

A tale of one city: actors of globalization versus bakufu hegemony in early modern Nagasaki, c. 1571-1800 Knoest, J.J.A.

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# A Tale of One City

## Actors of Globalization versus Bakufu Hegemony in Early Modern Nagasaki, c. 1571-1800

Jurre J.A. Knoest

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# A Tale of One City

## Actors of Globalization versus Bakufu Hegemony in Early Modern Nagasaki, c. 1571-1800

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden, op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl, volgens besluit van het college voor promoties te verdedigen op dinsdag 24 oktober 2023 klokke 15:00 uur

door

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## FOREWORD

I like to start this dissertation on an important note. In 2016, I published part of the preliminary research I conducted for this PhD-project in my article: J.J.A. Knoest, "The Japanese Connection': Self-Organized Smuggling Networks in Nagasaki circa 1666-1742" in Cátia Antunes and Amélia Polónia, eds. Beyond Empires. Global, Self-Organizing, Cross-Imperial Networks, 1500-1800, pp. 88-137. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016. Since then, other scholars have gathered new insights related to the case studies I presented in this article, which led me to a revisitation and restructuring of this topic. Incidentally, these case studies concerning the litigation around the illicit arms trade with Korea and China in respectively 1667 and 1676, still proved to be essential in the context of chapter 5. Thus, parts of section 5.3 (pages 161-170, 174-177), which contains these case studies, are verbatim representations of the text in "The Japanese Connection" (pages 100-120). The section of the article that dealt with the data related to Nagasaki Hankachō smuggling cases between 1666-1742, although not necessarily wrong, has been completely revised and extended, using new approaches and methodologies in regard to data structuring and the query languages used to produce the results. The results of this new research are presented in chapter 7, which contains no verbatim passages from "The Japanese Connection".

Similarly, chapter 6 primarily consists of research done in the context of this PhD-project, but has also been previously published in my article: J.J.A. Knoest, "Doing Business by the Grace of the Shogun: Strategies, Trade Negotiations, and Cross-Cultural (Mis)Understandings in Early Modern Nagasaki" in Cátia Antunes and Francisco Bethencourt, eds. *Merchant Cultures. A Global Approach to Spaces, Representations and Worlds of Trade, 1500-1800*, pp. 135-170. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2022. Sections 6.1, 6.3-6.6 (pages 189-191, 200-222) are verbatim representations of the text presented in this article (pages 135-138, 147-170). About half of the text in section 6.2 (pages 197-199) consists of verbatim text passages from my article "Doing Business by the Grace of the Shogun" (pages 143-147). The other half consists of new or rewritten information to avoid repetitiveness in regard to information given in chapter 2, and to include newly gained insights. As a final comment, the dates in all these sections have been adapted from British English to American English to fit the overall style of the thesis.

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Just as many of the Company employees of old, at some point I went to Asia, spending one year in Nagasaki, where professor Aikawa was very kind to show me around Nagasaki's historical sites, teaching me about their history, and introducing me to the staff of the Nagasaki Rekishi Bunka Hakubutsukan, who graciously allowed me to sit in on their *kuzushiji* workshops. During my Japanese studies, I soon learned that in order to study early modern Japan, not only knowledge of the many forms of classical Japanese, but also knowledge of the language, history, and culture of its neighbors China and Korea were essential. I want to thank dr. Henny van der Veere, professor Barend ter Haar, dr. Tineke D'Haeseleer, my promotor professor Remco Breuker, and professor Wim Boot for their continuous support and guidance, much of which took place in reading groups and discussions for which they often made extra time outside of their busy schedules. I want to especially thank Remco and Wim for not giving up on me or the project in difficult times, and for steering it towards completion. I also want to thank professors Jos Gommans and Jeroen Duindam for letting me sit in on the discussions among the PhD-students in their Eurasian Empires project. These were quite useful and offered me a lot of food for thought. Most importantly, I also offer my heartfelt gratitude to professor Cátia Antunes. Her door was always open, be it for a sympathetic ear, assistance, motivation, or to discuss at length early modern globalization and merchant networks. Thanks to her introductions into her personal scholarly network, I got the opportunity to present my research on many international conferences and communicate with many scholars in the field of maritime history, historical globalization and early modern merchant networks. These were wonderful times, and I would dare say that a large portion of my growth as a scholar I owe to her, for which I am ever grateful.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum, CDNI Dagregisters van de Nederlandse Factorij in Japan, DGNFJ Hosokawa-ke Shiryō 細川家史料, HKKSR Kaban kōeki meisaiki 華蠻交易明細記, KBKEMSK Kivō gundan 崎陽群談, KYGD Nagasaki Hankachō 長崎犯科帳, NSHKC Nagasaki jikki nendairoku 長崎実記年代録, NJKNDR Nagasaki jitsuroku taisei 長崎実録大成, NJTRTS Nagasaki-ken shi 長崎県史, NSKS Nagasaki-ki 長崎記, NSK Nagasaki koeki nikki 長崎行役日記, NSKENK Nagasaki kokon shūran 長崎古今集覧, NSKKSR Nagasaki Kyūki 長崎旧記, NSKK Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek, NIP Oranda tsūji yuishogaki 阿蘭陀通詞由緒書, ORDTJYSG Saiyū zakki 西遊雜記, SYZK Shintei Kansei chōshū shokafu 新訂寛政重修諸家譜, STKSCSSK Tokugawa jikki 徳川実記, TGIK Tokugawa kinreikō 徳川禁令考, TGKRK Tōtsūji kaisho nichiroku 唐通事会所日録, TTJKSNR Tsūkō Ichiran 通航一覧, TKIR Yakushi tōfu 訳司統譜, YSTF

## **EXPLANATION FOR UNITS OF MEASURE**

#### Currencies

1 Dutch guilder (gulden) = 20 stivers (stuivers) = 320 penny (penningen)

1 stiver = 16 penny

```
1 tael = 10 masen (maas) = 100 conderin
```

1 *tael* in Nagasaki

- = 1,37 Reals of Eight (before 1639)
- = 1 cruzado (before 1639)
- = 62 stivers (before 1636); 57 stivers (1637-1665); 70 stivers (1666-1743) 40 stivers (1744-1767); 33 stivers (after 1768)
- = 10 monme 匁 (up to 1732); 5 monme (1733-1743); 10 monme (after 1744)

1 rix-dollar (*rijksdaalder*) = 48 stivers (up to 1665); 60 stivers (after 1666)

1 (gold) ryō 兩 = 4 bu 分 = 16 shu 銖

- = 1 golden koban 小判 = 4 ichi bun 一分 (boontje) = between 5-6 tael
- = (silver) 50 monme (up to 1688); 60 monme (after 1704)
- = (copper) 4 kanmon 貫文 (kan 貫) = 4.000 mon文

1 (silver) kanme 貫目 (kan 貫) = 1.000 monme

### Weights and Measures

1 Dutch pound (Amsterdam pound) = approx. 0,494 kg. 100 catti = 100 kin 斤 = 1 picul = approx. 600 gr. 100 kin in Nagasaki for the Dutch trade

```
= 125 Dutch pounds (up to 1697); 120 Dutch pounds (1698-1781); 120,09 Dutch pounds (after 1783)
```

- 1 Real of Eight = approx. 27,47 gr.
- 1 *kanme* (*kan*) = approx. 37,5 kg.
- 1 *ryō* = approx. 18.75 gr.
- 1 *tael* = approx. 37,5 gr.
- 1 *monme* = approx. 3,75 gr.
- 1 koku 石 = 180,39 liter
- 1 no  $\overline{\mathbf{m}}$  = approx. 36 cm.

1 *j*ō 丈 = approx. 3,03 m.

- 1 *shaku* 尺 = approx. 30,3 cm.
- 1 *sun* 寸 = approx. 3,03 cm.
- 1 *bu*分 = approx. 0,303 cm.