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A NATURALIST LOST – C. P. THUNBERG'S DISCIPLE JOHAN ARNOLD STÜTZER (1763–1821) IN THE EAST INDIES

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Johan Arnold Stützer was one of two disciples of the renowned Swedish scholar Carl Peter Thunberg who traveled overseas as an employee of the Dutch East India Company to lay the foundations of an academic career. Following in the footsteps of his famous teacher, he even managed to work as a surgeon at the Dutch trading post of Dejima in Nagasaki. However, after years of rapidly changing circumstances and twists and turns, this promising young naturalist settled down to serve the British in Ceylon without ever returning to Europe. While most of the objects collected by Westerners in Japan ended up in Central European collections, Stützer eventually donated his treasures to the Russian empress Catherine II (1729–1796).

The first outline of Stützer's life was published almost two centuries ago in Sacklén's "Swedish History of Medicine" (SACKLÉN 1824: 564f). A recent and more detailed description based on his letters to Thunberg has been given by Mason C. Hoadley and Ingvar Svanberg, who focus on his travels through Java (HOADLEY and SVANBERG 1991). The present study sheds new light on Stützer's stay in Japan, which has not been explored in previous research, and presents further findings elucidating his biography and his Japanese collection.

Childhood

Johan Arnold Stützer was born in Stockholm on 23 February 1763 as the first child of a Ger-

man barber surgeon, Martin Christian Wilhelm Stützer (1727–1806). Martin Stützer had immigrated from Oranienburg (Prussia) to Stockholm during the 1750s. After traveling to the West Indies in 1757 and undertaking further studies including an examination to become a surgeon in 1760, he married Anna Maria Soem (?–1766), whose father, Christian Soem (1694–1775), was also a barber surgeon.¹

Surgeons were educated and organized in guilds and, like his father-in-law, Martin Stützer took part in the fight for recognition and reputation. Growing up in a studious environment, Johan Arnold attended school in Stockholm while receiving further lessons in languages and sciences at home and, from 1776, even surgical instruction from his ambitious father (SACKLÉN 1824: 564f.).

Thunberg's Influence

In October 1779, he enrolled at Uppsala University (CARLSSON 1925: 228), where he met Carl Peter Thunberg (1743–1828), a gifted disciple of the then recently deceased Carl von Linné (1707–1778). Thunberg had just returned from a nine-year journey, bringing with him an impressive collection of natural specimens from South Africa, Southeast Asia,

¹ For more on "Chir. Mag. Martin Christian Wilhelm Stützer", see SACKLÉN 1822: 889f. and HJELT 1891: I, 269, 403–405.

Fig. 1: Address on a letter from J. A. Stützer to the “very famous professor of botany Charles Pierre Thunberg” (1784) (Uppsala University Library).

and Japan.² At the time, he was teaching as a botanical demonstrator (*botanices demonstrator*), but he would soon ascend to the chair of his revered teacher Linné. Details of Stützer’s studies are not known. Given the numerous letters the two men exchanged during the following decades, there is no doubt that Thunberg had a lasting influence on his disciple. After a few years in Uppsala and Stockholm, Stützer received a grant to undertake surgical studies and decided to embark on the inevitable academic peregrination.

Berlin

Stützer’s first stop on his journey was Berlin (HOADLEY and SVANBERG 1991: 95), where he won the support of Johann Theodor Pyl (1749–1794), a renowned specialist in forensic medicine and chief public health physician (ADB 26: 783ff). Stützer kept in contact with Thunberg who, obviously having heard about a collection of Japanese watercolors of plants and birds, asked for more information and the Japanese names.³ The collection was

a set of watercolors that had been sent to Christian Mentzel (1622–1702) about a century earlier by the German physician and merchant Andreas Cleyer (1634–1698), who had twice served as chief of the Dutch trading post Dejima in Japan during the 1680s (KRAFT 1975: 158–196). In 1695, Mentzel, a physician, botanist and Sinolo-

gist, added a dedication to the Elector and had the watercolors bound together with a frontispiece, copper portraits of Friedrich III and Carolina Sophia and other materials to form an impressive *Flora Japonica* (sic)⁴. Stützer promised Thunberg that he would copy the Japanese names and other relevant information.⁵ In February 1783, he also made a short journey to visit professor Joseph von Quarin (1733–1814) in Vienna, one of Maria Theresa’s physicians and, from 1784, director of the General Hospital (NDB 21: 38ff.).

In 1781, Thunberg had begun to publish *Nova Genera Plantarum*, a series of dissertations defended by his disciples but basically written by himself. The first of these dissertations was by Claes Frederik Hornstedt, who went to Batavia shortly afterward (discussed further below).⁶ In the same year, Thunberg also started a series titled *Novae Insectorum Species* with an entomological dissertation defended by Samuel Nicolas Casström.⁷ Stützer

² For a comprehensive description of Thunberg’s life, see MOHNIKE 1831: 3–56. Mohnike’s son Otto Gottlieb Johann Mohnike (1814–1887) later served as one of Thunberg’s successors at Dejima for five years.

³ Letters from Stützer to Thunberg (December 3, 1782; June 15, 1783); HOADLEY and SVANBERG 1991: 95.

⁴ Currently held at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin as Libri Picturati 41–42. Published as part of the Exhibition Catalogue DIJ 1990/91, nos. 74-1 – 74-27.

⁵ Letter from Stützer to Thunberg (October 14, 1783); HOADLEY and SVANBERG 1991: 95.

⁶ *Nova Genera Plantarum*, quorum partem primam [...] exhibent Praeses Carol. P. Thunberg [...] et Respondens Claudius Fr. Hornstedt [...] in Audit. Gust. D. XXIV. Nov. Anno MDC-CLXXXI. Upsalia: Joh. Edman, 1781.

⁷ *Dissertatio sistens novas insectorum species*, sis-

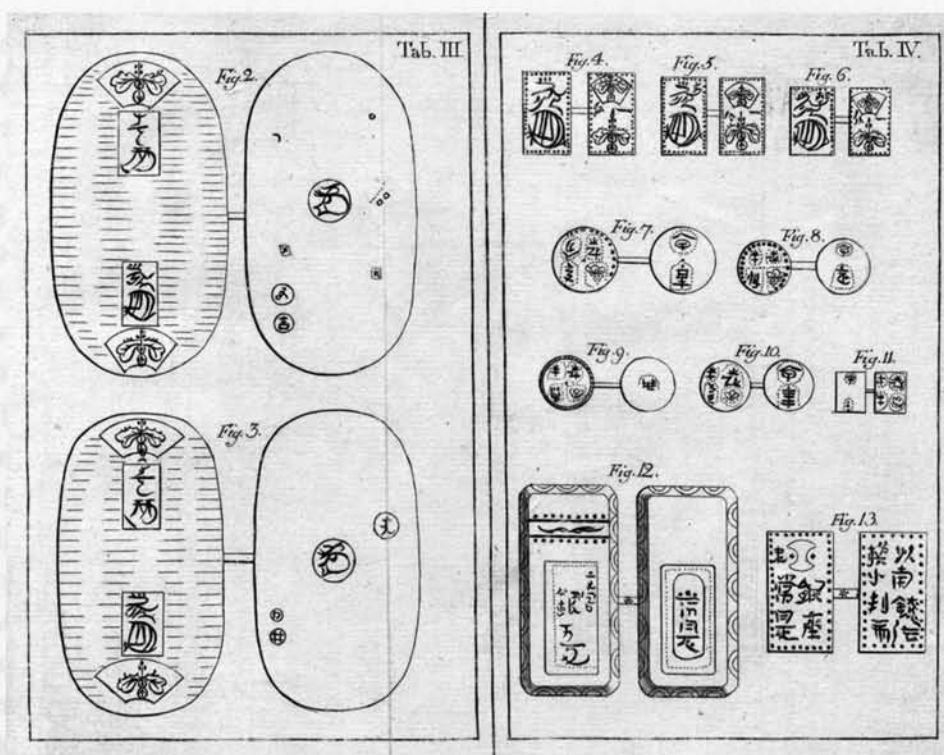


Fig. 2: Gold and silver Japanese coins from C.P. Thunberg's *Abhandlung von den Münzsorten* (1784) (Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden).

asked for a copy and showed much interest in a paper about Japanese coins that Thunberg had presented to the Swedish Academy of Sciences in 1779.⁸ Stützer's mentor Pyl published the German translation of this text in 1784:

H[er]rn Carl Peter Thunberg der Arznei-
wissenschaft Doktor und Professor zu Upsala,
Mitglied der Römisch-Kaiserl. Akademie
der Naturforscher, der Königl. Schwedi-
schen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu
Stock-Holm, und der gelehrten Sozietäten

zu Drontheim, Lund, u.s.w. *Abhandlung
von den Münzsorten*, welche in ältern
und neuern Zeiten im Kaiserthum Japan
geschlagen worden und gangbar gewesen
sind. Mit acht Kupfern. Aus dem Schwedi-
schen übersetzt. Stendal, bei Franzen und
Grosse. ([PYL:] (1784)

Stützer, who appears in this booklet only as “der Übersetzer” (the translator), first gives an outline of Thunberg's activities after his return to Sweden. Thunberg's book about his travels in Africa and Asia had yet to be printed, which is why Thunberg presents a long description of Japan and the Japanese before turning to the coins he had smuggled out of the country in the autumn of 1776. There is no doubt that Stützer had accumulated a considerable amount of knowledge about Japan before leaving Europe.

tens, cujus Partem Primam [...] exhibent Praeses
Carol. P. Thunberg [...] et Respondens Samuel
Col. Casström [...] in Audit. Gust. Maj. D. XV
Dec. Anno MDCCLXXI. Upsalia: Joh. Edman,
1781.

⁸ Inträdes-Tal, om de mynt-sorter, som i äldre och
sednare tider blifvit slagne och varit gångbare uti
kejsardömet Japan; hållet för Kongl. Vetenskaps-
Academien, den 25 Aug. 1779. Stockholm: Johan
Georg Lange, 1779.

Amsterdam

Against his father's wishes, Stützer decided to follow Thunberg's example and travel to the East Indies. He arrived in Amsterdam in the summer of 1784, but everyone Thunberg had recommended had either died or left the city.⁹ While seeking employment in the Dutch East India Company, Stützer undertook some medical studies. A letter dated October 24, 1784 shows that he, with the support of Professor Burman, had finally managed to secure a contract as a senior surgeon (*oppermeester*) with a salary of 36 guilders per month¹⁰. He intended to take an exam in November,¹¹ but it is not clear whether this was an academic examination or the one requested by the East India Company as a precondition of employment.

"Professor Burman" was Nicolaas Laurens Burman (1734–1793), who had succeeded his eminent father Johannes Burman (1707–1780) in the chair of botany at the University of Amsterdam (BURMAN-BECKER 1866). In 1735, Johannes Burman had accommodated and employed the young Carl Linnæus during his stay in Amsterdam, and his son Nicolaas Laurens later studied under Linné in Uppsala. In 1771, Johannes Burman secured financial support and letters of recommendation for Thunberg and asked him especially to provide plant specimens from Japan. Thunberg was on good terms with both father and son and called them "my patrons the Professors Burmans" (THUNBERG 1795/96: Vol. I, 64, 16ff.).

⁹ Letters from Martin Christian Wilhelm Stützer to Thunberg (August 8, 1784, August 9, 1784, August 28, 1924); HOADLEY and SVANBERG 1991: 96.

¹⁰ Letter from Stützer to Thunberg, October 24, 1784. HOADLEY and SVANBERG 1991: 95. Burmann's support is also mentioned by the Swedish physician and naturalist Clas Fredrik Hornstedt; GRANROTH 2008: 279.

¹¹ Letter from Stützer to Thunberg (August 24, 1784); HOADLEY and SVANBERG 1991: 95.

In the spring of 1785, Swedish physician and naturalist Clas Fredrik Hornstedt (1758–1809) arrived in Amsterdam. In a letter dated May 24, he mentions "Stytzer" as one of several visitors, among them Burmann with wife and daughters, the anatomist Andreas Bonn (1738–1817), the chemist Dirk van Rhijn (1745–1854), and the merchant Johannes Fåhreus (1745–1821).¹² After his successful defense of a dissertation presided over by Thunberg in 1781, Hornstedt had sailed to Batavia. With the support of Governor General Willem Arnold Alting and the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (*Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*), he collected plants, animals, minerals, and ethnological objects. Hornstedt did not manage to travel to Japan, but he obtained some material on topics such as Japanese medicine from the eminent Isaac Titsingh (1745–1812), who had returned from his second term in Nagasaki shortly after Hornstedt's arrival in Batavia (MICHEL 2008). Unfortunately, serious illness forced him to return to Europe after only 18 months in Java.¹³ The two men shared common interests, and Hornstedt probably showed Stützer some of his treasures.

On June 13, 1785, Stützer's ship *d'Ijstroom* left Texel for the Cape, where they arrived on October 29 and stayed for about three weeks.

¹² GRANROTH 2008: 279 (Trettionde Brefwet, Amsterdam den 24 Mai 1785): "Dagen efter sedan jag öpnat mina Samlingar, feck jag visit af den Lärde Professor Burmannus, af Dess Fru ock twänne Döttra, af Professorerne Bonn och van Ryn, af Herrar Landsmän Fåhreus, Sahlsten, Petterson och Stytzer, hvilken sednare nu skulle innankort anträda sin Resa till OstIndien, dit han på Herr Professorns starka recommendation, skulle gå som OpperMeester."

¹³ For a comprehensive discussion of Hornstedt's life, collections and achievements, see GRANROTH 2008.

On February 21, 1786, they dropped anchor on the roadstead of Batavia.¹⁴

Java

In sharp contrast to his compatriot Hornstedt, Stützer had considerable difficulty in finding a position in which he could pursue his studies in the natural sciences. His recommendations introduced him as a mere surgeon. Nevertheless, he eventually gained the help of Adriaan Moens (1728–1792), the former governor of Malabar and since 1784 “*directeur-generaal van Nederlandsch Indië*”.¹⁵ In March 1786, Stützer moved into rooms of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. Johannes Hooyman¹⁶, a minister (predikant) in the Lutheran Church of Batavia and frequent contributor to the Transactions (*Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*) helped Stützer to become a member of a commission, which conducted inspections in the area of Cirebon on the north coast of Java. They left Batavia on June 21, 1786 on the ship *De Schelde*. Stützer started a travel diary (*Journal von die Reise nach Cheribon and den da umliegende Gegenden*) that ends in the midst of his third trip to the Priangan region.¹⁷ It is not clear why he wrote this manuscript in

German, but one possibility is that he intended to send it to Berlin. Its contents have been described and analyzed by Hoadley and Svanberg, who point out that Stützer devoted little space to natural historical observations despite being continually engaged in collecting natural specimens for preservation and eventual shipment to Thunberg in Uppsala (HOADLEY and SVANBERG 1991: 130). However, this might have something to do with his intentions concerning the future use of this manuscript.

Nagasaki

On June 21, 1787, Stützer wrote his last entry of the above diary. Five days later, he departed for Japan on board the *Zeeland* together with the new trading post chief (*opperhoofd*). The passage to Japan was comparatively quiet and on August 7 their ship dropped anchor in the bay of Nagasaki.¹⁸ Stützer's term as senior surgeon (*opper-chirurgijn*) did not begin until December 1, when the outgoing trading post chief Hendrik Casper Romberg (1741–1793) left for Batavia. Stützer and junior surgeon Johan August Loth (ca. 1760–1805) were responsible for the care of only a dozen Europeans. Like all surgeons at the Dutch trading post Dejima, he was occasionally asked to give instructions to Japanese physicians or tend to high-ranking Japanese who were able to secure his assistance through the Japanese governor of Nagasaki. In a trading organization such as the Dutch East India Company, surgeons were not considered to be of any particular importance. Only on rare occasions did trading post chiefs mention their chirurgijn or meester in the official diary. Baron Johan Frederik van Reede tot de Parkeler (1757–1802), was no exception in this regard. In a letter to Thunberg from December 1790, Stützer reports that he had twice saved his superior from

¹⁴ BRUIJN, GAASTRA and SCHÖFFER 1979: 714ff. A letter to Thunberg (May 4, 1786) gives some details of this journey; HOADLEY and SVANBERG 1991: 103.

¹⁵ HOADLEY and SVANBERG 1991: 104. The Dutch National Archive has a collection of materials (access no. 1.10.100) on this influential man, including a short biography written by his son, Pieter Jozias; see M.C. van Leeuwen-Canneman: *Archief van de familie Moens 1586–1891*. Den Haag: Nationaal Archief, 1986.

¹⁶ BWPGN (1931).

¹⁷ Held by the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Royal Institute of Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology) in The Hague as Ms 277.

¹⁸ NA, NFJ 198, August 7, 1787.

a deadly illness (HOADLEY and SVANBERG 1991: 132), but not a word about such matters was entered in van Reede's dagregister.

Carl Peter Thunberg's academic career was accelerated by his botanical studies in Japan. To follow the path of his eminent teacher, Stützer needed the permission of the local authorities. As the Dutch East India Company always had a strong interest in useful plants, van Reede made a formal request addressed to the Nagasaki governor Sueyoshi Zenzaemon Toshitaka. Senior surgeon Stützer, he explained, is a "lover of herbal studies" and would like to conduct occasional plant searches in the areas surrounding Nagasaki.¹⁹ In principle, Japanese authorities tried to block any foreign research on their country, but as Western know-how could lead to the discovery of useful plants, botanical research had been permitted without much hesitation since the late 1660s (MICHEL 2009: 19–34). In Stützer's case too, the response was quick and positive.²⁰ Regrettably, van

Reede made no further mention of Stützer's investigations in his diary.

Journey to the Shōgun's Court

From 1633, the trading post chiefs had been required to travel to Edo once a year in order to convey the gratitude of the Company for being permitted to conduct trade in Japan. After a century and a half this "court journey" (*hoofreis*) had become a more or less bothersome routine and the descriptions in the official diaries were kept short. Usually the visit involved only three Europeans — the trading post chief, a secretary and the surgeon — surrounded by a great number of Japanese officials and servants. All travel expenses had to be paid by the Dutch.

Baron van Reede, his secretary Coenraad Jonaas and Stützer departed from Dejima on February 21, 1788. They crossed northern Kyūshū on the famous Nagasaki highway (*Nagasaki kaidō*) and then embarked in Shimonoseki on a medium-sized Japanese ship. For about two weeks nothing noteworthy happened, but when they arrived in Osaka, word spread about a disastrous fire that had broken out on March 7 in nearby Miyako (Kyoto). Even the Tennō was forced to flee the city and take refuge in a temple on Mount Hiei (Hieizan). According to van Reede's diary, the owner of the inn, where the embassy used to spend a few days every year, came to Osaka on March 13. Using a map of Kyoto, he explained in detail how the blaze had quickly jumped the river and, due to changing winds, destroyed most parts of the city including his own buildings. As the inn in Kyoto was completely burned down, the party had to spend the night in Fushimi. Such changes were only possible after numerous formalities.

Although Stützer's diary from his year in Japan seems to be lost, a French extract concerning the events in Kyoto is kept in St. Petersburg: *Extrait de mon Diaire tenu sur le*

¹⁹ "Den 31 de Oppermeester Stutzer mij versogt hebbende, om dat moogelijk nu an dan zond hem Nangazacky hy eenige kruiden en planten te moogen gaan versammelen. Liet ik daa de Tolken het volgende Schrift aan de Gouverneur presentieren. / Wel Edele Achtbaare Heer / Zoejejosie Jsno no Cami Sama [= Izu-no-kami] / Gouverneur van Nangazacky / Het ondergeteekende Opperhoofd neemt de vrijheid Uw / welew. agel vriendelijk versoecken aan de oppermeester / van dit Comptoir J: A: Stutzer, die een liefhebber van / de kruijkunde is, permissie te weilen verleen, om / nu en dan ronds om de Stat Nangazacky eenige planten en / kruiden te gaan opzoeken. waar meede zult verpfligten / Wel Edele Achtbaare Heer / Uw weled: achtb: d:w: dienaar J: F: van Reede tot de Parkeler". NA, NFJ 199, 31 December 1787.

²⁰ "Kwam mij de Onderrapporteur Enosin [= Enoshin] kenniss geven, dat de Gouverneur mijn op den 31e der voorleeden maan gedraan versock omtrent den oppermeester Stutzer, had toegestaan". NA, NFJ 199, 8 January 1788.

voyage pour la Cour, en allant pour Jedo, regardant la grande incendie de Miaco. Stützer gives as his source of information “men of quality who told us about it during our stay in the outskirts of Miyako” (“des gens de qualité qui nous racontaient cela pendant notre séjour au fauxbourg de Miaco”). The fire that Stützer and van Reede wrote about was one of the great disasters of the Edo period.

On April 3, van Reede and his entourage arrived in Edo and took lodgings at the Nagasaki Inn (*Nagasakiya*). Physicians to high-ranking government officials and regional lords used to visit their Western colleagues to receive instructions or medicine. Van Reede was given notice that some astronomers and physicians of the Shōgun had received permission to question him. Two days later, a court physician came to their quarters and Stützer had to answer various medical questions. A secret visit by the powerful Lord of Satsuma Shimazu Shigehide (1745–1833) was canceled because of the imprudence of the trading post interpreters. We know from Japanese sources that Stützer met two remarkable Japanese. One of them was the painter and printmaker Shiba Kōkan (1747–1818), who also engaged in Western geography and astronomy. The other was Ōtsuki Gentaku (1757–1827), one of the outstanding adherents of “Dutch learning” (*Rangaku*). According to Ayusawa, Stützer gave Ōtsuki a world map made by Guillaume de L’Isle (1675–1726) and printed in Amsterdam by Jean Covens and Corneille Mortier. Ōtsuki had mounted the map as a hanging scroll. Above the map, he noted Stützer’s name in Chinese characters (AYUSAWA 1964: 288). Five years later, Shiba managed to reproduce this map as the first copperplate print in Japan. The print shows both hemispheres of the original map, to which are added some comments and illustrations selected from other sources (TSUKAHARA 1996: 130f.).



Fig. 3: Sketch by Shiba: Stützer invites Shiba Kōkan, posing as a merchant, to his quarters at Dejima (*Shiba Kōkan zenshū* 1992: 318ff.).

Back in Nagasaki

At the end of May 1788 (in the Japanese calendar, the 23rd day of the fourth month), Shiba Kōkan left Edo to journey to the western parts of Japan. As he had a strong interest in European painting and printing techniques, he hoped to gain a deeper understanding of these matters in Nagasaki. Such “study sojourns in Nagasaki” (*Nagasaki yūgaku*) served to satisfy one’s curiosity and thirst for knowledge and were popular not only among scholars of “Dutch Learning”. With the right recommendations, even a visit to the Chinese or Dutch trading post was possible, and some of the interpreter families had accumulated remarkable collections. In particular, the senior Dutch interpreter and scholar Yoshio Kōsaku alias Kōgyū (1724–1800) was famous for his treasures, his “Dutch residence” (*Oranda yashiki*) and profound scholarship that attracted hundreds of disciples and many more visitors (KATSUMORI 2009).

With its numerous, at times humorous, sketches, Shiba’s diary gives a vivid account of the long journey to Kyūshū. On November 7, he finally arrived in Nagasaki. After a while, he

managed to obtain a special permit as a merchant from Edo, which enabled him to enter the Dutch trading post. During November, Japanese merchants received many deliveries of sugar, piece goods, cotton thread, pepper and sappanwood, and final preparations were made on the Dutch ships that were soon to leave for Batavia. During these days, buzzing with all kinds of activities, a visit to Dejima did not arouse much suspicion.

On November 22, Shiba and two companions entered the gateway to the island. They soon ran into Stützer (*Sutottsuru*), who was quite surprised to meet Shiba again. He pulled him toward a cowshed where nobody else could hear their conversation and talked to him in Dutch. Shiba only understood the words “*teekening, teekening*” (drawings) and thought that Stützer was talking about the views of Marunouchi and Mitsuke that he had drawn for Stützer in Edo. Stützer then invited him to his room on the second floor of a house (“*mijnheer, kom, kammer*”). As Shiba recounts it, without taking off their shoes, they entered a room with dirty tatami mats on the floor and sat on chairs at a low table. A tame white bird drew Shiba’s attention. They had a glass of somewhat turbid wine, and when Shiba made a remark about its bitter taste, Stützer explained in Japanese that this was “*kusuri*” (medicine). Afterward, they went to the interpreter’s lounge (*tsūjibeya*), where they met senior interpreter Yoshio Kōsaku. At his orders, they were escorted to the room of the trading post chief, where Shiba had a chat with the designated new *opperhoofd* Hendrik Romberg. With this highlight, Shiba’s excursion to Dejima came to an end. After a short look at the billiard pavilion in the garden they left the island. Eight days later, Stützer’s service at Dejima ended and he boarded one of the anchored Dutch ships.

Leaving the Dutch Service

Surgeons were not usually supposed to participate in official trading activities, but remarks in van Reede’s diary show that Stützer was ordered on at least one occasion to take care of incoming goods from Batavia. Moreover, like almost everybody at Dejima, Stützer engaged in some more or less secret private business. This must have opened his eyes to further opportunities, and he managed to embark as a ship’s surgeon on a vessel to Japan during the following summer. As a member of the ship’s crew, he could only enter Dejima on trading days, provided he received permission from the Japanese authorities. After all transactions were completed, the Dutch ships returned to Batavia in October or November before the seasonal winds changed to an unfavorable direction. Hoadley and Svanberg assume that van Reede and Stützer had a falling-out after this business trip to Nagasaki. Stützer’s merchandise was confiscated as contraband, which caused him considerable financial problems and darkened his career prospects.

There is no doubt that Stützer’s standing in Batavia had suffered a severe blow. Luckily, he once again obtained a recommendation from Moens and sailed to Ceylon, which was largely under Dutch governance until the Napoleonic Wars. In Ceylon, he made contact with the English East India Company, ended his service with the Dutch and engaged in private trade between Dutch Ceylon and the British territory on the coast of Malabar. Obviously, he had abandoned any idea of pursuing an academic career. On July 15, 1792, he married Johanna Jacoba Lebeck, daughter of Anna Henrietta Dormieux (1753–1831) and Abraham Evert de Lebecq (1746–1777), who had served the Dutch East India Company in various capacities since 1762.

*Stützer's Brother-in-Law
Henricus Julius Lebeck*

Stützer never returned to Europe, but through his young brother-in-law, Henricus Julius Lebeck (1772–1800), his exchange with Thunberg was resumed for a while. Lebeck was educated in the school of the German missionary and naturalist Christoph Samuel John (1747–1813), who later praised him as the “crown of his educational institution.” Soon he developed a keen interest in natural studies. As letters found by Hoadley and Svanberg show, Henricus Julius tried to contact Thunberg. Stützer supported his endeavors with a recommendation and sent the young man to Sweden.

In November 1794, Lebeck enrolled at Uppsala University under the name Henricus Julius Lebeck Ceylonensis (CARLSSON 1925: 331). In that same year, Stützer's collection arrived in St. Petersburg. By that time, Linné's famous specimens had been sold to the founder and first president of the Linnaean Society of London, James Edward Smith (1759–1828), leaving Uppsala without a natural history collection, apart from Thunberg's specimens. Thunberg had written extensively about Ceylon (THUNBERG 1795: 170–264) and should have been more than happy to welcome Lebeck as his student. However, for reasons unknown, Lebeck's stay in Sweden did not last long. In 1795, he obtained a *testamur* (testimonium) from the university (KINZE 2000: 195). When he left for Ceylon in December, he promised Thunberg he would send him animal and plant specimens. After his return to the East Indies, Lebeck worked as mint master for the Dutch East India Company. During the following years, he paid two visits to his old mentor John in Tranquebar and published at least five scientific papers (KINZE 2000: 196). As promised, he sent animal specimens and herbaria to Sweden, and Thunberg named the South African

plant genus *Lebeckia* after him. The Swedish historian Jonas Hallenberg (1748–1834), who received information on the Tamil and Malabar languages from Lebeck, praised the erudition of this young scholar (HALLENBERG 1796: 72). Lebeck died prematurely on June 12, 1800.

Physician of the English East India Company

In 1796, the Dutch relinquished Ceylon to the British and a few years later Stützer was working as a physician for the English East India Company in the newly established Civil Medical Department. In 1803, he was appointed Superintendent of Vaccination at Manar, Jaffna and Mullativo, and one year later became Assistant Surgeon doing duty in the garrison of Jaffhapatam. An obituary in the *Ceylon Government Gazette* (21 July 1821) sheds light on his work:

Dr. Stutzer was a native of Sweden, left his country in the service of the Dutch East India Company in 1783, was employed as a Physician to several embassies to Japan, from whence he brought many specimens of the art of that wonderful people, had married and settled at Jaffnapatam, &c., on the capitulation of Ceylon, accepted employment under His Majesty's Government – first in superintending the smallpox establishment, and afterwards in introducing the Vaccine, which he did so successfully that in this populous district no ravages of the dreadful malady it supplanted have even been known for these 18 years. (LEWIS 1913: 409)

When the British invaded Java during the Napoleonic Wars, his intimate knowledge turned out to be very useful, probably much to the dismay of his former employers in Batavia:

In 1811, the Doctor, being then 48 years of age, volunteered to accompany the expedition against Batavia, and being appointed by General Sir Thomas Maitland to do duty with the Corps of the Royal Artillery as Surgeon, he happily, in the execution of this trust and of duties more important from his knowledge of the languages, manners and people of that country, both European and Malay, succeeded in obtaining the approbation of the Commander-in-Chief and those under whom he served. (LEWIS 1913: 409)

A *List of Subscribers to the Address to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent for emancipating Children born of Slaves after August 12, 1816* shows that Stützer was involved in the abolition of slavery in Ceylon. His open-mindedness, compassion and mild temper was highly praised in his obituary, which also mentions the circumstances of his death in July 1821:

Endowed with an enlightened mind, of a mild and conciliatory temper, and much kindness of manner, the Doctor was the life of all Society, and his firmness in sickness and affliction thro' which he labored 10 long months without ever being heard to complain – expressing no feeling for his own agonizing suffering, but pity only for the distresses of his afflicted and amiable family, has left us to experience what a blank the loss of a single individual may occasion amongst a circle of friends. (LEWIS 1913: 409)

Stützer's son Charles, a lieutenant in the Ceylon Regiment, was killed by a musket shot during the Uva-Wellassa Uprising in 1818 (LEWIS 1913: 423). Stützer's wife, Johanna Jacoba, died at Jaffna in 1831 (LEWIS 1913: 409) and in that same year, their daughter Theodora mar-

ried George Cochrane, founder of the *Jaffna Friend-in-Need Society and Hospital* (LEWIS 1913: 230). Another daughter, Anna Maria Ulrica, had died in 1830 (LEWIS 1913: 266).

Items from Japan

As mentioned above, Stützer collected natural specimens in Japan with the permission of the local authorities. Since the 1650s, Japanese craftsmen were producing porcelain, kimonos, lacquer ware etc. especially for the European market, and Stützer also managed to acquire a considerable number of these artifacts. There is much room for speculation as to why about sixty pieces of these items ended up in St. Petersburg. The British Museum was expanding rapidly, and there were many other palaces and estates in Munich, Dresden, Gottorf and Copenhagen with renowned collections. There is no doubt that his Japanese collection was brought to Europe by his brother-in-law, and we can be sure that Henricus Julius Lebeck acted strictly on behalf of Stützer.

We do not know whether Stützer was aware of the rapidly growing Russian interest in Japan. In 1791, because of the dedicated efforts of the clergyman and natural scientist Erik Gustavovich Laxman (1737–1796), the Empress Catherine II had dispatched an expedition to Northern Japan. The party was led by Laxman's son Adam Kirillovich Laxman (1766–1806), a lieutenant in the Imperial army. While returning two Japanese castaways to their home country, the Russians tried to obtain trade concessions from the Tokugawa shogunate. Adam Laxman landed in Nemuro, from where he was led to Hakodate and Matsumae. He did not achieve his aim but during the lengthy negotiations, he and his crew collected marine animals, insects, plants, and other natural specimens. In 1794, these items were added to the collections of the imperial cabinet of curiosities (*Kunstkamera*) in St. Petersburg. A short

account of Laxman's journey can be found in the *Nova Acta* of the Imperial Academy of Science for the year 1794.

Only a few months later, on January 12, 1795, several esteemed members of the Academy received a report on Stützer's collection: the anatomist Alexei Protasjewitsch Protassow (1724–1796), the German astronomer Wolfgang Ludwig Krafft (1743–1814), his fellow countryman, the mathematician and astronomer Friedrich Theodor von Schubert (1758–1825), the chemist and mineralogist Vasilij (Basilijus) Mikhailovich Severgin (1765–1826), the German chemist Johann Tobias Lowitz (1757–1804), the chemist and “balloon aeronaut” Yakov Dmitrievich Zakharov (1765–1836), and the Swiss-born astronomer Jean Albert Euler (1734–1800). The adjunct of the Academy and acting supervisor of the *Kunstkamera*, Johann Heinrich von Busse (1763–1835), gave an outline of the “collection of curiosities from Ja-

pan”. The account of their meeting mentions “very fine works of black lacquer with gold and nacre, real and counterfeit Japanese money, Japanese mirror paper in different colors, engraved stones, paintings, books, maps and other pieces made with great skill together with a detailed catalogue”. Another description of the collection was published in the *Nova Acta* of the Academy in 1802. Here, we find “very fine works of black lacquer with gold and nacre such as plates and boxes”, models of palanquins (sedan chairs), Japanese money in gold, silver and copper, “mirror paper in different colors made from a marine plant and used by the Japanese for baldachins and blinds in rooms as well as in palanquins”, together with paintings, Japanese geographical maps, maps of cities and temples, “Japanese books translated from the Dutch translations, such as the anatomic tables from Kulmus, Heister's Surgery and Rosenstein's book on the diseases of



Fig. 4: Page from the woodblock print *Umi no sachi* (1762) (Waseda University Library).

children", and finally "three boxes filled with insect models made from copper".

About 15 years later, one of the Japanese prints drew the attention of the German naturalist Wilhelm Gottlieb Tilesius (1769–1857), who had a look at Stützer's collection in St. Petersburg. In a letter to Thunberg, dated October 1, 1810, he describes a Japanese book about fishes, *Umi no sachi* (Fruits of the sea) that had been presented to the Imperial Academy of Sciences by "H Stützer, surgeon of the East India Company and physician of the Dutch factory at Dejima" (SONDERMANN and STERBA 2010: 45). Tilesius, who himself had made beautiful watercolours of fish in Japanese waters, praised this book as a typographical rarity that well deserved to be reproduced in Europe and stated he would be prepared to arrange this if he had an opportunity to do so.

The Japanese translations of the Dutch medical books mentioned in the *Nova Acta* were probably given to Stützer by Ōtsuki Gentaku or other prominent adherents of Western medicine in Edo. Nowadays, all three titles are valued as pioneering achievements of Japanese "Dutch studies" (*rangaku*). The anatomic tables of Adam Kulmus had been translated from Gerardus DICTEN's Dutch edition (*Ontleedkundige Tafelen*) by Sugita Genpaku, Maeno Ryōtaku and others and printed in 1774 as *Kaitai Shinsho* ("New Book on Anatomy"). Lorenz Heister's writings came to Japan in Dutch versions published by Hendrik Ulhoorn (*Heelkundige onderwyzingen*, 1741) and Jan Morterle (*Kort begrip der heelkonst*, 1764). Sugita and Ōtsuki were the first scholars engaged in their translation, but their manuscripts (*Yōi shinsho* and *Yōka seisen zukai*) were published many years after Stützer's stay in Japan (YOSHIDA 1991: 47–95). Nils Rosén von Rosenstein's famous book on pediatrics was also introduced to Japan in a Dutch translation (*Handleiding tot de kennis en geneezing van de ziekten der kinderen*, 1779). It took more than

six decades until Udagawa Genshin's Japanese version (*Shōni shobyō kampō-chihō zensho*, 1845) was published by his son Yōan. Thus, the description given by the Russian Academy is very puzzling. Because the *Nova Acta* was printed in 1802, published translations at least from parts of Heister's and von Rosenstein's writings must have been already in existence.

While the Japanese books and artifacts were handed over to the *Kunstkamera*, the excerpt from Stützer's diary depicting the catastrophic fire in Kyoto and two short medical texts remained in the archive of the Conference. Probably stimulated by previous research, Stützer had studied Japanese acupuncture and therapeutic burning with moxa (from Jap. *mogusa*), a woolly mass prepared from the mugwort herb: *Description of Moxa and of the cure with needles, called in Latin Acupunctura*.

Stützer's description of moxa follows the pattern laid out in previous publications. In the early 1670s, the Batavian clergyman Hermann Buschoff had published a manuscript on the treatment of gout with a miraculous "dried herb" he called "Moxa". His Dutch booklet (1675) was translated almost immediately into English (1676) and German (1677) and sparked a lively debate about the nature and effects of this "East Indian wool". Although it was used in China and surrounding countries for treating a great variety of diseases, European physicians applied and discussed moxa solely as a remedy for gout (also known as podagra or chiagra). Even an illustrated Japanese *Moxa Mirror* (*Kyūsho kagami*) that the German physician Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716) had brought back from Nagasaki and published in his *Amoenitates Exoticae* (1712) did not change this narrow conception (MICHEL 1993: 248–293).

Stützer too only refers to podagra and chiagra, and like Willem ten Rhijne and Kaempfer, he considers the "place of pain" (*locus dolendi*) as the appropriate location for placing the moxa cones. He had brought moxa from

Mount Ibuki that was considered far superior to other products and instructed his brother-in-law Lebeck on how to apply it, in case a demonstration was requested in Europe.

Since the 17th century, many Japanese physicians had turned to new concepts and treatment methods and ignored traditional Chinese teachings. None of the European authors was aware of these developments (MICHEL 2004). Like Kaempfer, Stützer had observed the use of guiding tubes (“une sorte de canule”) in acupuncture. This so-called “tube needle” (*kudabari*) was invented by the acupuncturist Sugiyama Wa'ichi (1610–1694). Sugiyama had been blind since childhood and after years of unsuccessful trials, he had devised small cylindrical tubes to guide the needles and control the depth of their penetration. According to Stützer, the thin needles penetrated the cellular tissue (“*tela cellulosa*”), which fits in neatly with Sugiyama's teachings.

Ten Rhijne gives a list of diseases, from gray star (cataract) and epilepsy to rheumatism and colic, in which acupuncture was said to help, but only limited copies of his book were circulated (TEN RHYNE 1683: 186). Kaempfer's treatise on *Curatio colicae per acupuncturam, japonibus usitata* (KAEMPFER 1712: 582–589), was disseminated all over Europe as an appendix to his famous *History of Japan* in English, French, Dutch and German versions. During his stay in Japan, his Japanese counterparts had talked to him about *senki*. This was a popular medical term for pain and diseases in the abdominal area, which he judged to be the Japanese equivalent of Western colic. Stützer too had the opportunity to observe an actual treatment of such “Coliques”. He sensed that needling had something to do with irritation of the nerves, but he felt unable to present a proper explanation for the astonishing effects of acupuncture and confined himself to reporting only what he had seen.

Among the Japanese treasures in St. Pe-

tersburg is a beautifully lacquered wooden case with chrysanthemum ornaments and two needles attributed to Stützer (SINITSYN 2012: 17), but in view of his writings on acupuncture and moxibustion, guiding tubes, moxa from Mount Ibuki and other medical items should also have been donated to the *Kunstkamera*.

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