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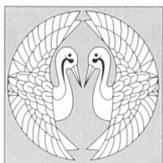
Front cover:

"A Ship Among the Blocks of Ice", a colour drawing from the book 2 of the manuscript *Kankai Ibun* preserved in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (C 191), fol. 14a, 14.0 × 20.5 cm.

Back cover:

"Theatre in the Capital of the Russian Empire", a colour drawing from the book 11 of the manuscript *Kankai Ibun* preserved in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (C 191), fols. 11b—12a, 32.5 × 26.5 cm.

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THE MANUSCRIPT OF *KANKAI IBUN* IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

On the 26th of October 1804 the sloop *Nadezhda* commanded by I. F. Krusenstern entered the Nagasaki bay. The embassy of N. P. Rezanov to Japan was on board. There were two pretexts for sending a Russian embassy to the Tokugawa Japan which avoided external contacts: a letter from the Japanese authorities given in 1793 to Adam Laxman with a permission to send a Russian ship to Nagasaki to negotiate about the opening of trade relations between the two countries [1], and the coming back to their native land of four Japanese sailors from among those who had been carried to Russia by the ocean streams in 1794.

The desire of Russian merchants to establish trade connections with Japan was characterised by the minister of commerce Count N. P. Rumyantsev in his report to Alexander I in the following words: "The very nature, by placing Russia contiguous to Japan and bringing the two empires together by seas, gives us an advantage and convenience in trade before all other commercial powers, towards which, it appears, our merchant class is waiting only for the approval of the government" [2].

The four Japanese sailors taken by the *Nadezhda* to Nagasaki came from the crew of the *Wakamiya maru*. They spent in Russia nearly ten years. Their ship departed from the port of Isinomaki on the Pacific shore of the Honshū Island (the Miyagi prefecture) at the end of 1793 with a cargo of timber, rice and other goods belonging to the Sendai family. The cargo was intended for Edo, the shogun capital of Japan. The crew of the ship numbered 16 people, including Captain Heibei. When the ship entered the open sea, it was overtaken by a typhoon, lost its rudder and a mast. Its hull was damaged and it went out of control. Drawn by winds and sea currents the ship drifted for about six months and by the summer of the next year was washed ashore at one of the Andreyan Islands in the north-eastern part of the Aleutian Archipelago. During the ten months spent by the sailors among the Aleuts they lost Captain Heibei, became familiar with the natives and established contacts with the agents of the Russian-American Company on the Aleutian Islands.

On a ship which belonged to the Company the Japanese travelled to Okhotsk, whence from, in three groups, they were taken first to Yakutsk and then to Irkutsk. There

they stayed during eight long years. Two more Japanese sailors died in the course of these wanderings, four of them became Orthodox Christians. Starting from 1754, in Irkutsk by the Navigation School there was a School of Japanese language transferred there from St. Petersburg. Several Japanese, who were carried by storms towards the Russian shores some years before, were living there.

In 1803 the Japanese were summoned from Irkutsk to St. Petersburg, where Emperor Alexander I gave them an audience. After that four of the Japanese sailors, whose health were good and who did not convert to Christianity, received a permission to return to their native land on a Russian ship. Their names were Tsudayu, Gihei, Saheida and Tajūrō. The fifth was Zenroku, whose command of Russian was better than that of his companions, and who was taken on board as an interpreter (he was baptised as Peter Kiselev and had no intention to come back to Japan) [3].

The 450-ton sloop *Nadezhda* commanded by Captain-Lieutenant I. F. Krusenstern started its 16-month voyage from the port of Kronstadt in the morning of July 26, 1803. Its course was through Copenhagen, Plymouth, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Santa Catharina (Brazil), around the Cape of Horn, by the Marquesas and the Hawaiian Islands to Petropavlovsk-Kamchatski and Nagasaki. That was the second time the Japanese travelled around the world [4].

At the beginning of 1805 the Japanese sailors were taken to their native land and handed to the authorities of Nagasaki. Nine months later they were brought to Edo. All that time they were kept under guard in a special lodging near the sea. On the 20th day of the 12th moon of year 2 of the Bunka era (January 8, 1806) the sailors were received by head of the Sendai clan Date Chikamune who was only ten years old [5]. Two months later the clan authorities ordered two of their vassals to interrogate the travellers in all detail and to make a record of what they could tell about life abroad, about Russia and about their voyage on a Russian ship. These talks (interrogations) continued for forty days.

The principle work — the method of questioning, subjects, checking of the evidence provided by the sailors (mainly by Chinese and Dutch books and by consulting

Daikokuya Kōdayū who had also spent in Russia about ten years) was done by Ōtsuki Gentaku. The role of the second member of the commission, Shimura Hiroyuki, was confined mainly to recording the sailors' answers on paper.

Ōtsuki Gentaku (his other pen-names: Bansai, Moshitsu, Confucian nickname — Shikan, personal name — Shigekata; 1757—1813) was a clan physician, "expert in Holland", head of the first Japanese private school of *rangaku* ("Dutch sciences") Shiba Rando (Dutch Pavilion in Shiba), author of numerous translations (over 300 *maki*) and literary works.

Shimura Hiroyuki (pen-names: Tokuji, Shikikei, Moan, Kikukaku Shinken; b. 1769) was also a *rangakusha* of the Sendai clan, at the end of his career — presumably a tutor to the head of the clan.

To identify different data (like distance in European measures, calendar dates, legends on available European maps, etc.) and to make drawings illustrating his work Ōtsuki Gentaku drew many people specialising in corresponding fields.

The principal result of questioning was the appearance in 1807 of a formidable manuscript titled *Kankai Iibun* ("Remarkable Facts about the Seas Surrounding [the Earth]"). The work is divided by subjects into 16 *maki* (in copies — 15). The drift of the *Wakamiya maru* is described there after the story told by the sailors, as well as their life in different parts of Russia, from the Aleutian Islands to St. Petersburg, and the story of the voyage of the *Nadezhda* from Kronstadt to Nagasaki. Evidence on continents and countries, their geographical co-ordinates and relative location are taken from literary sources. The introduction to *Kankai Iibun* contains information about the Russian Empire evidently unknown to the sailors.

"Russian land is the land relating to the European continent about which it was spoken earlier. If we consider the opinions which were there in the past and which are current now among different people, in our country even quite recently, in the years of An-ei — Temmei (1772—1788 — *V. G.*), they knew not where the land named "Oroshia" was located. Still this name was there on the people's lips. They said, it was Moskovia, about which it had been spoken both 150 and 100 years ago.

The Old Man Hakuseki [6] in his "Brief Notes on the Five Things" [7] indicated that it was more than 14,200 *ri* away from Japan (at the end of the Min [8] period this name was pronounced as Mosygaewacia)...

This land is famous for its hides. Barbarian ships were bringing the products of this land to our country, and ours, receiving them as gifts, began to call them "merchants' hides". That is why this sort of leather (the one from which purses and boxes for keeping plants are made) is called in the world — by Indians, Lilliputians and Persians — *amakawa* [9], but is also called *mosukobia*. In that way the word *mosukobia* is the name of a sort of leather, and many do not know now that it is also the name of a land. They say that this Mosukobia was first the name of the capital and then became the general name of the country. They say that the present name of the whole country is Ryusia, also Oroshia, they also say Oroshiikoi...

This land is a monarchy, located in the north-west of Europe mentioned above. Over a hundred years ago a certain man flourished in this land as a wise prince. He performed his duties, seeking goodwill of different countries. After he had added to his possessions lands on the north-

east, up to large territories in Siberia (located to the north of Chinese Dattan), which is on the Asian continent, its ultimate borders reached Kamchatka. In the last years its people have relations with the Ainu islands [10] on our north-east..." [11].

The whole body of the work is divided into the following parts: books 1—3 — the story of the adventures of the crew of the *Wakamiya maru* from her departure from the native port to the stay of the sailors in Irkutsk; book 4 — food and dress of the Russians; book 5 — temples, administration, military class, punishments, money; book 7 — measures of length and distance, measures of weight, musical instruments, agriculture, trade, medicine, fishes, animals and wild beasts, counting; book 8 — Russian-Japanese vocabulary arranged by subjects; book 9 — the voyage of the 13 sailors from Irkutsk to St. Petersburg; book 10 — the audience given by Alexander I, the sailors' stay in St. Petersburg; book 11 — preparations for sending four of the sailors back to their native land; books 12—13 — the voyage from Kronstadt to Nagasaki; books 14—16 — stay in Nagasaki, different notes.

The process of the actual work with the sailors is described in the introduction to the work by its authors as follows: "... The two of us (in the text a disparaging equivalent 'two vassals' is employed — *V. G.*) were given a secret order: it was ordered to ask them about all details of this event from its very beginning to the end.

According to that, starting the whole thing in that moon, we were summoning the sailors to one of the houses of an isolated estate by the step of the Atago hill [12], day after day recording their answers to our questions. Shigekata asked questions on the story of their wanderings, and Hiroyuki, sitting nearby, kept the records. Thus in a whole 40 days have passed.

We stepped over that year, spring came — the middle decade of the second moon [13]. We were given rest, after which we listened to and recorded everything which had happened to the sailors, beginning from their departure from their native prefecture to their return to their native land — their voyage to a foreign land and back and their twelve-year stay there. That made the draft records.

In the present records there are many omissions, since it was impossible to go into every detail — these undeveloped and ignorant poor creatures looked inattentively and listened inattentively both when they entered the Russian lands as well as on their way back by the sea, when the sails of their return were raised.

This state of things could not satisfy us. Shigekata again and again asked important questions in the same order, and again he received no answer to them..." [14].

Apart from the record of the sailors' answers, supplemented with the evidence of written sources, a huge amount of editorial work was done in arranging parts of the book, avoiding repetitions, etc. After the work had been accomplished, it was submitted to the clan authorities.

The manuscript "Remarkable Facts about the Seas Surrounding [the Earth]" is known now in many copies. The most authoritative (close to the autograph) are the manuscripts of the Parliament Library, the Library of the Cabinet, the Internal Library of the Palace Department, The Tōyō bunko Library, the Waseda University Library and, naturally, from the private library of the Ōtsuki family [15]. The aim of scholars is to trace the filiation of these manuscripts and, when possible, to construct the stems.

There are weighty arguments making us think that the manuscript of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is one of the most authoritative and close to the autograph.

The active spread of the copies of the work was to a great extent connected with the tension in Russian-Japanese relations because of the failure of N. P. Rezanov's mission. Enraged by this failure the Russian envoy sent a "Memorandum" to the shogunate government:

"I, the undersigned Full Chamberlain and Cavalier of His Royal Majesty, Sovereign and Emperor Alexander I, Nicholas Rezanov, am declaring to the Japanese Government:

1. That at the time of my presence in Nagasaki I asked in the name of His Majesty the Tsar for a trade agreement, for which the Japanese government had given a permission to Laxman, sent in 1792, but then, by the intrigues of its minister... changed its word and refused.

2. This action made me demonstrate to the Japanese government that the Russian Emperor did not need much effort to bring this Empire within the rules demanded by respect to the neighbouring friendship of a person so high standing as that of my sovereign the Emperor of All Russia ..."

The following part of the "Memorandum" contained demands to punish the guilty, to make excuses to "my most kind sovereign", to open a port "to where one can come for trade" at Matmai (Hokkaido) and not to spread Japanese authority to the north of Matmai. In case of "one more disrespect" Rezanov threatened the Japanese with "pernicious measures and irrecoverable losses" [16].

The Japanese authorities, naturally, in no way reacted to the "Memorandum".

On the 8th of August 1806, staying on board of the *Juno*, N. P. Rezanov gave secret instructions to her captain, Lieutenant N. A. Khvostov, which included the following:

"1. To enter the Aniwa bay and, if any Japanese vessels are found there, to destroy them; to capture healthy and good for work people, and those disabled to let go to the north end of Matmai, telling them that they should never dare to come to the Sakhalin, which is a Russian territory, but coming for trade, for which the Russians will ever be ready. When taking captives, preference must be given to artisans and craftsmen.

2. To keep the Japanese captives from there under strict guard on your ship, but not to distress them, telling that for them it will be better than before, and therefore to let them keep all their property and to take them all to Novo-Arkhangelsk ..." [17].

Other instructions were no less resolute than the ones cited. Resolute were also the actions taken by Lieutenant N. A. Khvostov and Midshipman G. I. Davydov (commander of the tender *Avos*) who eagerly carried out the secret instructions of N. P. Rezanov.

Next year, after Khvostov and Davydov had ravaged Japanese factories, stores and temples on the South Sakhalin and the Kurils, the shogun government moved regiments of the Tsugaru, Nanbu, Sendai and Aizu clans to the north of the Ezo Island, the South Sakhalin and to other lands bordering upon Russia. Seven hundred soldiers of the Aizu clan were stationed on the Sakhalin; some Japanese scholars also went there inspired by the possibility to describe the northern islands and to persuade the Japanese in the reality of the Russian threat. There was, naturally,

an unusual growth of interest towards literature containing information about Russia, first of all towards *Kankai Ibun*. It continued through the following decades, instigated by the persistence of the Western Powers knocking at the closed doors of Japan. The Japanese became even more interested in Russian affairs after the conclusion of a treaty between the two countries at the beginning of October 1854 and especially after the 1858 Treaty on Trade and Friendship and the establishment of a Japanese diplomatic mission in St. Petersburg.

In the course of preparations for the opening of the Japanese embassy to Russia the Japanese authorities began to assemble reference materials for the embassy library. *Kankai Ibun* held a prominent place among these materials.

All books of the *Kankai Ibun* manuscript in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (call number C 191) bear the stamp (representing a chrysanthemum) of the Japanese embassy to the Russian Empire. Among the documents belonging to the Institute there are no records about the time and the circumstances under which the manuscript came to the Asiatic Museum (under that name the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies was known in 1818—1930). We may, however, presume that it was donated to the Institute in 1918, when the Japanese embassy and other foreign diplomatic missions moved to Moscow, following the Soviet government which had moved there not long before that.

The presence of the embassy stamp and the absence of any other stamps in the manuscript may testify that the manuscript was not taken from any library or collection but was specially copied for the Japanese embassy to the Russian Empire. There are several features demonstrating that it could not be the autograph by Ōtsuki Gentaku or Shimura Hiroyuki. Taking into account, however, the official character of the book collection of the embassy, it is possible to suggest that most authoritative protograph has been selected.

As for the protograph, the following features of our manuscript point to its existence:

1. The text of the manuscript is executed in different handwritings. Evidently, those who were assembling materials for the embassy library were given strict time limits, so they entrusted the copying to several scribes.

2. The presence of numerous errors in the transcription of foreign words, foreign personal names and place-names is noteworthy [18]. It can reflect not only the mistakes made by the informers, but testifies also that some of the *katakana* characters in the protograph were written not clearly enough (*oyuni* instead of *ogoni* — "fire", *ivoruka* instead of *igoruka* — "needle", *meshinishi* instead of *meshinin* — "lower middle-class man").

3. There are also several omissions of fragments present in other manuscripts of *Kankai Ibun* [19], differences in transcription of foreign words, the presence of homophones.

The mistakes made by the Japanese scribes who copied the manuscript were of different types. Synonymous substitutions most often occur in the hieroglyphic text; in words written in syllabic scripts (*hiragana*, *hentai-gana*) — grapheme is replaced by its hieroglyphic prototype or one conclusive verbal form is replaced by another. Cases when one syllabic system of writing is replaced by another can not be classified as scribes' mistakes: graphic

variants could reflect nothing more than the personal taste of the copyist.

In manuscripts describing foreign lands copyists' mistakes most often occur in transcriptions of foreign words, including personal names and place-names. The same fully refers to *Kankai Ibun*.

The comparison of our manuscripts with the printed editions by Sugimoto and Miyazaki by this feature provides data for tracing their stem. The record of foreign words and names in the 8th book of the work allows, as it appears at first glance, to arrange the three sources in the following order: the edition by Sugimoto — the edition by Miyazaki — our manuscript. Arguments for this conclusion are the following:

1. Mistakes in writing *katakana* graphemes by the similarity of their shape are more frequent in the manuscript: *Kangeri* for *Angeri* (England) — in both editions; *Jigō ranze* for *Nōigōranze* (New Holland) — in the edition by Sugimoto (the edition by Miyazaki contains the same mistake as the St. Petersburg manuscript); *Oroshiika* for *Oroshia* (Russia) — in both editions.

2. The omission of voicing marks (which often occurs in manuscripts of the Tokugawa period) in transcriptions of foreign words: *Horutogari* for *Porutogari* (Portugal), *Isuhan* for *Isupan* (Spain) — in both editions.

Also, a combination of these two kinds of mistakes makes the transcribed word into a puzzle: *Tōfuranarashita* for *Dōburanadeshita* (the Cape of Good Hope) — in both editions.

3. That the manuscript described here was copied from a not quite legible protograph is evident from the transcription of the combination of words “one month” — *oron meisetsu* where syllable *ro* is provided with *nigori* (voicing mark, which in this case is meaningless), while on the left of it syllable *ze* is written by the same hand (i. e. *zen meisetsu*). Meanwhile in the editions by Sugimoto and Miyazaki it is clearly written: *zen*.

The presence of *lacunae* contributes a lot to the problem of the filiation of the manuscripts of *Kankai Ibun*. However, the principle question is that concerning the protograph of our manuscript. Omissions of several characters in it could be a result of the oversight of the scribe (in this particular case, however, it is not a good explanation). But already in the foreword to the work [20], between the words *Kanaria* and *Amerika*, the manuscript has 20 lines of the text missing in both editions. This fragment tells about the voyage of the *Nadzhda* across the Atlantic Ocean.

The Miyazaki edition (300 copies) was based upon the so-called Mishima book which, in its turn, is basing upon the “Ishii book”. For this last, obviously, the text of the Ōtsuki family library was used, along with two or three other copies [21].

As for Sugimoto Tsutomu, he used for his edition the manuscripts of the Parliament Library and of the Cabinet Library [22].

When translating the work into modern Japanese Ikeda Akira used mainly the copy of the Palace Library (a well-preserved manuscript of 1829 copied by one hand from the protograph of 1810) along with several other authoritative copies from Tokyo manuscript collections [23]. Even in his edition the fragment mentioned above is also missing [24].

Either several authoritative copies of *Kankai Ibun* are not authentic or, which is more probable, this work has at least two versions by the author himself.

It should be noted that it was not seldom that, as a result of multiple copying, comments made by the author or the owner of the manuscript were incorporated into the main text. In such cases the interpolation usually represents a kind of explanation of the preceding text or its supplement. In our case, however, the fragment missing in all other editions presents a natural transition from one sentence to another and removes the odd interruption existing in the copies used for printed editions. In other words, none of the published copies or copies used for making the editions of Miyazaki, Sugimoto and Ikeda, could be the protograph of our manuscript. Even cursory observation of peculiarities of its text bring us to this conclusion.

The special features of our manuscript and its somewhat isolated place among published manuscripts reveal themselves in particular in book 8 (lexicon). The matter is not that in the St. Petersburg manuscripts some words are either omitted, like Russian *железо* (*zhelezo*) — “iron” or *серебро* (*serebro*) — “silver”, or misplaced, like *ворота* (*vorota*) — “gates”, or that voicing marks are missing there (all these faults could be easily explained by the oversight of the copyist), but that it contains transcriptions of Russian words reflecting their pronunciation more precisely than they are given in printed editions. Meanwhile the manuscript provides sufficient evidence that the copyist was not familiar with the Russian language.

The Russian word *товарищ* (*tovarisch*) — “comrade” is given in the manuscript as *tawarashi*, while in Sugimoto's edition it is *tawarashi* (Miyazaki and Ikeda — *tawarishi*), the word *богатый* (*bogatij*) — “rich” — *bakatoyo* (Sugimoto — *hakatoyo*); *мачта* (*machta*) — “mast” — in the manuscript — *marshita*, Ikeda gives *majita*, Miyazaki and Sugimoto — *majiku*.

In this way the first impression of the origin of our copy turns to be wrong.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Japanese had little experience in transcribing foreign words. In the early medieval period the transcription of Sanskrit words was practised by Japanese Buddhists, and of Chinese words — by a wider circle of educated people. In the Edo period they recorded Dutch words. The experience acquired at the time of the first contacts with the Europeans was lost already by the middle of the seventeenth century.

The study of the St. Petersburg copy of *Kankai Ibun* shows that it is of a great value for the history of the text. It can be not only translated into Russian but also laid at the base of a critical edition, thus opening new possibilities for textological studies.

Illustrations to the manuscript deserve special attention. Drawings of everything the sailors saw in the course of their long voyage were made by the authors from their words. After draft drawings had been made, the sailors suggested all possible corrections, made remarks of different kind. The drawings were then modified accordingly. There were different subjects related to Russia and to their voyage from Kronstadt to Nagasaki. The illustrations contained in our manuscript are of special value for all interested in the field. No doubt, they could become the object of a separate study.

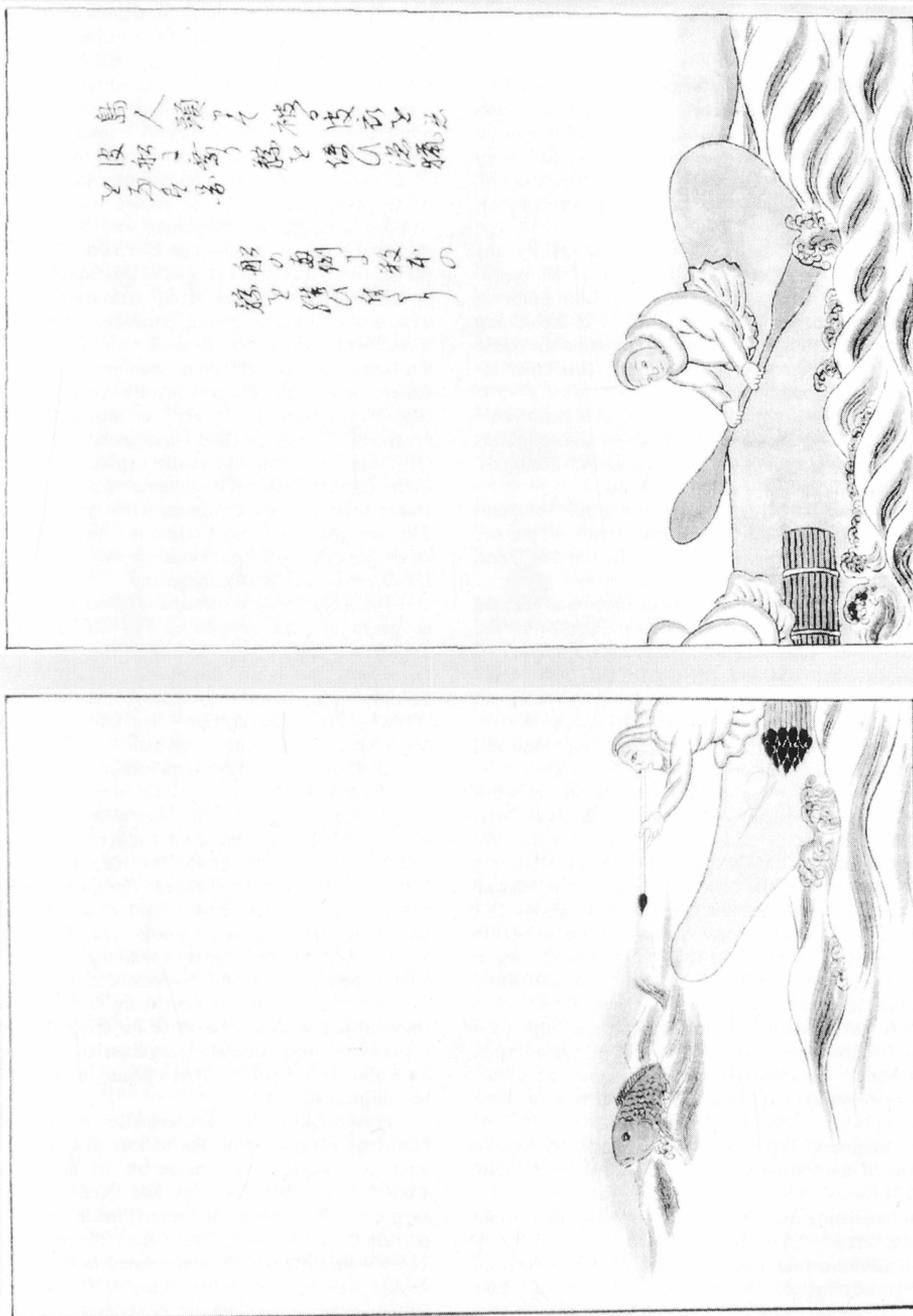


Fig. 1

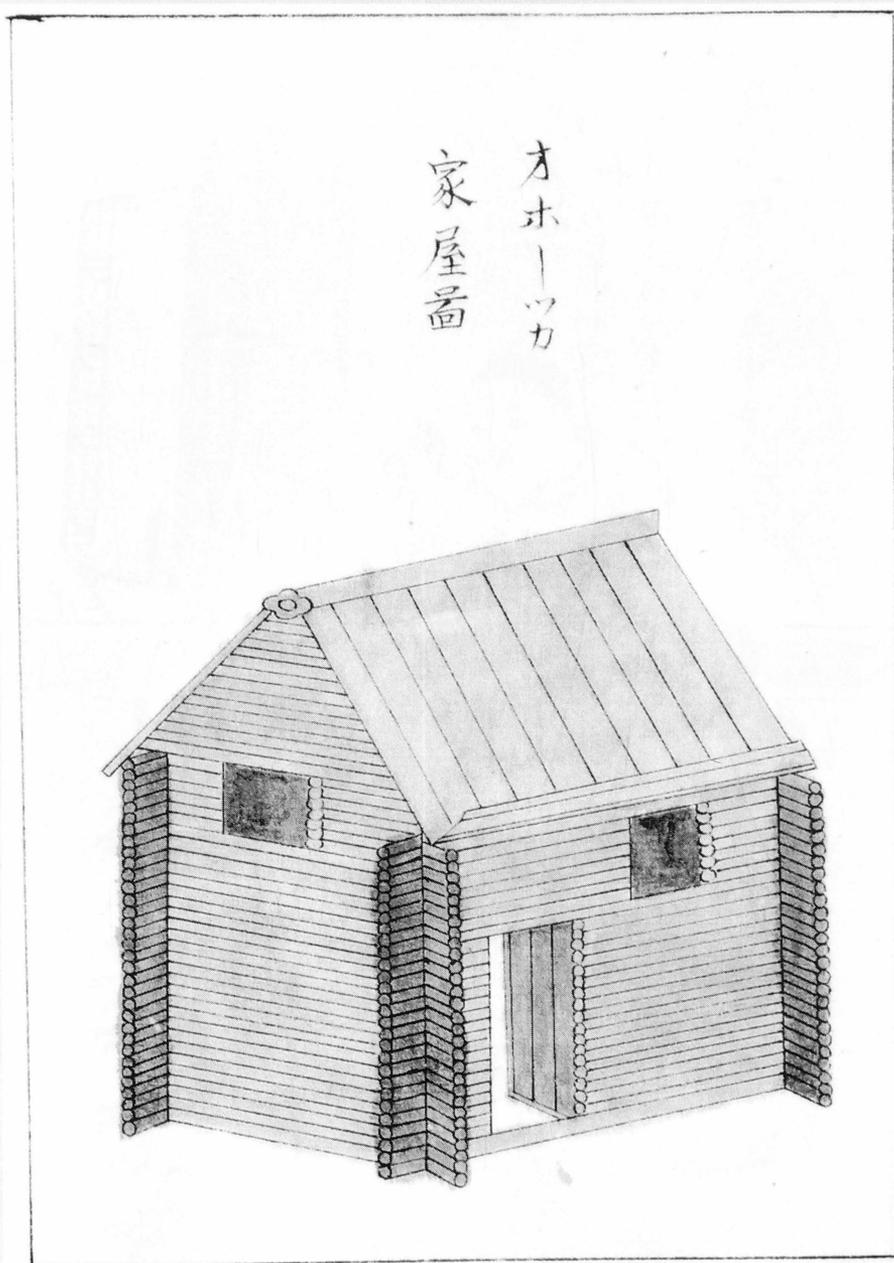


Fig. 2

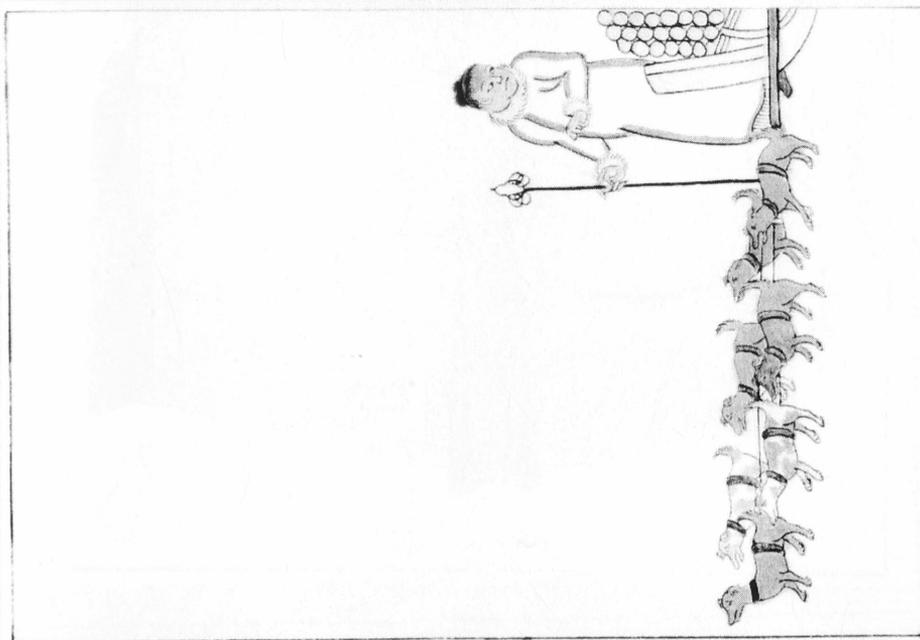
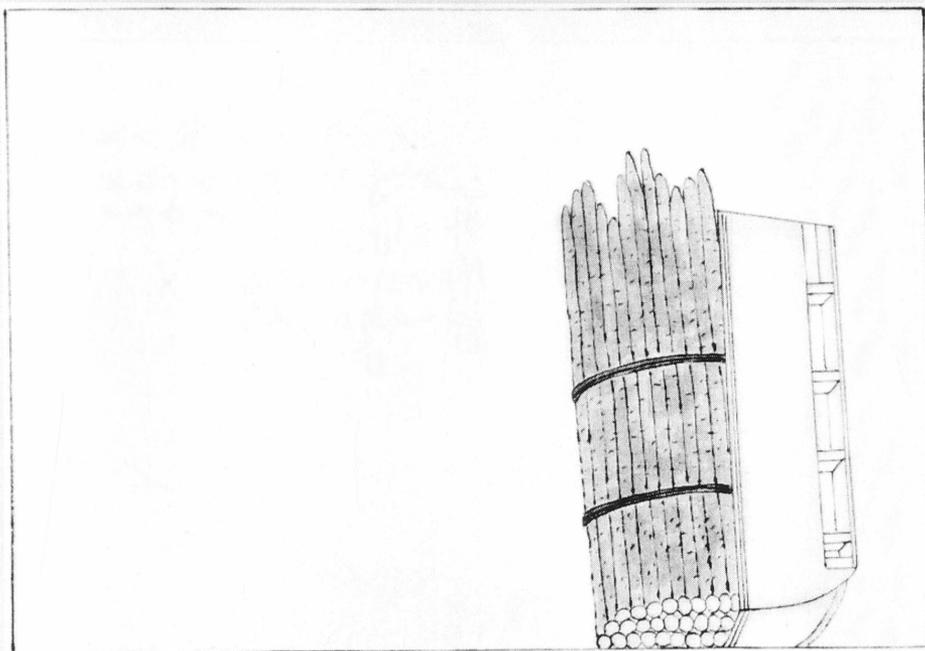


Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Notes

1. As it was recorded by A. Laxman in his "Description of the Voyage", in the chart received by him from Japanese officials on the 23d of January 1793, it was said: "If on your side there would be any new enterprise, you may proceed with it there [i. e. to Nagasaki]". See V. M. Golovnin, *Zapiski flota kapitana Golovnina o priklucheniiakh ego v plenu u iapontsev v 1811, 1812 i 1813 godakh, s priobshcheniem zamechanii ego o iaponskom gosudarstve i narode* (Memoirs of the Captain of the Navy Golovnin about his Adventures in Japanese Captivity in the Years 1811, 1812, and 1813, with his Supplementary Notes on the Japanese State and People) (Khabarovsk, 1972), p. 487.

2. See "Rossiisko-Amerikanskaia Kompaniia i izuchenie Tikhookeanskogo severa" ("Russian-American Company and the study of the north of the Pacific Ocean"), *Sbornik dokumentov* (Moscow, 1994), pp. 49.

3. There were constant quarrels between Zenroku and his compatriots on the way. Rezanov left him at Kamchatka, not daring to take him to Japan, where Zenroku could lose his life if denounced by his former friends.

4. Ikeda Akira is writing, however, that the four passengers of the *Nadezhda* were the first Japanese to make such a voyage, see Ikeda Akira, *Kankai Ibun* (Tokyo, 1898), p. 316. The first one was actually the voyage of a 500-ton European-type ship *San Bonaventura* (built probably under the directions of Will Adams) with a mixed Japanese-Portuguese crew of 68 people undertaken in 1613—1620. Its course was: Tsukinoura (Miyagi, Japan), the Aleutian Islands, California, Akapulko (Mexico), the Straits of Magellan (probably around the Cape of Horn), Seville (Spain), Naples (whence from the captain went to Rome, to see Paul VI), the Cape of Good Hope, Java, the Philippines, Macao, Japan. Soon, however, Christianity was prohibited in Japan, so this voyage was hardly mentioned.

5. Three of the four sailors were present at the audience given by Date Chikamune. The fourth one, Tajuro, who had attempted a suicide in Nagasaki, was still too weak to come.

6. The Old Man Hakuseki — Arai Hakuseki (1657—1725), a Tokugawa scholar, author of works on Japanese history, geography, folklore and language. He was a counsellor and tutor to the Tokugawa shoguns.

7. "Brief Notes on the Five Things" — *Gojiryaku*, a work by Arai Hakuseki.

8. Min — a Chinese dynasty, 1368—1644.

9. *Amakawa* — a Japanese term for leather.

10. At the end of the eighteenth—early nineteenth century the northern part of the Honshū Island, Ezo (Hokkaido) and the Kurils were numbered by the Japanese among those inhabited by the Ainu people.

11. *Kankai Ibun*, manuscript C 191 of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection, book 1, fols. 11a—12a.

12. Atago — a hill with a Shinto shrine in the area of Shiba in Edo (now the Shiba park in the Minato-ku region of Tokyo).

13. The 2nd decade of the 2nd moon of the 3d year of the Bunka era began on 20/8 March 1806.

14. *Kankai Ibun*, manuscript C 191 of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection, book 1, fols. 5b—6a.

15. The difference between the popularity of *Hokusa monryaku* by Katsuragawa Hoshu and of *Kankai Ibun* is striking. The first one was created by the orders of the shogunate government, the second — by the initiative of the Sendai clan. To what extent these works were open to the public was also probably decided at different levels.

16. "Rossiisko-Amerikanskaia Kompaniia", p. 115.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

18. As D. S. Likhachev points out, "mistakes made by a scribe when reading his original could be connected with the palaeographic features of the handwriting or with the physical state of the original", see D. S. Likhachev, *Tekstologiia* (Textology) (Leningrad, 1983), p. 65.

19. The author had a chance to see copies of *Kankai Ibun* preserved in several manuscript collections of Japan and to collate the St. Petersburg manuscript with the editions by Ikeda Aikira — see *op. cit.*; by Miyazaki Eiichi — see Ōtsuki Gentaku, Shimura Hiroyuki, *Kankai Ibun*, ed. Miyazaki Eiichi (Tokyo, 1976); and by Sugimoto Tsutomu & Iwai Noriyuki — see Ōtsuki Gentaku, Shimura Hiroyuki, *Kankai Ibun honbun to kenkyū*, eds. Sugimoto Tsutomu and Iwai Noriyuki (Tokyo, 1986).

20. Sugimoto's edition, p. 16, line 7, left; Miyazaki's edition, p. 45, line 5, left.

21. Ikeda's edition, p. III.

22. Sugimoto's edition, p. XVII.

23. Ikeda's edition, p. IV.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 11—2.

Illustrations

Front cover:

"A Ship Among the Blocks of Ice". A colour drawing from the book 2 of the manuscript *Kankai Ibun* (C 191), fol. 14a, 14.0 × 20.5 cm.

Back cover:

"Theatre in the Capital of the Russian Empire". A colour drawing from the book 11 of the same manuscript, fols. 11b—12a, 32.5 × 26.5 cm.

Inside the text:

- Fig. 1.** "The Aleuts with Harpoons on the Dinghy of Leather". A colour drawing from the book 2 of the same manuscript, fols. 5b—6a, 28.0 × 41.0 cm.
- Fig. 2.** "A Dwelling House in Okhotsk". A colour drawing from the book 2 of the same manuscript, fol. 15b, 14.0 × 20.5 cm.
- Fig. 3.** "A Dog Team". A colour drawing from the book 2 of the same manuscript, fols. 16b—17a, 28.0 × 41.0 cm.
- Fig. 4.** "An Aleutian Family (husband, wife, and daughter)". A colour drawing from the book 2 of the same manuscript, fol. 3a, 14.0 × 20.0 cm.
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