

CONTRIBUTIONS TO GERMAN-JAPANESE MEDICAL RELATIONS

PART I

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SUMMARY

This paper, divided in three parts, presents the history of German-Japanese medical relations from the 17th to the 20th century. Among numerous personalities who promoted these relations, particular mention is given to Engelbert Kaempfer, Franz von Siebold, Erwin Bälz, Mori Ogai, Carl Troester, Mokichi Saito and Nobotsugu Koyenuma.

Keywords: history of medicine, physicians, natural science, ethnology, Germany, Japan.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Back in the 50s of the last century, when the author of this article received Japanese papers published by Fujinami and Inamoto in Gann from 1905 to 1916, he was surprised to find that they were written in correct German language. The same is true for Japanese journals in other fields, for instance, in dermatology. Furthermore, in 1972, when visiting the pathologic institute of Kyoto University, the author saw autopsy records from the turn of the 19th century written in impeccable German by Japanese pathologists, obviously former students of Drs Adalbert von Langeegg (in Kyoto from 1872 to 1876) and Botho Scheube (in Kyoto from 1877 to 1881) who founded the Kyoto Medical School. Nowadays, this would be unthinkable, although German terminology has remained in use for describing medical condition and for diagnosis, and German is still mandatory in medical schools.

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Chinese medicine (kampo) came to Japan in the 6th century together with Buddhism, where it dominated until the mid 16th century when, from 1549 onward, Portuguese Jesuits and their doctors brought the knowledge of European medicine (nanbanryu geka). In 1555, a mission physician Luis d'Almeida (1524-1583) founded a hospital in Oita. In 1593, Franciscan friars established hospitals and leprosories in Kyoto. However, nearly all of this knowledge seems to have been lost with the Counter Reformation and the expulsion of the missionaries in 1639.

Among about 100 doctors employed by the East Indian Company at the Dutch settlement in Nagasaki between 1641 and 1868 there were also some Germans. Apparently, Caspar Schamberger (1623-1706), a barber surgeon from Leipzig, was the first German to join the East Indian Company as a ship's doctor. He arrived in Nagasaki via Batavia (Jakarta) aboard the *Maeslandt* in August 1649. On 25 November he became a member of the Dutch official visit to Edo (Tokyo since 1868). Because of his impressive therapeutic results, he was asked to prolong his stay in Edo until October 1650. Schamberger contributed to the education of Japanese, so-called Caspar-School surgeons. He left Japan on 1 November 1651 on board of the *Koning van Polen*.

Andreas Cleyer (1634-1698) was born in Kassel, studied medicine in Marburg and became the head of a hospital in Batavia. In 1682 and 1685, he travelled to Japan, where he also joined the Dutch in their obligatory visit to the shogun's court in Edo. His correspondence with Mentzel, who was the physician-in-ordinary to the Great Prince of Brandenburg, provided a number of botanical and medical contributions, published in Berlin. Cleyer became a member of the *Leopoldina* (*Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher*).

One of noted German doctors was the surgeon Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) who stayed in Nagasaki from 1690 to 1692, and taught medicine to his educated Japanese body servant. His historical accounts and descriptions of Japan largely contributed to the European understanding of this closed country. More than a century later, Philipp Franz von Siebold, (1796-1866) born in Würzburg, arrived in Na-

gasaki in 1823 as a doctor of the Dutch office on Dejima. He received the license to establish a school, and jointly with his pupils published articles about Japanese medicine in European journals. In 1828, however, Siebold was accused of spying and ordered to leave Japan.

The beginning of the Meiji period (1868-1912) were restored the basic conditions for the reintroduction of Western medicine. In 1862, when German medicine was leading in Europe, a delegation of Japanese doctors visited Berlin. In return, two German military physicians arrived in Yokohama on 23 August 1871 with the task to establish a medical school according to Prussian standard. They were Leopold Müller (1822-1893), a surgeon, and Theodor Hoffmann (1837-1894), internist, both from Berlin. There they worked for 3 years with a monthly salary of 600 and 300 Yen, respectively. The two Germans soon realised that the knowledge of about 300 Tokyo medical students was generally poor, who were then to start medical studies all over again. Of the remaining 59 students, 25 candidates graduated in 1879. The best among them were sent to Germany for post-graduate education. From 1873 on, students had good knowledge of German language, so that the lectures could be held without an interpreter. The library of the faculty was predominantly equipped with German literature. Müller was also a founder and the president of OAG (German Society for the Studies of Nature & Ethnology of East Asia) which still exists today. He left Japan in 1875.

Between 1871 and 1881 altogether 13 German university teachers came to Tokyo, Kyoto or Nagoya. One of them was surgeon Wilhelm Schultze (1840-1924) from Berlin who came in place of Dr Müller and introduced antiseptic treatment of wounds. In the 70s, Austrian surgeon Albrecht von Roretz (1846-84) founded a new hospital in Nagoya. From 1880 to 1883 he successfully operated in Yamagata. In 1877, there were 951 medical students in Tokyo. In 1881, Dr Schultze was succeeded by Dr Julius Karl Scriba (1848-1905), a surgeon and university teacher. Scriba was the first to surgically remove a diseased kidney in Japan. In 1905, he died from tuberculosis in Tokyo. Almost all German physicians working in Japan transferred valuable knowledge about Japan and Japanese medicine to their homeland.

Among German pioneers of the 19th century Professor Erwin Bälz (1849-1913), specialist in internal medicine from Leipzig University was surely the most important. Since 1876 when he arrived in Tokyo, he had been teaching physiology, pharmacology, pathology, gynaecology and psychiatry in addition to his specialist field for 25 years. Among his numerous publications, those about hygiene and for the prophylaxis of beriberi are worth mentioning. In 1905, he was the last of the German university teachers to leave Japan. They were replaced by Japanese students who massively studied at German universities and institutions. Between 1891 and 1916, no fewer than 118 German-speaking Japanese postgraduate students became medical doctors at Munich University alone.

One of them was Shibasuburo Kitasato (1856-1931), who had been studying bacteriology with Robert Koch in Berlin since 1885, and who found the dysentery bacillus together with Emil von Behring. After having returned to Japan, he published scientific papers in German journals and thus founded a common medical journal which still exists today, although now publishing predominantly in English.

From 1907 to 1910 Sahachiro Hata (1873-1938) worked with Paul Ehrlich in Frankfurt and became the founder of chemotherapy in Japan.

The fruitful co-operation ceased in 1914, when Japan entered the war against Germany. The exchange of knowledge between the two countries revived in the 1920s. In 1924, pathologist Ludwig Aschoff (1866-1937) from Freiburg gave several lectures at Japanese universities. He is well known for the discovery of the Aschoff-Tawara-node in the induction system of the heart along with his Japanese colleague Sunao Tawara (1873-1952) from Marburg. In 1936, the relations reached climax with the foundation of the Japanese-German medical society.

After the Second World War, Germany and Japan revived their animated exchange of medical students in the 1950s. German pharmaceutical industry took the greatest share of the Japanese market in the treatment of a number of diseases. One of the examples of cooperation was the exchange of experiences with the Japanese Röntgen Society using computer-aided diagnostics procedures, which have

spread all over Japan like an explosion. However, English has gradually replaced German in medical discourse worldwide, including Japan. Today, only a few Japanese study medicine at German universities (for instance, 15 in 1996), while thousands of students go to the United States.

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This paper is mainly based on referenced literature. However, the idea originated during my 20-year stay in Japan, from 1968 to 1988. During this period I worked as a toxicological pathologist for Nihon-Schering in Osaka and for Nippon Boehringer Ingelheim in Kawanishi. This gave me numerous opportunities to contact Japanese physicians in many fields. Some of them were still post-graduate students in Germany at the time, and had an excellent knowledge of the German language. Among them, I would like to single out the help of my friend, Professor Y. Asada, Ph.D. from Osaka, the vice president of the Japanese Dermatological Society. For valuable encouragement, I am indebted to my German friends Professor L. Stoll, Ph. D. from Frankfurt and his classmate P. Troester from Berlin, the grandson of Professor Carl Troester, who taught in Tokyo and Berlin, then to Professor P. Brunner, Ph.D. from Aschaffenburg, Professor J. Schäffer, Ph. D from Hannover, and Ms. B. Weber from the Mori Ogai Gedenkstätte in Berlin.

ENGELBERT KAEMPFER: A GERMAN SURGEON AND EXPLORER IN JAPAN - 1690/92

SUMMARY

Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) was born in Lemgo, studied at several high schools in Germany and at medical universities in Poland and Sweden. When participating in a Swedish legation to Persia, he joined the Dutch East India Company in Esfahan as a ship's doctor. In 1689, he reached Batavia (Jakarta). In the years 1690-91, he became the physician of the Dutch trading post in Nagasaki. He joined the obligatory visit of the Dutch to the shogun's court in Edo (Tokyo) on two occasions. From 1698 until his death he was a physician-in-ordinary to the Earl Frederic zur Lippe. Ch. Dohm published his handwritten travel books in 1777. These volumes reprinted in 1964 are the basis of the second part of this paper.

Keywords: history of medicine, 17th century, physicians, Germany, Japan.

THE FIRST 40 YEARS: FROM LEMGO TO BATAVIA

Engelbert Kaempfer (16 September 1651 - 2 November 1716) was born in Lemgo after the Thirty Years' War as the son of a minister Johannes Kemper (1610-82). He is considered the first German explorer of the 17th century. In 1665-69 his native town Lemgo was witnessing yet another witch-hunt. Close relatives and colleagues of his father were decapitated for "witchcraft". Probably because of that, in 1667, his father sent him to school in Hameln, and later to Lüneburg, Lübeck and Danzig, where Engelbert Kaempfer printed his disputation in 1673. Followed the studies of natural science and medicine in Thorn, Krakau and Königsberg. In 1681 Kaempfer went to Uppsala. In March 1683, he accompanied a Swedish legation to Persia by land. In November 1685, he joined the service of the Dutch East India Company in Esfahan. As a ship's doctor he saw Arabia, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Indian state of Bengal, Kotchinchina (Vietnam) and Sumatra. In 1689, he reached Batavia (Jakarta). From there he

accompanied the Dutch legation to Siam (Thailand) and Japan, where he stayed for two years. In May 1693 he returned from Batavia to Europe, obtained a doctoral degree in Leyden and settled as a general practitioner in his hometown Lemgo in August 1694. From 1698 until his death he was a physician-in-ordinary to the Earl Frederic zur Lippe who combined despotism with Baroque pomposity. In December 1700, Kaempfer married a 16-year-old merchant daughter Maria Wilstach. He lived with her in the Steinhof (Figure 1). The marriage was not fortunate. All three children died at an early age. Shortly before he was granted a divorce, Kaempfer died of colic.

Engelbert Kaempfer described his travels in detail. During his life, however, he only managed to edit *Amoenitates exoticae*, a series of ethnographic and historic essays written in Latin. He strictly defended the Japanese policy of isolation (*sakoku*). In 1725, an heir sold his handwritten travel books to the British Museum. Two years later they appeared in an English edition. In 1777, Ch. Dohm published his work about Japan in Lemgo. It is based on? Kaempfer's handwritings found 1773 on the estate of his last heiress.

ARRIVAL IN JAPAN

When Kaempfer arrived in Japan on 25 September 1690 as the physician of a Dutch trading post there, he was poorly prepared for the job. He had not studied literature such as annual reports by Pater Luis Frois since 1563 or the description of Japanese Empire by Bernhard Varen (1649). Neither had he read the reports of his German predecessors in Nagasaki, nor did he know any Japanese. His written sources, undoubtedly used in addition to his personal experiences are unknown, but he had surely obtained information from experts in Batavia. His picture of Japan was mainly based on two journeys to the court in Edo (13 February - 8 May 1791 & 2 March.-21 May 1792) which were mandatory for the Dutch legation at the time. The distance between Nagasaki and Edo is 325 Ri (Japanese miles) or about 1276 km. During these journeys, he secretly used a compass for cartographic drawings. On Dejima (Figure 2), he had an educated servant and interpreter, Eisei Imamura (1671-1736). He and other interpreters and patients taught Kaempfer about national geography

and customs. At that time, the passing of information to foreigners was strictly prohibited and severely punished. Natural sciences, however, were not subject to censorship.

NAGASAKI IN 1690

Takaboko is a small island mountain in front of the Nagasaki harbour. From here Christians were thrown into the sea in 1639. According to Kaempfer's description, two forts standing vis-a-vis and garrisoning altogether 700 soldiers protected the entrance into the Nagasaki port. The harbour counted no less than 50 Japanese barks at all times. Kaempfer counted 87 narrow, "populated lanes with 30 to 60 houses each". The houses looked poor. In 1638, the Dutch were ordered to pull down two "palaces made of bricks", because they were "built too splendidly if compared with Japanese customs". Each lane had an elected mayor, three street masters, 10-15 guild masters, a secretary and watchmen. Kaempfer does not mention the total city population. In 1988, Nagasaki had 446,000 residents, but in 1884 it

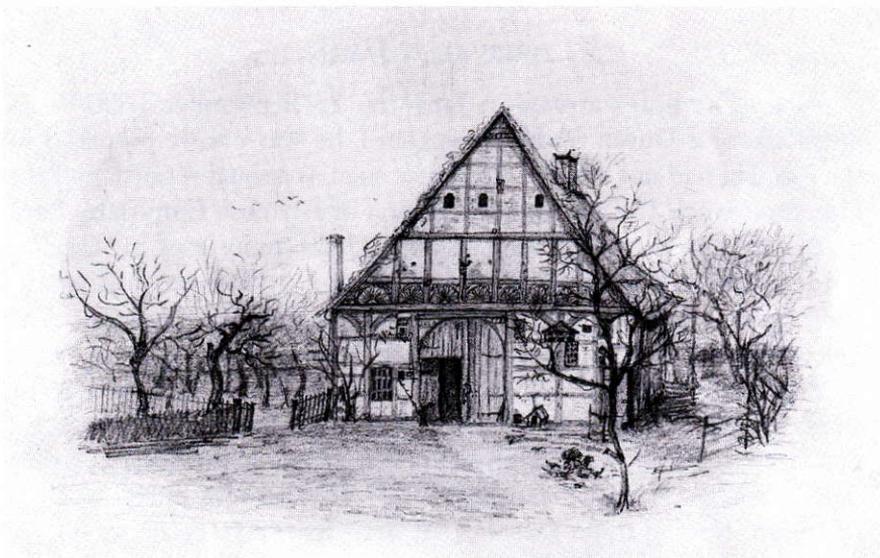


Figure 1. The "Steinhof" in Lieme (built in 1581, drawing from 1898), purchased by Kaempfer's father in 1675. After his return from Japan, Engelbert Kaempfer took over the house from his family (City Museum Lemgo)

counted only 39,000 people. It can be assumed that the population of the "prospering trading-town" of 1691 was equal or even greater than in 1884. Kaempfer also mentions five shrines and 57 temples on the hillsides surrounding the bay.

Follows a description of the red-light district, the Japanese second most notorious centre of prostitution after Miyako (Kyoto). "The well-shaped daughters of poor people are bought in their early childhood for a 10 to 20-year period of service. The keeper of a brothel owns 7 to 30 of them. They live in comfortable rooms and are daily trained in dancing, playing music, writing and other skills. After married, they are considered honourable townswomen." There was also a lane with more than 100 mendicant friars. Kaempfer observed numerous street dogs, which enjoyed a special protection by the government. During Kaempfer's time, up to 100 prisoners were always detained in a house of correction; among whom about 50 were the Bungoso with wives and children, Bungoso meaning Christians who

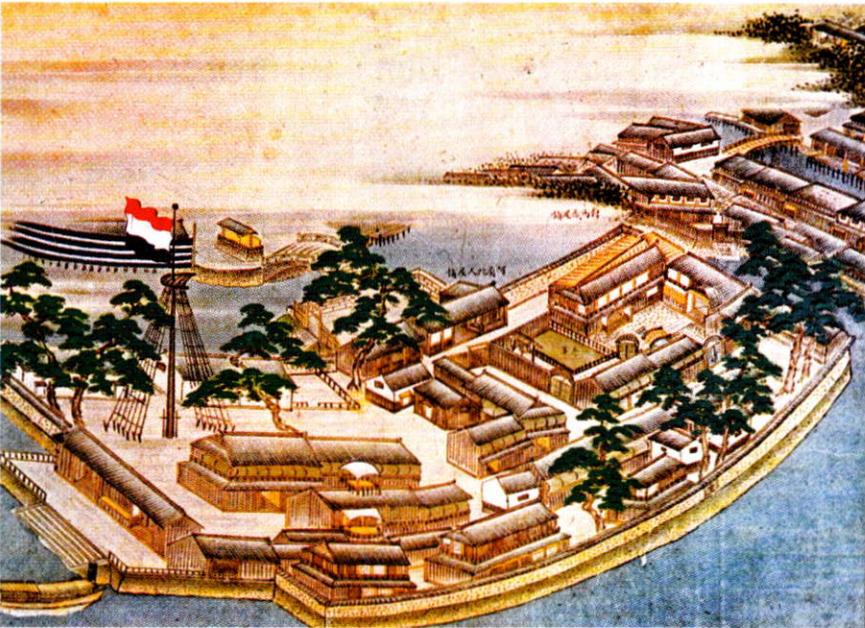


Figure 2. The Dutch factory on the artificial island of Dejima (contemporary illustration)

did not recant their faith. Every two months, lifers were allowed to leave jail to take a bath in the prison pond and to exercise in a walking house.

Nagasaki had three governors, one of whom always lived with his family at the court of Edo, while the other two remaining in Nagasaki alternated in power once a month. In addition, the governors were controlled by the council of the shogunate (bakufu) who reported to the local Daimyo. There was also a lord mayor. A nearly indescribable hierarchy was in power with mutual control of the employees and an inquisitorial jurisdiction. All rules aimed at keeping the Shogun's government in power. The citizens of Nagasaki exchanged their loss of freedom for safety and peace. The Dutch were also treated like prisoners and their trade margin was skimmed off by high living costs. Their mail was put under strict censorship. One can hardly understand why they tolerated this for centuries and can understand the American Admiral Perry who did not consider Dutch help for the opening of Japan in 1852.

THE JAPANESE TRADE OF THE DUTCH EASTINDIAN COMPANY

Every year the Dutch sent two to four ships from Batavia to Nagasaki. They mostly sold raw silk, but the business did not bring much profit. Other goods included cotton, cloth, pepper, sugar, raw rubber, saffron, tin, lead, saltpetre, eyeglasses and fur. In 1641, when the Dutch could still unload seven ships a year, their goods were worth 80 tonnes of gold and 1400 chests of silver. Later they shipped 6,000 chests of copper, which yielded a 90% profit. By 1685 the profit decreased to merely 10.5 tonnes of gold and 330 chests of silver per year. Nevertheless, the Dutch trading post director earned 30,000 guilders a year. Black marketing was rather common, but was severely punished. Two black marketers were decapitated on Dejima before Kaempfer's eyes because of only one pound of camphor, and their heads were displayed for a whole week to discourage the others.

THE JOURNEY TO EDO

During Kaempfer's stay in Japan, the Dutch had to travel to Edo every February. They were accompanied by over 100 Japanese in-

cluding Kaempfer's body-servant Imamura. Each travel cost 20,000 Reichsthaler, including many valuable gifts, not only for the courtiers, but also for the local district presidents en route such as those in Osaka and Miyako. The first stage of Kaempfer's first journey to the court was a 5-day travel on good roads to Shimonoseki. Followed a one-week travel over the Inland Sea to Osaka. Japanese ships of the Edo period were not ocean-going. The stern was open to control freight more easily. In case of storm the ships had to immediately retreat to a port, because of their light construction.

Osaka, a prosperous trading centre impressed Kaempfer by its numerous channels and bridges. Nice small gardens and fireproof stores (*kura*) behind two-storied houses pleased him. Kaempfer describes Miyako with its 500,000 inhabitants as a city of industrial art. The final stage of the journey to Edo (Tokyo since 1868) took 14 days on a highroad (*tokaido*). Milestones indicated the distance to go before reaching Nihonbashi (the famous bridge in the centre of the town). Kaempfer mapped the travel route very well. He counted more than 100 cities and market towns. Tokaido, densely populated by street villages, was heavy with traffic. Japanese loved to travel. Official trips and pilgrimages were common. Powerful Daimyo would travel with 20,000 attendants. About every 10 km there was a post to change horses and porters. A saddled horse cost 25-33 Sen (about 25 Cents) per Ri (about 3.9 km), a porter to 13 Sen. The Dutch already used printed guidebooks in which the best inns were recommended. Kaempfer found the rural population poor, but cheerful and blessed with numerous offspring. He was fascinated by pretty mendicant nuns of a convent in Kamakura whom he met on the road.

As the Dutch company went through Kakegawa a great fire broke out, because the master of a boiling-house wanted to see the Dutch and neglected his job. On return, the company realised that fire destroyed half of the town. Fact or fiction, the fire hazard belonged to everyday city life of that time. Two miles before Edo the travellers saw a horrible place of execution on which crows and dogs fed on corpses cut into pieces. After 29 days of travel, they passed Nihonbashi on 13 March and took their prison-like lodging in the free trading town of Edo which impressed them by its populated streets. Town quarters

burnt down and roving fire brigades were commonplace in those days. On 23 March 1691, a heavy earthquake shook Edo. The visiting ceremony to Shogun Tsunayoshi and 20 high-ranking officers was humiliating for the Dutch, and the Shogun denied them his presence as the host.

Unlike his successor Siebold, Kaempfer did not receive patients or give lectures on his journeys. He mentions a single consultation with a court physician in Edo. However, Kaempfer was very interested in Chinese acupuncture and similarly effective moxa which is prepared of the cones of dried mugwort (Mokusa, Figure 3). Kaempfer also described numerous plants for the first time, so that Linné named them after him later on.

The return of the Dutch was comparable to a "sightseeing tour". In Kyoto they visited several temple districts including Kiyomizudera and Sanjusangendo. Kaempfer also reported in detail about his second journey. Engelbert Kaempfer was dedicated a memorial in his home-

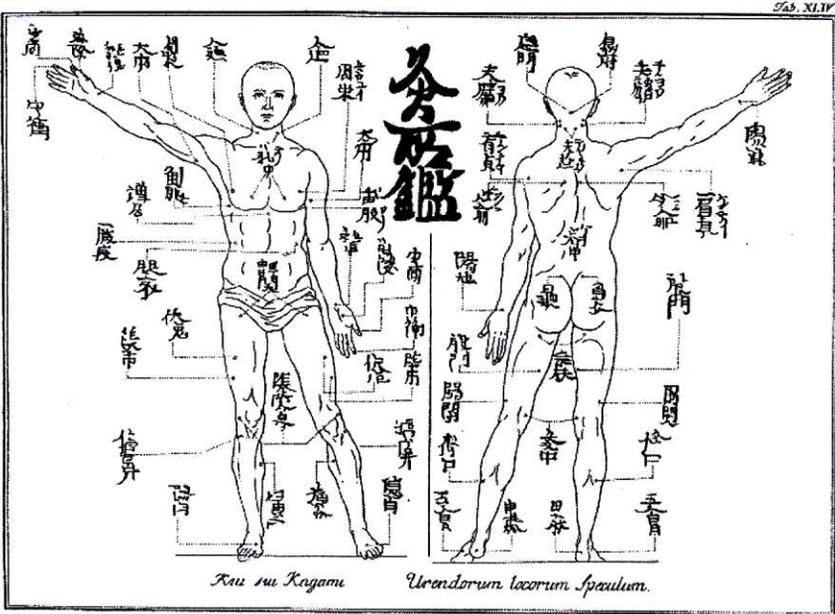


Figure 3. Chart showing the moxibustion points according to Kaempfer [Dohm, 1777]



Figure 4. Kaempfer's monument in Lemgo, erected in 1867. The inscription reads: Persia 1683-88. Java 1689. Siam 1690. Japan 1690-92. VIRTUTI NIHIL INVIUM Photo: K. Schölpert

town Lemgo in 1867 (Figure 4) and received national honours in 1937 (Figure 5). The Engelbert Kaempfer Society Lemgo organised an exhibition on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of his arrival in Nagasaki. In 2001, on the occasion of its 35th anniversary, the Insti-

tute of Lippische Landeskunde in Lemgo set up an exhibition dubbed "Gingko-Tree and Giant -Crab (Macrocheira Kaempferi)".

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Figure 5. Engelbert Kaempfer's room in the witch-lord mayor-house, first established in 1937 (City Archive Lemgo)

PHILIPP FRANZ VON SIEBOLD, A GERMAN PHYSICIAN AND NATURALIST IN JAPAN.

SUMMARY

Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) was born to an old family of physicians. He studied medicine and natural science at his hometown university in Würzburg. In 1822, Franz von Siebold, now M.D., joined the Dutch East Indian Company. He left Rotterdam on 23 September and arrived in Nagasaki via Batavia on 11 August 1823 as the physician of the Dutch trading post. In 1826, he joined the obligatory visit of the Dutch to the shogun's court in Edo. Beside medical practice, his task was to collect information. Siebold asked his new friends in Edo for maps of Japan, strictly prohibited to foreigners at that time. Back to Dejima, he was betrayed and accused of spying. On 22 October 1829, Siebold was banished from Japan after the so-called "Siebold Affair". Back in Leyden (Netherlands), Siebold was wellcomed by the Dutch Government. Between 1832 and 1851 he published a number of papers about Japan. His description of Japan was a milestone in modern ethnology. Siebold became the adviser of European governments and was generally acknowledged and honoured.

Keywords: History of medicine, (see above) physicians, ethnology, Germany, Japan

THE FIRST TRAVEL TO JAPAN

Philipp Franz von Siebold was born in Würzburg on 17 February 1796. His father Christoph Siebold, M.D., professor of general medicine died from pulmonary tuberculosis on 15 January 1798 at the age of 31. Franz and his mother Appolonia found accommodation in the house of her brother who was a parson in Heidingsfeld. Later, his uncle professor Elias von Siebold, also a medical doctor, mentored Franz. From 1815, Franz von Siebold had studied medicine and natural science at the University of Würzburg, at that time the capital of the diocese of Würzburg under the Bavarian State since 1803.

DUTCH FACTORY SURGEON IN NAGASAKI

In 1822, Franz von Siebold was granted by the Bavarian King Max the 1st to join the Dutch East Indian Company, the oldest stock corporation of the world founded in 1602. The once very prosperous company, however, had become insolvent and put under government control in 1799. Siebold was appointed the Dutch surgeon-major. He was already a member of the Leopoldina at the time. He left Rotterdam on 23 September 1822. Due to an accident, the voyage to Batavia (Jakarta) took 5 months, during which time Siebold learned Dutch. On 11 August 1823, the 27-year-old Siebold disembarked the Dutch frigate "Drie Gezusters" to become the physician at the Dutch trading post founded on Dejima (an artificial island of 1500 sqm, called "the prison") in the harbour of Nagasaki in 1641. In addition, he was contracted to make notes about Japan which was an exotic country closed for foreigners since 1640. For that special purpose he received a research fund of 70,000 guilders in addition to his annual income of 5,320 guilders.

In 1639, the Tokugawa Shogun ordered the last Portuguese missionaries to leave Japan. From 1640 to 1860 the country was closed to all outside influence. Dejima remained its single gate to Europe. Here, the East Indian Company was allowed to open a trading post employing only six Dutch. Later, only two Dutch ships were granted access to the harbour. The company repeatedly employed German physicians, the most famous of whom was Engelbert Kaempfer (1690/91). The Dutch were allowed to import literature related to medicine and natural sciences in 1719 and consequently, the profession of so-called Holland-scientists (*rangakusha*) developed. Siebold's knowledge of Dutch was poor. Japanese officials, who would not tolerate a German in Nagasaki, were told that he spoke a "mountain-Dutch" dialect. As Dutch is very close to German, Japanese authorities were easy to convince.

From the letters which Siebold wrote to his mother in Würzburg, we learn that he enjoyed life in Nagasaki very much, the kindness and the hospitality of the Japanese as well as the accommodation in the Dutchhouses on Dejima which were very luxurious in those days. He

admired Japanese landscape and hardworking people. The Dutch had servants from Indonesia and craftsmen from Japan. A brothel in Nagasaki provided girls for the Dutch. Among them was a 16-year-old Taki Kusumoto (1807-1869) called Sonogi whose father had sold her to the brothel due to poverty. Siebold fell in love with Sonogi and married her.

Siebold received a license to open a medical school. He taught in Dutch, which was the Latin of the East, and published articles about Japanese medicine in European periodicals together with his numerous students. He succeeded in some cataract operations and tried to introduce the cowpox vaccination to humans. However, the vaccine did not "survive" transportation from Batavia. Eventually, the vaccination against small pox was introduced in 1849 by Otto G. Mohnike (1814-83). Compulsory vaccination was practised from 1871 onwards. But, due to ineffective or contaminated vaccine, many Japanese died from small pox in the 19th century (30,000 in 1892).

Siebold's research on Japanese flora and fauna was supported by a German pharmacist Dr Heinrich Bürger from Hameln and assisted by Dutch and Japanese researchers. In a few years, he collected a large number of local animals and plants. In his botanical garden on Dejima Siebold cultivated up to 1,400 plant species. Seeds were sent to many places in Europe including hydrangea, the flower of the rainy season. For instance, the Japanese tea seed he exported was the basis for successful tea-plantations in Indonesia.

JOURNEY TO EDO IN 1826

Siebold journeyed to Edo from 20 March to 7 July 1826 as a part of the obligatory visit to the Shogun's court every 4 years. Siebold and his European fellow travellers were carried in sedan chairs and embarked on a ferryboat to Shimonoseki. The ferry took them over the beautiful and crowded Inland Sea to Osaka. They walked the rest of the way with their 57 fellow travellers using the highroad (tokaido) to Edo, which was now counting 1.5 million people. Crowds of villagers were watching the foreigners along the road. According to his letters, Siebold was impressed by the red Shinto shrines, Japanese

arched bridges across rivers, and was surprised by the number of brothels along the way. He enjoyed the seafood. However, he never forgot his task to collect information. He also gave lectures and studied in libraries. Siebold asked one of his new friends in Edo, the court astronomer S. Takahashi, to show him the maps of Japan, which were strictly prohibited to foreigners at the time. Back to Dejima, he was betrayed and accused of spying. All his Japanese friends and servants were arrested and subjected to torture. The astronomer Takahashi died in prison. The event was dubbed "Siebold affair".

BANISHMENT AND RETURN TO EUROPE

On 22 October 1829, Siebold was placed under house arrest and banished from Japan. He left behind his wife Sonogi and his daughter Ine born on 6 May 1827 (Figure 1) in safe hands. In 1831 Sonogi married a shipbroker who took care of Ine as if she had been his own child. Ine (1827-1903) learned medicine and gynaecology from her father's former students and Dutch physicians on Dejima. In 1859, after 30 years of separation, she met her father Siebold in Nagasaki. Ine established a hospital for gynaecology in Tokyo in 1870 with the help of her half-brother Alexander von Siebold. For a while she was a physician at the Tenno court. Ine's daughter Takako had several children, so that many descendants of Siebold live in Japan today.

Back to Leyden, the Netherlands, Siebold was received a warm welcome by the Dutch government; he was granted a vacation and an advance payment of 12,000 guilders. From 1832 to 1851, he published a book entitled *Nippon* in 20 volumes, the richly illustrated *Flora and Fauna Japonica*, *Bibliotheca Japonica*, a map of Japan and other papers always in cooperation with various experts. His description of Japan was a milestone in modern ethnology. During those years, he became adviser of European governments, generally acknowledged and honoured. The Bavarian King Ludwig, Zar Nicholas the 1st and Kaiser Franz the 1st gave him audience. He was a member of more than 50 associations. On 10 July 1845, Siebold married Helene von Gagern (1820-1877) in Berlin. They had five children. From 1847 to 1852, Siebold restored the Renaissance building of St Martin's in Boppard /Rhine and lived there with his family. In June



Figure 1 Dr Siebold, his wife and daughter, and Dr Bürger watching a Dutch ship in Nagasaki in 1829

1848, the Prussian King Frederic Wilhelm the 4th visited him in Boppard. In 1853, Siebold joined the University of Bonn.

THE SECOND TRAVEL TO JAPAN FROM 1859 TO 62

In 1858, Siebold's banishment from Japan was cancelled by a contract between Holland and Japan. He visited Japan for the 2nd time with his son Alexander (1846-1911) who became a British diplomat in Edo. From 1870 until his death Alexander von Siebold worked for the Japanese ministry of foreign affairs. On 14 November 1863, a disappointed Franz von Siebold returned from Batavia and received his demission as a Dutch major-general (Figure 2). On 18 October 1866, Siebold suddenly died in Munich, while working at the museum of ethnology on a valuable collection of items from his 2nd journey to Japan. As time went by, he was forgotten in Europe. During the Meiji period (1868-1912), German replaced Dutch as the language of medicine, to be consequently replaced by English. In Japan, Siebold was honoured as a foreigner who was the first to understand the Japanese, their noble character and their beautiful country. In 1989, a Siebold museum was opened in Nagasaki.



Figure 2 Dr Philipp Franz von Siebold

Siebold was re-acknowledged in Germany as well. His hometown Würzburg erected a memorial for him as soon as in 1882 (Figure 3). On 3 July 1995, the Siebold Society of Würzburg, supported by Japan, opened the Siebold Museum (Figure 4), and an exhibition was set up in Boppard in April 1996. On the occasion of the 200th birthday of Philipp Franz von Siebold on 17 February 1996, the first German-Japanese postal stamp was jointly issued showing his portrait (Figure 5). The initiative for this joined action of the postal services of both countries came from the Siebold Society in Würzburg.



Figure 3 In 1901, on the occasion of Siebold's 105. birthday Japanese delegation visits the memorial. In the middle, left of the memorial Alexander von Siebold with his son, right Heinrich von Siebold



Figure 3a Siebold's memorial stone erected in Würzburg on 8 October 1882

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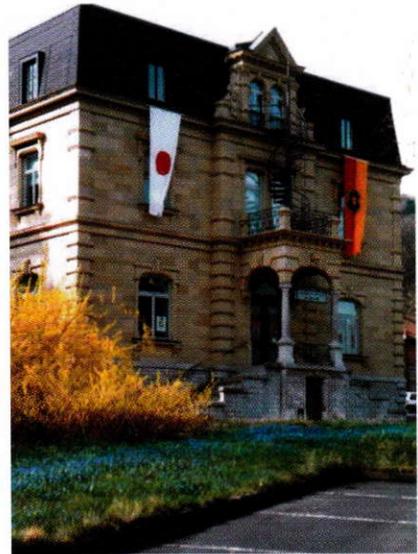


Figure 4 The Siebold Museum opened in Würzburg 1995 as a German-Japanese meeting place



Figure 5 The postal stamp jointly issued in Germany and Japan on the occasion of Siebold's 200th birthday on 17 February 1996 (postmarked on the day of issue!)