74) and French poet Pierre de Ronsard (1524-85). However, what the Dutch poet started doing was to actually combine the Germanic tonic system (alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables) with the syllabic system of the Romance tradition, yet maintaining the terminology of long/short, typical of the quantitative system of Classical poetry (Prandoni 2014, 181-2). This is the context one should keep in mind while reading these poetic explanations of the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries.

42 Transcribed as 思単迭匪而四.

43 Transcribed as 思儸榜迭匪而四.

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klank 'prosody' or 'metric' he found in that source.[44] There, Séwel defines prosody as follows:

> De Maatklank is dat gedeelte der Spraakkonſt, het welk aanwyſt óf de lettergreepen lang óf kort zyn, waar op in 't maaken van Vaerzen naauwkeurig moet gelét worden. (Séwel 1712, 395)

> Prosody is that part of the art of speech [*spraakkonst*] which indicates whether a syllable is long or short, on the basis of which one must accurately compose verses.

Séwel also mentions all the poetic terminology which Ōtsuki Seijun provided, in their Chinese transcriptions, namely *heldendicht*, *sleepende* and *staande*. These explanations remind, indeed, very closely of the content of Séwel's chapter on *maatklank*. There, we read, for example the following quote:

> Uyt een korte en een lange lettergreep maakt men eenen Voet, waar van 'er in Heldendicht zes gaan, 't welk overhands berymd wordt; namelyk op twee sleepende rymen doet men twee staande vólgen. (Séwel 1712, 397)

> Out of a short and a long syllable one makes a Foot, which in a *Heldendicht* are six, where they are rhymed in alternation; namely, after two *sleepende* rhymes, one makes two *staande* follow.

As Kossmann (1922, 65-7) also pointed out, Séwel's use of these terms occurs "without further explanations". However, in Séwel's *Spraakkonst* we can understand the length of syllables to be connected to the stress of words. Séwel was a man of the seventeenth century, a period which Kossmann calls "the century of the alexandrine and classical theory" (*de eeuw van den alexandrijn en de klassieke theorie*). Far from being specific to the epic poem, as the Japanese source suggests instead, perhaps mislead by the unclear phrasing of Séwel we saw above, the alexandrine has been a very common style for writing almost any kind of poetry in Dutch. In fact, I doubt anybody would consider Cats' emblems to represent a form of epic poetry, although most of them are written in alexandrine verses.

In the second half of this excerpt, Ōtsuki Seijun continues with an analysis of the differences between the poems in the three countries

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44 The presence of a chapter on prosody in a grammar book is a rather common feature across seventeenth- and eighteenth-century publications. With time, prosody started becoming more specific to poetic studies, gradually disappearing from grammar books (Rutten 2006, 115).

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and cultures in question, namely the Japanese, the Dutch and the Chinese of the Tang dynasty (even though the term 'Tang' *morokoshi* 唐 was used to refer to China in general, whatever dynasty was ruling). It is not clear whether this is supposed to be Ōtsuki Seijun's own ideas or whether he is still reporting what he had heard from Shizuki, although I lean more toward the former. However, he does raise interesting claims regarding the differences across languages and their literatures. Firstly, he claims that poems vary across lands which are divided from one another. This creates a difference in "language" (語) and in the "script" (文). This difference lies in the "expression" or "pronunciation" (吐) of the speech. In Japan one expresses oneself in *jito* 辭吐, meaning in "characters" (字) which possess a "pronunciation" (聲, lit. 'voice') but no "meaning" (義). The meaning is created once many characters come together. This is a reference to the *kana* syllabaries which are used to write sounds holding no meaning. Only the interaction of these characters can provide a meaning to them and, thus, to the sentence, or verse, in poetry. The Chinese language, instead, expresses itself in *onto* 音吐, which means that their texts have both meanings and sounds. In Chinese, which is written in logograms, each character represents one "sound" and one concept. The Dutch language, instead, while still expressing in *jito*, like Japanese, only has characters which possess neither sound nor meaning. Although this may sound like a bizarre claim, it makes sense from a Japanese point of view to believe that the Latin alphabet is composed of characters which do not express sounds. In fact, the first issue lies in the adaptation of the Chinese character 音 into "sound" since it is also used to refer to "syllables". This is because, particularly in Japanese, each *kana* represents one "syllable", mostly composed of a consonant followed by a vowel.[45] For a Japanese speaker with little exposure to any foreign spoken language,[46] it makes sense to claim that the Latin characters, which mostly represent consonant sounds rarely pronounced in isolation, were but pieces required to be combined as to create a "sound", meaning a "syllable". If your native language is written in phonetic syllabaries, you would probably end up thinking that the smallest unit of sound corresponds to a syllable. Indeed, Ōtsuki Seijun adds that the only characters of Dutch script which had their own "sounds" are *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *yu*, which represent the Dutch pronunciation of the vowel char-

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[45] In Japanese phonology we generally talk about *morae*, rather than of syllables. Each Japanese *kana* roughly corresponds to a *mora*, which are generally a combination of a consonant plus a vowel or an isolated vowel. Exception be made for the relatively younger character *n*, no *kana* represents an isolated consonant sound.

[46] Although written Chinese was commonly used all throughout Japan, it is more realistic to believe that its pronunciation was highly influenced by Japanese phonology.

acters.[47] In Dutch, it is a combination of "characters" (字) composing a "syllable" (音 or "sound"), and a combination of "syllables" composing "words" (辞). It is by combining twelve or thirteen of these "syllables", *syllabe*[48] in Dutch, that one can compose a "verse" (句) in the "epic poem". Ōtsuki Seijun makes another interesting semantic claim by asserting that Japanese poetry is referred to by the Chinese character 歌, the poetry of the Tang people by the character 詩 and that of the Dutch, although being called *gedicht*, in their language, is also to be referred to as 詩. Certainly, the single character is a more practical way to write *gedicht*, but the fact that 詩 was chosen instead of 歌 might mean that the latter was probably perceived to refer to Japanese poems more specifically, while the former was probably perceived as a term for foreign poetry in general. Ultimately, in the closing lines, Ōtsuki Seijun explains that although written in different languages, with different characters, by people coming from lands far apart from each other, thus varying in style, poetry is fundamentally the same everywhere, as it is used to express the feelings of the human condition.

We can now go back to the Dutch poems written by Shizuki which I have mentioned in the Introduction. As reported by Matsukata (2015, 241-3), in the document titled "Dutch Poem of Nakano Ryūho to Ōtsuki Genkan" 大槻玄幹宛中野柳圃蘭文詩, we can read two poems signed Wilgen Akker, Dutch for 'Willow Field', literal translation of the name Ryūho. These two poems are both dedicated to the departure of Ōtsuki Genkan from Nagasaki, after completing his studies, returning to Ōshū, in the year 1804. Below, both poems each followed by my English translation.

> *Op het Vertrek van den Achtbaare Heer Ootski Sizets*[49] *na Oosu*
> *Uit Nangazacky in de derde Maand Anno 4 Kjowa*
> *De aankomst van de lent, zie nu! komst my bedroeven,* (13)[50]
> *Wyl dan de Geele kraan hier niet meer wilt vertoeven.* (13)
> *Blyft toch een wynig tyds en wat gerust by my,* (12)
> *Alschoon UW Vaderland wel heylig tooren zy.* (12)
> Onder de Zinspreuk
> Wilgen Akker
> (First Dutch poem of Nakano Ryūho to Ōtsuki Genkan)

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47 Particularly notable, here, is the adoption of the alphabetic order of the vowels, instead of the Japanese *a, i, u, e, o*, typical of the "Table of the Fifty Sounds" (五十音図). The letter < u > is transcribed as *yu* in order to represent the Dutch close front rounded vowel /y/. For a broad description of the way the Japanese approximated Dutch phonology through *katakana*, refer to Nespoli 2019.

48 Transcribed as 失而老別.

49 Ōtsuki Shisetsu 大槻子節, other name of Ōtsuki Genkan.

50 The final letter < e > in *lente* 'spring' has probably been dropped for poetical reasons, in order to make the syllables in this verse thirteen, as required by alexandrine metrics.

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To the departure of the honourable mister Ōtsuki Shisetsu to
Ōshū from Nagasaki, third month of the fourth year Kyōwa
The arrival of the spring, you see it now! Comes to sadden me.
As the Yellow Crane does not want to linger here anymore
Please stay a bit longer and easy with me,
Even though your fatherland might be a holy tower.
Under the motto
Wilgen Akker

Tweede Gedigt op het vertrek van den Heer Genkan, oft Geele
Kraan zo als hem Zeker Chinees Digter noemt

Ô kraan, ô myne Geele kraan, (8)
Weest niet al laag gelyk Een Haan, (8)
Gy word versierd met schoone Veeren, (9)
Terwyl gy naarstig zyt in t leeren (9)
Ô kraan, ô myne Geele kraan (8)
Vliegt hoog en hooger dan de Zwaan, (8)
Ook heb althoos een swarten Broek a[a]n (9)[51]
Op dat het met de Eer bestaan kan. (9)
Onder de Zinspreuk
Wilgen Akker
(Second Dutch poem of Nakano Ryūho to Ōtsuki Genkan)

Second poem to the departure of mister Genkan, or Yellow
Crane, as a certain Chinese poet said
Oh crane, oh my Yellow Crane,
Do not be as lowly as a rooster.
You are garnished with beautiful feathers,
while you are diligently learning.
Oh crane, oh my Yellow Crane,
Fly high and higher than the Swan,
And always wear black trousers,
so as to suit propriety.[52]
Under the motto
Wilgen Akker

The first poem follows quite faithfully the explanation of the metric of
the so-called *heldendicht*, with four verses of either thirteen or twelve
syllables, rhyming in a couplet (aabb). For this reason, the first po-
em resembles, in structure, the poem in *Sangoku shukushō* – also
reportedly compiled in 1804 – which however featured an enclosed

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[51] Brackets added by Matsukata 2015.

[52] Literally 'So that it can coexist with the honour'.

rhyme scheme (abba cddc). In Shizuki's first poem, we also see the alternation of two rhyming *sleepende* verses (*bedroeven/vertoeven*) and two *staande* verses (*by/zy*), another issue that was addressed in *Sangoku shukushō*. Furthermore, both the first poem of Shizuki and the poem in *Sangoku shukushō* employ the metaphor of *heilig tooren* 'Holy tower' to refer to the province of Ōshū, incidentally the fatherland of both the people to whom the two poems were dedicated. The second poem features different metrics, with eight verses of either eight or nine syllables each, making it a iambic tetrameter. The rhyme scheme is also a couplet (AABB AACC – or, perhaps, AAAA).[53] In this second poem most verses are *staande* (*kraan/haan*; *veeren/leeren*; *kraan/zwaan*; *kan/an*?), with only one *sleepende* rhyme (*veeren/leeren*). However, since the last two verses present nine syllables, it is probable that they were meant to be *sleepende* verses.

Albeit written in Dutch, according to Dutch metrics, these two poems by Shizuki are overtly Japanese in their content. For example, in both poems, the friend Ōtsuki is referred to as *Geele Kraan* 'Yellow Crane', as Shizuki adds, "as a certain Chinese poet said". The specific reason for this name is unclear, however, a few Chinese poets of the Tang dynasty did write poems about the Yellow Crane Tower (*Huánghè Lóu* 黄鶴樓), a monument in the city of Wuhan 武漢. We should mention the names of Cui Hao 崔顥 (704-54) and Li Bai 李白 (701-62), both of whom were famous authors of poems dedicated to said monument addressing the pain and melancholy caused by departure and separation. It appears that by using the nickname of Yellow Crane to refer to his friend, Shizuki intended to make an intertextual reference, naming a toponym present in famous poetical compositions, with the intention of reevoking the sentiment and meaning of the poem itself. Similarly, the expression *zwarte broek*, literally 'black trousers', might be a reference to the Japanese expression *genshō kōi* 玄裳縞衣, which refers to the act of wearing a black kimono with a white jacket on, making one's outfit look like the colour patterns of a white crane. This expression was famously used by the Chinese poet Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), in the poem known in Japanese as *Kōseki hekinofu* 後赤壁賦. These intertextual literary references are probably used with the purpose of reminding the reader of the feelings and meanings reevoked by the famous composition that is being cited. This is a figure of speech typical of Japanese called a *utamakura* 歌枕. What is remarkable, here, is that this figure of speech specific to Japanese poetry gets employed within a poem written in Dutch, according to Dutch rhyme schemes and metrics.

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53 It is not clear whether the last rhyme should have been in either -*aan* or -*an*, since the word *aan* does not rhyme with *kan*, yet it would with *bestaan*. However, from the transcription provided by Matsukata (2015, 243), it appears that *aan* was spelled as *an*.

6 Conclusions

In this article, I have provided a clearer picture of the figure of Shizuki Tadao, an important scholar of Dutch who is usually remembered for his translations of European books, the most famous of which being *Sakoku-ron*. However, Shizuki was also an innovative figure in the field of protolinguistic investigations and most certainly paved the way for the understanding of Dutch grammar and the Greek-Latin tradition in Japan. As I have been able to demonstrate, Shizuki was also interested in Dutch poetry. Such interest went well beyond the simple appreciation of poetical composition and the occasional amateur production of Dutch rhymes. In fact, we can now claim that Shizuki must have devoted part of his research on Dutch to the understanding of the rules governing the metrics of Dutch poems, deserving the title of "Master of Dutch poetry", as attested in *Sangoku shukushō*. Shizuki was not at all foreign to the Japanese studies on poetry, either. This can be understood by the references to Motoori Norinaga one can find in his works, and the parallelisms in the way the two treated Japanese grammar. Comprehensive research on the theoretical framework of grammar as illustrated in the manuscripts attributed to Shizuki is still to be carried out. This has many reasons, one of the most problematic entails the absence of a clear list of sources, both Dutch and Japanese, from which Shizuki could have drawn inspiration. With the identification of the three verses of Cats, in two of Shizuki's works on grammar I have been able to add a piece to the question concerning the sources the scholar had used to learn the Dutch language and its grammatical theory. Even though Cats did not write epic poems, he did employ alexandrine verses in his emblems, meaning twelve-syllable verses, sometimes thirteen, that are split into two halves by a *caesura*, for a total of six feet. The popularity of this style of Dutch poetry, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is also evidenced by the fact that the poem analysed and translated in *Sangoku shukushō*, albeit not written by a renowned author, happened to also be composed in this style. The reason why Shizuki, as we read through Ōtsuki's words, generalised the name *heldendicht* to this writing style, instead of claiming the opposite, namely that a *heldendicht* was one of the poetic compositions which utilised this style, could derive from a misinterpretation of the quote of Séwel I copied above. Clearly, this cannot be claimed with certainty, but we do know that Shizuki has, at some point in his life, read Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, and that must have happened before the publication of *Sangoku shukushō*, since Shizuki would die no more than one year later. Dutch emblem poetry had been spreading across Europe. Recent studies have demonstrated the important presence it also had in Japan. In Early Modern Japan, emblems were often described as educational poems employing the rhetorical tool

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of 'analogy', called *tatoe*, in Japanese. Shizuki, in two of his works on language, employs verses from the emblems of Cats, all presenting hypothetical and concessive constructions, to explain a grammatical phenomenon which he calls 仮令, which can be read as *tatoe*. All these elements convincingly point to the idea that Shizuki's knowledge of Dutch poetry, particularly of emblems and mostly in the alexandrine metric style, has influenced specific arguments concerning grammar that he made in his manuscripts on language. This is an important claim since it implies that, in order to understand Shizuki's theories on Dutch, one needs to also be aware of the language used in Dutch literary source, specifically poetic. One could be tempted to believe that, if one intends to learn a language and especially the theory of grammar, then that person will actively look for handbooks of grammar and similar tools. There is no reason to believe this to also be the case for Shizuki. As a Japanese of the second half of the Edo Period, Shizuki was probably more prone to approach the learning of grammar by analysing actual language use, specifically from examples by renowned authors, and deduce grammatical patterns on his own, while still consulting the handbooks and dictionaries he came across. In practice, this is the same method adopted by Motoori Norinaga and the *kokugaku* school and, arguably, by the Confucian school as well. Furthermore, Shizuki produced poetry in Dutch himself, and the two poems found by Matsukata (2015) are testimony of this. He composed them abiding by Dutch metrics and showing a remarkable degree of sensitivity toward Dutch phonology, syllabic harmony, and rhyming schemes. His knowledge of poetry was a fundamental tool by means of which he understood and illustrated the theory of grammar of Dutch. However, until now, Shizuki's knowledge regarding Dutch poetry had mostly been neglected, not allowing any substantial understanding of the content of his works on language either. By the same token, the spreading of Dutch literary works and specifically poetry, in Edo Japan, necessitates new and more thorough research as to understand the actual extent to which it impacted the cultural environment of Japan.

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