



RUSSIAN ACADEMY
OF SCIENCES

Institute of Oriental
Manuscripts
(Asiatic Museum)

Founded in 2014
Issued biannually

Financed by the RSF
project N 23-28-10046

Founder:
Institute of Oriental
Manuscripts Russian
Academy of Sciences

The Journal is registered
by the Federal Service
for Supervision
of Communications,
Information Technology
and Mass Communications

CERTIFICATE
ПИ № ФС77-79201
from September 22, 2020

Biannual Journal
ISSN 2410-0145
Language: English
12+



Institute of Oriental
Manuscripts
RAS
2024

WRITTEN MONUMENTS OF THE ORIENT

VOLUME 10

No.2 (21)

2024

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Olga V. Klimova

**The First Volume of *Roshia Ibun* 魯西亞異聞
[Unusual Narrative about Russia]
as a Source on Russian-Japanese Relations
in the Beginning of the 19th C.¹**

DOI: 10.55512/wmo634801

Abstract: This article examines the first volume of *Roshia Ibun* 魯西亞異聞 [Unusual Narrative about Russia], a unique handwritten manuscript which depicts the story of a Japanese guard, Torizō. He was one of four Japanese guards who spent the winter of 1806 on the Sakhalin island monitoring the situation at Kushunkotan settlement. Lieutenant Nikolai Aleksandrovich Khvostov visited this settlement during his first expedition to Sakhalin in 1806. In his logbook he gave it an interesting name “Lyubopytstvo”, which can be translated into English as “Curiosity”. Curiously enough, this was the place where Khvostov and the four Japanese guards met for the first time. It is considered to be the first military clash between the countries and a turning point of Russian-Japanese relations, since Russia subsequently began to be perceived as a dangerous enemy. The first volume of the source gives especially valuable information about these events. It provides a detailed description of the voyage of the four Japanese captives to Kamchatka on board of a Russian ship, contains important information about the events during the second expedition of Khvostov and Davidov to Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands in 1807 and relates the trip of the four Japanese guards back to Japan. The first volume of *Roshia Ibun*, which has never been translated into Russian nor published yet, gives us answers to the following questions. Who was the guard Torizō? How did he perceive the meeting with the Russians in 1806? Were there any official messages or demands from Russian officers? How did Torizō manage to get back to Japan and did he have a chance to share his story with anyone else along the way?

Key words: Sakhalin, Kuril Islands, Russia, Japan, Khvostov, Davidov

© Olga V. Klimova, PhD, Associate Professor, Head of the Japanology Department, Institute of Asian and African Studies, National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE University), St. Petersburg (Russian Federation) (o_klimova@hotmail.com, oklimova@hse.ru).

¹ The reported study was funded by RSF, project number 24-28-00764.

Introduction

Roshia Ibun 魯西亜異聞 [Unusual Narrative about Russia] is a unique handwritten manuscript of the early 19th c. It consists of five volumes, which contain the stories of two Japanese guards, so called *bannin* 番人, named Torizō 酉蔵 and Fukumatsu 福松, who were captured by lieutenant Nikolai Aleksandrovich Khvostov² on Sakhalin in 1806.

Researchers from different countries agree that Khvostov's expedition to Sakhalin in 1806 was a turning point in the history of Russian-Japanese relations. However, assessments of Lieutenant Khvostov's actions during these expeditions differ greatly. In Japanese studies Khvostov is mainly depicted as an oppressor and pirate who attacked the Japanese and scared away the Ainu. On the other hand, in Russian studies Khvostov is described as a patriot, and the expeditions to Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands are seen as the start of the exploration and development of Sakhalin.³

In various studies of Japanese scholars this expedition is mentioned under different names, such as “The Incident with Khvostov and Davidov” フヴォストフ・ダヴィドフ事件,⁴ “Attack of Khvostov” フヴォストフ来寇事件,⁵ “Russian assault” 露人の暴行,⁶ “Sudden attack on Karafuto” カラフト襲撃,⁷ “The Russian attack in the Bunka Years” 文化魯寇事件.⁸ Russian and overseas researchers⁹ tend to use a more neutral term — “expedition”.

In the pages of *Roshia Ibun* Khvostov's expedition to Sakhalin is called *ranbō* 乱暴 which can be translated from Japanese as “a riot, cruelty, outrage or lawlessness”.

According to archival documents, Khvostov made three stops during his expedition to Sakhalin in 1806, which are described in his logbook.¹⁰ He

² Nikolai Aleksandrovich Khvostov (Хвостов Николай Александрович) 1776–1809.

³ POLEVOI 1959; SENCHENKO 2006; CHEREVKO 1999; POZDNEEV 1909; SOKOLOV 1852; DAVIDOV 1848.

⁴ ARIIZUMI 2003: 184.

⁵ NAKAMURA 1904: 58.

⁶ INOBE 1942: 219.

⁷ KIMURA 2005: 63; HIRAKAWA 2006: 39.

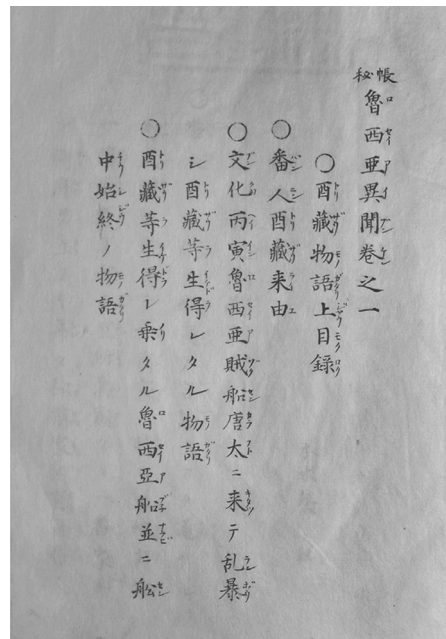
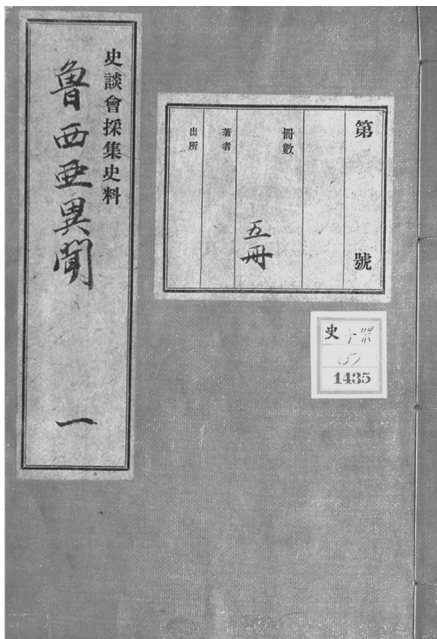
⁸ MATSUMOTO 2006: 43.

⁹ LENSEN 1959.

¹⁰ *Ekstrakt iz zhurnala fregati Yunoni, plavaniia ot Okhotska v gubu Aniva i obratno v Kamchatku Gavan Petra i Pavla. Sentiabria s 24, noiabrya po 10e chislo 1806 goda* [The extract from the logbook of Frigate Yunona, the journey from Okhotsk to the Aniva bay and back to Kamchatka, the port of Peter and Paul. From 24th of September till 10th of November 1806]. RGAVMF. F. 14. Op. 1, ed. hr. 183.

does not give a name to his first stop, but the second one he calls “*Sumnenie*” that can be translated into English as “Hesitation”, and the third one “*Lyubopytstvo*” (“Curiosity” in English). It is interesting that Japanese sources mention only the last two stops, which are called “*Ofitomari*” オフィットマリ (also mentioned as “*Ofidomari*” オフィドマリ) and “*Kushunkotan*” クシュンコタン, respectively. The last stop “*Lyubopytstvo*” or “*Kushunkotan*” is the most interesting but poorly researched part of the first expedition to Sakhalin in 1806. *Roshia Ibun* contains valuable information that sheds light on the course of these events.

At this last settlement lieutenant Khvostov met four Japanese guards, Torizō 西蔵, Genshichi 原七, Tomigorō 富五郎 and Fukumatsu 福松, who stayed there for the winter season to look after the settlement. He captured and took them on board of the *Yunona* (Russian ship) back to the port of Petropavlovsk to stay there over the winter. The stories of the first two captured Japanese guards, Torizō and Genshichi, are related in the pages of *Roshia Ibun*. It describes not only the first meeting with the Russians in 1806, but also their voyage on board of the *Yunona* frigate to the shores of the Petropavlovsk port, the events of the second expedition to the Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands in 1807, and their return trip to Japan.



Roshia Ibun 魯西亞異聞 [Unusual Narrative about Russia] is kept in the archives of the Historiographic Institute of Tokyo University 東京大学史料編纂所 in Japan and is a part of the “Collected Materials of Historical Seminars” (*Shidankai saishū shiryō* 史談會採集史料). There is a table of contents at the very beginning of the manuscript, which refers to each part as *maki* 卷, meaning “scroll”, although its pages are sewn into a notebook. Thus, the most neutral term, which will be used in this article, is “volume”.

Roshia Ibun consists of five volumes with text written in *kanamajiri*¹¹ style. It consists of two hundred forty-six unpaginated pages. The work has not been published or translated from Japanese language yet.

There is no information about the author of *Roshia Ibun* on the title page of the source, however, on the next page it is noted that these records were made based on the stories of two Japanese guards: Torizō and Fukumatsu. An interesting note at the very end of the first volume tells that Torizō shared his story with a *bakufu* official named Murakami Sakingo 村上左金吾. According to the Japanese source *Soya Tsumeai Yamazaki Hanzō Nisshi* 宗谷詰合山崎半蔵日誌 [The diary of Yamazaki Hanzō about different matters of [Cape] Soya], upon the order of the military government (*bakufu*) Murakami Sakingo was sent with ten vassals to Cape Soya where he was supposed to build fortifications to protect these lands. In 1807, when Khvostov and Davidov¹² reached these lands and burned everything to the ground, he was 36 or 37 years old. According to *Roshia Ibun*, upon return of Torizō and Murakami to Japan’s Hakodate, they lived together for a short while and had a chance to share their stories with each other. The story of Torizō became a part of *Roshia Ibun*, while the story of Murakami Sakingo is a part of the source *Hokusei Hidan* 北征秘談 [The Secret Narrative about the Northern Expedition].

The exact date when the source was written is also not indicated, but it is safe to assume that these records were made in mid- to late summer of 1807, i.e. after Torizō and Fukumatsu made their way back to Japan.

On the title page of *Roshia Ibun* there is a stamp of the Tokyo Imperial University Library 東京帝国大学附属図書館, which indicates the exact entry date of this text: March 26th, the 39th year of Meiji reign, i.e. 1906. At the beginning of each volume there is a special sign which classifies these materials as top secret, which makes this source even more significant. The

¹¹ *Kanamajiri* style 仮名交り — i.e. the text consists of *kanji* characters supplemented with *kana* syllabary.

¹² Gavriil Ivanovich Davidov (Давыдов Гавриил Иванович) 1784–1809.

five volumes of *Roshia Ibun* are divided into two parts: the first one includes the first three volumes and the second one the last two.

The first volume contains the first part of Torizō's story, while the second volume tells the second part, in which Torizō describes the port of Petropavlovsk, residential buildings, people, clothing, food, weapons and everyday life of the Russians. The third volume of *Roshia Ibun* relates the story of another captured guard named Fukumatsu. It provides extremely important information regarding the unrest that occurred in Sakhalin in 1806, the sea voyage of captured Japanese guards to Russia and back to the shores of Japan.

The fourth volume contains the second part of Fukumatsu's story, in which he describes the port of Petropavlovsk and Kamchatka in general: dwellings, clothing, food, ships, weapons, etc. The fifth volume is a Russian-Japanese dictionary compiled by Torizō and Fukumatsu during their stay with the Russians in Kamchatka.

This article introduces and examines the first volume of *Roshia Ibun* which consists of fifty-three handwritten unnumbered pages. It is called "The First Part of Torizō's Story" and consists of three parts.

1. The origin of the guard Torizō.

2. The story of how, in the year of the Fire Tiger during the years of Bunka reign, a Russian pirate ship came to Karafuto, caused unrest and captured Torizō and others.

3. The story of how Torizō and others were captured, put on a large Russian ship, and about everything that happened on the ship.

The First Part [of the first volume of *Roshia Ibun*]

This part of the source which consists of four handwritten pages provides a brief explanation about Torizō, what he did for living, about his duties as a guard (*bannin* 番人). One can find a detailed explanation about Japanese guards in the beginning of the 19th c. and their functions. It also provides concise information about how Torizō was captured by a Russian "pirate ship" and brought to Kamchatka. It makes an interesting reference to the fact that upon Torizō's return to Japan in the spring of 1807, he was able to get a job in Matsumae, however, after two or three months, when it became clear that he was in Russia, local government officials decided to fire him. They did ask him, however, to give a detailed explanation of his voyage to Russia and back, which became a significant part of *Roshia Ibun*.

Japanese text of the source

番人西蔵来由

番人トハ何ゾ蝦夷ノ言語ニヨク通ゼル町人體ノ者ニテ松前家ノ時ヨリ蝦夷地一圓漁獵ノ都合宜所其處々々へ番家トテ衛府ヲ立ヲキ年々松前家ノ有司番人ヲ召ツレテ其處々々へ至リ番人ニ夷人ヲ指使セシメ青魚鯨鱈鱒魚ノ類ヲ捕セ米穀酒故衣煙草ナンド、交易セシム夷人命ニ逆フ時ハ番人答テ之ヲ治ム去ニヨツテ番人ハ夷人殊ノ外畏敬ヒ夷地ニテハ頗ル權アルモノナリ今郡縣ニナリテハ番人夷地ニ逗留中帶刀ヲモ許シ玉ヘリ扱コノ西蔵と云ル者ハ松前ノ産ニテ文化丙寅ノ歲同ク番人福松源七富五郎ナル者ト唐太ノ「クシュンコタン」ト云ル所ノ番家 番家トハ即衛府ニテ一ニ曾所トモ云亦番家トモ云 二居タリケルガ同年九月四人共魯西亜賊ニ生得レ魯西亜出張地加模沙斯加ノ内ニテ越年シ翌丁卯ノ歲四人共免レテ松前ニ歸ルコトヲ得テ西蔵ハ泊川ト云ル所ニ住居セリ西蔵叔母一人甥一人アリ甥ヲ三次ト云リ予松前在營中二三ヶ月傭使リ就中西蔵等ハ一旦魯西亜へ虜タル者ナレバ官ヨリ禁ジテ妄ニ徘徊ヲ許シ玉ハズ予ハ赤賊防禦ノ為彼地へ至レルコトナルユヘ魯西亜事情心得ノ為ニモトテ西蔵等ヲ召ヨセテ始終ノ物語を聞コトヲ許シ玉ヘリ聞ルママ左に録ス。

Translation from Japanese

The origin of the guard Torizō

The *bannin* [guards] are townspeople,¹³ who often do not understand the language of Ezo. Since the time of the Matsumae clan, government institutions *efu*,¹⁴ the so-called guard posts *ban'ya*¹⁵ were built in places that were most suitable for hunting and fishing. [Representatives and] employees of the Matsumae clan were sent there every year. They controlled the Ainu¹⁶ people there and forced them to fish herring, whales, trout, salmon etc. They

¹³ *Chōnin* 町人 — townspeople, city people.

¹⁴ *Efu* 衛府 — a general term for government agencies responsible for escorting members of the imperial court and providing security during pilgrimages. At the same time, the reading of these characters that is given in the source is *yakusho* 役所 — a government office.

¹⁵ *Ban'ya* (番屋、番家) — a guard post.

¹⁶ The text uses the following characters: 夷人 — *ebisu bito*, which literally translates as “barbarians”.

also traded in American sake, old used clothes and tobacco there. When the Ainu refused to obey their orders, they whipped them and forced to subjugate to their will. For this reason, the Ainu feared and respected them. They had great power in the lands of Ainu.¹⁷ The guards (*bannin*) were even allowed to wear a belt sword¹⁸ during their stay in the lands of Ainu.

Thus, Torizō also under the orders of the Matsumae [clan] in the year of the Fire Tiger¹⁹ of the Bunka era, together with guards named Fukumatsu, Genshichi and Tomigorō, were at the guard post *ban'ya* on Karafuto in the settlement of Kushunkotan.

(Guard posts ban'ya are also called government offices gafu. Some of them are called gathering places kaisho,²⁰ or guard posts ban'ya).²¹

However, in September of the same year, all four were captured by Russian pirates and taken to Kamchatka, Russia, where they spent the winter. The following year, all four were released and returned to Matsumae. Torizō lived in a place [called] Tomarigawa. He had one aunt and one nephew. The nephew's name was Sanji. After this, he served in Matsumae for two or three months. However, when it was revealed that Torizō was once captured and taken to Russia, he was banned from office and was not allowed to move around at will.

For defense against red pirates and also for knowing the situation in Russia because they reached that land, I summoned Torizō and others and allowed them to tell their story completely. What they told is recorded below.

The Second Part [of the First Volume of *Roshia Ibun*]

Nineteen handwritten pages of this part of the manuscript describe the first meeting of Khvostov and the Japanese guards, which took place in the third settlement. Khvostov names it “Curiosity”, while in Japanese sources it is known under the name of “Kushunkotan”.

¹⁷ *Ichi* 夷地 — the land of barbarians. In this context, the lands of the Ainu.

¹⁸ *Taitō* 帶刀 belt sword.

¹⁹ *Heiin* 丙寅 the year of the Fire Tiger, 1806.

²⁰ *Kaisho* 會所 — during the Edo period, the name given to places where city and village officials gathered.

²¹ A note in the text in smaller characters.

Interestingly, there are numerous explanation notes in *Roshia Ibun* that are located directly in the text, but written in smaller handwriting. Thus, when mentioning place names, there is always a comment with extra explanations about each toponym. The text is also provided with elucidations of certain words or expressions that two guards mentioned while telling their story. For instance, when Torizō describes the Russian ship, he says that her sails looked like mountains. Therefore, the text provides a detailed explanation of why this particular impression was made. There are also comments regarding Japanese ships, about the way the Russians shouted after their victory, and the reason why Russians fired cannons. These remarks help the reader to understand not only the peculiarities of the Russians' behavior, but also the impression that the Japanese had after communicating with them.

Examination of Russian archival materials clearly showed that Lieutenant Khvostov arrived in the settlement of Kushunkotan on October the 10th, 1806,²² but due to the fact that it was getting late, he postponed disembarkation until the next day. On October 11th, Khvostov reached the shores accompanied by twenty-one crew members. They were all armed. Khvostov ordered the navigator Ilyin, who remained on board of the frigate *Yunona*: “if he hears even one rifle or falconet shot, then he should immediately send a copper landing gun with shells and a large number of people to the shore on the yawl that was on the frigate”.²³ Khvostov went to the warehouses only with Karpinsky and Koryukin.

According to Khvostov, the three of them entered the warehouse and tried to start a conversation with the Japanese and the Ainu, who were sitting around three fires inside the barn. The greetings, according to Khvostov, went really well and it was a success. The Japanese took out “their book, in which they showed the plan of Nagasaki and Edo, saying that they were Japanese, fed us porridge and instead of spoons they gave us chopsticks, with which none of us could eat...”.²⁴ After a short greeting and making acquaintances, Khvostov left Karpinsky and Koryukin “to entertain the Japanese with conversations”,²⁵ and went to inspect the surroundings.

It is interesting that in the pages of *Roshia Ibun* we see a completely different picture. It becomes clear that the Japanese tried to treat Russians with “fish and rice porridge, which they just cooked, but the Russians flatly re-

²² Dates transcribed exactly as they appear in the source.

²³ RGAVMF. F. 14. Op. 1, ed. hr. 183. L. 6.

²⁴ RGAVMF. F. 14. Op. 1, ed. hr. 183. L. 6ob.

²⁵ RGAVMF. F. 14. Op. 1, ed. hr. 183. L. 6ob.

fused”.²⁶ The content and meaning of conversations in Russian were absolutely unintelligible to the Japanese. The only word they could comprehend was “trade” and they admitted that “they could not understand this sparrow language at all”. Loud speeches and drumming were perceived as “knocking on the lid of a box”.

This chapter of the work contains a detailed description of the clash with the Russians, the voyage of captured Japanese on the Russian ship to the port of Petropavlovsk, as well as the general information about the actions of lieutenant Khvostov and midshipman Davidov during the second expedition to Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands in 1807. It should be noted that this part reveals unique and previously unknown facts about the way the captured Japanese managed to get back to their homeland in Hakodate.

Japanese text of the source

文化丙寅魯西亜賊船唐太に來テ乱暴シ西藏等生得レタル物語

唐太ハ西蝦夷地宗谷 埠頭ノ名 ヲ去コト海上十八里ニシテ宗谷ヨリ渡海ノ舳岸ヲ「シラヌシ」ト云コノ處ニ松前家ヨリ立オカレタル曾所アリ並ニ夷人ノ家十軒アリ皆離々ニ住ス「シラヌシ」ヨリ「コンブイ」名池 へ一日路「コンブイ」ニモ夷人ノ居アリ「コンブ」ヨリ「イカツキナイ」名池 へ一日路「イカツキナイ」ヨリ「クシュンコタン」名池夷言ニ村ヲ「コタン」ト云 へ一日路餘「クシュンコタン」ヨリ「オフィドマリ」名池 へ半日不足ノ道程ナリ「クシュンコタン」ニハ間口十間ノ番屋一軒外ニ交易物ヲ蔵ヲク十間ニ廿五間ノ板倉一ヶ所アリ「オフィドマリ」ニモ番屋アリ外ニ夷人ノ家二三戸アリ扱コノ「オフィドマリ」へハ松前家ヨリ年々早春有司ニ人健兒四人番人ヲ召ツレテ至リ夷人ヲシテ魚獵ナサシメ例ノ如ク交易終レバ四五月ノ頃引払ヒ松前へ帰帆スルナリ又「クシュンコタン」ノ番屋ニハ春夏漁獵終リテモ番人バカリ四五人居残りイツモ越年スル例ナリシ此ニ文化丙寅ノ歲今年モ漁獵無恙終リ「クシュンコタン」ノ番屋ニハ西藏源七富五郎福松ト云ル番人都合四人越年ノ積ニテ残り居ケルニ九月十日ノ事ナリシ「クシュンコタン」ヨリ二三里隔リタル「オフィドマリ」ノ夷人一人アハタタシク來テ云様昨夕方赤人 魯西亜人ヲ云 ノ大船「オフィドマリ」へ來テ上陸シ吾々が家へ來リ卒暴シキ様子ナルユヘ皆ヲソロシク思ヒ青魚ナンド取出シ與ヘケレド一切ウケズ兎角スル内戶外ヨリ鉄砲打カ

²⁶ *Roshia Iibun* 魯西亜異聞 [Unusual Narrative about Russia].

ケ驚シ夷人一人捕ヘ彼船ヘツレ行ケルユヘ吾々モ如何ナル憂目ニヤ
 アハント其まま逃出シ来タリ間モナク此處ヘ来ンモ計レズ先吾々ヲ
 救テタベト云ルニヨリ西藏源七ナンドモコハ如何ニ「オフィドマリ」
 ヨリ此處ヘハ纒ノ道程ナレバ今ニヤ来ラン去ナガラ上ヨリアヅカレ
 ル板倉ヲ棄ヲキ逃去ンモ本意ナラズ亦後日ノ尤モ如何アラン所詮コ
 ノママ止リ居テ様子ヲ見届ンモノヲト衆議一決シテ今ヤ今ヤト海上
 ヲ見守リ居タレド其日ハ何事モナク翌十一日晚方ニ程ナク大船現出
 タリ帆カサ恰モ山ノ如シ魯西亜ノ船ハ帆数々アリテ舳艫ト左右ヘハ
 リ出テ斜ニカクレユヘ船ヨリハ帆仰山に見ルト云リ若テ四人番人共
 ハ最早叶ジト覚悟ヲ極メ終夜見守リ居タレドサナガラ急ニ近キモセ
 ズ程ナク夜モアケ十二日ノ朝五半時ニモナリケレバ何レモ空腹ニナ
 リ西藏等地爐ニ茶ヲカケ食事セント支度スル内イツノ間ニヤラン小
 舟ヲ三艘下シ都合三十八人乗組諸處ノ汀ヨリ上陸シ直ニ番屋ヘ押カ
 ケテ四五人ソト内ヘ入壤中ヨリ何ヤラン帳面ノ如モノトリ出シ頻ニ
 何ヤラン云ノノシレド鳩舌ニシテ些モ通ゼズ若テ西藏等謀テ云ルハ
 兎ニモ角ニモ多勢ニ無勢機嫌ヲトルニ如ハアラジト有合食物ナンド
 トリ出シ羞ケレド一切ウケズ一向帳面ヲ開見テモノ云ナガラ栖箱ノ
 如キ物持来リ蓋ヲ開キ赤キ囉紗様ノ物ナド取出シ蓋ヲ叩テ帳面見ナ
 ガラモノ云ル内唯「アキナヒシマシテモ」ト云一言ノミ分リケルユヘ
 西藏等一同ニ買賣交易ハ私ニナラズト頭ヲフリテ諭シケレバ番屋ノ
 門戸ハ左右ヨリ鉄砲ウチ違テ堅メ頭分トオボシキ者劔ヲ抜テ下知ス
 ルヤ否西藏等一人ニ夷賊四人充飛カカリケルガ西藏ハスコシカモア
 リ即坐ニ三人ナゲ倒シケレド兎ニモ角ニモ大勢ナレバ卒ニ肱ノ所ヘ
 縄ヲカケ後手ニ縛レタリ西藏餘リ口惜ノママ賊ノ尻ヘ咬ツキケルト
 ゴ餘ノ者共モ西藏同様相應ニ働ケレド是非ナク盡ク面縛シテ彼傳馬
 ヘ乗ラレタリ然ニ賊等ヨリ集テ何

ヤラン立談シケルガ再ビ乗タル傳馬ヘ来リ西藏一人舟ヨリ上板倉
 ノ前ヘツレツレ行何ヤラン云鑰ヲ渡セト諭スニヨリ詮方ナク鑰ノア
 リ所ヲ教ヘケレバ鑰ヲ持来テ西藏ニ明サセ十一ヶ所ノ板倉ヲ盡ク開
 キ有アヘル米俵其外麴青魚網故衣煙草ナンドノ類盡ク奪取同十六日
 マデニ本船ヘ運終リ十六日ノ晚方明タル板倉十一ヶ所ヘ火ヲ放テ焼
 払ヒ其ヨリ「クシュンコタン」ニ泊セル船十二三艘ノ何物ヲ盡ク奪取
 船ヲモ皆焼払リトゾ若テ西藏ハ彼板倉ノ前ヨリ初乗タル傳馬ヘ乗九
 月十二日ノ晚方本船ヘ移シナ七日ノ子時纜ヲトキ同十九日唐太ノ地
 ヲハナレ唐太ノ北方ハ滿州ヘ近シ山丹ハ唐太ノ西方ニ隣ト云リ北
 地ヘト走リケルガ十月十日魯西亜出張地「ベイトロパウシコイ」
 ト云ル港ノ地方ヘ向同十二日港口ヘ入同十四五日ノコロ着岸シ今年
 ハ此處ニ越年シケリ是「ベイトロパウシコイ」ト云ル港ヘハ唐太ノ

「クシュンコタン」ヨリ水程凡ソ三百里不足アリテ順風ナレバ三日程ニテ至ル又「エトロフ」ヨリハ二百里許ノ海路ナリトゾ 扱西藏ハ若シテ後イカナル憂目ニアフコトヤト夢ウツツニ日ヲ送リケルガ天ノ見ステ玉ハザルニヤ文化四年丁卯四月不思議ニ帰²⁷ 國定リテ同四月十二日彼港ヲ出帆シケルニ雪未七八尺積リ海上ハ氷トケズ船動カザルニヨリ斧ヲ以氷ヲ破兎角シテ港ノロマデ出ケル所同十三日ノコトナリシ北亜墨利加ノ方ヨリ流来ル氷ノ大塊或ハ一丈或ハ一丈八九尺幾箇トモナク押カケ来バ港ノロヲ出ルコトアタハズ翌十四日マデ同ジ處ニマギリ居シカ兼テ用意ヤシタリケン船底ヨリ大ナル棒幾本モトリ出シ一本ニ二三人充カカリ彼押カケ来ル氷塊ヲカヲ極テ支ヘトメ漸して船ヲ出シ順風ニ走セケルニ程ナク同十四日「エトロフ」 島ノ名周回二百里 ノ「ナイボウ」 地名 ノ沖ヘ来リ暫クコノ處漂テ地方ノ様子ヲ伺ヲキ翌廿五日「ナイボウ」ヲ乱暴シ有合米穀酒煙草ナンド盡ク奪取り其ヨリ同島ノ内「シャナ」 地名 ヘ来リ地方ノ虚實ヲ伺ヲキ五月朔日「シャナ」ヲ乱暴シ同晦日「リイシリ」 島ノ名周回二十里ヘ来リ彼島ニ泊シ居ル萬春丸 官船 宜辛丸 函館運船 禎祥丸 松前用船 誠龍丸 松前商船 ト云ル四艘ノ船ヘ大筒小筒夥ク打カケ驚シ船中ノ者共傳馬ヲ下シ追々逃去ヲ見スマシ米穀其外有アヘル物盡ク奪取萬春丸ノ赤船 萬春丸ハ官船ニテ 官船ハ皆赤色ニ塗り以ソノ章ヲ別ニ積残リノ三艘焼払ヒ同音ニ勝鬨 鬨ハ「オラオラオラヲ、ファ」ト呼フトゾ ヲ作り本船ヘ帰リケレバ本船ヨリモ大筒三発打 勝利ヲ得テ帰リタルヲ祝スル意ナリトゾ 奪取タル品ヲ本船ニ移シ萬春丸ヲモ焼払リ然ルニ是焼払ヒケル船ニ乗組タル 日本人ノ内ニ大将體ノ者若「リイシリ」ヘ逃隱テヤ有カト三十人バカリ上陸シテ此彼ト尋行直ニ「リイシリ」ヲモ乱暴シテ番屋トモ焼払五月三日七時分西藏等四人トモ「リイシリ」ニ焼残シ有誠龍丸ノ傳馬ニ乗何方ヘナリトモ行ベキ由ニテ米三俵故衣一枚其外羅紗綿花布 綿花布ハ西藏破片一寸ヲ惠テ今ニ蔵セリ ノ切類少々充與ケリ就中西蔵ヘハ表ハ緋羅紗裏ニハ木綿ノ付タル胴着ヲ贈リケレド釦ガケニテ究屈ユヘ服セズコノ 邦ヨリ下着ニシタル浴衣一枚拾一枚着タリトゾ若テ「リイシリ」ニ棄置去ケル四人ノ者共殊ノ外渴シ上陸シテ水ヲ尋レトモ不得此彼ト吟内西藏ヤガテ款冬多ク茂タルヲ見付水ヤ有ント行ケルニ果シテ叢ノ中モ呼集メ手ニ掬シテ渴ヲ凌ギ桶ニモ汲コミ用水トナシ其ヨリ舟ヨリ舟ヲ蕩出テ更々終夜コギ兎角シテ明六時分西蝦夷地「ユウブツ」ト云處ヘ着岸シ「バツカイ」ト云ル處マデ行ケルニ向ニ萬春丸ニ乗組賊船ニ遇逃去タル函館所司田村左仲並ニ内野五郎左衛門ナンドニモ邂逅互ニ不慮ノ危難ヲ語り打ツレテ函館ニ至リケルトゾ

²⁷ The text (including spaces) faithfully follows the original Japanese manuscript.

Translation from Japanese

The story of how, in the year of the Fire Tiger of the Bunka era, a Russian pirate ship came to Karafuto, caused disturbances and captured Torizō and others

At a place called Shiranushi Pier, which is located at the distance of eighteen *ri*²⁸ by sea from Soya (*the name of a pier*) in the Western Lands of Ezo, on Karafuto, there is a *kaisho*, a place for meeting, which was established by the Matsumae clan. There were ten Ainu houses that were located at a distance from each other. It took one day to get from Shiranushi to Konbui. There were also Ainu dwellings in Kombui. From Kombu²⁹ to Ikatsukinai (*a place name, toponym*) it was [also] a one-day journey. From Ikatsukinai to Kushunkotan (*kotan is a village in the Ainu language*) it was a journey of a little over one day. From Kushunkotan to Ofidomari it was a half-day journey.

In Kushunkotan, in addition to one guard post (*ban'ya*), 10 [*ken*] in length,³⁰ there was one warehouse measuring 10 by 25 *ken* that was made of wooden boards and used for storing goods for trade. In Ofidomari there was also a guard post (*ban'ya*), as well as two or three Ainu dwellings.

So, in early spring, to this [place called] Ofidomari, the Matsumae clan sent two military men³¹ and two guards (*bannin*), who supervised the hunting and fishing of the Ainu. After finishing trading, around the fourth or fifth moon, they left [this place] and returned back to Matsumae.

Four or five guards (*bannin*) stayed at the guard post (*ban'ya*) in Kushunkotan, even after the end of the spring and summer fishing and hunting seasons.

As usual, on the year of Fire Tiger³² of the Bunka era, four guards, Torizō, Genshichi, Tomigorō and Fukumatsu, remained at the guard post in Kushunkotan after the end of the hunting and fishing season for the winter.

²⁸ 1 *ri* 里 —3.9 km, 18 *ri* = 70.2 km.

²⁹ In the text it is written Kombu, not Kombui. Possibly a mistake.

³⁰ Approximately 18 m, 1 *ken* 間 = 1.8 m.

³¹ This source uses the two-character compound word *kenji* 健兒, which also has a reading *kondei*. This term appeared in Japan in the 7th c. and denoted people who formally performed the function of soldiers of the Japanese army. In the absence of external threats, the *kondei* were primarily engaged in security and police activities. In the 12–15th cc. the term *kondei* was synonymous with “cavalryman” or “samurai servant”. At the beginning of the 19th c. it mainly had the meaning of “warrior” and “samurai”.

³² *Heiin* 丙寅 the year of the Fire Tiger, 1806.

It was on the 10th day of the 9th moon, when one Ainu from Ofidomari, which was located two or three *ri* from Kushunkotan [settlement], came running here in a hurry. He said that at sunset of the previous day a large ship of red people³³ (*that is how the Russians are called*) arrived in Ofidomari. They entered the house and looked so terrifying, so [we knew] that it could not bode well. We offered them herring many times, but they refused. They shot their guns outside the houses, scared us, took one Ainu to their ship. We were afraid that similar misfortune could happen to us, so we ran away and immediately came here to ask for your help. Torizō and Genshichi knew that Ofidomari was not far from here. They did not even consider leaving this place and abandoning all the warehouses, even if [the Russians] came at that moment. After giving it some thought, they decided to stay and observe the situation.

They peered into the sea, but nothing happened during that day. By the evening of the next 11th day, a large ship appeared [on the horizon], the sails were like mountains.

(In general, Russian ships have many sails that exceed the width of the ship. They hang over the ship to the right and left. There are also those that are placed obliquely, diagonally. They say that these sails look like mountains).

All four guards (*bannin*) quickly got ready, took their positions and waited until the end of the night. However, the ship never approached. So, the night passed, and it was 9 o'clock³⁴ in the morning of the 12th day. Torizō and the others got hungry, put tea on the fireplace and began to prepare food. Just at that moment, three boats suddenly landed, and a group of 38 people got ashore. Four of five men immediately entered the guard post [building]. They pulled out something that looked like a book, said something, but we did not understand this sparrow language at all.

Having weighed everything up, Torizō and the others, realizing that they were outnumbered, tried to treat [the guests] with the food that they had, but they flatly refused, continued to look in their book and kept saying something. They brought something similar to a box, opened the lid, took out something similar to a red cloth, knocked on the lid and said something while looking in the book. We understood only one word — “trade”. Torizō

³³ *Akabito* 赤人 — literally “red people”.

³⁴ 5:30 in the morning (朝五半時) in Edo period time corresponds to modern 9 o'clock in the morning.

and the others shook their heads as a sign that they could not buy [anything] or trade. Then they started shooting at both exits of the guard post. A man who looked like their leader drew his sword and ordered something.

Four barbarians jumped up to Torizō, but Torizō was very strong. He immediately threw two or three people [to the side]. Since they had numerical advantage, they [were able] to tie his elbows behind his back with a rope. However, his mouth remained free, so he bit the pirate's buttock with his teeth. The others, in order to immobilize him, had to wrap him in a cloth and placed him in a boat. However, [at that moment] the pirates gathered and began to discuss something. [After a while, they] approached the boat in which Torizō was, took him from the boat to the warehouse that was made of wooden boards and demanded the key. They asked to show the place where the key was and forced Torizō to open it. He opened eleven warehouses. They took everything that was there. In addition to 700 bags³⁵ of rice, [they also took] malt, herring, nets, old clothes and tobacco. Before the 16th [day of the same moon], they set fire to all eleven warehouses and burned them to the ground. After this, twelve or thirteen boats that were in Kushunkotan [settlement] carried out all the stolen goods, after which they burned those boats as well.

Then, they put Torizō in the same boat near the warehouse. In the evening of the 12th day of the 9th moon [the captured guards] were transferred to the main ship, on the 17th day in the middle of the night they unmoored and on the 19th day they departed from the lands of Karafuto.

(The northern part of Karafuto is very close to Manchuria, it is said that Santan is close to the western part of Karafuto).

We sailed in the northern direction. On the 10th day of the 10th moon we headed towards Russia, to the port which is called “Beitoropaausikoi”. On the 12th day of the same moon they reached the destination and stayed there for the rest of the winter.

(This so-called port “Beitoropaausikoi” is located approximately 300 ri³⁶ away from Kushunkotan by sea. With a fair wind it can be reached in three days. The distance from here to Iturup is approximately 200 ri³⁷ by sea).

³⁵ 1 hyō 俵 = 60 kg.

³⁶ 1170 km.

³⁷ 780 km.

So, poor Torizō spent his days in painful anticipation of inevitable grief, but Heaven had mercy on him and on the 4th moon of the 4th year of the Fire Rabbit³⁸ of the Bunka era, he miraculously returned to his homeland. On the 12th day of the 4th moon of the same year, they set sail from that port. The thickness of the snow cover was 7–8 *shaku*,³⁹ the entire surface of the sea was still covered with ice. In order for the ship to leave [the port], they [had to] cut through the ice with an axe. With great difficulty we were able to get out of the port. On the 13th day of the same moon, a huge block of ice with a height of 1 *jō*⁴⁰ or 1 *jō* 9 *shaku*⁴¹ sailed [towards us] from North America. No matter how much they tried to move it, nothing worked, and they could not leave the port yet again. The next day, on the 14th, we got stuck in one place. They got many large poles out from the ship's hold; two or three people held one pole. They used all their force to push away the blocks of ice. Finally the ship could [leave the port] and sailed to the open sea. With fair wind, quite quickly, on the same 14th day, we reached Iturup.

(The name of the island. The distance to it is 200 ri⁴²).

We reached Naibo.

(The name of the place).

We drifted there for some time and examined the shore. On the next 25th day, there were acts of violence at Naibo. They seized everything that was there: rice and other grains, sake, tobacco. Then we went to the center of this island, to a place [called] Shana.

(The name of the place).

After some investigation, on the 1st day of the 5th moon they devastated Shana. At the end of the same moon they arrived in Riishiri.

(The name of the island. The distance to it is 200 ri⁴³).

³⁸ *Teibō* 丁卯 the Fire Rabbit, 1807.

³⁹ 1 *shaku* 尺 = 30.3 cm, 7–8 尺 *shaku* = 212–242 cm.

⁴⁰ 1 *jō* 一丈 = 3 m.

⁴¹ 1 *jō* 9 *shaku* 一丈八九尺 = 5 m 73 cm.

⁴² 1 *ri* 里 = 3.9 km, 200 *ri* = 780 km.

⁴³ 1 *ri* 里 = 3.9 km, 200 *ri* = 780 km.

They attacked four ships that were there with small cannons: *Banshun-maru* (government or state ship), *Giko-maru* (cargo ship from Hakodate), *Teimyō-maru* (Matsumae ship), *Seiryō-maru* (Matsumae merchant ship). They got all the boats from the ship and watched as everyone was running away. They took rice, grain and everything that was there, and loaded everything onto the red ship *Banshun-maru*.

(Banshun-maru was a state ship, and all ships of this kind were painted red. This was their distinguishing feature).

They burned the other three ships and let out victorious shouting. (*The shouting sounded like this: “Ora ora ora o fa”*). As soon as they got back to their ship, they fired three salvos from a large cannon. (*This [meant] that they had won and were ready to leave*).

All the captured goods were transported to their ship, and the ship *Banshun-maru* was also burned. Moreover, among the Japanese crew members whose ships were burned on Riishiri, there were commanders who also ran away and hid on Riishiri. About thirty [Russian] people, thinking that the Japanese might be hiding on Riishiri, landed, searched here and there, and laid Riishiri to waste too, and burned all the guard posts (*ban'ya*).

On the 3rd day of the 5th moon at 4 o'clock in the morning, they set four guards [free] and left all of them, including Torizō, on the burned Riishiri. They put them in a boat that was left from the ship *Seiryō-maru* and allowed them to go anywhere they wanted. In addition to three bags of rice and one old dress, they gave cloth and cotton fabric. (*Torizō still keeps a small piece⁴⁴ of this cloth that he got [from the Russians]*).

He got some more clothes.

Torizō was wearing a scarlet color cloth on the outside and a padded jacket on the inside, which was given to him, but it was impossible to fasten the buttons because it was too small for him. He was wearing a yukata underneath as underwear and had only one layer of clothing on him. The four guards were abandoned near Riishiri. They got very thirsty, so they landed on the shore [of this island] and went to look for water. They wandered around there for some time. Finally, Torizō found some densely growing

⁴⁴ In the text it is written 1 *sun* 寸, which literally means 3.03 cm, but in this context it means a small piece of cloth.

coltsfoot and decided to check if there was some water there. He went into the bushes and found dirty water, which made him immensely happy. He called everyone, scooped up the water with his palms and quenched his thirst. Then, he filled all [available] containers with water. They pushed the boat away from the shore and rowed tirelessly all night. At 6 o'clock in the morning they reached the Western Lands of Ezo, the place called "Yuubutsu", and walked on foot to the place called "Batsukai".

There they accidentally met [government] officials from Hakodate named Tamura Sachu and Uchino Gorosaemon, who managed to escape from the ship *Banshun-maru*. They shared stories with each other about all the difficulties and threatening experiences they had to go through. [Finally] they managed to reach Hakodate.

The Third Part [of the First Volume of *Roshia Ibun*]

The third part of *Roshia Ibun*, which consists of twenty-one handwritten pages, gives detailed description of Russian ships and the military weapons they were equipped with. It also offers a fascinating account of the everyday life of the Russians of the early 19th c. from the perspective of the Japanese guards. This kind of narrative was new and unusual for Japan in that period, which is probably the reason why the source received the title "Unusual Narrative about Russia". There are some interesting references to the rules and daily routine on the Russian ship during the voyage. It contains rare information about punishments applied to crew members during the voyage, about the ship's food menu and the goods that were taken by Russians during Khvostov's expedition. There is also information about the members of the crew with their names and occupations.

Moreover, in addition to the information about the first expedition in 1806, it contains important facts about the second expedition of Lieutenant Khvostov and midshipman Davidov to Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands in 1807. It depicts the damage done by the Russians in Iturup, in the settlements of Naibo and Shana. It also provides rare details about the Ainu and their appearance, and about how the Russians tried to distinguish the Japanese from the Ainu.

It contains highly significant information about the message from Khvostov, about the flags that the Japanese guards received from him to be used as a sign of their agreement or rejection to open trade with Russia, and

about the consequences of their decision. The letter from Khvostov is also mentioned in the source, but it is quite interesting that Torizō decided to refrain from disclosing detailed information about it.

One can also find details about the journey that captured Japanese guards had to make to return to Japan, and about all the difficulties along the way. It is quite notable that an unusually large portion of text of this part, two pages out of twenty-one, is a description of their moral exhaustion and psychological stress. According to the source, even a waterfowl's sound could frighten them. Apparently, they were so scared that everything, even a drifting tree, reminded them of a Russian ship.

Japanese text of the source

西蔵等生得レ乗タル魯西亜船並ニ船中始終ノ物語

○文化丙寅唐太ヲ乱暴シ西蔵等ヲ生得乗タル魯西亜船ハ北亜墨利加ニテ造リタル船ニテ長十五間横四間吃水一丈五尺程檣3本帆数三十一帆維ヲ張レルコト蛛網ノ如シコノ邦ノ二千石積程ノ船ニ見ヘタリト左仲語レリ一方ニ鉄眼十二左右合セテ二十四有テ各大銃ノ長三尺四尺五尺位ナルヲ架アリ鉄眼ノ大ハ何レモ方一尺八九寸程尤木蓋モ有テ内ニテ鈎匙ヲモテトムル如クナセリ又別ニ玉目三百目位ノ旋轉昂低自在ニシカケタル筒六挺アリ又長七尺位玉目三貫目位ノ筒四挺アリ是ハ出船ノ時毎モ打曾戰ノ時モ偶打又長一尺七八寸玉目三百目位ノ短筒四挺アリ是モ旋轉自由ノシカケナリ又三十目位ノ筒数挺アリテ曾戰ノ時ハ多分コノ筒ヲ用ユ忽ジテ大銃ハ紫金筒小銃ハ鉄筒ナリシトゾ

○艫ト云モノ一切ナシ搔楫バカリニテ船ヲツカフサレバ手甚痛様子ナリシ

○大将ノ名ハ「ミコアラキサンライチ」是ハ魯西亜本國ヨリ来レル由

○裨將ノ名ハ「イハンペトロイチ」同ク「ヒヨドロマルキイチ」

○舟師ノ名ハ「ヒヨドロキシヤノイチ」小光頭ハ「ピンカ」ト云リ

○船中ニ火工銃工鍛冶大工其外一切ノ諸職人盡アリ火工ハ名ヲ「コシテンキン」ト云リ銃工ハ名ヲ「エビヅル」治工ハ「ニブソロ」雜役合セテ六十人乗組タリ

○船中ノ物共頭ニハ緋羅紗ノ巾ヲ被リ領回ハ紗羅紗ノ切ニテ包ミ上輩ハ羅紗下輩ハ羅背板ノ釦ガケニ製シタル服ニ同ク釦ガケノ股引

ヲ穿リサレバ屈伸ハ甚不自由ナル様子ナリシ尤戦闘ニ臨デモ甲冑ト云フ更ニナシ

○股引ノ腰ヨリ上ニ左右同ク袋ヲ設アリテーノ基ニ筒挺銃ツキタル長一尺八寸玉目五錢目位ノ鳥銃ヲ左右ノ袋ニ一挺充挿リ 股引ハ西藏惠テ今ニ蔵セリ

[...]

○喧嘩ハ相仕置ナリ相手同士互ニ答シム尤喧嘩ヲシカケタル者ヲシカケラレタル者ヨリ先ヘウタシム

○忽ジテ船中起 寝食船ノ進退帆ノ上下其外何事ニヨラズ大将一人ノ令ノママナリサルニヨッテイカ程風烈テモ将ノ令ナキ内ハ帆ヲモ下ズ居眠シテ居令アレバ立ニ従フ影響毫モアヤマツコトナシ

[...]

○西藏生得レ初テ本船ヘ乗移タル時船中臭気甚クタトヘン方ナシ是氣ニ撲レ何レモ病テ食事セザルコト三四日バカリサレド日数ヲ歴ニ従ヒナレタル故ニヤ後ニハ臭氣ヲ覺ザレシ

○船中ニテ食事ハ一日ニ三度麦ノ粉ノ餅ヲ子リ大方一尺五寸バカリニ堅タルヲ切テ鉢ニ入上ヘ布ヲカケテ持出火ニアブリテ各寄合テ食ス又食事ノ間ニ茶ノ中ヘ極テ色白冰糖ノ大塊ヲ一入一日ニ兩度充飲偶米ヲ食スルコトアレバ權ニカケテ粥ニタキ大将自ラ嘗め試淡ケレバ又米ヲカケ合テ加下々ヘモ食セシム西藏初生得レ當分ハ日本人ハナレバトテ格別ニ米ノ飯ヲ炊食セシメタリ但シ米ハ三斗入位ノ革ノ袋ニ入貯リトゾ

○偶味噌ヲモ食セシコトアリ米味噌共ニ盡クコノ 邦ヨリ奪取タル品ナリシ

○忽ジテ魯西亞ニハ茶産セズ唐山ヨリ交易シ来タルヲ貯持リ

○「ナイボウ」ヲ乱暴シタル時酒モ数十樽有ケルニ毒酒ニテハ無カト疑シニヤ先ズ西藏等不殘ヘ與ヘ暫クシテ何事モナキ様子ヲ見テ船中ノ者共盡ク集リ宴ヲ設テ歌ヒ舞ヒ様々興ヲ盡セシトゾ

○「シャナ」を乱暴の時ニ至「シャナ」ニハ東都ノ所司使ナドモ大勢アリ且南部家ヨリ警固ノ兵士モ數多アリ大小銃玉藥モ澤山アレバ彼等上陸シタリトモナドカ勝ヲヲ得ベキ今ニ鑿ニアハンコトノ心地ヨヤト西藏等耳語居ケルニ案ニ相違シ勝利ヲ得テ勝鬨ヲ作り歸リシユヘ皆切齒ナセシトゾ但シ「エトロプ」ニテ六人虜ニシ西藏等ト合テ十人船中ニテ一所ニヲケリ

○「エトロプ」ノ夷人共ハ近来 官ヨリ御手入 日本ノ俗ニ化セシメントニテ彼地衛宇近辺ノ夷人ハ男ハ魁頭サセ女ハ髮ヲ 日本風ニ理セ男女共コノ 邦ノ服ヲキセ差 日本人ニ異ナルフ無リシカバ彼地乱暴ノ時モ 日本人カト誤テ夷人ヲモ大勢カラメ来リシ若テ各本船ヘ移シ面

縛ヲトキ何ヤラン私語セシガ彼生口ノ者共ヲ盡ク裸體ニシケルニ渾身ニ毛ナキ者六人有テ餘ハ残ラズ毛在ケレバ毛ナキ者ハ留ヲキ餘ハ無用ノ者ナリトテ盡ク送リカヘセシトゾ

○船中ニテ地方ノ地形を圖スルニハ大ナル鏡ヲ立ソレヘ移シテ圖スルナリ山川城市田畝村落巧ナルコト譬ン方ナシ又日本ノ一枚画圖アリ細密ナルコト絶類ナリ

○何地ニヨラズ地方へ近ハ法馬ノ如重ヲ付タル繩ヲ下浅深ヲハカリテ過忽ジテ魯西亞ノ船ハ船底極テ深ユヘ水底ノ巖石ニテ碎ンコトヲ恐テナリ

○丙寅ノ歳生得レタル富五郎源七 唐太ノ藩人前ニ見ユ 西藏等ト同ク帰 國ヲ許サレ同船シテ帰リケルガ賊等クリカヘシ彼等ニ云ルハ汝ガ國交易ヲ許サズハ何マデモ汝ガ國ヲナヤマシ此度ノ如キ手並ヲ見スベシ明年四月ニハ又来ルベシトテ合圖ノ旗ヲ二本與フ一ハ白地ニ黒色ヲ以斜ニ十文字ヲ描タル旗一ハ青赤黒ニ三筋ノ旗ニテ明年再来リシ時交易ヲ許スナラハ三スヂノ旗ヲ揚テ號トシ交易ヲ許サズバ十文字ノ旗ヲ揚ベシ其ヲ合圖ニ直ニ戰ヲトリ結バン尤唐太ト「エトロプ」ノニケ所ノ中ニテ互ニ旗ヲ合スベシト懇ニ云ヲクレリトゾ別ニ書翰ノ文アレド憚テココニ漏シヌ

○丁卯ノ歳西藏等「リイシリ」島ノ名前ニ見 ヨリ城龍丸ノ三枚船ニ乗蝦夷地ヲサシテ漕出シケル時遥向ノ沖間ヨリ異國船ト思シクテ千石餘ノ大船進來ルコハ又如何ナル憂目ニヤ遇ト進退途ヲ失ケルガ兎角スル内漸近ヨルニ從ヒ能々見レバ船ニハアラデ流レ木ニテ有シ梢ハ枹竿[帆柱]ノ如ク枝ハ帆綱ノ如ク遥ニ見レバ其状正ク魯西亞ノ如シカカル時節芒ノ穂ニモ怖ルルトヤラ西藏ナドハ心モ剛ニ力量モ普通ノ人ニマサリ血氣ノ若者ナリシカド最早自國モ近ナリ虎口ヲ逃シタル心地シテ自然ト氣モ緩ルニヤカカルコトニモ驚リ水鳥ノ羽音ニ驚タルモ寸⁴⁵モ有ベキコトナラント云キ又最前「リイシリ」ニテ焼ステラレタル 官船萬春丸ニ乗組タル者ニ村上左金吾ト云ル者アリ是船未異変ナキ前有故中途ヨリ上陸シ西蝦夷地「オフィニシャ」ト云ル處ヲ過ケル時遥ニ大船ノ漂ルヲ見テ魯西亞船カト思ヒ狼狽シテ宗谷へ至ベシトノ 命ナルヲ宗谷へハ行ヤラデ逸足出シテ逃出シ函館サシテ帰リケルモ皆是流木ノ所為ニテ有シトゾ其後左金吾西藏トモ松前ニ来リ予ガ旅館ノ東隣故松前家ノ参政飛内龜右衛門ナル者ノ空邸ニ同居シテ居タリケルガ兩人折角コノ事ヲ物語リ互ニ坻掌セシトナン 村上左金吾ガ事跡ハ北征秘談ニ詳ナリ

⁴⁵ 寸 — とき (時)

Translation from Japanese

The story of how Torizō and the others were captured, put on a large Russian ship and about everything that happened on the ship

○ The Russian ship that committed violent acts on Karafuto in the year of the Fire Tiger of the Bunka era, and which carried the captured Torizō, was made in North America. Its length was 15 *ken*,⁴⁶ width 4 *ken*,⁴⁷ and the draft of the vessel was approximately 1 *jō* 5 *shaku*.⁴⁸ [The ship had] three masts, thirty-one sails, stretched sailing ropes looked like a spider's web. (*It says here that in appearance this ship was similar to Japanese ships, the carrying capacity of which is 2.000 koku*⁴⁹). There are twelve gun ports on each side, for the total of twenty-four holes. The [barrel] length of most large guns is approximately 3 *shaku*, 4 *shaku* and 5 *shaku*.⁵⁰ There are suspension bridges. The size of the gun ports is 1 *shaku* 89 *sun*,⁵¹ with wooden covers that were closed from the inside with a hook. In addition, there were six swivel guns,⁵² the weight of the core of which was approximately 300 *me*,⁵³ There were also four guns, approximately 7 *shaku*⁵⁴ in length, with cannonballs weighing 3 *kan*.⁵⁵ They are fired upon departure [of a ship] and during battles. There were four more short-barreled guns, 1 *shaku* 7 or 8 *sun*⁵⁶ long, with cannonballs weighing approximately 300 *me*. Also with free rotation [of the barrel]. Several more guns with a 30-*me*⁵⁷ barrel. Most likely they were used during battles. Large guns had gilded barrels, and small ones had iron barrels.

○ There are no oars. They steer the ship using a steering wheel, which causes pain in the palms of their hands.

⁴⁶ *Ken* 間 — traditional Japanese unit of length 1.82 m, 15 *ken* = 27.3 m.

⁴⁷ 4 *ken* = 7.28 m.

⁴⁸ 1 *jō* 丈 = 10 *shaku* 尺 = 3.03 m, 1 *shaku* 尺 = 30.3 cm, 1 *jō* 5 *shaku* = 2 m 51 cm.

⁴⁹ 1 *koku* 石 = 180 liters. 2000 *koku* = 360 000 liters.

⁵⁰ 3 *shaku* 尺 = 90.9 cm, 4 *shaku* 尺 = 121.2 cm, 5 *shaku* 尺 = 151.5 cm.

⁵¹ 1 *shaku* 尺 89 *sun* 寸 = 5 m 70 cm, 1 *sun* 寸 = 3.03 cm.

⁵² A swivel gun is a small rotating artillery piece mounted on the side of a ship. In the Japanese text it is written as follows: 旋轉昂低自在, which can literally be translated as “low-rotation gun”.

⁵³ *Me* 目 = 3.75 gr, 300 *me* = 1 kg 125 gr.

⁵⁴ 7 *shaku* = 21.2 m.

⁵⁵ 3 *kan* 貫 = 11.25 kg (1 *kan* = 3.75 kg)

⁵⁶ 1 *shaku* 7 *sun* = 51 cm, 1 *shaku* 8 *sun* = 54 cm.

⁵⁷ 30 *me* = 112.5 gr.

○ The commander's name is "Mikora Arakisantaraiti". He is originally from Russia.

○ The names of assistant commanders are "Iwan Batoroichi" and "Hiyodoro Marukichi".

○ The name of the boatman⁵⁸ is "Hiyodoro Kishiyoichi", the name of the person who is in charge of signal lights is "Binka".

○ There were representatives of different professions on the ship. Among the ship's crew there were: a person responsible for flares, weapons, a blacksmith, a carpenter and others. The name of the person in charge of the flares was "Koshitenkin". The person in charge of the weapon is "Ebizuru", the blacksmith is "Nibusoro". In total there were sixty crew members on [the ship].

○ The head of the crew was wearing a scarlet colored felt cloth with a wool gauze fabric around the collar. The senior ranks were wearing clothes made of felt, while the junior ranks were wearing thin woolen fabric, both had buttons attached to it. [They also] wore pants with buttons. They looked really uncomfortable and restrictive. During the battle they were not wearing armor.

○ Just above the waist, there were two identical bags that were attached to the right and left sides of the tight-fitting pants,⁵⁹ each of them contained one double-barreled gun — a musket,⁶⁰ the length of which was 1 *shaku* and 8 *sun*,⁶¹ and the bullets were approximately 5 *sen*⁶². (*Torizō was given these pants. He still has them to this day*). [...]

[...]

○ In case of a quarrel, both parties were punished by beating with sticks. The party that started the quarrel was punished first, and then the one that got involved in it.

○ Everything was done according to the general's decree: sleeping, eating, lowering and raising the sails. Even in strong winds, no one dared to lower

⁵⁸ The characters 舟師, used in the original text, have two meanings: 1) boatman; 2) in the Edo period, a merchant who owned a cargo vessel and carried out shipping activities.

⁵⁹ 股引 — *momohiki* — tight-fitting trousers from the waist to the ankles.

⁶⁰ The term for musket which is used in the text of the source is *chōjū* 鳥銃, which literally translates as "bird" pistol. There are two reasons why the musket is called bird pistol in Japanese. First: the sound of the musket resembled a bird's cry. Second: this weapon was often used for hunting birds.

⁶¹ 1 *shaku* and 8 *sun* — 54 cm.

⁶² 18.75 gr.

the sail without proper instructions. However, if the order was carried out with delay, there were certain consequences of such misbehavior as well.

[...]

○ When Torizō was captured and brought to the ship for the first time, the malodorous smell there was incomparable. Sickness overtook him and he did not eat for three or four days. He lost track of time. Because he got used to it, later he did not feel the stench.

○ They ate rye *mochi* two or three times a day on the ship. Its size was more or less 1 *shaku 5 sun*.⁶³ These hard [*mochi*] were cut in pieces, placed on a plate, covered with a cloth, fried over a fire, [and served for] everyone to eat. In addition, a couple of times a day during meals they drank tea with one large piece of snow-white candy sugar. When they ate rice, they weighed it and cooked porridge [from it]. The general himself tried it, and if the porridge was too watery, they added more rice. Everyone was fed, including those of lower rank. Even the captured Torizō was given the same portion as everyone else. Since he was Japanese, they separately prepared [a portion of rice] for him. Rice was stored in leather bags, the size of which was 3 *to*⁶⁴ each.

○ They even fed us *miso*. All the rice and *miso* were stolen from our country.

○ Tea is not produced in Russia, but purchased from China.

○ In Naibo, where the violent acts took place, there were several dozen barrels of sake. In order to check whether it was poisoned or not, they first gave it to Torizō and other [Japanese guards] to drink. Only after a while, when they were sure that they were fine, everyone gathered and celebrated. They sang and danced.

○ During the unrest in Shana, there were many [government] officials, envoys from the Eastern capital,⁶⁵ as well as a large number of warrior guards from the Nanbu clan.⁶⁶ There were many guns of various calibers, cannonballs and gunpowder. Torizō and the others whispered: “Even if they⁶⁷ landed, how could [they] win? I feel that soon they all will be killed”.

⁶³ 1 *shaku* 尺 5 *sun* 寸 = 45 cm.

⁶⁴ 3 *to* 三斗 (18 liters × 3) = 54 liters.

⁶⁵ The capital in the East. In Kyoto, the term “Capital in the East” was used to refer to Edo (modern Tokyo).

⁶⁶ The Nanbu clan 南部家 — a Japanese samurai family that ruled most of the Northeastern Honshu for over 700 years, from the Kamakura period until the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

⁶⁷ The Russians.

Since, contrary to all expectations, they won, shouted a victory cry and returned, all [Japanese] were gnashing their teeth [in anger]. However, on Iturup [the Russians] captured six people. A total of ten [Japanese] people, including Torizō and the other [three Japanese guards], were already onboard.

○ Recently, the Ainu on Iturup were under the tutelage of [Japanese] officials⁶⁸ and were experiencing Japanese influence, so the Ainu men who lived in the protected area tied their hair, and the Ainu women wore Japanese clothes and were practically no different from the Japanese. Therefore, during the unrest on their lands [the Russians] mistakenly captured many Ainu and took them to their ship. They untied their hands behind their backs while muttering: “What are we going to do?” They undressed all the prisoners. [They found out that] six had no hair on their bodies, but the rest did. They left only those who had no hair on their bodies, the rest were sent back, because they did not need [those with hair].

○ In order to create a map of the area, a large lens [a telescope] was placed on the ship and with its help they made sketches of mountains, rivers, castles, fields, and settlements. An example of peerless craftsmanship. It is like an exquisite Japanese painting with detailed descriptions.

○ No matter which shore they reached, they lowered a rope with something heavy at its end, similar to a weight, and measured the depth. Since Russian ships had low draft, they were afraid of a possible collision with underwater reefs.

○ Captured in the year of the Fire Tiger,⁶⁹ Tomigorō, Genshichi (*who were mentioned earlier and were guards on Karafuto*), together with Torizō and others returned [to their homeland].

○ Although they were allowed to return to the country by boat, the pirates repeatedly told them that if they still did not agree to open trade with their country, then they would continue to cause unrest, just like this time. They promised to arrive on the 4th moon of the next year. They gave us two signal flags. One was white with black diagonal stripes and a cross on it. The other flag had three stripes of blue, red and black. The following year, upon their re-arrival, if we agree to trade, the tricolor flag should be raised. In case of refusal, a flag with a cross on it. [However] if that signal [is raised], there will be an immediate military action. Moreover, they said that it was neces-

⁶⁸ 官 *kan* or *tsukasa* — means “government agency” or “government official”.

⁶⁹ Heiin 丙寅 the year of the Fire Tiger, 1806.

sary to coordinate signals between two places: Karafuto and Iturup. In addition, [they] handed [us] a letter, but I will refrain from mentioning it here.

○ In the year of the Fire Rabbit,⁷⁰ Torizō and the others got into a boat from the *Seiryō-maru* ship and began to row towards the lands of Ezo. At this time, something similar to a foreign ship of 1000 *koku*⁷¹ in size appeared in the sea and it was approaching them. Anticipating misfortune, they no longer knew which way to swim. While they were thinking what to do, it finally approached. When they looked closely, they realized that it was not a ship, but a drifting floating tree. The top of the tree looked like a mast, and the branches looked like the rigging of sails. From a distance it looked very much like a Russian ship. At that time, even ears of susuki grass could have frightened them. Torizō and the others had brave hearts and were stronger than any ordinary person. Although they were young and ardent people, the homeland was already close, they felt as if they had escaped from the tiger's mouth. At that moment, even the sounds of flapping wings of waterfowl could frighten them. Moreover, there was a man named Murakami Sakingo among the crew of the government ship *Bansen-maru* that was burned on Riishiri a while ago. He disembarked the ship before [these events] while it was in full working order. As he passed a place called “Ofinishia” in the western lands of Ezo, he saw a huge ship drifting in the distance, and thought that it was a Russian ship. In confusion, even though the order was “must reach Soya”, he did not go as far as Soya, galloped fleeing, and returned in the direction of Hakodate. All this happened because of the drifting tree. Subsequently, Sakingo and Torizō arrived in Matsumae and for some time lived together in the vacant room of a man named Kame Uemon from Tobinai⁷² [village], the executive⁷³ of the Matsumae clan in the East, in my *ryokan*. It was there that they shared their stories with each other. (*Murakami Sakingo described all events in detail in [a work titled] Hokusei Hidan 北征秘談 [The Secret Narrative about the Northern Expedition]*).

⁷⁰ Teibō 丁卯 The year of the Fire Rabbit. 1807.

⁷¹ 1 *koku* 石 = 180 liters. 1000 *koku* = 180 000 liters.

⁷² Tobinai 飛内 — a name of village in the beginning of the 19th c. Nowadays it is a district in the Aomori Prefecture.

⁷³ Executive *sansei* 参政 — during the Edo period (1603–1868) this was the name given to vassals of *daimyo* — feudal lords. Essentially, they were representatives of local authorities. Their responsibilities included managing the domains.

Special Signs

[...] — text is omitted

[] — additional comments of this article's author

(...) — explanation notes in the text of *Roshia Ibun* in smaller characters

Conclusion

According to *Roshia Ibun*, Torizō served as a guard at Kushunkotan settlement on Sakhalin. From this source we learned that guards did not understand the language of the lands of Ezo, they were very similar to townspeople, but had great power over local Ainu inhabitants and used their force to make them obey their orders. Upon his extraordinary return to Japan, Torizō could get a job at Matsumae, but was fired a few months later. The source does not mention any information about his further destiny.

The way Torizō perceives the meeting with the Russians differs greatly from the way it is described in Russian archival materials. He states that the Russians “pulled out something that looked like a book, said something but we did not understand this sparrow language at all”. It becomes clear that the Japanese could not understand anything from their conversations, except one word “trade”.

This source contains valuable information about the signal flags and the letter that the four Japanese guards received from Lieutenant Khvostov. Although Torizō does not mention details about the letter's content, he describes the flags and how they were meant to be used. He also claims that Khvostov intended to return to these lands to obtain an answer to the main question: whether Japan was ready to open trade with Russia or not.

Torizō and other four guards were set free at the Riishiri island. Later on, in the western lands of Ezo they met several government officials from Hakodate. According to Torizō, they were Tamura Sachu and Uchino Gorosaemon, who managed to escape from the ship *Banshun-maru*, and Murakami Sakingo who was also among the crew of the *Bansen-maru*. Here it should be noted that this is the name of one ship (the characters are identical, but for some reason the source gives two different readings of the same name). It is important, however, that all of them shared their stories and experiences with each other, and this might explain the fact that there are similar stories about these four guards in other Japanese sources of the beginning of the 19th c.

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