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Dutch grammar in Japanese words: reception and representation of European theory of grammar in the manuscripts of Shizuki Tadao (1760 - 1806)

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Citation

Nespoli, L. (2023, September 12). *Dutch grammar in Japanese words: reception and representation of European theory of grammar in the manuscripts of Shizuki Tadao (1760 - 1806)*. LOT dissertation series. LOT, Amsterdam. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3640636>

Version: Publisher's Version

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Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

CHAPTER II

Life and Works of Shizuki Tadao

これは讀わけ解すべきものにやといひしに、〈略〉、國異
に言殊なるといへども、同じく人のなす所にして

There is no reason why one should not be able to read and
understand these books. [...] Even though they are from a different
country, written in a foreign language, they are still made by
humans like me.

(Maeno Ryōtaku, 1785)¹

¹ This is quoted from Sugita Genpaku's *Rangaku kotohajime*. He alleges Maeno had written these words in his *Oranda yakusen*, though I have not been able to find any correspondence.

2. Life and works of Shizuki Tadao

2.1 Biographical information

Born Nakano Ryūho 中野柳圃 (1760 – 1806), from a wealthy family in Nagasaki, Shizuki Tadao 志筑忠雄 was soon adopted into the Shizuki family of interpreters, by Shizuki Magojirō 志筑孫次郎 (JUN 2013, 235). Shizuki was also known with the names of Chūjirō – written as 忠次郎, 忠二郎, 仲治郎 or 忠治郎 – and Eichō 盈長 (SUGIMOTO 1981, 121). There is reason to believe that his adoptive family name was pronounced as Shitsuki, in Nagasaki (TANAKA-VAN DAALE 2008). Nowadays, he is best known as the author of the famous *Sakoku-ron* 鎖国論 that, inspired by Kaempfer's *De beschryving van Japan*¹ 'The Description of Japan', 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 'practicing interpreter' for roughly one year, forced to quit, 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 scholars of Dutch seem to suggest his poor health as both the reason of his choice to quit the career as interpreter and his cause of 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; KOGA 1974, 329-332). Shizuki's most famous pupil 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 to *Oranda gohō kai* 和蘭語法解 ('Understanding the rules of the Dutch language', 1815) by Fujibayashi Fuzan 藤林普山 (SUGIMOTO 1981, 119):²

Hij is zeer zwaak 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 liúho³ zijn maar

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, after all that he has done to us, yet for our misfortune, he has died three years later, in the fourth year of the Bunka⁴ era, when he was 47, in Nagasaki. The successors of master Ryūho are only three, namely:

¹ 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 (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 localized title *Nihon-shi* 日本誌.

² The original Dutch text can be found copied in SUGIMOTO (1981, 119). I have based the present transcription on Waseda's 本 10 1896, folios 9v-10r. My English translation. Any citation from *Oranda gohō kai* will be quoted from this source.

³ This is a romanization of Shizuki Tadao's birth name and pen name: Nakano Ryūho.

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 edo ontboden.

Yoshio Rokujirō 吉雄六次郎, Nishi Kitsueemon 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 is 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 reinforced by the content of *Rangaku kotohajime* (1815) by Sugita Genpaku who, although he never met Shizuki, reports that he 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 had more than just the three students mentioned by Baba in *Oranda gohō kai*: one should name at least Suetsugu Tadasuke 末次忠助 (1765 – 1838), who went on studying astronomy. All his works circulated well beyond his pupils, and he is recognized by many as the initiator of Dutch linguistics in Japan, which has also been claimed by the famous Dutch scholar Ōtsuki Gentaku. Shizuki drew much of his inspiration from scholars such as Motoki Yoshinaga 本木良永 (also pronounced as Motoki Ryōei and also known as Motoki Rankō 本木蘭阜) and Yoshio Kōgyū 吉雄耕牛 (SUGIMOTO 1981, 122). SUGIMOTO provides a useful graph representing the relationships between the scholars surrounding Shizuki. I have reworked this graph in Table 3.⁵

After Shizuki had quit his job as an interpreter, he authored some forty manuscripts concerning Dutch studies. He is recognized as the first Japanese who studied Newtonian science and spread it throughout 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 Brit John Keill (1671 – 1721) – in his pivotal *Rekishō Shinsho* 暦象新書, roughly 'New Book of Astronomy'. Shizuki studied and wrote many documents regarding European astronomy, physics, historiography, geography, international diplomacy, and the Dutch language as well. All these subjects are defined by BOOT (2008a, 22) as being "related to the areas of responsibility of the *bakufu*". His works on language, allegedly, did not circulate beyond his pupils 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.

⁴ This is the fourth year of the *bunka* 文化 era, corresponding to the year 1807. The romanization used by Baba mirrors Dutch spelling conventions (*oe* for /u/) and Early Modern Japanese pronunciation (/k/ labialized to [kʷ]). Contrarily to what claimed here by Baba, it is generally believed that Shizuki has died in 1806.

⁵ In Table 3, scholars Udagawa Genzui and Udagawa Genshin do appear twice, and scholar Shingū Ryōtei receives inspiration by both Yoshio Rokujirō and Nishi Kitsueemon.

Shizuki's theoretical explanations appeared to be too complicated, even for experienced scholars, such as Ōtsuki Genkan. His knowledge of the Dutch language, in any case, received much attention amongst his contemporaries and was cherished by his disciples (DE GROOT 2005, 141). Baba reported in *Oranda gohō kai*, in Dutch, on folios 8v-9r:

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 merkelyk bevorderd, en dewijl 'er nogtans geen regt regel en wijs van spraaken genoeg bekend was, heeft men wel abúijs zo in het schryven als in het vertaalen gedaan, maar zedert de ontdekking van de opregt smaak van de spraakkonst, door onzen wijdberoemde meester N: liúho in het jaar boenkwa Eerste, gedaan, zijn de duister' wolken, die hier en daar overhingen, geheelverdweenen, gevolglijk moet men hem altoos in eerbied blijven;

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. Therefore, we must always honor him;

In this excerpt, Baba claims that the study of the Dutch language was difficult for two main reasons. The laws of the *bakufu* were very stringent, until the ban was lifted by the ruling authorities. This is a reference to the so-called *kinsho* 禁書 'prohibited book' policy, that was only abolished in the year 1720, previously 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. The second reason was a fundamental lack of shared knowledge concerning the correct grammar that, according to Baba, was only reached in 1804 via an enlightening discovery by his mentor Shizuki.

Details about Shizuki's life are rather limited and generally come from sources whose reliability should be questioned, as I will argue below. As I have mentioned above, Shizuki is also named in the famous *Rangaku kotohajime*, by Sugita Genpaku. Sugita's story of the "beginnings" of the Dutch studies has been used by many historians as a reliable source, however, the many imprecisions therein contained do make it an unreliable source, as evidenced by HONMA (2008, 27-28). Nevertheless, since it certainly became a popular book in the context of Dutch studies, it is worth considering its contents, in so far as it concerns Shizuki. It needs to be added that Sugita never met Shizuki in person, but he got to know of his existence probably through Ōtsuki Gentaku's words. Ōtsuki was a student of Sugita and had direct contact with Shizuki, and he is also believed to have been the person who reworked the definitive copy of *Rangaku kotohajime* after the original manuscript was lost in a fire (HONMA 2008, 33).

Below one can read what Sugita wrote about Shizuki:⁶

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しと聞
きしが、手はじめまでにて、事成ら
ずと聞けり。明和安永の頃にや、本
木栄之進といふ人、一二の天文曆説
の訳書ありとなり。その余は聞くと
ころなし。この人の弟子に志筑忠次
郎といへる一訳士ありき。性多病に
して早くその職を辞し、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。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、当時御家人に召し出さ
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、皆その読法を伝ふることとなれ
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
の氣運といふべし。

I have once heard that Nishi Zenzaburō had planned to provide a complete translation of Marin's dictionary. However, I heard he never got to start. Between the Meiwa and An'ei eras, a certain Motoki Einosuke [Motoki Yoshinaga] compiled a translation of the twelve theories on astronomy. I have heard much more about it. His disciple Shizuki Chūjirō was also an interpreter. Because of his ill nature, he quit his job quite early and moved to something else: he readopted his birthname Nakano and withdrew into private life, refraining from having direct contacts with the people of the world because of his illness. He immersed himself in Dutch books, studying alone any book he could find, theorizing about the contents of books on such arguments. In the first year Bunka, Yoshio Rokujirō and Baba Sennosuke became his pupils, receiving teachings on the rules of text composition. That Sennosuke goes today by the name of Sajūrō. A few years ago, he was appointed for a temporary post in Edo, where he stayed for several years and eventually got promoted to *gokenin* ['vassal of the shogun']. He thus became a permanent resident [of Edo]. He was appointed with translating Dutch books into Japanese. Everyone who got to be interested in this discipline has, at some point, transmitted his method of reading. If that person [Shizuki] had not withdrawn into private life and had continued working [as interpreter] he would have probably never reached this level. However, had our society in Edo not existed, even these people would have never felt inspired to start reading the books of that country. We can say that these things have been possible thanks to the long period of peace in this world.

Sugita was a doctor of Edo and has often displayed snobbish attitudes toward the interpreters of Nagasaki regarding their achievements in Dutch studies. This excerpt provides further information concerning Shizuki's biography. Sugita suggests that, at some point after having quit his job as an interpreter, Shizuki must have readopted the name of the family he was born into, namely Nakano. Although Shizuki was, in fact, buried in the Nakano family temple (BOOT 2008a, 19), there is no clear indication that the relationship with his adoptive family had been broken off. People

⁶ Original text from SUGITA (2015, 67-68), my English translation. HONMA (2008) also translates parts of this excerpt.

have also pondered about the real meaning of the term *taiin* 退隱, used by Sugita, that I have translated as ‘retiring to private life’, that could also be adapted as ‘hermitage’. BOOT (2008a, 20) suggests that it should be interpreted as referring to an individual who quit his job and was not employed in any specific post. If this is true, it would imply that the allegation of Shizuki’s hermitage was a consequence of either mistranslations or misinterpretations of such phrasings as that used by Sugita. By reading this excerpt, furthermore, it appears probable that the event described by Baba in the introduction to *Oranda gohō kai* referred to the fact that Yoshio and Baba themselves had become Shizuki’s disciples. In *Ran’yaku teikō* 蘭訳梯航 (“Guide to Dutch Translation”, 1816), Ōtsuki Gentaku writes that Shizuki provided the correct method of pursuing Dutch studies in the first years of the Tenmei period, that spans through from 1781 to 1789. It is also known (BOOT 2008a, 20) that in the years 1803-1804, Shizuki had been visited by Ōtsuki Genkan, son of Gentaku, whom Shizuki gave some of his writings on language, which Genkan probably brought back with him to Edo. This is a testimony of the spreading of Shizuki’s theories on language and of the way they were brought from Nagasaki to Edo, where they eventually remained and spread.

The present research concentrates on the study of Shizuki’s material on language. Shizuki was however mostly known for his translations of Dutch books on a variety of topics: mathematics, astronomy, geography, and international relations, to name a few (BOOT 2008a, 9). This is a complete list of works attributed to Shizuki (SUGIMOTO 1981, 141-142):⁷

- *Oranda kyūri sanpō** 和蘭窮理算法, compiled circa 1801;
- *Kaki happō den** 火器発法伝, 1787;
- *Kakuyōkan tenzu** 各曜観天図;⁸
- *Kyūryoku hōron* 求力法論, 1784;
- *Tenmon kanki* 天文管闕 (‘An Ignoramus’ View of the Heavens’, 1782);
- *Bangoku kanki* 万国管闕 (‘An Ignoramus’ View of the World’, 1785);
- *Kaijō chinki-shū* 海上珍奇集 (‘Collection of Marvels from Abroad’);⁹
- *Kaijō yakuhin-ki* 海上薬品記 (‘Record of Foreign Medicines’). Here it is recorded that the Dutch source upon which this work was based is *Medico-Physicum, of Schatkamer der Genees- en Natuur-kundige zaaken* (1741) by Johannes Jacob Woyt, and *Huishoudelijke woordenboek* (1743) by Chomel Noël, a Dutch translation of the French *Dictionnaire Oeconomique* (1709) (HORIUCHI 2008, 51);

⁷ Some of these titles have never been phonetically transcribed in either Japanese syllabaries or in Latin characters. For these texts I will provide my own romanization, based on the Sino-Japanese readings of the characters. However, each sinogram often has more than one possible reading, and it could be expected that some of these were meant to be read with a less common Sino-Japanese reading. It is also possible that a transcription of these titles exists somewhere in a primary or secondary source, with perhaps a different interpretation. For this reason, I will signal the romanization I have provided myself with an asterisk.

⁸ When no year is specified, it means that the date of compilation is not known.

⁹ Whether this work is to be attributed to Shizuki is debated. HORIUCHI (2008, 50) convincingly argues in favor of including it in his bibliography.

- *Kōko shinpen* 鈎股新編 (‘A New Book about Rectangular Triangles’, 1785), also called *Kōi sanjutsu kōko shinpen** 紅夷算術鈎股新編;
- *Kōmō kajutsu hitsuden-shō** 紅毛火術秘伝鈔
- *Sakoku-ron* 鎖国論, 1801;
- *Sankaku teiyō hissan* 三角提要秘算 (‘The Essentials of Trigonometry – Secret Calculations’, 1803);
- *Sankaku sankigen* 三角算起源 (‘The origin of Trigonometry’);¹⁰
- *Yonjūgo yō** 四十五様;
- *Shoyōkaiten** 諸曜廻転;
- *Seion hatsubi* 西音発微;
- *Seiyō tenmon gaku jutsu kōkai** 西洋天文学術後解;
- *Seiyō tenmon yakusetsu** 西洋天文訳説;
- *Dōgaku shinan** 動学指南;
- *Dokureki zōkōsei** 読曆象考成;
- *Doryō-kō** 度量考;
- *Nisshoku esan** 日蝕絵算;
- *Hachien-gi** 八円儀 1792;
- *Rekigaku hitsubi** 曆家必備 1802;
- *Rekishō shinsho* 曆象新書 1802;
- *Rekishō shinsho zukai* 曆象新書図解;
- *Roshiakoku ōkōkoku bun no jōsho** 魯西亜国王皇国文之上書;
- 魯西亜人止白里併有来;
- *Seiiki tengaku raireki* 西域天学来歴 (‘History of Western Astronomy’);
- *Shii zusetu* 四維図説 (‘The Four Directions Explained through Diagrams’);
- *Roshia raireki* 魯西亜来歴 (‘History of Russia’, 1795), also known as *Roshia shifuroku* 魯西亜志附録 ‘Appendix to Description of Russia’, this is a partial translation of *Van Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* by François Valentijn (1666 – 1727) (TORII 2018, 107).
- *Nikokkai meiroku* 二国会明録 (‘Record of the Conclusion of a Treaty between two Countries’, 1806), written by Abe Ryū while being dictated by Shizuki (TORII 2018, 107).

2.2 Dating the works

Shizuki’s works on language have survived through a number of manuscripts most likely copied over by his own disciples and, generally, people who studied his theories. This entails two main issues. Firstly, it makes it harder to understand when a specific work had been initially compiled and secondly, it makes it harder to distinguish between Shizuki’s words and those of the copyist. The dating is also made more problematic by the fact that these works have rarely been directly cited

¹⁰ The three works *Kōko shinpen*, *Sankaku teiyō hissan*, *Sankaku sankigen* are all based on Keill’s *Inleidinge* (YOSHIDA 2008, 68).

by other sources and their date of compilation is almost never specified. Additionally, as some have speculated, they often circulated with different titles from those known today (DE GROOT, 142-143). There are three scholars who have engaged in the dating of Shizuki's manuscripts, namely SUGIMOTO (1976), DE GROOT (2005, 2008) and ŌSHIMA (2018, 2019). Their dates often vary significantly, as I will discuss below.

One work that has a particularly debated identification is that which goes by the title *Oranda shihin-kō* 和蘭詞品考 ('Thoughts on the Parts of Speech of Dutch', henceforth *Shihin-kō*). As of today, no manuscript carrying this title has been identified, yet there are three citations that hint at its existence. Baba Sajūrō, reports having received, in 1814, from Nishi Kichiemon 西吉右衛門 (正典, 可圭),¹¹ a manuscript by the title of *Rango kuhin-shū* 蘭語九品集 ('Collection of the Nine Parts of Speech of Dutch'). Baba believed this to be a later version of the original *Shihin-kō*, which he had heard about in his youth, and thus decided to re-edit it, in order to correct and update its contents. The product of this re-editing is the work known today as *Teisei rango kuhin-shū* 訂正蘭語九品集 (DE GROOT 2005, 157-158).

Another attempt at identifying the original *Shihin-kō*, was made by Ōtsuki Fumihiko 大槻文彦 (1847 – 1928), grandson of Ōtsuki Gentaku, who believed that a manuscript by the title of *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* 柳圃中野先生文法 ('Grammar of Master Nakano Ryūho'), which he had managed to obtain, actually corresponded to a revised version of *Shihin-kō*. This is clear from the following claim: "The title of this book is *Oranda shihin-kō*, that can be seen in *Teisei rango kuhin-shū* by Baba Kokuri [Baba Sajūrō]".¹² It is believed that this note was written by Ōtsuki Nyoden (SUGIMOTO, 1976, 405).¹³ DE GROOT (2005, 159) believes the correspondence between these two works not to be possible, because it would contradict his personal dating, which I will discuss below. SUGIMOTO (1976, 405) and ŌSHIMA (2019), instead, seemed to agree with this correspondence, although SUGIMOTO (2013, 73) adds a "perhaps" (かな) after the claim. The library of Kyōto University, where this manuscript is being kept, lists it as corresponding to *Shihin-kō*.

In *Rangaku hizō* 蘭学秘蔵 (30r) by Udagawa Genzui, one can read a definition of *zelfstandig naamwoord* 'substantive noun' that appears to be cited from a work titled *Joji-kō* 助辞考¹⁴ by a disciple of Motoki 元木 – probably referring to Motoki

¹¹ DE GROOT (2005, 158) reports these possible alternatives in the writing of Nishi's name. The spelling 正典 can be found, for example, in SUGIMOTO (1976, 503).

¹² Original quote from SUGIMOTO (1976, 405): 此書ノ題名ハ和蘭詞品考ナリ馬場穀里ガ訂正蘭語九品集ノ諸言ニ見ユ. My English translation.

¹³ DE GROOT (2005, 145; 158), however, claims that note has been added by Ōtsuki Fumihiko who, nonetheless, agreed this manuscript to correspond to *Oranda shihin-kō*, as evidenced by SUGIMOTO (1976, 405).

¹⁴ May the non-Japanese-speaking reader not be confused with the similar title *Joshi-kō* 助詞考.

Yoshinaga/Ryōei 本木良永 – whose name was Shizuki Chūjirō 志築忠次郎,¹⁵ Shizuki Tadao's initial name of adoption. SUGIMOTO (1976, 420-421) demonstrates that the definition of *zelfstandig naamwoord* found in *Rangaku hizō*, which seems to be coming from that unknown manuscript of Shizuki titled *Joji-kō*, resembles quite closely the content of *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō*, which both Ōtsuki Nyoden and Ōtsuki Fumihiko believed to be *Shihin-kō*. Udagawa Genzui died in 1797, and never went to Nagasaki. However, in 1785, Ōtsuki Gentaku went back to Edo from his period of study in Nagasaki, and this makes SUGIMOTO (1976, 420) speculate he might have brought a copy of that work back with him and given it to Udagawa. In this case *Joji-kō* and *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* both refer to the same work also called *Oranda shihin-kō*, which must be dated before the year 1785. ŌSHIMA (2019) agrees with this reconstruction.

As just evidenced with the example of *Shihin-kō*, the philological reconstruction of Shizuki's works is rather arduous and debated. Furthermore, references to the time of compilation of these works of Shizuki are rare. There is one quote by Baba, written in Dutch in *Oranda gohō kai* (see 2.1) which has led many scholars to speculate about its meaning. The quote claims that Shizuki only understood the “correct nature [*smaak*] of grammar” in 1804. Although its meaning is unclear, some have used it to justify their own theories regarding the dating of Shizuki's works. SAITŌ (1985, 78) writes: “I get the impression that some work on grammar with some sort of meaningfulness must have been published that year” (この年に何か有意義な文法の著作がなされたような印象を受けるのである). According to DE GROOT (2005, 148), SAITŌ (1985) claims that Baba was referring to the publication of works such as *Joshi-kō* and *Rangaku seizenfu*, but this is not possible since it is known that at least the former must have been published much earlier, as I will show below. DE GROOT (2005, 2008) believes that the quality of Shizuki's works has increased significantly since his reading of Séwel and his embracement of Séwel's grammatical theory. For this reason, he assumes that Baba was referring to the year when Shizuki read Séwel's grammar. Consequently, DE GROOT (2005, 144) claims that Shizuki's works need to be divided into two periods, depending on whether Shizuki had already read Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, thus dividing Shizuki's bibliography into all that came before 1804 and all that came after 1804. The dating of Shizuki's works carried out by DE GROOT (2005) is thusly based on this premise and on his judgment regarding the degree of influence from Séwel. For example, he comes to the conclusion that the manuscript *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō* must have been written before 1804, by claiming “The fact that it makes no mention of, nor appears to be influenced by Séwel, indicates that Shizuki wrote this work before his surrender to Séwel's grammar” (DE GROOT 2005, 145).¹⁶ As will be demonstrated in

¹⁵ Udagawa probably misspelled 筑 as 築.

¹⁶ DE GROOT (2005, 156) describes what he calls “post-Séwel Shizuki” in the following fashion: “At some stage, however, Shizuki seems to have experienced a kind of epiphany, which caused him suddenly and completely to abandon his attempts to reconcile Japanese and Dutch on their own respective terms, and henceforth to apply European linguistic principles to the Japanese language. Since all his subsequent linguistic works were entirely based on William Séwel's *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst*-indeed, they were little more than translations of sections of Séwel's book with Japanese equivalents added-it seems fair to conclude that it

Chapter VII and VIII, there is no reason to believe that Shizuki had a fundamental change of mind in his interpretation of Dutch grammar. In fact, as I will demonstrate in Chapter IV, Séwel was still lacking in many regards in sophistication, specifically when it concerns the theory on morphosyntax of verbs, a field Shizuki was particularly interested in.

Dividing Shizuki's bibliography into two periods, according to his encounter with Séwel's grammar, as DE GROOT (2005) did, does not help identify the year of publication of Shizuki's works. However, his division still helps visualize the works of Shizuki that display overt influence from Séwel and distinguish them from those that do not. In the "pre-Séwel period" one finds *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō*, *Rangaku seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō*. In the "post-Séwel period" DE GROOT (2005) includes *Kuhinshi myōmoku*, *Sanshu shokaku*, *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, *Zokubun kinnō* and *Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō*. That Shizuki got to read Séwel is a fact nobody has denied. The influences from this source can be seen from the contents of many of Shizuki's works. There are also records claiming that Shizuki was shown a copy of Séwel by his student Nishi Kichiemon (KOGA 1974, 333). This is also attested in *Oranda bunpan tekiyō* 和蘭文範摘要, where Baba claims that his master Ryūho had made use of a certain *Garamachika* ガラマチーカ, i.e. *grammatica*, by a Dutchman named *Seweru* 泄物尔 (in *katakana*: セウエル). There, Baba states the following:¹⁷

其書ハ同館西某ノ蔵本ナリト告ク然ルニ西生恒ニ此書ヲ帳中ノ秘トシテ妄リニ人ニ許ザルヲ知ル故ニ敢テ是レヲ請フヲ得ズ爰ヲ以テ唯毎ニ先生ノ示セル所ヲ筆記口授スルノミ然レト余其書ヲ求メント欲スルヲ萬ク一日敢テ彼生ニ借与センヲ請フニ云々ヲ以テ生固ヨリ謝シテ肯ンゼス尚コレヲ懇ニ請フヲ再三ニ及ビシニ漸クニシテ五日ヲ限リテ借シ与ヘタリ余コレヲ得ルヤ雀躍音ナラズ乃チ取テ是レヲ讀ミ先遠ニ是レヲ寫了セント欲スルニ紙葉ノ多キト期日ノ限アルニ因テ忝カニ是ヲ果スコトヲ得ズ故ニ決然トシテ唯其書中ノ最要ノ諸説ヲ抄セントシ日以テ夜ニ繼キ其書寫譯文ヲ勤ルニ期日ニ至ル

I had been informed that this book was in the collection of my colleague, a certain Nishi. Because I knew that Mr Nishi always kept this work hidden in his room and did not let others [have a look at it] without good reason, I never had the opportunity to ask him for it. Thus he only accepted [questions] and then imparted, in writing or orally, things the Master has shown him. However, I did want to see the book [itself] very much, and one day I was so bold as to ask Nishi to lend it to me. He refused for some reason and did not accede¹⁸ to my request. When I had pleaded with him again and again, he finally lent it to me, but for no more than five days. When I had it, I danced for joy. I began to read it, and I wanted to copy it out immediately, but that was problematic, because there were many pages and time was limited. I could not do it quickly. There-fore, I doggedly tried to copy just the most important teachings in the book. I slaved away day and night in order to copy and translate it, but though I reached the agreed day, I had not yet completed the job. Then

was Séwel's grammar that provided Shizuki with insights and solutions that he had been searching for".

¹⁷ English translation from DE GROOT (2008, 133-134), including the brackets. Original text copied by me from Waseda's 文庫 08 C0554, folios 2v-3v.

¹⁸ Sic!

トイヘ凡其業ニ牟ヘザリキ然ルニ
果シテココレヲ促メ止マス尚コレ
ヲ固ク請ヒ其餘ノ二三日ヲ留メテ
僅ニシテ其大要ヲ取テ草々畧譯ヲ
為シ以テ本主ニ復セリ即チ其原稿
是レナリ爰ヲ以テ草草ノ際或ハ書
中引證語等ニ至テハ誤写アラン然
レ凡余既ニ先生ノ要言ヲ聞キ後此
書ヲ得テ畧譯スルニ及ンデ毎時諸
群籍ヲ讀誦スルノ間其章句ノ本旨
ヲ融會發明シ自ラ知ラス担手シテ
喜聲ヲ發スルヲ數回アリ實ニ此書
ハ我業ニ於ル千金ノ鴻寶ナリ

[Nishi] really did press me for [the book] without letting up, but I entreated him and kept it, saying it would be for two or three days more. I barely got the main points, and hurriedly read it through. Then I returned it to its owner. This is that manuscript. It may contain copying errors, therefore, in the quotations or the examples in the book, [which I made] as I was rushing along. I had already heard my Master's central teachings. When afterwards I had obtained this book and had made this condensed translation, I understood and discovered the true meaning of the clauses and sentences whenever I was reading one of the many books. Many times I clapped my hands and shouted with joy, without meaning to do so. This book truly is a great treasure for my profession, worth a thousand pieces of gold.

The dating of *Kuhinshi myōmoku* and *Ryūho sensei kyōshi-kō* is unknown, according to ŌSHIMA (2019). *Shihō shoji taiyaku* gives 1805, and no scholar seems to find an issue with that. *Shihō shoji taiyaku* cites *Sanshu shokaku*, which means that the latter must predate 1805. This is the only certain hint at a date of compilation of *Sanshu shokaku*. However, each scholar seems to deduce very different dates, according to their own premises. SUGIMOTO (1976, 424; 440) notices that *Sanshu shokaku* references Johan Keill, author of the book on astronomy that Shizuki was able to obtain in 1780. This means that Shizuki must have written *Sanshu shokaku* sometime between 1780 and 1805, although SUGIMOTO (1976, 424) suggests the beginning of the 1780s as a likely date of compilation. DE GROOT (2005, 160) disagrees with this dating since he considers it to be a post-Séwel book, so it must have been compiled after 1804. ŌSHIMA (2019) supports yet another timeframe. He claims that, in order to understand the date of compilation of *Sanshu shokaku*, an important clue is the way Shizuki is referred to. ŌSHIMA (2018, 13) claims that it is visible from Shizuki's works that he started signing his works as Ryūho since *Nisshoku kaisan* ('Figures of Calculations on Eclipses'), that is dated 1803. It has been assumed that *Sanshu shokaku* precedes *Shihō shoji taiyaku* (1805). Thus, ŌSHIMA believes that *Sanshu shokaku* has been compiled between the second half of 1803 and 1805. This reasoning entails another issue, however, and that is that the same reasoning can be applied to *Rangaku seizenfu*, which is cited in *Shihō shoji taiyaku* as well, and uses the name Ryūho. ŌSHIMA (2019) provides indeed the same dating for *Seizenfu*. DE GROOT (2005, 148) provides totally different dates for *Seizenfu*. Firstly, he considers *Seizenfu* a pre-Séwel work, meaning it must have been published before 1804. However, he believes that it was most likely compiled together with *Joshi-kō* because: "[i]t is likely, considering the style and content of these works, that they were designed as companion works". Since *Seizenfu* contains citations from Motoori Norinaga's *Kotoba no tama no o*, published in 1779, he adds that both these works of Shizuki must have been published after that year. In order to date *Joshi-kō*, he cites KATAGIRI (1985, 503), claiming that Udagawa Genzui was shown a copy of it by Ōtsuki Gentaku who received it during his trip to Nagasaki in

1786. This would mean that *Joshi-kō* was already complete by that year. This leads DE GROOT (2015) to assume that both *Seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō* must have been published between 1779 and 1786. The idea that *Joshi-kō* and *Seizenfu* must have been compiled together because of their alleged intended use in combination remains a theory of DE GROOT (2005). However, SUGIMOTO (1976, 266) does not agree with the details of the anecdote of Udagawa and believes that Udagawa's source contains a misnomer, calling *Joshi-kō* what was supposed to be *Ryūho Nakano sensei bupō*. ŌSHIMA (2019) agrees that Udagawa Genzui's *Rangaku hizō* actually demonstrates that both *Joshi-kō* and *Shihin-kō* were compiled before 1789. ŌSHIMA (2019) addresses the difference in dating with DE GROOT (2007),¹⁹ taking issue with the latter's assumption that Séwel played a fundamental role in distinguishing between two different periods, preferring to distinguish between the works written while Shizuki was alive and those written posthumously. He writes:²⁰

“Henk de Groot, who considers *Rangaku seizenfu* as the best work out of all the books on grammar edited by Shizuki Tadao, divides his [Shizuki's] works into two, splitting both types of books [posthumous and before Shizuki's death] in the year 1804, and placing *Ryūho Nakano sensei bupō* (*Oranda shihin-kō*), *Joshi-kō* and *Rangaku seizenfu* in the era previous to 1804, and all the rest thereafter. [...] However, there is no basis to believe that *Rangaku seizenfu* was compiled in 1804. Furthermore, since the grammatical vocabulary used in *Oranda shihin-kō* differs from that of *Sanshu shokaku* and *Rangaku seizenfu*, the outlook and distribution of Shizuki's works on the Dutch language is problematic.”

In light of what I have illustrated above, it appears that ŌSHIMA (2019) had to some extent misunderstood the theories of DE GROOT. DE GROOT (2005) did not claim *Rangaku seizenfu* was compiled in 1804, rather some time before that year. Regardless, their dating of that work still differs. However, there is one additional issue that has not been taken into consideration by either scholar. In Shizuki's *Joshi-kō*, there is a reference to a document titled *Sanze-kō* 三世考 (‘Thoughts on the Three Times’) that is credited as a work by the author himself. This reference is

¹⁹ ŌSHIMA (2019) is quoting DE GROOT from his 2007 article, which is a previous Japanese-language edition of the English-language DE GROOT (2008), where the author reiterates his division of Shizuki's bibliography into two periods.

²⁰ Original quote from ŌSHIMA (2019, 52): “志筑忠雄によって成されたオランダ語文法書の中で「蘭学生前父」を 最高の仕事と評価するヘンク・デ・フロートは、同書の成立年次を一八〇四年とした上で、これを分岐点として、「柳園中野先生文法」（「和蘭詞品考」）、「助詞考」、「蘭学生前父」の三作を前期著作とし、それ以外を後期著作としている。「柳園蘭語学の影響」（『蘭学のフロンティアー志筑忠雄の世界』、長崎文献社、二〇〇七年）。しかしながら、「蘭学生前父」が一八〇四年に執筆されたとする根拠は無く、また、「和蘭詞品考」において使用された文法用語が「三種諸格」や「蘭学生前父」と異なる点からも、志筑蘭語学に対する整理と見通しに問題がある”。 My English translation.

found in the *Rei* 例 section of *Joshi-kō* (see 2.3.2 and 8.2), when contextualizing some of the tenses of Japanese, in the following quote:²¹

又昔物語ノ中ニテモいひきナト、訳
スヘキ所モアリ是等ハ予カ三世考ノ
中ニ辨セリ

Furthermore, there are also instances of stories of the past which one translates as *ihiki* etc. This and more are discussed in my *Sanze-kō*.

The question is, thus: what was Shizuki referencing here? We do not have any work titled *Sanze-kō*, nor am I aware of any of Shizuki's contemporaries citing anything similar. In *Rangaku seizenfu*, a central point of Shizuki's theories is based on the so-called *Sanze-zu* 'The Table of Three Times' (see 8.4.2), where the scholar illustrates how a few Dutch auxiliaries are to be used and translated in order to render six combinations of "time". If *Sanze-kō* is part of *Rangaku seizenfu*, however, then the dating of ŌSHIMA (2019) would be wrong. ŌSHIMA (2019) believes *Seizenfu* to have been compiled between 1803 and 1805, on the basis of the fact that Shizuki signed his foreword (序) as Ryūho, a name he started adopting in 1803. However, *Joshi-kō* and *Oranda shihin-kō* (the latter believed by ŌSHIMA to correspond to *Ryūho sensei bunpō*) are both dated as being published before 1798, the year in which *Rangaku hizō* by Udagawa Genzui was published. However, Udagawa Genzui technically cites neither, in his *Rangaku hizō*, naming *Joji-kō* 助辞考 as the source. I have to assume that ŌSHIMA (2019), trusting SUGIMOTO (1976, 420-423), assumed *Joji-kō* to actually correspond to *Ryūho sensei bunpō* and, thus, *Oranda shihin-kō*, probably also assuming that since Udagawa misnamed *Oranda shihin-kō* as *Joji-kō*, a similarly named work (i.e., *Joshi-kō*)²² by Shizuki must have already existed. Unfortunately, this theory is based on too many assumptions.

Conversely, if *Sanze-kō* does correspond to *Rangaku seizenfu*, then one could support the theory of DE GROOT (2005, 148), according to which both *Seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō* have been compiled together and were meant for combined use. For the reasons above, DE GROOT (2005) assumes that *Seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō* were published together sometime between 1779 and 1786. Even though the claim that Shizuki had underwent a sudden change regarding his theories on Dutch grammar is an overstatement, it is true that the term *sanze* 三世 used to refer to the three "times" of verbs is only found in *Rangaku seizenfu*. The possibility is, thus, that *Sanze-kō*, although not referring to *Rangaku seizenfu*, was still a work tightly connected to it, at least in its contents, which has been lost since. Furthermore, judging by the

²¹ I have been able to personally evidence this stands true for at least three of the copies of *Joshi-kō*, the two at Waseda University, and the one from the Wakabayashi collection. See for example Waseda's 文庫 8 B 109, folio 5r.

²² Note that the difference between the title cited by Udagawa Genzui as *Joji-kō* and Shizuki's *Joshi-kō* only differ in one Chinese character: *ji* 辞 for the former and *shi* 詞 for the latter. Both can mean 'word' or 'character' (see 5.6). However, as I will discuss in 5.2, variations of *Joji-kō* were very common titles during the Edo period, for works on language, specifically within Chinese studies. One should thus not completely rule out the possibility of this term being used regardless of the existence of Shizuki's own *Joshi-kō*.

content of *Seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō*, it does seem, at times, as if one is relying on the other. For example, a straightforward definition of the concept of *jiseki* is not found in *Seizenfu*, but it is in *Joshi-kō*. Conversely, the concepts and terminology connected to verbal tenses used in *Joshi-kō* are very similar to what is said in *Seizenfu*. It is also possible that *Seizenfu* was a later update of an older, and possibly the first published work of Shizuki that tackled similar topics as *Seizenfu*. However, as I will discuss below, it is also likely that some of the sections of *Joshi-kō*, and specifically those regarding the tenses of verbs, might have been added afterwards. I also do think that *Sanshu shokaku* must have been published after *Seizenfu* since the latter does not cite Séwel at all, while *Sanshu shokaku* does, and all the work that both DE GROOT (2005) and ŌSHIMA (2019) consider more recent than both these works do cite Séwel, as well. However, I would not agree with their dating of *Rangaku seizenfu*. As just said, *Seizenfu* does not have to correspond to *Sanze-kō*, although apparently presenting similar contents, thus there is the possibility that what DE GROOT (2005) assumed to be a manuscript meant for combined use with *Joshi-kō* was not *Seizenfu*, as he claims, but rather *Sanze-kō*. This possibility makes the reason for his dating of *Seizenfu* not solid anymore. At the same time, there is no reason to believe that Shizuki would not have signed his works with the name Ryūho before 1803, since that was his birthname, anyway. Since there is no evidence of Shizuki ever breaking the tie with his adoptive family, there is no real reason to assume Shizuki never used his birthname Ryūho before 1803, thus allowing *Seizenfu* to be dated, again, before that year.

In conclusion, I would consider the theories of DE GROOT (2005, 2008) and ŌSHIMA (2018, 2019) both correct and imprecise at the same time. DE GROOT (2005, 2008) argues that one can deduce the date of compilation of Shizuki's works by comparing the terminology and explanations contained in each. It is undeniable that Séwel's *Spraakkonst* has played an increasingly important role in more recent works of Shizuki. However, I do not agree with DE GROOT, when he claims that Shizuki must have read Séwel in 1804, and I believe this to be an overinterpretation of Baba's words. I also do not agree that one can claim that Séwel changed Shizuki's ideas completely (DE GROOT 2005, 144; 2008, 132-133). For this reason, I will not follow his pre-Séwel/post-Séwel chronology faithfully. ŌSHIMA (2018, 2019), suggested a more useful distinction between posthumous and in-life sources. However, his assumption that one can date Shizuki's works by means of the employment of his pseudonym and birthname Ryūho is not completely convincing. Furthermore, *Rangaku seizenfu*, while featuring the name Ryūho, also presents the term *Sanze* "Three Times" that *Joshi-kō* was referencing many years before, but which does not appear in any other work by Shizuki. This issue is not considered by ŌSHIMA (2018, 2019), and it suggests that the date of compilation of *Rangaku seizenfu* could have been rather different. Table 4 is a translation of the table of the dating provided by ŌSHIMA (2019, 39).

Title	Period of compilation	Reference for the period of compilation	Content	Notes
During Shizuki's life				
<i>Oranda shihin-kō</i> 和蘭詞品考	Before 3 February 1798 (寛政 9 年 12 月 18 日)	Cited in <i>Rangaku hizō</i> 蘭学秘蔵 by Udagawa Genzui 宇田川玄随 (Waseda University's copy)	Terms of grammar, explanation of vocabulary and phrases	
<i>Joshi-kō</i> 助詞考 (<i>Joji-kō</i> 助字考 <i>Oranda jōgo-kō</i> 和蘭助語考)	Before 3 February 1798 (寛政 9 年 12 月 18 日)	Cited in <i>Rangaku hizō</i> 蘭学秘蔵 by Udagawa Genzui 宇田川玄随 (Waseda University's copy)	Collection of terms like articles, pronouns, prepositions, adverbs, phrases ecc.	
<i>Sanshu shokaku</i> 三種諸各	Between the second half of 1803 (享和 3 年) to 1805 (文化 2 年 2 月)	Cited in <i>Shihō shoji taiyaku</i> 四法諸時対訳 (Gifu Prefectural Archives)	The gender of nouns, declination, inflection of verbs according to the person.	In Gifu City Museum of History's copy, it is written "Saihi authored by Master Nakano Ryūho of Nagasaki" (西肥 岐陽柳圃中野先生撰著)
<i>Rangaku seizenfu</i> 蘭学生前父	Between the second half of 1803 (享和 3 年) to 1805 (文化 2 年 2 月)	In the foreword (序文) using the pseudonym Ryūho, <i>Shihō shoji taiyaku</i> 四法諸時対訳 (Gifu Prefectural Archives)	Theory of Japanese translation.	
<i>Shihō shoji taiyaku</i> 四法諸時対訳 <i>Ranbunpō shoji</i> 蘭文法諸時	1805 (文化 2 年 2 月)	Ending of the copy at Gifu Prefectural Archives	Tenses and moods.	It refers to <i>Rangaku seizenfu</i> and <i>Sanshu shokaku</i> (Gifu City Museum of History), which uses the pseudonym Ryūho.
<i>Ranshi sakuhō</i> 蘭詩作法 <i>Sangoku shukushō</i> 三国祝章	Circa 1805 (文化 2 年)	Index of <i>Sangoku shukushō</i> 三国祝章 (However, in Waseda University's copy the part <i>Ranshi sakuhō</i> 蘭詩作法 is missing).	Text writing.	
Posthumous (after 1806)				
<i>Ryūhō Bunshū</i> 柳圃文集	After 1803 (享和 3 年 8 月)	Manuscript of Ōtsuki Nyoden.	Dutch translation of a collection of Japanese texts of various types.	Perhaps a posthumous collection.
<i>Rango kyūhin-shū</i> 蘭語九品集	After <i>Sanshu shokaku hen</i> 三種諸各編 and <i>Rangaku seizenfu</i> 蘭学生前父.	From the copy of Seikadō Bunko Art Museum.	Tenses, moods, parts of speech etc.	After Shizuki's death Nishi Kichiemon compiled <i>Rango kuhin-shM</i> , afterwards, Baba SajMrL in <i>Teisei rango kuhin-shM</i> (where it is stated that it has been compiled in the ninth month of the eleventh year Bunka) cites <i>Sanshu shokaku</i> and <i>Rangaku seizenfu</i> .
<i>Zokubun kinnō</i> 属文錦囊 (Possibly compiled by Yoshio Gonnosuke from Shizuki Tadao's teachings)	1821 (文政 4 年 8 月)		Interpretation of texts (syntax)	Sugimoto Tsutomu concluded these are Shizuki's teachings.

<i>Shijūgo-yō</i> 四十五様 (Perhaps authored by Morita Sen'an from teachings of Shizuki Tadao)	Perhaps after 1823 (文政 6 年)	Kazuo Katagiri (2010), Okada Kazuko (2011)	Things pointing at the conjugation of verbs	Reference table
<i>Rangaku han</i> 蘭学凡	1824 (文政 7 年 8 月)	Foreword (序) of <i>Rangaku han</i> 蘭学凡, Waseda University's copy.	Comprehensive theory of grammar	
<i>Seion hatsubi</i> 西音発微	After Shizuki's death, 1826 (文 政 9 年 1 月)	Printed	Pronunciation	
Compilation unknown				
<i>Oranda gokaku</i> 和蘭語格	Unknown	No further reference than 本朝医家著述目 録	Unknown	
<i>Kyūhinshi meimoku</i> 九品詞名目	Unknown	Sugimoto Tsutomu (1991)	Parts of speech	
<i>Bunso</i> 文楚	Unknown		Collection of grammatical vocabulary	
<i>Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō</i> 柳圃先生虚詞 考	Unknown	Sugimoto Tsutomu (1991)	Collection of terms such as articles, pronouns etc.	

Table 4 Manuscripts on language by Shizuki according to ŌSHIMA.

2.3 The problems with analyzing the manuscripts

The dating of Shizuki's works is as complicated as incomplete, leading to very different conclusions. With that problem aside, I will now illustrate the structure and contents of each manuscript on language attributed to Shizuki, also accounting for the differences across the copies available today. Unfortunately, I have not been able to personally access each of the different copies,²³ thus I will sometimes rely on secondary literature, mostly SUGIMOTO (1976).

When analyzing the works attributed to Shizuki, one must keep in mind a series of complex issues. ŌSHIMA (2019, 37) lists three of them, which I will translate into English:

1. Shizuki's works all survive through copied manuscripts. Thus, it is necessary to compare all the copies. Any interpretation needs to be based on the philological method. However, no such effort has ever been made;²⁴

²³ During most of the process of compilation of the present research, Japan was not open to inbound travels, limiting my reach toward the sources that are only obtainable by physically being in Japan.

²⁴ Original quote: “第一に、志筑の著作は全て写本で残存しているため、論を進めるには、諸本を校合した上でテキストを定める文献学的な手法に基づく必要があるが、かような取り組みが為されてこなかったこと”.

2. No difference has ever been made between the works compiled while he was alive and posthumous texts. Specifically, regarding the works written after his death, it can be assumed that they also include the handwriting of his students. For this reason, one cannot treat them indistinctly from the works compiled while Shizuki was still alive;²⁵
3. There has never been a thorough investigation of the scholarly tradition by which Shizuki was influenced, including Confucianism, National studies [*kokugaku* 国学] and the books on Dutch grammar Shizuki used as sources;²⁶

The fact that Shizuki's ideas only survive through copies made by other scholars implies the impossibility of having access to the "original" source and, thus, makes it appear as if one will never be able to read Shizuki's own ideas directly. Whether this is to be considered an insurmountable obstacle can be questioned, considering the theoretical framework that I have illustrated in 1.3. Searching for a definitive "original" document, or "original" portrayal of any idea is, to some extent, a utopistic achievement that ends up hindering the research and leads the scholar to overlook sources that would otherwise be extremely valuable. However, it is true, whenever I will reference the contents of these manuscripts with wordings such as "Shizuki writes", "according to Shizuki" etc., one must keep in mind that that phrasing is nothing more than an approximation; all manuscripts attributed to Shizuki that I will reference were ultimately written by somebody else, after all.

The first issue has been already addressed in 2.2, above, and I will expand upon it in the rest of the present chapter. The third point is the most relevant for the present research. As ŌSHIMA (2019) claims, the research that has been carried out until now is not exhaustive with respect to the sources used by Shizuki. This has many explanations which I will deal with in the dedicated section of each source. On a general note, one can say that the sources that influenced Shizuki have not been previously investigated from the point of view of the history of the studies on language.

Another issue to add to those listed by ŌSHIMA (2019), is the fact that, even if one were to find all the original copies of Shizuki's manuscripts, inconsistencies across them are obviously to be expected. Even though it is not known precisely when each manuscript has been compiled, one must assume Shizuki to have reworked and refined his theories across the years. The idea is thus not to reconstruct one theory of Shizuki, but rather to compare how he described specific grammatical phenomena across the different sources. Just like one should not expect to be ideally able to reach the "original" ideas of Shizuki, one should not assume his ideas not to present internal inconsistencies.

²⁵ Original quote: “第二に、志筑の生前に成された著述と没後のそれとを弁別していないこと。特に没後の著作には門人をはじめとした書写者の手が加わっていることが想定でき、生前の著作との扱いを同一にすることはできない”。It is in note to this that ŌSHIMA takes issue with what was argued by DE GROOT (2007), as we saw above in 2.1.

²⁶ Original quote: “第三に、志筑が典拠としたオランダ語文法書に加え、影響を受けた国学や儒学といった学問背景が十分に究明されていないことである”。

What makes this last approach complicated is the fact that Shizuki's sources are rarely clearly mentioned in his works. This means that an accurate picture of what type of theory Shizuki could access, and from which he could draw inspiration, can hardly be obtained. It is known that Shizuki must have had access to works such as Marin's and Halma's dictionaries rather early in his life, as I will illustrate below. Additionally, it is clear that he also read Séwel's *Spraakkonst* at some point in his life, although the specific moment is not easy to determine. Some of the works attributed to him also seem to cite other Dutch sources, like Zeydelaar and Ten Kate, as I will discuss below. However, the fundamental issue with the research into Shizuki's sources is that one cannot be sure about the extent to which the manuscript corresponds to Shizuki's own words and ideas. It is also not known when specific manuscripts have been written and by whom. This means that just because one has found traces of a specific work that could have been used as a source for grammatical theory, one should not take for granted the fact that that work was actually used by Shizuki himself. This issue is particularly true for those manuscript whose compilation date and authorship are more doubtful, and relatively less so for those that are generally agreed to have been written during Shizuki's life, such as *Joshi-kō*, *Rangaku seizenfu*, *Sanshu shokaku* and *Shihō shoji taiyaku*. However, I would argue that even for these, one should not simply assume that the naming or citing of a specific author or source, means that Shizuki himself read it. It could be the case that sections of these manuscripts have been added subsequently by the copyist, like the last section from Marin's *Spraakwyze* in *Seizenfu* (see Appendix 3) or perhaps the grammatical section (sections?) in *Joshi-kō*. MATSUDA (2008, 140-141) claims that Shizuki had come up with his theories on grammar based on four grammar books and two dictionaries. The two dictionaries are, of course, the very well documented dictionaries of Marin and Halma, while the grammars that MATSUDA (2008) lists are somewhat unexpected: apart from Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, one finds Zeydelaar's *Nederduitsche spraakkunst*, Van der Palm's *Nederduitsche spraakkunst voor de jeugt* and Moonen's *Nederduitsche spraakkunst*. Unfortunately, MATSUDA (2008) does not cite any source for this claim. Although Séwel and Zeydelaar are, indeed, cited in two of the works attributed to Shizuki, Moonen and Van der Palm never seem to be mentioned in any of the documents I could analyze. Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that Shizuki probably used a large number of Dutch sources, including dictionaries and grammar books, but also scientific and literary works. In fact, as I will also discuss in Chapter VIII, it appears that Shizuki utilized Dutch poetry, specifically Jacob Cats' emblems, as sources for language use that were at the basis of the creation of some of his theories (see also NESPOLI 2022). This means that, even if one were to find a complete list of all the grammar books that Shizuki had read, this would still only paint a partial picture of his sources. As I have explained in 1.3, however, a complete knowledge of the sources and processes of influence Shizuki underwent, is not required.

2.4 Structure and contents of Shizuki's works on language

In this section, I will provide a description of the content of the works on language attributed to Shizuki. Each sub-section will be devoted to one specific manuscript and will provide a description of chapters, topics, stylistic characteristics, and other

structural details. In doing this, I will mostly reference SUGIMOTO (1976) and some further information will be drawn from ŌSHIMA (2018; 2019). At the end of each sub-section, I will also provide a list of relevant terminology used in each manuscript.

2.4.1 *Ryūho Nakano sensei bunpō*

There is only one copy of this work, kept at Kyoto University. This manuscript is what Ōtsuki Fumihiko believed to be the so-called *Oranda shihin-kō*, an otherwise unidentified early work by Shizuki (see 2.2). In his *Teisei rango kuhin-shū* Baba mentions having read *Shihin-kō* that he is there presenting in a revised version. A very similar content can also be found in *Rangaku hizō*, by Udagawa Genzui, citing Shizuki's *Jōji-kō* as a source.

While SUGIMOTO (1976, 406) dates the manuscript to the beginning of the Tenmei period (1781 – 1789), ŌSHIMA (2019, 39) only gives Udagawa Genzui's *Rangaku hizō* of 1798 as the *terminus ante quem*. As I have discussed in 2.2, above, DE GROOT (2005, 157-158) does not agree with the idea that *Nakano Ryūho sensei bunpō* corresponds to *Shihin-kō*, and that it should be counted as one of Shizuki's works.

The only source directly cited in this work is Marin, whose name is spelled, in *katakana*, as *mārin* (either マーリン or マアリン). Which book of Marin Shizuki is referring to is not clear, although one can assume he was referring to his dictionary, as I will demonstrate below. However, there are doubts regarding the extent to which the content of *Ryūho sensei bunpō* was actually based on that source. Marin is only cited in the following phrase on folio 3r:

geenerlij werkwoord ハマーリンニテハ	A <i>geenerlij werkwoord</i> ['neuter verb'] is called
onzydig w: ト云自然ノ語也又 werk: w:	
ハマアリンニテハ zijdig w: 也	
	<i>onzijdig w:</i> in Marin. This is a <i>jinen</i> word. Furthermore, a <i>werk: w:</i> [active verb] is called <i>zijdig w:</i> , in Marin.

This sentence has a couple of implications. Firstly, it appears that Shizuki is implying that *geneerlij werkwoord* and *werkend werkwoord* (*werk: w:*) are the main Dutch terms he himself employs to refer to neuter verbs and active verbs, respectively, with Marin's terms being handled as extra information. Furthermore, the term *zijdig* referring to active verb is rather exceptional and is not found in Marin's dictionary, as far as I know. I am also not aware of any Dutch source that does adopt this term to refer to active verbs. A second implication is the fact that, if *onzijdig* and *zijdig* are alleged to be terms used in Marin, it means that the others are not. This requires, thus, at least another source for these terms. After inspecting the rest of the terms and sample sentences, I conclude that Shizuki must have used Halma's dictionary as well. However, although it can be confirmed that Shizuki used the first edition of Halma's dictionary in order to compile his *Joshi-kō*, some of

the references found in *Sensei bunnō* are only found since the second edition onward of Halma's dictionary.²⁷ Examples of quotes from Halma include:

- The sentence *hij is wonderbaarlijk gered* 'he is miraculously safe' (spelled *gerd*, in the Japanese document) that is found in all editions of Halma, under the entry to *wonder* 'wonder'.
- The term *ondervragende voornaamwoord* 'interrogative pronoun', in reference to *wie* 'who', a term that appears from the second edition of Halma's dictionary onwards. The term is not used in Marin, nor in Halma's first edition.
- The sentence *hij gaf dat den regter over* 'he handed that over to the judge', is found in all editions of Halma's dictionary, under the entry to *de* 'the', when illustrating the *beschuldigend geval* 'accusative case'. Both the sentence and the name of the case are found in *Sensei bunnō*, although in that source the subject of the sentence is *ik* 'I'. The entry to *de* also includes examples such as *de dapperheid der mannen* or *de sterkte des mans* or *van den man*, that also resembles the contents of *Sensei bunnō*.
- The sentence *hij heeft zig omgebracht* 'he has killed himself' is found in a slightly different version in all editions of Halma's dictionary under the entry to *ombrengen* 'to kill', in the form *hij heeft zich zelven omgebracht*.
- The entry to the word *opletten* does not present the derived word *oplettendheid* in Marin, but it does in Halma, from the second edition onwards.

The biggest issue is with the term *ondervragend voornaamwoord* that is only used by Halma in his second edition – and never by Marin – only in the entry to *wie* 'who' and *welk* 'which'. Although Shizuki lists other interrogative pronouns, thereafter, in no edition of Halma are they labeled as such. The only similar label is given under *waar* 'where', which is however called an adverb that is sometimes interrogative and sometimes relative.²⁸ The Dutch names of the parts of speech are generally provided with a more or less direct translation, a traditional Sino-Japanese counterpart, and an explanation of their role in the sentence, as illustrated in Table 5.

Dutch	Trans-lation	Japa-nese	Explanation	English trans-lation
Zelfstandig naamwoord	自立名語	実語	有体有実 “Has body and filling” 萬物ノ名 “Name of all things” 萬事ノ稍 “Naming of all actions”	Noun
	三種			3 genders
z.m.	男自立名語			Masculine noun

²⁷ I discuss the contents of Halma's dictionary in 4.2.

²⁸ Original quote: “Waar is een *bijwoord* dat nu *ondervragend* en dan *opzigtelijk* is.”

z.v.	女自立名語			Feminine noun
geenerlij zelfstandign. z.g.	中間自立名語			Neuter noun
Bijvoegelijk naamwoord	傍寄名語	形容語	無実形 “Has no shape or filling” 事業ニアラザルノ語 “A word which does not concern actions” 物ノ貌 “Shape of things” 事ノ勢 “Impetus of actions”	Adjective
Bijwoord	傍語	助語	voorzetzel ト似テ別 “They look like prepositions, but are different” 諸ノ問語 “They include <i>mongo</i> (‘interrogatives’)”	Adverb
		問語		Interrogative pronouns
		事語		Verbs
Werkend werkwoord zijdig w.	為事語	使然ノ語		Active verb
Geenerlij werkwoord onzijdig w.	由亡語 ²⁹	自然ノ語		Neuter verb
Voorzetzel	節		處ノ上ニ云、実語ニ由テ言フナルモノ也 “They are said before a place, and are used in reference to full words”	Preposition
Koppelwoord Voegwoord	連續語			Conjunction
Onduitsch woord			純粹ナラス “They are not pure” ドイツノ正語ニアラス “No proper words of Dutch”	Non-Dutch word
Onvolmaakte tijd Voorleden tijd		過去ノ語		Imperfect tense Past tense
Deelwoord				Participle
Zamengestelde woord		合成語		Compound word

²⁹ SUGIMOTO (1976, 409) assumes this to be a misspelling of 由己語, as seen in Udagawa Genzui.

Eerste persoon		一番人		First person
Tweede persoon		二番人		Second person
Derde persoon		三番人		Third person
Persoonelijk voornaamwoord		ホー ルナ ーム		Pronoun

Table 5 Parts of speech in *Nakano Ryūho sensei bunpō*

Interestingly, by the end of this manuscript, on folios 12r-12v, one can find a sentence explaining the different uses of the verb *ombrengen* ‘to kill’, that can be made reflexive, by means of the pronoun *zich*. There, it is also claimed that whenever the verb is not used reflexively, it can be employed in sentences such as “he kills him” (彼レ彼ヲ殺ス) as in “Jacob has killed Casper with his own hands” (「ヤーコップ」カ手ニカケテ「カスプル」ヲ殺タル時ナトナリ). This example is quite unique, since it employs two Dutch names: Jacob, transcribed as *Yākoppu*, and Casper, transcribed as *Kasupuru*. Utilizing Dutch names, or any person’s name, in making sample sentences for grammatical explanations is not something I have witnessed elsewhere in Shizuki’s works. For this reason, I first thought this could have been a reference to a specific sentence the Japanese found in some Dutch source. However, I have not been able to find anything comparable in the known sources of Shizuki. Nonetheless, it can still be assumed that Shizuki could have made this sentence up, also considering that Marin’s dictionary presents, at the beginning of the book, a list of common Dutch names, divided according to sex.

2.4.2 *Joshi-kō*

It appears that one cannot understand the theory contained in either *Rangaku seizenfu* or *Joshi-kō*, by only reading one of the two. Although the focus of each is quite different, they share many of the terms and examples. Some terms, though used in both works, are only explained in one. For example, while *Rangaku seizenfu* presents morphosyntactic explanations of how Dutch verbs conjugate, *Joshi-kō* mostly appeals to these concepts without ever explaining them. This led some, like DE GROOT (2005), to speculate about the possibility of them being supposed to be used in combination, as discussed in 2.2.

Joshi-kō presents a list of Dutch words, all considered *joshi* 助詞 ‘auxiliary words’. They are collected in alphabetical order and have been compiled by referencing Marin’s dictionary. This is clear by the presence of the rare conjunction *quanquis*, of Latin origin, equated in meaning to *als*, *gelijk als*, that is not found in Halma. Moreover, many of the sample sentences are straightforwardly copied from the entries of Marin’s dictionary. This *modus operandi* is in no way new to the scholars of Dutch: it is a methodology of linguistic investigation that dates back to the very

first research of Nagasaki *tsūji* such as Nishi Zenzaburō and Maeno Ryōtaku. As SUGIMOTO (1976, 252) argues, this has probably been passed down from these interpreters to Motoki Yoshinaga, who then influenced Shizuki's learning of Dutch, in turn eventually teaching this to his disciple Baba Sajūrō who was then employed at the shogunate in Edo, where he could spread this methodology in the capital, being read by Udagawa Genzui, for example. It needs to be said though, that using sample sentences in order to illustrate linguistic phenomena is not a technique unique to these specific scholars, nor is it limited to scholars of Dutch. Confucianists used quotes from Confucius, *kokugakusha* used *waka*, while scholars of Dutch, having limited resources from which they could draw sample sentences, often resorted to quoting the sentences found in the entries of Dutch-French dictionaries.

As is clear from the title, *Joshi-kō* aims at presenting the category of *joshi*. A straightforward definition of *joshi* is not to be found. However, as I will discuss in Chapter VII, Shizuki used the term *joshi* to refer to those words among conjunctions, adverbs, prepositions, and sometimes auxiliary verbs, that have an impact on the morphosyntax of the predicates in the Japanese translation, rather than representing semantic concepts, such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Furthermore, as I will argue in Chapters V and VI, the concept of *joshi* is not new to Chinese studies and was oftentimes adopted and readapted by those who studied the Japanese language into corresponding to the Japanese particles, otherwise called *te ni wo ha*. Knowing that Shizuki had read Ogyū Sorai, one also needs to assume influence in the compilation of this manuscript from Ogyū Sorai's *Kun'yaku jimō*, which is itself a list of “auxiliaries”, there called *jogo* 助語. Indeed, this work by Shizuki echoes a series of publications that, within the tradition of *jigi* 字義 “interpretative dictionaries”, aimed at listing and defining all the Chinese characters belonging to the category of “auxiliary”, just like in *Joji-kō* 助辞考 by Itō Tōgai 伊藤東涯 (1670 – 1736). I will return to this in 5.5, and again in 7.2.4.

Joshi-kō does not present a structured division in chapters as *Seizenfu*, and the same contents are not always featured in all the copies of *Joshi-kō*. SUGIMOTO (1976, 325-326) identifies seven copies of this work, that differ to varying degrees in content. The main sections identified by Sugimoto are ‘index’ (*mokuji* 目次), the presence of which is the most inconsistent across the versions; ‘examples’ (*rei* 例); ‘main body’ (*honbun* 本文), including the various entries of each word (*tango* 単語) and the ‘example sentences’ (*kan'yōku* 慣用句);³⁰ additionally, some copies also include a ‘grammatical explanation’ (*bunpō kaisetsu* 文法解説). SAITŌ (1985, 78) adopts the same structure and terminology. Because of the inconsistent appearance of these chapters, SUGIMOTO (1976, 325-326) suggests dividing them into three groups, mostly disregarding the presence (or absence) of the Index.

³⁰ The term *kan'yōku* 慣用句 generally refers to idiomatic phrases. However, I have not been able to testify the presence of any specific section corresponding to that title. I have interpreted this term to refer to the Dutch phrases used to demonstrate the use of each word, within the entries. Because many of these sentences are taken from Marin's dictionary, many of them happen to be somewhat idiomatic. However, I have preferred to translate the term as ‘example sentences’ for the sake of clarity.

Group A (甲): These are the copies presenting the following structure: Examples (例), Index (目次) and Main body (本文). To this group belong:

- *Ryūho Oranda joji-kō* 柳圃和蘭助辞考, kept at Tenri University Library (天理図書館蔵);
- *Kyoji-kai* 虚辞解, kept at the Library of Graduate School of Letters, Kyōto University (京大文学部図書館蔵);
- *Joji-kō Ryūho sensei ikyō* 助字考 柳圃先生遺教, kept at Seikadō Bunko Library in Tokyo 静嘉堂文庫蔵. This copy does not feature the Index.

Group B (乙): These copies present the following structure: Examples (例), Index (目次), Main body (本文) and Grammatical explanation (文法解説). To this group belong:

- *Ryūho sensei joshi-kō* 柳圃先生助詞考, kept at the Waseda University in Tokyo (早大蔵);
- *Joshi-kō* 助詞考, also kept at the Waseda University in Tokyo. This copy does not feature the Index;
- *Rango kun'yaku* 蘭語訓訳, kept at Kyōto University's the Library of Graduate School of Letters. This copy does not feature the Index.

Group C (丙): Is composed of only one copy which features no Index, no Grammatical explanation and no Examples. To this group belongs:

- *Joshi-kō yakuhen* 助詞考約編, kept at Kyōto University's the Library of Graduate School of Letters.

The contents of the section on grammatical explanation, that is only found in three out of the seven copies, differ from the rest of the book. The main body of *Joshi-kō* is structured as a dictionary, where each Dutch word has its own entry. The last section features two tables illustrating the parts of speech, loosely based on Neo-Confucian traditional Chinese grammar. It is worth evidencing that the parts of speech illustrated in these tables (that I will analyze in 7.2.1) are all those that do not belong to the *joshi* category (i.e., “empty” and “full” words). Subsequently, all the parts of speech are discussed, using terms that often cannot be found elsewhere in the rest of the book, nor in any other work by Shizuki. However, these two tables are also cited and schematized at the end of *Rangaku seizenfu*. In addition, in this section on grammar of *Joshi-kō*, one finds lists and tables representing the various conjugations of verbs and declination of articles in a fashion that also is not found in either dictionary Shizuki claimed having used, or in *Seizenfu*, even though verbs are covered in detail, in the latter. Such organization of Dutch verbs and articles can be found in works such as Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, for example, where one can also recognize the terminology found in this section on grammar. All these hints seem to suggest that *Joshi-kō*'s section on grammar could have been added later by one

specific copyist who, perhaps, thought it necessary to have a reference to the totality of the grammatical theory as illustrated by Shizuki and his disciples in other works.

Shizuki only references Marin as his source, meaning Marin's dictionary, the third edition of which has been confirmed as source by Shizuki in *Seizenfu* (see 2.3.3). One can assume that the same edition was also the source for *Joshi-kō*. Indeed, many of the sample sentences provided as example to the use of each *joshi* are copied – to various degrees of faithfulness – from Marin's dictionary. DE GROOT (2005, 271) has already attempted to find correspondence between the sample sentences in *Joshi-kō* and those in Marin. There are still some sentences used in *Joshi-kō* without a confirmed source. However, some of these sentences might have been invented by the author himself, many being slight variations of the same sentence to demonstrate how changing each *joshi* makes the meaning and the morphosyntax of the sentence vary, in a similar fashion to what is done in the *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukai* section in *Seizenfu* (see 8.4.4). Variations of the sentence “When he is home nobody dares to speak” are featured in both manuscripts and offer a valuable comparative tool to analyze the theory contained in the two works. The presence of this sentence in both manuscripts can be interpreted in many ways. On the one hand, it could reinforce the idea of DE GROOT (2005, 148) who believed *Rangaku seizenfu* and *Joshi-kō* to be meant for combined use, by Shizuki. On the other hand, it could suggest that the section on grammar could have been added subsequently, inspired by *Seizenfu* itself, because of its rather distinct content as compared to the main body of the work, and because of its inconsistent presence across the many copies.

Within the grammatical section (52v-53r) one reads a quote that seems to be a redacted version of the first chapters of *Sanshu shokaku*. Or, perhaps, is *Sanshu shokaku* to be considered an expanded version of this. The title of this short section is *hassei wo mochiizaru mono* 発声ヲ用ヒザル者 ‘Not using articles’, which is almost identical to the chapter found in *Sanshu shokaku* on folios 2v to 4v, where one could read *hassei wo mochiizaru koto* 発声ヲ用ヒザルコト, where *mono* is substituted with its semi-synonym *koto*, two words used for the nominalization of verbs.

発声ヲ用ヒザル者	Not using articles
人名地名	Names of people and places
god, een, twee, drie, vier, vyf, enz.	<i>god, een, twee, drie, vier vijf</i> etc.
山ノ名川ノ名海ノ名是等ニハ発声ヲ用フ	With names of mountains, of rivers, of seas etc. one uses articles.
(略)	[...]
凡ソ動詞ヲ其儘ニ死用スルニハ het.ヲ用ユ ‘t eeten, ‘t drinken.	In general, with verbs used as “dead”, one uses <i>het</i> , like ‘ <i>t eeten</i> , ‘ <i>t drinken</i> .

Although in *Sanshu shokaku* there are three types of elision of articles, these one-liners can be found in full sentences within that work, as well. The first line of *Sanshu shokaku* claims the following (see 7.4):

人名地名ナトニハ發聲ヲ去ル (略)	One refrains from using the article with the names of people or of places. [...]
多シ人名地名ニテモ上ニ 虚詞 添ル寸ハ發聲ヲ用ルノ例ナリ	There are also examples of names of people and countries in which one still uses an article whenever they are preceded by an adjective.

The following line of *Joshi-kō* lists a series of words one does not use articles with. Most of them are numerals, except for the first word, that is *god* ‘god’. If one wonders why these words are listed together here, the answer is probably that it was an abbreviated version of a similar sentence found in *Sanshu shokaku*, 2v, that claims:

又 god ニモ用ヒス星ノ名ナドニ ハ用ユ又 twee maanen ナド、数 ノ字ヲ使フ寸ハ發聲ヲ用ヒズ	Furthermore, one does not use it [the article] with <i>god</i> , either. One does use it with the names of planets and stars. However, one does not use the article when using a numeral character, as in <i>twee maanen</i> [‘two moons’].
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On page 65, Séwel covers exactly the use of the word *god* and other nouns, in combination with articles. There it is claimed the following:

By eygene naamen van menfchen komen de Lédekens zelden te pas; want hoewel men zegt, <i>David versloeg den Reus</i> , nógtans mag men niet zeggen <i>den Goliath</i> , ’t en waare daar een Byvoegelyk Naamwoord by quam, als, <i>den trótsen Goliath</i> ; dòch men mag wel zeggen, <i>Deeze was de Christus</i> , Zo zegt men ook, <i>Engeland is magtig ter zee</i> , en <i>het vruchtbaar Engeland</i> . Onder de eygene naamen moet men ook ftellen <i>GOD</i> , ’t en waare men ’er eenen vallen Gód door verftond; evenwel zegt men, <i>De Gód des Hemels en der aarde</i> , om hem van andere Goden te onderfcheyden.	With proper nouns of humans, articles are rarely appropriate; because even if one says <i>David versloeg de Reus</i> , still one cannot say <i>den Goliath</i> , unless there is also an adjective, like <i>den trotsen Goliath</i> ; still one can say <i>Deeze was de Christus</i> . Likewise, one says <i>Engeland is magtig ter zee</i> and <i>het vruchtbaar Engeland</i> . Amongst proper nouns one must also consider <i>GOD</i> , unless one means a false God; in anyway, one says <i>De God des Hemels en der aarde</i> , to distinguish him from other Gods. ³¹
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³¹ Translations of the sentences: *David versloeg de Reus* ‘David defeated the giant’; *den trotsen Goliath* ‘[to] the proud Goliath’; *Deeze was de Christus* ‘This was Christ’; *Engeland is magtig ter zee* ‘England is powerful on the sea’; *het vruchtbaar Engeland* ‘the fruitful England’; *De God des Hemels en der aarde* ‘The God of the Heavens and of the Earth’.

Also from *Sanshu shokaku* (1v-2r):

本名ニモ山ノ名川ノ名ハ發聲ヲ添フ
皆 de ヲ添ル格ナリ但シ het alpen³²
gebergte ト云フヲアリ此ハ Gebergte
ト云詞 generlij ニナル故ソレニ附タル
het ナリ又俗ノ名ニモ de ヲ附ルナリ
de spaniaarde, de pootugiese ナドノ類

In proper names, as well, like the names of mountains or of rivers, one uses the article. They all belong to the *de* type. However, one also says *het alpen gebergte*. This is because *gebergte* is *generlij* ['neuter'] and needs *het* to be added. Furthermore, one also uses *de* with name of peoples, like *de spaniaarde*, *de portugiese*, etc.

Although similar explanations are found in Séwel in the chapter on the gender of nouns (*Van het geslacht der Naamwoorden*, 92-107), the example with the Alpine Mountain range cannot be found there. However, in Marin's dictionary, on page 272, under the entry for *gebergte*, one reads the example of '*t Alpische gebergte*. The examples of verbs being nominalized in their infinitive form found in the grammatical section of *Joshi-kō*³³ can also be seen very similarly in *Sanshu shokaku*, in the following quote (11v):

又 het eeten, het drinken, ナドハ werkwoord
ヲ zelfstandig ノ格ニナスナリ

Words like *het eeten*, *het drinken* etc. are *werkwoord* made *zelfstandig*.

On pages 105-106, Séwel claims the same, using as examples the same nominalized verbs:

Alle Werkwoorden van de Onbepaalde wyze,
die als een Naamwoord worden gebruykt,
zyn van 't Onzydig geflacht, als *Het gaan*
verveelde my: *Het eeten vieler schraal*; *Het*
drinken is zuur:

All Verbs of the Indefinite mood, which are used as Nouns, are of the neuter gender, like *Het gaan verveelde my*: *Het eeten vieler schraal*; *Het drinken is zuur*.³⁴

A similar list, with *het eten* and *het drinken* as first examples, is also found in Séwel on page 97, where they are defined as "Verbs used as Nouns" (*Werkwoorden, als Naamwoorden gebruykt*). Another piece that most likely comes from Séwel's *Spraakkonst* is the following list of words, found on folio 54r:

vryen werkwoord vryen ヨリ出タリ
vryer. 男女ノヲ

Vryen comes from the verb *vryen*
Vryer a thing of men and women

³² This word is spelled particularly badly. It looks more like *ulpen*.

³³ See, for example, folio 52r, in Waseda's 文庫 8 B109. Unless explicitly stated, all references from *Joshi-kō* are from this copy.

³⁴ Translations of the sentences: *Het gaan verveelde my* 'Going [there] bored me'; *Het eeten vieler schraal* 'The food was scanty'; *Het drinken is zuur* 'Drinking is sour'.

vryery ヲ sub.也

vryery is a noun.

On page 78 of Séwel's *Spraakkonst* there is a small paragraph tackling a similar topic. This section is absent in the first edition of *Spraakkonst*.

Het woord *Vryer*, gelyk men eenen ongehuuwden, die nooit getrouwd was, noemt, is eygentlyk iemand die *Vryt*, dat is, eene vrouwsperfoon aanzoeckt; en dewyl dit *Vryen* meeft van jongmans gelchiedt, noemt men eenen jongeling, schoon hy niet vryt, ook een' *Vryer*; welk woord men insgelyks zou kunnen afleyden van het Engelfch Naamwoord *Fryer*, dat eenen *Monnik* betekent, en afkomstig schynt van het Franfch woord *Frere* [Broër], gelyk men de Monniken noemt, als *Broër Felix*, *Broër Kornelis*, enz.

The word *Vryer* ['lover'] with which one calls somebody who has never been married, is also someone who *vryt* ['to court'], that is somebody who is looking for a female person; and since this *vryen* occurs more with young men, even when they do not court, young men can be called a *vryer*; a word which one could trace back to the English noun *Fryer* [modern spelling "friar"] which refers to a monk, and appears to derive from the French word *Frere* [Broër], just like one calls monks as *Brother Felix*, *Brother Kornelis*, etc.

The word *vryer*, in its meaning of 'lover', is considered as derivative from the verb *vryen*, as claimed in the Japanese text as well. However, Séwel does not refer to the noun *vryery* 'courtship', that can however be found in Halma and Marin's dictionaries. The dictionaries, nonetheless, do not reference the derivative nature of *vryer* from *vryen*. It appears, thus, that this section of *Joshi-kō* was inspired by Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, yet the author must have double-checked these words in one of the dictionaries.

The fact that the content of the grammatical section cites Séwel and *Sanshu shokaku* might make it appear as if this would mean that *Joshi-kō* was written after Shizuki read Séwel and compiled *Sanshu shokaku*. However, since not all copies of *Joshi-kō* contain such section, this could suggest that the grammatical section itself was added later, based on the contents of *Sanshu shokaku* and either *Rangaku seizenfu* or the unknown *Sanze-kō*.

Another reference to other sources that can be found in *Joshi-kō* (28v) is contained in the following sentence:

De ニこそノ訓ナルヲ woordenboek
ニモナキヲナレト予ガ愚見ノミテ云
ニハ非ス蘭臯先師ニナラヘル事也

The word *De* is translated into Japanese [訓] as *koso*. This cannot be found in the *woordenboek*. However, this is not simply my personal opinion, I have learned it from Master Rankō.

The author of this section claims to have referenced a Dutch dictionary, a *woordenboek*, and not having found the correspondence of the Dutch article *de* with the Japanese word *koso*こそ 'this one', 'this exactly'. However, he does know this to be the case since he was taught that from Master Rankō, meaning Motoki

Yoshinaga, the teacher of Shizuki. Of course, the word *de* is featured in both Marin and Halma's dictionaries. However, what the author is probably referencing here is the marked use of the article as to emphasize the fact that one is referring to "the one and only". This quote serves as a reminder of the fact that knowledge regarding Dutch used to also spread through non-written forms, like oral teachings from a master to his disciples. In the specific case of Shizuki it is known from many sources that he had learned Dutch from Motoki, who, however, has not published any work on Dutch grammar.

As far as the vocabulary on grammar is concerned, *Joshi-kō* is a rather peculiar case. As I have mentioned, the structure of this manuscript varies across the different copies, with some versions also including a section on grammar. The terminology adopted in the grammatical section is not completely in agreement with the terms featured in the main body of the work. Furthermore, one can also find inconsistencies within this section on grammar itself. Specifically, one of the first contents of the section on grammar is a table illustrating the relations between the different parts of speech, that is mostly based on the Sino-Japanese tradition, in combination with Marin's gender rules (see 7.2.1). After these tables, however, the grammatical section features rather different terms most of which are not found anywhere else in Shizuki's bibliography. For this reason, in Tables 6, 7 and 8, below, I have split the terminology regarding grammar according to the section the terms are found in. The three main chunks I have identified are: the "main body" of the work, that is, the list of *joshi* with their translations and sample sentences; the tables of the parts of speech, found within the section on grammar; and, lastly, the rest of the section on grammar. In fact, the terminology employed in the second part of the section on grammar does not completely overlap with what is claimed in the table, making one deduce that there might have been two or more sources referenced when compiling this section.

Main body		
Japanese	Dutch	Meaning
<i>fukushi</i> 復詞 <i>shūshi</i> 衆詞	meervoudig woord 衆詞ト言ハ復詞ノㄗ也即チ meervoudig ノ ㄗ也 “When referring to a <i>shūshi</i> word, it is said <i>fukushi</i> . Basically, this is <i>meervoudig</i> ”	Plural
<i>jidōshi</i> 自動詞	V.N.	Neuter verb
<i>dōtashi</i> 動他詞 <i>dōta</i> 動他	W.W. V.A.	Active verb
<i>dōshi</i> 動詞		Verb
<i>gechi no kotoba</i> 下知ノ詞		Imperative

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<i>seikatsushi</i> 静虚詞 <i>seishi</i> 静詞	ADJ	Adjective
<i>kako</i> 過去		Past
<i>mirai</i> 未来		Future
<i>tatoe</i> 假令		<i>Tatoe</i>
<i>genzaishi</i> 現在詞		Present
<i>hassei</i> (<i>no kotoba</i>) 発声(ノ 詞)		Article
<i>joji</i> 助辭 <i>joshi</i> 助詞 <i>jogo</i> 助語		<i>joshi</i>
<i>jisshi</i> 実詞		Substantive
<i>jisshi-shishi</i> 実詞死詞		Full words dead words
<i>shishi</i> 死詞		Dead word
<i>dōkatsushi</i> 動活詞		Lively moving word
<i>seikatsushi</i> 静活詞		Lively quiet word
<i>yōshi</i> 陽詞		Masculine
<i>dokushi</i> 独詞		Singular
<i>shiyō</i> 死用		Use as dead (nominalization)

Table 6 Parts of speech within the main body of *Joshi-kō*.

Tables		
Japanese	Dutch	Meaning
<i>dōshi</i> 動詞 <i>katsudōshi</i> 活動詞	werkwoord	Verb
<i>jisshi</i> 実詞 <i>shijitsubutsu</i> <i>ushō</i> 死実物称 <i>jitaishi</i> 自 体詞	Zelfstandig naamworod	Noun
<i>shi</i> 死		Dead
<i>yō</i> 陽		Masculine
<i>chū</i> 中		Neuter
<i>in</i> 陰		Feminine

<i>seikatsu</i> 静活	Adje	Lively quiet
<i>shisei</i> 死静	Adje subst	Dead quiet
<i>seishi</i> 静詞 <i>seikatsushi</i> 静活詞 <i>kyoseikatsu</i> <i>shi</i> 虚静活詞	Adje toevoegelijk naamwoord	Adjective Empty quiet lively word
<i>dōta</i> 動他 <i>shizen</i> 使然	VA werkend werkwoord	Active verb
<i>jidō</i> 自動 <i>jinen</i> 自然	onzijdig werkwoord	Neuter verb
<i>kyoshi</i> 虚詞		Empty (Includes “adjectives” and “verbs”)
<i>seishi</i> 静詞 <i>kyoseishish</i> <i>i</i> 虚静死詞	toevoegelijk zelfstandig naamwoord	Nominalized adjective, Empty dead quiet word
<i>joshi</i> 助詞 <i>dōtakushi</i> 動客詞		Adverbs
<i>shiyō</i> 死用		Use as dead
<i>dōshi no</i> <i>shiyō</i> 動詞 ノ死用	verbalia	Dead of a verb
<i>sei no shi</i> 静ノ死 <i>seishi</i> 静死		Death of a quiet word, nominalization of an adjective
<i>shū</i> 衆		Plural
<i>doku</i> 独		Singular
<i>shishi</i> 死詞		Dead word
<i>seikyoshi</i> 静虚詞		Quiet empty word
<i>yōsu no</i> <i>kotoba</i> 様子ノ詞		Adverbs derived from adjectives by means of affixation (see 6.2.3)
<i>keshiki no</i> <i>kotoba</i> 気色ノ詞		Adjectives derived from adjectives by means of affixation (see 6.2.3)
<i>shijitu</i> 死実		Dead full
<i>keiyōshi</i> 形容詞		Specific uses of originally adjectival characters (6.2.2)

Table 7 Parts of speech from the two tables of *Joshi-kō*.

Rest of grammatical explanation		
Japanese	Dutch	Meaning
<i>ugokanu kotoba</i> ウゴカヌ詞 <i>shijitsutsūshō</i> 死実通称	zelfstandig naamwoord	Noun
<i>waza no shishi</i> ワサノ死詞 <i>dōshishi</i> 動死詞	werkwoordelijk zelfstandignaam.	Nominalized verb
<i>yōshu no shishi</i> ヤウスノ死詞 <i>keshiki no shishi</i> ケシキノ死詞 <i>sei no shishi</i> 静ノ死詞	toevoegelijk zelfstandignaam.	Nominalized adjective
<i>yōsu no shishi</i> ヤウスノ詞 <i>keshiki no shishi</i> ケシキノ詞 <i>seikatsushi</i> 静活詞	tevoegelijk naamwoord	Adjective
<i>waza no kotoba</i> ワサノ詞 <i>katsudōshi</i> 活動詞	werkwoord	Verb
<i>ugoku kotoba</i> ウゴク詞 <i>jidō</i> 自動	onzijdig werkwoord	Neuter verb
<i>ugokasu kotoba</i> ウゴカス詞 <i>dōta</i> 動他	werkend werkwoord	Active verb
<i>yū</i> 雄		Masculine
<i>chū</i> 中		Neuter
<i>shi</i> 雌		Feminine
<i>doku</i> 独		Singular
<i>shū</i> 衆		Plural
<i>hassei</i> 発声		Article
<i>jiseki</i> 事跡		<i>jiseki</i> (see 8.5.1)

<i>kakoshi</i> 過去詞		Past
<i>genzaishi</i> 現在詞		Present
<i>kako no genzai</i> 過去ノ現在		Present of the past
<i>kako no kako</i> 過去ノ過去		Past of the past
<i>jogo</i> 助語		<i>joshi</i>
<i>jisshi</i> 実詞		Full word
<i>dōshi</i> 動詞		Verb
<i>shijitsu</i> 死実		Dead full
<i>kyosei</i> 虚静		Empty quiet
<i>gechi no kotoba</i> 下知ノ詞		Imperative
<i>tatoe</i> 假令		<i>tatoe</i> (see 8.4.6)
<i>dan</i> 男		Masculine
<i>jo</i> 女		Feminine
<i>manshi</i> 慢詞	voorzetzel	Preposition
推シ量ル		“Hypothetical of reality”
<i>daimeishi</i> 代名詞	persoonelijk naamwoord ホールネーム <i>hōrunāmu</i>	Pronoun

Table 8 Parts of speech from the section on grammatical explanation in *Joshi-kō*.

The morphological implications of these different explanations will be studied in 7.2. The contents of the section I have referred to as “Grammatical explanation” display remarkable features. In particular, it appears that the information there looks more like a collection of loose thoughts and ideas that might have been gathered and added in a later moment since the original compilation of *Joshi-kō*. This would also explain why this section is not present in all the existing copies. The similarity of some of its information with the supposedly later work *Sanshu shokaku* and with Séwel’s *Spraakkonst* might suggest this section to have been added after the publication of the former and the reading by Shizuki of the latter. I am more inclined to believe that the section on grammar was added by some later scholar who possessed a copy of *Joshi-kō* and had already read *Sanshu shokaku*, and possibly other works by Shizuki. However, the evidence is still not enough to support any definitive claim. This means that, in the process of understanding the date of

compilation of *Joshi-kō*, the grammatical explanation should not be considered. This is reinforced by the fact that four out of the seven copies of *Joshi-kō* do not include this section. This would also imply that the addition of that section and, thus, all the copies that include it, ought to be dated after the compilation of *Sanshu shokaku*.

2.4.3 *Rangaku seizenfu*

There are four copies of this manuscript (ŌSHIMA 2019, 37). One is owned by Waseda University, currently available also digitally, catalogued as 文庫 08 B0057. This seems to have been previously owned by Okamura Chibiki 岡村千曳 (1882 – 1964). It presents the name of Udagawa Yōan, written in Latin characters, and the phrase 岐陽柳圃先生發明 that can be translated as either “the invention of Master Ryūho from Nagasaki” or “the teachings of Master Ryūho from Nagasaki”. SUGIMOTO (1975, 269) believes this to be the copy that Baba Sajūrō brought from Nagasaki to Edo in 1808, after being handed it from either Ōtsuki Gentaku or Ōtsuki Genkan. There are also the two copies owned one by the foundation Mukyūkai (公益財団法人無窮会専門図書), in Tokyo, and the one present at 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). SUGIMOTO (1976, 269) claims these two editions to be identical in their contents. A fourth one is kept in the Gifu Prefectural Archives (岐阜県歴史資料館). Some of the copies also present an introduction (序) signed by Ryūho himself (柳圃著), that reads the following:³⁵

物氏の訳箋に漢学をせんものは文字の本来の面目を識れといへるが如く蘭学もまたさるわさなるからおのれ此ころ和漢の語をゑらひて訓訳しつる此文の名をしもかの生れぬ前の父そこゐしきとよめるが本来の面目をいへる哥なるによそへてなん蘭学生前父とは名つける

Just like one can say that *Yakusen* [*Yakubun sentei*] by Mister Butsu [*Ogyū Sorai*] records the real forms of characters, *rangaku* is no different. Thus, while one can read the title of this text – wherein I chose Chinese and Japanese words for the translation [訓訳] – as “longing for the father before one was even born”, perhaps the real form is only stated by a poem. Therefore, I called it 蘭学生前父.

In this introduction, Shizuki explains the title of *Rangaku seizenfu* that, according to ŌSHIMA (2019), is based on an orally transmitted *dōka* 道歌, a form of *tanka* 短歌 ‘short poem’ containing teachings on values and morals (hence *dō* 道), that went: *yami no yoru ni nakanu karasu no koe kikeba umarenu saki no chichi zo koishiki* 闇の夜に鳴かぬ鳥の声聞けば生まれぬ先の父ぞ恋しき ‘If you cannot hear the voice of the crow that does not caw in the dark night, you long for your father before your birth’. This poem reflects on the perception of existence. If you cannot see, nor hear a crow that does not mean it does not exist, yet you are left with no way of knowing it. Similarly, you cannot exist without your parents. Your parents are concrete evidence of your existence. Had they not existed, then you would have not

³⁵ Original text quoted from SUGIMOTO (1962, 270), my English translation.

existed either. Just like you deem a crow existent by evidence such as seeing or hearing it, then you also need such evidence to prove your own existence, and that evidence is your parents' existence. When you see no evidence of existence (you do not see a crow), then you long for evidence of your own existence (your parents). To understand this explanation, one also needs to consider the term *honrai no meimoku* (also *menboku* or *menmoku*) 本来の面目 'original form', that appears to be a citation from the introduction of Ogyū's *Yakubun sentei*. There, it is claimed that the practice of *kundoku* (that Ogyū calls *wakun* 和訓), although sometimes helpful, has made the Japanese less capable of understanding the real meaning of Chinese texts. That is why he intends to illustrate the "original form" of Chinese characters. This is also a poetical reference (父母未生以前本来面目), that more or less refers to the same idea: how can you know your original form before the birth of your own parents? The name *Rangaku seizenfu* 蘭学生前父, that should probably be read as *oranda manabi umarenu saki no chichi* 'not-yet-born father of Dutch studies', should be interpreted consequently. Shizuki proposes to explain the original form of Dutch, to those who are still not aware. A correct form of Dutch exists regardless of you knowing it, however, by knowing the "not-yet-born father" – in this case: Master Shizuki as an expert of Dutch – one has the evidence required to prove its existence, just like one needs to hear or see a crow in order to know it exists in the dark of the night (ŌSHIMA 2019, 37-40). I have also searched whether and where Ogyū Sorai mentioned the concept of "original form" in *Yakubun sentei*, and it appears it is featured at the beginning of the work, in the following quote:³⁶

Therefore learning the language of the Chinese and apprehending its **original features** should be the primary task of the scholar. Moreover the **original features** of that language are unknown to the Chinese themselves. How are they any different from the inhabitants of Mount Lu not knowing its true features? If we take our Japanese language and use it as a means of investigating the Chinese language, we come to understand what exactly the Chinese language is in a manner impossible for the Chinese—just as the northerner who goes south can perceive that the climate is sunny and warm, whereas the southerner who lives there does not notice anything unusual.

In addition to Ogyū Sorai, this work also references Motoori Norinaga and specifically his *Kotoba no tama no o* 詞の玉緒. Their theories have certainly played an important role in Shizuki's understanding of language, an influence that is particularly visible in *Seizenfu*. I will cover this in Chapters VII and VIII. From the Dutch authors, Shizuki directly cites the first edition of Halma's dictionary and the

³⁶ English translation from PASTREICH (2001, 147-148). The translator renders *honrai no menmoku* into English as "original feature" and I have added the bold font in order to focus of these words. As PASTREICH explains, the Mount Lu mention is a reference to a poem by the Chinese Sū Shī 蘇軾 (1036 – 1101) by the title *Tí xīshānbì shī* 題西山壁詩 ('Inscription on the cliff of the Western Mountain'), where it was postulated that those who inhabited the very top of Mount Lu (Lúshān 廬山) had a worse perception of its real form, as compared to those who lived far from it, and could see it in its entirety.

third edition of Marin's. This can be deduced by comparing what claimed in the quote below (9v) with the actual content of those sources, that I will cover in Chapter IV:³⁷

hebben ハマーリン三板ニ A トアリ hadden モ同シハルマ初板ニ自動トセ ルハ恐クハ誤レリ	In the third edition of Marin, <i>hebben</i> is an A ["Active"], and <i>hadden</i> is the same. In Halma's first edition it is considered a <i>jidō</i> , although this is probably a mistake.
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There is no direct citation of Séwel, nor does any of the content of *Seizenfu* point indirectly to the fact that Shizuki might have read Séwel's *Spraakkonst* before compiling this work. However, there is one quote that most certainly comes from one verse of the Dutch poet Jacob Cats. In the chapter titled *Kusagusa no kotobazukai* 種々ノ詞遣ヒ 'The use of many types of words' Shizuki presents twenty-seven Dutch sentences that 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 among the others, and that is sentence number twelve (15v): *Al heeft een hoer [een] mooi 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 very similar forms in *Compleet Nederduitsch en Fransch woordenboek* 'Complete Dutch and French dictionary' by Pieter Marin (1667/8 – 1718), that is a well-attested source of Shizuki. It is found there, on page 8 of the second volume of the third edition, 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'. He also realized that the sentence could also be found in a 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 schoon³⁸ 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 Figure 1.

The other sentence that is used and modified in *Seizenfu* is found quite identically written in Marin's dictionary, on folio 24v, under the entry to *als*, written as: *als hy te huis is durft 'er niemand spreken*. Additionally, the phrase *niet durven spreken* is also found under the entry to *durven*, on page 233.

³⁷ All folios references concerning *Rangaku seizenfu* are based on Waseda's 文庫 8 B57, unless otherwise specified.

³⁸ The fact that in Shizuki we have the adjective *mooi*, instead of *schoon* 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 could have had *schoon*. I have not been able to find a version of this poem with *mooi*, in any Dutch publication.

Mulier sine verecundia, lampas sine lumine.



*Al heeft een hoer een schoon gezicht /
't Is een lanteerne sonder licht.*

Figure 1 Emblem of the poem “Mulier sine verecundia, lampas sine lumine” from Jacob Cats’ 1632 *Spiegel*.

Regarding the compilation of this section Shizuki adds the following remark, on folio 20r:

以上二十七則ノ語ハ余カ作為ニ
出タレト各本ツク所ナキニアラ
ズ然レト猶倒置等ノ謬トアルベ
ケレハ後人ノ正シ玉シヲメ希
フ第四則ト第十二則トハ全キ本
文アリ殊ニ妓女ノ語ハ gezigt,
ligt, ト韻ヲ押リ

These twenty-seven sentences I have made them myself. However, it is not as if they are not written in any book. In fact, even though there are certainly mistakes such as inverted word-orders etc., I hope that the people after me will be able to correct them. Sentences four and twelve are entirely as in the original text. Furthermore, in the sentence of the prostitute, *gezig*t and *ligt* rhyme.

This excerpt informs the reader that the sentences found in *Kusagusa no kotobazukai* are made by Shizuki himself, although he has based (most of) them on sentences he found in some original source. In particular, he claims that sentences four and twelve are both completely copied over from an original source. This refers to sentence four *Als hij te huis is durft 'er niemand spreken*, which comes from Marin’s dictionary, and sentence twelve which is the citation from Jacob Cats’

poem. Furthermore, Shizuki adds that the sentence about the prostitute presents a rhyme³⁹ in the words *gezigt* and *ligt*.

Rangaku seizenfu presents an internal structure comprising many sections, some very brief, some much longer. In Gifu's copy, there is also a table of contents, listing thirteen chapters, as follows:

1. ***Wago-rei* 和語例 – ‘Examples of Japanese language’**

It presents a table of some verbal and adjectival endings in the Japanese language as to introduce the concepts of *kiruru kotoba* 切ルゝ詞 and *tsuzuku kotoba* 續ク詞 (see 8.2);

2. ***Ryō-go no i* 両語之異 – ‘Differences Between Both Languages’**

It broadly explains the main issue of non-correspondence between some Japanese verbal construct with Dutch ones. This mostly concerns the difference in how the Dutch auxiliary *zijn* cannot be used in present perfect tenses of some active verbs (see 8.2);

3. ***Rango sanze meimoku* 蘭語三世名目 – ‘Names of the Three Times of Dutch’**

It introduces the three times (present, past and future) of the Dutch language (see 8.4.2);

4. ***Kiruru go* 切ルゝ語**

It presents different conjugations of the Dutch verbs *vallen*, ‘to fall’ and *spreken*, ‘to speak’, in their Japanese translations, *ochi* 隕 (neuter) and *ii* 言 (active), respectively, as to display the use of *kiruru kotoba*;

5. ***Tsuzuku go* 續ク語**

Similarly to the previous section, Shizuki presents examples of *tsuzuku kotoba* with a first introduction to the Dutch auxiliary verbs. The verbs *ochi* and *ii* are again used to demonstrate how neuter and active verbs behave in the context of relative clauses; This chapter includes three sub-paragraphs: *dōtashi* 動他詞 ‘active verbs’; *jidōshi* 自動詞 ‘neuter verbs’; *seikyoshi* 静虚詞 ‘adjectives’.

³⁹ The expression *in o osaeri* 韻ヲ押リ to refer to the concept of “rhyming” reminds of the terminology utilized in the last section of *Sangoku shukushō* where, allegedly, Shizuki's thoughts on Dutch poetry were being reported (see NESPOLI 2022).

6. *Sanze-zu* 三世圖 – ‘Table of the Three Times’
Presentation of the three times of Dutch verbs, in combination with two additional concepts: *gense* 現世 and *kako oyobi tato* 過去及ヒ假令 (see 8.4.2);
7. *Roku-shi o kasanuru hiyaku* 六詞ヲ重ヌル秘訳 – ‘Secret Translations of the Overlapping of the Six Word’
Here, Shizuki portrays the different Japanese translations that one can provide to the combined use of the Dutch auxiliary verbs he has presented in the previous section;
8. *Jiseki no kotoba* 事迹ノ詞
A small table presenting the relation between verbal tenses in the context of Shizuki’s concept of *jiseki* (see 8.5.1);
9. *Kusagusa no kotoba-zukahi* 種々ノ詞遣ヒ – ‘The Use of Many Types of Words’
A long section comprising 26 sample sentences, accompanied by their literary Japanese translation and in-depth explanation (see 8.4.4).
10. *Zouden no koto* Zouden 之事 – ‘About Zouden’
The use of the Dutch auxiliary verb *zouden* in comparison to the Japanese structures used in literary classics (see 8.4.6);
11. *Kusagusa no musubi go* 種々ノ結ヒ語 – ‘Various types of connecting words’
Presentation of the concept of *musubi-kotoba* and their use in comparison to Dutch sentences (see 8.4.11);
12. *Roku-shi hiyaku, nami, teikaku* 六詞秘訳 並 定格 – ‘Secret Translations of the Six Words’
Further tips on how to translate the six auxiliaries of the Dutch language previously presented in the *sanze* table;
13. *Shihin-zu* 詞品圖 – ‘Tables of the Types of Words’
Graphs presenting Shizuki’s rationalization of the parts of speech of the Dutch language, admittedly adapted from *Joshi-kō* (see 7.3);
14. *Van de Woordenschikking* – ‘About the Syntax’
Conclusive Dutch-language section presenting scattered information about syntax. Copied from *Nederduitsche Spraakwyze*, by Marin (see Appendix 3). This section is not present in all copies of *Rangaku Seizenfu*.

As I will demonstrate in Chapters VII and VIII, this work represents what can be assumed to be the first comprehensive work on Dutch morphosyntax. In addition, the theories here included are not only quite original, but also extremely detailed in topics rarely ever touched upon by other Japanese scholars of Dutch before Shizuki or by Dutch authors themselves. No wonder SUGIMOTO (2013, 90) went as far as calling *Rangaku seizenfu* ‘the starting point of the research on Dutch-Japanese contrastive grammar’ (日蘭対照比較語法研究の出発点).

Japanese	Romanization	Meaning
推ハカル	<i>oshihakaru</i>	Hypothetical of the non- <i>tatoe</i> type (see 8.4.6.2)
過去	<i>kako</i>	Past
過去中ノ過去	<i>kakochū no kako</i>	Past within the past
過去ノ現在 過去ノ現世	<i>kako no genzai</i> <i>kako no gense</i>	Present within the past
假令	<i>tatoe</i>	Hypothetical of irreality (see 8.4.6)
形容詞	<i>keiyōshi</i>	Specific type of adjectives (see 7.2 and 7.3)
下知	<i>gechi</i>	Imperative
現在中ノ過去	<i>genzaichū no kako</i>	Past within the present
現世 現在	<i>gense</i> <i>genzai</i>	Present
現世ノ過去	<i>gense no kako</i>	Past within the present
現世ノ現世	<i>gense no gense</i>	Present within the present
現世ノ未来	<i>gense no mirai</i>	Future within the present
使令	<i>shirei</i>	Imperative
衆詞	<i>shūshi</i>	Plural
真ノ過去	<i>shin no kako</i>	Real past
真ノ未来	<i>shin no mirai</i>	Real future
事迹 事跡	<i>jiseki</i>	<i>jiseki</i> (see 8.5.1)
自動	<i>jidō</i>	Neuter verb
實詞	<i>jitsushi</i> <i>jisshi</i>	Noun
助字	<i>joji</i>	Auxiliary word
静虚	<i>seikyo</i>	Quiet empty
静詞	<i>seishi</i>	Quiet word
動詞	<i>dōshi</i>	Verb
動他	<i>dōta</i>	Active
未来	<i>mirai</i>	Future tense
結ヒ詞	<i>musubi-kotoba</i>	A few specific verbal affixes of classical Japanese (see 8.4.11)

Table 9 Parts of speech in *Rangaku seizenfu*.

The main body of *Rangaku seizenfu* is written in *kanji-katakana majiri-bun* 漢字カタカナ交じり文, a combination of Chinese characters and the *katakana* syllabary. The *hiragana* syllabary is still used in *Seizenfu*, but it only serves the specific purpose (outside of the introduction) of representing text in literary Japanese, marking its difference from what Shizuki calls *zokugo* 俗語, popular language, that is always written, in turn, in *katakana*. Shizuki's popular Japanese features grammatical structures more closely related to contemporary Japanese, as well as a modernized *kana* use (e.g., the use of *a-gyō* for verbs traditionally ending in *ha-gyō*). Conversely, citations from literary classics and other Japanese language texts are always presented in the mixed use of Chinese characters and *hiragana* (*kanji-hiragana majiri-bun* 漢字ひらがな交じり文).

The terminology referencing grammatical categories is rarely written in Dutch. Many of the Dutch sentences are translated both in classical Japanese and in Chinese. For this reason, the meanings of Dutch verbs are often compared to one or more specific Chinese character.

2.4.4 *Sanshu shokaku*

There are three known copies of this work (ŌSHIMA 2018, 7-8). One is 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). Another one is kept in the Gifu Prefectural Archives (岐阜県歴史資料館). The last one is currently found at the Siebold Memorial Museum in Nagasaki (長崎シーボルト記念館). This last copy can be distinguished from the others by the fact that it also features the table of contents (目次), and by the fact that the title presents the addition of the three Chinese characters for the three genders (陰陽中) before the common title. The work is divided in the following sections:

1. **Table of contents** (*mokuji* 目次): Only present in Siebold Memorial Museum's copy.
2. **The elision of articles** (*Hassei wo saru koto* 發声ヲ去ルコト): It covers the instances in which nouns are not preceded by articles, by rule;
3. **The omission of articles** (*Hassei wo ryaku suru koto* 發声ヲ略スルコト): It cover supposed cases in which articles can be omitted, yet not by rule;
4. **When not to use articles** (*Hassei wo mochi hizaru koto* 發声ヲ用ヒザルコト): Instances in which articles are not to be used, at all;
5. **Exceptions of the three genders** (*Sanshu henkaku no koto* 三種変格之変): Illustrates the labels of the three genders, and a couple of examples concerning irregular declination of nouns;
6. **The words used in the six cases** (*Rokkaku shoyō no kotoba* 六格所用ノ詞): It presents the six cases of Dutch and provides Japanese adaptations, specifically concerning particles;
7. **All the cases for masculine, feminine neuter and plural** (*In-yō-chū-fuku shokaku* 陰陽中複諸格): Illustration of declined forms of many pronouns, adjectives and articles;

8. **The cases of the participles** (*Deelwoord no kaku* deelwoord 之格): Explanation of the declination of participles;
9. **The use of *het*** (*Het wo mochihiro mono* het ヲ用ル者): Remarks on the use of the article *het*;
10. **Mixed additions** (*Konpu* 混附): Further remarks on the uses of cases and genders;
11. **About the Present and Past** (*Gense kako no koto* 現世過去ノコト): The use of present and past tenses, from the example of a text contained in the introduction to Johann Keill's *Inleidinge tot de waare natuur-en sterrekunde* 'Introduction to the real physics and astronomy';
12. **The addition of '*er*'** (*'er wo kuwaru koto* 'er ヲ加ルコト): Remarks on the use of '*er*';
13. **All types of negations** (*Fu-mu-hi no koto* 不無非ノコト): All manners of expressing negation, in Dutch.

The main topic of this work, as suggested by the title, concerns the six cases and three noun classes. Cases are translated into Japanese as *kaku* 格, often in the phrasing *rokkaku* 六格 for "six cases", while the gender is called *geslacht*, in Dutch, and translated as *shu* 種, in Japanese, often in the phrasing *sanshu* 三種 for the "three genders". Some information regarding verbs can be found in the chapter *gense kako no koto* 現世過去ノコト 'About the past and the present' (see 8.4.2). Another peculiarity of this work is the fact that grammar is organized quite strictly on a Greek-Latin traditional fashion, with specific terminology for each part of speech recognized by the European tradition, including the subcategories and all the other relevant terminology concerning classes and inflecting patterns. A difference between this *Sanshu shokaku* and the other works of Shizuki, is the fact that this tends to adopt Dutch terminology without providing a Japanese translation. Another issue, probably specific to Sophia University's copy, is the difference between the terminology used within the main body of the text, and what is presented annotated on the righthand side of Dutch words, as *furigana*. A remarkable example is that of the names of the different cases that, in the main body are called in three ways: by their Latin name; by their Dutch name; and, in Japanese, by cardinal numbers, as it was not uncommon in the Dutch literature of the time. The annotated terminology, instead, uses Chinese characters similar to those seen in other works by Shizuki, like *Kyoshi-kō* (2.4.5) or *Shihō shoji taiyaku* (2.4.7). The fact that these Chinese characters have only been written as notes might suggest a later addition from either the copyist or an owner of the manuscript. In Table 10, I illustrate the grammatical terminology found in *Sanshu shokaku*, differentiated according to whether each specific term is found only in note, or also in the main text.

Japanese	Category	Dutch	Notes
<i>sanshu</i> 三種	Thee genders	N/a	
<i>rokkaku</i> 六格	Six cases	Zes naamvallen	
<i>hassei</i> 發聲	Articles	N/a	
<i>jitsushi</i> (<i>jisshi</i>) 実詞	Full words	N/a	
<i>kyoshi</i> 虚詞	Empty words	N/a	
<i>jogo</i> 助語	Auxiliary word	N/a	
<i>yō</i> 陽	Masculine	Mannelyk M	
<i>in</i> 陰	Feminine	Vrouwelyk F	
<i>chū</i> 中	Neuter	Geenerlyk Onzydig O	
<i>tan</i> 單	Singular	N/a	
<i>fuku</i> 複	Plural	Meervoud MV	
<i>dōshi</i> 動詞	Verb	Werkwoord	
<i>jidōshi</i> 自動詞	Neutral verb	N/a	
<i>dōtashi</i> 動他詞	Active verb	Werkend werkwoord	
N/a	Impersonal verb	Onerzoonlyk werkwoord	
<i>daiichi</i> 第一	Nominative	Nominativus Noemer	正 (Only in note)
<i>daimi</i> 第二	Genitive	Genitivus Teeler	主 (Only in note)
<i>daisan</i> 第三	Dative	Dativus Geever	与 (Only in note)
<i>daiyon</i> 第四	Accusative	Accusativus Aanklaager	所 (Only in note)
<i>daigo</i> 第五	Vocative	Vocativus Roeper	呼 (Only in note)
<i>dairoku</i> 第六	Ablative	Ablativus Neemer	取 (Only in note)
<i>jiseki</i> 事跡	<i>jiseki</i> (see 8.5.1)	N/a	
<i>daimeishi</i> 代名詞	Pronoun		Only in note, present only as <i>furigana</i> to the word <i>doctor</i> , used as a pronoun.

Table 10 Parts of speech in *Sanshu shokaku*.

There are five Dutch sources cited in *Sanshu shokaku*, namely Keill's *Natuurkunde* (*Keiru no nachūrukunde* ケイル之ナチュールキュンデ); Séwel's *Spraakkonst* (*Supurākakonsuto* スプラーカコンスト); an unidentified *Redenkonst* (*rēdenkonsuto* レーデンコンスト); an unidentified edition of a *ABC-Boek* (*abesebūku* アベセブーク); and Marin's dictionary (*mārin* マーリン and *wōrudenbūku* ウォールデンブーク). It can be understood that the word *wōrudenbūku*, that stands for the Dutch *woordenboek* 'dictionary', refers to Marin's dictionary from the quote below (14v):⁴⁰

実詞皆陰陽中ノ三種アリ遂ニ一挙ル
ヲ不能「ウォールデンブーク」ヲ検
シテ知ベシ其中男ニ属スル詞ハ陽ナ
リ女ニ属スル詞ハ陰ナリ唯 *wijf* ハ中
ナリ又 *verlossing*, *twijffeling* ナド末
ニ *ing* ノ附タルハ *schoonheid*,
zuiverheid ナド末ニ *heid* ノ附タルハ
皆陰ナリ此外「スプラーカコンス
ト」ニハ三種ヲ分別スベキ様々ノ例
格ヲ出シアレトモ此ニハ畧也

Full words all have three genders: masculine, feminine and neuter. I cannot cover them all. One should look them up in a *Woordenboek*. Amongst them, the words belonging to men are masculine, and those belonging to women are feminine. However, the word *wijf* is neutral. Words like *verlossing*, *twijffeling*, since they have *-ing* at the end, and words like *schoonheid*, *zuiverheid*, having *-heid*, at the end, are all feminine. Beyond these, there are many examples of the distinction of the three genders in *Spraakkonst*, which I will not cover here.

This is a reference to one of the rules on gender that can be found in the foreword to the reader written by the editors of Marin's dictionary (4.2), that has also been cited in *Joshi-kō*, in a very similar manner (see 7.2.1). Furthermore, Shizuki also cites an excerpt from Johan Keil's *Inleidinge tot de waare natuur- en sterrekunde*, that Shizuki has translated (see 8.4.2). There are many further example sentences that do not seem to come from any of these sources. Some sentences can be found in Halma's dictionary, although Shizuki does not cite it in this manuscript. Other sentences I have not been able to identify, yet I assume some of them must come from the unidentified source that Shizuki cites by the title *rēdenkonsuto* レーデンコンスト, from the Dutch *rede(n)konst* 'rhetoric'. It appears that the author of such book is named by Shizuki as *yoshina* ヨシナ. This is written in *katakana*, which must mean it refers to a foreign name, although that combination of syllables does sound bizarre for a Japanese rendition of a Dutch name.⁴¹ Table 11, below contains the Dutch citations found in *Sanshu shokaku*. Whenever possible, I specify the

⁴⁰ All references to the folios of *Sanshu shokaku* are based on Gifu's copy, unless otherwise specified.

⁴¹ Since the citation is written as 「ヨシナ」ガ「レーデンコンスト」 one possibility is that the copyist could have misunderstood the writing of the original document and thought that the syllable *ga* was to be considered a particle, instead of being the last syllable of the name, that would read *Yoshinaga*, perhaps corresponding to Motoki Yoshinaga, teacher of Shizuki. This remains a hypothesis with little supporting evidence. Another possibility could be that the copyist simply misread some *katakana*, perhaps mistaking *ko* コ for *yo* ヨ and similar. Until the source titled *Rede(n)konst* is identified one can only speculate.

source. Short and common phrases are not included since their sources cannot be traced with certainty.

het alpen gebergte	In Marin (pg. 272) in the entry to <i>gebergte</i> : <i>'t alpische gebergte</i>
de in de golf van Mexico liggende Eilanden	Unidentified
de zoon des keyzers van China	Unidentified
zijne heeren tabakspijp	Unidentified
ik gaf de bruk (?) ⁴² aan de boer	In Séwel's <i>Spraakkonst</i> (pg. 100, in the section <i>Van het geslacht der naamwoorden</i>): <i>ik gaf den broer de brief</i>
zij deed het van zelve	In Marin, under <i>zelf</i> (581)
dat spreekt van zelfs	In Marin, under <i>zelf</i> (581)
god is de godheid zelve	In Marin, under <i>zelf</i> (581)
dat heb ik zelf gezien	In Marin, under <i>zelf</i> (581)
met zulk eene vrouw moet men geen vleeslijk gemeenschap houden	Unidentified
Eene vrouw tot de andere,	Unidentified
van het eene lichaam tot het andere	Unidentified
van den eenen man tot den andere	Unidentified
Degeene die dat gesprook heeft is gek	Unidentified
het zullen groote peenen zijn	Unidentified
het is vandaag weeten (?)	Unidentified
de wind waait uit den westen	In Halma under the entry to <i>west</i>
hier was haar wagen geplaatst, hier haare wapens	In Séwel's <i>Spraakkonst</i> , in the section <i>Van de Letter-. En spraak-konstige figuren</i> (pg. 378)
nog ik nog gij hebben het gedaan	Unidentified
daar kwamen twee anderen aan vliegen, de ééne van 't oosten, de andere van 't westen	In Séwel's <i>Spraakkonst</i> , in the section <i>Van de Letter-. En spraak-konstige figuren</i> (pg. 379)
de een van het oosten de andere van het westen	Unidentified
dat is een ouwe kaart	In Marin under the entry to <i>kaart</i>

⁴² This word is unclearly spelled although the letter *br* are most certainly recognizable, making it possibly correspond to the word *brief* 'letter'. The copyist might have confused the spelling *ie* for a *ú*. The letter < u > was commonly spelled with an acute accent diacritic by Japanese scholars of Dutch.

wel te leezen is grond van wel te spreken	Unidentified
dan is het ongezond dat nu te veel eet	Unidentified
dan is het nu te veel eet ongezond	Unidentified
ik verzoek mij niet te beschuldigen	Unidentified
ik verzoek dat men mij niet verschuldige	Unidentified
liever te sterven dan zo gehoord te zijn	Unidentified
na dat nadaer gezien te hebben	Unidentified
hij ziet de graaf van holland	Unidentified
moordegraaf van een gaaven mensch	Unidentified
Jong rijs is te buigen maar geen oude boomen	This is a rather common proverb which also happens to be featured in Halma's dictionary, in the entry to <i>rijs</i> , in the same form.
Ik ben de Heere uwe God die u uit egyptenland gelyd hebbe	This is from the first commandment, thus present in most, if not all, <i>A B C Boek</i> (see below).

Table 11 Dutch citations in *Sanshu shokaku*.

Some of the grammatical explanations are clearly inspired by the content of Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, like the section below, on folio 1v:

het gelukkig Engeland ト云ノ类ナリ地名 geenerlijke naamw ナル故ニ het ヲ添ルナリ但シ geenerlijk ハ manlijk ト同然ニ zyn ト云格ナレト in zijn bozem ナト、云フ地名ニハ使ヒタシ地名ノ上ニハ此ノ如キ所ハ vrouwelijk ノ如ク也 in haar bozem ト云ヘレト「スプラーカコンスト」ニ見ヘタリ國名地名皆右ノ如シ又 wijf.ニモ haarkind ナト云ヘレトアリ

This is the type of *het gelukkig Engeland*. With toponyms, since they are *geenerlijke naamw* ['neuter nouns'], one adds *het*. However, even if with both *geenerlijk* and *man(ne)lijk* one adds the type *zijn*, one does not say *in zijn bozem* with toponyms. With toponyms one should treat the above as if they were *vrouwelijk* and say *in haar bozem*, as can be seen in *Spraakkonst*. This applies to names of places and lands. The same also goes for *wijf*, when one says *haar kind* etc.

Séwel has a similar passage in a section which is present in all editions (page 96, in the second edition). The only difference across the editions is that, in the first one, the examples of Italy and Rome are not present. There are some differences between the excerpt from Shizuki and that of Séwel. For example, in Séwel England was “fertile” (*vruchtbaar*) while in Shizuki it was “blissful” (*gelukkig*). The grammatical issues dealt with in both excerpts is identical, suggesting Shizuki might have reworked what he found in Séwel providing slightly different examples and

combining information already in his possession. Perhaps, however, there exists another source employing the same examples used by Shizuki.

De naamen van Landen, Steden, en Dórpen, als *Italie, Engeland, Vrankryk, Hólland, Rome, Londen, Parys, Amsterdam, Amsterveen, Ouwerkerk, Diemen, Buyksloot, Heemstede, Heyloo*. Hiervan is uytgezonderd de *Haage*, en evenwel zegt men *Het vermaakleyk 'sGraavenhaage*. Dóch hoewel men zegt, *Het vruchtbaar Engeland, het volkryk Hólland, het magtig Amsterdam, het beschaafd Europa*, echter is het veel tegenpraak onderworpen, als men zegt *Europa koestert boven andere werrelddeelen de Geleerdheyd in zynen schoot*: ik zou liever zeggen, *in haaren schoot*.

The names of Lands, Cities and Towns, like Italy, England, France, Holland, Rome, London, Paris, Amsterdam, Amsterveen, Ouwerkerk, Diemen, Buyksloot, Heemstede, Heyloo. From this The Hague is an exception, and one says *Het vermaakleyk 'sGraavenhaage*. However one says *Het vruchtbaar Engeland, het volkryk Holland, het magtig Amsterdam, het beschaafd Europa*, although one can contradict oneself by saying *Europa koestert boven andere werrelddeelen de Geleerdheyd in zynen schoot*: I would prefer saying *in haaren schoot*.⁴³

Shizuki also cites a certain *A be se būku*, that stands for the Dutch *A B C Boek* ‘ABC Book’, a common title for primers. Shizuki claims that the sentence *Ik ben de Heere uwe God die u uit egyptenland gelyd hebbe* ‘I am the Lord thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt’, originally from the First Commandment of Judeo-Christian religions, is cited from an *A B C Boek*. ŌSHIMA (2018, 17) attests three possible sources: *Groot A. B. C. Boek* (1750), *Een Nieuwlijks Uitgevonden A. B. C. Boek* (1759) and *Geschenk voor de Joodsche Jeugd, of A. B. C. voor dezelve* (1793). In all these sources, the words *uit den diensthuysen* ‘out of the house of bondage’ are also present. ŌSHIMA (2018) believes the spelling of the sentence found in the last one to be the one closer to what is written in *Sanshu shokaku*. For this reason, he suggests assuming this to most likely be the source used by Shizuki. As I will discuss in 3.3.9, however, no such claim can be made regarding the specific source of this sentence across the different editions of *A B C Boeken* published in the Netherlands in the 18th century, since their circulation has not been recorded with particular exhaustivity, nor was it rare for them to contain the text of the Ten Commandments.

2.4.5 *Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō*

There appears to be only one copy of this work, 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) (SUGIMOTO 1976, 447). It has not received much scholarly attention, probably because of its short extension of nine folios. It mostly covers the

⁴³ Translation of the sentences: *Het vermaakleyk 'sGraavenhaage* ‘The amusing The Hague’; *Het vruchtbaar Engeland, het volkryk Holland, het magtig Amsterdam, het beschaafd Europa* ‘The fertile England, the populous Holland, the powerful Amsterdam, the civilized Europa’; *Europa koestert boven andere werrelddeelen de Geleerdheyd in zynen schoot* ‘Europe fosters education more than all the other places in the world’.

topic of cases, though the title suggests that the document would cover the topic of “adjectives”, since the term *kyoshi* 虚詞 is translated, within the manuscript itself as the Dutch *bijvoegelijk naamwoord*. However, adjectives are mostly left uncovered, and the work only illustrates the six cases, providing a Japanese translation for each and both the Dutch and Latin terminology, as can be seen in Table 12.

Japanese	Dutch	English
六格	Zes naamvallen	Six cases
陽	N/a	Masculine gender
陰	N/a	Feminine gender
中	N/a	Neuter gender
主事	Nominativus Noemer Werker	Nominative
有物	Genitivus Teeler Eigenaar	Genitive
所与	Dativus Gever Ontfanger	Dative
所被	Accusativus Aanklager Leyder	Accusative
所呼	Vocativus Rooper [Roeper] toehoorden	Vocative
所取	Ablativus Nemer Derver	Ablative
複	Meervoud ⁴⁴	Plural
虚詞	Bijvoegelijk naamwoord	Adjective
發声	N/a	Article

Table 12 Parts of speech in *Ryūho sensei kyoshi kō*.

The work *Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō* (henceforth *Kyoshi-kō*) is rather peculiar. Its date of publication is unknown. ŌSHIMA (2019) simply records it as unknown, while DE GROOT (2005) categorizes it within his post-Séwel period. However, there is no

⁴⁴ Originally, the word *meervoud* ‘plural’ was actually spelled as *meerhoud*, reinforcing the idea that, for late Edo Japanese speakers, the distinction between the voiced glottal fricative /ɦ/ and the voiced labiodental fricative /v/ (possibly devoiced to /f/) was hard to grasp.

evidence for any of its content to be related to Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, as far as I could confirm.

The manuscript directly cites the name of one source, by only naming the author: *sēderāru* セーデラール. As DE GROOT (2005, 167) points out, this probably refers to the Dutch grammarian Ernst Zeydelaar (1742 – 1820), who authored a series of works, many of which on French. For that reason, DE GROOT (2005) assumed that the source must have been the work featured as *Grammaire française et hollandaise* in the inventory list of a Dutch trade mission member who died in 1786, which DE GROOT (2005) speculates might have corresponded to *Grammaire Générale raisonnée française et hollandaise* (1768). However, there seems to be a better correspondence with another work of Zeydelaar: *Nederduitsche spraakkonst, ten dienste der Nederlandsche taalbeminnaars* (1781). As I will demonstrate, this work uses similar names for the cases and contains a couple of the sample sentences found in *Kyoshi-kō*. There is much text in Dutch in this brief work of Shizuki that might help with identifying possible sources. However, since most of that text is composed of examples of declinations of elementary words, such as *man* or *vrouw*, it does not help much with understanding the source, since almost all works on grammar use these terms as examples. There are, however, a couple of sentences that can more convincingly point to Zeydelaar's *Spraakkonst*, and these are the following: *David vlugte voor zijn zoon*, *In de vergadering zisten [zitten]*, *In de vergadering gelaaten worden*. These are all found in Zeydelaar's *Spraakkonst* on page 277, spelled as: *hij zit in de Vergaderinge*, *hij is in de Vergadering toegelaaten* and *David vlugtte voor zijnen Zoone*. On page 265 of Zeydelaar's *Spraakkonst*, one can also read the sentence: *welk voorneemen 't past ter uitvoer te brengen*, that is also present in the first page of *Kyoshi-kō*.

I have not been able to find a single source that contains the terminology related to the names of the cases found in *Kyoshi-kō*. DE GROOT (2005) claims that the terminology corresponds to that used by Kornelis Elzevier in *Drie dichtproeven, bestaende in drie dichtstukken: de waere dichtkonst, zedezang; God verheerlykt in zyne werken of reis door 't heelal: een Eerkroon voor de matigheid; benevens een proef van een nieuwe Nederduitsche spraekkunst* (1761) and Kornelis van der Palm's *Nederduitsche Spraekkunst voor de jeugd* (1769). However, although it could be possible that the terminology of *Kyoshi-kō* was a collection of more sources, there is no evidence of influence from Van der Palm's work, in my opinion. Table 13, below, draws in comparison the names of the cases used in the sources just mentioned, including Séwel with two sources by Shizuki that feature similar lists.

As one can see from Table 13, there is not one complete correspondence with one specific source. Although Zeydelaar appears to be the best match, since it includes two different names for each case, the terms do not correspond precisely. For example, the first Dutch term translating the accusative case is *aanklager*, in *Kyoshi-kō*, and *klaager*, in Zeydelaar. However, *aanklager* is used by Ten Kate, Elzevier and Séwel.

	<i>Ryūho sensei kyoshi-kō</i>	Zeydelaar	Ten Kate	Van der Palm	Elzevier	Séwel	<i>Sanshu shokaku</i>
Nominative	Nominativus Noemer Werker	Nominativus Noemer Werker	Nominativus Noemer	Nominativus Werker	Nominativus Noemer Werker	Nominativus Noemer	Nominativus Noemer
Genitive	Genitivus Teeler Eigenaar	Genitivus Teeler Eigenaar	Genitivus Baerer	Genitivus Eigenaar Bezitter	Genitivus Teeler Baerer Eigenaar	Genitivus Teeler	Genitivus Teeler
Dative	Dativus Gever Ontfanger	Dativus Gever Ontvanger	Dativus Gever	Dativus Ontvanger	Dativus Gever Ontvanger	Dativus Geever	Dativus Geever
Accusative	Accusativus Aanklager Leyder	Accusativus Klaager Lijder	Accusativus Aanklager	Accusativus Lyder	Accusativus Aanklager Lyder	Accusativus Aanklaager	Accusativus Aanklaager
Vocative	Vocativus Roeper Toehoorder	Vocativus Roeper Geroepene	Vocativus Roper	Vocativus Toehoorder	Vocativus Roeper Toehoorder	Vocativus Roeper	Vocativus Roeper
Ablative	Ablativus Nemer Derver	Ablativus Neemer Derver	Ablativus Nemer	Ablativus Derver	Ablativus Nemer	Ablativus Afneemer	Ablativus Afneemer

Table 13 Comparison of the names of the cases across seven Dutch and Japanese sources.

The second Dutch alternative translation to the vocative case is *toehoorder*, in *Kyoshi-kō*, but *geroepene* in Zeydelaar. The alternative *toehoorder* is found in Van der Palm and Elzevier. Conversely, the term *derver*, for the ablative is not found in Elzevier, but it is used by both Zeydelaar and Van der Palm. Since *Sanshu shokaku*, as seen in the right column of Table 13, already included all the first name for the cases, in Dutch, this might mean that the alternative terms were added subsequently, after having consulted another source in addition to that used for *Sanshu shokaku*. This might also imply that *Kyoshi-kō* was compiled after *Sanshu shokaku*. If this is true, one would not need to find a Dutch source in which both terms are used for each case simultaneously. The Dutch source that features all the second terminology found in *Kyoshi-kō*, regardless of the correct correspondence of the first terminology, would be Van der Palm. The name of Van der Palm has been cited as a possible source for Shizuki by both DE GROOT (2005, 167) and MATSUDA (2008, 140), both without providing much evidence for this claim. Except for this instance, that would still need many assumptions to be substantiated in order for it to be proven true, I have not been able to detect any direct evidence of Van der Palm's influence on Shizuki.

Additionally, there are a few clues indicating that some of the contents of *Kyoshi-kō*, were actually inspired by Ten Kate's *Aenleiding tot de kennis van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake* (first published in 1723). In fact, when explaining the accusative case, Shizuki adds the following remarks (3v):

Accusativus motivus, om hem, van wegens hem, tegen hem, over hem, tot iets liefde tot wellust ナド又 acsat: localis, bij om, omtrent, vandam, maast, nabij, na, voor ogten, tussen, behalfe, neffens, sedert, tegen, volgens, op, boven, beneden, onder, tegen, hem aan, doordat, binnen, buiten, ナト物ノ前後左右ナドノ辺傍ニカゝルモノハ皆此格属ス

Accusativus motivus, om hem, van wegens hem, tegen hem, over hem, tot iets liefde tot wellust etc. Furthermore, all the things here belong to the case *acsat: localis*, and are used next to [a word] to refer to “before”, “after”, “right”, “left” etc.: *bij om, omtrent, vandam, maast, nabij, na, voor ogten, tussen, behalfe, neffens, sedert, tegen, volgens, op, boven, beneden, onder, tegen, hem aan, doordat, binnen, buiten*

Shizuki names two specific uses of the accusative case: *accusativus motivus* and *accusativus localis*. I have not been able to find any occurrences of these terms in Dutch works, except in Ten Kate’s *Aenleiding*, on page 276-277, where one would also find a very similar list of prepositions and conjunctions that trigger these two specific types of accusative case. Below one can see the similar contents found in Ten Kate’s *Aenleiding*:

Maer onder welk geval betrekke ‘t, als we zeggen, *Om HEM, Van wegen en voor HEM, tegen HEM, over HEM, en Tot IET*, enz?

L. Dit kan men noemen, het Toe-strekkende Geval, of het Bewerkte Beweegmiddel, of in ‘t Latijn den *Accusativus motivus*. Zoo bedient men zig ook van nog andere *Præpositi*: bij den *Accusativus localis*, die het plaetsfelijk bewerkte geval bekleed, als men zegt, *Bij, Om, Rontom, omtrent, naest, nabij HEM, beneden, onder, en Over HEM, tegen HEM aen, door DAT, en door DAT heen, en Binnen, en Buiten DAT*, hoewel men dit *Binnen en Buiten*, ook eertijds bij den *Genitivus* gevoegt heeft, als toebehoorende; en hier van zegt men nog BINNEN en BUITEN ‘s HUIS, even of het ware *In ‘t binnene des huizes*.

But what case is involved when one says *om hem, van wegen* and *voor hem, tegen hem, over hem*, and *tot iet* etc.?

L. This can be called the *Toe-strekkende Geval* [Extended Case] or the *Bewerkte Beweegmiddel* [Modified Means of Motion], or in Latin the *Accusativus motivus*. In fact, one uses other prepositions, as well with the *Accusativus localis*, which serves the locational modified case, like *bij, om, rontom, omtrent, naest, nabij hem, beneden, onder* and *over hem, tegen hem aen, door dat* and *door dat heen* and *binnen* and *buiten dat*, although people have been conflating these *binnen* and *buiten* with the *Genitivus*: and one says still *Binnen en Buiten ‘s Huis*, as if it were *In ‘t binnene des huizes*.

As one can see, the list of examples is similar to that found in *Kyoshi-kō* and it also uses the two rare Latin terms *accusativus motivus* and *localis*. In addition, in another section on page 277 of Ten Kate’s *Aenleiding*, one can read the sentence *Liefde tot wellust* ‘Love to lust’, which is the only Dutch phrase in *Kyoshi-kō* not present in the excerpt from Ten Kate cited above.

Even though the title of this manuscript is *Ryūho sensei kyoshi kō*, most of its contents is devoted to the illustration of the six cases. The category of *kyoshi* 虚詞 ‘empty words’ only appears in the last page, where it is used as translation to *bijvoegelijk naamwoord* ‘adjective’. Not much is written there, except for a few

Dutch example phrases illustrating the use of adjectives in combination with nouns, articles, and cases. Again, these examples use very basic words like *man* ‘man’, *vrouw* ‘woman’, *kind* ‘child’ and *groot* ‘great’, that are used in virtually every Dutch source I have consulted. It appears that the only copy of this work that exists as of today is an incomplete work, that only contains the introduction of the original manuscript. In fact, the document ends abruptly after only introducing the category of *kyoshi*, that gives the title to the work. This could also mean that this is a book Shizuki was working on in his last days, and never managed to complete it before his death. Since there is no reference of time whatsoever, regarding this manuscript, one can only speculate.

2.4.6 *Kuhinshi myōmoku*

There is one known copy of this work, that SUGIMOTO (2013, 74) reports being in possession of Wakabayashi Seiji 若林政治, though it appears not to be 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). The entirety of this work is scanned in SUGIMOTO (1991, 574-579). The work is composed of 22 folios, and covers the nine parts of speech, providing many useful terms connected to grammar and morphological categories. Although no source is cited, it is apparent that the main inspiring work was Séwel’s *Spraakkonst*. This can be claimed by witnessing the order in which the parts of speech are presented, the specific terminology used to describe each subtype, as well as the Latin terminology, as I will illustrate below. One striking example is the fact that the so-called “subjunctive or optative” mood is presented in its Latin translation comprising of the conjunction *vel* ‘or’, corresponding to the Dutch *of*, in the names *subjunctivus vel optativus*, *aanvoegende of wenshende wyze*. This work features very little grammatical information concerning the definitions and practical uses of each part of speech, yet it consists of a list of vocabulary regarding grammatical concepts, and these are not found often in other works attributed to Shizuki. In Table 14, below, I list these terms along with their Latin and Dutch versions, as found in the manuscript. The connection between this work and Séwel’s *Spraakkonst* is clear from the specific names of the different types of each conjunction and interjection. Furthermore, some of the examples remind rather closely to the examples found in Séwel, like the phrases *werkende man* ‘working man’ and *naaijende vrouw* ‘sewing woman’.

Japanese	Dutch	English
文学	Grammatica Letter (文字) en spraakkonst (語術)	Grammar
諸字反切科	Orttcographia [orthographia] Letter (文字) beschrijving (識) of spelkonst	Orthography (Spelling)
音母	Klinkers	Vowels
韻母	Medeklinkers	Consonants

一音	Syllaben, lettergreep (持ツ)	Syllables
詞品科	etymologia, oorsprongkunde (天 ヲ正ス術)	Etymology
九品	Negenderly spraakdeelen	Nine parts of speech
發声詞	Articulus Ledeken	Articles
静詞	Nomina Naamwoorden (動詞ノ外ヲ皆虚詞トニ静詞 ト云フ)	Nouns
本名	Propria Eygene	Proper
実	Substantiva Zelfstandige	Substantive
通名	Appellativa Gemeene	Appellative
微物之稱	Diminutiva Verklynnnaamw:	Diminutive
種類	Geslacht	Gender
陽	Masculinum Mannelyk	Masculine
陰	Foemininun Vrouwelyk	Feminine
中	Neutrum Onzydig Generly	Neuter
複	Meervoudig	Plural
単	Enkelvoudig	Singular
変化	Declinatio Buyging der naamwoorden	Declination
虚	Adjectiva Byvoegelyk	Adjectives
形容す	[Only as a verb]	The verb has the meaning of “to qualify” (see 6.2.2)
虚字変化	Declinatio Buyging der byvoegelyk naamwoorden	Declination of the adjectives
比較	Comparatio Vergelyking	Comparison
稱	Positivus Stellige	Positive
勝	Comparativus Vergelykenden	Comparative
最	Syperlatus [superlativus] Overtreffend	Superlative
代名詞	Pronomina voornaamwoord	Pronouns
真ノ名詞	Aanwyzende Demonstrativa	Demonstrative

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代再言	Betrekkelijke Relativa	Relative
問名	Vragende Interrogativa	Interrogative
有物	Bezeffende [Bezittende] Possessiva	Possessive
普通代名詞	Onbepaalde Voornaamwoord	Indefinite pronouns
六格	Casus Naamvallen Zes naamvallen	Case
正	Nominativus Noem	Nominative
主	Genitivus Teel.	Genitive
與	Dativus Gev.	Dative
所	Accusativus Aank.	Accusative
呼	Vocativus Oes.	Vocative
取	Ablativus Neem.	Ablative
動詞	Verbum Werkw.	Verb
動他	Activa Bedryvende Dadelyke Werkende	Active
被動	Passiva Lydende	Passive
自動	Neutra Generlyke Onzydige	Neutral
在	Zelfstandig werkw.	Independent verb
常用動詞 (俗ニ云助詞)	Hulpwoorden	Auxiliary
四法	Vierderly wyzen	Four moods
直説	Indicativus modus Aantonend wyze	Indicative mood
使令	Modus imperativus Geiedende wyze [Gebiedende]	Imperative mood
分註	Subjunctivus vel optativus Aanvoegende of wenschende wyze	Subjunctive or optative mood
普通	Modus infinitivus Onbepaalde wyze	Infinitive mood
四時	Viergetyden	Four times
現在	Tegenwoordige tyde	Present time
過去	Voorleeden tyd	Past time

未来	Toekomende tyd	Future time
普通	Onbepaalde tyd	Indefinite time
(未現在)	Onvolmaakt	Imperfect time
(過去) ⁴⁵	Volmaakten	Perfect
(増加 過去)	Meer dan volmaakte	Pluperfect
(第二現在ノ過去 過去)	Tweede onvolmaakte voorleden tyd	Second imperfect past time
(将来)	Toekomende tyd	Future time
動静詞	Deelwoorden Participium	Participles
形動詞	Adverbium Bywoorden	Adverbs
助詞	Coniunctio t Zamen voegsel	Conjunction
連續詞	toe zaame heften	Conjunctive
不一ノ詞	Schiftende	Separating
雖詞	Toe staande	Concessive
	Weerstreevende ⁴⁶	Adversative
原始詞	Oorzakelyke	Causative
結意詞	Redenkavelende	Of reason
設令詞	Voorwaardelyke	Conditional
選取ノ詞	Verkiesende	Selective
接意詞	Vernogtende	Unitive
唯除詞	Uyt zonderende	Exclusive
補意ノ詞	Vervullende	Fulfilling
慢詞	Prapositio Voorzetselen	Preposition
嘆息詞	Interjectio Tussen werpselen	Interjection
悲哀ニハ	Van bedroefdhyd	Of sadness
歡喜	Van blydschap	Of happiness
驚歎	Van verwonderinge	Of bewilderment
東威	Van bedryginge	Of threat
祝賀	Van wenschinge	Of wish
顛墜	Van smeekige	Of supplication
讚美	Van goedkeuringe	Of approval
辱之	Van versmadinge	Of disdain
侮慢	Van bespottinge	Of teasing
發笑	Van gelag	Of laughter

⁴⁵ In the original text, there appears to be an unclear writing before the two characters *kako* 過去. In Baba's revised version of the document, this tense is simply labeled as *kako* 過去, as reported by SUGIMOTO (1976, 510).

⁴⁶ This term does not have a Japanese translation; however, SUGIMOTO (1976, 497) claims it deducible from "other things of Shizuki", that the translation should have been 雖然 (Original quote: "訳語なし、他の柳圃のものから、〈雖然詞〉と訳していることがわかる").

招呼	Van beroep	Of calling
哭泣	Van gehuyl	Of cry
令黙	Om te doen zwygen	To make silent

Table 14 Parts of speech in *Kuhinshi myōmoku*.

2.4.7 *Shihō shoji taiyaku*

This work exists in two copies. One copy is credited by SUGIMOTO (1976, 453) as being in possession of Wakabayashi Seiji, meaning in 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), while the other one, known with the title *Ranbunpō shoji* 蘭文法諸時, is kept in the Kyoto University Library. The work *Shihō shoji taiyaku* comprises thirty-three folios and covers the topic of verbal tenses and moods. It cites directly Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, that is written in Latin characters, and it also repeatedly cites Shizuki's *Rangaku seizenfu* (cited as *Seizenfu* 生前父). It also cites *Sanshu shokaku* 三種諸格, when referring to the variations of verbs according to person and number. Its contents appear to be very much inspired by Séwel's section on verbs, within his chapter on etymology (meaning “morphology”, see Chapter III and IV). It presents all the verbal tenses and moods illustrated in Séwel, with a Japanese translation, strongly connected to the theory and terminology found in *Seizenfu*. This work is dated March 1805 (‘Second month of the second year of the Bunka era, spring’, 文化二歳乙丑春二月) and Ryūho is the attested name of the author.

There are not many Dutch phrases and citations coming from sources other than Séwel's *Spraakkonst*, however, three quotes point to interesting new sources. When illustrating the *mirai no kako* 未来ノ過去 ‘the past of the future’ of the *aanvoegende wyze*, the ‘subjunctive mood’, Shizuki takes a quote from the Hippocratic oath as an example. The quote reads (6v):

al het geen ik gehoord en gezien zal hebben omtrent myn patient, van he(i)melijke dingen dat zal liever met mij sterven dan dat ik het iemand bekend maaken zouden	Everything secret I will have heard and seen concerning my patient, that should better die with me than be shared with somebody else.
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Although this was probably a common quote in Dutch medicine books, I have been able to identify a probable source. The sentence is found in a rather similar form in *Het Nieuw Hervormde Examen van Land- en Zee-chirurgie*, a manual of medicine by Johannes Daniel Schlichting, published in Amsterdam by Abraham Graal in the year 1748. The book is a re-edition of *Zee-Chirurgie* by Johannes Verbrugge, whose first edition appears to be dated 1680, by the publisher Johannis Ten Hoorn, in Amsterdam. In Schlichting's edition the quote appears on page 659, in the final section of the book, where the author (probably Schlichting) devotes a few words to the Hippocratic oath. The sentence there is found in the following form: *Al 't gene ik gehoord, en gezien zal hebben omtrent myne of andere Patienten, van heimelyke dingen, dat zal liever met my sterven, dan dat ik het iemand bekent maaken zoude.*

There are furthermore, two citations from Jacob Cats. The first sentence, that 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* (that, in *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, is misspelled as *voog*) as preterit of *vliegen* ‘to fly’, and *viel* as preterit of *vallen* ‘to fall’. SUGIMOTO (1976, 453-471) provides a lengthy description of the content of *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, however, he is not able to find an original source for these sentences and he also believed both to belong to the so-called “Poem of the bird”. He writes:⁴⁷

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園が示している点、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れて、これまた興味深い。ただ記述内容は、他の著作とも重複する点が多くみられる。

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 *Ranbunpō shoji*), 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).

When SUGIMOTO names Descartes he is referencing the quote from *Sanshu shokaku* 三種諸各, where Shizuki copied an excerpt from James Keill’s *Inleidinge tot de waare natuur- en sterrenkunde*, where Descartes was being mentioned (see 2.4.4, above). Claiming that Shizuki was “reaching out” to philosophical sources based on this might not be justified.

In SUGIMOTO’s evaluation of these poems, one can see him mistaking the noun *zorgen* ‘worries’, for a verb, probably *songen*, as he claims it is written in *Ranbunpō shoji*, that 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 translate both “poem”, as well as “song” – this piece of text does 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*).

⁴⁷ Original quote from SUGIMOTO (1976, 461-2), my English translation.

Both sentences come from the same work. These sentences are originally found in the 1627 edition of *Sinne- en minne-beelden*,⁴⁸ by the poet Jacob Cats,⁴⁹ an extremely popular figure in Dutch literature. Cats' *Sinne- en minne-beelden* is composed of numerous poems, that belong to the tradition of emblems, 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, where the first described the emblem, while the second explained the moral. Emblems, in general, but particularly those of Cats, are aimed at educational purposes and were written in a rather simple language, for everybody to be able to read them (LUIJTEN 1996, 47-8).⁵⁰ 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* "He who belies is uneven", 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, although 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*.⁵¹ Apparently, Cats decided to re-edit 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 Figure 2, thus explaining Shizuki's use of the phrase *tori no uta* 'The poem of the bird'.

As discussed in 2.4.3, this is not the only instance in which Shizuki quotes Cats' emblems in order to explain specific grammatical issues, particularly connected to hypothetical sentences and the concept of *tatoe* (see 8.4.6). I have analyzed these quotes, their implications, and the relationship of Shizuki with poetry lengthily in

⁴⁸ The term *zinnenbeelden*, literally 'meaning-images' also spelled *sinnebeelden* and similar, was a Dutch adaptation of the Latin term *emblema*.

⁴⁹ 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 41. The poet Jacob Cats, later known as Vader Cats 'Father Cats', was very popular also 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).

⁵⁰ With this work, Cats initiates the creation of a new style in love emblems, which 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).

⁵¹ For an explanation of the title of this work see PORTEMAN & SMITS-VELDT (2016, 310-1).

NESPOLI (2022). I will go back to these sentences in Chapter VIII, though I still suggest checking my article, if one is interested in this topic, since there I could go deeper in the poetical aspect of Shizuki's claims and scholarship.



Figure 2 Emblem of poem 14, “Amisssa libertate laetior” in Jacob Cats’ 1627 edition of *Sinne- en minne-beelden*

In *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, one also finds a list of verbal conjugations and moods. The different forms are exemplified by means of the first-person singular of each conjugation of the verb *leren* ‘to learn’, in a much similar fashion to what was done by Séwel (see 4.5.1). Just like in Séwel, the passive form of the verb *leren* – i.e., *geleerd worden* – is treated as a different verb altogether. Shizuki employs similar terminology to what is found in *Rangaku seizenfu*, and in the grammatical section of *Joshi-kō*, not without important differences, still. In table 15, below, I list the grammatical terminology adopted by Shizuki in *Shihō shoji taiyaku* to refer to the different conjugated forms of verbs. In order to better visualize which term was used to refer to which conjugation, in the column on the right I have added all the forms of the first-person singular of the verb *leren* (and *geleerd worden*), regardless of the mood they belong to.

Japanese	Dutch	English	Notes or conjugated tenses it refers to
<i>hō</i> 法		Mood	
<i>ji</i> 時		Tense	

<i>genzai</i> 現在	Tegenwoordig tijd	Present tense	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ik leer • The entire imperative mood • Dat ik leer • Leeren • Leerende • Ik word geleerd • Geleerd worden • Geleerd • Geleerd wordende • Ik ben een geleerd man • Een geleerd man te zijn • Een geleerd man zijnde • Een boek te hebben • Hebbende een boek • Ik word een geleerd man • Een geleerd man te worden • Een geleerd man wordende • Het woord is gesproken • Gesproken te zijn • Gesproken zijnde
<i>kako</i> 過去	Volmaakte voorleeden tijd	Past (perfect) tense	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ik heb geleerd • Dat ik geleerd hebben • Geleerd hebben • Geleerde • Ik ben geleerd geweest • Geleerd geworden • Geleerd geworden zijnde • Ik ben een geleerd man geweest • Een geleerd man geweest te zijn • Een geleerd man geweest zijnde • Een boek gehad te hebben • Een boek gehad hebben • Ik ben een geleerd man geweest • Ik was een geleerd man geweest • Een geleerd man geweest te zijn • Een geleerd man geweest zijnde • Het woord is gesproken geweest • Gesproken geweest te zijn • Gesproken geweest zijnde

<i>mirai</i> 未来	Toekomende tijd	Future tense	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ik zal leeren • Dat ik leeren zal • Te zullen leeren • Zullende leeren • Ik zal geleerd worden • Als ik geleerd zal worden • Gellerd te zullen worden • Zullend geleerd worden • Een geleerde man te zullen zijn • Zullende een geleerd man zijn • Een boek te zullen hebben • Zullende een boek hebben • Ik zal een geleerd man zijn • Een geleerd man te zullen worden • Zullende een geleerd man worden • Gesproken te zullen zijn • Zullende gesproken zijn • Het worden zal gesproken worden • Ik zal een geleerd man worden
<i>genzai no kako</i> 現在ノ過去	Onvolmaakte voorleeden tijd	Imperfect past tense	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ik ben geleerd geworden • Een geleerd man geweest te zijn • Een geleerd man geworden zijnde
<i>kako no kako</i> 過去ノ過去	Meer dan volmaakte voorleeden tijd	Pluperfect tense	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ik had geleerd • Dat ik geleerd had of hadde • Ik was geleerd geweest • Ik was een geleerd man geweest • Een geleerde man geweest te zijn • Het woord was gesproken geweest
<i>fugenji</i> 不限時	Tweede toekomstige tijd of onbepaalde tijd der aanvoegende wijze	Second future tense or indefinite tense of the subjunctive mood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ik zou leeren • Schoon ik geleerd zou hebben • Als ik geleerd zou worden • Ik zou een geleerd man zijn
<i>fugenji</i> 不限時	Derde toekomstige tijd of onbepaalde tijd, der aanvoegende wijze	Third future tense or indefinite tense of the subjunctive mood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ik zou boek hebben • Ik zou een geleerd man worden • Het woord zoude gesproken

<i>kako no genzai</i> 過去ノ現在			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ik zal gegaan hebben Dat ik leerde Ik was een geleerde man Ik werd geleerd Ik werd een geleerd man Het woord was gesproken
<i>kako no mirai</i> 過去ノ未来 ⁵²	Tweede volmaakte voorleeden tijd, of onbepaalde tijd der aanvoegende wijze	Second past perfect tense or indefinite tense of the subjunctive mood	
<i>mirai no kako</i> 未来ノ過去	tweed toekomstende tijd	Second future tense	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dat ik geleerd zal hebben Als ik geleerd zal geworden
<i>chokusetsu-hō</i> 直説法	Aantoonende wijze	Indicative mood	
<i>shirei-hō</i> 使令法	Gebiedende wijze	Imperative mood	
<i>shigo-hō</i> 死語法	Aanvoegende wijze of wenschende wijze	Subjunctive mood or optative mood	Also misspelled as 死諸法
<i>fugen-hō</i> 不限法	Onbepaalde wijze	Indefinite mood	
<i>fudan-hō</i> 不断法	Deelwoord	Participles	
<i>Dōshi</i> 動詞		Verb	
<i>tatoe</i> 假令		<i>tatoe</i>	
<i>jisshi</i> 實詞		Noun	
<i>kako no genzai no kako</i> 過去ノ現在ノ過去			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ik was geleerd geworden
<i>fugen no kako</i> 不限ノ過去			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Indien ik geleerd zou (gewoorden zijn)
<i>tsuzuku kotoba</i> 續ク詞			Used as explanation for the function of participles
<i>suiryō</i> 推量		“Hypothetical of reality”	(see 8.4.6)
<i>jiseki</i> 事跡		<i>jiseki</i>	(see 8.5.1)

Table 15 Grammatical vocabulary in *Shihō shoji taiyaku*.

⁵² In *Shihō shoji taiyaku* the word *mirai* 未来 is not readable. It is, however, in *Ranbunpō shoji*, as attested in SUGIMOTO (1976, 454).

2.4.8 *Zokubun kinnō*

There are six copies of this work, each presenting a different version of the title. SUGIMOTO (1976, 472-473) divides them into two groups of three, according to how close he deemed them to be to Shizuki's theories. ŌSHIMA (2019) considers this work to be posthumous.

- The copy titled *Sakubun hitsuyō yakusho shuchi – Zokubun kinnō* 作文必用 属
訳書須知 属文錦囊 ‘Things necessary for text composition of a translation one should not forget – Brocade bag of text composition’ appears after the manuscript *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, thus it also belongs to 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). This copy is entirely scanned in SUGIMOTO (1991, 592-594).
- The copy titled *Sakubun hitsuyō yakka shuchi – Zokubun kinnō* 作文必用 属文
訳家須知 属文錦囊 ‘Things necessary for text composition a translator should not forget – Brocade bag of text composition’ features the name of Tsuji Ranshitsu 辻蘭室 (1756 – 1836) and is kept at the Kyōto University Library (京都大学附属図書館). SUGIMOTO (1976, 472) calls this MsE.
- The copy titled *Yakubun hitsuyō – Zokubun kinnō* 訳文
必用 属文錦囊 ‘Things necessary the translation of a text – Brocade bag of text composition’ presents the disclaimer 嶋山堂秘蔵. It is located at the Seikaidō Bunko (静嘉堂文庫) Museum of Art in Tokyo. SUGIMOTO (1976, 472) calls this MsB.

Of these three, the last two present the writing 吉雄権之助口授 ‘Oral teachings of Yoshio Gonnosuke’, absent in the former, a detail that leads SUGIMOTO (1976, 472) to deduce that the former copy needs to be considered the most faithful to Shizuki's original text. There are three additional versions of this work, that SUGIMOTO (1976, 473), however, considers less faithful to the supposed original text.

- The copy titled *Jūtei Zokubun kinnō* 重訂属文錦囊 ‘Heavily revised Brocade bag of text composition’ is kept in the Museum of Kamada, in the city of Sakaide (坂出市鎌田博物館) and features the name of Udagawa Yōan
- The copy titled *Yakubun hitsuyō – Zokubun kinnō* 訳文
必用 属文錦囊 ‘Things necessary for text composition of a translation – Brocade bag of text composition’ is kept at the Tōhoku University Library (東北大学附属図書館), in the city of Sendai.
- The copy titled *Joan Oranda Zokubun kinnō-shō* 如淵和蘭属文錦囊抄 ‘Joan's Dutch brocade bag of text composition’, with Joan being a pseudonym of Gon'nosuke, is kept at Tenri Central Library (天理図書館) in Nara.

The content of *Zokubun* (also *Shokubun*) is rather short. It covers Dutch syntax, demonstrating by means of matrixes how words are to be ordered according to five moods: indicative, subjunctive, imperative, interrogative, and indefinite. The names of the moods are not the same as those found in *Shihō shoji taiyaku*, although the two are found together in one of the copies. The work starts with eight points,

covering the main broad rules concerning Dutch syntax. The interpretation of the morphological classes of *Zokubun* can be read in section 7.8. No source, Dutch or Japanese, is cited in this work. The only full sentence in Dutch used here is *laat hem hier komen* ‘let him come here’, that cannot help much with the tracing of any specific source.

Japanese	Dutch	English
<i>hassei</i> 発声		Article
<i>keidōshi</i> 形動詞		Adverb
<i>jisshi</i> 実詞		Noun
<i>kyoshi</i> 虚詞		Adjective
<i>dōshi</i> 動詞		Verb
<i>shozaishi</i> 所在詞 ⁵³		Preposition
<i>chokusetsu-hō</i> 直說法	Aantoonende wijze	Indicative mood
<i>bunchū-hō</i> 分註法	Aanvoegende wijze	Subjunctive mood
<i>shirei-hō</i> 使令法	gebiedende wijze	Imperative mood
<i>mongō-hō(?)</i> 問叩法	Vraagende wijze	Interrogative mood
<i>futsū-hō</i> 普通法	Onbepaalde wijze	Indefinite mood
<i>tatoe</i> 假令		<i>Tatoe</i>
<i>kako</i> 過去		Past
<i>genzai</i> 現在		Present
<i>mirai</i> 未来		Future
<i>joshi</i> 助詞		Auxiliary verb
<i>shu</i> 主		
<i>kyaku</i> 客		
<i>tanshō</i> 単称		Singular
<i>fukushō</i> 複称		Plural
	Scheidelijk woord	Separable verbs

Table 16 Parts of speech and grammatical vocabulary in *Zokubun kinnō*.

⁵³ Misspelled as 取在詞, in the copy attached to *Shihō shoji taiyaku*.

Most grammatical terms are only found in Japanese. One interesting term, namely *scheidelijkwoord*, literally ‘separable word’, is only used in Dutch and it refers to separable compound verbs.

There is substantial difference in the terminology utilized in MsB, as compared to the other copies of *Zokubun*. SUGIMOTO (1976, 474) recognizes in the names of the categories of speech of MsB the terminology adopted by Yoshio Shunzō 吉雄俊蔵, speculating this to be a later readaptation of the original content of *Zokubun*. Below one can see the main differences in the names of the categories of speech, as found in MsB:

MsB	MsA	
<i>shūshi</i> 宗詞	<i>hasseishi</i> 発声詞	Articles
<i>baimeishi</i> 倍名詞	<i>kyoshi</i> 虚詞	Adjectives
<i>fukushi</i> 副詞	<i>keidōshi</i> 形動詞	Adverbs
<i>gyōshi</i> 業詞	<i>dōshi</i> 動詞	Verbs
<i>zenshi</i> 前詞	<i>shozaishi</i> 所在詞	Prepositions

Table 17 Alternative terminology in *Zokubun kinnō*.

2.5 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have introduced and discussed the works on the Dutch language attributed to Shizuki. ŌSHIMA (2019) points out that these documents are still lacking a thorough philological analysis, including a calligraphic examination. The lack of clarity about the exact dating of the manuscript and the order in which they were produced has led to different interpretations. DE GROOT (2005) attempted to find a correspondence between Baba Sajūrō’s words and an alleged enlightenment of Shizuki after the latter read Séwel’s *Spraakkonst*. Albeit a helpful distinction, this is not sufficient to date the works of Shizuki with certainty. In fact, since none of the existing manuscripts can be considered to be the “original” copy, one must assume a certain degree of influence from the copyist(s) who might have added references to Séwel at a later point in time. This seems to be the case, for example, for many of the copies of *Joshi-kō*, where the section on grammar might have been added subsequently and includes references to Séwel, amongst others. ŌSHIMA (2019) disagreed with DE GROOT (2005), pointing out that a better way to distinguish between the different works attributed to Shizuki is to identify those written while he was alive and those produced posthumously. Additionally, ŌSHIMA (2018) proposed another way to help dating Shizuki’s works, namely by establishing which are signed by the name Ryūho. Even if this method were to be completely trustworthy, most of Shizuki’s works are actually not signed at all. For these reasons, the history of the compilation of Shizuki’s works is still largely unclear.

Nonetheless, this does not hamper my research. It is my aim to analyze the contents of these works in order to illustrate Shizuki's theories of grammar in the form in which they have spread. The analysis of these theories, as far as topics connected to morphosyntax are concerned, will be presented in Chapters VII and VIII. In Chapter VII, I will provide an analysis of the morphological categories and the parts of speech, as illustrated in the works attributed to Shizuki. There, I will try to make sense of the terminology and categories introduced in the sections above. In Chapter VIII, I will expand on the way in which syntax is covered, with a specific focus on verbs. Before being able to do this, one first needs to establish what type of grammatical theory Shizuki had access to. This will be done in the next four chapters.

In order to better visualize the difference and similarities, along with the main issues found in all the manuscripts containing the works attributed to Shizuki, I have collected all the terminology connected to grammar (*bunpō yōgo* 文法用語) in Appendix 1.