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論文内容の要旨

1. Introduction

The introduction starts with a review of the former researches on the topic. The bibliography published by the East Asian Institute of the Ruhr University in Bochum (Germany) in 1986 already comprises 882 Western and 740 Japanese books and essays on Siebold. Siebold's diplomatic activities as an adviser for the Russian government with regard to the opening of Japan are hardly mentioned in these 1622 publications. Exceptions were mainly the works of Shuzo Kure and Hans Korner. In the last decade Japanese scholars like Masahide Miyasaka, Koichi Yasuda and Michio Miyazaki published new views on Siebold's activities with regard to the opening of Japan. None of various authors based their research on such a multitude of Dutch, French, German, Russian and Japanese documents. It is not only possible to present some hitherto-unpublished documents but also, based on these newly discovered documents, to correct some judgements and to supplement a new evaluation of Philipp Franz von Siebold's influence on the Russian activities with regard to the opening of Japan. First results of my research work were published in three essays in 2002 and 2003.

After a survey on the structure of the dissertation, the main sources, which shed a new

light on Siebold's activities with regard to the opening of Japan from 1852 to 1853, are introduced. The documents, found during my research work in the Brandenstein-Archives in Schluchtern/Germany, the Central State Archives of the Navy in St. Petersburg and in the General State Archives of the Netherlands in the Hague are presented. Especially hitherto-unpublished documents in the Brandenstein Archives as well as in the Central State Archives of the Navy are of high interest. The comparison of the German, Russian and Dutch documents with the Japanese documents in the *Dai-Nihon ko-monjo-Bakumatsu gaikoku kankei monjo* reveals how far Siebold influenced the letters from the Russian Chancellor to the Governor of Nagasaki and the Japanese Senior Council, the negotiations of Vice-Admiral Putiatin and the Treaty of Shimoda between Russia and Japan.

2. Siebold as diplomat

Chapter 2 starts with a brief biography of Siebold (1796-1866), who was born in 1796 in Germany as son of the professor in physiology and obstetrics at Wurzburg University, Johann Georg Christoph von Siebold, and a survey on his activities as a physician, teacher and scientist. Siebold's activities as a diplomat in the Dutch civil service and as a diplomatic adviser for the Russian and Japanese governments are described and evaluated. From 1823 to 1863 Siebold gave valuable advice to the government of the Netherlands and from 1859 to 1861 to the Japanese government. Siebold's greatest achievements as a diplomat are his activities as an important diplomatic adviser to the Russian government from 1852-1853. Already in 1834, when Siebold visited Russia, he was granted an audience with the Russian Emperor Nikolaj I Pawlowitsch. When Siebold was disappointed by the Dutch inactivity with regard to the opening of Japan, he resumed his relations with Russia in 1852. Siebold's correspondence with Russian diplomats in 1852 and his advice during his visit to St. Petersburg - on invitation of the Russian Chancellor in early 1853-, are analysed and evaluated in Chapters 5 to 10.

The last section of this chapter is dedicated to Siebold's Authentic Account of the Efforts of the Netherlands and Russia towards the Opening of Japan for Navigation and Trade of all Nations, in which Siebold describes in detail his efforts and his influence on the opening of Japan.

3. The Russian activities with regard to the opening of Japan 1852 to 1855

After a description of the early Russian-Japanese relations, the Putiatin expedition to Japan from 1852 to 1855 is described. This expedition had been decided by the Russian Emperor Nikolaj I Pawlowitsch in 1852. The most important facts are summarized. Some information from the relevant documents, found in the Central State Archives of the Navy in St. Petersburg, which were not known to former authors, are incorporated. The documents illustrate how intensively the Russian government, especially the Ministry of Navy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs prepared the expedition of Vice-Admiral Putiatin. The instructions from the Ministry of Navy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Vice-Admiral Putiatin for

his expedition and the negotiations with the Japanese plenipotentiaries are introduced. The documents in the Central State Archives of the Navy shed new light on the Russian-American relations 1852/1853.

4. Comparison of the Treaties of Shimoda, Kanagawa and Nagasaki

The English version of the Treaty of Kanagawa, which was signed by the United States of America and Japan on March 31, 1854, the English version of the Treaty of Nagasaki, which was signed by Great Britain and Japan on October 14, 1854, and an English translation of the Treaty of Shimoda, which was signed by Russia and Japan on February 7, 1855, are presented in this chapter. The discussion about these three treaties was very controversial during the last 150 years. Although many authors are of the opinion that the British and Russian treaties are just copies of the Treaty of Kanagawa, the comparison of the three treaties proves that they are different and that the Treaty of Shimoda is the most important treaty of the three. In addition to the agreement on the boundaries between Russia and Japan in the Treaty of Shimoda, this treaty contains the approval of trade between Japan and Russia. Before this treaty was concluded, only the Dutch trade in Dejima and the trade between Japan and China was allowed.

5. Siebold's Correspondence with leading Russian Diplomats 1852-1853

This chapter is based on the essays of a) E. Franz, Edgar and T.Yoshida: *Philipp Franz von Siebold's correspondence with leading Russian diplomats 1852 to 1853 in the context of his endeavors to open Japan for trade and navigation*, and b) Edgar Franz: *Siebold's endeavors in the year 1852 to induce the Russian government to initiate activities for the opening of Japan*.

Several documents, found in the Brandenstein Archives, are introduced. The analysis of Siebold's correspondence from 1852 to 1853 with five leading Russian high-ranking officials (the Ambassador to Prussia in Berlin, the Ambassador to Austria in Vienna, the Ambassador to the Netherlands in the Hague, the Governor-General of Irkutsk and Jennisseisk and the Russian Chancellor), demonstrates Siebold's extraordinary efforts to induce the Russian government to initiate activities towards a peaceful opening of Japan and to advise the Russians in their negotiations with Japan for a treaty for friendship, trade and navigation between those two empires.

Siebold's draft of a letter, MS 57, is probably the first document, in which Siebold elaborated in detail his ideas with regard to Russia's endeavors to open Japan. Therefore, the transcription and an English summary of this hitherto-unknown document can be found in Appendices 14.1 and 14.2. In this autographic draft which comprises 20 pages, it is not mentioned when and to whom Siebold wrote this letter. Based on papers found in the State Library in Berlin, it is proved in this chapter that Siebold's letter was written to the Russian Ambassador to Prussia in Berlin, Baron Andreas Ludwig Karl Theodor von Budberg-Bonninghausen.

The comparison of Document MS 57 with the *Secret Instructions* from the Russian Ministry

of Navy to Vice-Admiral Putiatin, dated August 14, 1852 and the *Instructions* from the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Putiatin, dated August 23, 1852, both found in the Central State Archives of the Navy in St. Petersburg, proves that Siebold's letter (MS 57) must have been written before August 14, 1852. In all likelihood it was available to the Russian Ministry of Navy and the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs before these ministries wrote their *Instructions* to Vice-Admiral Putiatin. Therefore, it is plausible that this letter was written, at latest in July 1852. Very likely Siebold wrote his letter to Meyendorff, dated November 8, 1852 because he had not received any direct answer to his letter (MS 57) and as he did not know at that time that the Russian government incorporated his proposals in the *Instructions* to the Commander of the Russian Japan Expedition Vice-Admiral Putiatin.

Siebold's draft MS 56, dated December 18, found in the Brandenstein Archives is introduced. This draft refers to Siebold's letter to Meyendorff, MS 37, dated November 8, 1852. Obviously none of the authors, who mentioned the document MS 37, knew who Meyendorff was. Siebold himself wrote in his *Authentic Account* only that this letter was sent to a "high-ranking statesman". It was possible to reveal that Meyendorff was at that time the Russian Ambassador to Austria in Vienna. His full name and title is Baron Leonard Suidigerius von Meyendorff. By his draft letter MS 56, Siebold wanted to remind Baron von Meyendorff of the proposals in his letter MS 37. Moreover, Siebold presented in the second letter to Meyendorff (MS 56) further information on the American expedition based on Siebold's correspondence with Wilhelm Heine, found in the Brandenstein Archives. Heine was at that time on board of Perry's MS Mississippi.

Siebold's correspondence with the Russian Ambassador to the Netherlands in the Hague, Baron Friedrich Franz von Maltitz from 1851 to 1853 is analysed. The sixteen hitherto-unknown documents in French found in the Brandenstein Archives show Siebold's amicable relations to the Russian Ambassador to the Netherlands and the Russian Emperor's high opinion of Siebold. The Emperor approved the proposal of Baron von Maltitz to decorate Siebold with the order of St. Anna.

Siebold's invitation to St. Petersburg from the Russian Chancellor is documented in MS 39. Siebold's correspondence with the Governor-General of Irkutsk and Jenisseik Nikolajewitsch Murav'iev in 1853, found in the Brandenstein Archives, reveals the friendly relation between these two influential advisers to the Russian government, concerning the opening of Japan.

The documents, found in the Russian State Archives of the Navy in St. Petersburg, verify that the Russian government accepted Siebold's advice with regard to the opening of Japan and followed it almost in all essential points. The comparison between Siebold's correspondence with Russian diplomats, found in the Brandenstein Archives, with the documents found in the Russian Central State Archives of the Navy demonstrates that the Rhenish Aristocrat Count Karl von Nesselrode, the Baltic Aristocrats Baron von Budberg-Bonninghausen and Baron von Meyendorff, the Thuringian Aristocrat Baron von Maltitz, the Russian Aristocrat Count Murav'iev and the Bavarian Aristocrat Philipp Franz von Siebold were working together for the peaceful opening of Japan already in 1852.

6. Siebold's influence on the Instructions of the Russian government to Vice-Admiral Putiatin, Commander of the Russian expedition to Japan 1852

This chapter contains an analysis how far the Instructions from the Russian government to Vice-Admiral Putiatin, dated August 1852, are influenced by Siebold. The comparison of the *Secret Instructions* from the Russian Ministry of Navy, dated August 14, 1852, which are not published so far, with Siebold's draft of a letter to the Russian Ambassador to Prussia in Berlin (MS 57) demonstrates that the Ministry of Navy was informed on Siebold's letter and took it into consideration when formulating the *Secret Instructions* to Vice-Admiral Putiatin. Siebold had suggested that the Russian government should send one or two warships to Japan. Moreover a corvette and a steamboat would be the best for investigations in the waters of Japan. According to Siebold's proposals Vice-Admiral Putiatin received from the Ministry of Navy the command over the warship Frigate Pallada, a steamboat and a corvette. Also Siebold's suggestion to combine a delegation negotiating the Japanese opening for trade with an expedition relating to investigations and discoveries in the waters of Japan in the neighbouring countries and in Sakhalin are taken up in the *Secret Instructions* of the Ministry. The Ministry of Navy emphasizes, as demanded by Siebold, that all goals during the expedition should be achieved only through negotiations and peaceful means.

Siebold's influence on the Instructions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Vice-Admiral Putiatin, dated August 23, 1852 is even greater. In nineteen examples it is proved beyond doubt that the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs based the *Instructions* to Vice-Admiral Putiatin on Siebold's letter to the Russian Ambassador Baron von Budberg-Bonninghausen (MS 57).

The Ministry starts with a historical survey of the Russian endeavors to establish amicable trade relations with Japan and explains that the former endeavors to develop relations with Japan did not lead to the desired success. The Ministry points out that Russia-expecting an American success in the opening of trade with Japan-could not stay inactive. The Ministry explains to Putiatin that the future interest of Russian trade with Japan has to be ensured by all means and that the interest of the Russian colonies in America and Kamchatka call for the best ways for delivery of food and other goods. The Ministry writes that all these facts encourage the Ministry itself to start activities with regard to Japan, which should be achieved in a peaceful way. These and other facts in the instructions are based on Siebold's draft.

This shows that Siebold's influence on Russian politics with regard to the opening of Japan started earlier and was more important than had been assumed so far.

7. Siebold and the Additional Instructions of the Russian government to Vice-Admiral Putiatin 1853

Following Siebold's request to give advice to the Russian government, expressed in his letter to the Russian Ambassador to Prussia in Berlin and to the Russian Ambassador to Austria in Vienna, the Russian Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs Count von

Nesselrode invited Siebold on December 25, 1852 to come to St. Petersburg. During this visit he obviously convinced the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of his ideas with regard to the opening of Japan. One of the results of this visit were the *Additional Instructions* from the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Vice-Admiral Putiatin, dated February 27, 1853, which are preserved in the Central State Archives of the Navy in St. Petersburg. This document, first introduced by Koichi Yasuda, has not been published in English so far. As this document, which has not been mentioned in the European and American literature on Siebold, is vital for the judgement of Siebold's influence on the opening of Japan, an English translation of the Russian text is presented in Appendix 14.5.

Chapter 7 contains a detailed comparison between these *Additional Instructions* and the original *Instructions* to Vice-Admiral Putiatin, dated August 23, 1852. In the *Additional Instructions* the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs admits quite openly that it changed the *Instructions* following Siebold's advice. Due to his advice the Ministry instructs, for instance, Putiatin to moor in Nagasaki but not in any other Japanese port. The letters to the Japanese authorities and to the Japanese Emperor, attached to the original Instructions, have to be replaced by letters to the Governor of Nagasaki and to the Japanese Senior Council. The Russian claim to determine the boundaries between the Japanese and Russian territories has to be negotiated. The name of Siebold is mentioned explicitly nine times in these *Additional Instructions*. This fact shows the great confidence which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had in Siebold's expertise and wisdom. No doubt, Siebold's advice exerted considerable influence on the strategy of Vice-Admiral Putiatin's negotiations, which eventually led to the Treaty of Shimoda.

8. Siebold and the Russian letters to the Governor of Nagasaki

The letter from the Russian Chancellor Count von Nesselrode to the Honorable Authorities of the Japanese State, dated August 23, 1852, the letter from the Russian Chancellor to the Governor of Nagasaki and hitherto-unpublished letters from Vice-Admiral Putiatin to the Governor of Nagasaki, found in the Central State Archives of the Navy in St. Petersburg, are introduced in this chapter. The comparison between these documents and Siebold's letter to the Russian Ambassador to Prussia (MS 57) and Siebold's draft for a letter from the Russian Chancellor to the Governor of Nagasaki (MS 58), found in the Brandenstein Archives, illustrate the influence of Siebold on the Russian letters to the Governor of Nagasaki.

The comparison between the letter from the Russian Chancellor to the *Honorable Authorities of the Japanese State*, dated August 23, 1852 with Siebold's letter to the Russian Ambassador to Prussia reveals that the letter from the Russian Chancellor is based widely on Siebold's ideas. As Siebold had suggested in his letter, peace, mutual understanding and amity should be stressed in the letter to the Governor of Nagasaki. Amicable relations would lead to benefits for both Empires. There are, however, two points which Siebold had not proposed: To whom the letter had to be addressed and the presenting of gifts.

Siebold, who did not agree to the letter to the Japanese Authorities, convinced the Russian

Ministry of Foreign Affairs during his visit in St. Petersburg in early 1853 that Putiatin should go first to Nagasaki. The content of Siebold's draft of the letter from the Russian Chancellor to the Governor of Nagasaki (MS 58), which he wrote in St. Petersburg, is almost identical with Nesselrode's letter to the Governor of Nagasaki, attached to the *Additional Instructions*.

Also the study of the twenty-four letters from Vice-Admiral Putiatin to the Governor of Nagasaki, written between August 22 to November 23, 1853 reveals to what extent the essential points of these letters and the negotiations of Putiatin with the governor of Nagasaki were influenced by Siebold's expert advice derived from his experience.

9. Siebold and the Russian letters to the Japanese Emperor and the Japanese Senior Council

The letter from the Russian Emperor to the Japanese Emperor, dated August 23, 1852, and the letter from the Russian Chancellor to the Japanese Senior Council attached to the Additional Instructions, dated February 27, 1853, are presented in this chapter.

A comparison of the ideas, put forward in Siebold's letter to the Russian Ambassador to Prussia Baron von Budberg-Bonninghausen (MS 57) and the letter from the Russian Emperor to the Japanese Emperor, found in the General State Archives of the Navy in St. Petersburg, show the similarity of the two letters. They concentrate on general remarks concerning benevolent and peaceful sentiments of the Emperor of all Russians to the Emperor of the neighbouring country Japan and proposals for the opening of Japanese ports for mutual trade. Both letters do not contain any hint with regard to boundaries.

A comparison of Siebold's draft of a letter from the Russian Chancellor to the Japanese Senior Council (MS 45), which Siebold wrote in early 1853 in St. Petersburg, with the letter from the Russian Chancellor to the Japanese Senior Council, proves that the letter from the Russian Chancellor was influenced by Siebold to a great extent. This letter to the Japanese Senior Council is shorter than Siebold's draft and the structure of the two letters is different. Nevertheless the Russian Chancellor adopted in his letter to the Japanese Senior Council Siebold's essential proposals laid down in his letter to the Russian Ambassador to Prussia and in his draft of the letter to the Japanese Senior Council:

1. The Russian Chancellor points out in his letter that any future conflicts and misunderstandings between Russia and Japan have to be prevented to establish peace and harmony. The Chancellor emphasizes that the expedition to Japan is only peaceful.
2. The Russian Chancellor stresses in his letter that his Majesty the Russian Emperor wishes particularly to determine clearly the boundaries between both Empires. The determination of the boundaries is the best guarantee for peaceful relations and for harmony between both nations.
3. With regard to the trade between Russia and Japan the Russian Chancellor states that it is a sincere wish of his Majesty to permit Russians to come to the ports of Japan

- which will be determined and exchange the Russian goods for the Japanese surplus goods.
4. The Russian Chancellor proposes the opening of Japanese ports for Russian warships which are on their way to Kamchatka or to the Russian territories in America in case it becomes necessary to anchor in Japanese ports for victuals and other necessities.

These four essential proposals correspond to the requests in Siebold's draft. The letter from the Russian Chancellor to the Governor of Nagasaki is deposited in the Central State Archives of the Navy in St. Petersburg in Russian. Japanese translations from the Dutch version and the Chinese version of this letter are published in the *Dai-Nihon ko-monjo*.

10. Siebold and the Treaty of Shimoda

In this chapter Siebold's drafts for the treaty for navigation and trade, MS 5 and MS 40, and Siebold's proposals with regard to the Russian-Japanese boundaries, MS 45, found in the Brandenstein Archives, and Siebold's draft of a treaty (Document Kolonien Geheim Verbaal 5831, #139), found in the General State Archives of the Netherlands, are introduced.

The detailed comparison of these four documents with the draft of the Russian government for a treaty with Japan, found in the Central State Archives of the Navy in St. Petersburg, and the final Treaty of Shimoda demonstrate, beyond any doubt, that not only the draft of the Russian government but also the Treaty of Shimoda are to a high degree influenced by Philipp Franz von Siebold.

Article I demands that there should be continuous peace and sincere friendship between Russia and Japan. In both Empires, Russians and Japanese will enjoy personal safety and inviolability of their property. In Article II it is determined that the boundaries between Russia and Japan will pass between the Islands Itorup and Urup. The whole Island Itorup belongs to Japan and the whole Island Urup and the other Kuril Islands to the north continue to be the possessions of Russia. Sakhalin remains undivided. Article III contains the opening of three Japanese ports (Shimoda, Hakodate, Nagasaki) for Russian vessels. Article IV settles that shipwrecked vessels and people will be granted all kinds of assistance. Article V stipulates that the Russians are allowed to exchange desired Japanese goods and property for Russian goods, property and money in the two open ports Shimoda and Hakodate. Article VI settles the appointment of a Russian consul. These examples and the analysis of the other articles of the Treaty of Shimoda prove that Siebold did not only influence the negotiations of Vice-Admiral Putiatin, but also the final wording of the Treaty of Shimoda.

11. Conclusions

Due to the fact that the documents in the Brandenstein Archives in Schluchtern and in the Central State Archives of the Navy in St. Petersburg were not available for international researches until recently, Philipp Franz von Siebold's diplomatic activities as an adviser for the Russian government with regard to the opening of Japan in the middle of the nineteenth

century have been hardly studied in detail. Many authors who wrote on Siebold and his achievements did not evaluate his diplomatic activities adequately, because they could not base their research on the multitude of Dutch, French, German, Russian and Japanese documents, such as those I found in the Brandenstein Archives in Germany, the Central State Archives of the Navy in Russia and the General State Archives of the Netherlands. Various documents have been unknown so far. It is also important to compare these documents with corresponding Japanese documents, found in the *Dai-Nihon ko-monjo*.

The comparison of the Treaties of Shimoda, Kanagawa (the treaty between the USA and Japan) and Nagasaki (the treaty between Great Britain and Japan) shows that the Treaty of Shimoda is the most important one of the three treaties of 1854/1855 which led to the opening of Japan.

The analysis of the Treaty of Shimoda demonstrates the essential influence of Siebold.

The documents in the Brandenstein Archives in Germany, in the Central State Archives of the Navy in St. Petersburg and in the General State Archives of the Netherlands and the analysis of the activities of Philipp Franz von Siebold and the Russian government, based on these documents, prove, beyond any doubt, that the determination of the boundaries between the Russian and the Japanese Empire in 1855 and the opening of Japan for trade and navigation of all nations in the middle of the nineteenth century are borrowed from Siebold's ideas far more than expected before.

12-15. Acknowledgements, Documents, Appendices and References

The dissertation is completed by the acknowledgements (12), and a list of German, French and Dutch documents in the Brandenstein Archives in Germany, the Russian and French documents in the Central State Archives of the Navy in Russia, and the Dutch documents in the General State Archives in the Netherlands (13). In the Appendices (14) English translations of the most important documents for this topic found in these archives are presented. The references (15), the list of the Japanese, German, English, French, Dutch and Russian literature consulted, conclude this dissertation.

論文審査結果の要旨

本論文は、日本の開国に関してのロシアの対日外交へのシーボルトの影響の具体相を、シーボルトが残したロシア高官宛書簡草稿やロシア海軍省文書などを比較・検討することにより、実証的に解明せんとするものである。本論文は11章より構成され、文書一覧表、主要史料4点の英訳が附せられる。以下各章ごとの研究成果を要約する。

第1章序論では、先行研究を概観し、日本の開国に関してのロシア政府に対するシーボルトの外交活動については、近年の一部史料の紹介を除いては、ほとんど見るべきものがないことを指摘する。ついで、本論文の論者が発見した新史料の概略とその所蔵機関について説明を加える。シーボルトの子孫が保有するブランデンシュタイン家文書（シュヒテルン）は、これまでごく僅かの日独の研究者が限定的

に利用したのみであったが、論者は同家当主の許可を得、関連草稿を広く調査・収集し、第5章以下で論ぜられる数々の新史料を発見した。またロシア海軍省文書館(サンクト・ペテルブルグ)蔵のプチャーチン提督宛訓令、追加訓令はこれまで一部利用されたことがあったが、これを全文にわたり検討し、また密令を発見し、ブランデンシュタイン家文書のシーボルト書簡草稿と合わせて、第6章以下のロシアの対日外交に対するシーボルトの影響の解明の基本的史料としている。その他にも論者が収集したオランダ国立公文書館蔵のオランダ語史料は、同時代のシーボルトの外交活動を側面から照射する恰好の情報を与えている。

第2章は、彼の生涯の紹介の後、オランダ政府への外交顧問としての活動、ロシア政府への助言など外交官としてのシーボルトの活動を論じ、以下の本論の歴史的背景を提示している。第3章ではまず初期の日露関係史が概観され、プチャーチンの遠征までの準備状況、彼に対する訓令、および彼の対幕府交渉の様子が、ロシア海軍省文書館所蔵の史料を用いて示される。第4章は、日米間に締結された神奈川条約(1854.3.31)、日英間の長崎条約(1854.10.14)、日露間の下田条約(1855.2.7)を比較検討し、下田条約は基本的に神奈川条約を踏襲したにすぎないと多くの学者が見なしてきた従来の見解をしりぞけ、下田条約には、国境に関する取り決めや、日露間の貿易の承認など、神奈川・長崎条約にはない重要な条項が含まれていることを指摘し、下田条約の特色を強調する。

第5章は、ブランデンシュタイン家文書中に論者が発見した1852年から53年にかけてシーボルトとロシア外交高官との往復書簡を分析し、平和的に日本を開国させるべくロシア政府を導こうとするシーボルトのなみなみならぬ努力を論じている。まず本論文の最も重要な新史料の一つであるシーボルトの書簡草稿(MS57)をとりあげる。これは宛名および日付を欠くが、ベルリンの国立図書館蔵の文献にもとづき、プロイセンのベルリン駐在ロシア大使フォン・ブドベルグ・ベニングハウゼン男爵宛であることを確認し、ロシア海軍省からのプチャーチン提督に対する密令(1852.8.14)およびロシア外務省からの訓令とを比較して、両訓令が同書簡草稿のシーボルトの考えを基にしたものであることを指摘し(詳細な論証は第6章でなされる)、これが少なくとも1852年8月14日以前のものであると推定している。この新発見の草稿が重要なのは、シーボルトが日本の開国に関しロシアがとるべき方針を詳細に述べた最初の文書と考えられるからである。さらにロシアの在ハーグ・オランダ大使フォン・マルティツ男爵との書簡(16通のフランス語書簡)から、同男爵の推薦によりシーボルトはロシア皇帝から勲章を与えられていること、またウィーン駐在ロシアのオーストリア大使フォン・メイエンドルフやイルクーツク・ジェニサイスク総督ムラヴィエフとの往復書簡から、両者が親密な関係にあったことを明らかにし、シーボルトがロシア外交の高官と往復書簡を交わし、彼の助言をロシア政府が採用するにあたっての強力なルートをもっていたことを、一連の書簡草稿や受領書簡の分析・検討により論証している。

第6章はプチャーチン日本遠征隊に対する訓令へのシーボルトの影響を論証する。まずこれまで知られていなかったロシア海軍省からの密令とロシアのプロイセン大使へのシーボルトの書簡草稿(MS57)とを比較・対照することにより、ロシア海軍省が同書簡の内容を熟知しており、プチャーチンへの密令の発令に際しこれを考慮していたことを論ずる。たとえば、遠征隊の艦船編成についてのシーボルトの提言を、海軍省はそのまま採用している。また遠征隊がサハリンを含めた日本近海の探索を行うべきというシーボルトの意見は密令に盛り込まれている。そのうえ海軍省は、シーボルトの主張に従って、プチャーチンに平和的な交渉のみによるべきことを命じている。9日後に発令されたロシア外務省のプチャーチンへの訓令ではシーボルトの影響はさらに大きく、この訓令と彼の書簡草稿(MS57)では19ヶ所もの共通点があることを指摘する。なかでも、日本との貿易上の権益が確保されねばならぬこと、また平和のうちに日本との通商を実現すべく行動を起さねばならないことなどという外務省訓令の見解

は、シーボルトの助言に基づいていることを論証する。これまでプチャーチン宛訓令にはシーボルトの影響はないと見られていたが、以上の如く、書簡草稿MS57と密令の発見により、シーボルトの助言が、従来考えられていたよりも早い時期から、またより大きな影響を、ロシアの対日外交方針に与えていたことを実証した。

第7章はプチャーチンに対する追加訓令へのシーボルトの見解の採用を扱う。ロシア首相兼外務大臣フォン・ネッセルローデ伯爵は、彼をサンクト・ペテルブルグに招聘したが、1853年1月の同地訪問の間に、シーボルトは自らの見解をロシア外務省に受け入れさせた。ロシア外務省のプチャーチン宛追加訓令は、シーボルトの助言を大幅に採用し、最初の訓令の内容を変更していることを明らかにした。この追加訓令では、9ヶ所にわたり名指しでシーボルトの意見が述べられている。このことは、ロシア外務省が彼に寄せていた大きな信頼を示すものである、と指摘する。

第8章ではロシア海軍省文書館蔵の幕府宛ネッセルローデ・ロシア首相書簡、長崎奉行宛同人書簡、長崎奉行宛プチャーチンの書簡が検討される。この3種の書簡を、ブランデンシュタイン家文書中の草稿書簡（MS57）および長崎奉行宛ロシア首相名義の書簡のためのシーボルト執筆の草稿（MS58）と比較・検討し、シーボルトの影響を論証している。幕府宛ロシア首相書簡は、ロシアは長崎奉行に対し友好的関係と相互理解を強調すべきであるというシーボルトの主張（MS57）を反映しており、またサンクト・ペテルブルグ滞在時にシーボルトが執筆した長崎奉行宛書簡のための草稿は、追加訓令に附されたロシア首相名義の書簡とほぼ同じ内容であること、さらにプチャーチンから長崎奉行宛24通の書簡に見られる基本的方針や奉行に対するプチャーチンの態度は、シーボルトの日本についての知識と経験に根ざした助言に多く拠っていると指摘する。第9章はロシア皇帝から日本皇帝宛書簡とロシア首相の老中宛書簡の検討にあてられる。サンクト・ペテルブルグ滞在中にシーボルトが執筆したロシア首相名義の老中宛書簡と、ロシア海軍省文書中の実際に出された書簡の写し（オランダ語版と漢文は『大日本古文書』に所収）とを比較・分析すると、構成が前後したり、その長さも異なるが、ロシア側の基本的な4つの対日提案（1. 日本遠征隊は平和を望んでいることの強調；2. 日露間の国境を明確に定めることを望んでいること、国境の画定は両国の平和関係を保証するものであること；3. 日露間の貿易および定められた日本の港への出入の許可；4. ロシアの軍艦が食料などの必要な場合日本の港への寄港の許可）は、シーボルト草稿中の助言を採用していることが判明する、と述べる。第10章では、ブランデンシュタイン家文書中のシーボルトによる開港・貿易のための条約の草案（MS5、MS40）、シーボルトの日露間国境に関する提案（MS45）、オランダ国立文書館蔵のシーボルトの条約の草案、これらとロシア海軍省文書館蔵のロシア政府による条約の草案、および決定版の下田条約とを比較・検討し、シーボルトの見解がロシア政府の条約草案のみならず下田条約そのものにも強く影響を与えていることを実証している。

第11章では、以上の実証と議論を踏まえ、ロシア政府の対日外交活動に対しシーボルトの影響は、従来考えられてきたよりも大きいことを論証したと結論している。以上の如く、本論文はブランデンシュタイン家文書の書簡草稿、ロシア海軍省文書館やオランダ国立文書館所蔵の新発見史料を相互に比較・検討することにより、これまで具体的に解明されてこなかった日本の開国に対するロシアの外交活動へのシーボルトの影響を実証的に明らかにし、彼の外交活動について数々の新知見を得ており、今後のシーボルト研究および日本の開国に関する研究の発展に大きく寄与することは疑いない。

よって、本論文の提出者は、博士（文学）の学位を授与されるに十分な資格を有するものと認められる。