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## Japanese Manuscript Sources on 19th Century Russia in HUL\*

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### Introduction to the "Northern-Studies Collection"

Hokkaido University Library (HUL) has a special section called "Hoppon Shiryō-shitsu", or "Northern-Studies Collection", which organizes research materials on Northern Pacific areas and Northern Eurasia, including Hokkaido, Sakhalin, the Kuriles, the Aleutian Islands, the Soviet Far East, Siberia, Alaska and the Arctic. As far as I know, this is one of the most concentrated collections of its kind in Japan.

The Northern-Studies Collection formally opened in 1967, but its root goes back to 1937, when the Research Institute for Northern Culture (Hoppon Bunka Kenkyū-shitsu) was established as an interdisciplinary research center at Hokkaido University. One of the purposes of the institute was to collect resource materials on the northern regions, with the ultimate goal that "nothing would remain beyond the scope of its collection". In 1966 the institute was reorganized as a facility attached to the Faculty of Literature, and its collection was moved to the University Library. The Library's own collection of northern-studies materials, dating from the Sapporo Agricultural College founded in 1876, was added to this to create the Northern-Studies Collection of to-day. Since its establishment, the Northern-Studies Collection has been very active in acquiring new materials. As of May 1988, it has 17,000 Japanese books, 3,800 foreign books, ca. 10,000 pamphlets, 4,300 manuscript books, 3,700 documents, ca. 5,000 letters from foreign employees and other foreigners written to the Hokkaido Development Office from 1869–1882, ca. 5,000 titles of manuscript and printed maps, ca. 5,000 photographs, some 200 records of Ainu folk-tales, etc. In addition, the Hokkaido University Archives are also attached to the Northern-Studies Collection.

### Historical Background of Materials on Russia

Out of the above collection, I would like to introduce some of the Japanese manuscript sources on Russia in the first half of the 19th century, especially in the Pacific areas. Before 1869 Hokkaido was called "Ezo-chi (the land of the Ainu)" and this name was sometimes also applied to Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands. "Ezo-chi" was usually alluded to as "key of the northern gate (北門鎖鑰)", namely the land for preventing southward expansion of Russia. The first information on Russian penetration into the Kuriles was obtained from the Ainu people in 1759. Then the Russians arrived at Nemuro and Akkeshi on the eastern coast of Hokkaido, in 1778 and 1779, to arrange barter-trade with the representatives of the Lord of Matsumae. Later, in 1786 a group of Japanese officials happened to meet three Russian refugees on the Island of Etorofu in the Kuriles. Mogami Tokunai, one of the officials, lived with them for three months to learn about Russia. Speaking in the Ainu language with them, he obtained valuable and somewhat detailed information on Russian geography, history, politics, etc. One of the Russians, named "Izhuyozov"<sup>1</sup>, seemed to have been an intelligent man who brought several books with him, including "Matematicheskaya geografiya (Mathematical geography)". The information which Mogami learned from them can be found in such books as "Ezo zōshi (蝦夷草紙)", "Ezo zōshi kōhen (蝦夷草紙後編)", "Ezo shūi (蝦夷拾遺)",

“Roshiya kibun (魯西亞紀聞)”, “Akahito mondōsho (赤人問答書)”, “Chishima hisetsu (千島秘説)”, “Beppon akaezo fūsetsukō (別本赤蝦夷風説考)”, “Hokuhen tanji hoi (北辺探事補遺)”, etc.

The very earliest knowledge of Russia in Japan was obtained through Dutch and Chinese books, and only later by direct contact with Russians. Further knowledge was soon after considerably expanded with the help of Japanese shipwrecked castaways, whom Russians rescued and sent back to Japan. For example, Daikokuya Kōdayū and other two seamen were brought back in 1792 by Adam E. Laxman, the first Russian envoy to Japan. They had lived in Russia for eight years, had had an audience with Empress Catharine II, and had been warmly received by many Russian people. Also, four seamen from the Sendai district who were sent back to their homeland by Nikolai P. Rezanov, the second envoy to Japan in 1804, had lived in Russia for ten years and had met with Emperor Alexander I. Both groups of seamen had been cast ashore on the Aleutian Islands and had travelled throughout Russia to St. Petersburg. After returning from Russia, they were questioned about everything Russian by famous scholars of the time, who already had some knowledge of the country from having read Dutch books. As a result, books such as “Hokusa bunryaku (北槎聞略)” and “Hyōmin goran no ki (漂民御覽之記)” by Katsuragawa Hoshū, “Hokusa ibun”(北槎異聞)” by Shinomoto Ren, “Kankai ibun (環海異聞)” and “Hokuhen tanji (北辺探事)” by Ōtsuki Gentaku, etc. were compiled, and they became the sources of knowledge on Russia in the age of Japanese isolation<sup>2</sup>. There were also four groups of Japanese castaways who visited Novo-Arkhangelsk on the Island of Sitka (Baranov Island at present), the site of the head-quarters of the Russian-American Company on the northwest coast of America. One of them met with Aleksandr A. Baranov, a famous General Manager of the company, who tried to persuade the Japanese seamen to remain in Novo-Arkhangelsk, but to no avail. “Funaosa nikki (船長日記)”, “Bandan (蕃談)” and “Tokei monogatari (時槻物語)”, which were compiled from the stories of these castaways, contain interesting information on the situation of Sitka.

With the arrival in Japan of the Russian envoys, Laxman and Rezanov, many Japanese documents were written concerning them. Attacks made by Russian ships on Japanese settlements on southern Sakhalin, the island of Etorofu and around northern Hokkaido in 1806–1807 produced many more Japanese records<sup>3</sup>. It is same in the case of the captivity of Vasiliĭ Mikhailovich Golovnin, a Russian naval captain and his six subordinates on the coast of Kunashiri island in 1811, and in the case of negotiation for their release<sup>4</sup>. Nakagawa Goroji, a head fisherman on the Island of Etorofu, who was taken prisoner by Russians in 1807, wrote two books entitled “Goroji moshiage aramashi (五郎治申上荒増)” and “Ikyō zatsuwa (異境雑話)” upon his return home after his five years’ stay in eastern Siberia. These books contain vivid descriptions of the manners and customs of native Russians and Tungus people. It was also Nakagawa who first introduced vaccination to Japan. He brought back a Russian book on vaccination, which was translated into Japanese by Baba Sajurō under the title “Tonka hiketsu (遁花秘訣)”<sup>5</sup>. Ensign Mur, who was captured by the Japanese together with captain Golovnin, presented a detailed report on Russia to the governor of Matsumae. This report, also containing useful information on the contemporary international situations in Europe, was translated by Murakami Teisuke under the title “Mūru gonjo-sho (ムール言上書)”. Translators Baba and Murakami had been taught Russian by V. Golovnin. It is almost needless to mention Golovnin’s famous narratives of his captivity, which were also translated into Japanese from the Dutch edition by Baba Sajuro (“Soyaku nihon kiji, 遭厄日本紀事”).

Every time Japan felt the menace of Russia, the central government (Bakufu) dispossessed the feudal lord of Matsumae of his domain (Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin and southern Kuriles), and put them under its direct control, twice : from 1799 to 1821, and from 1855 to

1868. A magistrate office was established at Hakodate (or Matsumae from 1807–1821) in southern-most Hokkaido, and the daimyos (feudal lords) in northern Japan were ordered to send their troops to garrison various places of the Ezo-chi. Therefore, Japanese sources on the Ezo-chi such as official documents of the Bakufu and the feudal lords of the Tohoku district, private diaries, accounts of travels, letters, etc. showed a deep concern with Russia and contained a great deal of information on Russia and the international relations between the two countries.

In 1853 the Russians advanced into Sakhalin, and the island was under joint possession by Japan and Russia until 1875. As a consequence there often occurred troublesome incidents between the two nations. Nikolai N. Murav'ev-Amurskii, the Governor-General of eastern Siberia, came to Yedo (Tokyo) in 1859, accompanied by seven warships, to negotiate the possession of the whole of Sakhalin by Russia. Japan also sent two delegations to St. Petersburg, in 1862 and 1866, to secure the southern half of the island for Japan. In addition to the records (photocopies) of these diplomatic negotiations, the Northern-Studies Collection has some two hundred Russian letters (originals), mostly written to the Japanese local authorities by the Russian military commanders on the Island of Sakhalin, when it was under joint possession. Thus, a rich collection of manuscript sources on Russo-Japanese relations in the Northern Pacific areas can be found in the holdings of the Northern-Studies Collection.

#### Maps of North-western Pacific Areas

The HUL is particularly proud of its collection of old maps of northern Japan. Japanese concern for Russia also appeared on old maps of northern Japan. The first Japanese map which delineated the whole coast of the Okhotsk sea region, was "Ezo koku zenzu (蝦夷国全図)" drawn by Hayashi Shihei and published in Yedo in 1785. This map was based on a Chinese version of "Carte d'Asie" drawn by French cartographer Jean B. B. D'Anville and a map of the Ezo-chi (元禄国絵図) drawn by the Matsumae clan in 1700. In this map, as well as in his famous book "Sangoku tsūran zusetsu (三国通覧図説)", Hayashi mentioned the appearance of the Russians in the southern Kuriles. Furthermore Japanese officials, sent by the Bakufu to the Ezo-chi in 1785 and 1786, surveyed the whole coast of Hokkaido, the southern most part of Sakhalin, and the southern Kuriles as far as the island of Urup. A map entitled "Ezo yochi zenzu (蝦夷輿地全図)" drawn by them, however, covered the whole of the Okhotsk sea region. In this map the Kurile islands were first delineated as a long chain of islands, stretching between Kamtchatka and Hokkaido. This was based on the information obtained from the Russian named Izhuyozov whom they had met on Etorofu island. In a similar map entitled "Ezo fūzoku ninjō no sata fuzu (蝦夷風俗人情之沙汰付図)" drawn by Mogami Tokunai, each island of the northern Kuriles was given its Russian name. There was also a brief description of the appearance of Russians on the Kuriles in "Ezo yochi zenzu".

During the first period of direct control of the Ezo-chi by the Bakufu in 1799 to 1821, land-surveying was repeatedly carried out, and the maps of Hokkaido, Sakhalin and the southern Kuriles began to be drawn with greater detail and accuracy. Some surveyors were sent to northern Sakhalin to investigate the northern border of the island. In 1809 Mamiya Rinzo reached the north-western-most point of Sakhalin and discovered that Sakhalin was an island separated from the Continent by a strait. Until that time some of the Japanese scholars had considered Sakhalin as a peninsula due to the European information, notwithstanding that most native people had assured the Japanese of its insularity. Europeans believed that Sakhalin was a peninsula, even in the middle of the 19th century, owing to the results of surveys of famous European navigators such as Jean Francois de Galaup Lapérouse, William Robert

Broughton and Adam Johann von Krusenstern. In the summer of 1809 Mamiya crossed the strait to the Continent and went up the Amur to Deren, a site of the temporary Chinese office, to investigate the relations of the neighboring people with China. On the map of Sakhalin and the lower Amur entitled “Kokuryukō nakasu narabi tendo (黒龍江中州並天度)” which Mamiya drew after this expedition, the Amur Liman was delineated very accurately<sup>6</sup>. This map was later printed in “Nippon” by a famous German scholar Philipp Franz von Siebold, who named the strait after Mamiya. “Tōdatsu kikō (東韃紀行)” and “Kita-ezo zuzetsu (北蝦夷図説)”, both illustrated books compiled by Murakami Teisuke from the narratives of Mamiya, give detailed descriptions of the manners and customs of the people in the lower Amur and Sakhalin Island. Mamiya wrote that in winter some of the Russian hunters in the district of the Uda crossed the Tugur River (the actual border between Russia and China)<sup>7</sup> and joined the Tungus in hunting the fur-bearing animals in the lower Amur district.

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The Northern-Studies Collection has already published a series of catalogs as follows :

- 1 ) Korea, Taiwan and Manchuria, 1868–1945 : a Classified List of Research Resources in HUL. 1975. 514p. (旧外地関係資料目録)
- 2 ) A List of Maps of Hokkaido and Adjoining Regions in HUL. 1981. 359p. (北海道関係地図図類目録)
- 3 ) The Kaitakushi (Hokkaido Colonial Office) and its Foreign Employees, Advisers, and Other Foreigners : a List of Correspondence, 1871–1882. 1983. 224p. (開拓使外国人関係書簡目録)

“An Annotated Catalog of Japanese Historical Sources on Hokkaido, Sakhalin, the Kuriles and Russia in HUL. (日本北辺関係旧記目録)” is now under preparation. “A catalog of foreign books on Siberia and the North Pacific areas in HUL” is also scheduled to be issued in a few years.

Besides the Northern-Studies Collection at HUL, there are many libraries and archives in Japan which have collections of manuscript sources on the Ezo-chi, such as Hakodate Municipal Library, Hokkaido Prefectural Library, Hokkaido Prefectural Archives, Naikaku-bunko attached to the National Archives of Japan, National Diet Library, Tokyo University Library, Institute for Compilation of Historical Materials attached to Tokyo University, Waseda University Library and others. Valuable sources for the study of 19th century Russia in the Northern Pacific areas can be found in these collections, too.

## Notes

\* This report was read at the 20th National Convention of the AAASS, held Nov. 18–20, 1988 in Honolulu, Hawaii. I am grateful for the kind assistance of Toshiyuki Akizuki, the curator of the Northern-Studies Collection, HUL.

- 1 According to the Japanese sources, Izhuoyozov and his two subordinates ran away from their companions after serious quarrels occurred between them on the Island of Urup. A. Polonsky’s “Kurily” describes the quarrels between Dimitrii Iakovlevich Shabalin’s and Kolomin’s groups on Urup island in 1784, but does not refer to Izhuoyozov. In any case Izhuoyozov seems to have been a clerk of Pavel Lebedev-Lastochkin’s company in Irkutsk.
- 2 Among these books, “Hokusa bunryaku” and “Hyōmin goran no ki” were translated into Russian by V. M. Konstantinov in 1978 and 1961, respectively. Chapter 8 (Russian

- vocabulary) of “Kankai ibun” was also translated into Russian by V. N. Goregliad in 1961.
- 3 These attacks were conducted by naval officers of the Russian-American Company by order of Rezanov in order to force Japan to trade with Russia.
  - 4 Captain Golovnin and his subordinates were captured by the Japanese when they landed on the island of Kunashiri in 1811, in revenge for the Russian attack on Japanese settlements in 1806–1807.
  - 5 During his stay in Irkutsk Nakagawa became acquainted with a Russian medical doctor, was taught the method of vaccination and was given a book entitled “Sposob izbavit’sia sovershenno ot ospennoi zarazy”.
  - 6 According to Siebold, Krusenstern was deeply impressed when he was shown Mamiya’s map of the Amur Liman. Famous Russian scholar Schrenck also wrote that Mamiya’s map was very accurate.
  - 7 The eastern border between China and Russia had not been demarcated by the Nerchinsk and the Kiakhta treaties.