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NAGASAKI/DESHIMA AFTER THE PORTUGUESE IN DUTCH ACCOUNTS OF THE 17th CENTURY

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In an age when the Low Countries and Spain were engaged in a war that would last until 1648 and Philip II of Spain was the king of Portugal; when the Portuguese presence within the vast boundaries of the Japanese archipelago was already being questioned by Japanese authorities, the *Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie* (VOC), or Dutch East India Company, commenced their activities in Japan. This was in 1609, just nine years after the arrival of the *Liefde* with the English pilot William Adams in Bungo, an unplanned event that led to the entrance of the Dutch commander Abraham Van der Broeck at the court and, eventually, to the presence of Jacques Spexc at Hirado ('Firando') at the head of the new Dutch factory, a position he would hold until 1612 and again between 1614 and 1621. A few months after the establishment of the Dutch factory the incident with the Portuguese carrack *Nossa Senhora da Graça* under the command of the Captain-Major André Pessoa occurred.¹ This episode resulted not only in the loss of the ship and her precious cargo, particularly silk, but above all in the reinforcement of the Dutch presence in Japan, which would be further strengthened in 1616 when the Shogun Hidetada enacted a decree restricting overseas commerce to the seaports of Nagasaki and Hirado ('Firando').²

Even though the island of Hirado was the site of the first Dutch settlement, with the enforcement of the *sakoku-seisaku* or 'closed country' policy of the third Tokugawa Shogun, Iemitsu, and the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1639, the Dutch, from then on the only European presence in the archipelago, were forced to move to Nagasaki in 1641.³ This displacement

1 Cf. Charles Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650*, Manchester, Carcanet Press, 1993, pp. 272-285.

2 Diego Pacheco, S.J., "The Europeans in Japan, 1543-1640", in *Southern Barbarians. The First Europeans in Japan*. Edited by Michael Cooper, S.J., Tokyo-California, Kodansha International Ltd., Palo Alto, 1971. For the final years of the Portuguese presence in Japan, cf. Valdemar Coutinho, *O Fim da presença Portuguesa no Japão*, Lisbon, Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 1999.

3 Cf. Charles Boxer, *Jan Compagnie in Japan 1600-1817. An Essay on Cultural, Artistic and Scientific Influence Exercised by the Hollanders in Japan from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth centuries*, Tokyo-London-New York, Oxford University Press, 1968. (Col. Oxford in Asia Historical Reprints). Also by the same author *Papers on Portuguese, Dutch, and Jesuit Influences in 16th and 17th century Japan. Writings of Charles Ralph Boxer*. Compilation by Michael Moscato. S.J., University Publications of America, Inc., 1979.

allowed the Japanese authorities to control every move, exchange and transaction, as the Dutch were confined to the small island of Deshima, or “the island that juts out”, a manmade portion of earth in Nagasaki Bay that was connected by a bridge to the promontory where the Jesuit College once stood.⁴ Consequently this trading post became Japan’s gateway to the outside world and within its boundaries an image of Japan was forged and divulged in Europe until the nineteenth century.⁵

The several Dutch accounts which had by that time already reached the enthusiastic eyes and ears of a European public enjoyed from then on a period of wider popularity, namely the descriptions referring to the ‘journey to the court’ at Edo (Tokyo), implemented during Tokugawa Ieyasu’s shogunate which was intended to be a way for the Hollanders, through the VOC representatives, to pay their tribute.⁶

Accounts of these travels from Nagasaki to Edo became known to the European public after Englebert Kaempfer’s (1651-1716) *History of Japan* was published. However, in 1669, a Dutch missionary, Arnoldus Montanus (ca. 1625-1683), published a book entitled *Gedenkwaardige gesantschappen der Oost-Indische Maetschappij in't Vereenigde Nederland aen de kaisaren van Japan (Memorable Envoys to the Emperors of Japan)*, a volume that “contains more firsthand information about Japan than any other post-1650 publication”.⁷

This account of several VOC embassies to the Shogun’s court after 1640, accompanied by dozens of copper engravings, also includes some descriptions of landscapes and cities, events from Japanese history, the Jesuit mission in the territory and the persecution against Christians. This book, a result of several sources of information, some of them from previously published material (including Jesuit letters and accounts by many of

4 Deshima was already the area where the Portuguese were also required to stay from 1636 onwards, which is referred to in the text itself: “*Ce Magasin avoit appartenu autrefois aus Portugais qui le bastirent sur la mer, mais depuis qu’ils eurent tisté chasses du Japon, & que les Hollandois, ayant esté contraints de quitter Firando, se furent refugiez à Nanguesaque, les Japonnois leur permirent de s’en emparer (...)*”, in Montanus, *Ambassades Mémoires de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales des Provinces Unies vers les Empereurs du Japon...*, Part I, Amsterdam, Iacob de Meurs, 1680, p. 50.

5 Wolfgang Michel, “Travels of the Dutch East India Company in the Japanese Archipelago”, in Lutz Walter (ed.), *Japan – A Cartographic Vision*, Prestel-Verlag, Munich, New York, 1993, pp. 31-39.

6 This event, the only occasion for the Dutch to leave the confines of Deshima, was performed annually from 1633 to 1790. From then on, it took place every five years.

7 Donald Lach and Edwin J. van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol. III – «A Century of Advance», Book Four – «East Asia». Chicago-London, The University of Chicago Press, 1993, p. 1873.

the first Dutch observers such as Linschoten, Caron, Hagenauer, etc.), was soon translated into German (1669 and 1670) and French (1680), all of the editions having been printed by Jacob de Meurs in Amsterdam.⁸ Later, pirated French editions were published in Leiden (1686) and The Hague (1693), whereas an English version, entitled *Atlas Japonensis being remarkable addresses by way of embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces to the Emperor of Japan* – was available from 1670 onwards, with a translation by Johnny Ogilby.

The edition that served as the basis for this text – the French edition from 1680 – came to light under the title *Ambassades Mémorables de la Compagnie des Indes orientales des Provinces Unies vers les Empereurs du Japon*. The 1686 edition by Henry Drummond printed in Leiden was also consulted. This time no engravings were added, and the title chosen was *Ambassades de la Compagnie Hollandoise des Indes d’Orient vers l’empereur du Japon. Divisées en trois parties Avec une Relation des guerres civiles de ce Pais-là*. Although the texts are quite similar (apart from the information on Japan’s civil wars), there are some differences that, in some cases, are interesting and relevant.

Written in Deshima during Arnoldus Montanus’ stay, and based on the Company’s records and some of the Ambassadors’ testimonies, the data contained in the *Memorable Envoys to the Emperors of Japan* is a precious source of information for the study of the European presence in Japan and the relations established between these different cultures. Within a complex framework, it also allows us to perceive not only the dichotomy between East and West (Japanese *vis a vis* Europeans) during that particular span of time, but also that between Southern and Northern Europe, whose different motivations and religious contexts were accompanied by distinctive ways of approach and, subsequently, distinct answers, reactions and expectations on the part of the Japanese. Furthermore, albeit through very specific “lenses”, it also gives us some information about the echoes of the Portuguese presence and the impact of Western knowledge in Japan.

When one tries to understand the political and social context, as well as the motivations behind the production of texts such as this, it is, I believe, particularly relevant to have an idea of how Deshima was at that time.

8 It was a member of the de Meurs’ family – Joannes – who published in Antwerp in 1636, in both Latin and Dutch, a catalogue of Jesuit martyrs in Japan. For further information in this regard, as well as for the data concerning Montanus’ book, its description and various editions, cf. Donald Lach and Edwin J. van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol. III – «A Century of Advance», Book One – «Trade, Missions, Literature». Chicago-London, The University of Chicago Press, 1993, pp. 477-478 and 488-489.

According to Montanus' incorporated description⁹ and corresponding engraving, this fan shaped trading post was separated from Nagasaki by a drawbridge that enabled communication with the mainland. A second door connected Deshima with the bay, and was the main point of entrance and exit of goods. The whole island was surrounded by a palisade ("pallissade") and the Principal, i.e. the resident Dutch factor at Deshima, lived within its barricades. The Great Store ("Magasin") of the factory was located near the door by the drawbridge and was the site where all the merchandise was sold. In the whole area there were no more than four streets with stores all over and a flower garden.

The seasonal market of Deshima took place every year during the month of October and was a very important event, since it represented an occasion to alleviate what was a permanent confinement. On Monday all products and goods were exhibited and every store on the island opened its doors. These stores were located along a walkway, in the middle of which was a long bench of the same length that separated over three hundred rooms where the merchandise was kept and above which the officials' houses were situated. This square walkway was constructed on fir-tree colonnades twelve feet long, which were accessed by means of a spiral staircase. The pavement was covered with rich carpets and the seats had silk cushions with the Company's arms. As night approached, every room was sealed with the Emperor's seal in the presence of one of Nagasaki's *burgomasters*, who would take his meal with the Dutch factor every day during the event. Three hundred Japanese were paid by the Company in order to maintain everything in order and to help to serve the meals.

It was over the long bench that the merchandise was exhibited. But what kinds of wares were displayed? In argent bowls one could see and smell pepper, clove, nutmeg, cinnamon and all sort of spices. On the other side of the bench, one could buy hart skins ('peaux de cerf'), musk, mirrors, mercury, yellow amber, or hats.

Tuesday was the day prices were discussed and fixed, and on Wednesday goods were delivered at the Factory's main door, i.e. the one that gave access to the sea, where ships were loaded and unloaded. This traffic went on during the entire month, except on Sundays, which the Dutch observed religiously. During the event, a large number of Japanese would

For information published about Japan and the Japanese in 16th century Europe, see João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, "O Japão e os Japoneses nas obras impressas na Europa Quinhentista", *O Japão e o Cristianismo no Século XVI. Ensaios de História Luso-Nipónica*. Lisbon, Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 1999, pp. 189-290.

9 Montanus, *op. cit.*, Part I, Amsterdam, Iacob de Meurs, 1680, p. 50.

come to Deshima to set up their booths, and to sell copper, silverware, camphor, porcelain, robes, tobacco, caskets and cabinets “d’un beau vernis”, i.e. lacquered cabinets. Silver and copper were weighed in scales made for exactly such a purpose, being closed afterwards in chests bearing the Emperor’s seal. The Company usually made about six hundred chests full of silver and two thousand of copper, sometimes more, sometimes less, which, according to the text, was equivalent to 1000 Portuguese coins in Dutch money.

Apart from the direct references to the market, we can also find mention of the objects that reached Deshima through Dutch hands, but which were not necessarily for sale. These can be identified upon reading some of the facts reported in Montanus’ book, namely those about the annual voyages to Edo. In this context, one of the most interesting accounts begins not with one of these famous embassies, but rather, with one of the many exploratory voyages that were undertaken by the Dutch from Batavia.

After numerous vicissitudes, some of which we shall refer to later on, Jan van Elserak¹⁰ and the Governor in Batavia decided to send a special embassy to the Emperor (the Shogun) as a means of demonstrating not only respect, but above all to express their gratitude. The offerings to be given by the ambassador consisted, amongst other items, of two cast iron cannons; an enormous mirror whose ebony frame was decorated with small silver mirrors, and a big eye-glass or telescope (‘grande lunette’ de longue vûe) packed in a suitable case made almost entirely of gold.¹¹

Petrus Blokovius (or Blokhovius) was appointed as the head of the Embassy. He and Andreas Frisius left Batavia on the 28th June 1644.¹² However, Blokovius died and Broeckhorst, who was then substituting the Company’s Director in Nagasaki, took his place. Broeckhorst and Frisius left Nagasaki for Edo along with twenty Dutchmen, thirty-four Japanese and three interpreters.

The list of recommendations was vast and extremely detailed, clearly demonstrating Dutch efforts not to overlook any possible person and unexpected situation. In this context, one of the most noteworthy instructions refers to the gifts. It states that should any important or qualified person ask for loadstone, some medicines, eye-glasses or telescopes of any kind (‘des

10 Elserak (also written Elseracq) was Deshima’s *opperhoofd* in 1641/42 and 1643/44.

11 In Drummond’s version (1686), the term that appears is ‘lunette d’approche’ (in Portuguese, ‘óculo de ver ao longe’, or ‘óculo de alcance’).

12 For the Blokovius/Broeckhorst and Frisius embassy cf. Montanus, *op. cit.*, Amsterdam, Jacob de Meurs, 1680. See particularly Part I, p. 51 and Part II, pp. 70-74. In Drummond’s edition see Volume I, pp. 233-455.

lunettes de longue & de courte vûe'), red wine, cheese, Dutch butter, Brazilian wood, Italian fragrance, 'canons de fusil ou de Mousquet', microscopes or any other precious item that the ambassador might have, he should give them.

It seems that these were amongst the most sought after commodities brought by the Europeans. However, other records give us more interesting data on this topic, as is the case of one of the most famous "voyages to the court": the one of the *opperhoofd* Zacarias Wagener (or Wagenaar) in 1656/57.¹³

Zacarias Wagener (1614-1668), the director of Deshima in 1656/57 and 1658/59, was a mapmaker who worked in the publishing house of Willem Jansz Blaeu in Amsterdam, having travelled to Brazil to work for the Dutch West India Company. After his transfer to the Dutch East India Company in Batavia in 1642, he became a map-copyist.¹⁴

For his mission, Wagener was also given detailed instructions, particularly about the gifts that had been requested on previous occasions by some important individuals at the court in Edo, which consisted mainly of mirrors and telescopes ('lunettes'). For the Shogun he would carry, among other items, velvet, silk, a mirror, fire guns and a rare bird. Wagener would also have with him a surgeon ('cirurgien') so that the Japanese could learn how to use medicines. Due to bureaucratic delays, the embassy left Nagasaki only in the first half of January 1657, arriving in Edo at the beginning of February. According to the text, the Shogun was particularly pleased with the pistols and a sword.

After this embassy, the Governor of Nagasaki received a letter from Edo stating that the Shogun wanted two globes, a celestial and a terrestrial one, as the others he had were destroyed during the fire of the great earthquake of that year. He also demanded a fire syringe, and forbade anyone to see the object. However, we are informed that the Governor showed it to the most important persons at Nagasaki.

Before leaving for Batavia, Wagener was further asked to bring some animals and birds, including parrots, two white harts and two monkeys. The commissioner of this order was one of the richest individuals in Japan who, we learn from the text, already had an ostrich.

Wagener's second embassy took place in 1659. Unlike all the previous embassies, for this one a decision was made that once in Edo he would ask

13 For Wagener's embassies, cf. Montanus, *op. cit.*, Amsterdam, Iacob de Meurs, 1680, Part II, pp. 74-103, and in Drummond's edition, Volume II, pp. 2-101.

14 Wolfgang Michel, *op. cit.*

which gifts the Shogun and other members of the court wanted. The list is quite remarkable: amber and coral necklaces, six musket cannons ('canons de mousquet') and telescopes ('lunettes d'aproche'), as the ones presented by Wagener during the previous embassy were not quite sharp enough ('n'estoient pas assez claires'). There is also mention of a book that was offered to the Shogun, with which he was by no means pleased because the engravings were considered of too small a size and badly done, and other pictures were requested, but this time bigger and of better quality.

These demands weren't well received by the Dutch, and the author of the text clearly gives voice to what might have been the general impression amongst those who lived in Deshima. In a very interesting passage, we can perceive how difficult it was to exchange ideas on these subjects. For the Dutch, the reasons pointed out by the Japanese could only reveal that they weren't capable of using these objects and instruments because of their ignorance of these matters.

However difficult it might have been, the entry of foreign products and artefacts in Japan, in addition to any political and economical motivations on both parts, was equally followed by the exchange of information, knowledge and ideas. These texts seem to reveal precisely both sides of this issue, whose impact extended far beyond the chronological barriers of the history of the Portuguese presence in Japan, to which it is closely linked.

This presence wasn't, by that time, a desirable one and the Dutch were the object of great suspicion, especially during the period that immediately followed their establishment in Deshima. Once again Montanus' description of the *Breskens* episode is very elucidative of this fact.

In 1642, a decision was made to attempt a voyage to Tartary in order to confirm whether Northern Japan was linked with the mainland. In early 1643, two ships departed from Batavia, the yacht *Breskens*, under the command of Hendrick Cornelisz Schaep, being one of them.¹⁵ In July, on the return trip, and after a violent storm, the *Breskens* reached the vicinity of Yamada in Nanbu. The skipper Schaep and nine members of his crew, including Wilhelm Bylvelt, were made prisoners and taken to Edo. It was not long after the expulsion of the Portuguese from the territory, and in fact the circumstances seemed quite suspicious. The clandestine entry of missionaries into the country being a prime concern of the Japanese authorities, during the forced Dutch voyage to Edo they were shown wooden crosses in an attempt by the Japanese to figure out what religion they

15 For the Schaep and Bylvelt embassy, cf. Montanus, *op. cit.*, Amsterdam, Iacob de Meurs, 1680, Part II, pp. 8-70 and in Drummond's 1686 edition, Volume I, pp. 65-232.

professed. According to Montanus, the Japanese knew of and were accustomed to seeing Christians show their respect before the cross, which made them believe that the same could happen with this group of Europeans. To avoid further misunderstandings and, above all, more questions, the Dutch decided to say that they didn't know any other language besides their own, although some of them could speak a little Portuguese.

That was not, however, the only attempt at testing them visually. A similar episode took place on the 1st August, when they were received by the lord of Hitachi. After a meal, all of them were taken to the daimyo, who asked if they were Christians. After that, the daimyo made the sign of the cross with his fingers and requested them to do exactly the same, and to kiss and worship it. The Dutch replied that they were not in the habit of doing so and that they came from The Netherlands, a nation that didn't cultivate this kind of superstitions. Besides this, the text further states, they mentioned that they were responsible for an important and considerable trade in Nagasaki, and each year they would offer the Shogun some gifts. Some moments went by and they were offered some wine. While they were drinking, an old Japanese man appeared from one of the corners of the room and, approaching Schaep and speaking in a whisper, he asked in Portuguese, a language clearly familiar to him, according to the text, if they were Portuguese, Spanish, English, Danish or Swiss. Afterwards, this individual made the sign of the cross several times and insisted that the Dutch adore it. This time the Dutch replied that the Papists, a religious sect, were the ones who had introduced this superstitious practice among Christians. Seeing that he could not persuade them to venerate the sign of the cross, the daimyo beseeched them to adore a painting depicting the Virgin and Infant Jesus. Understanding the kind of response the Japanese were expecting, the Dutch argued that this image was no more than a mixture of colours of no significance and that reasonable people would never worship it. This reply satisfied the daimyo who, with a smile, turned his head and ordered the picture to be taken away.¹⁶

This is a very valuable episode, as it reveals that not only had the Japanese understood the importance of images in Roman-Catholic religious practices and beliefs, but also that *kirishitan* art, i.e. Western religious painting, whether directly imported from Europe or made in Japan by native artists who copied first and second hand models, aroused the interest of others apart from the Japanese who had converted to Christianity. In this case, it was not only their intrinsic meaning that mattered, but also the fact

16 Montanus, *op. cit.*, Part II, Amsterdam, Jacob de Meurs, 1680, pp. 13-14.

that it was “exotic” or, to be more exact, “foreign”. Interesting too is the Dutch way of dealing with the problem, that apart from the circumstances, clearly reveals one of the most significant divergences between Protestant and Catholic Europe.

The voyage proceeded, and once in Edo, the embassy was lodged in the Nagasaki-ya, an inn that was formerly used as accommodation for the Portuguese. Later on, two members of the Court, one of them being the former Governor of Nagasaki, summoned Schaep, Bilvelt and Jacob Paeuw. They were asked several questions and shown a chart with a representation of the Portuguese Indies, so that they could indicate the route they had followed. In fact, enquires were frequent and translators from Nagasaki were ordered to come to Edo in order to help in these cross-examinations. A very peculiar episode took place in September: Cristovão Ferreira (1580-ca.1654),¹⁷ a former missionary and Jesuit Vice-Provincial who later apostatised and was given the name Sawano Chûan, and who was, at that time, in the employ of the imperial inspector Inoue Masashige, made use of cartographic devices while questioning Schaep and the merchant Wilhelm Bylvelt.¹⁸ The Japanese authorities considered this to be an efficient way of judging whether the voyage to Tartary was true or just an invention. Once again we notice the use of foreign devices – as these maps were probably European and not Japanese – as instruments to evaluate the Westerners’ intentions and values.

Nagasaki, and later Deshima, were, from the very beginning, symbols of the foreign world, and engendered unique characteristics and habits in their inhabitants and the course of everyday life. However, far from being a mere receptacle of European artefacts, Nagasaki became, in fact, a genuine cultural centre within Japan, something that was very clearly understood by the country’s political elite. The site of a distinctive cultural centre in Japanese territory, a synonym of everything that was foreign and unfamiliar at a time when the Dutch were the main Western presence in Japan, it still echoed the initial contacts and the curiosity that served as a true vehicle of approach, a curiosity which still continued to play a major role in the process.

17 For more information about Cristovão Ferreira, see Charles Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650*, Manchester, Carcanet Press, 1993.

18 Montanus, *op. cit.*, Part II, Amsterdam, Jacob de Meurs, 1680, and Drummond’s edition, Tome I.

Abstract

At around the same time that the VOC managed to gain a foothold in Japan in 1609, and particularly after 1640, when the Dutch installed themselves on the artificial island of Deshima in Nagasaki Bay, several texts about the Japanese archipelago appeared in Europe, Arnoldus Montanus' book being one of the most interesting examples of this vast literary universe.

The *Memorable Envoys to the Emperors of Japan*, an account of various VOC embassies to the court in Edo, is a compilation of several sources of information that allows us to analyse and comment upon an image of Japan that was divulged in Europe up until the 19th century through the Dutch presence in Deshima. This trading post on "the island that juts out" became Japan's only gateway to the outside world and was the port from which many famous voyages set sail, namely those by Petrus Blokovius and Andreas Frisius, the *Opperhoofd* Zacarias Wagener and the voyage of Hendrick Cornelisz Schaep and Wilhelm Bylvelt.

The descriptions and facts mentioned in Montanus' work provide us with invaluable data about the relations between the Europeans and the Japanese in the period just after the expulsion of the Portuguese and the religious orders from the territory, especially with regard to three main cultural vertices that were of primordial importance from the very beginning: religion, commerce and knowledge.

Resumo

Em simultâneo com o estabelecimento da VOC no Japão em 1609 e, muito particularmente, à fixação dos Holandeses na ilha artificial de Deshima na baía de Nagasáki após 1640, surgiram na Europa inúmeros relatos escritos sobre o arquipélago, sendo o livro de Arnoldus Montanus um dos mais interessantes deste amplo universo literário.

Tratando-se de uma compilação realizada a partir de diversas fontes de informação, as *Viagens Memoráveis aos Imperadores do Japão* (*Gedenkwaardige gesantschappen der Oost-Indische Maetschappij in't Vereenigde Nederland aen de kaisaren van Japan*), permitem-nos analisar e comentar uma imagem do Japão que foi divulgada na Europa até ao século XIX através da permanência Holandesa em Deshima, a única porta aberta para o mundo exterior e o ponto de partida de muitas viagens famosas, designadamente as de Petrus Blokovius e Andreas Frisius, do *opperhoofd* Zacarias Wagener e a de Hendrick Cornelisz Schaep e Wilhelm Bylvelt.

As descrições e factos referidos por Montanus fornecem-nos informação inestimável sobre as relações estabelecidas entre Europeus e Japoneses no período que se seguiu à expulsão dos Portugueses e das ordens religiosas do território, especialmente no que respeita aos três grandes vectores culturais: religião, comércio e saber.

要約

1609年のVOC商館の建設以来、特に商館が長崎湾に浮かぶ出島という小さい島に移転した後、日本に関するいくつかの書物がヨーロッパに出版された。その中でアルノルドウス・モンターヌスの本は特に興味深い。いくつかの情報源から編成されており、VOC代表の江戸参府の記述である「オランダ東インド会社日本帝国遣使紀行」は十九世紀のヨーロッパに広がった日本像の一つを捉える機会を与える。出島の商館は、外に開かれた唯一の窓となり、ペトルス・ブロコヴィウスとアンデレアス・フリスス、商館長のザハリアス・ワーヘナール、そしてコルネリス・スハーブとウイヘルム・バイルフェルトなどの有名な旅の出発点になった。

修道会とポルトガル人追放後の日本人とヨーロッパ人との間に築かれた関係、特に当初から重大であった三面、即ち宗教、貿易、及び知識に関しては、モンターヌスが書いた記述と事実が貴重な情報を提供する。