

LITERARY SUBJECTS ADRIFT: A CULTURAL HISTORY OF EARLY MODERN
JAPANESE CASTAWAY NARRATIVES, CA. 1780-1880

by

MICHAEL S. WOOD

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Department of East Asian
Languages and Literatures
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

March 2009

University of Oregon Graduate School

Confirmation of Approval and Acceptance of Dissertation prepared by:

Michael Wood

Title:

"Literary Subjects Adrift: A Cultural History of Early Modern Japanese Castaway Narratives, ca. 1780-1880"

This dissertation has been accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Department of East Asian Languages & Literature by:

Stephen Kohl, Chairperson, East Asian Languages & Literature

Alisa Freedman, Member, East Asian Languages & Literature

Maram Epstein, Member, East Asian Languages & Literature

Jeffrey Hanes, Outside Member, History

and Richard Linton, Vice President for Research and Graduate Studies/Dean of the Graduate School for the University of Oregon.

March 20, 2009

Original approval signatures are on file with the Graduate School and the University of Oregon Libraries.

© 2009 Michael S. Wood

An Abstract of the Dissertation of
Michael S. Wood for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures
to be taken March 2009

Title: LITERARY SUBJECTS ADRIFT: A CULTURAL HISTORY OF EARLY
MODERN JAPANESE CASTAWAY NARRATIVES, CA. 1780-1880

Approved: _____
Dr. Stephen W. Kohl

In the postwar era, early modern of Edo period (1600-1868) Japan has most often been represented as a culture in isolation due to ostensibly draconian *Bakufu* regime policies that promised death to anyone returning from abroad (*sakokuron*, or the “Closed-Country” theory). While historians of Japan acknowledge limited contact with Dutch, Chinese, Korean, and Tyukyuans, the two hundred and sixty-some years of the Edo Period has consistently been interpreted as a time in which an indigenous Japanese culture developed and flourished without the corrupting influence of extensive foreign contact. This project takes as its subject the stories of thousands of Japanese fisherman and sailors who became distressed at sea (*hyōryūmin*) and subsequently drifted throughout the Pacific before being rescued and repatriated by foreigners during the late 18th and 19th centuries. The hundreds of narratives that comprise this textual category of

early modern *hyôryûki* or “castaway narratives” served as the primary means of representing encounters with foreigners in and around the Pacific region and, in turn projecting an emerging Japanese national consciousness. The origins of these *hyôryûki* are tied to the earlier establishment of diplomatic protocol for handling repatriated castaways primarily within an East Asian context and the *kuchigaki* (“oral testimonial”) narrative records that resulted from interrogations of the repatriated subjects by both *bakufu* and domain officials. Late Edo castaways also had their stories of drift recorded in *kuchigaki* form, however with the encroachment of first Russian, and later English, American, and other western ships in the waters off the coast of Japan in the late Edo period (post-1780) other *hyôryûki* forms—both scholarly and popular—came to proliferate, as it became imperative to translate and re-imagine geopolitical developments in the greater Pacific. This dissertation not only uncovers a diverse textual and cultural category of *hyôryûki*, but also the complicated interrelationship between cultural production and concrete territorial and political concerns of the State. In so doing, it not only challenges traditional historiography of early modern Japan, but also reclaims a certain cultural specificity for the late Edo Japanese *hyôryûki*, contextualizing these texts within a more global process of colonization and modern Nation-State formation.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Michael S. Wood

PLACE OF BIRTH: Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

DATE OF BIRTH: November 17, 1969

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene
Meiji University, Tokyo
Tokyo University
Kenyon College, Gambier

DEGREES AWARDED:

Doctor of Philosophy, Japanese Literature, September 2008, University of Oregon
Master of Arts, 1999, University of Oregon
Certificate in Japanese Linguistics and Language Education, 1994, Council of
Local Authorities for International Relations (Tokyo)
Bachelor of Arts, 1992, Kenyon College

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Japanese and East Asian Cultural Studies
Pacific Maritime History

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Professor of Practice in Asian Studies, Tulane University, from summer of 2008

Teaching Assistant, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures,
University of Oregon, Eugene, 1996-2001, 2003-2006, 2008

Visiting Instructor, Department of Cultural Studies, Fuji Women's University,
Sapporo, April 2007 to September 2007

Joshu, Faculty of Law and Politics, University of Hokkaidô, Sapporo, April 2006
to March 2007

GRANTS, AWARDS AND HONORS:

2004 Esterline Award for Outstanding Conference Paper, "Masculinism,
Colonialism, and the Late-Edo Castaway Narrative," Asian Studies on the
Pacific Coast Awards Committee, 2004

Yamada Osamitsu Research Fellowship, April 2001-March 2002

Meiji University Graduate School Fellowship for Foreign Students, Meiji
University, Tokyo, April 2002-March 2003

PUBLICATIONS:

Wood, Michael. "Masculinism, Colonialism, and the Late-Edo Castaway
Narrative: Japanese Accounts of Port Brothels in the Pacific." In *E-
ASPAC: A Peer-Reviewed Electronic Journal for Asian Studies* (2005
Issue).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have benefited immensely from having had many caring friends and generous mentors at several institutions during the course research for this dissertation. I am grateful for the training I received at the University of Oregon during my Master's degree program and in the first year of my Doctoral program, from the following professors: the late Alan Wolfe, Steven Brown, Andrew Goble, Yoko McClain, Michael Fishlen, Stephen Durrant, Bob Felsing, Eric Cazdyn, Michael Baskett, Joe Fraccia, Liz Bohls, and Kyoko Tokuno. From 2001-2003, I carried out research in Japan and studied Edo period cultural and intellectual history at Meiji University Graduate School under the guidance of Professor Hirano Mitsuru. At the same time, I was taking seminars in East Asian history with Professor Ronald Toby at Tokyo University. I was also fortunate enough to have met Professor Haruna Akira while in Tokyo. My two years in Tokyo were an exciting time of learning and discovery, and I am most grateful to Professors Hirano, Toby, and Haruna for making it so stimulating. Professor Hirano's tutorials using Edo-period handwritten manuscripts and his suggestions for certain archival research were most helpful. Professor Toby, perhaps more than anyone else, has opened my eyes to new ways of seeing history and culture. In both his marathon seminars at Tokyo University and his helpful guidance as a mentor, he has been an inspirational scholar and teacher. I only regret that I could not arrange for him to be part of the formal dissertation committee. The advice and generosity of Haruna Sensei both in Tokyo, and later as a

fellow participant in a series of conference panels on castaways, are most appreciated. I am also thankful for the kindness of all my seminar mates at Meiji and Tokyo University. While I cannot name them all, I must note Saitô Tomomi, Katô kun, and Fujii kun at Meiji, as well as Watanabe Miki and Peter Shapinsky at Tokyo University. It was in conversations with them that I was able to work out some of the early kinks in my research. The Yamamoto family was most kind to let me stay in their guesthouse in Tokyo for two years. I spent another two years, from 2006-2007, in Sapporo as a *joshu* in the Faculty of Law and Politics at Hokkaido University, and later, as a researcher at the Center for the Advanced Study of Law and Politics and as a part-time lecturer in Japanese history at Fuji Women's University. During this time I was fortunate enough to worked with so many outstanding colleagues from whose kindnesses I benefited. While space does not allow me to mention everyone by name, I would like to thank Professors Matsuura Masataka, Hasegawa Kô, Makabe Jin, and Sorai Mamoru of the *Hôgakubu*; Professor Inoue Katsuo of the *Bungakubu*; as well as Professor Imanishi Hajime of Ôtaru University of Commerce. Participation in the Inoue *zemi* was a wonderful chance to refine my thoughts as I was beginning to write the final two chapters. I am also grateful to my fellow seminar mates in Hokkaido (particularly Asai san and Matsumoto san), the graduate students with whom I shared research space, Maeda san of Hokkaido University Press, Michael Burtscher now at Tokyo University, Ishihara san of Sapporodô, and Akizuki Sensei. The companionship of my fellow graduate students at the University of Oregon over the last ten years has also been appreciated. While I cannot name everyone, I would like to personally thank Kyle, Ken-, Sudeshna, Peter, Masako, Junji, Takashi,

Celia, Charles, Nate, Paulo, Tom, Roberto, Madoka, Tony, Kathryn, Miwako, Akiko, Alex, Dave, Rod, Jayson, Eric, and all the Friday night musicians.

I reserve my greatest gratitude for my committee members who have given selflessly while I have tried to finish this project, and my family members, who have patiently waited for me to finish. Professor Jeffrey Hanes who, before I was ever in the doctoral program, gently guided me with questions and at times, more direct advice, has also been one of my closest and most careful readers. Professor Maram Epstein has offered me fresh eyes and helped immensely in getting me to say what I want to say. Going over drafts in her backyard will be one of my fond memories of the dissertation writing process. I am also grateful to Professor Alisa Freedman, who managed to participate in a dissertation defense despite her most hectic and busy summer in Tokyo. However, without the enduring mentoring of my committee chair—Professor Stephen Kohl—this project would not be what it is today. How many advisors would drive half way across the country with a canoe atop their car in order to go camping for a week with one of their graduate students? Not only did he first introduce me to this topic of Edo period castaway accounts, he has spent years translating documents with me, engaging my thoughts, and serving as a model teacher. To both him and his wife, Katie, I partially dedicate this dissertation. I wish we had more time to visit before I leave Eugene. Without the help of such committed committee members, I would never have finished this project. However, any shortcomings are mine and mine alone.

I much appreciate the concern and support of my parents and in-laws, the Kanazawa's. But it is with love and gratitude that I also dedicate this dissertation to my

wife Asako and our son Noah. We shall be together again soon.

To Asako and Noah, whose exile has been difficult; and Steve and Katie, whose blessings
have been patience and kindness.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| Chapter | Page |
|---|------|
| I. INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| II. HISTORY OF DRIFT/DRIFT OF HISTORY | 15 |
| The History of Drift | 19 |
| The Drift of History | 52 |
| III. IN DEFENSE OF LITERATURE/A LITERATURE OF DEFENSE | 67 |
| In Defense of Literature | 91 |
| A Literature of Defense | 137 |
| IV. TRANSLATING WORLDS: ACCOUNTS OF A COLONIZED PACIFIC | 156 |
| V. GEOGRAPHIC AND DIPLOMATIC REVOLUTIONS: REITERATIONS OF THREE EARLY EDO PERIOD CASTAWAY ACCOUNTS | 238 |
| Tenjiku Tokubei | 244 |
| Dattan Hyôryûki | 269 |
| Magotarô/Magoshichi Accounts | 288 |
| VI. UNINHABITED ISLES AND THE SPACE OF THE <i>KINKAI</i> (“NEAR SEAS”) | 299 |
| <i>Mujintô</i> of the Ogasawara and Torishima Islands | 304 |
| Chishima Islands and Ezo | 329 |
| Takeshima and Utsuryôdô (Kr.: Dokto, Ulleungdo) | 340 |
| VII. CONCLUSION | 351 |
| APPENDICES | |
| A. SELECTION OF EDO CASTAWAY INCIDENTS AND RELEVANT <i>HYÔRYÛKI</i> | 366 |
| B. EDO CASTAWAYS TO RUSSIA | 371 |
| C. <i>KANBUN</i> INTRODUCTION TO <i>BANDAN</i> (1849) | 372 |
| D. DICTIONARIES AND LEXICONS IN EDO PERIOD <i>HYÔRYÛKI</i> | 374 |
| E. COMPLETE TRANSLATION OF <i>TOKUBEI TENJIKU MONOGATARI</i> (1707)..... | 379 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 393 |

LIST OF MAPS

| Map | Page |
|--|------|
| 2.1. Map of Asia by Abraham Ortelius (1575) | 73 |
| 4.1. <i>Go Tenjiku zu</i> (1364) | 257 |
| 4.2. <i>Enkyû bankoku chikai zenzu</i> (1802)..... | 258 |
| 4.3. <i>Nansen bushû bankoku shôka no zu</i> (~1710) | 258 |
| 4.4. Namba Map | 259 |
| 4.5. <i>Shinchô ittô no zu</i> (1835)..... | 260 |
| 4.6. <i>Bankoku ichiran zu</i> (1809) | 261 |
| 4.7. <i>Kanei hyôryûki</i> Map of Korea | 277 |
| 4.8. <i>Chôsen monogatari</i> Map of Korea | 278 |
| 5.1. Map from “ <i>Kanei hyôryûki</i> ” | 346 |
| 5.2. Map from “ <i>Chôsen monogatari</i> ” | 347 |

LIST OF DIAGRAMS

| Diagram | Page |
|--|------|
| 4.1. Japanese Diplomatic Perception (post-Razan) | 285 |
| 4.2. Japanese Ideological Perception | 285 |

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. NSSSS# *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryô shûsei*. Tokyo: Sanichi Shobô. 1985. Followed by volume number.
2. EHSS# Ishii, Kendô. *Ishii Kendô Korekushon: Edo hyôryûki sôshû*. Edited by Yamashita Tsuneo. Tokyo: Nihon Hyôronsha, 1992. Followed by volume number.
3. TKIR#:# Hayashi, Fukusai. *Tsûkô ichiran*. Edited by Hayakawa Junsaburô. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1912-1914. Followed by *kan* and volume number.
4. EHHS Arakawa, Hidetoshi. *Kishô shiryô shiriizu 3: Nihon hyôryû hyôchaku shiryô*. Tokyo: Chijin Shokan, 1962.
5. DKSS# *Edo hyôryûki sôshû bekkân: Daikokuya Kôdayû shiryô shû*. Edited by Yamashita Tsuneo. Tokyo: Nihon Hyôronsha, 2003. Followed by volume number.
6. NKBT# *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970. Followed by volume number.
7. NKBZ# *Nihon koten bungaku zenshû*. Tokyo: Shôgakkan, 1972. Followed by volume number.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

| Illustration | Page |
|---|------|
| 1.1. Scene in which castaways perform <i>kamikuji</i> | 47 |
| 2.1. “Tokei monogatari jo kanazuke narabi inshô” | 108 |
| 2.2. <i>Kindô nisshi shiô no ichi</i> | 126 |
| 2.3. Page series from <i>Tokei monogatari</i> | 129 |
| 3.1. A page from <i>Oroshiya no kotoba</i> | 159 |
| 3.2. A page from <i>Zôtei ka-Ei tsûgo</i> | 163 |
| 3.3. A page from <i>Kankai ibun</i> | 164 |
| 3.4. Page from <i>Hyôryûki</i> | 169 |
| 3.5. Page from <i>Funaosa nikki</i> | 180 |
| 3.6. Frontispiece to <i>Seiyô jijô</i> | 197 |
| 3.7. Two images of <i>shimabito</i> from <i>Kankai ibun</i> | 207 |
| 3.8. Detail from <i>Oroshiya jin shôho no zu</i> | 208 |
| 3.9. Image of <i>dochakumin</i> from <i>Tokei monogatari</i> | 210 |
| 3.10. Image of Anthony from <i>Tokei monogatari</i> | 213 |
| 3.11. Image of ship from <i>Ôshuku zakki</i> | 215 |
| 3.12. Image of natives from <i>Hyôson kiryaku</i> | 222 |
| 3.13. <i>Bankoku jinbutsu zu</i> | 225 |
| 3.14. <i>Hokkaidô kyû dojin hogo hô</i> | 231 |
| 4.1. Woodblock print for <i>Onoe Kikugorô Ichidaiki</i> | 245 |
| 4.2. Illustration for <i>Oto ni kiku Tenjiku Tokubei</i> | 246 |
| 4.3. Illustrated program for <i>Tenjiku Tokubei ikoku banashi</i> | 246 |
| 4.4. Page from <i>Chôsen monogatari</i> | 281 |

INTRODUCTION

I realize the past five or six years [of my absence] has caused some serious trouble. While I feel that going adrift was no fault of my own, officials of all rank, as well as my parents, siblings, and even my relatives know what it means to face difficulty. I am neither a bad person nor a son lacking filial piety, please grant me this much, even if my brush skills are lacking. The truth is I want to return to my home country, a desire higher than the mountains and deeper than the seas, yet I fear that my return would cause problems for the Shōgun and other officials in our country, thus I refrain from trying to return. Up until now, I have suffered certain adversities of the sort that are unparalleled in this world. Here is a summary of those circumstances.¹

So begins a letter dated the 9th month of 1842 sent from Macao by a distraught Japanese sailor stranded in China by the name of Jusaburō. Resigned to the idea of never being able to return to his family in Japan, the letter in its entirety is as emotionally heart-wrenching as it is resigned to perceived *bakufu* policy of forbidding the repatriation of castaways. Despite the fact that Jusaburō and his six fellow castaways were not able to return to Japan aboard the *Morrison* in 1837, many other Japanese drifters during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did in fact manage to

¹ This letter by Jusaburō of Higo along with a letter by his fellow castaway Shōzō are part of the Tōhoku Daigaku collection. They were written and sent from Macao in the autumn of 1842 and are addressed both to officials in Nagasaki and family in Higo. Jusaburō's letter (part of which is quoted here) is written almost exclusively in *katakana* script and at times is difficult to read. Dr. Stephen Kohl and I translated these letters into English in 2003-2004 and we worked with Katō Takashi's published *katsuji* version of the texts. See, Katō Takashi, ed. (*Sōsho Edo bunko ichi*) *Hyōryū kidan shūsei* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1990), 390.

return from abroad and had their adventures recorded and disseminated for a larger readership.

This dissertation takes as its topic *hyōryūki* (漂流記) or Japanese castaway narratives written and circulated from roughly 1780 to 1880—a period of time corresponding to the late-Edo period. The stories of Japanese sailors and fisherman who accidentally went adrift while at sea during this time period manage to paint intriguingly contradictory visions of western colonialism, empire, trans-oceanic trade, whaling, missionary work, and exploration taking place in the Pacific. Similar to earlier castaway accounts from the first half of the Edo period, these stories served as a site for the engagement of worlds that existed only on the extreme horizon of Japanese thought, and in this sense these documents reflect an ever-shifting sense of the world beyond the seas over the course of the Edo period. It will be argued that by the late eighteenth century this textual category of *hyōryūki* and its primary subject—*hyōryūmono* 漂流者—take on particular formal qualities and come to be recognized through a particular set of inscription practices. Notwithstanding the existence of earlier accounts, from the 1790s we begin to see a flourishing period of production and a fascinating case in which concrete world historical conditions intersect with a more abstracted ideological realm of cultural production. Tracing new ways of thinking that emerge in these texts concerning language, geography, ethnography, and an

increasingly defined sense of national identity, we can read the historical and literary development of these texts vis-à-vis the encroaching conditions of colonialism and empire that came to dominate the space of the Pacific. The castaway as subject *became* both a regulated and contested discourse and the texts responsible for this invention came to comprise a systematized archive in which various discourses of identity and nation were dramatically engaged. This subject of the castaway as a literary and existential category had its birth in a specific set of contingencies coalescing around the geopolitical conditions often dubbed “early modernity” in which the earth and its many residents first became imaginable in specific ways.

The Edo or Tokugawa period of Japanese history (1600-1868) has commonly been represented as one of nearly complete isolation, during which time a traditional Japanese culture developed and flourished within the confines of a hermetically sealed archipelago of islands.² Free of any corrupting foreign influence, this budding culture is said to have become the fully blossomed flower of a “modern,” but “unique” and “homogenous” Japan. Although the simplicity of this narrative has been elaborated upon in numerous ways, and has occasionally come under critical scrutiny, the overarching teleology and assumptions of a pure “national culture” incubated through a

² Jusaburô’s attempted return to Japan on the *Morrison* in 1837 and the subsequent attack on this ship at both Uraga and in Kagoshima by Japanese forces that prevented the repatriation of seven castaways aboard the ship, is the only documented incident in which castaways were prevented from being repatriated due to threat of force. In fact, this somewhat anomalous incident has contributed greatly to the notion that Japan long maintained strictly enforced prohibitions against Japanese returning from abroad.

period of utter isolation has remained a pervasive narrative. Thus, it is little surprise that when people in both Japan and abroad ask me what I currently research, the idea of Edo period castaways both embarking to and from Japan, and furthermore, the notion of first- or secondhand accounts of the world beyond the seas written during this time leaves them asking more questions. While Nakahama “Jon” Manjirô, and to a lesser degree Daikokuya Kôdayû and Hamada Hikozaô, are relatively well known among Japanese people today, when I explain my research interests most listeners remain in disbelief when I tell them that those who had their stories documented upon their return to Japan during the Edo period number in the hundreds. Disbelief gives way to fascination once I begin to reiterate some of the more remarkable experiences these sailors and fisherman relate in their accounts.

The beach, as Greg Dening has pointed out, is a liminal space between two worlds. It is a natural border zone not only between the world of the land and the world of the sea, but also the old and the new, the world of the native and the explorer or scientist. The beach stands between worlds and people as an important threshold and locus of cross-cultural contact and performance. Furthermore as a site of return, it serves as a stage on which certain rituals of repatriation are enacted. “It was in that very narrow band [of sand] where acts of possession and dispossession and walking

along that threshold were performed,” writes Dening.³ Likewise, the stories of castaways that pass over the beach are stories of boundary and border crossings, and as such were often transgressive, if not potentially subversive. In this sense, these stories should be of interest to anthropologists, historians, geographers, and literary scholars alike.

The writing of these *hyôryûki* accounts was an activity charged with political and ideological import. Through their regulation, production, replication, and dissemination these texts represent a broad textual category that conveyed knowledge of others, while also inscribing a new self-identity in the form of an emerging national body for Edo readers. The overwhelming focus on defining the “Japanese” body in terms of diet, hairstyle, language, clothing, song, religious practice, and other performative acts is a characteristic common to most late-Edo *hyôryûki*. In other words, the subject of these accounts is just as much an emerging national, cultural, and metaphysical Japanese identity, as it is the exotic and foreign bodies and spaces of far away places. Thus, the production of these accounts and the establishment of varying formal aspects of *hyôryûki* genres both speak to a shifting and gradually colonized

³ See Tim Dymond, “A Library Sailor: An Interview with Greg Dening,” in *Limina: A Journal of Historical and Cultural Studies*, Vol. 7 (2001), 8. See also Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1986).

Pacific, while also projecting a certain epistemological foundation for Japan's own national territorial and cultural claims.

Pointing to archeological evidence, we might rightly say that maritime drift has taken place from pre-historical times and that cultural exchange resulting from these accidental trans-oceanic encounters was significant.⁴ The vast archive of world folklore provides us with numerous examples of castaway figures such as *Urashima Tarô* and the *Book of Jonah*. Likewise, monumental cultural texts such as the *Kojiki* and Homer's *Odyssey*, also suggest that the castaway figure is in fact a "monomyth" and heroic archetype that embodies a formulaic departure, trial, and return on a journey of self-discovery. Certainly, the conditions of drift have long been ripe with dramatic and metaphorical meanings. But while synchronic similarities linking Edo period castaway accounts to classical canons and prehistoric folklore are certainly evident, this project focuses on the historically and culturally specific characteristics of late-Edo accounts, in order to understand them in a specific Pacific context of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In other words, while castaways may be as old as

⁴ Numerous archeologists have attempted to prove pre-historical transoceanic cultural exchange by drifters. See; Betty J. Meggers, Clifford Evans, and Emilio Estrada, "Early Formative Period of Coastal Ecuador: The Valdivia and Machalilla Phases," in *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology*, Vol. 1 (Washington: US National Museum, 1965), 219-234; Michael Coe, "Archeological Linkages with North and South America at La Victoria, Guatemala," in *American Anthropologist* (New Series, Vol. 62, No. 3 (June 1960)), 363-393; and Matsushima Shunjirô, *Sakoku wo hamideta hyôryûmono: sono ashiato wo ou* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1999), 120-125.

humanity's first attempts to float, the form any such narrative takes is inevitably both historical and particular to the language, traditions, and milieu through which it is told.⁵

The Japanese language today distinguishes between foreign sailors who drifted to Japan (*hyôchakumin*, 漂着民) and Japanese sailors who drifted away from Japan (*hyôryûmin*, 漂流民), although this usage does not seem to have developed in any strict sense until the twentieth century. It must be said from the outset that the study of these two subjectivities—the drifter to Japan and the drifter away from Japan—as well as their resulting textual legacy in the form of *hyôchakki* (漂着記) and *hyôryûki*, are intimately related. While this present study will occasionally employ literary and historical documents related to *hyôchakumin*, the main focus is placed on accounts relating to Japanese sailors and fisherman who drifted from Japan and had their accounts recorded as *hyôryûki* texts upon repatriation. The reasons for this decision are based on the fact that repatriated Japanese castaways were treated differently from foreigners who accidentally drifted to Japan, and because Japanese castaways and their interrogators—State *bakufu* and domain officials—shared a common language allowing

⁵ John Cawelti, in a book-length study of literary formulas argues that a “literary formula” has both an historical and an ahistorical component that defines it. “Actually, if we look at a popular story type such as a western, the detective story, or the spy adventure, we find that it combines these two [historical and universal] sorts of literary phenomenon. These popular story patterns are embodiments of archetypal story forms in terms of specific cultural materials. To create a western involves not only some understanding of how to construct an exciting adventure story, but also how to use certain nineteenth- and twentieth-century images and symbols... along with appropriate cultural themes or myths... Thus formulas are ways in which specific cultural themes and stereotypes become embodied in more universal story archetypes.” John G. Cawelti, *Adventure, Mystery, and Romance: Formula Stories as Art and Popular Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 6.

for much more detailed record of their experiences.⁶ Accounts of Japanese castaways or *hyôryûmin* are therefore qualitatively different from the related category of texts concerning foreigners drifting to Japan (*hyôchakki*).

This study is also historically bound, focusing on an approximately a one hundred-year period ranging from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. While part of this project does consider how accounts predating this period come to be retold after 1780, the majority of documents considered here regard Japanese sailors that drifted through Pacific colonial sites and witnessed the expansion of western forces in the embodiment of missionary, trader, naturalist, native, soldiers, and whaler. It will be demonstrated that Japanese castaway accounts began to undergo a formal transformation in the mid- to late-eighteenth century, and that this formal transformation

⁶ The use of “State,” “Nation,” and in particular, their hyphenated pairing in the form of “Nation-State,” can be problematic when speaking about the Tokugawa period. As has already been suggested, Tokugawa Japan (1600-1868) has traditionally been represented as a collection of more than 200 domains or *han* existing in a feudal dark period of isolation in which the idea of a unified nation was unimaginable. With Japan’s “opening” to the West in the 1850s (or 1860s, 70s, or 80s) Japan quickly industrializes and rises to status of full-fledged Nation-State. Japanese historians of this time period generally prefer the term *kinsei* 近世 or “early modern” to talk about what they do, and this term semantically suggests a nascent period of development moving towards a developed polity with conscripted military, nationwide education system, unified language and mass-media system, and clear control of subjects’ daily lives. It is my contention that this model of historical development is problematic for numerous reasons, nonetheless I will occasionally refer to the *bakufu* as a state-centered regime in the context of early-modern diplomacy and foreign affairs. This is not to suggest an earlier origin of a Japanese “Nation-State,” but to suggest that, in an international sphere the *bakufu* exhibited an active role as state authority and demonstrated significant control over foreign contact. Likewise, while the fourteen year old Manjirô went adrift off the coast of Tosa in 1841 he probably had little concept of any latent “Japaneseness,” all evidence suggests that upon his return ten years later, he had a very developed sense of national identity. In other words, it was nearly impossible for late-Edo castaways not to develop a strong sense of national identity over the course of their interactions with peoples outside Japan. In the context of late-Edo castaway accounts, the notion of both a geographic and cultural Japanese nation is often assumed and postulated; therefore use of “nation” at times becomes inevitable.

congeals in texts relating the repatriation of the first Japanese to witness colonial expansion of Russia in the North Pacific.

In 1792, Daikokuya Kôdayû and Isokichi became the first Japanese castaways to return from Russia, and at the same time, the floodgates of Pacific colonialism were opened; with Russian expansion in the north, English and Spanish trans-Pacific trade, and later by primarily American whalers. During this roughly one hundred year period, multivolume accounts based on the testament of repatriated Japanese sailors and fisherman and written by elite scholars and government officials proliferated. As the geographic and ethnographic imaginary of a Sino-centric world (*ka-i chitsujo* 華夷秩序) gave way to the more massive colonial world system and its equally abstract discourses of science, commerce, race, nation-state, and empire, these stories underwent certain formal transformations.⁷ We can read these texts as defensive reactions to western expansion, projections of an epistemology that laid the foundations for Japan's own colonial projects, and a formally codified category of literature, marked by inter-textual reference, literary and narrative devices, and identity performance. In this sense, this project attempts to uncover the historical and geographic specificity of late Edo Japanese castaway account. In so doing, we shall see how a particular literary and

⁷ The phrase *Nihon gata ka-i ishiki* appears to have first been used by Asao Naohiro in his "Sakokusei no seiritsu" in volume 4 of *Kôza Nihon rekishi* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1970, 59-94. Arano, Yasunori introduces the phrase *Nihon gata Ka-i chitsujo* in his *Kinsei Nihon to Higashi Ajia*, Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai 1998, 4-15.

cultural form such as *hyôryûki* has the power to produce particular visions of the world. In short, *hyôryûki* during the late-Edo and into the early-Meiji eras served as an important medium through which to translate, interpret, and project textual and discursive concepts such as empire, colony, nation, race, and other ideologically charged categories so important to nineteenth century Pacific spaces.

Like their predecessors before the late-eighteenth century, these newer castaways still told stories of powerful fast ships and superior navigational techniques, but increasingly they also began to describe the conditions under which indigenous peoples come to be exploited as colonial subjects, the extraction of wealth and natural resources in these new lands (and waters), and global networks of trade and immigration. Unlike earlier texts from the first half of the Edo period and before, no longer was the possibility of westerners in the Pacific something based upon contingent drift from the south (*Nanbanjin* or “Southern Barbarian”). This new textual topography of Pacific space was now intimately tied to a colonizing Europe and the increasingly influential Americas, as a growing body of Japanese intellectuals began to call for defensive measures.

In Chapter One we will consider both the historicity of drift and also the limits of a traditional historiographic model of national history (*kokushi* 国史) that has tended to excise from the early-modern moment the experience of drift. Doing so, we will see that the cultural production of late-Edo *hyôryûki* has its formal and textual origins in

earlier bureaucratic and diplomatic practices that developed in an East Asian context. As such, the primary materials of this chapter are historical documents relating to not late-, but early-Edo castaway incidents.

The second chapter takes as its topic, the more literary and textual aspects of late-Edo accounts, linking these transformations of a cultural *hyôryûki* form to concrete geopolitical concerns centered on Ezo, the North Pacific, and Russian encroachment. As late-Edo Japanese officials and intellectuals, came to understand, appropriate, and counteract, the philosophical justifications for western Pacific colonial expansion, it became necessary to not only engage perceived threats diplomatically, but also to inscribe these new others and this newly imaginable global space of the Pacific through novel forms of *hyôryûki*. These new *hyôryûki* initiated by, but not limited to the earliest accounts of repatriation from Russia, are formally marked by a scientific and geographic tone, based upon interviews and meetings with castaways. These texts often include dictionaries, maps, as well as ethnographic images and description and are clearly informed by both intellectual and aesthetic ideals of fact and realism. These second-order castaway accounts are generally focused upon peoples outside a traditional Japanese discourse of difference among its East Asia neighbors, and in particular describe and explain a growing western presence in the Pacific. In this sense, we might provisionally consider these late-Edo *hyôryûki* as part of a larger global

phenomenon of castaway writing that defines one of the first trans-national literary forms of global conquest and exploration.

Chapter Three looks more closely at how these late-Edo *hyôryûki* served as vehicles for envisioning the world beyond the beach and translating the radical newness of global Pacific conditions for a domestic readership. Beginning with a consideration of foreign language dictionaries—a particular formal characteristic of late-Edo *hyôryûki*—this third chapter identifies an assumed logic of equivalency outside a Sino-centric model that is reflected in these lexicons of a new Pacific topography, which in turn became a necessary, but imperfect means to explain and project new global hierarchies of race, gender, ethnicity, and relative civility.

While accounts that describe a western dominance in the Pacific generally only appear after 1794 with the writing of *Hokusa bunryaku* 北槎聞略, not all accounts embrace this new textual model for inscribing stories of drift. As we shall see in Chapter Four, while the writing of the *Hokusa bunryaku* and other accounts such as *Kankai ibun* 環海異聞 did offer later *hyôryûki* authors a formal model by which to encode stories of drift, earlier Edo incidents of drift were being “re-discovered” at this very time as source material for yet other, more popular cultural forms such as published adventure-like stories and even *kabuki* and *jôruri* theater plays.

The final chapter of this project returns to a more historical methodology to uncover more overtly political deployments of castaway stories in the late-Edo period.

Through a consideration of *mujintô hyôryûki* 無人島漂流記 or “castaway accounts to uninhabited lands”—a third sub-category of the Edo period castaway account—Chapter Five demonstrates how *hyôryû* sites on the periphery of the archipelago also served an important role in articulating the emerging boundaries of the nation and its peoples.

This project has been written and conceived at a moment when globalization, studied in universities and protested in the streets, has come to be all too often either mindlessly celebrated or vehemently dismissed. Today, it appears that a new form of castaway narrative—represented by television shows such as *Survivor* (broadcast from 2000, Mark Burnett, executive producer) and *Lost* (broadcast from 2004, J.J. Abrams and Damon Lindelof, co-creators), as well as movies such as *Cast Away* (2000, Robert Zemeckis, director)—have become exceedingly popular. Although the research for this dissertation was not directly inspired by this global trend in popular culture, it should be acknowledged that the conditions of a certain globalization, namely the ability to carry out research at American, Japanese, and European universities, participate in international conferences, and furthermore challenge long-cherished assumptions of academic disciplines and area studies-based knowledge, cannot go unmentioned. In short, we should acknowledge at the outset that at a moment when the world seems smaller than ever and technology produces certain temporal compressions previously unimaginable, the figure of the castaway in both historical literature and in terms of science-fiction narrative have reemerged at the forefront of

both intellectual curiosity and entertainment. Therefore, the purpose of this study is not to simply uncover a body of texts that have remained more or less outside the scope of Japanese studies, but instead to consider just how the castaway narrative has come to be appropriated and disseminated as an ideological text serving competing apparatuses of power.

HISTORY OF DRIFT/ DRIFT OF HISTORY

Some of the earliest written Japanese historical documents to survive today testify to the exceptional nature of castaways. For example, in the twenty-fourth volume of the *Zoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 there is the story from 763 C.E. of a ship returning from Kôrai 高麗 (Kr.: Koguryō) that became distressed and drifted, only to be saved after proper supplication was offered to the gods.¹⁴ Other texts such as *Matsura no miya monogatari* 松浦宮物語, probably written by Fujiwara Teika 藤原定家 around 1185, foreground the experience of a heroic Japanese figure in China and chronicle the super-human challenges posed in repatriation.¹⁵ This early literary castaway account, if we might provisionally call it that, represents the historical figure Kibi-no-makibi 吉備真備 in hyperbolic terms, ultimately emphasizing a certain Japanese cultural superiority over China. According to Maruyama Masao the national character of Japan emerges through encounters with the outside and a particular dialectical relationship between native and foreign. Addressing what he called “pre-modern forms of nationalism,” Maruyama invoked Tokutomi Sohō (1863-1958) to describe the process by which:

¹⁴ The date is 天平宝字七年. *Zoku Nihongi* (Kuroita Katsumi, ed.) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1966), 138. Likewise, Arakawa Hidetoshi lists no less than 113 accounts of drift taking place before 1600. See his, *Nihon hyōryū hyōchaku shiryō* (Tokyo: Chijin Shokan, 1962), 1-57

¹⁵ *Matsura no miya monogatari* (Kubota Takao, et al, eds.) (Tokyo: Kanrin Shobō, 1996).

A threat from abroad immediately directs the nation's thoughts outwards. This leads immediately to the rise of a spirit of nationalism. This directly induces national unification.... The concept 'foreign nations' brought forth the concept 'Japanese nation.' The day when the concept of 'Japanese nation' arose was the day when the concept '*han*' vanished.¹⁶

This projection of a Japanese identity vis-à-vis peoples of other Asian lands, as we see in *Matsura no miya monogatari*, has continued on and off throughout the last millennium, and some of the earliest Edo period castaway accounts such as *Dattan hyōryūki* 韃靼漂流記 (1644), as well as later Edo period *hyōryūki* such as *Shanghai kōki* 上海航記 (1868), can attest to this. However, for a nearly eighty-year period initiated by the repatriation of Daikokuya Kōdayū and Isokichi in 1792, the focus of *hyōryūki* takes a dramatic and noticeable turn in terms of the logic and representational forms by which the Other comes to define Japan and Japaneseness.¹⁷ In particular, certain late-Edo period *hyōryūki* written by “nativist” *kokugaku* 国学 scholars such as *Funaosa nikki* 船長日記 (1822) or *Tokei monogatari* 時計物語 (1849) articulate a distinct “Japaneseness” for the castaway and readers alike.¹⁸ These narratives of *Japanese* subjects adrift both present stories that consciously engage in a larger *kokugaku* discourse of Japanese literary traditions while also invoking a distinctly nationalist discourse of *shinkoku* 神国 ideology that defined Japan as a divine nation by which gods and *kami* commune with

¹⁶ Cited by Maruyama Masao, *Nihon seiji shisō shi kenkyū* (Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan, 1952). Translation is Hane's in *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan* (Mikiso Hane, trans.)(Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1974), 342.

¹⁷ A third castaway, Koichi, was also repatriated from the *Shinshō-maru* however he did not survive long enough to have his story recorded.

¹⁸ Both of these accounts are found in Tanigawa Kenichi, et al., eds., *Edo shomin seikatsu shiryō shūsei*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobō, 1968), 503-550 and 3-298, respectively. This is a major collection of castaway documentation and will be abbreviated hereafter as ESSSS5.

and protect Japanese castaways at sea. These late-Edo castaway accounts present the castaway subject as a product of a highly differentiated native culture vis-à-vis the West. In fact, while there are several multivolume and elaborated castaway accounts relating other areas of Asia before 1792, the vast majority (if not entirety) of more detailed *hyôryûki* produced after this time focus on encounters with westerners and travel through a western-influenced terrain. The few accounts taking place in Asia and written after the 1790s such as the relatively short *Ruson (Luzon) koku hyôryûki* 呂宋國漂流記 (1845) which takes place throughout islands of the Philippines, emphasizes colonial relations and trans-Pacific trade and is far removed from traditional representations, or “iconographies of difference” describing early Asian neighbors.¹⁹

Other accounts written between 1792 and 1872 by *Rangaku* 蘭学 or “Dutch Learning” scholars such as *Hokusa bunryaku* 北槎聞略 (1794) and *Kankai ibun* 環海異聞 (1805) also project a similar national subject in the embodiment of the castaway, and a linguistically, culturally, metaphysically, and politically unique Japan. Unlike accounts written by *kokugakusha*, the frame of these texts relies less on references to classical literature such as *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語, *Kojiki* 古事記, and *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語, and instead upon a proto-ethnographic discourse that borrows from both Chinese gazetteers and European scientific, encyclopedic works. Thus, castaway narratives in several guises have served as potentially fertile textual sites for an emerging discourse of Self and Other throughout time, but by the late-Edo period the framework by which

¹⁹ The two other examples that come to mind are Magotarô/ Magoshichi accounts that are the subject of Chapter Four and the *Shanghai Kôki* of 1868 which is introduced in Chapter Three. For *Ruson hyôryûki* see ESSSS5, 571-580.

to project a “Japan” and its others either politically, ethnically, or culturally was inflected through the seemingly scientific discourses of ethnography and geography on the one hand, and the equally powerful metaphysical abstractions of *shinkoku* (神国, “Divine Nation”) ideology and “nativist” culture and language on the other.

HISTORY OF DRIFT

Despite several examples that predate the Edo period, the category of *hyôryûki* is generally considered by Japanese historians to be an early-modern phenomenon and a result of maritime prohibitions (*kaikin* 海禁) instituted by the Tokugawa *bakufu* regime in the 1630s and ostensibly maintained until the 1850s.²⁰ While Haruna Akira recognizes that events designated as *hyôryû* were not limited to the early-modern or *kinsei* era (generally recognized to be synonymous with the Edo or Tokugawa period), he emphasizes the significance of these events for the maintenance of national integrity within East Asia during this same period. Furthermore, he points out that these events were important means of learning about the world outside of East Asia.²¹ At the same time focusing on formal qualities that distinguish Japanese *hyôryûki*, Haruna notes that the textual category that takes as its subject events of drift is a particularly early-modern phenomenon in Japan.²² Likewise, the historian of Japan-Korea relations Ikeuchi Satoshi, just looking at documented accounts of drift between the Japanese archipelago and the Korean peninsula, identified 91 cases involving 1235 Japanese individuals

²⁰ See Haruna, “Hyôryûki,” in *Kokushi daijiten* (Kokushi Daijiten Henshû linkai, eds.) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1990), 1034; Arakawa Hidetoshi, *Nihonjin hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Jinbutsu Ôraisha, 1964), 20; Kawai Hikomitsu, *Nihonjin hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Shisôsha, 1967), 306-307, 310-312; Kobayashi Shigefumi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 2000), 13-14.

²¹ Haruna Akira, “Hyôryû,” in *Kokushi daijiten* (Kokushi Daijiten Henshû linkai, eds.) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1990), 1033.

²² Haruna Akira, “Hyôryûki,” *ibid.*

drifting to Korea between the 1618 and 1872. Even more astonishing are the numbers he gives for Koreans drifting to Japan; 35 incidents between the years 678 and 1079, 50 examples taking place between 1289 and 1591, and an amazing 971 cases between 1599 and 1872 (roughly corresponding to the early-modern period).²³ Today there remain thousands of representative documents that comprise this textual category of *hyôryûki*.

²⁴ They range from the 1) shorter *kuchigaki* 口書 and derivative forms recorded by *bakufu* and domain officials, to the 2) more elaborate multivolume collections that often included illustrations, poetic interludes, maps, dictionaries, and other more detailed information generally written by scholars, to even 3) accounts which reflect oral storytelling or performative origins. In other words, these texts comprise what Natalie Davis, in her study of sixteenth century letters of remission in France, calls a “mixed genre” that simultaneously served as “judicial supplication,” “historical account,” as well as, a good “story.”²⁵ We would be right to conclude that the number of documented castaways in East Asia skyrocketed during the roughly 250 years of Tokugawa rule, and furthermore, that the practice of relating these maritime mishaps in a formal and codified manner became common practice.

²³ See Ikeuchi Satoshi, *Kinsei Nihon to Chôsen hyôryûmin* (Kyoto: Nozomigawa Shoten, 1998), 26, 13.

²⁴ The largest modern collections of accounts (in *katsujî*) include Yamashita Tsuneo, Yamashita Tsuneo, ed., (*Ishii Kendô Korekushon*) *Edo hyôryûki sôshû*, 6 vols. (Tokyo: Nihon Hyôronsha, 1992) which is based upon the lifework of Ishii Kendô (1865-1943), who collected Edo period *hyôryûki* (hereafter EHS, followed by vol. number and pages); Arakawa Hidetoshi, ed. *Nihon hyôryû hyôchaku shiryô*, No. 3 of *Kishô shiryô shirîzu* (Tokyo: Chijin Shokan, 1962) (hereafter NHHS); and numerous other collections.

²⁵ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 4.

But what of this term *hyôryû*? It has certainly been in use in both Chinese and Japanese sources long before the Edo period.²⁶ A survey of the specific language used in individual castaway accounts reproduced in printed form (*katsujî*), as well as several dozen handwritten documents that have yet to be transliterated into contemporary type, the earliest use of the term *hyôryû* (漂流) appears in the *Nihon kiryaku* 日本紀略 (written around 1036). This reference, while brief, clearly states; 長元七年三月某日、對馬国言上、高麗人漂流大隅国 (“Sometime in the Third Month of the Seventh Year of *Chôgen* [1034] Tsushima reported that a castaway from Kôrai drifted to Ôsumi.”)²⁷ Nonetheless, this reference appears to be an historical anomaly, since most other accounts predating the Edo period employ other more-or-less synonymous terms or, as we see in *Taketori monogatari* 竹取物語, simply the individual characters *tadayou/hyô* (漂 or alternatively, 飄/颿) or *nagare/ryû* (流).²⁸ Other terms commonly used before the Edo period include, *hyôtô kaichû* (漂蓋海中) and *hyôtô* (漂蓋),²⁹ *ryûgû* (流遇) and *raichaku* (来着),³⁰ *ryûrai* (流来)³¹ *hyôcho* (漂著),³² *hyôchaku* (漂着),³³ as well as phrases such as, *hyôhan kaijô* (漂泛海

²⁶ The *Morohashi Kan-Wa daijiten*, lists two Classical Chinese textual references under the heading “*hyôryû*.” These include a reference to the *Hou Han Shu* (後漢書) and the *Yán Tiě Lùn* (鹽鐵論). See *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* (Morohashi Kenji, ed.), vol. 7, (Tokyo: Taishûkan Shoten, 1968), 207.

²⁷ See Arakawa Hidetoshi, (*Kishô shiryô shirizu 3*) *Nihon hyôryû hyôchaku shiryô* (Tokyo: Chijin Shokan, 1962), 18.

²⁸ This analysis is based on texts included in the largest single-volume anthology of castaway accounts and the only collection that includes accounts from before the Edo period. Respective page numbers in the following footnotes refer to Arakawa (1962).

²⁹ Examples of which can be found in the *Nihon kiryaku* (日本紀略), *Zoku Nihongi* (続二本紀), and *Zoku Nihon kôki* (続日本後紀).

³⁰ *Sandai jitsuroku* (三代実録).

³¹ *Nihon shoki* (日本書紀) *Ruijû kokushi* (類従国史), and *Zoku Nihongi*.

上), *hankai hyōfū* (泛海漂風), *hyōfū* (飄風), *hankai sōfūhyō* (泛海遭風飄), and *hyōhan yōchū* (漂泛洋中). However with the publication of the Korean (in Chinese) *Haedong chechukki* by Shin Shuk-chu 申叔舟 (also know as the *Kaitō shokokki* 海東諸国紀 in Japan) in 1471, usage of the term *hyōryū* becomes more pervasive.³⁴ Comparing this text with another roughly contemporary Korean text—*The Veritable Records of King Sejong the Great*, 成宗大王實錄—we again see much of the same thing, that is, frequent usage of the term *hyōryū*, and in particular usage of phrases such as *wagakuni hyōryūjin* (Jp.)/ *uri nara pyoryuin* (Kr.) (我國漂流人).³⁵ This strongly suggests that the usage of the term *hyōryū* in Japan became more frequent only after it began to appear in Korean diplomatic and historical documents. In fact, looking at several Japanese documents that record the arrival of the first Portuguese in Tanegashima, we do not find the term *hyōryū* used once, suggesting that a growing preoccupation with recording castaway accounts had little to do with the arrival of westerners and was instead rooted in an East Asian diplomatic context. Since the publication of Arano Yasunori's *Kinsei Nihon to Higashi Ajia* ("Early Modern Japan and East Asia") the repatriation of castaways

³² *Nihon shoki*, *Zoku Nihon kōki*, *Teiō hen nenki* (帝王編年記), *Buntoku jitsuroku* (文德實錄), *Sandai jitsuroku*, and *Zoku Nihongi*.

³³ *Zoku Nihongi*, *Sandai jitsuroku*, *Nihon kiryaku*, and *Nihon kōki* (日本後紀)

³⁴ According to a searchable database of the text at <http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/B1241189/1/vol06/kaitosho.txt>, nine usages of the term *hyōryū* appear. These include the seven instances of the more interesting phrase *waga hyōryūnin* ("castaway of ours," 我漂流人). This phrase emphasizes the Korean origins of the said castaways and thus suggests a strong emphasis national identity. I would argue that this also reflects the fact that Korean and Japanese protocol had been established and official repatriation procedures were in place by at this time. A more detailed explanation will follow.

³⁵ For example, see Arakawa (1962), 33-46.

between the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago has often come to be seen as a formalized process consciously constructed to maintain borders between nations. Arano in particular has argued that these dual systems of repatriation remained consistent and intact from the recognition of the *p'yoin yōngnae ch'awae* (漂人領来差倭, a Korean term for castaway repatriation envoys from Japan) in 1627 to the beginning of the modern era.³⁶ Arano's work initiated an important debate that began in 1994 when Haruna Akira first questioned whether repatriation of castaways was a formalized, structured "system," and instead suggested that it was a set of more sub-national, localized processes for repatriating castaways arriving in Japan.³⁷

During the Edo period too, the term *hyōryū* did not exist alone, but instead was used along with several other terms. By the end of the 17th century the term *hyōryū* to denote Japanese drifting away from Japan, and the term *hyōchaku* to denote foreigners drifting to Japan seem to be used frequently enough to argue they were in common usage. The same cannot be said for the related term *hyōryūki* or "castaway narrative." While there are numerous examples of this term in the titles of later Edo accounts, the usage of alternative terms is nearly baffling. We shall see in Chapter Two that the variety of titles that the texts themselves take in the later Edo period, reflect the variety of audiences and purposes for which these texts came to be written.

Although regulations controlling the construction of ships and maritime trade with non-Japanese (*kaikin* 海禁) had undergone significant reformulation by the 1640s,

³⁶ Arano Yasunori, *Kinsei Nihon to Higashi Ajia* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1988), 127-128.

³⁷ Haruna Akira, "Hyōryūmin sōkan seido no keisei in suite," in *Kaijishi kenkyū*, No. 52 (July 1995), 1-45.

both the *bakufu* as well as *han* officials were in no way ignorant of the world around them. It is perhaps wise to remember the vast distances Japanese ships freely sailed in the name of trans-Pacific trade before the 1630s.³⁸ When the ex-governor of Luzon—Don Rodrigo de Vivero—was shipwrecked off the coast of Japan en route to New Spain in 1609, Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 provided this castaway with a ship to take him to Mexico City via Acapulco. Accompanying Vivero on the journey were 23 merchants and seamen from the Japanese archipelago and Alonzo Muñoz, an official Franciscan envoy representing and sent by Ieyasu to Phillip III of Spain.³⁹ Certainly this was not the only trans-Pacific venture originating from the Japanese isles at the time. With the introduction of portolan charts, astrolabes, and new naval construction methods, Date Masamune 伊達政宗 had Western-style seafaring ships built and sent to Mexico on two occasions.⁴⁰

Even before the Tokugawa *bakufu* was established, the possibility of world travel was made very real by the presence of, first Iberian, and later other Europeans in various ports throughout the Japanese isles.⁴¹ Furthermore, castaways—ranging from

³⁸ See, Iwawo Seiichi, *Shuinsen to Nihonmachi* (Tokyo: Shibundô, 1954) and Thomas A. W. Nelson, “Merchants and Mercenaries: The Overseas Japanese Diaspora in East Asia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Centuries,” (unpublished presentation given at the AAS Annual Meeting, New York (March 2003).

³⁹ For a summary of this event see the “Introduction” to *Kaigai ibun* (trans. Richard Zumwinckle & Tadanobu Kawai) (Los Angeles: Dawson’s Book Shop, 1970), 9.

⁴⁰ See Matsuda Kiichi, *Keichô shisetsu—Nihonjin hajime no Taiheiyô ôdan* (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ôraisha, 1969), 164- 236.

⁴¹ C.R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951).

Chinese merchants, to difficult-to-determine “pirates” (*kaizoku* 海賊), to Iberian explorers with their African slaves and South Asian translators—circulated with some regularity in the increasingly internationalized seas of East Asia during the 16th century. The Dejima diaries kept by the Dutch as an official record of their outpost in the bay of Nagasaki demonstrate this point. We begin to see how the stories of shipwreck circulated in a particularly inter- and trans-national space of ports and on the decks of ships whose crews were never necessarily of the same national origin. For example, in the margins of the diaries we may read of six castaway European sailors being sent to Nagasaki from Ryukyu, via Satsuma in 1703. Of the six, half were Dutch, but two Englishmen and an Irish filled out the crew. Likewise, following the notes scribbled in the margins of this official diary of the Dutch Factory, we learn of the Dutch ship *Arion*, the details of which are outlined and revealed over a several week period in the jottings of Opperhoofd N.J. Van Hoorn during his directorship at Dejima. In July of 1715 a Japanese by the name of Magobei had told a Dutchman in Nagasaki that he had heard from a Chinese sailor that a Dutch ship had been wrecked in the Paracelcus Islands in the 11th month of the previous year. Although the ship in question is not specifically named in this initial hearsay, over time, through information supplied by an informal network of international traders and sailors the marginalia scribbled by Van Hoorn and his successor, Gideon Boudaan, reveal that the ship in question is the *Arion*.⁴²

With the consolidation of power in Tokugawa régime record-keeping relating to castaways, both *hyôryûmin* and *hyôchakumin*, became formalized in the form of

⁴² J.L. Blussé and W.G.J. Rummelink (eds.), *Dejima Diaries Marginalia, 1700-1740 (Scientific*

kuchigaki or “oral debriefings” upon arrival or repatriation, and provide a textual archive far beyond the records kept by Dutch officials in Dejima. With an increase in the number of not only Europeans but also other colonized subjects of Europe appearing in East Asia, the logic of Western imperial expansion and colonial exploitation appeared not as a mystery, but instead as both a powerful ideology and serious political threat which required monitoring and regulation. The technologies of the modern world system that made such travel to Southeast Asia, Mexico, and even as far as Europe possible, were not limited to navigation.⁴³ The mapping of a planet that allowed for access to faraway places and foreign spaces, also insisted upon a concept of the nation-state, nation-based ethnologies, control over delineated territories and hierarchical relations among the civilized and barbaric, ruler and ruled, advanced and retarded peoples. The Japanese islands were in no way immune to these conditions, and it is no coincidence that the formation of what is referred to as the *baku-han* system 幕藩制動

Publications of the Japan-Netherlands Institute, No. 12 (Tokyo: Nichi-Ran Gakkai, 1992), 188-193.

⁴³ While Euro-centric in perspective, Wallerstein’s notion of a modern world-system is helpful and appears to have exerted some influence on more directly relevant research such as Martin Green’s work on castaways and more recent attempts to write global environmental histories of the early modern world. See, John F. Richards, *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). Wallerstein’s macro-historical project is best represented by a three volume series simply titled, *The Modern World System*. Unfortunately his understanding of Japan’s role in this “modern world-system” is never articulated, or only tangentially articulated as a victim of Dutch hegemony over Indo-Sino-Japanese trade networks. See, Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600- 1750* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 107. One significant problem with Wallerstein’s approach is that it seems to strip away any possibility for agency, instead falling back upon the supremacy of economic forces. For example, he writes, “Incorporation into the capitalist world-economy was never at the initiative of those being incorporated. The process derived rather from the need of the world-economy to expand its boundaries, a need which was itself the outcome of pressures internal to the world-economy.” See, *The Second Era of Great Expansion of the Capitalist World-Economy, 1730-1840s* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1989), 129. In doing so, change on a localized level appears as something simply imposed from the outside, and not something negotiated through appropriation, invention, and resistance—a position taken in this paper.

came into existence by the beginning of the seventeenth century in order to effectively articulate and regulate a national border.⁴⁴

In order to consolidate national hegemony and secure political stability, the *bakufu* implemented a series of regulations beginning in the 1630s that were meant to effectively control foreign contact through monopoly rights on foreign trade being granted to specific *han*. These dictates were by the nineteenth century known collectively as *sakoku rei* 鎖国令 or “closed-country laws,” however judging from the plethora of Japanese castaway accounts extant from this period of ostensible seclusion, it is quite clear that contact with the “foreign” was never effectively eliminated. What have variously been called “Closed-country laws” and “maritime prohibitions” (*kaikin*) are in fact at least two sets of edicts issued by the *bakufu* in 1609, 1633, 1635, 1636, and 1639, as well as 1806, 1825, 1842, and 1843.⁴⁵ It is important to point out that while neither the word *sakoku* nor *kaikin* appear once in any of these documents, it is evident that during two moments in the Edo period, first in the early 17th century and again in

⁴⁴ On the formation of Early Modern borders in Japan see, Tessa Morris-Suzuki, “The Frontiers of Japanese Identity,” in *Asian Forms of the Nation* (Tonnesson & Antlöv, eds.) (Richmond: Curzon, 1996); Bruce Batten, “Frontiers and Boundaries of Pre-modern Japan,” in *Journal of Historical Geography*, 25, 2 (1999); Ronald Toby, “Kinseiki no ‘Nihonzu’ to ‘Nihon’ no kyōkai,” in *Chizu to ezu no seiji bunka shi* (Kuroda Hideo, et al., eds.) (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2001), 79-102. The terms *baku-han taisei* and *baku-han kokka* have proven problematic, and more recently Mizubayashi Takeshi has offered *fukugō kokka* or “compound State” to describe the existence of both a State-level authority such as the *bakufu* and more regional “country” or domain networks of power. See Mark Ravina, *Land and Lordship in Early Modern Japan* (Stanford University Press, 1999), particularly first chapter. I bring it up here because it will prove useful when we begin to look at who was writing later Edo castaway accounts. Regarding the *baku-han* debate over just how much of a Nation-State Japan was in the Edo period, I refer my readers to Ronald P. Toby, “Review: Rescuing the Nation from History: The State of the State in Early Modern Japan,” in *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (2001) 197-237.

⁴⁵ Kikuchi, Shunsuke, *Tokugawa kinrei kō*, vol. 1-6 (Tokyo: Shihōshō, 1932-1939). Cited in “Hyōryū no jidai haikai ni kan suru shiryō,” in *Nakahama Manjirō shūsei* (Kawasumi Tetsuo, ed.) (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1990), 963-969. This is not meant to be a complete list of laws that have at some point or another been called *sakoku rei* or *kaikin*.

the first half of the nineteenth century, the *bakufu* made concerted efforts to regulate overseas exchange through legislation.⁴⁶ Looking at the document from 1635 that is most often cited by historians, we see the first three articles read:

*Japanese ships going to foreign countries are strictly prohibited

*Anyone assisting a Japanese in going to a foreign country or otherwise allowing for their passage shall certainly be executed, while the ship will be impounded and the ship owner interrogated

*Any Japanese residing abroad, who returns will be executed⁴⁷

According to these terse proscriptions, the consequences of drifting abroad might appear fatal. Furthermore, the document reflects a strong sense of a national subject (*Nihonjin*) and a clear distinction between “the foreign” (*ikoku*) and domestic. Ronald Toby summarizes these early seventeenth century laws regulating maritime travel in the following manner:

The measures, which are said to comprise the seclusion policy—prohibitions on Japanese overseas voyages, restrictions on the export of weapons, bans on Christianity and on Catholic travel to Japan, and the like—were indeed promulgated by the bakufu, but they did not conceive of their actions as shutting Japan off from the rest of the world, nor would they have recognized the term we most commonly see for their policy. That term *sakoku*, a term which has dominated

⁴⁶ Although the documents themselves do not mention either *sakoku* or *kaikin* the terms were used in official histories written towards the end of the Edo period. For a history of the term *sakoku* see Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 11-16. Late Edo usage of the term *kaikin* can be found in the *Tokugawa jikki* 徳川実記 (1809-1843). See Kobayashi Shigefumi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 2000), 13.

⁴⁷ Hiraga Noburu, ed., *Nihonshi shiryō senshū*, vol. 1. (Tokyo: Bon'ninsha, 1990), 141-142. It should be noted that these first three articles are nearly identical to the document titled *Kanei jū tori doshi nigatsu Nagasaki bugyō he no hōsho* 寛永十西年二月長崎奉行江之奉書 from 1633. See Nakahama Manjirō *shūsei* (Kawasumi Tetsuo, ed.) (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1990), 963.

the modern historiography of the Tokugawa period, was not a contemporary seventeenth-century term.⁴⁸

It is also important to point out that the only documents traditionally referred to as *sakoku rei* that mention castaways directly are those documents from 1806 and 1843, both of which, far from promising death to Japanese drifting abroad or foreigners being cast ashore in Japan, instead establish a humane protocol for dealing with such distressed victims.⁴⁹ In fact, only one document from the later Edo period that has come to be considered *sakoku rei* ever mentions actually firing upon foreign ships and that is the *Ikoku sen uchi harai rei* of 1825: A document made famous by the *Morrison* Incident of 1837 in which a ship attempting to repatriate castaways was repelled by a battery of fire.⁵⁰ Because of the controversy that this incident stirred, the *uchi harai* order was, by 1842, replaced by a much friendlier approach to foreign ships off the coast of Japan. In these two documents from the 1806 and 1843, castaways are to be cared for with food, water, and firewood or, in the case that they are Japanese castaways, they are to be turned over to *bakufu* authorities. In looking at this set of documents that

⁴⁸ Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 11.

⁴⁹ The document of 1806, titled, *Oroshiya sen no gi ni tsuki gosho tsuki Bunka san nen toradoshi shôgatsu nijûroku nichi* おろしや船之儀二付御書付 文化三年寅年正月廿六日, deals specifically with castaways (*hyôchakumin*) from Russia and states, “If in fact they have met with storms and have become cast away, lack food water and firewood, and cannot immediately return to their country, as a response these things should be provided so that they might return home.” The document from 1843, titled *Tempo jûyon usagi doshi hachigatsu muika gaikoku he hyôryû no mono tsurekoe sôrô setsu uketorikata no koto* 天保十四卯年八月六日 外国江漂流之者連越候節受取方之事, states that any castaway returning on a foreign ship should be received and, as with the previous year’s regulation, firewood, water and food should be given to the foreign ship no matter what port they call on.” See *Nakahama Manjirô shûsei* (Kawasumi Tetsuo, ed.) (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1990), 966.

⁵⁰ More accurately titled, *Ikoku sen noriyose sôrôeba, uchi harai yoshibeki gosho tsuki bunsei hachinenn toridoshi nigatsu jûhachi nichi* 異国船乗寄候ハ、可打払旨御書付 文政八年酉年二月十八日. *Ibid.* 967.

have come to be known as *sakoku rei*, we can conclude that laws passed in the early 17th century were specifically addressed to people willfully traveling in and out of Japan and, in particular, is concerned with Catholics (*Bateren* 伴天連) and regulation of international trade.

Studies of Edo period castaways in the 20th century have almost always begun with a discussion of *sakoku* policy and then proceeded to attribute the dramatic increase in the sheer number of castaways during the Edo period to a draconian *bakufu* policy of isolation. A particular pattern emerged with the publication of the first book-length academic study of the topic by Yoshioka Nagayoshi in 1944. In his *Hyôryûsen monogatari no kenkyû*, he establishes both a natural and “man-made” reason to explain the numerous castaway accounts written during the Edo period. For the former, namely Japan’s legacy as a island nation “surrounded by the four seas” (written at the height of Japan’s continental expansion!), he emphasizes Japan’s proximity to the *kuroshio* current that could potentially pull Japanese ships in a northeasterly direction and, meeting with the Liman current in the North Pacific, produce storm-prone seas.⁵¹ The other, “man-made” condition he addressed early on was the Tokugawa *sakoku seisaku* (Closed-Country policies), which he claimed forbade the construction of large ships and the development of scientifically-based navigational methods.⁵²

In 1956 the historical geographer, Ayuzawa Shintarô, published the first book-length study of Edo period castaways in the post-war era. In his introduction he argues

⁵¹ Yoshioka Yoshinaga, *Hyôryûsen monogatari no kenkyû* (Tokyo: Hokkô Shobô, 1944), 50.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 50.

that Japanese castaways have not been granted the recognition they deserve for the important roles they played in world history and geography, while in the first proper chapter he attempts to unravel the seemingly oxymoronic sub-title of his text—*Sakoku jidai no kaigai hatten* or “Overseas Development during the Age of Isolation”— by offering two accounts that in his argument, demonstrate that Edo period Japanese willfully used the castaway to exploit and develop new territories.⁵³ While his thesis is somewhat convoluted and based on two somewhat specious accounts, he nonetheless gestures towards seeing the castaway in terms of a larger world history and offers an implicit critique of *sakoku* policies (with phrases such as, “*sekai chiri karamo mataku dokuritsu shiteita to omowaregachina, sakoku jidai no Nihonjin,*” or “the Japanese of the ‘Closed Country period, who have come to be thought of as completely independent of even world geography.’”) However, nowhere in his text does he question the existence of such policies. In fact, he instead points to a specific policy of the *bakufu*’s that limited the size of ships during the Edo period, and thus logically argues that smaller ships led to more maritime accidents. Furthermore, he states that Edo period castaways, when drifting abroad to foreign spaces where they could not verbally communicate, could simply outline an image of a one-mast ship in the sand that would be taken to mean they were Japanese, thus implying that the *bakufu* also prohibited ships with more than one mast.⁵⁴ While he is generally careful to cite historical sources throughout most of his study, this anecdotal reference (which he suggests happened

⁵³ Ayuzawa Shintarô, (*Nihon rekishi shinsho*) *Hyôryû: Sakoku jidai no kaigai hatten*, (Tokyo: Ibundô, 1956), unnumbered introductory pages and 1-9.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

more than once) to drawing ships in the sand, remains undocumented. Nonetheless, these two spurious causes for a dramatic increase in the number of castaways during the Edo period have been picked up and reinforced by most, later scholars of castaway accounts.

In 1960 the geographer Muroga Nobuo and Yamori Kazuhiko published their study of *Bandan* 蕃談, a castaway account written in 1841 by the Confucian Koga Kinichirô 古賀金一郎 based on interviews with a sailor named Jirôkichi. In the extensive introduction, the first part of which is not so subtly titled, “*Sakoku* and *hyôryû*,” they reiterate and build on Ayuzawa’s understanding of the relationship between castaways and *bakufu* maritime laws, writing, “During the Edo period, the ships of Japan did not have keels. With only one mast and one sail, it was not possible for them to freely navigate the deep sea.”⁵⁵ In 1964 Arakawa Hidetoshi, the most prolific collector and transcriber of Edo period castaway narratives during the post-war period, offered a slightly different take on the cause for such an explosion in the numbers of castaway accidents during this time.⁵⁶ Reflecting his training as a climatologist, Arakawa turned to natural phenomenon to explain the cause for so many incidents of drift, all the while paying lip service to *sakoku*.⁵⁷ Looking at the times of the year in which a disproportionate number of accidents took place and textual evidence in castaway accounts that mention *ônishi kaze* (大西風 “Great Western Winds”), he argues that

⁵⁵ Muroga Nobuo and Yamori Kazuhiko, *Bandan: hyôryû no kiroku 1* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1965), 3.

⁵⁶ Arakawa Hidetoshi, *Nihonjin hyôryûki*, (Tokyo: Jinbutsu Ôraisha, 1964).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

strong and unpredictable seasonal winds that develop during the winter months were primarily responsible for the large number of Japanese castaways.⁵⁸

Kawase Hikomitsu attempted to synthesize Arakawa's scientific take on castaway accounts with the more commonly accepted historical understanding of this relationship between *sakoku* and castaways. He points out that *sakoku* laws were directed toward ocean-going ships and international contact, and did not pertain to domestic shipping, which was based on a form of navigation known as *yamami* 山見 (also referred to as *ji mawari* 地廻 and *jikata nori* 地方乗) in which the ship followed a visible coastline using landmarks such as mountains, islands, and beaches as guides.⁵⁹ The following year he refined his ideas concerning the reasons for castaway narratives in an article titled “Hyôryû” that appeared in a book-length collection of research on Edo period maritime culture.⁶⁰ While he does not mention restrictions on ship construction that had been a significant factor for earlier researchers of *hyôryû*, it was the *bakufu* policies of *sankin kôtai* (参勤交代 “alternative attendance”) and the collection of *nengu* (年貢 “annual taxes”) that led to an increased number of castaway accounts in the Edo period.⁶¹ For Kawase, it was the growing population in Edo and other urban areas and the need for more and faster transportation routes between urban centers of

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 11-19. His interest in currents and winds was pursued even more convincingly in his later published *Ikoku hyôryû monogatari* (Tokyo: Shakai Shisôsha, 1969), 199-215.

⁵⁹ Kawase Hikomitsu, *Nihonjin hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Shakai Shisôsha, 1967), 272-275.

⁶⁰ Kawase Hikomitsu, “Hyôryû,” in *Fune* (Sudô Toshiichi, ed.) (Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppan Kyoku, 1968), 238-276.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 239-240.

consumption and sites of production that led to an increase in accidents. To prove his point, and echoing nearly verbatim Arakawa's work, he mentions that there was a disproportionately greater number of accidents taking place from the 10th to the 12th month (lunar calendar), precisely when annual shipments of tax rice were being shipped.⁶² In short, he presents an argument that resonates well with other historical approaches to Edo period history that focus on an increasingly centralized center of power and increased urban development. In 1990 Katô Takashi continued this line of thought arguing, "The reason for so many castaway accounts in the early modern period is first and foremost the environmental conditions of currents and climate which Japan finds itself surrounded by, followed by an increase in maritime activity that accompanied the formation of a national market and maintenance of coastal routes." Although he later argues that the term *kaikin* is more appropriate than *sakoku*, he nonetheless clearly states that the conditions of a "Closed Country system" (「鎖国」制) resulted in insufficiently constructed ships and an underdevelopment in Japanese maritime technology (「鎖国」制による和船の構造的欠陥と外洋航海術の未発達などが指導されている。)⁶³

Despite Kawase and Katô's subtle shifts, the notion that the Tokugawa *bakufu* strictly regulated the size and shape of ships during the Edo period continued to persist in castaway studies. In the same publication where Kawase's article appeared, the maritime historian Ishii Kenji identified the supposed laws in question, pointing out that

⁶² Of 147 cases, 88 take place during this time. *Ibid*, 241-242, 309.

⁶³ Katô Takashi, (*Sôsho Edo bunkô ichi*) *Hyôryû kidan shûsei* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1990), 428-429.

in 1635 construction of ships over 500 *koku* was banned.⁶⁴ Likewise, Nanba Matsutarô addressed the causes of castaway accidents in an article on *sengoku bune* or “1000 *koku* ships,” and provided perhaps the most schematized understanding of Edo castaways.⁶⁵ Here, in a sub-section of his studies titled “*hyôryû no hisan to sono genin*,” or “The misery and causes of drift,” Nanba breaks down the causes into three groups; 1) fundamental causes, 2) indirect causes, and 3) direct causes.⁶⁶ Under the category of “fundamental causes,” he attributes the following three factors to *bakufu* policies of *sakoku*. First, Japanese sailors did not have knowledge of trans-oceanic navigation. Secondly, they did not have the necessary equipment for such long voyages. And finally, Japanese compasses that were in use at the time, were inferior to western devices and untrustworthy on rough seas. His category of “indirect causes,” includes, by this time, the much echoed reasons that Japanese ships were characterized by their a single large sail, a single mast, and a large and unfixed rudder, and lacked a watertight deck—all hallmarks of the *sakoku* argument—but he also adds that ships during this time were routinely overloaded with cargo. Finally, his “direct causes,” which include the fact that the mast frequently had to be cut down if the ship found itself in rough waters; that the relatively large, unfixed rudders were frequently broken in strong cross-currents; and that life boats (*tenma*, 伝馬) were frequently discarded, only emphasized

⁶⁴ Ishii Kenji, “Kinsei shoki no seiyôgata hôsen,” in *Fune* (Sudô Toshiichi, ed.) (Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppan Kyoku, 1968), 126.

⁶⁵ Nanba Matsutarô, “Sengoku bune no kôkai,” in *Fune* (Sudô Toshiichi, ed.) (Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppan Kyoku, 1968), 204-238.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 222-224.

bakufu maritime regulations as a cause for such tragedy at sea.⁶⁷ In short, post-war scholarship of Edo period castaways from Ayuzawa to more recent writers such as Yoshimura Akira have attributed *bakufu* regulation of ship construction and the rubric of *sakoku* to be the essential factors in explaining the subject of early-modern drift.⁶⁸ Besides Arakawa, who looked to wind patterns and currents to explain the early modern phenomenon of castaways, the one notable exception among this generation of scholars is Haruna Akira, who in 1979 first published his study of the three *Hôjun-maru* survivors who drifted to the Pacific Northwest coast of North America in 1833.⁶⁹ Here he is very careful to avoid attributing this incident to any Tokugawa edict regulating ship construction, instead pointing out that regulations regarding ship construction issued by the *bakufu* in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were expedient political means that never were meant to be applied to commercial ships.⁷⁰ While he uses the phrase *sakoku chitsujo* 鎖国秩序 on one occasion (p. 33), it is in a discussion of the production of castaway accounts, and not as a reason for the *Hôjun-maru*'s fate. In 1981 he published a collection of essays dealing with various Edo period castaway accidents under the title of *Sekai wo miteshimatta otokotachi*.⁷¹ This text approaches the topic of Edo castaways from a much broader perspective, but again he rarely falls

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Yoshimura Akira, *Hyôryû* (Tokyo: Shinchôsha, 1980).

⁶⁹ Haruna Akira, *Nippon Otokichi hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Shinbunsha, 1979), I am using a later edition of this text published in 1988. Citations come from Haruna Akira, *Nippon Otokichi hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Chûdô Kôronsha, 1988).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 34. Also see the extended footnote #10 on pages 306-307 regarding *sakoku*.

⁷¹ Haruna Akira, *Sekai wo miteshimatta otokotachi* (Tokyo: Bungei Shunshu, 1981).

back on *saoku ron*. In fact, here he suggests that castaway narratives are somewhat exceptional in that their accidental nature precludes them from the stipulations of the *bakufu*'s *sakoku rei*.⁷² Finally, his 1982 work, *Hyôryû*, he is clear in pointing out that ship size and construction techniques by the *Bakumatsu* period (1850-1868) were not regulated, but instead quite diverse.⁷³

The only two book-length studies on early-modern Japanese castaways in English from the post-war era are Nishinomiya Kazuo's unpublished dissertation, "A View of the Outside World During Tokugawa Japan: Reports of Travel by Castaways—1636 to 1856—," and Katherine Plummer's *The Shogun's Reluctant Ambassadors*.⁷⁴ If anything, these studies only emphasize a direct connection between Edo period castaways and *bakufu sakoku* policies. For example, in the latter we see Plummer reading the letter of Tokugawa law in a fairly interpretive manner when she extrapolates from a 1638 "sakoku ordinance" (quite independent of repatriated castaways) that "those who drifted to foreign countries, knew that once they had stepped on foreign soil they would never be allowed to return home."⁷⁵ She conflates Japanese fisherman and sailors with Christians and trans-oceanic traders, when she speaks of the "fear and

⁷² *Ibid.*, 10.

⁷³ Haruna Akira, *Hyôryû: Josefu Hiko to nakamatachi* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1982), 11-14. The more recent research of the *bakumatsu* maritime historian Asai Ryôsuke suggests as much.

⁷⁴ Nishinomiya, Z. Kazuo, "A View of the Outside World During Tokugawa Japan: Reports of Travel by Castaways—1636 to 1856—" unpublished dissertation from the Department of Geography, University of Washington, 1972. This is more or less a translation of Ayuzawa's text. Katherine Plummer, *The Shogun's Reluctant Ambassadors: Japanese Sea Drifters in the North Pacific* (Third edition, revised) (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1991).

⁷⁵ Plummer (1991), xiv.

trepidation that gripped the hearts” of these men, the majority of whom never sailed too far beyond sight of shore.⁷⁶ The fact of the matter is, while most sailors probably did fear for their lives at sea at some time, very few probably worried about being killed upon repatriation in the event that they did become cast away to a foreign country. While there are some castaways who committed suicide upon repatriation, there are no examples of castaways being put to death for accidentally going abroad. There is however one case from 1753 in which a castaway by the name of Sannosuke was put to death once it was revealed that he in fact intentionally lied about going to Luzon.⁷⁷ This is also one of several examples of castaways demonstrating an awareness that contact with Christianity was forbidden. Plummer’s fundamentalist interpretation of early seventeenth-century edicts, coupled with other mis-readings of the Tokugawa era (they had no currency!) allows her to conclude, “The long era of self-imposed seclusion, in which everything foreign was rejected, contributed to the prevailing ‘insular mentality’ among the people of the island nation.”⁷⁸ While she does cite Arakawa’s work on seasonal weather patterns, she seems to borrow even more heavily from those who earlier argued that *bakufu* regulation of ship construction was the primary factor in maritime accidents during this time.⁷⁹ Plummer is so confident of a direct tie between Edo period castaways and *sakoku* policies, that she even argues that castaways were the

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁷⁷ See *Nagasaki shi* 長崎志 in Arakawa (1962), 236-238.

⁷⁸ Plummer (1991), 6, 8.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 9-19.

original cause of such policies. Pointing to the case of a Spanish ship that came aground in the Province of Tosa in 1596, she writes that the castaway showed the Japanese a globe of the earth and “threatened Japan with vengeance if the Spanish were detained,” while also explaining that Spain’s imperial strategy as such: “We send out missionaries to convert the people; then traders follow. When trade is flourishing we send out armies who, with the native turncoats, annex the nation.”⁸⁰ Needless to say, in analyzing five Japanese documents that mention this incident, I cannot corroborate Plummer’s anecdote nor find any suggestion that this event may have led to the closure of the country.⁸¹

Although Plummer elevated the importance of *sakoku rei* as the determining factor for not only castaways, but also the entire Edo period, Haruna was perhaps wise to express a certain skepticism. In 1995, in an article on a maritime accident of 1861, Yamashita Tsuneo emphasized the varying particulars of any given castaway and warned of the dangers of generalizing about Edo period castaways.⁸² In the same year, Adachi Hiroyuki published his study of Edo maritime history in which he explains the *bakufu* edict that has so often worked its way into post-war Edo period castaway studies.⁸³ Adachi’s research traces the long-held misunderstanding that the *bakufu*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁸¹ *Genshinki* 元親記, *Taikôki* 太閤記, *Ôta Gyûichi zakki* 太田牛一雜記, *Nanro shi* 南路志, and the *Tsûkô ichiran* 通航一覽 all mention a Spanish or Luzon ship becoming distressed in Tosa in the year 1596. They all seem to be the same account that Plummer refers to. See Arakawa (1962), 54-57.

⁸² See Yamashita Tsuneo, “Bunkyû gannen Kumano nada hyôryû jiken no tokusei,” 文久元年・熊野灘漂流事件の特異性 in *Nihon kaijishi no shomondai, senpaku hen* (vol. 1) (Ishii Kenji, ed.) 日本海事史の諸問題 船舶編 (Tokyo: Bunken Shuppan, 1995).

⁸³ Adachi Hiroyuki, *Iyô no fune: yôshikisen dônyû to sakoku taisei* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1995).

regulated ship construction during the Edo period through the prohibitions of keels and multi-masts to the prolific maritime historian, Unekawa Shizuo's 1927 work titled *Kaiun kô kokushi*.⁸⁴ He demonstrates that in referring to an edict from 1635 that limits the cargo load of ships to 500 *koku*, Unekawa adds (without any textual proof to back his point) that ships of more than two masts and with keels were also banned. In turn, he suggests that Unekawa may have based this extra-textual interpretation on much earlier treatises written in the late-Edo period that mention Japanese ships being limited to one mast (although proscriptions against keels do not appear), such as Koga Dôan's 古賀洞庵 *Kaibô okusoku* 海防臆測 of 1838 and Satô Chûryô's 佐藤中陵 *Chûryô manroku* 中陵漫録 of 1826.⁸⁵ Likewise, certain *hyôryûki* written at the very end of the Edo period also vaguely mention prohibitions, such as an account from 10th month of 1842.⁸⁶

In 2000 Kobayashi Shigefumi, picking up on Yamashita's concerns and citing the work of Adachi, dismantled the notion that *sakoku* either led to a castaway phenomenon or the regulation of ship-building and vindicated Haruna's earlier skepticism. He points out that the edict from 1635 originally referred to by Unekawa was in fact the seventeenth article of the revised *Bukeshihatto* of that year. While it did prohibit the construction of war and military ships of more than 500 *koku*, three years

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 12. Also see, Unekawa Shizuo 畝川鎮夫, *Kaiun kô kokushi* 海運興國史 (Osaka: Kaiji Ihôsha, 1927).

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 13. Hokkaidô University Library has a two volume manuscript copy of Dôan's text (旧記 0256(05)-1,2). For a study of the Koga family see, Makabe Jin, *Tokugawa kôki no gakumon to seiji: Shôheizaka gakumonjo jusha to bakumatsu gaikô henyô* (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 2007).

⁸⁶ The account in question states, 「全く三本帆之儀は難相成節ニ候」 see *Tsukoichiran zokuhen* 5: 352.

later the rule was rewritten and limited to only war ships.⁸⁷ Kobayashi concludes that this law that has so frequently been referred to as the ultimate *sakoku* policy, was in fact only meant to suppress the naval power of rival *daimyo* through the regulation of only ships of war. “The construction of sea-faring commercial ships, ships with more than two masts, and keel construction were never once prohibited.”⁸⁸

In light of Adachi and Kobayashi’s critique of *sakoku* edicts and the frequently accepted historical relation they have had to the phenomenon of Edo period castaways, we must conclude that what have come to be called *sakoku* policies or *kaikin* had no direct bearing on the construction of these ships. But the question of why Japanese commercial sailors did not adopt safer vessels remains? As these earlier scholars of castaways have frequently pointed out, the very structure of Japanese cargo ships during the late Edo period played an important role in accidents of drift.

Briefly returning to the “direct causes” of Edo period *hyôryû* mentioned by Nanba, namely damage to the rudder and cutting of the mast, it does appear that the very architecture of these launches probably led to an increase in the number of castaway accidents. What Katô and others commonly refer to as *wabune* (“traditional Japanese ships”), is in fact a broad category that in the early Edo period consisted of various regional vessels suited to local waterways and transportation needs.⁸⁹ Looking

⁸⁷ Kobayashi Shigefumi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Shôgakkan, 2000), 54. See also, Adachi Hiroyuki, 14-15.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁸⁹ The *futanari* plied waters ranging from Kyûshû in the south to waters off Ise in the north, while *zôga* and *bezai* ships were common in the Inland Sea. *Adate* ships were found in south of Honshû, while *hokkoku*, *hagase*, *kumi*, and *maze* were common to waters of the Japan Sea (which was not called Japan Sea in Edo period). See Nishinomiya (1972), 20. William Wayne Farris also has an unpublished

at late-Edo castaway accounts, a vast majority of reports involving Japanese castaways (Nakahama Manjirô being an important exception) became distressed while aboard the more specific *sengoku bune* 千石船 or *bezai sen* 弁才船.⁹⁰ These ships, characterized by their large unfixed rudders and single (sometimes double) fixed mast construction, are said to have originally developed for the purpose of transporting large loads over 1000 *koku* of rice or its equivalent (approximately 10000 cubic feet) in the relatively calm and shallow waters of the Seto Inland Sea. By the late seventeenth century they had become the vessel of choice for shipments of *nengu* payments of rice and other goods. Before the late seventeenth century long distance transportation routes were usually a combination of land and waterways. For example, goods from Hokuriku would be shipped to Ôbama and then taken by land route to the north end of Lake Biwa, where they were again put on a boat to be shipped to Ôtsu. From Ôtsu, they would be transported again overland to Miyako and Osaka.⁹¹ Once circumnavigation around Honshû was realized, it became more economical to use strictly maritime routes. For example, the time in transit for shipments from Ôu (northern tip of Honshû) to Edo was

summary of pre-modern shipbuilding practices, “Shipbuilding in Japan, Origins to 1600,” that was presented at the University of Oregon, *Tools of Culture* conference organized by Andrew Goble in June 1999.

⁹⁰ There are exceptions to this, the most obvious being the case of Nakahama Manjirô—Japan’s most famous castaway—who went adrift off the coast of Tosa in a smaller fishing boat in 1841. It should also be noted that the term *Kita mae bune* which appears more regularly in the later Edo period was a term to designate a particularly large *bezai* ship used primarily for sailing to Tôhoku and Hokkaidô by way of the Japan Sea. See Ishii Kenji, “Wabune no kôzô,” in *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryô shûsei*, vol. 5 (Ikeda Hiroshi, ed.) (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobô, 1985), 869-884; Ishii Kenji, “Sengoku bune,” and Nanba Matsutarô, “Sengokubune no kôkai,” both in *Fune* (Sudô Toshiichi, ed.) (Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppanyoku, 1968), 150-182 and 204-238, respectively; Kanazashi Shôzô 金指正三, *Nihon kaiji kanshû shi* 日本海慣 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1967), 1-14.

⁹¹ Nishinomiya (1972), 19. Kawamura Zuiken is known to have developed a route through the Shimonoseki Straights in the mid-17th century, thus dramatically shortening the time between Hokuriku and Kinki regions.

reduced from one year to one month.⁹² The *bezai* or *sengoku bune* were most suited to the venture of shipping goods along long stretches of coast. Aside from being able to transport large quantities of goods with relatively small crews, the primary advantage of these ships was their maneuverability. In shallow waters the sail could be dropped and the rudder raised, allowing for easy access to moorings. Furthermore, the removable decking facilitated easy loading and unloading, even if the trade-off was a porous deck that occasionally led to swamping in rough seas. In short, these ships proved most effective for navigating the coastal trade routes that rarely ventured beyond the sight of land.

However, if one of these ships met with rough seas, the oversized rudder or part of it would often shear off, leaving the ship uncontrollable, top heavy, and unstable. To improve stability, sailors would sometimes not only drop the sail and anchor, but also cut the mast, thus rendering them completely dependent on the whims of the currents and winds.⁹³ While earlier *hyôryû* scholars falsely attributed the idiosyncrasies of such boats to *bakufu* isolation policies, it is hard to refute the point that such ship building practices, coupled with the increasing domestic trade needed to supply the growing populations of urban centers in the archipelago, resulted in a growing number of distressed ships and castaway incidents.

⁹² Nishinomiya (1972), 20.

⁹³ It is interesting to note that the Portuguese Mendes Pinto, on his second voyage to Japan in a Chinese junk, became cast away and eventually drifted to Ryukyu after the mast of the Chinese ship he was on was cut during a storm. He tells us that the mast crushed fourteen people, among them five Portuguese. This suggests that the act of cutting masts was not new to later Edo castaways, and very well may have been common practice on Chinese junks as well. See Rebecca D. Catz, *The Travels of Mendes Pinto* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 287.

There are numerous examples in Edo period castaway accounts that demonstrate this.⁹⁴ In most cases, cutting the mast takes place soon after the rudder is damaged. For example, in an anonymously written *Meiwa yon idoshi Okushû Onahama no mono*, *Annan hyôryû no shidai* 明和四亥年奥州小名浜之者、安南漂流之次第 which details the crew of the *Sumiyoshi-maru*, who in 1767 returned to Japan from Annan (Vietnam) after two years, we read:

In the morning of the following day, our rudder ruined by the great western wind and rough seas, we began to drift. We cut down the mast and of the 25 or 26 bales of edible rice, we dumped almost all of it into the sea. Everyone cut their hair and Shichibei threw the knife he owned into the sea. The storm passed, winds changed from time to time and we spent about thirty days without any country in sight.

⁹⁴ A partial and incomplete list includes, *Bishû Ôno mura fune hyôryû ikken* 尾州大野村船漂流一件 (1669)(NSSSS5, p. 553), *Nisshûbune hyôryû kiji* 日州船漂流記事 (1696) (Katô, p. 164), *Enshûbune mujintô monogatari* 遠州船無人島物語 (1739 or later) (NSSSS5, p. 469), *Hôreki hyôryû monogatari* 宝曆漂流物語(1754)(Arakawa, p. 72), *Okubito Annan koku hyôryûki* 奥人安南國漂流記 (1767) (Katô, 1990, p. 31), *Annan koku hyôryû monogatari* 安南國漂流物語 (1767) (NSSSS5, p.591), *Sasshûjin Tôkoku hyôryûki* 薩州人唐國漂流記 (1774) (Katô, p. 34), *Ka-i kyûnen roku* 華夷九年録 (1776) (Arakawa, 1969, p. 126), *Mujintô danwa* 無人島談話 (1787) (Katô, p. 92), *Shôei-maru Tôkoku hyôryûki* 松榮丸唐國漂流記 (1788) (Katô p. 83), *Hokusa bunryaku* 北槎聞略 (1794), (NSSSS5, p.), *Nanpyôki* 南飄記 (1797) (Katô, p. 193), *Mujin shima he hyôchaku no mono gimisho* 無人しまへ漂着之もの吟味書 (1797) (Arakawa, p. 291), *Morokoshi hyôryûki* 唐土漂流記 (1799) (Katô, p. 264), *Kôdayû taizen* 幸太夫大全 (1800) (Katô, 54), *Roshiakoku hyôminki* 魯西亜国漂民記 (1800) (Arakawa, p. 163), *Hyôfutan* 漂夫譚 (1801) (Arakawa, p. 93), *Tokujô-maru Rokoku hyôryûki* 督乘丸櫓國漂流記 (1804) (Katô, p. 317), *Funaosa niki* 船長日記 (1822) (NSSSS5, p. 508), *Bunka jûsan hinoe ne doshi Sasshû hyôkyaku kenbun roku* 文化十三丙子歳薩州漂客見聞録 (1816) (Katô, p. 325), *Nankai kibun* 南海紀聞 (1820) (NSSSS5, p. 627), *Perao monogatari* べラオ物語 (1835) (Katô, p. 380), *Kishûkô Kumano hyôryûbanashi* 紀州口熊野漂流嚙 (1841) (NSSSS5, p. 443), *Tokei monogatari* 時規物語 (1841) (NSSSS5, p. 16), *Bandan* 蕃談 (1842) (NSSSS5, p. 300), *Tôkô kibun* 東航紀聞 (1843) (NSSSS5, p. 312), *Rusonkoku hyôryûki* 呂宋國漂流記 (1845) (NSSSS5, p. 573), *Nagase murabito hyôryûdan* 長瀬村人漂流談 (1850) (NSSSS5, p. 671), *Tôyô hyôkyaku danki* 東洋漂客談記 (1852) (NSSSS5, p. 601), *Hyôryûsen kikigaki* 漂流船聴書 (1853) (Arakawa, p. 220), *Kishûsen Beikoku hyôryûki* 紀州船米國漂流記 (1854) (Katô, p. 401), [*Manjirô*] *Hyôryûki* 漂流記 (1854?) (Arakawa, p. 190), [*Hikozô*] *Hyôryûki* 漂流記 (1863) (Arakawa, p. 236). Dates in parenthesis refer to the year the text was written except for the first document which appears to be a much later retelling by the author of the third account listed, based on a story the author heard from his grandfather. Citations are abbreviated as follows: “Katô” is Katô Takashi, *Hyôryû kitan shûsei* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1990); “Arakawa” is Arakawa Hidetoshi, *Kinsei hyôryûki shû* 近世漂流記集 Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1969). Page numbers refer to place where mast cutting is mentioned.

翌日朝大西風荒波にて、楫を損さし、吹流さるゝに付、帆柱を切折、米二十五、六俵糧米に残し余は悉く海に捨、皆髪を切、七兵衛所持の脇差を海に投じ、凌ぐといへども、種々に風変り、凡三十日何國ともなく漂ひ⁹⁵

Other accounts suggest that cutting the mast was meant to stabilize the vessel and alleviate undue wind pressure. Accounts such as the *Ka-i kyūnen roku* 華夷九年録 claim that even after dropping the sail, the wind bent the mast like a bow (柱は弓と吹たはみ),⁹⁶ as does the *Nankai kibun* 南海紀聞 (桅檣彎弓ノ如ク吹タハム, “The mast was blown like a drawn bow”).⁹⁷ Other texts such as *Tokei monogatari* suggest even more strongly the necessity of cutting the mast (船をたすけ可申と帆柱を切り, “Saying we had to save the ship, the mast was cut.”)⁹⁸ Likewise, in *Enshūsen mujintō monogatari* 遠州船無人島物語 we read, “Since it was becoming more difficult to maintain the boat, we did away with the mast.” (中々船も保ち難く御座候ゆへ、帆柱を捨て)⁹⁹ In most cases explanations are fairly matter-of-fact, however in at least two texts—*Ruson koku hyōryūki* written in 1845 by Ōtsuki Bankei (second son of Gentaku) and the testimony of the castaway Kiyotarō from 1854—cutting of the mast is something done only after consultations with the gods.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Katō (1990), 31.

⁹⁶ Arakawa (1969), 126.

⁹⁷ NSSSS5, 627.

⁹⁸ NSSSS5, 16.

⁹⁹ NSSSS5, 469.

¹⁰⁰ Kobayashi points out that in the *kuchigaki* of Kiyotarō of the *Eiryoku-maru* it states that through divination they were told NOT to cut down the mast, but they did anyway. See Kobayashi Shigefumi, *Nippon ikoku hyōryūki* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 2000), 63; and 「清太郎の話を聞大略」 in 『通航一覽統輯』 vol. 116.

Day became night, the wind and waves raged, and since the boat already appeared dangerous, we began to jettison the cargo but the winds would not stop and only increased. The crew cut their hair together, prayed to the gods and Buddhas, and carried out a *kamikuji* divination ceremony in which we were divinely instructed to cut the mast. While discarding of the mast the wind did not abate in the least, but begging for immediate mercy from this predicament, we were at once heard. Although the wind gradually grew quiet throughout the 18th [same day], we did not know our direction as we drifted on the great sea.

夜に入り、風波彌荒く、既に船も危く相見へ候に付、追々上荷を勿捨候へ共、彌増風止不申、乗組一同髪を切、神佛を祈念し、御鬮を戴き候へは、帆柱を切れとの御教に付、帆柱を切捨候處、風一向に止不申、此上は最早助命も難叶と、一同覚悟仕罷在り。然ル所、十八日に至り段々風は静に相成候へ共、方角も不知、大洋に流れ漂ひ¹⁰¹

Is this *Deus ex machina* moment simply an invention on the part of the castaways Chôjirô and Kihei on whose testimony it is based or is it something that the author Ôtsuki adds to the text? The numerous references to *kamikuji* and other rituals of divination throughout these texts frequently add a component of mystery and awe to the narrative, whether or not we as readers can determine with any certainty the factual circumstances and the sincerity of the narrator's metaphysical beliefs.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ NSSSS5, 573.

¹⁰² *Kamikuji* 神鬮 (alternatively *mikuji* 御鬮) was a form of divination in which potential answers to questions directly posed to divinities were written on small pieces of paper, balled up, and usually placed in a small wooden box filled with dried rice. After waving a *juzu* or stick with strips of paper attached above the box, the balled up paper that became agitated (possibly through static electricity) was determined to be the divinities answers. Questions usually posed (in the context of castaway accounts) often included, "How far are we from shore?" "What direction is Japan?" and "Should we consume the remaining food on board?" We might also note that in western castaway accounts too there are many instances of the distressed sailor begging for divine favor or grace. See Kobayashi Shigefumi, *Nippon ikoku hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 2000), 56-61.



Illustration 1.1. Scene in which castaways perform *kamikuji*. *Tokei monogatari* (1849)¹⁰³

Calling on the gods for advice in this passage dramatizes the telling by introducing an unexpected and unknowable element of divine intervention through a reference to *kamikuji*. In fact, *kamikuji* is commonly referred to in late-Edo *hyōryūki*, and appears to have been a practice exclusive to sailors and exotic enough to readers to warrant editorial explication on the part of the authors.¹⁰⁴ The metaphysical component to this passage is not limited to the mast cutting, it also appears that the storm's passing is a direct response to the prayers of the sailors. Kobayashi—in looking at an account written 1840 titled, *Chōshi minato gojōmai niuchi ginmi ikken* 銚子湊御城米荷打ち吟味—

¹⁰³ This photograph is taken from the document that is kept by the Maeda Sonkeikaku Bunko in Tokyo.

¹⁰⁴ For example, see Ikeda Hirochika, *Funaosa niki* in NSSSS5, 507.

件—argues that cutting the mast served as important proof of just how serious the conditions at sea had become and thus vindicated the sailors who also felt the need to jettison valuable cargo.¹⁰⁵ In this somewhat exceptional case the crew met with a storm at sea and drifted for 22 days before returning to Japan. Kobayashi points out that authorities doubted their story because, while they cut their hair and jettisoned the cargo of rice, they did not cut the mast.¹⁰⁶ It may be that the many references to divine intervention, *kamikuji*, and other metaphysical elements in late-Edo *hyôryûki* did serve the function of emphasizing the castaways' own passive role in the disaster. On the other hand, there are cases in which the cargo is not jettisoned, but the mast is cut and gods are invoked. Furthermore, Kobayashi's reading does not address the constellation of events that include cutting of hair. Although haircutting did not seem to carry much weight in the eyes of the authorities who interrogated the castaways, references to cutting of the hair appear frequently in conjunction with cutting of the mast in late-Edo accounts. The topic of hair cutting and other somatic transformations will be addressed in more detail later, but for now let us consider these hair cuts as a literary mimetic device that recalls both a religious mendicant as well as the ship itself. One function of haircutting is that it forged a sense of solidarity among the crew.¹⁰⁷ (notice that it is always done as a group with everyone's participation), and this might actually serve

¹⁰⁵ *Chôshi minato gojômai niuchi ginmi ikken* 銚子湊御城米荷打ち吟味一件 in EHSS5, 459-532.

¹⁰⁶ Kobayashi (2000), 63.

¹⁰⁷ Hair cutting was often done as a group, although there are exceptions such as *Funaosa nikki* where only one crew-member cut his hair. Hair cutting was sometimes accompanied by group vows or promises that those who survive should inform the next of kin of those who don't, etc.

Kobayashi's claim that these scenes were meant to absolve castaways of specific responsibility. But just as rendering the ship mast-less and rudder-less marks the initiation of drift and the moment when the ship is beyond the will of human control, the ritual act of haircutting also marks a more profound transformation in the castaway who, aboard a derelict ship, now found himself without family and beyond the semiotic sphere where hair-styles carry specific social meanings. The castaway has shed (and will continue to literally shed) the trappings of a world he leaves behind as he drifts over the smooth space of the sea.

We might note that numerous *hyôryûki* share a similar pattern and order of events that suggest a formalized protocol when confronted with storms at sea. In the previously cited *Meiwa yon idoshi Okushû Onahama no mono* text, *Ruson koku hyôryûki*, *Tokei monogatari*, and a great many other *hyôryûki*, the inciting moment of drift takes place at a time of day that is transitional, the wind and waves are threatening, and the condition of the boat is compromised. Furthermore, the series of responses on the part of the crew is remarkably consistent, with the mast being cut, the cargo jettisoned, hair being cut, rituals particular to sailors (ie., throwing metal objects in the sea and *kamikuji*) are performed, followed by the passing of the storm and the boat being rendered to a state of drift. While the more frequent references to mast cutting in late Edo-period castaway accounts may be taken as evidence of some inherent flaw in the design of Japanese ships at this time, no one has yet considered the consistency with which these passages appear in the *hyôryûki*. It is highly unlikely that this particular combination of events—rudder being damaged, cutting the mast, jettisoning the cargo,

cutting the hair, praying to the gods, and divining solutions— appearing back-to-back in so many texts is simply a coincidence. In fact, it is just one of several formal conventions that characterize late-Edo *hyôryûki*.

The conscious effort expended by the authors of these accounts when addressing these important moments of cutting and praying that begin most late-Edo castaway narratives is attested to by the editorial commentary incorporated into the texts. For example, in *Hôreki hyôryû monogatari* 宝暦漂流物語 (1754) we read in a smaller inter-linearly script a detailed explanation of the method Japanese sailors use to cut the mast.¹⁰⁸ Ikeda Hirochika, in his *Funaosa nikki*, employs a two-character space indentation throughout his text in order to distinguish his editorial additions to the story of his informant, the castaway Jûkichi.¹⁰⁹ He states in a rather extended note, that while foreign (*ikoku*) ships depend on knowledge of world geography, compasses, and astronomy, Japanese sailors rely on *kamikuji* and prayer.¹¹⁰ He concludes, “this is the wisdom of a divine land that must be respected.” 神國のかしこさ、尊ふへき事になん¹¹¹ In much the same fashion, the authors of *Tokei monogatari* (also cited earlier) add an indented paragraph that explains why and how sailors in general cut the mast of a

¹⁰⁸ Arakawa (1969), 72.

¹⁰⁹ The term is *niji sage*, and a sample of what this text looks like in *shahon* form can be found in Chapter Three. These various ways of weaving castaway testimony and editorial commentary are another formal aspect of late Edo castaway narratives, and reflect the complicated levels of narration and authorship.

¹¹⁰ The dualistic discourse on *wa bune* and their opposite, *ikoku* or *iyô bune*, seems to have been well established by the later Edo period. See, Shiba Kôkan's *Oranda tensetsu* (1796) 和蘭天説, *Oranda tsûhaku* (1805) 和蘭通舶, and *Shunba rôhitsu* (1811) 春波樓筆記 all cited in Kobayashi (2000), 55.

¹¹¹ NSSSS5, 507.

ship.¹¹² By recasting the singular event of shipwreck into a procedural response known to all Japanese sailors, the authors of the above three examples effectively characterize distressed sailors in terms of a national subject. While several post-war *hyōryū* scholars have attributed the causes of castaway accidents to certain structural deficiencies of *wabune* and a lack of knowledge regarding modern navigational techniques, Edo period *hyōryūki* authors such as Ikeda Hirochika saw their stories as evidence of a native “wisdom of a divine land.”

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 16.

THE DRIFT OF HISTORY

As we have seen, post-war studies of *hyôryû* have been informed by the dual, entrenched notions of *sakoku* or a self-imposed isolation and, on the other hand, the idea that Japan's unique geographical position as a maritime nation on the edge of the *kuroshio* current. Arguably these two conditions— isolation and an organic, unique culture that was reinforced by it (ie., feudalism)—have in fact been the foundational frame by which to represent Edo since European historiographic methods were applied to Japanese history. Particularly in the post-war period, the emphasis on both *sakoku* and Japan's *shimaguni* (“island nation”) status has meshed well with the dominant cold-war U.S./Japan alliance. In effect, Japan appeared as the stunted nation, so long impoverished in its own isolation, but graciously opened-up by the United States.

This however was not always the case. In late-Edo period *hyôryûki* at least, particularly those written by *kokugaku*, *Rangaku*, or Confucianist scholars, any sense of insularity is well-disguised by the tendency of the authors to frequently demonstrate their vast knowledge of foreign customs, geography, climactic conditions, even if they appear dreadfully off from the perspective of a modern-day readership. Likewise, Japan is frequently compared and contrasted in these texts in terms grounded in quasi-scientific methodologies and expressed in terms of realism. The effect at times renders Japan in terms of equivalency, as one among many other world nations that can stand in for comparison.

Likewise, several Edo period anthologies of *hyôryûki* such as the seventy-four volume *Kaihyô ibun* 海表異聞 found in the Dôshisha University archive, contain not exclusively castaway accounts, but are also often interspersed with world maps and other accounts that do not necessarily place Japan in some isolated bubble, but instead attempt to order and schematize a world geography. The first Meiji period (1868-1912) scholar to actively identify and collect *hyôryûki* and *hyôchakuki* was Ishii Kendô.¹¹³ The results of his long-standing interest in castaway accounts are best represented by the hefty six-volume collection of accounts collected and transcribed by Ishii, posthumously edited by Yamashita Tsuneo and published in the early 1990s.¹¹⁴ While his primary contribution to the field was the actual collection and transcription of numerous accounts into printed form, and not their analysis, it is curious to note that the term *sakoku* does not appear once in original edition introductions written by Ishii himself. The first academic treatment of these texts in book-length detail was Yoshioka Nagayoshi's work published in 1944 and mentioned earlier. While Yoshioka emphasized the influence of a *sakoku* policy, he does so in a manner that reveals the ideology of such a historiography. While he shares with many post-war scholars this reification of isolation, the terms in which he does it and the general direction of his studies, which culminates in a celebration of "Japanese Spirit" (*Nihon seishin* 日本精神),

¹¹³ Ishii Kendô (1865-1943) will be discussed in more detail throughout this project. His first work on castaways seems to have appeared in 1892 (see Yoshioka, 21), although his *Kôtei hyôryû kidan zenshû* 校訂漂流奇談全集 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1900) and his *Ikoku hyôryû kitan shû* 異国漂流奇譚集 (Tokyo: Fukunaga shoten, 1927) both stand as the first post-Edo collections of castaway accounts and a shift towards a recognizable and legitimate category of study.

¹¹⁴ (*Ishii Kendô kurekushon*) *Edo hyôryûki sôshû* [Six Volumes] (Yamashita Tsuneo, ed.) (Tokyo: Nihon Hyôronsha, 1992-1993. Hereafter, EHSS, followed by volume number.

is markedly different from later post-war scholars. For example, in the introduction to his *Hyôryûsen monogatari no kenkyû*, he claims that his own interest in the subject has been driven by the limitless examples of a “Japanese-type self consciousness” (*Nihon teki jikaku*) and “strong faith in the descent of imperial power from Ise” (*Ise sôbyô he no tsuyoi shinkô*) that the texts offer.¹¹⁵ In his concluding paragraph, he even suggests that the *sakoku* policies of old are linked to the Greater Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere of his day as he dedicates his research to those, “Imperial Army soldiers and many sailors who are kept so busy today, under the influence of the Greater Asian War, protecting distant borders and peripheral boundaries of the nation, perhaps in the many islands to the south and north where they strategize day and night.” (今日大東亜戦争下に、遠く異境に、はた國境の警備に、或は、南方北方洋上の島々に日夜作戦、又は運漕の事に鞅掌せられつつある皇軍将兵及び船員諸氏への)¹¹⁶

While the notion of *sakoku* may have harbored particular ideological directives during the war years when Yoshioka was writing, it seems that the notion of *sakoku* gained most force as a guiding principle of early-modern historiography in the post-war. The vision of Japan-U.S. relations as one based on the benevolent “opening,” on the part of Commodore Matthew Perry, of a backward, feudal, and *closed* Japan of 1852-1853, meshed well with the ideological imperatives of Japan-US Cold War alliances. In fact, for MacArthur’s surrender ceremonies aboard the *USS Missouri* in September 1945, Perry’s flag was employed as a powerful image of staged diplomacy and

¹¹⁵ Yoshioka Nagayoshi, *Hyôryûsen monogatari no kenkyû* (Tokyo: Hokkô Shobô, 1944), 22.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

constituted a symbolic link to and continuity with the *sakoku* historic paradigm, suggesting a second benevolent “opening.” By the late 1960s certain cracks began to appear in this fairly persistent notion that Japan was closed off and isolated from the rest of the world from the 1630s until the 1850s.

In the preface to the Stanford University Press re-print of his *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan*, Ronald P. Toby attributes these cracks to a shift in the global status of the United States. Looking back on the historicity of his own research carried out in the late 1970s and originally published in 1984, he writes,

Certainly since the mid-1970s, with the American defeat in Vietnam and the loss of transatlantic primacy; the surge of Japan into economic and industrial prominence, first in steel and shipbuilding, then autos, then postindustrially in ceramics, biotechnology, computers, and robotics, Japan and the West have *both* come to question the assumption that Japan is follower and the West leader.¹¹⁷

This growing skepticism with a “historiographically” defining concept of a closed early-modern Japan was almost exclusively generated from not Japanese historians (*kokushi*), but instead by historians primarily found in the sub-field of history in Japan known as East Asian history or *Tôyôshi*, a field that is focused on the cross-border relations within a regional Asian sphere. This group of East Asian (*Tôyôshi*) historians, which includes Toby among others, has been most instrumental in providing a new framework to view the Edo period. Since the publication Asao Naohiro’s work in the 1970s, followed by Ronald Toby, Arano Yasunori, Tashiro Kazui, and others, the

¹¹⁷ Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Stanford: University of Stanford Press, 1991), xv.

challenges to *sakoku ron* have clearly come primarily from historians looking at Japan's relations within an Asian diplomatic and trade sphere that appears anything but, isolated.¹¹⁸ While these East Asian historians have convincingly demonstrated the extensive diplomatic and cultural exchange between Japan and other countries taking place during the Edo period, they have also come a long way in outlining the extent of "active, autonomous Japanese relations with the world abroad, one that places Japan at the *center* of the world as the Japanese conceived it, rather than at the margins of a China-centered world or beyond the periphery of a Eurocentric one."¹¹⁹ Likewise, the influence of these East Asian historians has led scholars of Japanese castaways to see the phenomenon of early-modern castaways as part of a larger East Asian phenomenon that also included repatriation of castaways from China, Korea, and Ryûkyû.¹²⁰

In particular, Ikeuchi Satoshi's work on castaways between Japan and Korea has demonstrated the history of castaway repatriation protocol between the two countries. His work further nuances the earlier work of Arano and reveals evidence of policies being established between the two countries in regards to castaway repatriation from as

¹¹⁸ Asao Naohiro, "Sakokusei no seiritsu," in *Kôza Nihonshi*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1970) and Ronald Toby, "Reopening the Question of *Sakoku*: Diplomacy in the Legitimation of the Tokugawa Bakufu," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 3, 2 (Summer): 323-364. See also, Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991). Tashiro Kazui, "Foreign Trade in the Tokugawa Period— Particularly with Korea," in *Emergence of Economic Society in Japan, 1600- 1859* (Hayami, et al., eds.) (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 105-118. Tashiro Kazui, "Foreign Relations during the Edo Period: Sakoku Reexamined," *JJS* 8:2, 283-306.

¹¹⁹ Toby (1991), xvi.

¹²⁰ Haruna Akira, "Rekishigaku ni okeru 'hyôryû' no genzai," in *Chôfu Nihon bunka*, No. 10 (March 2000), 67. Arano Yasunori, *Kinsei Nihon to Higashi Ajia* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1998), 117-147.

early as 774.¹²¹ However it was not until the 1450s that the practice of repatriating these castaways exclusively through Tsushima developed, and furthermore it was a relatively short-lived practice, having collapsed by the mid-16th century.¹²² He concludes that until the Edo period, it was still possible for castaways to return on their own with the help of locals, even if historical documentation regarding these cases is relatively rare. Ikeuchi's research into repatriation protocol between Korea and Japan, suggests that any Japanese policies relating to the repatriation first developed in the context of Japan-Korea neighborly relations. This corroborates the linguistic history of the term *hyōryū* presented earlier in this chapter. As we have seen, it was not until the publication of the *Haedong chechukki* by Shin Shuk-chu 申叔舟 in 1471, that the term *hyōryū* becomes pervasive. Together, this suggests that a systematic process of handling, nursing, and repatriating castaways that developed in the early Edo period, began with localized concerns regarding drift between the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago. While the process of repatriating castaways between these two countries directly through Tsushima was not quite universal at this time and certainly presented the Tsushima *han* with a new source of expenses, with the centralization of the Tokugawa *bakufu*'s claims to power in the early seventeenth century, Ikeuchi argues that the Nagasaki *bugyō* came to be responsible for assistance to and repatriation of Korean castaways. To demonstrate this major shift in repatriation policy, Ikeuchi cites

¹²¹ Citing Arano and Yamauchi Shinji, he notes that in 774 the *kokushi* at the site of repatriation was required to provide food and aide to castaways, as well as submit reports to offices in Dazaifu. Ikeuchi Satoshi, *Kinsei Nihon to Chōsen hyōryūmin* (Kyoto: Nozomigawa Shoten, 1998), 35.

¹²² Ikeuchi (1998), 35, 37.

two incidents of Korean castaways drifting to Tsushima in 1640 and 1644, respectively. Both groups of castaways, although landing in Tsushima, were first sent to Nagasaki before being returned to Korea.¹²³

Arano's contribution to the field of East Asian castaway studies has managed to shift the discussion of *sakoku* policy, by suggesting an alternative term—*kaikinrei* 海禁令 or “maritime prohibitions”—that allows us to see *bakufu* policy regarding foreign relations not as some feudal cutting off from the rest of the world, but as a set of periodic decisions meant to engage with the world on the *bakufu*'s own terms.¹²⁴ Arano's seminal work on the formation of a systemic castaway repatriation (*hyōryūmin sōkan taisei* 漂流民送還体制) has in fact opened the door for a younger generation of

¹²³ Ikeuchi (1998), 38.

¹²⁴ Following Itazawa Takeo, Ronald P. Toby has provided a clear and succinct history of this term. He points out that the first usage of this word was by Shizuki Tadao in an abbreviated translation of the title of the sixth section of the appendix found in Kaempfer's *Das Heutige Japan* which he mentions in an argument against the idea of developing trade with Russia.¹²⁴ While Kaempfer's writings are based on his experiences in Japan from 1691-1692, fifty-some years after the first set of maritime prohibitions were instituted, Shizuki's usage of the term was within the context of domestic debates concerning Russia taking place in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. What we may conclude from this is that not only was the myth of *sakoku*—that is, an understanding that there was a consistent policy of isolationism from the 1630s onward—invented in the first decade of the nineteenth century, but furthermore that that myth was propagated in part by a 40 year period of intense polemical debate and the issuance of new *kaikin*. See, Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Stanford: University of Stanford, 1991), 12-19; Arano Yasunori, *Kinsei Nihon to Higashi Ajia* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shppankai, 1998), i-xvi; Itazawa Takeo, *Mukashi no Nanyō to Nihon* (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan kyōkai, 1940), 145. (Cited in Toby); and “An Enquiry, whether it be conducive for the good of the Japanese Empire, to keep it shut up, as it now is, and not to suffer its Inhabitants to have any commerce with foreign nations, either at home or abroad.” in *Kaempfer's Japan: Tokugawa Culture Observed* (Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey, ed.) (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999). Kaempfer's manuscript was not published until 1727. This first published version was in English, upon which subsequent Dutch and French editions were based. Kōbori Keiichi (cited in Toby) however has pointed out that the English edition is not an accurate translation of the original German manuscript which does not include an equivalent to the phrase, “to keep it shut up.” Thus it would seem that the addition of this phrase suggests that sometime between the 1690s when Kaempfer was writing his manuscript and 1727, when the English edition appears, the notion of Japan being a “closed country” first makes its way into the English speaking imaginary.

scholars interested in castaways between Japan and other areas of Asia, including Ryūkyū and Korea.¹²⁵ But although the notion of *sakoku seisaku* (or “Closed Country” Policy), which came to define early-modern Japanese historiography, has come under critical scrutiny, in popular culture and sanctioned history curricula for Japanese public school students, *sakoku* remains a powerful framing technique for defining and projecting a Japanese identity.¹²⁶

By the late 1980s, works by Toby, Kazui, and Murai Shosuke’s *Ajia no naka no Chūsei Nihon* opened up a space from which to critically analyze the notion of national seclusion, and have paved the way for a much more nuanced history that accounts for both deliberate and accidental international exchange.¹²⁷ While others certainly came before him, Arano Yasunori’s 1988 publication *Kinsei Nihon to Higashi Ajia*, it still stands as the most thorough dismantling of the *sakoku* historical paradigm. More importantly, he demonstrates that these maritime prohibitions were not some conspiracy

¹²⁵ Arano Yoshinori, *Kinsei Nihon to Higashi Ajia* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1988), 3-19, 117-147. Watanabe Miki’s work has specifically focused on Ryukyuan castaway policies and her work to date is best represented in her “Hyōryū hyōchaku to kinsei Ryūkyū,” in *Okinawa ken shi: kakuronpen*, vol. 4 (*kinsei*) (Naha: Okinawa Kyōiku Iinkai, 2005), as well as “Chū-Nichi no shihai ronri to kinsei Ryūkyū: ‘Chūgoku jin, Chōsen jin, ikoku jin’ hyōchaku min no shochi wo megutte,” in *Rekishi gaku kenkyū*, vol. 810 (January, 2006). As for Korea-Japan castaways, see Ikeuchi Satoshi, *Tottori ni nagaretsuita Chōsen jin* (Tottori: Tottori Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 1998; and his much more expanded study titled *Kinsei Nihon to Chōsen hyōryūmin* (Kyoto: Nozomigawa Shoten, 1998).

¹²⁶ Paul Varley’s popular textbook on Japan begins its first chapter on the Edo period echoing a still common conceit often heard among Japanese scholars and students of history: “The great peace of more than two and a half centuries that followed the founding of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1600 was made possible largely by the policy of national seclusion... Yet, we cannot simply assume that in the absence of the Tokugawa seclusion policy, Japan would have moved steadily or smoothly into more intimate relations with the West.” H. Paul Varley, *Japanese Culture, Third Edition* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1984), 146.

¹²⁷ Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991) and Murai Shosuke, *Ajia no naka no Chūsei Nihon* (Tokyo : Azekura Shobo, 1988).

against contacts with westerners (as has so often been argued), but that they had their origins in a greater East Asian development for regulating and overseeing contacts between Japan and other Asian neighbors.¹²⁸ Furthermore, Arano's proposition that the formation of *kaikin* as a tool for regulating relations among Japan and its Asian neighbors led to a systematic process for nursing, repatriating, and debriefing castaways (*hyôryûmin sôkan taisei*, 漂流民送還体制), has allowed historians since to begin looking at early-modern castaway accidents as not exceptional incidents, but instead as events that if not common, were at least routine in the manner in which it was bureaucratically handled.¹²⁹

Another important element in this historiographic shift, taking place among early-modern East Asian scholars was the recognition of a Japan-centric *ka-i* ideology 日本型華夷思想. Early on, Ronald Toby, citing the work of Bitô Masahide, notes that by the seventeenth century, Japanese intellectuals had begun to reconfigure Japan as the new cultural and intellectual center of Asia, displacing the formerly recognized center of civilization (中華) in Ming China.¹³⁰ Arano, Tessa Morris-Suzuki, Etsuko Hae-jin Kang, and others have since elaborated on this ideological paradigm or world-view.¹³¹ Morris-Suzuki explains it as follows:

¹²⁸ Arano (1988), 4-8.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 125-139.

¹³⁰ Toby (1991), 202-204.

¹³¹ Tessa Morris-Suzuki schematizes the *ka-i* order as a civilized center, from which emanate concentric circles of civility, the distance from the center correlating with relative levels of barbarism. See preceding footnote. Etsuko Hae-jin Kang, following the work of Toby and Arano, among others, argues for that following the collapse of the Ming Dynasty in China, both a Japan-centered *ka-i* order (*Nihon*

The prevailing image of the world from this perspective was a mental map borrowed from China, according to which the known, settled, orderly centre (*ka*) was surrounded by boundless circles of increasing strangeness, disorder and barbarism (*i*). This *ka-i* vision of the world is nicely illustrated by the widely sold *Japanese-Chinese Illustrated Encyclopedia* (*Wakan sansai zue*) of 1712... Immediately surrounding Japan are the 'foreign countries' (*ikoku*) - including China, Korea, the Ryukyu kingdom, Ezo (The Land of the Ainu), Tongking and Cochin - whose inhabitants write with Chinese characters and eat with chopsticks. Beyond that lie the realms of the 'outer-barbarians' (*gai-i*), who write horizontally and eat with their hands. The *gai-i* include a number of readily recognisable societies such as Siam, Luzon, Java, Bengal and Holland, as well as other less familiar places like the Land of the Bird People and the Land of the Creatures with Six Legs and Four Wings.¹³²

As the title of one Edo castaway account—*Ka-i kyūnen roku*, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four—might suggest, the abstract and discursive categories of center (*ka*) and periphery (*i*) figure prominently in late Edo castaway accounts.¹³³ The formation of a competing Japanese early-modern worldview vis-à-vis China, and later encroaching Western nations, in conjunction with a metaphysical

gata ka-i chitsujo), as well as a Korea-centered *ka-i* ideology (*Chōsen gata ka-i chitsujo*), developed in both Japan and Korea respectively, and that it further determined the diplomatic protocol between the two countries. See, Etsuko Hae-jin Kang, *Diplomacy and Ideology in Japanese-Korean Relations: From the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (London: Macmillan Press, 1997).

¹³² Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "A Descent into the Past: The Frontier in the Construction of Japanese History," in *Multicultural Japan: Palaeolithic to Postmodern* (D. Denoon, M. Hudson, G. McCormack & T. Morris-Suzuki, eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 83.

¹³³ First written in 1776, this is an account of Magoshichi (also known as Magotarō) and is the subject of Chapter Four of this dissertation. The text exists in *katsuji* in Arakawa Hidetoshi, *Kinsei hyōryūki shū* (Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1969), 121-159.

discourse of Japanese superiority referred to as *shinkoku* or “divine nation” thought, informed the production of so many of these late-Edo *hyôryûki* accounts.¹³⁴

This re-evaluation of *sakoku* discourse is ongoing and has most recently been further developed by Fujita Satoru in his *Kinsei kôki seiji shi to taigai kankei*.¹³⁵ His work relates how the origins of *sakoku* or the idea of Japan as a closed country (*sakoku sohôkan*) emerged as a defensive reaction on the part of the *bakufu* in regards to the possibility of trade with Russia during the time of Tanuma Okitsugu 田沼意次 in the 1780s. This defensive positioning of the *bakufu* contra Russia was continued with the succession of Tanuma by Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 and the repatriation of Daikokuya Kôdayû and Isokichi in 1792. With the first repatriation from Russia of Japanese castaways and the stories of Russian global domination that they related to *bakufu* and Japanese intellectuals, *hyôryûki* quickly took on a new form, as they came to explain and warn against the gradual encroachment of western empire in Asia and the Pacific. Fujita’s recent work has therefore proven particularly helpful for this study that begins with the case of Kôdayû.

Acknowledging that highly regulated contacts that did take place during the Edo period were generally limited to the “four windows” to the outside world, namely Nagasaki, Tsushima, Ryukyu, and Ezo-chi, it is difficult to deny that maritime regulations (*kaikinrei*), systems of repatriation (*hyôryûmin sôkan taisei*), not to mention more diffuse discourses of Japan and the rest of the known world that retroactively

¹³⁴ *Ka-i* (華-夷), usually translated as “civilized-barbarian,” but also “center-periphery.”

¹³⁵ Fujita Satoru, *Kinsei kôki seiji shi to taigai kankei* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2005).

came to stand for the rubric of *sakoku*, had much to do with the formation of a body of texts relating the experiences of drift by distressed sailors and fisherman.¹³⁶

This present study is indebted to this foundation of critical historiographic work provided by earlier East Asian historians, as well as a redirected focus on the regulative and structural systems of dealing with castaways vis-à-vis the *bakufu* State already carried out by Arano, Watanabe, and Ikeuchi. While certainly owing a great debt to other castaway scholars, and more generally East Asian history research, this present study embraces a slightly different methodology. As historians, the methods of previous scholarship are marked by a positivist historical approach with little interest in the textual aspects of the accounts. In other words this project, unlike earlier studies of early-modern castaway, attempts to uncover the textures and formal qualities of the accounts themselves. Unhindered by the question of accuracy or factuality in the accounts, this study considers not only documents considered historical, but also more “fictionalized” versions of drift, as well as performances in both the *kabuki* and *bunraku* theaters.

In the case of post-Edo Japan, the entrenched division of history into national history (*kokushi* 国史), East Asian history (*Tôyôshi* 東洋史), and world history (*sekai shi* 世界史, read “history of the west”) has produced for the State apparatus a convenient division of the past that allows the current Nation-State of Japan, as well as its geopolitical allies such as the United States, to imagine the present country as thoroughly advanced toward the future, while at the same time, grounded in a idyllic

vision of its own hermetically sealed past. While not nomads, the figure of the castaway is part of the larger category of “transhumants,” that include refugees, vagabonds, prisoners of war, immigrants and others subjectivities occupying spaces between nations, and that more importantly often fall outside the scope of national histories. Similar to Elaine K. Chang’s strategy of differentiating “runaways” from Deleuzio-Guattarian notions of the “nomad,” we shall differentiate the “castaway” from the “nomad” on the grounds that, with the castaway we are concerned with an ostensibly unintentional exodus that takes place at a historically specific moment marked by the expansion of global capital and imperialism on the one hand, and an emerging discourse of “Japaneseness” set off against the rest of the world on the other.¹³⁷

Authorship too, is a particular problem with many of these late-Edo *hyōryūki* when we consider the extensive practice of inter-textual reference, citation, not to mention the role of a speaking castaway subject and his various interlocutors such as *bakufu* and *han* interrogators, those writing the document, and even actors and *kami shibai* performers who retell historical incidents of *hyōryū* for a more popular audience.¹³⁸ The hybrid and poly-vocal quality of these texts is further compounded by what Peter Shapinsky, in his yet to be published dissertation on pirates, or more

¹³⁷ See Elaine K. Chang, “Run Through the Borders” in David E. Johnson & Scott Michaelsen, eds., *Border Theory: The Limits of Cultural Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 169-194.

¹³⁸ *Kami shibai* 紙芝居 performances were popular oral narrations of stories accompanied by picture cards. Several sets of such picture cards relating to the story of Nakahama Manjirō cards appear to be in existence, including a set at the *Kujira hakubutsukan* in Taiji, Wakayama.

accurately *kaizoku*, refers to as the “terra-centrism of landed discourse.” Drawing on the work of Alain Corbin, who demonstrates how medieval Europeans conceived of the sea as a particularly frightening and unknowable space that was also the source of disease; and Richard Strassberg, who reveals a similar othering of the sea in China, Shapinsky convincingly argues that pre-modern history of the sea in Japan is inevitably compromised by the fact that most stories of seamen are refracted through the land-based concerns of those recording them.¹³⁹

Those who engaged in nautical functions only acquired significant representation in and access to written sources by entering into relations with landed centers of authority. The foundations of this written discourse were suffused with a rich terra-centric bias that constructed the sea as an other-space and those who coursed its fields of waves as others. However, because landed authorities delegated maritime duties to littoral inhabitants, maritime praxis was determined not by landed discourse, but by mariners themselves. Thus, seascapes (representations of maritime space and populations) were not purely terra-centric creations, but hybrids born at the point of interface of terra-centric discourses with maritime praxis.¹⁴⁰

Much like the slightly earlier historical documentation that Shapinsky employs in his study of piratical figures, *hyōryūki* too, reflect a particular hybrid nature. In dealing with repatriated castaways, the land-based *bakufu* and *han* officials who routinely debriefed them, as well as other literate intellectuals who record their stories, in fact engage in a process of reterritorializing these drifters who occupy the smooth space of the sea. In short, while we might want to consider the castaway as a figure

¹³⁹ See, Peter D. Shapinsky, "Lords of the Sea: Pirates, Violence, and Exchange in Medieval Japan," Ph.D. Diss., University of Michigan, 2005. See also, Alain Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea* (Jocelyn Phelps, trans.) (Oxford: Polity Press, 1994); and Richard E. Strassberg, *A Chinese Bestiary*, (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 2002).

outside the bounds of the State, their stories as written by these officials and intellectuals, instead recast them as representative Japanese subjects and serve to describe not only the foreign, but more importantly the divinely sanctioned and inspired realm of the Tokugawa regime.

¹⁴⁰ Shapinsky, 73.

IN DEFENSE OF LITERATURE/ A LITERATURE OF DEFENSE

In our answers we were less concerned with the real truth than we were with trying to please [the Prince of Tanegashima]. But this was the case only in certain instances when it was necessary to help ourselves out with a few little falsehoods.

-The castaway Fernam Mendez Pinto writing of his arrival in Tanegashima

I shan't take the time here to repeat any of their questions or the answers I gave, because they all dealt with matters of no great importance and I can see no purpose it would serve other than to fill up space with things that would inspire more boredom than pleasure.

-Mendez Pinto, in regards to a nearly fatal shooting incident involving a Prince of Bungo

We armed ourselves with the saddest and the most wretched outward appearances that in the midst of all the misery we were going through at the time we were still able to feign, for, after God, it was always this make-believe that helped us more in this situation than all the other means we sought.

-Mendez Pinto, after being cast ashore in the Ryukyu Islands¹

Stories of maritime drift require the reader first to believe. The speaking voices that narrate such tales frequently frame the narrative as real and are often at pains to stress the truth of the account. And yet as we read, we discover the real can only be mediated through a voice and narrative that at times of convenience is, “less concerned with truth.” Depending on the “few little falsehoods” and “make-believe,” the trajectory of a desperate castaway’s story, is almost always toward “pleasure,” rather than simply the facts that might “inspire more boredom.” If we are to believe the

¹ These three quotes come from *The Travels of Mendes Pinto* (Rebecca D. Catz, trans.) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 276, 282, and 290, respectively.

claims of Fernam Mendez Pinto (1509-1583) that appear in the posthumously published *Peregrinations* of 1614,² we may accept that he, along with his two fellow castaways Cristóvão Borralho and Diogo Zeimoto who washed ashore on the island of Tanegashima in 1542, became the first Europeans to “discover” Japan.³ This accidental encounter by castaways (whether we might believe it or not) fueled a frenzy

² The full, cumbersome title of this text is, "*Peregrinaçam de Fernam Mendez Pinto em que da conta de muytas e muyto estranhas cousas que vio & ouvio no reyno da China, no da Tartaria, no de Sornau, que vulgarmente se chama de Sião, no de Calaminhan, no do Pegù, no de Martauão, & em outros muytos reynos & senhorios das partes Orientais, de que nestas nossas do Occidente, ha muyto pouca ou nenhua noticia. E tambem da conta de muytos casos particulares que acontecerão assi a elle como a outras muytas pessoas. E no fim della trata brevemente de algumas cousas, & da morte do Santo Padre Francisco Xavier, unica luz & resplendor daquellas partes do Oriente, & reitor nellas universal da Companhia de Jesus*, or in English, "The Pilgrimage of Fernam Mendez Pinto in which is told the many and very strange things he saw and heard in the kingdom of China, in the one of Tartary, in the one of Sornau, usually called Siam, in the one of Calaminhan, in the one of Pegù, in the one of Martauão, and in many other kingdoms and lordships of the Oriental parts, and that in our Occident there are few or no accounts. And also the account of many particular affairs that occurred both to him and many other people. And in the end of it briefly regards some things, & the death of the Holy Priest Francis Xavier, sole light and brightness of those parts of the Orient, & universal ruler of the Society of Jesus in those parts." Needless to say, I will use the shorter, "*Peregrinations*." An original printed version of the text from 1614 is in the Tenri Central Library Rare Books Collection. See, *Seiyôjin no mîta Nippon: Maruko Pooro kara Perii made*, (Kyoto: Tenri Gyararii, 1985), 6. For a modern English translation see, *The Travels of Mendes Pinto* (Rebecca D. Catz, trans.) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

³ Two other European accounts from the sixteenth century claim that the first three Portuguese to arrive in Japan were Antonio da Mota, Francisco Zeimoto, and Antonio Peixoto. Citing Hans Haas, Catz notes that Japanese sources identify Mura Shukusha and Kitishita ta Mota. Because contemporary texts do not corroborate his claims, Pinto's claims have been met with skepticism. See (Catz 1989, 591). Neither Catz nor Haas point out that in the 13th section of the 5th volume of *Hôshi Nihon kikô* (奉仕日本紀行, 五卷第十三篇長崎湊の記) states, "The first Europeans to learn of Japan were the famous travelers Roburokuisu(?) and Maruko Yuuro (note: these two people were from the 13th century). Afterwards in the 16th century a Portuguese man called Heruchinanto Mendesu Pinto boarded a Chinese boat with a piratical-looking Samiboteka and intending to sail from Macao to Ryûkyû, drifted instead to Japanese shores, therefore becoming the very first in Japan." See, Arakawa (1962), 49. All other Japanese accounts I have seen date the incident to the 8th month of 1543. Other discrepancies, such as the number of castaways (one text claims 100) stick out between Pinto's ostensible version of the story and Japanese documents. See *Nanpo bunshû* 南浦文集, *Shimazu kokushi* 島津国史, *Tanegashima kafu* 種子島家譜, *Nagasaki shi* 長崎史, and *Bubishi* 武備志. All are to be found in (Arakawa 1962, 47-49).

of discourse in Europe on Japan and other recently witnessed lands.⁴ While Japan existed on European maps and in certain European texts more than two centuries before the appearance of Pinto's *Peregrinations*, ostensible eye-witness accounts by first Iberian, and later other European missionaries, merchants, and travelers were written and read as authoritative sources of geographic, ethnographic, and ecological fact.⁵ At the same time, the veracity of these texts was often challenged. As we see in the epigraphs above, the text at certain moments, in its own telling, frequently undermines the ostensible objectivity of an eyewitness account. Whether to please a prince, pleasure the reader, or fall back on an expedient "make-believe," the truth of castaways and the stories they tell on both the beaches of discovery and the rocky shores of repatriation are suspect precisely because the meaning of their unique experience, if not their own bodily survival, depends upon pleasing and performing before an audience. Or, as an account regarding Pinto's contemporary, Peter Serrano, who found himself upon a barren island for seven years beginning in 1540, states: "For seamen are much more ingenious in all times of extremity than men bred at land."⁶

Despite Pinto's "ingeniousness," or perhaps because of it, the claims of discovery he makes have been questioned from the moment of their first appearance,

⁴ *Peregrinations* was translated into Spanish, French, German, Dutch, and English with numerous editions and printings during the seventeenth century. Catz claims that it superceded *Don Quixote* in popularity. Some of these translations were abridgements such as the version that appeared in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* published in London in 1625. See (Catz 1989, xxvii).

⁵ For examples of European maps that include Japan prior to the 1543, see Nakamura Hiroshi, *East Asia in Old Maps* (Tokyo: Kasai Publishing, 1964).

⁶ Charles Neider (ed.), *Great Shipwrecks and Castaways: Authentic Accounts of Disasters at Sea* (New York: Dorset Press, 1990), 2.

leading readers to playfully ask, "Fernam, Mentos? Minto!" or "Do you lie Fernam? Yes, I lie." Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616) referred to Pinto as the "Prince of Liars," while the English dramatist William Congreve (1670-1729) ridiculed him in his early comedy *Love for Love*, writing, "Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee, thou liar of first magnitude."⁷ It happens that the fate of Pinto's legacy as both liar and witness reflects a more general contradiction embodied by this new historical and literary trans-oceanic subject of the castaway. The reception of *Peregrinations* as both an important document of discovery and source of world-political knowledge on the one hand, and as a literary and dramatic *re-telling*, if not fantastic fiction on the other, is emblematic of a more general pattern shared with other accounts of discovery and drift. For both the ocean-going discoverer and castaway—two figures not mutually exclusive, but as Pinto demonstrates, often related—it was first and foremost their stories, more than the gold, or captives, or rare zoological and botanical species, that could be shared and circulated most effectively. These stories were real, but also read. It was the re-telling of one's experiences, a testament without recourse to corroboration, sometimes based on oaths, but always depending on language whose factual content no matter how accurate, ceded meaning to form or the particular way of telling.

The castaway, like the discoverer, missionary, pirate, and whaler occupied a watery world quite mysterious, if not foreign to many land-locked readers. From the perspective of the reader, men venturing out beyond any visible or heretofore imagined

⁷ See Herbert A. van Scoy, "Fact and Fiction in Mendez Pinto's 'Peregrinacam'," in *Hispania*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (May, 1949), 158.

horizon, enduring both the fear of the unknown and the particular hardships of the sea, thus gained a certain privileged access to this space beyond the imagination of more “grounded” readers. The dangers and exotica of these places “beyond the waves” were only magnified if a ship became distressed and ventured into literally “uncharted” waters. Aimless drift, perhaps fortified by a strong dose of hope or anxiety, thus became a narrative of providence or chance, fortune or tragedy, and a drama of transformation and return. In short, between the rocks on the coast and a hard place at sea, the castaway is faced with the peculiar challenge of rendering his most unbelievable story believable. These stories ostensibly report the facts of what happened, but describe a space beyond the imaginations and experiences of the reader. Like the Great Kahn’s atlas in Italo Calvino’s *Invisible Cities*—a provocative meditation on the act of transforming space into language through the repetition of discovery—they are, “maps of the promised lands visited in thought but not yet discovered or founded [by readers].”⁸

In telling a story of the outside, the castaway continually risks slipping beyond the frames of reference any reader might bring to the text. The castaway is thus suspect in the very telling of his story.⁹ Like Job’s messenger or the *Pequod’s* orphan

⁸ Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities* (San Diego: Harvest Books, 1978), 164.

⁹ Yann Martel’s 2002 Booker Award winning novel *Life of Pi* seems to quite consciously embrace this aspect of castaway accounts. The story is framed as a true account reported to the author by a Japanese official named Okamoto. Okamoto is sent along with Chiba to interview an Indian castaway that washes up on the shores of Mexico. After recounting his ordeal and the fate of the Japanese ship he originally boarded, the Japanese men are incredulous and ask for the true story. Pi then imagines a story that is more believable but not true.

Ishmael, who “escaped alone to tell thee,” the castaway all too often has no witness to corroborate the details, and furthermore, rarely has the language to even describe such spaces of alterity, let alone the fears, losses, suffering, and eventual joy or perhaps ambivalence of repatriation. Furthermore, we might consider that often those who managed to return from a shipwreck often had to explain to investors, bosses, and relatives, the fate of their cargo and company. Because castaway accounts had to account for the losses and tragedy so often associated with maritime disaster, these stories frequently rendered the speaker free of personal responsibility for the losses, but also suspect to the readers. We might imagine for example how the topic of hunger, so common to the castaway experience, might become a taboo subject lest relatives of one who did not return might construe the repatriated castaway’s story as a veiled justification for cannibalism. “Survivor’s guilt” it seems was just one way of turning facts into drama.¹⁰

Pinto’s tale of Tanegashima while certainly read as both a literary and sometimes questionable historical document, also invokes a historical milieu in which the world was being re-imagined in a particular manner. This historical worldview whose cipher is to be found in the texts of the day, for example later versions of Marco Polo and Rustichello da Pisa’s co-authored *Il Milione* (*The Travels of Marco Polo*) or

¹⁰ The story of Jūkichi of Owari as it is written by Ikeda Hirochika in *Funaosa nikki* explains that upon returning to his home village, Jūkichi had vowed to erect a monument for his fellow crewmen who did not return. The funds for this monument (which is still standing in Nagoya) are gathered from admission fees charged to displays held at temples and shrines of the exotic goods with which he returned and by printing a Russian-Japanese lexicon which he sold. His experience of sixteen months drift is riddled with inconsistencies regarding how they fed themselves and what was done with the corpses of those who died.

maps by Gerardus Mercator or Abraham Ortelius such as *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, literally swept the world, overlaying the sphere of the globe with a body of continents and oceans, mountains and rivers, borders and territories, in a limited and closed planetary space.



Map 2.1. Map of Asia by Abraham Ortelius (1575)¹¹

If we are to again take Fernam Mendes Pinto for his word, we might imagine him on the beaches of Tanegashima in 1542, not only introducing the arquebus to pleased feudal lords, but also completing one segment of a newly imagined global

¹¹ This map is contained in the *Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan*.

circuitry whose mathematics works out to be $4\pi r^2$ and that was realized only twenty years earlier by Juan Sebastián Elcano and Magellan's seventeen other surviving crew members who managed to return from the first documented circumnavigation of the globe.¹² Whether your planetary radius worked out to be 1650 *ri* or 1150 nautical leagues, the world was now a finite space that could be plotted out and represented in radically new ways.¹³

The fishermen and other Japanese witnesses on the beaches of Tanegashima who accidentally “discovered” Europe in the guise of Pinto (or other castaways washing ashore upon the archipelago) thought these new people to be Indians (*Tenjiku jin*).¹⁴ Just as Columbus thought he had reached India when landing on Hispaniola, the first

¹² Carlos Quirino has argued that Ferdinand Magellan's slave, Enrique of Malacca, was in fact the first human to circumnavigate the world. This argument depends on whether the slave was originally from the Philippines. See, “The First Man Around the World Was a Filipino,” in *Philippines Free Press*, Dec. 28, 1991.

¹³ The geometric formula cited here is not for circumference of a sphere, but surface area of a sphere. It was the ability to accurately calculate multidirectional movement over the surface of the oceans, and not simply travel in a theoretical straight line around the world that defined this transformation in the way global space was represented and understood. This development was made possible in part due to breakthroughs in techniques for measuring longitude. While the history of longitude is not just one breakthrough moment, but instead a series of developments that took place beginning in the early seventeenth century and continued to be driven by various rewards sponsored by European countries over the course of 200 years. By 1714 the English Parliament passed the Longitude Act that offered £ 20,000 to anyone who could design a practical timepiece accurate enough to plot a ship's location within thirty miles after a six week sail across the Atlantic. The Parliament continued to provide prize money through the Board of Longitude until 1824.

¹⁴ Toby (1994) begins his article with a quote from Cosme de Torres writing to Francis Xavier simply stating, “[the Japanese] call us ‘Tenjiku’ [Indians].” (Translation and editorial additions are Toby's.) Elison in his *Deus Destroyed* translates a document titled *Kirishitan* (“Christian”) *monogatari* (1639) that Toby also cites. In this fascinating document we might find a good example of how the Iberian Other came to be viewed and read at the very beginning of the post-Iberian interlude. See George Elison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 319-374.

Japanese to engage Portuguese turned to their inner maps to make sense of the occasion. As chance would have it, the extreme peripheral space of these otherwise yet-to-be congruous hemispheres overlapped in the site of India/ Tenjiku and served both as the origin of the unfamiliar. With the West facing east and East facing west the Other was determined to be India/*Tenjiku*, but not for long. Europe would begin to appear on Japanese maps with greater and greater detail, while the Pacific Rim became more cartographically clear to Europeans and thus a circuit was completed and the act of representing the world has since gradually become a matter of detail and scale.

Ronald Toby has pointed out the profound implications this “Iberian irruption” had on the very ways in which Japanese came to understand themselves and others.

This absence of Other from the iconographic / cognitive landscape of Japan prior to the Iberian irruption, the intensity with which Japanese art and masque adopted the Iberian troupe during the *Nanban* (Iberian) interlude, 1543-1640, and the assumption by old, familiar Others (formerly excluded from the Japanese landscape) of the place the Iberians had made for themselves are suggestive of transformations in consciousness wrought by Japan’s experience of Other in the *Nanban* century.¹⁵

As Pinto’s example has already demonstrated, castaways arriving on the shores of Japan (*hyôchakumin*, 漂着民), as well as those drifting from Japan (*hyôryûmin*, 漂流民) were quite often the very embodiment of this transformed consciousness, and upon repatriation, their narratives served as both exotic tale and important medium through which this transformed consciousness was projected. With an explosion in the writing

¹⁵ Ronald P. Toby, “The ‘Indianness’ of Iberia and the changing Japanese iconographies of Other,” in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Period* (Stuart B. Schwartz, ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 325.

of castaway accounts more or less simultaneously developing in countries throughout the world between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, this textual category stands as perhaps the first trans-national literary form of empire and trans-oceanic conquest.

Pinto's story of drift is but one of several other accounts in world literature that parallel the history of global expansion and trade. Peter Serrano, Alexander Selkirk, Choe Pu, Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Hans Staden, and Hendrik Hamel are just a few examples from a vast body of texts collectively known as castaway accounts, the formation of which was made possible by trans-oceanic exploration and empire building begun in earnest in the sixteenth century.¹⁶

Among historians of early-modernity and enlightenment, the discovery of the Pacific—the antipode of Europe—closes the circuit that circumscribes a finite global

¹⁶ The experiences of Alexander Selkirk served as the basis for Daniel Defoe's *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner*...first published in 1719. See Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (New York: Penguin Books, 1965), 301-310. Choe Pu was a Korean castaway from the late 15th century whose text (Kr: *P'yohae-rok*, J: *Hyôkai roku* or *Tôdo kôtei ki*) came to Japan in the late 16th century. It appears to have been a popular text among Kyôto scholars. See John Meskill, *Choe Pu's Diary: A Record of Drifting Across the Sea* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1965), 21-24. The Spaniard de Vaca's account, first published in 1555, has been called, "the first major narrative of the exploration of North America by Europeans." (Enrique Pupo-Walker) I am grateful to Professor David Lubke for first suggesting the significance of this text. See Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Castaways* (Enrique Pupo-Walker, ed., Frances M. López-Morillas)(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). The remarkable story of Hans Staden has been brought to my attention by both Professors Neil Whitehead and Gordon Sayer. See Neil L. Whitehead, "Hans Staden and the Cultural Politics of Cannibalism," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 80, No. 4, Special Issue: Colonial Brazil: Foundations, Crises, and Legacies. (Nov., 2000), 721-751, and Gordon M. Sayre, *American Captivity Narratives: Selected Narratives with Introduction (New Riverside Editions)* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2000), 18-58. Hendrik Hamel's account of shipwreck off the coast of Cheju Island and subsequent travels in Korea and Japan first appeared in Amsterdam and Rotterdam in 1668. See Gari Ledyard, *The Dutch Come to Korea* (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch in conjunction with Taewon Publishing Company, 1971), 13. There are of course numerous other famous castaways from the 16th to 20th centuries outside of Japan. Important anthologies include *Great Shipwrecks and Castaways: Authentic Accounts of Disasters at Sea* (Charles Neider, ed.) (New York: Dorset Press, 1980) and Edward E. Leslie, *Desperate Journeys, Abandoned Souls: True Stories of Castaways and other Survivors* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1988).

space within which the discourses of Self and Other, and their contingent notions of race, national character, and ethnicity, capture the imaginations of colonizer and colonized alike. The economic historian, Hayami Akira, refers to this moment, “as a kind of global cataclysm that significantly changed the histories of all its participants.”¹⁷ Ronald Toby’s work on the “Indianness” of Iberians for sixteenth century Japanese suggests as much.¹⁸ That the other’s Other issued forth from India/Tenjiku was the result of two visions of the world merging and producing multiple visions of the world over the course of the next several centuries, by the mid-nineteenth century this “globalized space” (or conversely, “spatialized globe”) developed a certain hegemonic authority. In fact, in *hyôryûki* from the 1790s onward tend to reflect a certain historical determinism of expansion within a finite space. Hamada Hikoizô (a.k.a. Joseph Heco), in trying to make sense of his own experiences of drift to the United States, writes in his *Hyôryûki* 漂流記 of 1863:

In Europe about 378 years ago, at a place called *Jinowa* [Genoa] (now in the territory of France), there lived a man named Columbus, who loved to make sea voyages. While making several trips to India, where he carried on trade, he heard that there was a country called Japan farther to the East and he set his heart of traveling there. Thinking to himself that the earth was round, he decided that if he sailed west from Europe, instead of crossing the mountains of China, he could reach Japan. He explained his ideas to the king of *Hispania* [Spain], who listened to them with sympathy and provided him with three ships. [Columbus], much excited, sailed west for many days and arrived, as he expected, at a large country. It was America, however, not Japan, which he had set his

¹⁷ Akira Hayami, “Introduction: The Emergence of ‘Economic Society’,” in *The Economic History of Japan, 1600-1990*, Volume One: *Emergence of Economic Society in Japan, 1600-1859* (Akira Hayami, et al., eds.) (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1999), 2.

¹⁸ Toby (1994), 323-351.

sights on. Since Columbus unexpectedly discovered America while looking for Japan, and since people from America then came over to Japan to open its ports, we can say that this was destined and that Columbus finally achieved his goal.¹⁹

Greg Dening, who highlights the thirty-year period between Samuel Wallis's arrival in Tahiti in 1767 and the establishment of the first successful missionary project in 1797, speaks of this watery space as a *theatrum mundi*. A theatrical world, "in which the nations of Europe and the Americas saw themselves acting out their scientific and humanistic selves."²⁰ Dening sees the Pacific as a theatrical world, but also quite literally as a world theater, that is, he argues that the ocean itself was a stage upon which the world gazes. The accounts of Pinto and other Europeans circulated and were translated around Europe and in some cases copies even appeared in Nagasaki and Edo to be translated into Japanese. This exchange also went the other way. For example, Hayashi Shihei's *Sangoku tsûran zusetsu* 三国通覧図説 was translated into French, German, and Dutch, Julius von Kalproth's being the first in 1832. And while not all the audience could see all that was unfolding in this drama, castaways who traversed this stage were leading players and spoke in a chorus whose function was to explain to audiences from all corners of the ocean and beyond this drama of Pacific conquest. Dening's conceptualization and terminology, while useful in understanding

¹⁹ Translation by Peter Duus in *The Japanese Discovery of America: A brief History with Documents* (New York: Bedford Books, 1997) 83-84. Also see, Arakawa Hidetoshi, *Ikoku hyôryûki shû* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1962), 228.

²⁰ Greg Dening, "The Theatricality of observing and being observed: Eighteenth-Century Europe 'Discovers' the 18th Century Pacific," in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Stuart B. Schwartz, ed.) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 452.

the profoundly performative aspects of identity for the castaway, also has its limits. For example, he tends to portray Pacific cross-cultural encounters in a unidirectional manner initiated primarily by Europeans and European-Americans. “It was a time of intensive theater of the civilized to the native,” he writes, “but of even more intense theater of the civilized to one another.”²¹

In the fourth month of 1803, ten Japanese sailors originally from the province of Mutsu arrived in Saint Petersburg with aspirations of meeting the emperor, Alexander I.²² Their journey to the political seat of the Russian empire had begun ten years earlier, when their ill-fated ship, the *Wakamiya-maru* 若宮丸, met with a storm and came ashore on one of the Andreianovskie islands in the Aleutian archipelago.²³ After a harrowing fifty-day trip by horse from Irkutsk, during which time they saw three more of the original sixteen crewmates succumb to death or illness, the goal of these castaways (*hyōkyaku*, 漂客) was to receive from the emperor himself permission to return home. Four of these ten castaways would eventually be returned to Japan on the

²¹ *Ibid.*, 452.

²² All months given will correlate to Japanese lunar calendar unless English month names are used. This first statement is confirmed in the documentation on the *Wakamiya-maru* that is to follow.

²³ Because Edo period castaway accounts frequently used *kana* or *ateji* to name spaces in the North Pacific, and because these terms were yet to be standardized in any formal manner, it is difficult to identify names for places. In the *Kankai ibun*, the most thorough account of these castaways, the island on which they landed is named, “Ondereetsuke.” See, Ôtsuki Gentaku and Shimura Hiroyuki, *Kankai ibun: honbun to kenkyū* (Sugimoto Tsutomu, et al, eds.) (Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō, 1986), 4. According to the official debriefing records recorded by the Nagasaki Bugyō, the island was named, “Oteretsukeosutoro.” See, “Ikoku e hyōryū shi sōrō Mutsu no kuni no yonin kuchigaki,” in *Nihon hyōryū hyōchaku shiryō* (Arakawa Hidetoshi, ed.) (Tokyo: Chijin Shokan, 1962), 388. English spellings for Russian terms are based on the work of George Alexander Lensen, *The Russian Push Toward Japan: Russo-Japanese Relations, 1697-1875* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959), for the site of disembarkation for the *Wakamiya-maru* crew see page 129.

Russian ship, *Nadezhda*, but only after a circumbendibus journey that continued westward to Denmark, England, the Canary Islands, Brazil, round the Tierra del Fuego, to the Marquesas Islands, the Kamchatka Peninsula, before finally reaching the offices of the Nagasaki *Bugyô* in the ninth month of 1804. In short, these four castaways were perhaps the earliest Japanese to provide an account of global conditions based upon an actual circumnavigation of the globe.

We may turn to several textual and visual forms to glean the details of their drift and return. These include both documents “officially” produced by *bakufu* (through the offices of the Nagasaki *Bugyô* (“magistrate”) or domain officials appointed for the purpose of recording the castaways’ tales, as well as “unofficial sources” produced by a more diverse body of writers who heard their stories either directly or indirectly.²⁴

Like many other Japanese castaways during the Edo period that came both before and after the *Wakamiya-maru*, these sailors would invariably have their accounts first written down in *kuchigaki* (口書) form as an official and bureaucratic report.²⁵ It is

²⁴ Most recently Kurachi Katsunao, in an attempt to categorize castaway accounts, has suggested dividing into three general categories; *kôshiki kiroku* (“official records”), *hyôryûmin jishin ga arawashita kiroku* (“records based upon [the accounts of] the castaways themselves”), and *daisansha ga arawashita kiroku* (“records [heard second hand and] produced by a third-person.”) See, Kurachi Katsunao, *Hyôryû kiroku to hyôryû taiken* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2005), 78-83. Haruna Akira, perhaps the most prolific scholar of Edo period castaway accounts, has earlier classified castaway accounts in two separate ways. In 1990, Haruna proposed two broad categories of castaways. One he called the “Robinson Crusoe type,” of sailors arriving on a deserted island [sic], and the other he referred to as the “Odysseus type,” in which sailors arrive on foreign shores. In the same publication, he also pointed to three categories of castaway accounts: 1) *hyôryû kuchigaki* (debriefing reports of repatriated castaways), 2) *hensanbutsu hyôryûki* (edited accounts of castaways), 3) *iroribe danwa* (fireside stories). See “Hyôryû” and “Hyôryûki,” in *Kokushi daijiten* (Kokushi Daijiten Henshû Iinkai, ed.) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1990), 1033-1034.

²⁵ Depending on which port the castaways were repatriated to, these *kuchigaki* documents were usually written by the Nagasaki or Matsumae *Bugyô*. In the case of Japanese drifting to Korea, the Tsûshima Domain would frequently write the first reports. In the case of castaways drifting to Ryukyu, Satsuma

these first-order castaway narratives that served as the basis for significantly lengthier and more elaborate *hyôryûki*, written after the repatriated sailors had already undergone several debriefings. These rudimentary castaway reports document an interrogation process that was formalized by the late seventeenth century.²⁶ The records themselves also reflect specific formal attributes. For example, the *kuchigaki* account was marked by a collective first-person confessional voice (*watakushi domo*) in the case of multiple castaways, or a singular first-person voice in the case of a sole survivor. While relatively brief, a *kuchigaki* document usually began with reference to the date and year of when the castaways first left port. Following this, the ship owner's name and home, the captain's name (*oki sentô*), a list of the crew, their hometowns and temple affiliation, the cargo carried, and the ship's route at the time of distress were usually mentioned, often in this order.²⁷ The testimony would then detail the conditions of their distress, such as the loss of rudder and/or mast, shortage of food or water, disease, pollution, feelings of abandonment and suicide, etc. If the castaways happened to be rescued or washed ashore in a foreign place the text would continue with a description of those

officials would be responsible for carrying out the initial debriefing and paperwork. If sailors returned to their home provinces, frequently local officials would also produce *kuchigaki* accounts.

²⁶ The earliest *hyôryû kuchigaki* that I have been able to find dates from 1668. This is not the report of a Japanese castaway's testimony, but instead that of fourteen Koreans who drifted to Hirado earlier in the same year. The account specifically states that they were not Christians, thus suggesting the perceived threat of Christianity for the *Bakufu*. By the 1680s the term *kuchigaki* was used in the case of Japanese castaways, however there are also texts from this time that use slight variations of the term such as *kôjôgaki* (口上書) and *kôjô no oboe* (口上之覚). See, NHHS, 108, 132, 138-139.

²⁷ The term "owner" is a translation of 船頭 while the term "captain" is the translation of 沖船頭 or 乗船頭. For an explanation of the difference see, Kanezashi Shôzô, *Nihon kaiji kanshû shi* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1967), 67-68.

places as well as people visited, frequently commenting on food, customs, houses, settlements, hairstyles, etc. The latter half of these documents would often narrate the events that led to the castaways' eventual repatriation.²⁸ Finally, these documents generally ended with the names of castaways, followed by an oath attesting to the veracity of the testimony and the names of the interrogators. These oaths varied slightly and did not always appear at the end of every document, however they appear frequently enough to briefly elaborate. For example, the document titled, "Minazuki mura Yazôbei ikoku he hyôchaku shidai kuchigaki" from 1844, concludes with the statement, "There are not even slight discrepancies in the above cited testimony. *Fin.*"²⁹ Likewise, we see that the "Dainenji Nii mura Yoshizaemon Tô koku he hyôchaku ikken kuchigaki," written in 1827, finishes with a similar statement.³⁰ This testimonial quality of *kuchigaki* used to initially transcribe the experiences of repatriated castaways suggests the more bureaucratic purposes of this form, however, as we shall soon see, claims of veracity are also an important part of longer accounts not written by officials, but by intellectuals responsible for recording more elaborate versions of the castaways' stories.

²⁸ The best source for *kuchigaki* reports is to be found in the Hayashi Fukusai, *Tsûkô ichiran*, Hayakawa Junsaburô, ed. (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1912-1914), 8 vols. (hereafter TKIR followed by *kan*, vol., and page number. See also, Hayashi Fukusai, *Tsûkô ichiran zokushû* (Yanai Kenji, ed.) (Osaka: Seibundô, 1968-1973), 5 vol. The only collection of only *kuchigaki* that I am aware of is *Ka Nô hyôryûtan (fukkoku)* (Kanazawa: Ishikawa-ken Toshokan Kyôkai, 1972).

²⁹ The phrase in question reads, 「右奉ニ申上一候通、少も相違無二御座一候。以上。」 See, *Ka-Nô hyôryûtan* (Tanaka Kuninari, ed.) (Kanazawa: Ishikawa Ken Toshokan Kyôkai, 1972), 55.

³⁰ The phrasing of this second example is, 「右申上候通り相違無二御座一候」 *Ibid.*, 21.

Just as *kuchigaki* texts exhibited a remarkable formal consistency in the way the story was put together, the content and details mentioned in *kuchigaki* texts are also remarkably consistent. In the case of the four sailors from the *Wakamiya-maru* who returned to Japan after a circumnavigation of the globe, we may identify numerous narrational commonalities shared with other *kuchigaki hyôryûki*. Upon repatriation in Nagasaki, their account was first recorded by the offices of the *Nagasaki Bugyô* in a document titled, “Ikoku e hyôryû shisôrô Mutsu no kuni no yonnin kuchigaki,” signed by the castaways on the 29th day of the 3rd month, 1805.³¹ Furthermore, not only is the inciting incident of these accounts (storm, mast cutting, etc.) standardized to some degree, so is the formalized ritual of return that castaways were subjected to by officials.³² Aside from the interrogation and recording of testimony, these rituals included dressing and grooming the castaways in a “Japanese” style, isolating them and questioning them separately in order to determine any discrepancies in their stories, feeding them foods considered to be Japanese (in particular rice), visiting a shrine or temple in order to thank the gods for their safe return or to placate spirits of those less fortunate not to return, and having them at times submit to *fumie*, a process by which

³¹ TKIR, 318:8, 157-166.

³² The notion of a “ritual of return” is inspired by the work of Victor Turner, who in a very different context, writes of the alternation of society between “fixed” worlds and “floating worlds.” He continues, “human beings have had to create—by structural means—spaces and times in the calendar or, in the cultural cycles of their most cherished groups which cannot be captured in the classificatory nets of their quotidian, routinized spheres of action. These liminal areas of time and space—rituals, carnivals, dramas, and latterly films—are open to the play of thought, feeling, and will; in them are generated new models, often fantastic, some of which may have sufficient power and plausibility to replace eventually the force-backed political and jural models that control the centers of society’s ongoing life.” See Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), vii.

Japanese trod upon images representing the Virgin Mary, Christ, or other symbols of the Christian faith, and thereby repudiating any connections to Christianity, specifically Catholicism.³³

The *kuchigaki* form, as the name itself implies, was meant to be an unmediated report of an actual experience directly from the castaway's mouth, however the consistent and formalized structure to which these texts comply tend to betray any sense of unmediated truth. In other words, the consistency of form instead suggests that both the castaways and the *bakufu* or domain officials who recorded such accounts were compelled to present the story in a very specific narrative mode. As a rule the documents are generally matter-of-fact, lacking great detail or overt editorial intervention, and short enough to be read, and more importantly copied, in one sitting. At the same time, despite the name given to these records, the style in which they are inscribed reveals significant differences from any actual oral mode of communication, instead depending on a well established written form today referred to *sôrôbun* or "epistolary" style.

The *kuchigaki* form shared many similarities with more minor forms such as *oboegaki* (castaway accounts "remembered"), the *ginmi*, and *kikigaki* (castaway accounts "heard") that also were occasionally written. The *oboegaki* was generally part of a *kuchigaki* or more elaborate form of *hyôryûki*. Any specific formal aspects associated with this term are indeterminate since this appellation is used for texts

³³ TKIR, 318: 8, 158.

ranging from the testimony of someone witnessing a *hyôchaku* incident (that is, foreign castaways arriving to Japan) to simply a list of objects with which the castaways returned.³⁴ *Kikigaki* was also generally a term for smaller sections within larger texts and framed neither by the speaking subject *watakushi domo* nor the first-person mode of narration.³⁵ As with *oboegaki*, it is difficult to define the formal limits of texts designated *kikigaki*. Examples include a question-answer session with foreign sailors and short accounts of repatriated castaways, however a text such as *Hyômin kikigaki* 漂民聞書 of 1856 is significantly longer.³⁶ Lastly, the term (*go*) *ginmi* (御)吟味 (an “examination” or “exploration”) is occasionally used to refer to shorter texts similar in nature to *kuchigaki*.³⁷

In his study of the records of the first Japanese embassy sent to the United States, Masao Miyoshi has written extensively concerning the relationship between the status of the first person perspective and early foreign travel writing.

The “I” tended not to detach itself from the other “I’s” and thus stayed immersed in the world. There was neither the joy nor the misery of the lonely self; instead, with the ambiguity of the subject allowing his action and being to be collective, man in Japan retained the security of community, however temporally and spatially circumscribed he may have been by the tribal mythology. If Maruyama Masao is right, as I

³⁴ *Ka Nô*, 62-66.; “Hyôryûnin yonin no mono kondo mochimodori sôrô shina no oboegaki,” NHHS, 394-395.

³⁵ See for example, “Nakanohama Shôyara sanmei kikigaki,” where the subject begins with, “Manjirô hitori,” in EHS vol. 5, 185-202.

³⁶ See “Kojin metsuke Fukuyama Hokô kikigaki,” in EHSB, vol. 1, 395-410; “Kichiren gawa ryoshuku deno kikigaki,” in EHSB, vol. 1, 585-587.

³⁷ See for example, “Nagasaki bugyôsho ginmisho,” in EHS, vol. 5, 109-184.

believe he is, in diagnosing the conspicuous absence of the speculative habit (*shisô*) in the whole Japanese tradition, it is a price the culture has been willing to pay.³⁸

Acknowledging that the basis for his provocative claim lies in the historiography of Maruyama Masao and the notion of the Meiji Restoration being a truly radical epistemological break, Miyoshi's own ideas depend on a problematic division of Japanese history into distinct periods in which the pre-1868 Japan is a completely isolated cultural body until modernity with all its trappings is introduced. In doing this, he dismisses accounts that do use the first person, attributing them to the arrogance or eccentricity of their authors.³⁹ While certain late Edo accounts do reflect the collective narration of several castaways, others are based on the testimony of only one voice, and furthermore articulate in the clearest of ways the "joy" and "misery" of the "lonely self."⁴⁰ Needless to say, it is hard to dismiss these accounts as anomalies of arrogance or eccentricity. Miyoshi's own speculative habits seem to cloud any serious analysis of *hyôryûki* as stories of an individual.

³⁸ Masao Miyoshi, *As We Saw Them* (New York: Kodansha International, 1994), 123-124.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 115.

⁴⁰ The American poet Robert Creeley suggests a strong link between a speaking literary voice and accounts of maritime travel, when he writes, "The first imagined sign for *self* in such language as had record was a boat, and that made adamant if harsh sense—as Noah's Ark did. The great flood of chaos had only one apparent agency for its signifying order, and that was oneself, that verifying agency without equal, because it was the one and only one for each of us... It is the pleasure and authority of writing that it invents a life to live in the first place." Robert Creeley *Autobiography* (New York: Hanuman Books, 1990), 9-10. While this ahistoric proposal has its problems, in the case of Edo period castaway accounts, it does appear that the awareness of a changing Pacific (on the part of intellectuals familiar with Dutch texts) as well as a burgeoning curiosity of the outside world among a larger and more general audience did provide *hyôryûki* authors with a new tool—the authoritative voice of a witness of the outside world—by which to frame their stories a believable retellings, and in turn rendering Miyoshi's claims oversimplified at best.

The proliferation of forms for recording the accounts of castaways suggests the inherent limits of the *kuchigaki* text. The parameters of the *kuchigaki* did not always prove sufficient for relating the notably exceptional experiences of castaways and the information with which they returned. In short, the documents comprised a form that resulted from “institutional imperatives which both coerce and are in turned coerced by the writer.”⁴¹ In fact, in the case of the repatriated sailors from the *Wakamiya-maru* there is also a second *kuchigaki* text relating the details of this incident dated “4th month, 1805.” This second *kuchigaki* text was produced and signed by Hida Bungo no kami and Narise Inaba no kami. A short editorial note informs us as to the reason why this second *kuchigaki* was written.

Upon consideration this *kuchigaki* has been ordered by the *Nagasaki bugyô* to investigate in detail this country [Russia] and its colonies (属国, *zokkoku*), as well as their environmental conditions and manners (かの国及び属国其外の風土風俗等). This should add to our speculation on conditions abroad, and [as a document] it should be saved for the time being (姑存す, *shibaraku zon su*), since someday if natives (土人, *donin*) are castaway to our land, it shall certainly prove helpful in dealing with them.⁴²

The production of a second *kuchigaki* text with the explicit objective of recording the conditions in Russia and lands under her jurisdiction suggests the limits of the bureaucratic genre of *kuchigaki* and a burgeoning desire for a textual form appropriate for relating the conditions and manners in foreign lands based on eyewitness accounts. The “paper trail” initiated with the repatriation of the

⁴¹ Norman Holmes Pearson, “Literary forms and types; or, a defense of Polonius,” cited in Heather Dubrow, *Genre (The Critical Idiom Series, No. 42)* (New York: Methuen and Company, 1982), 82.

⁴² NHHS, 395.

Wakamiya-maru crew does not end with this second account either. Their story was also related in numerous texts, the most elaborate being the sixteen-volume *Kankai ibun* 環海異聞 (1807). This text is representative of a second order of textual production common to repatriated castaways whose experiences fell into one of two categories. The first case in which we see these larger expanded accounts is when the nature of the castaways' experience was so exceptional as to warrant further explication beyond the *kuchigaki* form, for example the accounts concerning a group of castaways who remained twenty years on the uninhabited island of Tori-shima.⁴³ The second case in which longer narratives of drift were produced was when the experiences of the castaways served as an important source of foreign knowledge, as in the case of the returning crew of the *Wakamiya-maru*. We might consider early accounts such as *Dattan hyôryûki* (written in 1646) which serves one of the earliest reports on conditions in Qing China as an example of this type, however most of these larger, more elaborate accounts came to focus on descriptions of western colonized spaces and people.⁴⁴ By the 1790s, as concern for the encroachment of western ships in the Pacific mounted, these accounts served as a primary medium by which to re-map notions of the Other and to project a vision of Self that coalesced around the notion Japan, objectives not so conducive to the *kuchigaki* form. Frequently, these second-order texts were written with particular polemic arguments in mind concerning how the *Bakufu* should deal with

⁴³ See *Enshû sen mujintô monogatari* and *mujintô hyôchaku Hachijôjima urategata hoka*, in EHSS1, 308-356.

⁴⁴ See *Dattan hyôryûki* in EHSS1, 95-130.

direct encounters between first Russians, and later, English and the American ships plying the Pacific waters in the early nineteenth century. In both cases, the potential meanings and interpretations produced through the singular experience of drift, could not be completely recouped through the form of a single *kuchigaki*. While the narrational elements common to the castaway experience were ostensibly grounded in the veracity of a “true story,” it was primarily formal limits (as opposed to content) by which the surplus of meaning generated by such events served as a catalyst for a proliferation of new forms of *hyôryûki*. This new form of *hyôryûki* popular between the 1790s and the 1850s was primarily limited to relating the accounts of castaways who witnessed a significantly colonized Pacific and experienced encounters with peoples falling outside the familiar discourse of otherness grounded in an earlier *ka-i* order. (See Appendix A).

While stories of Korean fisherman, Chinese traders, and Ryukyuan officials who all maintained a place within an established worldview gave way to new others such as indigenous peoples of the northern Pacific Rim, Russian clergy and merchants, American whalers, and Spanish governors, the need for a new narrative form beyond the scope of the relatively brief *kuchigaki* became apparent. The act of reiterating and inscribing these more radically foreign people and places through the medium of *hyôryûki* became an educational, and at times entertaining endeavor. These accounts, which began to proliferate in the last decade of the eighteenth century, offered the reader not only a sense of novelty, but also a chance for the author to imbue acts of accidental and contingent drift with meaning. In other words, the random meetings at

sea or on foreign shores served as important performative, cross-cultural encounters, by which to relate a new world beyond an East Asian context. As such, the narratives are framed as truthful re-tellings, but also infused with dramatic suspense, tension, and fear. Analyzing the formal, textual, and literariness of these texts, we shall not only historicize an important textual practice specific to the late Edo period, but uncover a medium through which a new nationalist discourse in the context of increasingly colonized Pacific emerges.

IN DEFENSE OF LITERATURE

Returning to the castaways of the *Wakamiya-maru*, we may turn to the sixteen-volume *Kankai ibun* 環海異聞, a text mediated by unwritten questions of Ôtsuki Shigekata, a Mutsu domain physician and scholar of Dutch Learning, and the Confucian domain scholar Shimura Hiroyuki who served as scribe.⁴⁵ In the case of the *Kankai ibun*, the drama begins in the desolate outskirts of empire—a “contact zone” of hybridity and becoming—before the narrative progressively takes the reader eastward through tundra of the Siberian Plain.⁴⁶ Having reached the Russian capital, the

⁴⁵ First produced in *shahon* form in the summer of 1807 (based on date of the end of the *jobun*), the *Kankai ibun* was circulated and copied throughout the Edo period. The passages cited here are based on the manuscript stored in the National Diet Library which contains on the first page a “secret” stamp (秘) surrounded by the characters 高 秘所蔵. The narrational voice is established from p. 6 recto to p. 7 verso in the first volume (序例附言). Dôshisha University Library has made available another Edo period copy of the text available on-line at: <http://elib.doshisha.ac.jp/denshika/kankai/kankai.html>. The number of texts and images motivated by these repatriated sailors is vast. For shorter versions relating the experiences of these four castaways also appeared during the Edo period in abbreviated form, including an entry under 「文化元甲子年九月」 in *Tsûkô ichiran*, vol. 318 and “Ikoku e hyôryû shi sôrô Mutsu no kuni no mono yon nin kuchigaki,” in Arakawa Hidetoshi, ed., *Ikoku hyôryûki shû* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1962), 89-101. *Katsujû* versions of the *Kankai ibun* can be found in Sugimoto Tsutomu and Iwai Noriyuki, *Kankai ibun: honbun to kenkyû* (Yasaka Shobô, 1986) and (*Ishii Kendô Korekushon*) *Edo hyôryûki sôshû, dairokkan* (Yamashita Tsunewo, ed.) (Tokyo: Nihon Hyôronsha, 1993). Ôtsuki Shigekata is better known today as Ôtsuki Gentaku. See, *Ôtsuki Gentaku no kenkyû* (Yogakushi Kenkyukai, ed.) (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1991).

⁴⁶ Of the original sixteen crew aboard the *Wakamiya-maru*, four castaways returned to Nagasaki in ninth month of 1804 (*Bunka gannen*) as supercargo aboard the *Nadyezhda*. Repatriated by Governor Nikolaj Petrovich Rezanov, under orders from the emperor of Russia himself, they partook in Russia’s first successful circumnavigation of the globe, at the command of Captian Ivan Fedorovich Krusenstern. The account begins in the winter of 1793 when their ship met with strong winds off the coast of Ishinomaki Port just north of Sendai. Following a seven-month drift at sea, the sixteen castaways aboard the craft eventually came ashore. Because it is one of the earliest detailed accounts of Russia and the first Japanese

anticipation of the characters is most palpable on the morning of the 16th of the fifth month, the day they are told they would finally be granted an audience with the emperor. The text, unlike the preliminary *kuchigaki*, turns to details as the castaways prepare for their meeting, and we are made aware of the fact that their return is contingent upon a performance.

We dressed in newly tailored Japanese clothes that we had previously handed over and kept with [the Russian authorities] and were told that we may depart [for our interview] at any moment (何れも可罷出旨申渡さる). On that day, Rezanov departed before us. We were each ordered to shave and fix our hair in the *sakayaki* style.⁴⁷

It is a ritualized transformation in which the body is marked through a semiotics of both clothing and hair. But whose semiotic code is it? Considering the complicated issues of authorship related to the *Kankai ibun*, it is difficult to determine just how the ten castaways would have interpreted this event, or if they would have even interpreted it in a similar manner. We might argue that castaways were “ordered” (命有て) to abide by a Russian-invented exoticism of the Other which in this case took the form of an imagined “Japaneseness.” From this perspective their

account of global circumnavigation, a handful of scholars in Japan have researched this text including; Ayuzawa Shintarô, *Hyôryû* (Tokyo: Shibundô, 1956), 69-78, 141-148, 154-158; Arakawa Hidetoshi, “Sekai isshû shita Michinoku no Tsudayû,” in *Nihonjin hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Kôtokusha, 1964), 68-78; Kobayashi Shigefumi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 2000), 182-210. Scholarship in English is quite limited, however Kazuo Ninomiya has provided a selective summary of Ayuzawa’s work cited above, as has Kathrine Plummer for Arakawa’s work. See, Kazuo Z. Ninomiya, “A View of the Outside World during Tokugawa Japan: An Analysis of Reports of Travel by Castaways, 1636 to 1856,” (University of Washington, unpublished dissertation) and Kathrine Plummer, *The Shogun’s Reluctant Ambassadors: Japanese Sea Drifters in the North Pacific* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1991). See also, George Alexander Lensen, *The Russian Push toward Japan: Russo-Japanese Relations, 1697-1875* (New York, Octagon Books, 1971). For notions of the “contact zone” see, Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 1-11.

⁴⁷ *Kankai ibun*, 284.

performance would have been informed by a particular western hierarchy that divided spaces of the late eighteenth century globe into one of three categories; nation-states, the colonized, and those places still up for grabs. On the other hand, we might draw on the work of Ronald Toby and others who have written about the significance of hairstyles within an East Asian context, and read the actors' performances as being framed by a logic of difference among Qing China, Japan, Ryukyu, Korea, and other close neighbors.⁴⁸ Finally we might also consider a much more local practice of inscribing bodies. As sailors hailing from the port of Ishinomaki in the province of Mutsu, the castaways must have also been familiar with the frontier space of Ezo in which staged identity performances—ones that involved dress, hairstyles, among other codified markers—were happening frequently.⁴⁹ In staged interactions among the *bakufu*, Matsumae domainal officials, *Wa-jin*, and indigenous peoples of this frontier region, we can discover a much more localized semiotics of identity on the frontier in which the *sakayaki* haircut and Japanese clothing signified the relative civility of a Japan-centered civilization-barbarism worldview (*Nihongata ka-i chitsujo* 日本型華夷秩序).⁵⁰ Thus for the castaways and their interrogators who were responsible for the production of this story, they may have instead related and viewed this ceremony

⁴⁸ See Ronald Toby, "'Ketô jin' no tōjō wo megutte: Kinsei Nihon no taigai ninshiki tashakan no issokumen," in *Kyōkai no Nihonshi* (Murai Shōsuke, Satō Makoto, Yoshida Nobuyuki, eds.) (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1997), 254-291. For points on the semiotic role of hair within East Asia, see 260-284.

⁴⁹ Haruna also talks about the haircut as part of Chinese repatriation practices for Japanese castaways "Hyōryūmin sōkan seidō no keisei ni tusitei" (p. 17) and David Howell has written about the role of haircuts in cross-cultural (and colonial) contact between Ainu and Japan.

⁵⁰ This term is used by Arano.

through the lens of a domestic anthro-cosmology dependent upon specific categories of *ethnos*⁵¹ which defined this *Nihongata ka-i chitsujo*.

Instead of concealing a certain semiotic dissonance between foreign codes of representation and what the castaways (and readers alike) bring to these moments of interaction, the narratives more often than not make visible the various and sometimes contradictory codes of identity performance, appealing to what Uchiyama Jun'ichi and others have referred to as, an “Edo curiosity.”⁵² Nonetheless, the meeting with the Emperor is a performance staged, and one in which the confusion is dramatized. After an elaborate description of the palace and rooms leading to the chambers where the emperor was to receive the castaways, we again come to another passage that again foregrounds this semiotic and performative dissonance.

Amidst preparing for this and that, Rezenov directed our attentions to the emperor as he entered, followed by the empress dowager, the empress, and the prince. The emperor himself led his mother by the hand. [In smaller inter-linear commentary we read, “This was the left hand. It is said (...to te) that in these cases the left hand is always used, and that in this country the left hand is given greater importance.”] The emperor’s visage was respectful and dignified, but remembered as being pointlessly threatening (??勿体なく懼敷キ様??) Everyone sat and we lowered our heads, preparing to lie prostrate, when an official beside us explained that in this country it is proper protocol to stand up and make eye contact. Since they thought that we were slouching (平座) [by getting on our

⁵¹ Ronald Toby, “Kinsei Nihonjin no etonosu ninshiki,” in Yamauchi Masayuki & Yoshida Motoo, ed., *Nihon imeiji no kôsaku: Ajia Taiheiyô no toposu* (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1997), 122-132.

⁵² Uchiyama Junichi, *Edo no kôkishin: bijutsu to kagaku no deai* (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1996). In the context of castaway narratives, Kobayashi Shigefumi attributes the popularity of these narratives to fulfilling a “fundamental curiosity” of a rumored and partially imagined outside world. See Kobayashi Shigefumi *Nipponjin ikoku hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 2000), 182-184. See also, Ronald Toby & Kuroda Hideo, *Gyôretsu to mise mono* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1994). The apparent irony is that while this curiosity may be identified, the castaway account and other objects of *mise mono* displays were at the same time often considered exceedingly “rare,” as *chin butsu* or the subject of *chin dan*.

knees], we always stood at attention with our heads bowed only slightly, but then the empress dowager took a few steps forward and approached us. She proceeded to point out with her own finger the people lined up around the room. Here we have the current majesty, and there we have the emperor's brother, and there we have the empress, and so on, informing us of who each person was.⁵³

The story effectively oscillates between the readers' sense of surprise and expectation. On the one hand, the emperor is "respectful and dignified" (*Ô no sôbô uyauyashiki igen ari*) to these castaways, but on the other he is "threatening." We then see how the cultural specificity of bowing is misread by the Russian official as a sign of disrespect, leading the castaways to do what must have been nearly unimaginable for a Edo audience—only slightly tilting their heads to a figure who is later described as the subjugator of Napoleon and the most powerful figure in Europe. Even the empress dowager's actions are seen as decidedly strange and unexpected. After a decade among Russians and their colonial subjects the castaways had ample opportunity to observe, interpret, and process Russian notions of Self and Other. While numerous instances in the text reveal this constant struggle on the castaways' part, this passage and other more detailed extrapolations not included in the *kuchigaki* form, also cater to readers' sense of curiosity and fascination. More importantly, this experience also allowed readers to imagine, perhaps for the first time, codes of Japanese ethnic identity vis-à-vis various others, including Russian, Russian colonial subjects, and the more abstract category of "the West" which frequently comes to be employed in these castaway narratives from the 1790s onward.

⁵³ *Kankai ibun*, 285.

As the *Kankai ibun* demonstrates, there is an essential textual and performative element to these more detailed texts. At the same time they are profoundly historical documents, made possible only through complex constellation of conditions that include Russian imperial expansion, increased domestic maritime trade within Japan, a growing discourse of Japanese identity and a growing sense, at least among Japanese officials and elite, of certain colonial parameters developing in the Pacific. Ishii Kendô, one of the first to comprehensively compile castaway accounts, argues that only *Tenjiku monogatari* 天竺物語, *Funaosa nikki* 船長日記, and Gishichi from Tosa's *Hyôryû nikki* 漂流日記 deserved any literary merit. Both Ikeda Hiroshi and Kawai Hikomitsu have followed suit in their respective studies, simply rearticulating Ishii's opinion.⁵⁴ However this perspective is quite misleading, since it represents the vast majority of *hyôryûki* as somehow simply derivative of a purely practical concern, lacking any textual, narrational, performative, and literary facet. Needless to say, the vast majority of these texts reveal ideological concerns guiding both form or content and stand as representative of a particular cultural practice that was important for interpreting and engaging with the larger world.

While many national history (*kokushi* 国史) scholars have insisted on a completely isolated Japan during the Edo period, literary scholars have likewise

⁵⁴ Ishii Kendô, one of the earliest scholars of castaway accounts, attributes "literary value" (*bungakuteki na kachi*) to only three texts; *Tenjiku monogatari*, *Funaosa nikki*, and *hyôryû nikki*. Later scholars, including Ikeda Hiroshi and Kawai Hikomitsu, have repeated this limited view. However, Kawai has included both *Bandan* and *Tokei monogatari*, among other castaway accounts under the category of "Scholarly Castaway Accounts" (*gakujutsuteki na hyôryûki*). See Kawai Hikomitsu *Nihonjin hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Shakai Shisôsha, 1967), 239. See also NSSS5, 504, 624.

maintained a powerful meta-narrative of literary development. The literature of the Edo period, particularly prose, is often downplayed as simple, shallow, and too often guided by didactic concerns worthy of Confucian values. Just as Perry's opening of a dark and feudal nation to enlightenment and civilization resonated well with postwar Pacific alliances, the notion that it took Meiji period Japanese translations of western novels to spawn Japanese prose fiction worthy of attention contributes to a perceived hierarchical relationship of gracious forerunner and fortunate benefactor.⁵⁵ We might expect scholars of Edo prose to be particularly sensitive to such postwar biases, and it is no coincidence that resistance to this idea has come primarily from them. Matsuda Osamu for example, in his book-length attempt to recover a sense of the literary for Edo readers, argues that readers in an age of mass-produced literature in *katsuji* (printed) form lack an appreciation for the many literary genres that circulated primarily in handwritten form in an earlier era.⁵⁶ The fact that the canonical texts from the early-modern literature recognized today are invariably texts that were printed and published in the Edo period, tends to confirm Matsuda's point. Although Matsuda does not address castaway narratives specifically, the fact that so many of them were only circulated in *shahon* or handwritten form may explain in part why such literary aspects

⁵⁵ Just one example of this apparent bias is found in Janet A. Walker, "Reflections on the Entrance of Fiction into the Meiji Literary Canon" in Helen Hardacre & Adam L. Kern, *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 42-44. She writes, "Fiction in the period before contact with Western literature never had the prestige... It may have taken an awareness of the greatness of nineteenth-century European novel—an awareness communicated by translations made from the 1870s onward, as well as by Tsubouchi Shōyō's active urging of Japanese writers to write novels rivaling those of European countries—to convince the first shapers of a classical canon in the 1890s [Sic] to include Japanese classical fiction in their histories of Japanese literature." (p. 42)

⁵⁶ Matsuda Osamu, *Edo itan bungaku nooto* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 1993), 22.

of these texts have remained unrecognized throughout the twentieth century.

Ironically, Edo period *hyōryūki* have served as the basis for numerous novels in the twentieth Century. A short list would include, Ibuse Masuji's *Jon Manjirō hyōryūki*⁵⁷ and Inoue Yasushi's *Oroshiya koku suimutan*.⁵⁸

Because of the “Kansei igaku no kin” (Kansei prohibitions against heretical teachings) implemented by Matsudaira Sadanobu in 1790, and subsequent edicts cracking down on the book industry, the production and publishing of castaway narratives would have been considered risky and prone to censorship.⁵⁹ While there does not seem to be any specific proscriptions against *hyōryūki* per se, and while several castaway accounts were published during the Edo period,⁶⁰ the arraignment of Hayashi

⁵⁷ This text, written during the war, received the sixth Naoki Award for Non-Fiction in 1937 and was included in the 1941 *Sazanami gunki* [“Rippling War Stories”] Ibuse Masuji, *Sazanami gunki: tsuki Jon Manjirō hyōryūki*, (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō, 1941). This text, along with Yoshioka Nagayoshi's historical work, *Hyōryū sen monogatari no kenkyū* of 1944 addressed in the first chapter in the context of *sakokuron*, suggests the overt political meanings extractable from Edo period castaway accounts even during the Pacific War.

⁵⁸ Inoue was awarded the first *Nihon bungaku taishō* in 1969 for this novel that was later turned into a popular high budget film in 1992 by director Satō Junya.

⁵⁹ Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History for the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 339-341; Haruo Shirane, *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 655-656.

⁶⁰ Published accounts from the Edo period include: Anonymous, *Kanei hyōryūki* 寛永漂流記 (1704~1716) in Yamada Seisaku, et. al, eds., (Kisho Fukusei) *Kanei hyōryūki* (Tokyo: Yoneyamadō, 1939-1940); *Ikoku monogatari* 異国漂流記 (1644) in Arakawa Hidetoshi (ed.) *Ikoku hyōryūki shū* (Tokyo: Kishō Kenkyūjo, 1962), 1-18.; Kimura Riemon, *Chōsen monogatari* 朝鮮物語 (1750) in *Chōsen monogatari* (Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku Kokubungaku Kai, 1970); Shihōken, *Nanpyōki* 南瓢記 (1798) in EHSS2, 285-403; Aoki Teien, *Nankai kibun* 南海紀聞 (1820?, see Kobayashi, p. 203) in NSSS5, 623-652; Shunyō Gyōjin Inoue Boku, *Aboku chikushi* 亜墨竹枝 (Gakuhandō, 1846); Maekawa Bunzō & Sakai Teiki, *Kaigai ibun* 海外異聞 (1854) in Arakawa Hidetoshi, ed. *Ikoku hyōryūki zokushū* (Tokyo: Tanin Shokan, 1964), Don Tsūshi, *Amerika hyōryūtan* (Tōto: Busōdō, 1852); the previous text was then later re-published the following year with a new title and illustrations as Don Tsūshi, [Manjirō] *Hyōryūki* 漂流記 (1853) in Arakawa Hidetoshi, ed., *Kinsei hyōryūki shū* (Tokyo: Hōsei Dagaku Shuppan Kyoku, 1969), 187-204; Hamada Hikozō, [Hikozō] *Hyōryūki* 漂流記 (1863) in NSSS5, 693-720. There are other castaway accounts that appear in larger published collections and miscellanies published in the Edo

Shihei in 1792 for publishing the *Kaikoku heidan* 海国兵談 the previous year and for including “misleading maps in the *Sangoku tsûran zusetsu*,” may have urged *hyôryûki* authors, whose topic like Shihei’s, was ostensibly the world outside of Japan, to opt for a handwritten or *shahon* format.⁶¹ While Shihei’s work was scholarly, if not polemical, more popular forms of literature were also subject to Sadanobu’s crackdown. The lower-brow *gesaku* 戯作 literature that flourished among especially increasingly literate urban audiences also was subject to control through these Kansei proscriptions. Santô Kyôden, like Hayashi Shihei, was also made an example of for other writers considering social critique through popular literature.⁶² Ironically, Matsudaira himself wrote a satiric *gesaku* piece titled *Daimyô takagi* that was only discovered in the twentieth century.⁶³

period such as *Kasshi yawa*. Based on comparisons of Edo period versions of many of these texts, such as *Chôsen monogatari* (cf. version in University of Leiden Serrurier Collection, #188), as well as [Manjirô] *Hyôryûki* (University of Hawai’i and Dôshisha collections) appear to have gone through plural printings during the Edo period. Nagakuni Junya has argued that numerous printed versions of Manjirô’s account appeared in the final years of the Edo period. See Nagakuni Junya, *Jon Man enkerese*, (Kôchi: Kôchi Shinbunsha, 1982), 208-210. Needless to say, the vast majority of *hyôryûki* were produced in *shahon* form, shared, and copied. In some cases, such as *Funaosa nikki* and *Bandan*, *Kankai ibun*, and *Tenjiku Tokubei monogatari*, more than thirty Edo period copies exist, outnumbering the number of some of the previously mentioned printed texts, such as *Nankai kibun* and *Aboku chikuhi*. In the private archive of the *Yoshitoku Ningyôya* in Asakusa, Tokyo there is a *kawaraban* from the late Edo period graphically representing Manjirô with some very basic facts of his life explained. In discussions with William Steele I have learned that several other *Bakumatsu* and *Meiji* period *kawaraban* representing castaways (particularly Manjirô) exist.

⁶¹ For references to Hayashi Shihei’s arrest, see Kornicki, 341. See also, Yamagishi Tokubei & Sano Masami (eds.), *Shinpen Hayashi Shihei zenshû*, vol. 2 *Chiri* (Tokyo: Daiichi Shobô, 1979), 1-13.

⁶² Haruo Shirane, *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 656.

⁶³ Iwasaki Haruko, "Portrait of a Daimyo: Comical Fiction by Matsudaira Sadanobu," in *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 38, No. 1. (Spring, 1983), 1-19; and English translation of Matsudaira Sadanobu’s work in, "Daimyo Katagi," in *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 38, No. 1. (Spring, 1983), 20-48.

The metaphor of drift has long been a part of the Japanese literary canon.⁶⁴

The sly Prince Kuramochi of the *Taketori monogatari* 竹取物語 feigns aimless drift at sea in order to emphasize the tribulations endured in seeking out the jeweled branch from Hôrai (P'eng-lai) which Kaguyahime asks for in exchange for her hand in

marriage.⁶⁵ While only the first character (*hyô/tadayou*, 漂) comprising the compound term of *hyôryû* is used in the text, the description relates specific elements of a story that come to be retold frequently in the Edo period.

Rowing into waves and aimlessly drifting, we drew distant from our country. At times we were certain to be swallowed up by the wave swept seas. At times the winds blew us to unknown lands, where things that appeared like devils came and we killed them. At times, we were lost at sea, not knowing from where we had come and to where we might go. At times, with our provisions depleted we ate the roots of grass. At times, indescribably unrefined creatures would come and try to eat us. At times, we survived on shellfish from the sea. In a place where there is no one to assist a traveler, we caught various illnesses and had not the slightest idea of what to do. Surrendering to the direction that the boat would take us, we drifted across the seas. In the hour of the dragon on the 500th day, from out of the sea, we could barely see a mountain.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ While the issue of when a national literary canon developed in Japan is disputed (Janet Walker sees it happening in the 1890s), it is clear that *kokugaku* scholars such as Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) had a profound sense of “Japanese literature” in the Edo period and identified certain texts that stood as Japanese literary ideals. He also had a profound interest in collecting castaway accounts, and several accounts such as *Tokei monogatari* and *Funaosa nikki* were written by later *kokugaku* scholars.

⁶⁵ See *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, [NKBT] vol. 9: *Taketori monogatari, Ise monogatari, Yamato monogatari* (Sakakura Atsuyoshi, et al., eds.) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1962), and Helen Craig McCullough, ed., *Classical Japanese Prose: An Anthology* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

⁶⁶ NKBT9, 37-38. It is interesting to note how certain tropes that appear in this very early text, reappear in Edo period historical documents dealing with *hyôryû*. Just one example is an account relating an accident and drift to an uninhabited island in 1787 to be found in the 坐臥記. See Arakawa Hidetoshi, *Hyôryû hyôchaku shiryô shû* (Tokyo: Chijin shokan, 1962), 370-372.

Likewise, in the “Ukifune” 浮舟 (“Drifting Boat”) chapter of *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語, a distressed and relatively powerless woman torn between the attentions of competing men, likens herself to a drifting boat and calls on poetic images of drift, before taking her own life.⁶⁷ The poetics of drift (*uki*, 浮) and flow (*nagare*, 流) have in fact served as staple imagery since the earliest anthologies of traditional *waka* 和歌 poetry and later *haiku* poetics, often also invoking certain Buddhist connotations.⁶⁸

While *hyōryūki* relate a significantly different “floating world” from the *demimonde* (*ukiyo* 浮き世) that is more often invoked through, and serves as the backdrop for so much Edo popular literature, authors of both *hyōryū* and urban literature presented the most up-to-date understanding of marginalized worlds in a colloquial language that was comprehensible to the burgeoning readership of post-Kansei society.⁶⁹ *Gesaku* texts such as *Fūryū shidōken den* 風流志道軒伝, while considered one of the finest examples of *dangibon gesaku* fiction, is also a castaway narrative in which the protagonist ventures to foreign countries and in the process, defines the qualities that separate the emerging notion of Japanese national identity

⁶⁷ NKBT18, 237.

⁶⁸ Tôta Kaneko, *Hyōhaku no haijintachi* (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 2000).

⁶⁹ The Kansei reforms, instituted by Matsudaira Sadanobu seem to have had a profound effect on literacy according to Donald Keene. Not only did these reforms strictly regulate the type of literature produced, but they also emphasized the spread of basic education. By 1808 there were over 656 libraries in Edo alone. See Donald Keene, *World Within Walls: Japanese Literature in the Pre-Modern Era, 1600-1867* (New York: Grove Press, 1976) 409. Peter Kornicki’s later research suggests the number of lending libraries was even greater. See also, Robert L. Backus, “The Kansei Prohibition of Heterodoxy and Its Effects on Education,” in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 1. (Jun., 1979), 55-106.

from that of other peoples.⁷⁰ As we shall see, several late Edo *hyôryûki* in fact exhibit a certain playfulness and vulgarity that can only be compared to contemporary *gesaku* works.

As has already been mentioned, both the usage of the term *hyôryû* and *bakufu* policy governing the repatriation of castaways (along with the necessary documentation of *kuchigaki*) appear to have developed in the context of Asian diplomatic relations, particularly between Japan and Korea sometime in the early seventeenth century. But although the origins of castaway protocol and rudimentary documentation in the form of *kuchigaki* may have originated within an East Asian sphere of diplomacy, the proliferation of more elaborate, and often multi-volume accounts (what Haruna refers to as *hensan sareta hyôryûki*) generally date from the later Edo period and relate experiences in countries primarily outside a traditional Asian diplomatic order. In short, an increased presence of first Russian, followed by English trading and American whaling ships, in the waters off the coast of Japan, spawned the need for numerous second-order *hyôryûki* forms.

These second-order castaway accounts, written after the castaway was initially debriefed, often included one of several terms in the title, such as; *hyôryûki*, *bunryaku*, *ibun*, *kibun*, *hyôki*, *monogatari*, *nikki*, *hyôryûtan*, *kidan*, *danwa*, *shinwa*, and *kiji*. Of these terms, most seem to reflect an emphasis on the hearing of a story (聞略, 紀聞, 異聞), the telling of a story (物語, 奇談, 談話, 新噺, 漂流譚, 漂流談), or the writing of the

⁷⁰ According to Nakamura Yukihiro, after the Kansei reforms many *gesaku* writers took up more serious pursuits such as the study of science and Western Learning. See Keene, *World Within Walls*, 409.

story (漂流記, 瓢記, 日記, 記事), and thus demonstrates roots located in the first order forms of castaway accounts represented by *kuchigaki*, *kikigaki*, and *oboegaki*. This fragmentation of form reflected in the diversity of terms used to describe these second-order accounts makes it difficult to characterize them in overarching terms. Compared to *kuchigaki*, they are generally longer, sometimes, but not always, deviating from a *sôrôbun* style common to official *bakufu* or *han* documents, and often include elaborate illustrations, transcribed poetry exchanges, maps, and dictionaries. Authorship of the texts was almost never attributable to the castaway themselves; instead being the result of private interviews with the castaways by *bakufu* or domain elite, frequently over the course of several meetings. A common characteristic among these narratives, and again echoing their *kuchigaki* origins, is that they were almost always framed as truthful documents based on the confessional voice of a castaway who figures as an eyewitness to conditions abroad. Furthermore these texts were, with very few exceptions, almost never written by the castaways themselves, instead being mediated through the writing and knowledge of scholars whose identity was grounded on the land and, claims to the contrary, were constantly translating the voice of the subject into a textual form and lexicon comprehensible to readers. In reading these documents, we are often confronted with contradictions and tensions that arise out of the poly-vocality of the texts. Although we may expect a seamless narrative in which the writing author remains a transparent hand behind the voice of the castaway subject, in fact a careful reading suggests that the voice of the writer often betrays the seamlessness of the castaway's story.

In the Colophon of his castaway novel, *The Island of the Day Before*, Umberto Eco asks, “How to draw a novel from a story, so novelistic, when the end—or, for that matter, the true beginning is missing?” He concludes,

If from this story I wanted to produce a novel, I would demonstrate once again that it is impossible to write except by making a palimpsest of a rediscovered manuscript—without ever succeeding in eluding the Anxiety of Influence. Nor could I elude the childish curiosity of the reader, who would want to know if Roberto really wrote the pages on which I have dwelt far too long. In all honesty, I would have to reply that it is not impossible that someone else wrote them, someone who wanted only to pretend to tell the truth. And thus I would lose all the effect of the novel: where, yes, you pretend to tell true things, but you must not admit seriously that you are pretending.⁷¹

With the transformation of the castaway into a performing national subject, the exact position of the writer also undergoes a transformation, for the veracity of both the subject and the subject’s adventure depends upon the presentation of a seamless narrative in which the mediating author must remain ostensibly invisible behind the “text” of the castaway’s unadulterated testimony. At the same time, confronted by the vernacular of sailors from Owari or Sendai or Tosa, we might only expect readers in Edo and other urban areas to be somewhat baffled without the helpful gloss of a narrator. In short, very basic problems of language—problems not unrelated to what would later become the debate over *genbun itchi*—begin to manifest themselves in more literary castaway accounts.⁷² But the authors of these accounts did not simply

⁷¹ Umberto Eco, *The Island of the Day Before*, William Weaver, trans. (London: Vintage, 1998), 505 and 512-513, respectively.

⁷² If *Sakoku ron* has produced certain blinders for Japanese historians, it has provided an ever greater disservice to the field of Early-modern Japanese literary studies. As has already been mentioned in the

resort to translating these testimonies into a more urbane tongue, instead often opting to preserve elements of the castaway's original story. Thus the author's relationship to the castaway's language is often ambivalent at best.

In the preface of *Funaosa nikki* (1822), the Mikawa han scholar and author Ikeda Hirochika reminds the reader repeatedly that he has transcribed the words “exactly as Jūkichi [the castaway] has dictated them,” and later comparing his choice of words to that of a “packhorse driver.”⁷³ However in the very same pages we can read numerous instances in which he then betrays this claim of transparency, for example when he reveals that he has consulted other castaway narratives and scholarly texts,⁷⁴ or that he has showed earlier drafts to associates. This confusion over language is most evident toward the end of his introduction when—perhaps as a literary convention—he lets down his veil of transparency and apologizes for his incomplete attempt to clean up the vulgarities of Jūkichi which in turn results in a distasteful hybrid

context of Janet Walker's understanding of Japanese prose fiction, scholars of Japanese literature, from Karatani Kōjin to Miyoshi Masao, to Dennis Washburn, all argue that the very notion of literature, and its qualities such as a unitary speaking voice, a standardized narrative language, etc. are a post-Edo invention adopted from Western notions of literature. This predominant view obviously occludes late Edo castaway narratives, and has led to a treatment of Edo period literature as something cut off and removed from current literary practice and models. It is interesting to note that certain western castaway accounts such as *Robinson Crusoe* and *Moby Dick* (both based on actual events), as well as more fictional accounts such as *Gulliver's Travels*, that come to define a particularly English literary tradition remain unquestionably literary, Japanese accounts such as *Funaosa nikki* and *Hokusa bunryaku* (also based on actual events), as well as Hiraga Gennai's *Furyū Shidoken den*, remain outside the scope of most Early-modern Japanese literary scholars.

⁷³ NSSSS5, 505.

⁷⁴ Ikeda does not neglect to mention that he has referred to the castaway narrative of two decades before, the *Kankai ibun* written by Ōtsuki Gentaku, and a second text titled *Bukkoku rekishō hen* 仏国歴象編. Stephen Kohl has pointed out the article “Shaku Entsu ‘Bukkoku rekishō hen’ no Chū Sei uchūsetsu hihan,” in *Dai 44 Dōshisha Daigaku ri kō gaku kenkyūjo kenkyū happyō kokokkai*. in order to write Jūkichi's story.

language. A vernacular that is, “a mix of old words and words of recent times, written at the whims of the heart and pen with both vulgarities and elegant language presented as is.”⁷⁵

Many other castaway authors also address the difficulties faced in rewriting the language of sailors and fishermen into a more refined tenor. Ishiguro Senhiro, the author of *Tokei monogatari*'s preface (1849), offers the reader a caveat when he explains that because the text is the story of castaways, it is written in “the commoner’s tongue” (*minkan rigo*), although he also tells us he has, “done away with the frivolous but kept the fruit” (*ka wo sutete, mi wo tori*).⁷⁶ Again despite Ishiguro’s claim that the document before the reader is simply a transparent recording of the castaways’ testimony, we should consider that Ishiguro is the very same author of, “*Tokei monogatari jo kanazuke narabi inshô*,” a brief dictionary or lexicon of *Japanese terms* used throughout the *Tokei monogatari*. Demonstrating the author’s *kokugaku* affiliations, this fascinating document provides us with a dictionary for terms that frequently appear in not only the *Tokei monogatari* but also other *hyôryûki*. While terms such as *kako* (“sailor”), *isana toru* (“to catch whales”), and other terms related to castaways are to be found, Ishiguro also includes elements of a more general grammar such as *shimo* and *tefu* that were part of the emerging *kokugaku* classical canon of Japanese literature. Looking at a few of the definitions contained in this fascinating addendum to the *Tokei monogatari*, we can see that Ishiguro is less interested in

⁷⁵ NSSSS5, 506.

⁷⁶ NSSSS5, 5.

explaining the esoteric jargon of the sea, and more interested in the equally esoteric language of *kokugaku* discourse of Tokugawa nativism.

Isana toru—Found in the *Manyôshû*, this term is written with the characters for “brave” and “fish” and read “*kujira*.” *Isana toru umi* [Whaling waters] is a *makura kotoba* and so the text will not be complete without its complimenting phrase.

...

Tefu—An elegant form (*miyabi no kotoba*) of “*to iu*.” Since “*chi*” is a substitute for “*toi*” in the *Manyôshû*,” in archaic texts it is read *chi fu*. But since *chi* and *te* share a similar pronunciation it came to be read as *tefu*.

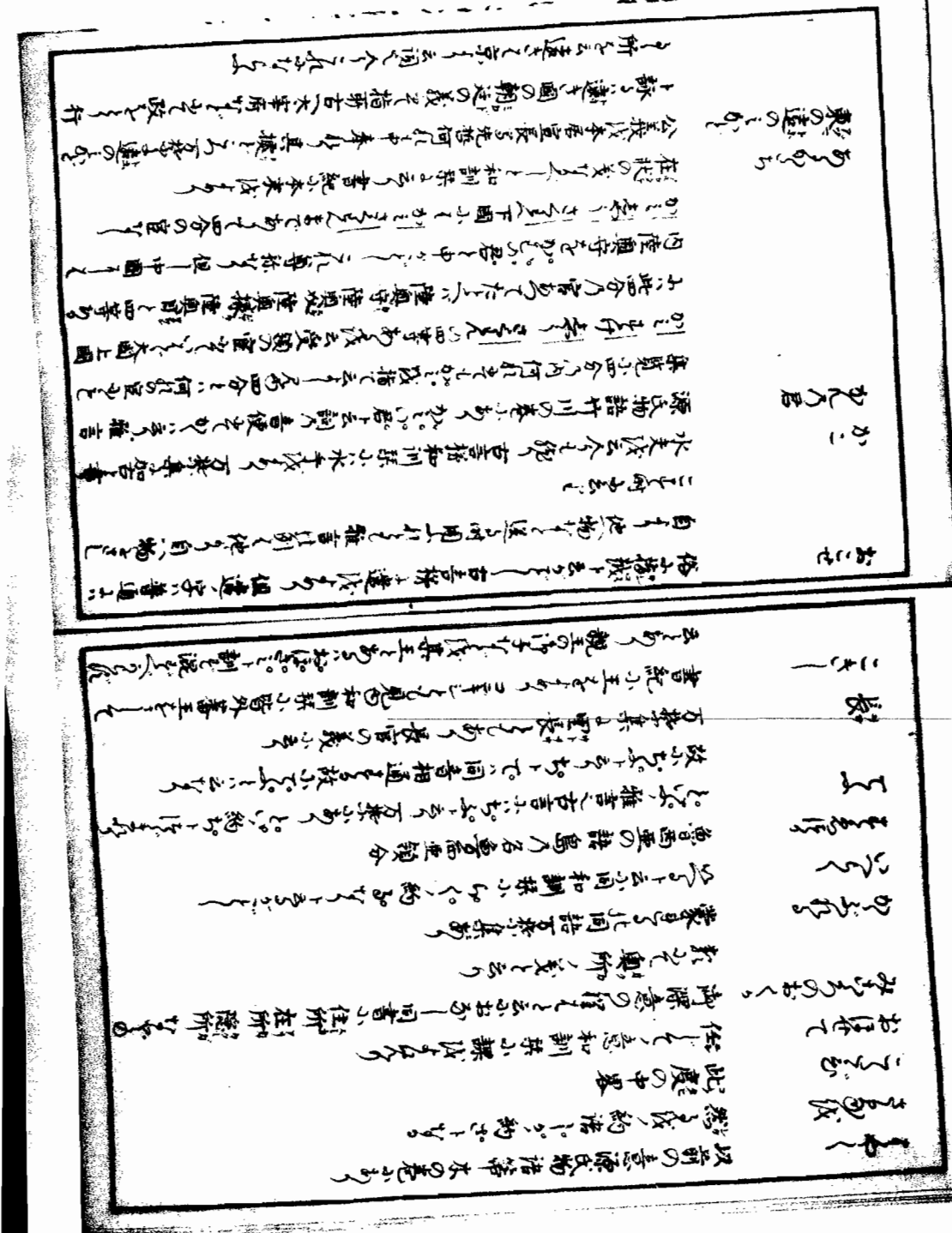


Illustration 2.1. A page from Ishiguro Senhiro's, "Tokei monogatari jo kanazuke narabi inshō" In the Maeda Sonkeikaku Bunkō Archive, Tokyo

His dictionary appears as an attempt to invest this castaway narrative with a certain cultural capital borrowed from a developing “National Literature.” In defining seventy-six terms and phrases, Ishiguro manages to cite *Genji monogatari*, *Kokin wakashû*, *Manyoshû*, and other classical texts over eighty times, and as with other castaway narratives, undermines his claims that the story is the castaway’s alone. Nonetheless it also reflects an important aspect of what Ishiguro and other scholars involved in the *Tokei monogatari* project hoped to emphasize, that is the text’s literary value and its compatibility with a canon of national literary texts.

The distinction between vulgar and elegant language is a differentiation on the order of social class, but there is yet another linguistic dichotomy that is emphasized in nearly every castaway narrative that concerns confrontations with the West. The linguistic variance of these second order texts takes place on the level of distinct national languages as well. We can find many examples where the author points toward a conception of language that is bound by essential cultural and geopolitical difference and whose autonomy is rooted in a particularly terrestrial perspective. In most cases the terms to distinguish this category of language are similar. For example, we see *kôkoku no kotoba* 皇国の言葉 (*Funaosa nikki*), *moto no kuni no kotoba* 本の国の詞 (*Tokei monogatari*), *waga kuni no koto* わか國のこと (*Bandan*), *waga kuni no ji* 我國の字 (*Kankai ibun*), *honchô no kotoba* 本朝の詞 (*Tôyô hyôkyaku danki*), *konokuni no gengo* 此の国の言語 (*Tôkô kibun*), etc. This notion of a national language is almost

always accompanied by the foreign counterpart such as *ikoku no go* 異国の語, *bankoku no kotoba* 蛮国の詞, *Oranda no ji* 阿蘭の字, and *kano kuni no kotoba* 彼の國の詞.

The clear distinction between native and foreign language is problematized however if we consider terms such as *ranbiki* which was used to designate a desalinating device frequently made by castaways. Kobayashi Shigefumi notes that the linguistic origins of the term are most likely the Portuguese, “alambique.”⁷⁷ In his study of castaways he points to seven separate castaway accidents in which Japanese sailors depend on these devices for water. He concludes that despite most cases (five of seven) in which the castaways claimed to have learned the construction and use of a *ranbiki* through either their own dreams or ingenuity, more likely it was common knowledge among both maritime communities and alcohol distilleries. In particular, he questions the claim by the castaway Jûkichi in *Funaosa nikki* who states that the design came to him in a dream.⁷⁸ The obscuration of the foreign origins of *ranbiki* presents us with another example of just how the worldly wisdom of trans-Pacific castaways, unbound by national geographies, are reterritorialized in terms of the nation.

The clear distinction between native and foreign languages also assumes that proto-national subjects, despite class and regional differences, would be able to understand each other through a shared tongue. Thus, it is surprising to find passages such as the following from Nakahama Manjirô’s account as recorded in *Hyôkyaku danki*

⁷⁷ Kobayashi Shigefumi *Nipponjin ikoku hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 2000), 69.

⁷⁸ Kobayashi, 71.

漂客談奇 in which two Japanese meeting at sea cannot even understand each other due to linguistic difference.

From here we passed east whaling in the waters south of Japan, about eighty *ri* from land we came upon a Japanese fishing vessel. I put on a Japanese style *hachimaki* headband and called out to them, but it was difficult communicating. I asked them what direction Tosa was, and when asked where they were from, they said someplace called *Sen-day*.⁷⁹

Here again the tensions that arise from the discourse of national identity are made evident as the *hachimaki* encodes the body as particularly Japanese, but at the same time communication between “countrymen” is rendered difficult. It may be that Manjirô did not recognize “Sen-day” and major port city of Sendai, but it seems more likely that the author includes this otherwise apocryphal story as a comic break, or perhaps a veiled statement of Tosa nationalism.⁸⁰ In looking at several other Manjirô accounts, this case of Japanese sailors having difficulty communicating appears to be exceptional.⁸¹ Other authors of castaway narratives may in fact have tried to rework or cut completely these particular moments in order to present their protagonist as a stabilized subject grounded in a national identity. Certainly, other cases in which

⁷⁹ *Hyôkyaku danki* in *Ikoku hyôryûki shû*, 140.

⁸⁰ Roberts, depending on local documentation, has argued that the province of Tosa exhibited particularly strong regional identity. It is my humble opinion that, while this debate over how “national” in character early-modern identity formations actually were depends on the documentation being interpreted. For example, if limiting one’s field of research to *han* produced documents regarding local taxes, of course a term like *kokueki* 国益 will be used to mean “domain profits,” just as a term such as *moto no kuni no kotoba* 本の國の詞 in the context of castaway accounts, will be used to mean “national language.” See Luke S. Roberts, *Mercantilism in a Japanese domain : the merchant origins of economic nationalism in 18th-century Tosa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁸¹ *Hyôryû danki*, which was based upon the earlier *Hyôkyaku danki*, is perhaps the only exception. In this case, the inability to understand the *Sendai* sailors is even clearer. 物を申候へとも通じ申さず See *Ikoku hyôryûki shû*, 168-169.

castaways from different parts of the archipelago meet either aboard a ship or in one of several informal communities of castaways abroad that developed in the late-Edo period, there does not appear to be particular trouble communicating among each other.

These two sets of linguistic dichotomies—between the speech of the castaway and the writing of the author on one level and the further distinction between national language and foreign languages on another—is one manner in which the authors negotiate the reterritorialization of drifters into national figures. However, it is also the source of contradictions that stem from the transformation of the castaway into a literary hero.

These contradictions are not only apparent in instances of linguistic incompatibility, but also in the very basic formal structure or layout of the texts. As early as 1804 with the completion of the *Kankai ibun*, we see that the author (in this case Ôtsuki Gentaku) employs a technique that comes to be employed by several later castaway authors. In order to demarcate the testimony of the castaway from the commentary of the author, Ôtsuki and others resort to using *niji sage* or “two-space indentation.”⁸² This presents the illusion that the reader might be able to immediately differentiate between two distinct voices. Furthermore, it reflects an inversion between the primacy of untrained testimony over a secondary knowledge or critical commentary that allows us to read the castaway account as an adventure narrative of homecoming, but one directed by a not so invisible hand recasting the castaway in

⁸² See *Kankai ibun honbun to kenkyû* (Sugimoto & Iwai, eds.) (Tokyo: Yazaka Shobô, 1986), 180-181 for example. I am grateful to Professor Hirano Mitsuru of Meiji University who has informed me of the general use of two-spaced indentation in Edo period texts.

terms of a national subject at the whims of national deities and a set of maritime practices specific to them.

With a story whose setting includes foreign sailors, ships, and ports we might naturally expect the need for editorial explanation, therefore it is somewhat surprising that the content of this barely buried commentary is frequently not explication of the Other, but instead that of the Self or emerging Japanese subject rooted in the *terra firma* of the Nation. For example, from one of the many examples of this technique that appears in *Funaosa nikki* we read the following:

Foreign ships are familiar with the geography of the innumerable countries. They use compasses and astronomy to determine many things but the sailors of our land, unfamiliar with these techniques, instead rely completely on *kamikuji* divination prayers to the gods at Ise. This *kamikuji* practice involves placing 8 *go* of rice into a wood *masu* cup, cutting paper into one *sun* squares one which one writes the possible answers to the question. The squares are then crumpled up into balls and placed atop the rice as the Grand Shrine is summoned. If a bundle of rice stalks is placed above this one of the pieces of rolled up paper will jump up and stick to the rice stalks. Looking at what is written on that paper, we can know the answer to our question. This practice is second to none, and thus the sea captains of Japan should only concern themselves with the gods of Ise. Those like Jūkichi who serve aboard ships surely respect the powers of a divine nation.⁸³

What begins as seemingly neutral commentary on difference, is quickly refracted through a religious discourse that reifies this difference as a unique cultural aspect of the Nation. The reference to *kamikuji* is not limited to Jūkichi's account, and was in fact a common practice among sailors. While the *kami* and Buddhas to whom

⁸³ Translations of *Funaosa nikki* are adapted from the unpublished manuscript of Professor Stephen Kohl, who has been most gracious in not only going over the text with me, but also guiding me in my research for several years. The publication of his translation and research of *Funaosa nikki* as a book will be a great service to the field of Edo period literature. See NSSSS5, 507.

the prayers were directed were occasionally identified with the sailor's home shrine, more often than not, they were deities central to a late-Edo revival of *Shinkoku* thought.⁸⁴

The transformation of a diverse set of navigational practices shared among the fluid communities of sailors and fishermen into a standardized, sanctified, and stable practice serves as one function of *Funaosa nikki*, through references to specifically “Japanese” divinities and metaphysical praxis. In fact, in numerous late Edo *hyōryūki* elements of *Shinkoku* thought are ubiquitous. Similarly, Ikeda Hirochika has this to say about the appearance of birds in his account:

On the fifteenth the high winds continued even though it was a festival day. This was a special day for worshipping the Grand Shrine at Ise and also the Hachiman Shrines, so everyone [aboard the drifting ship] purified themselves and prayed. When they had done this, unexpectedly, they were able to see two blue birds. Believing these to be manifestations of the deities of the Grand Shrine, all turned and prayed reverently in the direction of the birds. The birds stayed in the vicinity of the ship from mid morning to mid afternoon. They fluttered around and during this time the wind and waves died down just as had happened earlier with white birds. After this, white and blue birds appeared again on the tenth and fifteenth day of each month.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ The development of *Shinkoku* thought (*shisō*) in Edo period *hyōryūki* is the central argument of Kobayashi Shigefumi's exceptional study of the subject. He points to nineteen texts that make direct reference to “Shinkoku,” “Kōkoku,” or “Teikoku.” There are certainly numerous texts not included in his list such as *Hyōmin kuchigaki* and *Ikoku monogatari*. He demonstrates conclusively that castaways did in fact have a fairly strong sense of national boundaries and customs, at least in the inherently international context of drift. He then argues that the incorporation of *Shinkoku* thought began as something written into the texts by the intellectual elite responsible for writing them, but after 1800 the sailors themselves seem to adopt these beliefs as *Shinkoku* ideology combines with the emergence of a late Edo *sakokuron*. See, Kobayashi Shigefumi, *Nippon jin ikoku hyōryūki* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 2000), 290-302.

⁸⁵ NSSSS5, 509.

The maritime historian Amird Aczel points out that pre-modern mariners shared among themselves a body of knowledge that was capable of reading the currents and winds, the shape, color, and depth of the sea, and the habits of birds and sea animals.⁸⁶ For Japanese sailors sailing longer distant routes, for example from Maizuru to Hakodate and back to Osaka, this shared knowledge most certainly extended throughout the littoral regions of the archipelago. In the passage cited above we again see the *kokugaku* author rewriting this maritime knowledge into a discourse of shrines that is informed by a metaphysical nationalism of *shinkoku* ideology.

We have seen how authors attempted to reconstruct the testimonies of drifters into texts that prescribe the language, religious practice, and dress to that of a national subject. We might also point to other examples that do the same with diet, hairstyle, ships, and other elements of national custom. This would allow us to further detail just how the pen of the author rewrites the story of the drifter in terms of national identity, but by now it should be clear that the poly-vocal nature of these texts presents a space in which a history from the perspective of the sea is contested and ultimately rearticulated in terms of terrestrial familiarity, if not an outright reconfiguration of the drifting subject as national subject.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Amird Aczel, *The Riddle of the Compass* (New York: Harcourt, Inc., 2001), 18.

⁸⁷ Echoing Tzvetan Todorov (*Human Diversity*, Ch. 3), Eagleton writes, “There is a political correlative of the unity of the individual and universal, known as the nation-state. The prime political form of modernity is itself an uneasy negotiation between individual and universal. To be plucked from the causalities of time and raised to the status of necessity, nations require the universalizing medium of the state. The hyphen in the term ‘nation-state’ thus signifies a link between culture and politics, the ethnic and the engineered.” This tension between the political and the cultural are at the heart of the late Edo castaway narrative, but does not manifest itself fully until the invention of an outright *kokumin-kokka* in

In certain texts, such as *Hyômin kikigaki* 漂民間書, we can see less of a concern for the linguistic and spiritual realms, but a level of historical consciousness and awareness of radical change that is in turn, associated with the phenomenon of *hyôryû*.⁸⁸ Written by Murakami Norimasa, Kayao Keifuku, and Inaguma Genchô in 1856, the *Hyômin kikigaki* relates the story of the *Eikyû maru* 永久丸, whose crew, like so many other late Edo castaways, were rescued at sea by American whalers.⁸⁹ The document begins:

The four sides of our country are enveloped by the sea, thus from the beginning we have had to depend on maritime navigation. Yet there has been a revolution from the ways of old, and since in modern times vessels on the coast have started to come ashore in many different places [have been manned by crews of various places], naturally sailing skills have deteriorated and it has come to be that if one even begins to move they either end up drifting to far off foreign lands or are buried in the bellies of fishes on the ocean's bottom. Although it was unheard of in days of old, from the Tenmei years [1781-1789], in particular with the sailor Daikokuya Kodayu of Shiroko in Ise, Tsudayu and Gihei of Ishimaki Port in Sendai, and more recently, Nakahama Manjiro of Tosa and others are a few examples to be found of those who, with unthinkable luck, receive assistance from barbarian ships and return home. These writings and the orally transmitted stories [concerning these sailors] have been widely dispersed

the Meiji era. Needless to say, I would argue that these castaway narratives do foresee and partake in the construction of a proto-*kokumin* form of reception, in terms of being a hybrid text fusing an authentic language of a commoner's experience and an authoritative language of intellectuals who ultimately decided their narrative methods. See, Terry Eagleton, *The Idea of Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2000), 57; and Tzvetan Todorov, *On Human Diversity : Nationalism, Racism, and Exoticism in French Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

⁸⁸ See opening of *Hyômin kikigaki* in Kondô Tsuneji, ed., *Mikawa bunken shûsei kinseihen jô* (Toyohashi-shi, Aichi-ken: Aichi-ken Hôhan Chihôshi Henshû Iinkai, 1963).

⁸⁹ According the *Tawara chôshi, chû kan* (Tawara chô kyôiku iinkai, eds) (Tawara chô, Aichi: Tawara chô Hakubutsukan, 1980), 817 Murakami was a firearms specialist in the same school as Kawano Kyûtarô who was involved in writing *Tokei monogatari*. In 1841 he began training with Takashima Shuho, and later became a teacher of his school.

throughout society, but even with the general outline of overseas customs, the good and bad of people, and the appropriateness of teachings having been classified, a novelty comes with each passing day because of the worldwide revolution and the products of [various] geographies, etc. so that we cannot get any sense of recent customs from the reports of old.

From the very opening we see that the authors consciously locate their text within broader historical “contexts.” In doing this, they first suggest a specific epistemological break by claiming that “recent times” (近世) differ significantly from the “days of old” (古来) and that the change that has been brought about, at least in part by the introduction of a foreign presence (here read as “Western.”) According to the document, this world historical “break” takes place in the Tenmei era with the increased contact between castaways from the Japanese archipelago and specifically Westerners in the Pacific region. The other castaway accounts mentioned are exclusively reports of contact with Russia and America. This consciousness of a specific sub-genre in castaway literature beginning with Daikokuya Kôdayû is a prevailing theme among late-Edo *hyôryûki* writers. For example, in *Tokei monogatari* too, Ishigurô states in his introduction, “Also, concerning the memory of the [individual] castaways, there were discrepancies. At this time we would refer to Ise’s Kôdayu, Mutsu’s Tsudayû, Owari’s Jûkichi, Awa’s Hatsutarô, and others for explanation and compare, and then further interrogate the castaways based on this.”⁹⁰

What is also noteworthy about the quote from the *Hyômin kikigaki* is the relationship between “revolution” (変革) and “novelty” (新奇). The authors here first

⁹⁰ NSSSS5, 6.

use the term *henkaku* to describe both a domestic event, only to later use the same term to explain a much larger global phenomenon (満世界の変革). The connections between the domestic and the international are seen in terms of an onslaught of “novelty” from abroad threatening the stability of domestic knowledge production, rendering the “reports of old” obsolete and presenting the current account in the readers hands as a more authoritative, but also novel text.

The author of *Bandan* 蕃談 engages similar tactics in his self-written introduction, albeit in a somewhat idiosyncratic manner. We see that just like *Hyômin kikigaki*, a link is drawn between the global politics of empire and competing knowledges of the world as a justification for the text he presents the reader.

It has been twelve years since he became castaway, however he relates the various customs and facts of foreign countries with his stories and drawings that are vivid and trustworthy. Particularly concerning products and devices, he can offer very detailed dimensions. However, there are more than a few discrepancies between his account and the knowledge of Western scholars. But all things have their youth and age and even the most ancient of things must undergo revolution (因革). Even though he actually visited the places he speaks of and bases his accounts on what he saw and heard, some will refuse to believe and instead say that he is wrong and that the Western scholars must be right. . . . Currently, the many countries in the five continents throughout the world fight like a cloud and a concealed tiger, some are considered empires (帝), and some are considered kingdoms (王), and all the countries, strong and weak, are lined up and there is no peace. However our country alone in the middle of the great ocean is independent and does not engage with others. For two hundred years virtuous enlightenment has reigned and the people have happily enjoyed great peace and don't even imagine the turmoil of other countries.⁹¹

⁹¹ NSSSS5, 241.

In a somewhat Confucian manner, Koga turns to China's past in order to find precedent for the very new. Drawing on a legend from the Six Dynasties period, he compares his encounter with the castaway Jirôkichi to a castaway who drifted to a utopian peach grove in which the people remained isolated from the turmoil of political revolution. In setting up this parallel, he ultimately compares Japan—a “country alone in the middle of the great ocean,” with that mythical peach grove and its people who, “escaped the tumultuous world, by simply shutting the door to their cave in a clump of mud for five hundred years while political disturbances came and went, beginning with the Han (漢), and later the Wei (魏) and the Jin (晋) periods, they were unaware of dynastic transitions as they lived in retreat from the world.”⁹²

Having seen how several authors of these second order *hyôryûki* manage to go beyond the expressive limits of the *kuchigaki* form to address notions of language and geopolitical shifts in a Pacific theater, let us now take a closer look at one particular incident of drift. The case of the *Chôja-maru*, the subject of Koga Kinichirô's *Bandan* above, begins in 1839.⁹³ After drifting for six months across the Pacific the surviving seven-crew members of the *Chôja maru* sailing out of Nishi Iwase in Etchû province

⁹² See Appendix C for full translation of Koga's *kanbun* introduction.

⁹³ In the post war period, Takase Shigeo, *Kitamaebune Chôja maru no hyôryû* (Tokyo: Kiyomizu Shoin, 1974); Takase Shigeo, “Hyôryûki *Bandan* ni kan suru kôsetsu,” in *Shirin* 40:1 (Kyôto Daigaku Shigaku Kenkyûkai, 1957), 45-57; and Muroga Nobuo & Yamori Kazuhiko, *Bandan—hyôryû no kiroku ichi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha Tôyô Bunko, 1965) have all provided research into this account. Ikeda Hiroshi has provided a *katsujî* edition of both *Tokei monogatari* and *Bandan* in NSS5, 3-304. In English, Katherine Plummer has addressed this incident in *A Japanese Glimpse at the Outside World 1839-1843: The Travels of Jirokichi in Hawaii, Siberia, and Alaska* (Kingston, Ontario: Limestone Press, 1991). Most recently, Makabe Jin has published his study of three generations of the Koga family, including a chapter on *Bandan*. See Makabe Jin, *Tokugawa Kôki no gakumon to seiji: Shôheizaka gakumonjo jusha to Bakumatsu gaikô henyô* (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 2007), 414-424.

were picked up by the American whale ship, *James Lover*.⁹⁴ Nearly five years would pass before they were returned to Edo, only to be interrogated by officials and scholars for an additional six years. In the end, only four sailors were able to return to their villages. As with other returned castaways, their experiences in the Sandwich Islands, Kamchatka, Okhotsk, and Sitka were transcribed in a variety of forms including *kuchigaki* (interview transcripts), *oboegaki* (memos), *monogatari* (literary narratives), *sashie* (painting), *kanbun* prose texts and *kanshi* (Chinese poetry). The content of these numerous texts ranges from matter-of-fact reporting on political, scientific, and geographic developments abroad to highly elaborated adventure romances, and even what we might provisionally call “popular underground fiction” (*gesaku itan bungaku*). A consideration of the various textual productions centering on the *Chôja maru* demonstrates the various vested interests on the part of several authors in such stories of drift. The “iterability” of the event of drift and the tale of repatriation reveals contested assumptions of the world and Japan’s position in it. But more so, it projects new visions of human relations, both domestically and internationally. As with the *Shinshô-maru* (Kôdayû), *Wakamiya-maru* (Tsûdayû), *Tokujô-maru* (Jûkichi), *Eijû-maru* (Hatsutarô), *Eiriki-maru* (Hikozô), Nakahama Manjirô and other post-1800 castaway incidences involving contact and interaction with Western peoples, the drifting incident of the *Chôja-maru* presented authors, and in turn readers, with an opportunity to address

⁹⁴ There is some confusion as to the actual name of the whaling ship in both the original documents and subsequent scholarship. While *Tokei monogatari* and *Bandan* both refer to the ship as *Zenroppa* Ikeda Hiroshi, Muroga and Yamori, and Takase all conclude that this is the *James Dover* out of Nantucket. Katherine Plummer claims that it is the *James Loper*. The Kendall Institute of New Bedford, which houses the largest whaling archive in the United States, contains a logbook from the whale ship, *James Lover*, for the years in question.

the world historical situation of expanding capital, imperialism, and colonialism and to explain emerging assumptions of nation, race, and human and environmental relations.

Although there are examples of Japanese castaway narratives after 1800 that do not directly engage the encroaching western presence, the shift in emphasis on castaway accounts that deal with the West is illustrated in the case of Yazôbei. Although hailing from the same domain as the *Chôja maru* crew and returning to Japan approximately the same time, he never received the attention that Jirôkichi and the others on the *Chôja maru* received. Unfortunately we can only turn to his *kuchigaki* and the accounts of the more famous castaway Hatsutarô with whom he returned (via China) in order to glean the details of his experience.⁹⁵ Enduring equally, if not more, harrowing experiences compared to his fellow castaways on the *Chôja maru* or *Eijû maru*, we may assume that the relative lack of information concerning Yazôbei is due to the fact that his ordeal was limited to China, whereas the *Chôja-maru* crew, not to mention Hatsutarô's own drift to Mexico and back, spoke of more exotic worlds.⁹⁶ Unlike Yazôbei, the returned crew of the *Chôja maru* became the source for numerous accounts that elaborated on the preliminary *kuchigaki*. Various authors, some remaining anonymous, began to rewrite the *Chôja-maru* story, and it appears as *Tokei monogatari*, *Bandan*, *Hyôryûnin Jirôkichi monogatari*, *Sandoichi hyôryûki*, *Tokei kanki*, and *Gotokei no kenjô yurai narabi yôhô no oboe*. Although it is difficult, if not

⁹⁵ Yazôbei *Ka-Nô*, 126-55.

⁹⁶ Hatsutarô was a castaway aboard the *Eijû-maru* whose story of drift and return is found in *Kaigai ibun*, as well as many *shahon* documents such as, *Meriken hyôryûki* (Waseda University Collection) and *Hyôryû shimatsu ki* (Waseda University Collection).

impossible to determine in what order these texts were produced, it is safe to say that all of these manuscripts had first copies completed by 1849. It is intriguing to consider why the respective authors were compelled to repeat the story in a variety of forms at roughly the same time, and how this textual proliferation relates to a wider genre of castaway narratives that specifically confront the situation of expanding global conquest on the part of western national enterprises.

The most obvious differences among these texts are not a marked difference in content, but instead the immense differences in terms of form and language. Soon after the remaining four castaways were returned to their villages at the end of 1848, they presented a clock to the domain lord Maeda Nariyasu. In the early months of 1849 the castaways had an personal audience with Maeda at which time, Endô Takanori, a domain scholar, was asked to compile the *Gotokei no kenjô yurai narabi yôhō no oboe*. Although this text summarizes the castaways' experiences, the focus is certainly the story of the clock itself. During the same month, Kaneya Takehide 金谷武英 composed a *kanbun* version of the castaways' story titled *Tokei kanki*. At the very end of this document, the only copy of which seems to exist in the *Maedake Sonkei Kaku Bunko* archive, there is a note that states that this text was appended to the *Tokei monogatari* in January, 1916, suggesting that it was originally produced independently of the much longer *Tokei monogatari*. Although the document credits the domain scholar Ichikawa Sanran with the calligraphy for the text, the similarities between the handwriting in the text itself and this final note appended in the *Taishō* period are remarkably similar and may in fact have been done by the same hand.

Unlike the *Gotokei no kenjô yurai narabi yôhō no oboe* and *Tokei kanki*, which are both relatively short, the *Bandan*, *Tokei monogatari*, *Hyôryûnin Jirôkichi monogatari* 漂流人次郎吉物語, and *Sandoichi* [Sandwich] *hyôryûki* 撒土微私漂流記 are all much more detailed accounts. According to the manuscript in the possession of Tokyo University's Historiographical Institute, *Bandan* was completed in 1849 and this is confirmed by the date at the end of the *kanbun* preface penned by Koga Kinichirô. However, Ikeda Hiroshi has suggested that the text was first written in 1845- 1846, with the extended *kanshi* poem and preface added only later in 1849. Although the date of the Koga's original text is unverifiable, it is clear that this text was circulated, copied, and widely read soon after a draft was produced. There are over twenty copies of this text ranging from three to six volumes that were meticulously written out by hand and supplemented by roughly one hundred illustrations and maps.⁹⁷ Perhaps a testament to the relative abundance of *Bandan* copies, late-Edo versions of this text were even sent to Hawaii and St. Petersburg in the early Meiji era.⁹⁸ The author, Kinichirô was the grandson of the distinguished scholar (寛政の三博士) Koga Seiri and the son of Koga Dôan who, in his famous treatise *Kaibô okusoku* 海防臆測, argued for the opening of the diplomatic relations with Western countries and a reformulation of defensive policies in

⁹⁷ This is undoubtedly a conservative estimate based upon the partial listing found in the *Kokusho sômokuroku* (17 texts cited) and versions of the text I have personally seen that are not listed in the aforementioned text. See *Kokusho sômokuroku*, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1969), 706.

⁹⁸ Upon looking at a copy found in the *Bishop Museum Library* in Honolulu, I have found a note explaining that it was given as a gift from the royal family of Japan to the royal family of Hawai'i. In conversations with Toshiyuki Akizuki, I have learned that a copy was similarly presented to the Academy in Leningrad.

the north. Dôan, along with Ôtsuki Gentaku and Katsuragawa Hoshû all demonstrated a lifelong interest in castaways, and were all involved with the interrogation Daikokuya Kôdayû and Isokichi who were the first Japanese castaways to be repatriated from Russia.⁹⁹ Like the Koga family, the Ôtsuki family's interest in castaway accounts crossed over two generations, for Gentaku's son, Ôtsuki Kiyomune, wrote *Luson hyôryûki* in 1845, just a few years before Kinichirô wrote *Bandan*.¹⁰⁰ Because of legacy of Kinichirô's father, Takase Shigeo has suggested that Koga Kinichirô was compelled write a very pro-western version of the castaway's account.¹⁰¹ Ikeda Hiroshi claims that Koga's rendition of the story is not trustworthy because his intimate engagement in polemic debates regarding *bakufu* relations with the West.¹⁰² The opinions of these two scholars however, seem to overlook the other aspects of the text that very directly speak to the encroaching threat of British and American presence in the Ogasawara islands and even a British plan to send warships to Japan.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Koga Dôan and Ôtsuki Gentaku co-wrote *Oroshiya koku montô* in 1817. While the "question/answer" (*montô*) in the title suggests an actual interview with the castaways, in fact upon reading we soon realize that the authors address five topics (*koto*) through the analysis of various castaway accounts and other sources concerning Russia. The five topics are; prostitution in Russia, criminal law in Russia, the absence of the death penalty in Russia, the true intentions of Russia's request to begin trade, the necessity for increasing trade with countries other than Holland. DKSS3, 397-410.

¹⁰⁰ Better known as Ôtsuki Bankei, his name appears as Kiyomune on the last page of the manuscript copy in the Meiji University Central Library (#29209) See also, EHSS4, 237-260.

¹⁰¹ Takase Shigeo, *Kitamae bune Chôja-maru no hyôryû* (Kanazawa: Seisui Shoin, 1974), 22.

¹⁰² NSSSS5, 239-240.

¹⁰³ One example is the claim that England now claims one-sixth of the world's lands, and that within one hundred years the entire world will be of the English race (*Eizoku*). See, NSSSS5, 265.

Also notable in *Bandan* is the inclusion of a long series of *kanshi* (poetry written in Chinese) which, we are told in Koga's diary, were composed by Koga and several other scholars attached to the *Shôheizaka*, including men named Ishikawa, Yamada, Senjû, Gotô, and Ikeda.¹⁰⁴ Composed over the course of several nights while drinking with Jirôkichi, there are eleven poems of eight six character lines each and with titles such as "People of the United States," "The Sandwich Islands," "Englishmen," "Kamchatka," "The Ship," "Sitka Bay," "The Steam Ship," and "Stay in Ezo." Just as Ishiguro Senhiro attempted to relate the events of this maritime accident and subsequent drift in a particular literary idiom identified by *kokugaku* scholars (as is reflected in his lexicon addressed earlier), Koga recognizes other literary and aesthetic possibilities for his own version of the *Chôja-maru* story. The inclusion of *Kanshi* poetry in *Bandan* recasts the castaway into a legitimate Confucian aesthetic form, and demonstrates a conscious attempt on the part of the author to elevate the subject matter of drift to a legitimate literary endeavor.

¹⁰⁴ I am most grateful to Professor Makabe Jin of Hokkaidô University for pointing this document out to me. I am also indebted to him for the photocopies of Koga's diary.

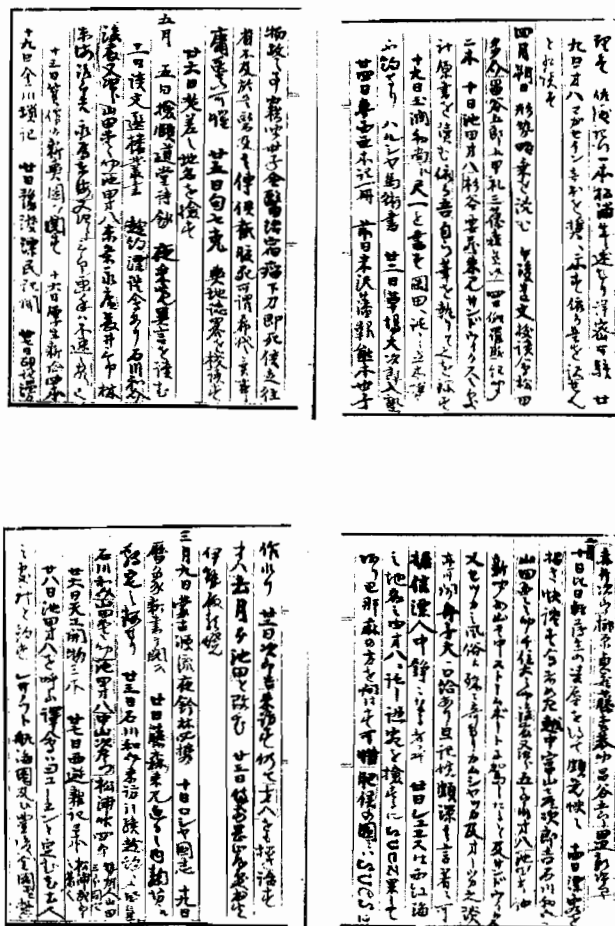


Illustration 2.2. From *Kindô nisshi shiô no ichi* (Shidô Bunkô, Keio University), read right to left.

The temptation to wax poetic over the tribulations of castaway sailors and fishermen, is not limited to *Bandan* either. Numerous late-Edo *hyôryûki* contain similar poetic interludes, and in some cases the poetry dominates the prose, for example the version of the castaway Hatsutarô's adventures to Mexico found in the *Aboku chikushi* written and published in 1843 in Edo. The author Shunyô Gyôjin, or Inoue Moku was a physician of the Awa domain, who like Koga Kinichirô, met with a

castaway and composed poems based on his informant's stories.¹⁰⁵ The best example in which traditional Japanese poetry is employed in a significant manner is the *Shanghai Kôki* of Toda Sanbei published in 1868.¹⁰⁶

While *Bandan* is a very detailed accounting of the castaway Jirôkichi, *Tokei monogatari* is unsurpassed among late-Edo *hyôryûki* in terms of length and breadth. Under the head editorship of Endô Takanori, the work involved a veritable who's who of Kaga domain geographers, painters, weapons specialists, astronomers, and physicians who first submitted the document in 1849, with later revisions made in 1850. Ikeda Hiroshi, in comparing *Bandan* with *Tokei monogatari*, claims that the latter is both "scientific" and "objective" in its search for the truth, while the former is imbued with the author's own flourishes.¹⁰⁷ This claim however completely misrepresents the two texts. Just a cursory examination of *Tokei monogatari* reveals narrative techniques that are anything but "objective" and "scientific." For example, while *Bandan* narrates the first encounter between the whaler that rescued them at sea and the *Chôja maru* in the most straightforward of terms, the authors of *Tokei monogatari* instead infuse the story with narrative strategies that only seem to serve as dramatic intensifiers. For example, on the occasion of the first appearance of the *James Lover* (the ship that would rescue them), we read,

¹⁰⁵ See Shunyô Gyôjin, *Aboku chikushi* (Edo: Gakuhandô, 1843) in the Dôshisha University Rare Books Collection.

¹⁰⁶ See Toda Sanbei, *Shanghai kôki* in Arakawa Hidetoshi, *Kinsei hyôryûkishû* (Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppanyoku, 1969), 437-468.

¹⁰⁷ NSSSS5, 239.

Because it was a three-mast ship it most certainly was a foreign ship. It was said that the ship approached quickly in order to help us, but others said that the hearts of foreigners are most unpredictable and they could kill us. But even with these fears we argued that having a drink of water before being murdered was preferable.¹⁰⁸

This is simply one brief example, however it is characteristic of the general tone of the narrative that never seems too rushed or cursory in relating details that bring a certain literary suspense to the encounter. Furthermore, *Tokei monogatari* includes over two hundred artistically painted illustrations that are interspersed throughout the texts. The sketches of *Bandan* pale in comparison to *Tokei monogatari*'s detailed images. At least twelve participants credited with the text's production were recognized as accomplished painters of the Kaga Domain, thus suggesting that from the beginning, this project was conceived of as both a textual and visual endeavor. Following the order of the page series from the original (below), we can see a dynamic rhythm and coordination established between text and image.

¹⁰⁸ NSSSS5, 22.

Following the tail-end of an extended indented passage explaining the change in the course of plans for the ship when it was still in port at Toni mura, we read that on the 23rd day, the crew had worked hard fighting a “Great Western” and were now in need of sleep. On the 29th, the winds picked up again and the ship was pelted in sleet. They dropped anchor and fought hard to stay in sight of land. From the first day of the 12th month, (as we move to the page to our left) the winds shift, now from the east, so they roll up the sail and attempt to stay close to shore, when the winds shift again. With the temperamental winds coming from both the east and west, the mast breaks and the crew gathers together oars and poles to construct a makeshift mast. The pacing of the narrative is then suddenly slowed as the crew turns to *kamikuji* divination to determine their position at sea. Following a reminder to refer to the second illustration in the text (the left-hand image of the following page serving as a further teaser for the image to come), the results of the divination—three hundred *ri*, in a North-Northwest direction—are stated before an extended comment on the practice of *kamikuji*. Interestingly, this note explains the act of *kamikuji* as a method among sailors for determining distance and direction from land, emphasizing the need for “always praying to the *kami* and Buddhas with a faithful heart” (いづれも信心に神佛を祈念し). Turning the page, we come to the conclusion of this interlinear note, as the narrative pacing is again compressed. Here we read that the ship drifted until they met with another storm on the night of the 17th of the same month. With this new storm, Rokubei and Shichibei try to plug a hole that has developed where the railing meets the edge of the decking, when suddenly a large wave “laughs.” This is followed again by an editorial

interlinear comment, explaining the use of the word “laugh/笑ひ” (again, like *kamikuji*, this usage is limited to a sailor-specific vernacular). Sailors on deck are then nearly washed away, and details of this accident, along with shorter interlinear comments explaining parts of the ship are presented. As the reader learns that the ship is suddenly in danger of sinking and that the lifeboats (*tenma*) have been washed away, we turn the page to see Illustration Two (an image that recounts the previous *kamikuji* scene). Turning the page again, the right side is a continuation of the image, while the right side continues with the narrative. Having reached “the limits of human preparedness,” Hachizaemon pulls out a small (*kaichū*) *butsudan* scoll painting of Amida, while Rokubei asks for prayers to be said. We are then reminded to view Illustration Three, as the text goes back into interlinear editorial mode, explaining that the Amida scroll in question returned to Japan with the sailors after being called upon many times throughout their adventure. Turning the page again, we see the left-hand side of the opened text is yet another teaser into Illustration Three on the following page. The tension aboard the ship intensifies as we learn that the ship has taken on approximately four feet of water in the hold, and that the crew is forced to pump water constantly until the following day. The multiple layers of narration taking place through narrative, editorial commentary, and hyper-real imagery come together to produce a seamless progression of the tale, alternating between text and image. The page breaks that potentially interrupt this movement from right to left, seem to be coordinated to instead produce the effect of a certain momentum and anticipation as we read. Sandwiching the main illustrations between more abstract visual introductions

and conclusions, suggests the flow of a scroll painting, however, the effect in book form is quite different. This aesthetic appropriation of imagery also allows for comparison between the two paintings. The two scenes share the same setting on deck of the ship with the crew sitting in roughly a circle. With this parallelism between the two illustrations established, the before-after differences in the paintings reveal a dramatic turn in the narrative from hope to desperation. The condition of the ship, the sailors' hair and clothes, and the sea in the background all combine to project a consistent contrast and suggest an inner turmoil for the castaways, effectively tying the psychological state of the sailors to the worsening conditions of drift. Both images, as with the narrative, center on religious practices that come to be represented as particularly Japanese and function throughout the narrative to portray Japan as a divinely sanctioned nation.

While both Ikeda Hiroshi and Takase Shigeo have pointed out the importance of *Tokei monogatari* as a comprehensive source of information concerning Hawai'i and the North Pacific in the 1840s, the artistic and literary aspects have been completely ignored. Particularly, if we consider the accompanying dictionary, "Tokei monogatari jo kanazuke narabi inshô," in the Maeda Sonkei Kaku bunko (discussed earlier), the original project was conceived of as a conscious attempt to write the tale as a example of a "national literature" and informed by clear aesthetic and literary qualities open to authors of *hyôryûki*.

While *Bandan*'s author, Koga Kinichirô, was third-generation Confucian scholar attached to the official Tokugawa academy of *Shôheizaka*, and *Tokei monogatari*'s

numerous authors were established elite among Kaga domain intellectuals, the authors of *Hyôryûnin Jirokichi monogatari* and *Sandoichi monogatari* remain anonymous.¹⁰⁹ The anonymity of these and other late-Edo castaway accounts suggest certain risks involved in disseminating knowledge of the outside, particularly after deaths of Takano Chôei 高野長英 and Watanabe Kazan 渡辺華山.¹¹⁰ In particular, *Hyôryûnin Jirokichi monogatari* not only pushes the boundaries of what is acceptable in terms of content, by writing about the controlled subject of western knowledge, it also adopts a controversial, if not entertaining form similar to *gesaku* literature. The bodily references found in this version of the story stand in sharp contrast to the focus on elegant language on the part of Ishiguro. For example, when Rokuzaburô (childhood name of Rokubei in *Tokei monogatari*), first discovers the whaler that rescues them, we are given the added detail that it was while he was on deck defecating (大便に出).¹¹¹ Likewise, the

¹⁰⁹ For Koga's role in the *Shôheizaka*, see Makabe (2007). Among the staff writing *Tokei monogatari*, Endô Takanori, who was in charge of the project, was skilled in mathematics, surveying, astronomy, natural sciences, world geography; Ishiguro Senhiro was identified as a *Kokugakusha*; Endô Kisaburô, a painter using crushed pigment; Kurokawa Ryôanshuku and Kurokawa Genryôtei were both physicians, the former having studied under Seibold; Kawano Kyûtarô was a mathematician, geographer, calligrapher, and student of Dutch Studies, medicine, and military arts, having begun with study of equestrian techniques (*Taihei ryû*), and continuing with military strategy, gunnery and swordsmanship (*Takashima ryû*, *Sanka ryû*, *Nakajô ryû*, and *Kanda ryû*.) The elder Kurokawa, along with Kawano studied astronomy, medicine, and Dutch Studies under Honda Toshiakira. See Takase, 38-46.

¹¹⁰ The two were placed under house arrest in the famous *Bansha no goku* 蛮社の獄 incident of 1839 for leading the *Shôshikai* 尚齒会, a group of Edo-based scholars of Western Learning who criticized both the *Uchi harai rei* of 1825 that called for repelling any unauthorized foreign ships making landfall in Japan and the *bakufu* action of firing upon the *Morrison*. The *Morrison*, we might recall, arrived off the coast of Edo in 1837 with the intention of repatriating six castaways. (See epigraph of the Introduction). This incident led to the common belief that the "Sakoku Policies" of the 1630s were enforced throughout the Edo period.

¹¹¹ This version of the story exists as a hand-written manuscript in the *Takaoka-shi Chûô Toshokan* and is found in Takase Shigeo, *Kitamae Chôja-maru no hyôryû* (Kanazawa: Kiyomizu Shoin, 1974), 217-245.

language used to describe the size of a whale penis (チンポ) and the numerous occasions in which foreigner's tongue is reduced to a singsong babble are absent from other versions of the story, and reflect a more popular form of entertaining literature.

The next day while flying like an arrow, a whale was spotted. With four men apiece, the boats were lowered. Two or three whales three feet in width and 25 to 30 feet in length were taken. Raising the whales they sang, *libaibai iidanbara*. The wax [that they get from these whales] is called *keyanyou* and is a pale blue. Their bodies are narrow, and a large whale's cock is a full 7 feet in length. They take the skin and the fat of the whale, and they discard the meat in the ocean. By the end of the 9th month we had taken thirteen leviathans.¹¹²

This marked difference in narrative form, when compared with *Tokei monogatari*, *Bandan*, and other versions of the story, suggest two very different types of late-Edo castaway narrative. Namely, one written form is marked by a seemingly factual and scientific tone, while a second type whose purposes were to entertain by exploiting the imagination and fantasies of the reader also appeared. It is perhaps best to see these texts on a continuum ranging from elegant at one end, and vulgar at the other extreme, instead of as either one or the other category. This continuum also manifests itself in terms of truth and fiction however, as we have already seen, the narrative's development from *kuchigaki* form to more elaborate retellings carried with it a dependency on an overarching narrative frame of truth incorporated in the prefaces and introductions.

Just as Defoe had his Alexander Selkirk in writing *Robinson Crusoe*, and Melville had his *Essex* in writing *Moby Dick*, the authors of late Edo castaway

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 225.

narratives also were relegated to producing only a “double” of an original, a palimpsest of a story already told. The numerous versions of the *Chôja maru* and other maritime incidents leading to drift, read against each other, reveals the emergence of innovative literary forms. In the gap of the palimpsest, the act of textual “doubling” or “reiteration” not only opens up a space in which to rewrite and politicize the content of the experience, but also spawns specific assumptions of language, narrative, and voice that were very new to late-Edo literary circles. By employing new formal literary elements and also appropriating older strategies of writing that were contemporaneously being “rediscovered” in the classics by *kokugakusha*, the texts are marked by an attempt to translate the realities of colonial spaces in which the castaways circulated. But as the texts relate a certain “history,” they are also bound by a different logic—the logic of the literary—that demands a resolution of “enigmas.” Traces of these enigmas—confusions of contradictory accounts, conflicts with earlier knowledge, and anomalies of a discursive subjectivity—abound in the texts: but through the invention of an authoritative narrative voice, the authors of castaway narratives relate a story that is remarkably literary.

It is here that the category of fiction, so often associated with the literary, fails us. While elements of the fantastic occupy the realm of the literary and fictional, scholarship of the castaway narrative has been limited to historians in search of truth and facts. In the case of *hyôryûki*, it is not simply a suspension of disbelief that is called for, but instead a mode of realism that is initiated with the claims of truth on the part of the speaking subject, claims on the part of the author who insists he has recorded

accurately the testimony of the castaway, and a framing of the entire narrative as an investigation into facts that distinguishes these texts as literary. At odds with the binary opposition of “fiction” and “non-fiction,” Gérard Genette has proposed an alternative understanding of texts as either “fiction” or “diction” that is also applicable to our investigation of *hyôryûki*. He writes, “The literature of fiction is literature that imposes itself essentially through the imaginary character of its objects. The literature of diction is literature that imposes itself essentially through its own formal characteristics—once again, without excluding amalgams and blends.”¹¹³ It is on a formal level that we can come to recognize a particular way in which late-Edo intellectuals and storytellers alike came to engage the world through castaway narratives. Attention to this “diction” or the way the story is told, as opposed to the veracity or fiction contained in the account, opens up new possibilities in analyzing the ways by which a particular cultural form, such as *hyôryûki*, both affect and are affected by larger political and cultural assemblages.

¹¹³ Gérard Genette, *Fiction & Diction* (Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 1993), 21.

A LITERATURE OF DEFENSE

The authors of *Hyômin kigigaki*, *Bandan*, and *Tokei monogatari* all directly mention *Hokusa bunryaku* in the introductions to their texts. In fact, other authors of castaway narratives such as *Kankai ibun*, *Funaosa nikki*, *Manjirô hyôryûki*, *Hyôkyaku danki*, *Kaigai ibun*, *Tôkô kibun*, etc. also point specifically to *Hokusa bunryaku* or its most famous subject, Daikokuya Kôdayû, as a reference in attempting to write their own narratives. As we have already seen, Katsuragawa Hoshû's *Hokusa bunryaku*, and to a lesser extent Ôtsuki Gentaku's *Kankai ibun*, which both document the return of Japan's first castaways from Russia, were significant texts that became formal models for later *hyôryûki* writers (See Appendix B).

The *Hokusa bunryaku* relates a ten-year struggle for survival in the North Pacific after the *Shinshô-maru* out of Kameyama Ryô Shiroko in Ise went adrift in 1782. After roughly a half a year of drift, the surviving castaways came aground on Amchika Island in the Aleutian archipelago where they stayed until the summer of 1787.¹¹⁴ Building a boat, they sailed to the Kamchatka Peninsula, where several more crew died over the winter. Upon arriving at Okhotsk the following summer, the remaining six proceeded to Yakutsk, before continuing on foot to Irkutsk where half the remaining

¹¹⁴ NSSSS5, 726; See also, Plummer(1991), 45; Kasaki Ryôhei, *Kôdayû to Rakusuman: Bakumatsu Nichi-Ro kôhshi no ichi sokumen* (Tokyo: Tôsui Shobô, 1992), 26.

crew settled down and did not return to Japan. Kôdayû eventually went on the St. Petersburg in order to personally request permission to return home from none other than Catherine the Great. Much like the repatriated crew of the *Wakamiya-maru*, who followed the *Shinshô-maru* ten years later (in fact the *Wakamiya-maru* was leaving the port of Ishinomaki within two months of Kôdayû, Isokichi, and Koichi's repatriation at Nemuro in the 9th month of 1792), the *Hokusa bunryaku* traces their gradual movement west to the capital, before three of the castaways are eventually repatriated. Unlike, the later group of castaways from the *Wakamiya-maru*, they would not circumnavigate the globe, but were instead repatriated in the northern frontier zone of Ezo-chi, from where they were eventually taken to Edo to be debriefed by numerous officials and scholars. Among them was the author of *Hokusa bunryaku*, Katsuragawa Hoshû, who had worked several years already with Ôtsuki Gentaku, who in turn would write *Kankai ibun* in 1804.¹¹⁵ The event of Kôdayû, Isokichi, and Koichi's return—the first repatriation of Japanese castaways from Russia—initiated perhaps the greatest amount of textual production regarding a single incident of drift during the Edo period.¹¹⁶

Although Kôdayû and Isokichi were kept in confinement for the rest of their lives upon return to Japan, the popularity of the story spread throughout the

¹¹⁵ I am grateful to Hirano Mitsuru of Meiji University who kindly showed me a manuscript written in 1786 by the two titled, *Chikyû bankoku zusetsu* in the Aida Bunkô archive at Meiji University Central Library. This is just one example that demonstrates both Hoshû and Ôtsuki's interests in castaways and foreign geographies before their meetings with respective castaway informants from the *Shinshô-maru* and *Wakamiya-maru*. It also reveals just how informed both were of a particular scientific and descriptive mode of writing found in Dutch texts.

¹¹⁶ Yamashita Tsuneo has collected four hefty volumes of related documentation in his *Edo hyôryûki sôshû bekkân: Daikokuya Kôdayû shiryô shû*, vol. 1-4 (Yamashita Tsunewo, ed.) (Tokyo: Nihon Hyôronsha, 2003).

archipelago.¹¹⁷ Other texts cite directly from *Hokusa bunryaku*, even if the citations are not always acknowledged. For example, in *Hokusa bunryaku* we read, “Throughout the world there are four great continents (四大部洲) and the many countries that make up these continents, are no less than 1100. Among those, only seven countries, including our own august court, are called empires. (帝号を称する國僅に七國にて、皇朝其一に居る).”¹¹⁸

Nearly 40 years later, the author of *Kishû sen Beikoku hyôryûki* would echo verbatim the words of *Hokusa bunryaku*. Upon meeting castaways from Tosa (Manjirô among them) who had already been in Hawai’i for sometime, and being informed by them that similar to Japan, only a light layer of clothing (襦袢一枚) is needed and that food is abundant, a comparison of the sun in Hawai’i and Japan,

¹¹⁷ As to whether Kôdayû and Isokichi were confined in Edo (the traditional view), Yoshimura Akira has suggested that they chose to spend the rest of their lives in the relative comfort of Edo where they were provided with comfortable quarters and taken care of by officials. See, Yoshimura Akira, *Daikokuya Kôdayû*, vol. 2, (Tokyo; Mainichi Shinbunsha, 2003), 211. As for the immediate popularity of this story, we may point to the ill-fated Koichi, who did not survive long enough to provide testimony aside his two shipmates, but had his moment of posthumous fame when, in eighth month of 1794, his hometown of Minami Wakamatsu-mura in Ise Province was flooded with uncountable visitors from other provinces (他領) who had come to see a his possessions from Russia displayed at the *Keidai Ichijôin* at the *Meifutôdenzan*. This is recorded on p. 3 recto in a document titled *Enkôan gôshû* and is in the collection of the *Kami no hakubutsukan* (Museum of Paper) in Tokyo. The event was followed by an extended tour of the show to various sites including Nagoya. The *Enkôan gôshû* provides us with visual images and textual descriptions of not only the items on display, but also the large crowds that came to view this event as well. See also, Yamamoto Hiroko, “Enkôan gôshû rokuhen’ eiin to honkoku,” in *Nagoya shi hakubutsukan kenkyû kiyô dai jû-ikkan* (Nagoya: Nagoya Shi Hakubutsukan, 1987), 1-16. Reports of massive crowds at the first display in Minami Wakamatsu are from, “Nihon hajime no ‘Roshia Fea’ Koichi no ihin wo tenji shite daiseikô,” in *Saiken Nihonshi* (Edo III:1) 2 kan:30 gô (tsûkan 63 gô) (Aug. 2002), 8.

¹¹⁸ Cited in Kobayashi (2000), 298.

quickly turns to a diatribe on the material superiority of Japan on the part of the speaking voice of *Kishû sen Beikoku hyôryûki*.¹¹⁹

It is impossible to say that the sun is the same in our Japan (我が日本) and this Oahu. The fame and influence of our divine country and the fact that we are the most developed nation (我が神国の威名、強盛成る事、世界第一にして), bountiful in the harvest of the five grains (五穀豊饒), inspired in our military defenses and military arts (武備武芸の精練), and quality of our various manufactured goods, is certainly known to several foreign countries. The many foreign countries respect the divine authority of our Nation and are always humbly begging to open trade relations with us. (異国万邦、我が国家の神威を仰ぎ慕ひ、礼を厚して毎度通商を乞ふに至る) Based on these conditions, the superiority over foreign countries is obvious. This is regularly heard in the no-less-than 1100 countries of the world. Among those only seven are Empires, and among these Japan ranks number one, and in actuality reigns over the rest of the world. (我等常に聞き及ぶ、世界の内、その容る々処の千百に下らず。その内、帝号を称るは、わずかに七ヶ国に過ぎずと聞く。日本はその第一に在りて実は万邦に冠たり。)¹²⁰

While acknowledgments and inter-textual referencing between *Hokusa bunryaku* and later castaway narratives are so common, the text perhaps exerted its greatest influence formally. The Japanese castaway narrative quickly took on a new form after the return of Kôdayû and Isokichi, and *Hokusa bunryaku* was seen to be the model. Embraced by most other multi-volume late-Edo *hyôryûki* authors, the general lay out by Katsuragawa was the first several volumes (in this case, three) presenting an overview of the entire ordeal, from intended route in Japan before being castaway, to travels through foreign spaces, to their ultimate return. With the narrative more-or-less established, the majority of the remaining volumes (in this case, seven) would then be

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 299-300.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 300.

organized by subheadings, such as “Priests and Sects” 僧官並寺院法會, “Taxes” 租税, “Hospitals” 病院, “Orphanages” 幼院, “Money safes and Banks” 金銀庫並バンカ, “Theaters and staged performances” 劇場並演劇, “Brothels” 娼家, “Food and Drink” 飲食, “Alcohol” 酒, “Vinegar” 酢, “Tobacco” 烟草, “Musical Instruments” 樂器, “Sleds” 橇, “Billiards” ビリヤリ, “Chess” 象棋, trees, grasses, birds, livestock, metals, boats, paper, insects, etc. This is a partial list found in the *Hokusa bunryaku* and when comparing similar sub-headings in later accounts, nearly all can be traced back to Katsuragawa’s text. For example, similar to the *Hokusa bunryaku*, both *Tokei monogatari* and [Hikozô] *Hyôryûki* address the topic of chess. Comparing the three passages, we see significant difference to suggest that neither of these later authors copied directly from Katsuragawa’s passage, but we can imagine how the appearance of such a topic of discourse in the *Hokusa bunryaku* may have provoked later authors to ask their castaway informants about it.¹²¹ The particular description that often follows these sub-headings can be several pages in length, elaborating on the ostensible subject, but also revealing a more detailed account of the castaway’s experience. Similar to encyclopedic gazetteers such as the *Wa-Kan sansai zue* 和漢三才図絵, these sections of *hyôryûki* almost read like miscellanies or *zuihitsu* 随筆 texts.¹²² Each sub-heading

¹²¹ NSSSS5, 219-222, 715, 797-798. The description of the game in *Hokusa bunryaku* is primarily focused on material aspects of the game and board itself (dimension of the board, pieces are made of ivory, etc.) The explanation of how each piece moves is over-simplified (“The *kooni* [knight] moves forward two and over one, just like the *keiba* [in *shôgi*]. Hikozô’s understanding of the game is more accurate and does not include size of board, etc.). *Tokei monogatari* actually provides the most thorough and accurate description. Interestingly, several full games using *shôgi* notation are included, suggesting that at least some of the crew were quite familiar with the game.

¹²² Terajima Ryôan, *Wa-Kan sansai zue* (Shimada Isao, et al., eds.) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1986).

provides the author an opportunity to explore similarities and differences with conditions in Japan, to compare and contrast details gleaned from other texts, and offer certain editorial evaluations of the information. More importantly, these passages provide some of the richest moments for the author to interpret and rewrite the castaway's own narrative.¹²³ This formal aspect of late Edo period castaway accounts that splits the story between the castaway's testimony in the first half and a more fragmented, but detailed, latter half serves as a method conducive for inscribing an inherently poly-vocal narrative and resolves tensions we might otherwise expect to arise between a speaking castaway and a scholarly scribe. The final two volumes of the *Hokusa bunryaku* are comprised of an extensive dictionary of foreign words, as well as numerous illustrations and maps. As we shall see in the following chapter, dictionaries are an important part of this form.

Inter-textual references and citation among these narratives, shared formal characteristics, and active anthologization of *hyôryûki* are all factors indicating that by the first decade of the nineteenth century castaway authors themselves were conscious of a *hyôryûki* textual lineage, and understood their own textual production as engaging in a larger aesthetic tradition of texts that began with Kôdayû and company. However,

¹²³ For example, it is in one of these sections that we learn about details of a visit to the hospital in Irkustsk and the poem/song composed by none other than Catherine the Great's cousin Sophia, for Kôdayû while he was in St. Petersburg. Not only is the significant class difference between the two duly noted, but we are told that people sing it around town, suggesting that even a lowly Japanese sailor can become legendary in foreign contexts. The song itself is given in a phonetic Russian with the Japanese meaning added. I can not verify the Russian meaning, but if we are trust the Japanese translator, Kôdayû and company's struggles emotionally effected an heir to the Russian throne, who, when thinking about their fate can "only cry." See NSSSS5, 803.

this is not to suggest that the authors of these texts did not also engage other spheres of literary and cultural production. As we have seen in the cases of *Tokei monogatari* and *Funaosa nikki*, both written by *Kokugaku* scholars, some *hyôryûki* reflected terms and phrases directly borrowed from a much larger, recognized “nativist” literary canon. Many more texts, anonymously written or guided by schools of thought other than *kokugaku* scholarship also employed poetic conceits and language of other established literary practices such as *waka* poetry (certainly overlapping *kokugaku* interests). Perhaps the most common example of this are the many references to the late-ninth century poem written by the Ise Priestess of the Inner Precincts of Ise Shrine that is recorded in *Ise monogatari* and other classical poetry collections.

Did you visit me, or I you?
We cannot know.
Was it dream or reality?
Were we asleep or awake?

*kimi ya koshi/ ware ya yukikemu/ omofuezu/ yume ka utsutsuka/ nete ka samete ka*¹²⁴

In particular, the line *yumeka utsutsuka* 夢か現か (literally, “Dream? Reality?”) is invoked and riffed upon in numerous accounts including, *Tôkô kibun* 東航紀聞, *Nankai kibun* and *Nagase murabito hyôryûdan* 長瀬村人漂流談.¹²⁵ Likewise, in a popular published account of Nakahama Manjirô’s experiences published as simply

¹²⁴ *Nihon koten bungaku zenshû: Taketori monogatari, Ise monogatari, Yamato monogatari, Heichû monogatari* (Katagiri Yôichi, et al., eds.) (Tokyo: Shôgakkan, 1972), 192.

¹²⁵ NSSSS5, 625 and 672, respectively.

Hyôryûki, begins by appropriating perhaps the most obvious of literary openings, “*Mukashi, mukashi izure no ontoki ni ya araken...*”¹²⁶

Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758-1829), Council Elder (*rôjû*) and advisor to *shôgun* Tokugawa Ienari, oversaw the interrogation of Daikokuya Kôdayû and Isokichi in Edo and the order by Tokugawa Ienari that Katsuragawa Hôshû (1751-1809) write the *Hokusa bunryaku*.¹²⁷ A man obsessed with reining in potentially subversive domestic cultural production, he was perhaps even more concerned with threats from the outside, particularly Russian expansion in the North Pacific.¹²⁸ Matsudaira Sadanobu, for his part was instrumental in deciding whether to accept the castaways from the *Shinshô-maru*, or instead turn the Russian ship away at Nemuro. Turning to his *Roshiya jin toriatsukai tedome* 魯西亜人取扱手留, a document that lays out his reasoning process in deciding to accept the returned *Shinshô-maru* castaways in Laxman’s charge on the coast of Ezo-chi, we read, “Since they have come for the purpose of returning castaways their intentions are proper. Furthermore, with imperial orders from the [Russian] Court to return them only to the proper public offices in Edo, I know it is not necessary to repel them because they came to Nemuro. Likewise, making them wait in

¹²⁶ This opening combines a more oral beginning of *mukashi, mukashi* (“Long, long ago...”) with the introductions of *Genji monogatari*, *Ise monogatari*, and other Heian period (8th-12th centuries) tales. Simply titled *Hyôryûki* on the cover, many refer to this text as “Manjirô Hyôryûki,” in order to distinguish it from other texts titled *Hyôryûki* (ie., “Hikozô Hyôryûki.” The title on the title page reads 「大日本土佐国漁師漂流記」 See EHSS5, 219.

¹²⁷ Kobayashi (200), 192. For a biography in English see; Herman Ooms, *Charismatic Bureaucrat: A political biography of Matsudaira Sadanobu, 1758-1829*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.

¹²⁸ Timon Screech has argued effectively that Sadanobu was *the* key political figure and thinker affecting the cultural discourse of 1790s. See, Timon Screech, *The Shogun’s Painted Culture: Fear and Creativity in the Japanese States, 1760-1829*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), especially Chapter One.

Nemuro for orders is unreasonable.” Ultimately Sadanobu decided to have them come to Edo because of their intentions were determined to be proper.¹²⁹ Upon their arrival in Edo on the 17th day of the 8th month, the Edo Minami Machi Bugyô took charge of the castaways and carried out the interrogation. Having retired from his seat as *rôju* less than a month earlier, Matsudaira Sadanobu personally took responsibility for Laxman.¹³⁰ One month after their arrival in Edo, they were called to Edo Castle to have an audience with Ienari. In attendance were Matsudaira Sadanobu and Katsuragawa Hoshû (among others), the former overseeing the event and the latter recording the question-answer session that took place between the castaways and the other participants.¹³¹ While Katsuragawa Hoshû’s *Hyômin goran ki* 漂民御覽記 is not a castaway narrative per se, it demonstrates yet another form that came to be employed in recording castaways’ experiences.¹³² The randomness and arbitrariness of the questions prevents a story from emerging, and furthermore this document lacks an overarching narrative of progression through foreign spaces in a struggle to return home. Sadanobu also oversaw the collection of the first known Edo period anthology of castaway accounts on the part of Morishima Chûryô, the younger brother of

¹²⁹ DKSS1, 155.

¹³⁰ Kisaki Ryôhei, *Kôdayû to Rakusuman* (Tokyo: Tôsui Shobô, 1992), 190.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 191.

¹³² DKSS3, 3-23.

Katsuragawa Hoshû.¹³³ His *Kaigai ibun* 海外異聞 completed in 1789, contained fifty-five separate incidents of drift from the 1570s to the present and ran an impressive twenty-seven volumes. In 1794 the *Zoku kaigai ibun* 続海外異聞 was produced by Ôtsuki Genkan (Gentaku's eldest son), and yet another supplement to this work was produced in 1808.¹³⁴

In early 1793, the *bakufu* took control of coastal defenses and Sadanobu spent a month establishing lookout posts in Izu and Sagami for the purposes of defending Edo Bay.¹³⁵ Thus, Matsudaira Sadanobu was not only instrumental in the handling of the Laxman Affair from the political end, he was also at the heart of a circle of intellectuals in Edo that included Ôtsuki, Katsuragawa, and Morishima, who were responsible for managing, editing, and collecting castaway stories. From this time, we see not only the emergence of a new formal category of *hyôryûki*, but also a political interest in such

¹³³ Morishima Chûryô was also a prolific writer of world geography texts, including *Kômô zatsuwa* 紅毛雑話 and *Bankoku shinwa* 万国新話.

¹³⁴ Not to be confused with the individual *hyôryûki* with the same name. See, Kobayashi (2000), 186-187. There are several other castaway narrative anthologies from the late Edo period, Morishima's being perhaps the earliest. The initial work on the *Tsûkô ichiran*, the official *bakufu* records of diplomacy and foreign affairs, and source of numerous castaway accounts, was begun three years after Morishima produced his anthology. Ôtsuki Gentaku produced his own collection of nearly on hundred accounts called the *Kaigai bunken zatsuki*, but his son Genkan was said to have discarded many of these before he produced the *Zoku kaigai ibun*. In the Waseda Collection we find yet another castaway anthology in *shahon* form produced by the Ôtsuki family, Ôtsuki Gentaku's *Kaigai ibun kô*. In 1797, Sôhan (probably from Tosa???) produced his *Mujintô danwa*, a collection of castaway narratives relating to the Ogasawara and Torii shima islands. There is also a collection of eight documents titled *Hyôryû zatsuki* in the national Diet Library, Tokyo. The 77-volume *Kaihyô ibun* in the Dôshisha Collection was, according to Iwasaki Naoko, probably the work of Matsuura Takakura. Because this collection does not have any accounts of Manjirô, we can probably assume that it was compiled sometime during the late 1840s. It may not be complete in its present form. See, http://elib.doshisha.ac.jp/japanese/digital/kaihyo_kaidai.html There is also the *Ikoku hyôchaku senwa* in the archive of Kaiyô Univeristy in Tokyo. See, <http://lib.s.kaiyodai.ac.jp/library/bunkan/tb-gaku/hyoryu/IHYO1/ihyo-index.html>

¹³⁵ Kisasi (1992), 109.

accounts, as a means of regulating border-crossings in the north. While accidents of drift were not new, certain geopolitical concerns, particularly in the North Pacific were. The stories that Kôdayû and Isokichi, and later the *Wakamiya-maru*, brought back from Russia painted an expansive and powerful empire intent on trading with Japan and exploiting resources in Ezo-chi. The fact that Russians had established a Japanese language school from the 1730s, staffed by other Japanese castaways not permitted to return to Japan, demonstrated for the *bakufu* that Russia not only desired advancement into the North Pacific for purposes of exploitation, but that they had been preparing for it for 60 years. Counter intelligence was necessary to better understand this lurking threat, and the castaway narrative served this purpose, becoming part of the *bakufu* intelligence apparatus.¹³⁶ But the new type of castaway narrative that re-inscribed western presence in the Pacific also provided a textual space from which to recast the geopolitical conditions into stories of national heroes.

Matsudaira Sadanobu's interest in the figure of the castaway was not simply a practical means to a political end, namely the defense of the nation. He also invested the act of drift with aesthetic possibilities. While Sadanobu's concerns for defense

¹³⁶ Ronald Toby employs the term "intelligence apparatus" in his detailed discussion of mid-seventeenth century diplomacy in East Asia. See Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu*, (Stanford: University of California Press, 1991); As we have already seen, the emergence of the *kuchigaki* form and the origins of these late Edo accounts were part of a larger system of intelligence gathering system maintained at the *bugyô* level. It is important to remember that castaway narratives (in the form of *kuchigaki*) began as part of this official State intelligence gathering process, and therefore the deployment of these texts in late Edo period was nothing too new. What was new was the source of threats. In Toby's study cited above, the primary overseas threat is not Russia, but Qing China. What else was new, was the form these texts took. While engagements with China and other East Asian nations were grounded in an established protocol, the appearance of first Russians, and later other European and American ships off the coast of Japan, called for the invention of a new protocol based on shifting condition in the Pacific.

were real, he also demonstrated a recognition of the ideological and mythic potential contained within this new subjectivity of the castaway. In his miscellany titled, *Kagetsu sôshi* 花月草紙, we read,

Hyôryû—

Those who manage to arrive upon an island of uncivilized people (よし人なき島), [make due by] eating the fruit of strange trees, catching unknown birds to make clothing of their skins and preserving the dried flesh to eat. With a mind of utmost endurance and not going over the edge (心の極まりなく、常度うしなはぬ), they avoid the deceptions of the foreigners they encounter so that their lives might be spared and they may return. If so, then certainly within that ship will be a hero (英雄) who survives.¹³⁷

For Matsudaira to use the term *eiyu* (“hero”) to describe such a subject, we might think he had confused the destitute sailor for a Heike warrior immortalized in Noh theater. In using the term to describe repatriated sailors and fisherman, he suggests that these lowly castaways and their stories are worthy of representation. But while all heroes stand as the embodiment of certain ideals and/or ideologies, there is also a marked difference between castaways and other heroes. For Sadanobu, the heroics of *hyôryû* lay first and foremost in the survival of the castaway. In this sense, the castaway here is not heroic for anything he necessarily does, but instead for what he endures. The experience of *hyôryû* is marked from the beginning by a certain level of contingency and passivity that defines Sadanobu’s accidental witnesses to the world.

¹³⁷ Matsudaira Sadanobu, *Kagetsu sôshi* in *Nihon zuihitsu taisei*, Part 3, Volume 1 (Tokyo: Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei Henshûbu, 1976), 424. Also cited by Ikeda in the introduction to NSSS, 1 and Kobayashi Shigefumi, *Nippon ikoku hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 2000), 6.

The nature of Sadanobu's castaway heroes thus called for an intermediary author to endow such stories with particular narrative strategies, in order craft something beyond the *kuchigaki* form.

A poem inscribed by Sadanobu himself on Tani Bunchô's portrait of Laxman reads,

The arrival of this ship—
What cannot be forgotten even in the space of dreams,
Has become a treasure of the world

此の船のよるてふことを夢の間も忘れぬは世の宝なりけり¹³⁸

In his study of Kôdayû's repatriation, Kisaki Ryôhei reads this poem as Sadanobu's resignation (腐心) to *bakufu* imperatives of defense.¹³⁹ However, we might read it not as a decisive statement of resignation crouched in a “repel or engage” logic, but instead as testament to the multiplicity of concerns—geopolitical, intellectual, and artistic—that the arrival of repatriated castaways on foreign ships offered. While Sadanobu seems to be addressing his meetings with Laxman more than his meetings with the castaways in this short poem, he does so through an association with the dream state. As we have already seen, the metaphoric function of the dream to explain moments of the uncanny, for example in the many invocations of the *yume ka utsutsu ka* poem, are not uncommon. Likewise, at particular inciting moments in the narrative when things seem precarious for the narrator, the castaway at times turns to dream to explain the otherwise miraculous. For example, Rishichi, the narrator of *Nagase*

¹³⁸ Kisaki, 110.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 109.

murabito hyôryûdan written by Okuda Masatada in 1856, explains his encounter with gods aboard the ship by referencing a dream state.

On the 7th day of the 12th month we were hit by a severe storm and our boat was swamped by waves. On the 19th of the same month we were again caught in a great tempest, making it the 9th time in 53 days of drift, with the storms of the 29th day of the 10th month, the 13th day of the 11th month, and this last storm falling on the 19th day of the 12th month being beyond the descriptive powers of language (言語にのべがたき事也けるとそ)... At this time [19th of 12th month], Rishichi was holding watch on deck, and thought to lie down due to many days of tiredness. Passing in and out of consciousness (覺へすまとろみたる) that was neither dream nor reality (夢共なく、現共なく), there was an old man (老人) who came to me and shook me awake. This startled me into opening my eyes, but when I did, I saw nothing and told myself it was just a dream (夢にや有けん) and went back to sleep. At that time, an old man (老翁) again awoke me and said, ‘I am your village god Daimyôjin Sumiyoshi Daimyôjin (吾は氏神一寶大明神住吉大明神也).’ ‘You most certainly have no place to sleep tonight!’ he added as he disappeared. Rishichi had no idea what had just happened, but he thought that perhaps they had come aground on some island and they just might be saved. Not knowing who to be grateful to, he thought that he must pray, but just as he began to head toward the center of the ship (胴の間?) a large wave washed over the deck and torn the fencing right off. It was frightful to think that if I had still been at that place where I was sleeping, my life would have ended in a flash. Grateful for the blessings of the gods, the hairs all over my body stood on end and I felt a cold chill.¹⁴⁰

Likewise, in *Funaosa nikki* at a point when Jûkichi was clearly in a delirious state induced by malnourishment and death of nearly all his crew over the course of sixteen months of drift, Jûkichi claims to have met with of god-like figures coming aboard the *Tokujô-maru* immediately prior to being rescued.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ NSSSS5, 672.

¹⁴¹ NSSSS5, 517.

Numerous *hyôryûki* also frame the entire castaway narrative as a dream by incorporating “dream” into the very title, such as the *Yume monogatari*, which relates the *Wakamiya-maru* experience. Likewise, after completing the *Hokusa bunryaku*, Katsuragawa Hoshû anonymously wrote *Roshia koku suimu dan* 魯西亜國睡夢談 in the 6th month of 1794, incorporating what was originally expunged from his more famous *Hokusa bunryaku*.¹⁴² Katsuragawa’s use of the dream as a framing technique may or may not have influenced the author of *Hyôryû yume monogatari* 漂流夢物語 and other later castaway accounts that employ dreams in the narrative or title of their works, nonetheless, several examples written after 1794 suggest it was one option open to *hyôryûki* authors.¹⁴³

Other than *Hyôryû yume monogatari*, the *Nanpyôki* 南瓢記 published in 1798 by Shihô Ken shortly after Hoshû had written his *Roshiya koku suimu dan* is perhaps the best example of how the dream could be used to frame the narrative. Referring to his castaway as the “Traveler of the Southern Gourd” (南瓢の道人), the author states in his introduction, “there is truth in the dream of the southern gourd traveler.”¹⁴⁴ However,

¹⁴² Ikuta Michiko, *Daikokuya Kôdayû no seppun*, (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1997), 173-181.

¹⁴³ This manuscript is found in the *Iwase Bunkô* archive at the Nishio City Municipal Library in Aichi. For references to *Hyôryû yume monogatari*, see Haruna Akira, *Hyôryû: Josefu Hiko to nakamatachi* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1982), 29. These texts should not be confused with Takano Chôei’s *Yume monogatari* which was seen as one reason why Chôei and his associate, Watanabe Kazan, were placed under house arrest (eventually committing suicide) in the *Bansha no goku* incident 蛮社の獄 of 1839.

¹⁴⁴ EHSS2, 288.

it is perhaps the last lines of his narrative (five volumes later) that demonstrates this trope of the dream.¹⁴⁵

Until the beginning of the 11th month they were in this land [Annan], and having passed three years in the haze of stars (三か年の星霜を経て), they were once again returned to our county. I must say that this [Japan] is truly a divine land (神国), but even having come to see the facts of this tale in such detail, to speak of the virtues of this gourd we must go before the gate and listen to the voices of the people. When this traveler (彼の道人), having taken a seed from a gourd, mounted a cloud and instantly flew away, I remembered my dream just as I had seen it, and before the Great Kannon, with paper and brush I prostrated myself and as things became increasingly strange (不思議なりける次第なり) I was sincerely blessed by the Kannon (誠に大悲の御加護にて). Since I heard this traveler's tale in the space of a short dream, without any editing, I gave it the title *Nanpyôki* and, exactly like my dream, have outlined a dream narrative (夢物語).¹⁴⁶

Citing *Nanpyôki*, Kobayashi Shigefumi argues that the frame of the dream does not imply something fictional, but instead something meant to “serve dreams” (*yume yosotta*) of the reader,¹⁴⁷ although considering that it is not until the very end of the five volumes that Shihô most effectively establishes this idea, this may have simply been a strategy to avoid censorship. In either case, whether it was to protect himself from possible repercussions of printing or to fuel the imaginary flights of his reader, the author embraces the fiction of a dream to convey an otherwise actual account of a castaway.

¹⁴⁵ EHSS2, 287-403.

¹⁴⁶ EHSS2, 403.

¹⁴⁷ Kobayashi (2000), 192. The *Nanpyôki* is one *hyôryûki* that was published during the Edo period, but was prohibited the following year. See EHSS2, 286.

We have seen how the arrival of Russians spawned not only a political crisis, but also a cultural one concerned with the very form castaway accounts should take. The circle of figures responsible for recording both the *Shinshô-* and *Wakamiya-maru* castaways stories produced literally hundreds of texts, but later authors frequently mention Katsuragawa Hoshû's *Hokusa bunryaku* and Ôtsuki Gentaku's *Kankai ibun* in particular, and consciously imitate certain formal characteristics initiated by these two texts. Kôdayû's return also served as an occasion to collect accounts and produce anthologies. To this end, intellectuals discovered accounts from the past, but more so, they sought the latest news from abroad in the form of contemporary castaways. A formally recognized category of *hyôryûki* came to emerge. Structural commonalities such as prefaces, dictionaries, inventories, colophons, maps, methods of editorial commentary, complete narratives followed by detailed topical categories, illustrations, etc. as well as shared themes, iconography, and tropes, regarding food, religion, technology, language, all contributed to the recognition of this new textual practice. Nonetheless, as literary artifacts, they are quite varied in their "literariness."

The iterability of these texts—the fact that they were often reiterated in a variety of forms— allows us to trace an ideological metamorphosis of the castaway narrative. With its origins in a bureaucratic *kuchigaki* form meant to establish and maintain relations with neighboring countries such as Korea, Ryukyu, and China, by the 1790s the category of *hyôryûki* came to engage and maintain relations with more radically different peoples of the world. As stories of drift to neighboring countries gave way to narratives focused on the presence of westerners throughout the Pacific, the East Asian

model of civilization gave way to a worldview and epistemology that underwrote colonialism and was the result of scientific, geographic, and ethnographic discourses adopted by these later authors.

The invention of the castaway as a textual subject and the employment of specific narrative strategies served to transform the story of drift across the smooth space of the sea into a historically contingent form that also reterritorialized the drifting subject in terms of a geocentric national discourse. While Matsudaira Sadanobu and the *bakufu* did not call for a “literature of defense,” territorial concerns in the north coalesced with intellectual curiosities in not only Edo, Nagasaki, Miyako, but also in smaller domains such as Tosa, Kanazawa, Sendai, and Matsumae. Furthermore, these texts—whether they were written by peripheral domains or by intellectuals directly in the service of the *bakufu*—tended to be formally similar and furthermore, both equally articulated a strong sense of Japanese identity at the national level. The result was a *de facto* literature of defense identified as *hyôryûki*, that was the result of both State policy regarding repatriated drifters and the inherent limits of the *kuchigaki* form on the one hand, and its inability of that older textual form to satiate the current intellectual and popular audiences and effectively comprehend and translate a rapidly changing world. While Tokugawa period *hyôryûki* remain scattered on a spectrum between *bungaku* (“literature”) and *shiryô* (“historical documents”) today, both the textuality and historicity of any given text is by now clear.

Several scholars of *hyôryûki* employ terminology most often associated with literature such as such *denki no shujinkô* or “romantic hero” (Muroga & Yamori) and

ei-yû or “hero” (Matsudaira, Ikeda, Kobayashi) thus hinting at an embellished literary narrative. However, as mentioned earlier it is not an embellishment as fiction, as much as it is an embellishment of diction, or how the tale is told. The very act of being cast away is associated with a patterned organization of events into a temporally linear progression marked at one end by an inciting incident (usually a storm), and at the other, by resolution (homecoming), thus fixed by a broad governing form. The speaking subject, particularly in more lengthy accounts is not only realistic, but appears as highly individuated character whose longings, doubts, rationalization processes, and interpretations of the outside world are developed over the course of his drift and return. Moreover, the authors themselves, through inter-textual reference and adoption of structures proposed by Katsugawa Hoshû and Ôtsuki Gentaku in their own *hyôryûki*, came to recognize and engage a larger tradition of writing about historic moments of drift. Aside from the specific language and tone adopted by the authors, techniques of framing the narrative as truth or dream, the invocation of laughter, dramatic techniques such as suspense, and the rhetoric of seduction, all contributed to the production of stories that were more than simply educational, but also interesting and entertaining. In discovering this new literature of defense, the *hyôryûki* of late-Edo Japan served not only to report tragic events at sea, but to translate and comprehend a nineteenth century Pacific.

TRANSLATING WORLDS: ACCOUNTS OF A COLONIZED PACIFIC

Speaking of “traveling cultures,” James Clifford has written that, “in much traditional ethnography, the ethnographer has localized what is actually a regional/national/global nexus, regulating to the margins the external relations and displacements of a ‘culture.’”¹ In this important critique of traditional ethnographic practice, Clifford also takes a fascinating methodological turn toward an anthropology of subjects in movement. Turning to language, he suggests that the assumed equation—“culture (singular) equals language (singular)” — maintains a “nationalist culture,” at the expense of untold subjectivities on the periphery.² These travelers, whether they be castaways, whalers, prostitutes, missionaries, or natural scientists recording the flora and fauna of newly claimed territories, all operated in various “contact zones” in the Pacific.³ And while “terms such as ‘travel,’ are translations, built from imperfect equivalences,” we should also acknowledge the

¹ James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 24.

² *Ibid.*, 22.

³ Commenting on an “inter-cultural” text penned in 1613 by an Amerindian—Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala—and addressed to King Philip III of Spain, Mary Louise Pratt defines “contact zones” as, “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination—like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths.” Part Quechua and part “rough, ungrammatical Spanish,” this letter, like many of the texts we will consider in this chapter, was a polyglot text that attempted to translate worlds into hybrid tongues. See, Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 4.

important role that the act of translation itself plays in the experience of the traveler.⁴ In other words, while there is an “imperfect equivalence” between the terms of “travel” and “*hyôryû*,” the accounts of both are written not for the readers of the land visited, but instead for a home (whether this be national, provincial, or local) audience. Relating the unfamiliar space, conditions, and people of the site visited in an idiom familiar to a home audience opens up a space from which to consider the act of travel writing as a profound act of translation. This chapter considers not only the translation of words and phrases, but also acts of translating experiences— particularly those dealing with social hierarchies of colonial spaces, gender, race, and ethnography. We shall see how world historical conditions in the Pacific come to be related to Japanese readers, not through one consistent language, but instead a hybrid polyglot that was at times the scientific jargon of Dutch Studies scholars and at others the laughter of ribald tales, to give just two more obvious examples. Furthermore, to compound the hybrid nature of these translations, we might acknowledge, too, the nature of the “informants,” to borrow an anthropological term, whose diversity of language also inflected the stories castaways returned to tell. Whether they be missionaries in Canton relating the metaphysical concepts of a Christian salvation, scientists “in the field” elaborating the nuances of phrenology and racial difference, royalty of the Russian empire, or even the slurred language of prostitutes hidden behind the sugarcane fields of

⁴ James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 11.

Hawaiian plantations, these interlocutors offered the castaways conflicting explanations of the world outside.

Let us first consider the apparent fascination with the foreign tongue, as it was made manifest with the incorporation of lexicons in *hyôryûki*. While we have already considered Ishiguro Chihiro's lexicon of *kokugaku* terms appended to the *Tokei monogatari* titled, "Tokei monogatari jo kana tsuke narabi inshô," there are in fact numerous examples of foreign lexicons and multilingual dictionaries to be found in late-Edo castaway accounts. (See Appendix D) In at least one case—that of the *Oroshiya no kotoba* フロシヤノ言 of 1821—a lexicon was even published separately from the accompanying (unpublished) story of drift to be sold at a display of foreign objects with which the castaway returned.⁵

⁵ *Oroshiya no kotoba* is to be found in both the Waseda and Meiji University libraries. There is also another document that appears to have been published in woodblock form from this particular display in 1821, that is the *Roshiya koku irui kibutsu hirô raiyû sho* 魯西亜国衣類器物披露来由書. This published document contains a summary of the *Tokujiô-maru* account and provides an itemized catalog of the objects on display. Republished as Oguri Jûkichi, *Roshiya koku irui kibutsu hirô raiyû sho (fukusei)* (Nagoya: Ryûjinsei, 1935). Both documents, while printed, are also signed (in what appears to be brush and ink) by Oguri Jûkichi himself. The surname "Oguri" was bestowed upon him only after his return.

centric linguistic sphere in which Chinese orthographics dominated written forms throughout East and Southeast Asia. Even with *Bishû Ôno mura fune hyôryû ikken*, we find a short note stating that “Batan” visits the court at Nanjing, thus making it clear that all of these earlier accounts address foreign languages in terms of their relationship to Chinese.⁷ In the earliest accounts dealing with castaways returning from Dattan in 1644 two separate foreign readings are provided along either side of *kanji* characters, allowing the reader to compare the languages of Dattan and “Peking,” but all the while anchoring that comparison in an unproblematic semantic meaning reflected in the Chinese character. By emphasizing this particular usage of shared ideographs originally from China, the lexicon points towards the status of Dattan and Peking within traditional *ka-i* order.⁸

Beginning with the *Hokusa bunryaku* in 1794, both castaway accounts and the dictionaries contained within them, take on significant new features that reflect a shift away from this Sino-centric model. From the late eighteenth century onward, we begin to see these word lists growing in length, with the authors frequently committing entire or nearly entire volumes to thematically organized lexicons. These later *hyôryûki* tend to subdivide word lists into particular categories such as, *tenmon* (climate and astronomy), *chiri* (geography and topography), *jirei* (calendars,

⁷ “Batan,” or occasionally “Hatan,” is the island of Bataan in the waters of the Philippines, and is not to be confused with the peninsula made famous during the Pacific War.

⁸ This *ka-i* order and its reinterpretations in both Japan and Korea are discussed at length in the first and fourth chapters. See also, Etsuko Hae-Jin Kang, *Diplomacy and Ideology in Japanese-Korean Relations: From the Fifteenth to Eighteenth Century* (New York: Saint Martin’s Press, 1997), 153-166, 186-194.

seasons, and dating), *kishin* (devils and gods), *jinrin* (familial relations, social positions), *sômoku* (plants and trees), *chôjû* (birds and beasts), etc. It is notable that the *Hokusa bunryaku*, *Kankai ibun*, *Amerika shinwa*, *Tokei monogatari*, *Tôkô kibun*, *Tôyô hyôkyaku*, and *Kaigai ibun* all demonstrate a remarkable consistency in how vocabularies are organized. While some accounts exclude or include certain subheadings, or in some cases combine categories, all of these later dictionaries point toward a familiarity with the order first appearing in the *Hokusa bunryaku*. This mode of organization also was maintained in popular multilingual dictionaries in the *bakamatsu* and early Meiji eras, such as Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Zôtei Ka-Ei tsûgo* 増訂華英通語, first published in 1860.⁹

While earlier lexicons appearing in castaway narratives presented a seamless correspondence between languages sharing a Chinese influenced orthography, many later accounts focused on Russian, Spanish, and English languages also attempt to relate the foreign in terms of a semantic equivalency with Japanese language. In other words, we still frequently see a word-to-word formula for relating meaning (“dog” equals “*inu*”). While this works well for nominal forms that appear as

⁹ See Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Zôtei Ka-Ei tsûgo*, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshû*, vol. 1 (Keio Gijuku, ed.) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1969), 67-274. By referring to the dictionary as a correspondence between *Ka* (“China”) and *Ei* (“English”), the title of this text retains hints of the Sino-centric origins of early Edo castaway lexicons, but clearly *Ka* in this title suggests something else. We might also consider the legacy of pairing *Ka* with other binary oppositions such as *I* when considering the peculiar title. Fukuzawa includes phonetics of English words in both *furigana*, as well as Chinese characters used only phonetically (immediately below English words). This effectively makes his dictionary a trilingual endeavor. This is not to suggest that Fukuzawa was reasserting the centrality of Chinese civilization. In fact considering that entries appearing to the right of the foreign words are Japanese *kanji* compounds with Japanese readings, if anything this particular use of *ka* in the title suggests an order of civilization that may have once been “centered” in China, but was now the domain of

objects of daily life, a tension arises with some attempts of translation in later accounts. In part, this tension may be attributed to the more developed and expansive content found in the later dictionaries. Compared with several later accounts, the earlier accounts are almost always relatively narrow in scope and the subject matter tends to be limited to numbers, terms of daily sustenance (water, food, medicine), and commodities and products of commercial exchange (money, sandalwood, silk cloth).

Japanese control. Even this Japan-centered notion of civilization had recently been put into question with the negotiation of port and trade treaties with various western nations.

| | | | |
|--|--------|--|----------|
| ㄨㄛˊ ㄨㄛˊ ㄨㄛˊ ㄨㄛˊ <i>Eonylike wood.</i> 喋捫呢礼詎活 | 酸 枝 | 類木草 | |
| ㄨㄛˊ ㄨㄛˊ ㄨㄛˊ <i>Clove tree.</i> 哥罗父 咄兀 | 丁 香 | ㄨㄛˊ <i>Tree.</i> 咄兀 | 樹 |
| ㄨㄛˊ ㄨㄛˊ ㄨㄛˊ <i>Anised tree.</i> 嬰呢吉 咄兀 | 茴 香 | ㄨㄛˊ <i>Wood.</i> 活 | 木 |
| ㄨㄛˊ ㄨㄛˊ <i>Willow.</i> 威 呀 | 楊 柳 | ㄨㄛˊ ㄨㄛˊ <i>Pine or Spar.</i> 跋烟烟時巴 | 杉 |
| ㄨㄛˊ <i>Oak.</i> 惡 車 | 橡 樹 | ㄨㄛˊ ㄨㄛˊ <i>Sandal-wood.</i> 山拿佐 活 | 檀 香 |
| ㄨㄛˊ <i>Pin.</i> 花 | 松 樹 | ㄨㄛˊ <i>Ebony.</i> 喋捫呢 | 烏 木 |
| ㄨㄛˊ ㄨㄛˊ <i>Cassia tree.</i> 加 花 了 咄兀 | 桂 樹 | ㄨㄛˊ ㄨㄛˊ <i>Spar-wood.</i> 沙 班 活 | 蘇 木 |
| ㄨㄛˊ ㄨㄛˊ ㄨㄛˊ <i>Cotton plant.</i> 葛 頰 罷 蘭 | 棉 樹 | ㄨㄛˊ ㄨㄛˊ <i>Rose wood.</i> 瑟 時 活 | 花 梨 木 |

Illustration 3.2. A page from Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Zôtei Ka-Ei tsûgo* titled *Sômokurui* (Plants and Trees)¹⁰

¹⁰ Fukuzawa Yukichi *zenshû*, 188.

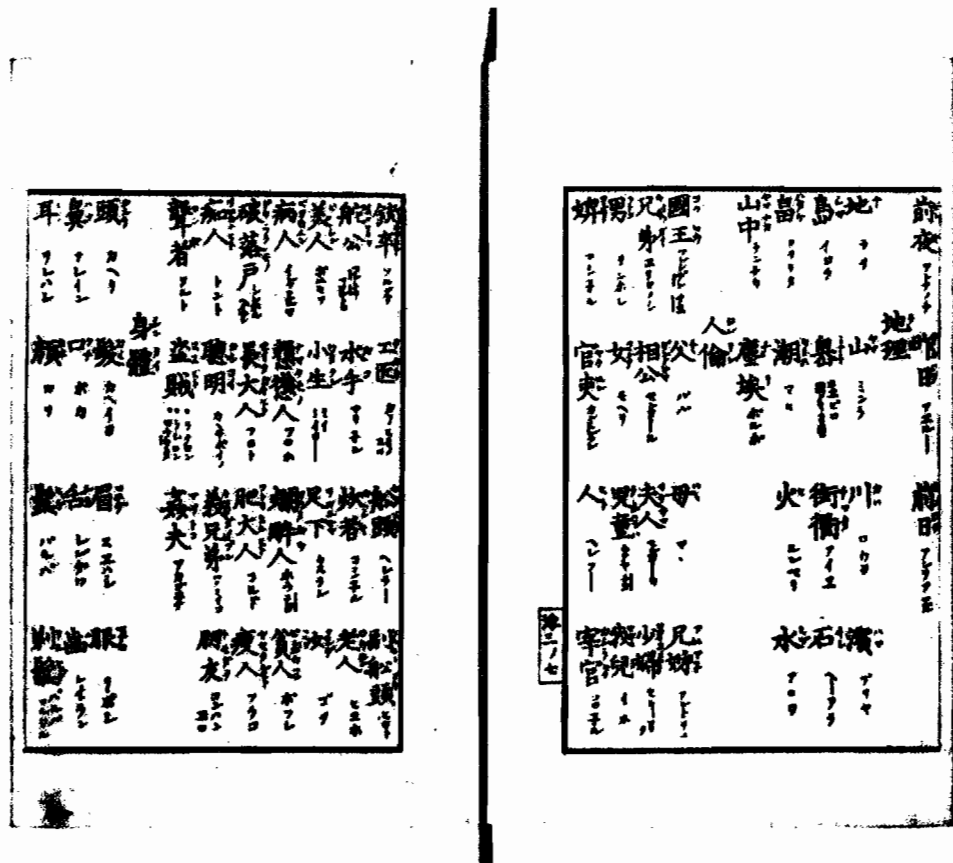


Illustration 3.3. A page from the dictionary contained in the *Kankai ibun*. Individual headings include *Chiri*, *Jinrin*, and *Shintai*. These are all subheadings first appearing in the *Hokusa bunryaku*¹¹

In a provocative set of essays (in both English and Japanese), the translator and translation theorist, Sabu Kohso/ Kôso Iwasaburô, has suggested the intimate connections between translation and a Marxist oriented historiography. He writes,

Simply said, translation is like money that inscribes the events in the exchanges between different values. The relationship of translation to text is akin to that of money to commodity in the aspect that both translation and money are ghosts of these substances... Translation

¹¹ From Tokyo Kaiyô Daigaku electronic archive, <http://lib.s.kaiyodai.ac.jp/library/bunkan/tb-gaku/hyoryu/hyoryu.html>.

has always been the main tool of shaping the nation, both before and after its modern revolution—the Meiji Restoration.¹²

Kohso's argument relates Marx's passage on commodity fetishism to the logic of equivalency implicit in translation by revealing how the assumption of equivalency conceals the social relations that drive one to translate a text. Likewise, Marx himself suggests a similarity of form between economic value and linguistic meaning when he claims, "the characteristic which objects of utility have of being values is as much men's social product as is their language."¹³ The logic of equivalency between languages is assumed in new understandings of scientific language, as well as many of the dictionaries we find in castaway narratives. But counter to Kohso's argument, the later Edo period accounts that take as their subject the increasingly colonized spaces of the Pacific begin to reveal fissures in the ostensible equivalence between languages. We see one example of this in *Funaosa nikki* when Jūkichi elaborates on the difficulty of understanding the Russian language. While providing one to one equivalencies between Russian and Japanese words for rice, wheat, bread, halibut, and other nouns, he also relates the "intranslatability" of certain words and concepts, thus exposing a gap between the exchange value and use value of language. The inherent power relation that informs a notion of translatability is suggested in a revealing comment on the occasional difficulty of translation.

¹² Sabu Kohso, "Two Modes of Translation, or a Crossing over the Pacific," in *Imported: A Reading Seminar* (Rainer Ganahl, ed.) (New York: Semiotext(e), 1998), 96-97.

¹³ Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy-Volume One* (Ben Fowkes, trans.) (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 167.

To have another person suddenly point out a thing and ask, “How about this?” is hard. Instead of that, it is better if you yourself point out an object and ask, “How about this?” and have the other person answer this or that, and then write down the various answers.¹⁴

In a study of lexicography, Sidney I. Landau has pointed out the important difference between bilingual dictionaries of “equivalents” and monolingual dictionaries of the “periphrastic mode.”¹⁵ While the dictionaries cited in Appendix D are of the former variety, we might also consider at least one example of something similar to the latter. It is clear that Katsuragawa Hoshû was not content with his “dictionary of equivalence” to be found in the *Hokusa bunryaku*, for he was also compelled to present readers with (although not monolingual) a “periphrastic” dictionary as well. In doing so, he is able to relate the subtler nuances of language that risk concealment in translations of equivalence. An example we might consider is his definition of *kujira* or “whale.” In his dictionary found in the eleventh volume of his text we simply read, “*kitoi/ kujira.*” However, under the heading of *kujira* in his periphrastic dictionary, we read:

Kito. Both large and small. Barbaric islanders (*tôî*) prepare them for food. Oil is taken from them and when burned it leaves no mark on the lamp. They are not eaten on the mainland of Russia (*hon koku*). Kôdayû and his crew, during the winter of the year they arrived in Amchitka, managed to collect seven whales at one time.¹⁶

¹⁴ NSSSS5, 531-532.

¹⁵ Sidney I. Landau, *Dictionaries: The Art and Craft of Lexicography* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 9.

¹⁶ NSSSS5, 809.

This passage, as well as the definition for *isana toru* (“catching whales”) provided in Ishiguro’s periphrastic dictionary, both suggest some dissonance between the Edo period reader’s notion of *kujira/isana* and the meanings ascribed to it in the particular texts.¹⁷ In the case of the *Hokusa bunryaku*, we begin to see how ethnic dietary differences are encoded in the relationship between the peripheral barbarian (*tôï*) and the imperial center (*hon koku*), terms extrapolated from a domestic understanding of center and periphery (particularly in Japan’s (*hon koku*) relationship with Ezo (*tôï*). In fact, in both the dictionaries and the descriptive prose of later Edo period castaway accounts we begin to see the difficulties in translation, as hierarchic conditions and ideological concepts are translated into terms such as *dochaku-* (native-), *kuronbô* (position of servitude generally associated with dark skin), *hakujin* (white person), *dojin* (savage), *yakunin* (official), *kijin* (higher ranking official), *shimabito* (islander), *kôkoku* (empire), *teikoku* (empire), *zokusho* (colony) and other phrases that challenge any logic of equivalency. For now, let us shift our attention away from the act of translating words, and instead consider how experiences and conditions taking place in colonial spaces of the Pacific relate to each other. For the remainder of the chapter we shall focus specifically on the port

¹⁷ Ishiguro’s dictionary is discussed in Chapter 2. It is not the focus of this chapter since it is a dictionary of *Japanese* terms that appear in the preface to *Tokei monogatari*. In short, it is a lexicon attached to the *Tokei monogatari* and influenced by *kokugaku* etymological interests in recovering a “native” language. It also stands as some of the clearest evidence of literary crossover in these texts. The definition in question reads, “*Isana toru*—referring to the *isana* (勇魚) that appears in the *Manyôshû*, it is also called *kujira* (鯨). It is used in the text [*Tokei monogatari*] to refer to the [longer] phrase to which it is connected— “*Isana toru umi*”—a *makura kotoba* (poetic phrase). Ishiguro’s dictionary is in manuscript form in the Maeda Sonkeikaku Bunkô in Tokyo. Both Katsuragawa Hoshû’s periphrastic definition of *kito* and Ishiguro’s periphrastic definition of *isana* demonstrate a surplus in meaning that resists being relegated to a logic of equivalency between languages.

brothel as a site in which notions of gender and masculinity are translated, before tracing just how the categories of race and ethnicity come to be related to readers of these late Edo texts.

In one of the many accounts relating the shipwreck and eventual repatriation of Nakahama Manjirô—Japan’s most famous Edo period castaway—we find a record of his first impressions of Oahu Island. After making a passing comparison to the river entrance leading to the markets of Osaka, his description continues: “At this international commercial center, there are many wholesalers from various countries, as well as tea houses and brothels,” (諸国の交易所にて、国々の問屋多く、又茶屋・女郎屋などもあり).¹⁸ While his account draws our attention to the close ties between prostitution and transnational colonial commerce in early nineteenth century Pacific ports, it is by no means the only reference to the space of the brothel or the figure of the prostitute in Edo period castaway accounts.

¹⁸ This citation is taken from a relatively popular and well-circulated text probably published in 1853 by the Edo publisher Sôrôken. The author goes by the penname of Nibui Tsûshi or perhaps Don Tsûshi (鈍通子, “The Dull Translator”) and while the *gedai* or cover title is *Manjirô hyôryûki* (満次郎漂流記) the cover page title (*mikaeshi*) is simply *Hyôryûki*. Unlike most Edo period castaway accounts, which were handwritten documents, this text was mass-produced in woodblock print form.

literature. Taking the colonial port brothel to be what Mary Louise Pratt calls a “contact zone,” we can see just how Japanese castaway accounts come to translate their experiences in such international spaces into more familiar lexicons and codes of humor.¹⁹ Considering accounts of seduction at sea, we may trace the shifting relations between gender, national identity, and colonial formations in the Pacific over the course of the nineteenth century. Depictions of these encounters between foreign women and Japanese castaways are not simply “bare” or “unadorned” historical records relating fact. Taking a cue from Natalie Zemon Davis’s work on letters of remission in sixteenth century France, we might point to a certain literary crossover as the fears, desires, and humor relating gender difference and sexuality come to be imbued with the stylistic and narrative qualities of a domestic urban entertainment literature (*gesaku*).²⁰ Gesturing toward the dizzying interplay among local, national, and global-colonial spheres of gendered relations, we may begin to see the nineteenth century Pacific not as a space over-determined by a hegemonic “world system” or singular “masculinism,” but instead as an emerging and negotiated space mediated through translations “built from imperfect equivalences.”²¹

¹⁹ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 1-11.

²⁰ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 4.

²¹ Clifford. Cited earlier.

Scholars of early modern European travel writing have addressed the notion of masculinism in the context of travel. Ludmilla Kostova invokes this term in the context of food and sex for nineteenth century British travel writers venturing to the Balkans. She concisely concludes, “[m]erging with the other culture is permissible only under special circumstances and seems to be a prerogative of adventurous men above all.”²² Placing the Robinson Crusoe story within the context of the Enlightenment and one of its most dominant literary forms—the adventure-survival narrative—Martin Green argues that Daniel Defoe and his many imitators offer us nothing less than a, “proclamation of progressive values.”²³ In his first chapter on Rousseau’s interpretation of the Crusoe story in *Emile*, he also elaborates on a notion of “masculinism” as one important facet of these “progressive values.” He continues,

This new masculinism was not the result of indifference to women. Nor was it a calculated exploitation. It seems to be simply the dark or shadow side of a gender myth—the founding myth of both adventure and the Enlightenment, which summoned men to stand together against all their enemies—feudal tyrants, false priests, tax farmers—and spoke of lordship over women and children as their natural reward. Men were to be the sturdy yeoman class of the human race, each with his little kingdom of a home behind him, including his consort and his subjects.²⁴

²² Ludmilla Kostova, “Meals in Foreign Parts: Food in Writing by Nineteenth-Century British Travelers to the Balkans,” in *Journeys: The International Journal of Travel and Travel Writing* 4:1, 30.

²³ Martin Green, *The Robinson Crusoe Story* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 197.

²⁴ Green, 35.

Green's research on castaway narratives is limited to American and European texts and, as such, tends to articulate this notion of "masculinism" in terms of an Enlightenment that reflects certain universalized values.

However, at roughly the same time Defoe was "discovering" one set of literary and ideological possibilities of the castaway narrative, similar forms of travel writing that shared as their subject the adventures of distressed and shipwrecked sailors also began to proliferate independently in Japan and other areas of Asia. The invention of a specific Japanese textual category of castaway account or *hyôryûki* in the early seventeenth century has been considered in terms of diplomatic repercussions that transpire in East Asia with the collapse of the Ming Dynasty.²⁵ Thus it would be false to suggest that western castaway accounts had any direct influence on the production of Japanese *hyôryûki*, nonetheless by the late eighteenth century we begin to see increased contact between Europeans and Japanese castaways and with it, the emergence of eyewitness accounts of western colonial spaces in the Pacific by repatriated castaways. While Japanese castaways increasingly returned with stories of drift and subsequent repatriation via colonial ports around the Pacific, their texts came to be inflected by an historical process of global expansion and the forms of knowledge, technology, and industry that accompanied it. Immanuel Wallerstein and others have discussed these increasingly

²⁵ See in particular the fourth chapter of Arano Yasunori's, *Kinsei Nihon to higashi Ajia* (Tokyo: Tôkyô Daigaku Shuppankai, 1998), 117-157.

globalized conditions under the rubric of “the modern world-system.”²⁶ In these terms, the production and dissemination of castaway stories in different parts of the world represent what we might call a transnational literary form, albeit one that related sometimes strikingly different responses to globalized colonial conditions.

As has already been demonstrated, with the return of Daikokuya Kôdayû and Isokichi from Russia in 1792, we see a dramatic shift from earlier forms of *hyôryûki* to texts that clearly document the rapidly changing terrain of the Pacific brought about by Western colonial expansion. References to prostitution abroad by Japanese castaways can be found in earlier accounts, however not until Katsuragawa Hoshû devoted a substantial section of the *Hokusa bunraku* to the topic of Kôdayû’s encounters with prostitutes in Russia, does it appear as an inter-textual theme.²⁷ The

²⁶ Attempting to place castaway narratives in a historical context other than the oftentimes hermetically sealed national literary or historical models, we have few options other than considering the global or Pacific spaces which they represent and from which they are born. While Euro-centric in perspective, Wallerstein’s notion of a modern world-system is helpful and appears to have exerted some influence on more directly relevant research such as Martin Green’s work on castaways and more recent attempts to write global environmental histories of the early modern world. See, John F. Richards, *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). Wallerstein’s macro-historical project is best represented by a three volume series simply titled, *The Modern World System*. Unfortunately his understanding of Japan’s role in this “modern world-system” is never articulated, or only tangentially articulated as a victim of Dutch hegemony over Indo-Sino-Japanese trade networks. See, Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600- 1750* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 107. One significant problem with Wallerstein’s approach is that it seems to strip away any possibility for agency, instead falling back upon the supremacy of economic forces. For example, he writes, “Incorporation into the capitalist world-economy was never at the initiative of those being incorporated. The process derived rather from the need of the world-economy to expand its boundaries, a need which was itself the outcome of pressures internal to the world-economy.” See, *The Second Era of Great Expansion of the Capitalist World-Economy, 1730-1840s* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1989), 129. In doing so, change on a localized level appears as something simply imposed from the outside, and not something negotiated through appropriation, invention, and resistance—a position taken in this project.

²⁷ Despite being considered “the world’s oldest profession,” except for one brief reference to the word for *asobime* (prostitute) in the dictionary found in *Annan koku hyôryû monogatari*, I have yet to

seventh volume of this text relates Kôdayû's experiences during his visit to the metropolitan center of St. Petersburg, where he eventually received an audience with Ekaterina Alexeyevna or Catherine the Great and permission to return home with the aid of Adam Laxman. Comprised of ten separate subsections, this volume documents various social institutions found in Russia, including schools, apothecaries, hospitals, orphanages, banks, and theaters.²⁸ The final and most substantial section is simply titled *Jôroya* (娼家) or "Brothels."²⁹ Setting the tone for numerous later accounts of foreign brothels by Japanese castaways, Kôdayû's sexual prowess is unabashedly emphasized as his detailed description of the brothel moves us through the waiting room into a large dancing room and onto the multi-roomed bedchambers of the prostitutes. It becomes apparent that his knowledge of the brothel is based on something more than a cursory tour by a lower ranking maid (*koshimoto*), as his eye turns to the gold threads decorating the bed linens, the embroidery of the bed covers, and the number of pillows on the bed. His description of the contents of this room abruptly ends as he comes to the lower ranking maid's bed and concludes by letting the reader know that, "the fee is five

find any references to prostitution in castaway accounts pre-dating the *Hokusa bunryaku*. See *Edo hyôryûki sôshû*, vol. 2, 276.

²⁸ The seventh volume (*kan no nana*) of the *Hokusa bunryaku* is in NSSSS5, 775-783.

²⁹ Ibid, 782-783. Ayuzawa Shintarô also briefly mentions this passage on Kôdayû's visit to the brothels of St. Petersburg in his, *Hyôryû: Sakoku jidai no kaigai hatten* (Tokyo: Geibundô, 1956), 186-192.

silver pieces with food and drink costing extra.”³⁰ It also becomes clear that this is not his last visit to this bordello. We read:

Afterwards, when returning from the palace, Kôdayû happened to pass in front of this house when suddenly the young maid (*koshimoto*) saw him. While saying, “please, please come join us,” the other prostitutes (*yûjodomo*) inside also came out and he was entertained by them in various ways (*samazama ni motenashi*). They then asked him to spend the evening and they recommended drink and food. When it came time to find a companion, five high-ranking ladies were chosen (*sate aite wo sadamubeshi tote nataka kyûjo gonin wo erami dasu*). Being such a rare customer (*mezurashiki marôdo nareba*), the women began to fight among themselves over the chance to sleep with him and it was decided to settle the matter by drawing lots (*darekare to aite wo arasohishi yue kuji ni shite*). A prostitute called Elizavetta chose the lucky straw, however, in the end all five of the prostitutes crowded around him throughout the night.³¹

From the inviting calls of the young woman he met on his first visit, to the fight that ensues among the higher ranking prostitutes, an interesting inversion takes place in which Kôdayû himself becomes the object of desire. Implicit in this passage is the Japanese male’s superiority over his Russian counterparts (after all, he is such a “rare customer”), and his ability to occupy the attention, if not the beds, of five different women. The account concludes by mentioning that Kôdayû received numerous expensive presents from Elizavetta before his departure to Japan, suggesting that he was one customer whom she could not forget.

Because *hyôryûki* by definition involve the adventures of Japanese men beyond the boundaries of Japan, it is understandable that most male-female

³⁰ NSSSS5, 782-783.

³¹ Ibid. 783.

encounters in these texts focus on the Japanese male castaway and foreign women.³² Furthermore, the “inversion of desire” that we see in Kôdayû’s visit is also common in other accounts, sometimes being carried to the extreme. Among the hundreds of Japanese castaway narratives that remain today from the Edo period, there are few in which the main protagonist is female.³³ However, this is not to say that the female body remains completely absent from what is otherwise the story of men. When women do appear in these narratives, they are frequently contextualized in terms of a certain homo-sociality characteristic of this male-oriented world and

³² Annual oaths taken by sailors at coastal shrines frequently forbade, among other things, sleeping with prostitutes and bringing women on board ships. Furthermore, while women obviously did go on boats, taboos regarding women on the sea are quite common even in the earliest written records. See for example, *Tosa nikki* in *Nihon koten bungaku zenshû: Tosa nikki, Kagero nikki*, (Matsumura Seiichi, et al., eds.) (Tokyo: Shôgakkan, 1973), 29-68. For a study of women at sea in a western context see, David Cordingly, *Women Sailors and Sailors’ Women: An Untold Maritime History* (New York: Random House, 2001). For a more literary expression of this male-dominated world of the ship, particularly in the context of the American whaling industry, see the 94th chapter of *Moby Dick* (“A Squeeze of the Hand”) in Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick or, The Whale* (Charles Feildelson, ed.) (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1964), 532-533.

³³ Kobayashi Shigefumi briefly mentions a few examples of women involved in castaway accounts in his *Nipponjin ikoku hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 2000), 50-51. These include Takadaya Kahei’s mistress who was unfortunate enough to be caught on board the *Kanze maru* when it was taken by Russians in revenge for Golovin’s capture in 1812 and an account in the *Taishû hyôkyaku kiji* (台州漂客記事) of 1613 where we read about a woman on board a ship that drifted to Taiwan (倭婦烏般薩一口). Under the *Kijitsu hen* section of the *Kôshinroku* (盍簪録) one Itô Tôgai (伊藤東涯) comments that this woman was sacrificed to the gods as the boat approached Taiwan. See also, *Ishii Kendô korekushon Edo hyôryûki sôshû, dai ikkan* (Tokyo: Nihon Hyôronsha, 1992), 91-92. Also see pages 504-527 in this same volume for letters written by Japanese women abroad that Kobayashi does not mention. Kobayashi does cite two other cases briefly mentioned in Nakahama Akira, *Nakahama Manjirô no shôgai* (Tokyo: Fujibô, 1971), 10. The first is to a *geisha* named Osome from Yanagibashi, Edo who, in 1859, was rescued by American sailors and brought to Hawai’i, educated and eventually employed as a teacher in San Francisco. The second is a daughter of a Kagoshima fisherman named Oharu, who apparently married an American and took American citizenship, before returning to Japan to work as a translator for the minister of foreign affairs (Oguri Kôzuke no suke Tadamasa) in 1860. Finally, Kimura Ki mentions several accounts of Japanese women abroad before the Meiji period in the first two chapters of his *Kaigai ni katsuyaku shita Meiji no josei* (Tokyo: Shibundô, 1963), 1-51.

reflect a collective erotic imagination circulating among men. These playful moments stand out in stark contrast to the otherwise grim travails of distressed sailors, but even more so, these passages are foregrounded by the relative infrequency with which the female body otherwise does reveal itself within the male-oriented space of the ship. Sometimes in dreams or as spirits, at other times taking a more corporeal form as colonial governess, missionary wife, or port prostitute, when the female body is mentioned, it is oftentimes done so in a sexualized manner. These representations frequently break from a mode of narration that is matter-of-fact in its presentation and shifts to a significantly more literary mode of articulation.

Indicative of this general scarcity of women, it is sometimes the case that women are purposefully written into the narrative despite their absence. Such is the case with the *Funaosa nikki* (船長日記) of 1822.³⁴ Claiming to faithfully record the testimony of the sailor Jûkichi based on his years of drift throughout the Pacific, the author Ikeda Hirochika at one point seems to betray his sense of editorial transparency by arbitrarily writing a woman into the text. Jûkichi begins to describe dreams of two priest-like figures (not “women”) that repeatedly board the distressed *Tokujô maru*. Their presence on the ship is described mysteriously, and as they claim to have brought a boat to rescue the castaway crew, Jûkichi is no longer able to distinguish between dream and reality (夢とも現ともわかず). As we have already seen, this literary trope of confusing dream and waking states was not unique to this

³⁴ NSSSS5, 503-550.

castaway narrative.³⁵ However, unlike other literary forms that adopt this trope (such as *waka* poetry), in this case the dreaminess and doubt in the narrator's voice threatens to disrupt the veracity of Jūkichi's story, forcing our translator/scribe (Ikeda) to intervene with the hope of recouping some semblance of believability. Ikeda's intervention and digression from Jūkichi's story appears clearly marked off with "two spaced" indentations or *niji sage*.³⁶ Suddenly taking an even more fantastic turn, Ikeda delves into a fairly long metaphysical exegesis on the spirit of Japanese ships (船玉).³⁷ He then suggests that the apparitions that Jūkichi sees are perhaps the ship's spirit leaving the ship. As proof, he cites the interesting (yet, completely unrelated) case of an earlier distressed ship—the *Jizai maru tsūkichi sen* of Owari.³⁸ Ikeda's editorial commentary continues:

³⁵ We might note that this poetic allusion as it originally appears in the *Ise monogatari* is a highly sexualized exchange between lovers who meet only once. See, *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū: Taketori monogatari, Ise monogatari, Yamato monogatari, Heichū monogatari* (Katagiri Yōichi, et al., eds.) (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1972), 192.

³⁶ While *Funaosa nikki* was first produced in hand-written or *shahon* form, this practice of indentation remains remarkably consistent in the various manuscripts I have seen. The illustration used here is from a manuscript housed in the Meiji University library in Tokyo, Japan. I refer to this as the "Motoori Ōhira Text," since he has included at the beginning, his personal impressions after reading it. The *Hashigaki* (Preface) is written by Ikeda Hirochika and is dated the 11th month of *Bunsei* 5 (~1822). Yoshida Nakayama Biseki has written the *Batsu* (Afterward) and dated it the 17th day of the 4th month, *Bunsei* 6. The editors of the *katsuji* version of this text in *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryō shūsei* includes Motoori's comments at the end of the text (after the *Batsu*) which suggests the editors may have been working with a slightly later copy of this text. Nonetheless, considering the dates of the Preface by Hirochika (identical to the Motoori Text), either an Edo period scribe or the editors of the *katsuji* version must have mistakenly read the date on the *Batsu* to be 17th day of the 4th month, *Bunka* 6 (1809!). This is four years before Jūkichi's departure. See NSSSS5, 548.

³⁷ Also written 船靈, *funadama* are considered the spirit of the ship. For a detailed description see, Sudō Toshiichi, ed., *Fune* (Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1975), 317-347.

³⁸ I have not yet found any documents other than *Funaosa nikki* that relate the events that took place on this 'haunted' ship. My point here though has nothing to do with the accuracy of Ikeda's story, but more his rationalization as editor and scribe of *Funaosa nikki*.

On its way back from Toba, having gone fairly far out to sea from the harbor, a woman appeared from below deck. She was one of those prostitutes (賣女) known as a *hashirigane* who must have come aboard when the ship was in Toba, and having fallen asleep was apt to forget about the departure time. To continue on like this would have become an unusual problem (其儘出帆する事もまれには有事ならば). The whole crew appeared to have acted appropriately (糺しけりに) and thought it was suspicious that not one among them had seen her [beforehand]. They decided that this woman should be properly returned to Toba, and as they were setting their course they were approached by a single fishing boat. Requesting that fisherman's assistance, they lowered the woman into the boat and immediately this fishing boat disappeared. While thinking that this situation was becoming more and more strange they continued to sail on and after making some progress, a breeze suddenly picked up. Turning into a dangerous gale, the ship was in the end destroyed. This story too, is certainly a case in which the ship's spirit transformed itself into a woman and escaped. Considering this case, Jûkichi's dream can be thought to be [a manifestation] of the ship's spirit.³⁹

Ikeda's comment, "to continue on like this," that is, with a *hashirigane* on board, "would have become an unusual problem," reveals the unusual nature of women aboard ships. Furthermore, because none of the crewmembers are responsible for her appearance and their actions are said to have otherwise been "appropriate," we might also assume the ethical ramifications for bringing prostitutes on board. Represented as both a manifestation of the *funa dama* embodied in rituals of ship construction,⁴⁰ as well as simply a local prostitute, the

³⁹ NSSSS5. 516.

⁴⁰ Rituals of ship construction are never completely standardized or codified throughout the archipelago during the Edo period, however according to Sakurada Katsutoku; they serve as a ritualized sacrifice to the sea in exchange for safe and profitable travels. Frequently they involve the placement of sacred gendered objects (including a lock of female hair and female dolls) in a small compartment at the base of the mast. These are meant to embody the ship's spirit (*funa dama*). See *Fune*, 330- 347. In a similar vein we see in *Jirôkichi hyôryûjin monogatari*, another reference to a shrine virgin or *miko san* that comes aboard the *Chôja maru* in 1839. See, "Hyôryûjin Jirôkichi

female body here takes on a doubled (and contradictory) role as both object of sexual desire to be controlled and as a divine body whose absence leads to the destruction of the ship.

Illustration 3.5. Page from the manuscript copy of *Funaosa Nikki* detailing the nature of ship spirits (*funadama*). Notice the use of “two-spaced” indentation (*niji sage*) to mark off the commentary of the writer Ikeda Hirochika from the ostensible testimony of the castaway Jūkichi. I am grateful to Mrs. Kobayashi of the Meiji Central Library, Tokyo for letting me examine and reproduce this text.

monogatari,” in Takase Shigeo, *Kitamae bune Chōja maru no hyōryū* (Tokyo: Seisui Shoin, 1974), 218. In this text too, the female body is explicitly described in terms of both their potent spiritual power, and their more earthly libidinal powers.

In another case that took place nearly a half a century later, we again see the mention of a prostitute, but this time it is no mere ghost story and the encounter takes place on land. Having arrived in the busy waters just off Shanghai aboard the *Ôgi maru*, the castaway Mameda Sambei awoke one day in a particularly adventurous mood. In his personal travel account titled *Shanghai kôki* 上海航記 (1869), we read of how he spent the sunny morning discussing among his fellow samurai the best way to spend the day of *Chôyô* (重陽) in the first year of Meiji (1868).⁴¹

Today being a holiday, I prepared to go ashore in the company of three Karatsu men (Amemori, Yamaguchi, and Furukawa). We walked around enjoying this and that and, if only for having a tale to tell upon our return to Japan, we went to a brothel [*girô*, 妓楼] to get a look. Unlike the brothels of our country, there are ten people per house. It is said that in fact there are more than 10,000 prostitutes [*gijo*, 妓女] in Shanghai, with the more expensive ones costing seventy dollars [ドル] and the cheaper ones costing two dollars.⁴²

As with Kôdayû's description of the St. Petersburg brothel, Sambei's narrative also brings us into one of these houses. He provides a brief description of how to select a woman, before leading us into one of the smaller rooms used for sex. Shifting to more personal details concerning his choice for the day—a sixteen-year

⁴¹ *Chôyô* falls on the 9th day of the 9th month and is one of the five *sekkû* holidays in the Chinese and old Japanese lunar calendars.

⁴² My reading and translations of *Shanghai kôki* are based on the text as it appears in *Kinsei hyôryûki shû*, (Arakawa Hidetoshi, ed.) (Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1969), 437-468. The entry for 9/9 begins on page 451. For references to the history of prostitution in Shanghai see, Christian Henriot, *Prostitution and Sexuality in Shanghai: A Social History, 1849-1949* (Nôel Castelin, trans.) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

old beauty by the name of Ashun—we sense the seductive nature of Sambei’s prose intensify as this young woman teasingly laughs at the vitality of our aged narrator. His sexual conquest finally concludes with a moment of post-coital gloating among his castaway friends, before a more literary, if not homo-social, climax is attained through the exchange of humorous poetry riddled with wordplay and sexual innuendo.

When departing, most Chinese people say “*chin chin*” and this is fairly standard. When leaving that brothel of the Eastern Clouds, they all accompanied us to the gated exit and I found the perfect words for the moment:

*Beyond sixty and still bedding the women in China,
At my morning departure, we say “chin chin.”*

(六十経て／からに女と／寝々すれば／朝のわかれに／チンチンと言う)

Since the Karatsu samurai were an interesting bunch, upon hearing this they replied,

*These women working a high class joint—
Whether they turn it on or not in the evening,
It must be painful for this old man’s lantern.*

(上開の／女たく夜は／とぼさぬも／ともすもつらき／老のちようちん)

This caused great laughter (是にて大きに笑ひ打ちつれて), and we returned to the ship together as a group.⁴³

The remarkably vulgar content of these poems aside,⁴⁴ they stand as brilliant examples of otherwise good poetic form, structure, and metaphoric imagery. The ease with which he marks his departure with a poem betrays the desperate

⁴³ *Kinsei hyōryūki shū*, 452.

⁴⁴ The first poem plays on the homophonic relation between the Chinese expression of farewell (*chin chin*) and a fairly vulgar Japanese expression for “penis” (*chin chin*). Furthermore, the poetics of the poem is also enhanced through the use of *shin shin* (“to sleep,” or “to bed,” but also an onomatopoeic term to express the act of urination) and *chin chin*. The second poem suggests a metaphorical relationship between the paper lanterns or *chōchin* that the women must decide to light or not, and the old man’s scrotal sac.

conditions of a castaway and recalls a characteristic pose more familiar to readers of popular Edo fiction (*gesaku*). But perhaps even more closely related to the literary tradition of *gesaku* is the invocation of “great laughter” incited among Sambei and his friends, and we might assume, extended to readers of his lascivious text. For having read the comic poetic exchange in its entirety, are we not also invited to participate in this “great laughter?” This use of *ôwarai* or “great laughter” is in no way singular. In fact, it echoes throughout not only the pages of this text composed in 1868, but also numerous other castaway accounts from the late Edo period.⁴⁵

Returning again to the *Hokusa bunryaku*, we see even in this earliest account of a foreign brothel an invocation of laughter throughout. Immediately preceding the description of the Russian brothel, our castaway—Kôdayû— is first asked by a woman in the service of Catherine the Great whether he had been to a Russian brothel. Upon replying that he had not, we are told that this attendant then “whispered something to her husband,” (*otto ni nan yaran sasayaki*)⁴⁶ before Kôdayû is quickly taken away to a mysterious building. Asking what sort of place he has been brought to, he receives no clear answer, only laughter (*waratte kotaezu*). After musical performances and the pairing of men and women for dancing, he again asks where he might be, only to again be confronted with laughter before

⁴⁵ For a reading of late Edo laughter see, H.D. Harootunian’s “Late Tokugawa Culture and Thought,” in *The Emergence of Meiji Japan* (Marius B. Jansen, ed.) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 60.

⁴⁶ NSSSS5, 782.

confirming that in fact it was a brothel.⁴⁷ Here the whispering and laughter work to construct a sense of mystery for the readers which produces a certain seductive quality that will be seen in other castaway accounts dealing with the space of the brothel.

As with the later *Shanghai kôki*, these moments of “great laughter” in earlier *hyôryûki* are also frequently contextualized in conjunction with narratives of the ribald. In *Jirôkichi hyôryûjin monogatari* written in 1848, we find examples of this laughter invoked when the castaway Jirôkichi describes sneaking into the woman’s steam bath in Kamchatka.⁴⁸ Or again in Sitka where, introduced to the sport of snow skiing, Jirôkichi comments on the less talented novices saying, “but those who were bad would run off course and the women would flash us their asses, and even reveal their privates, which they couldn’t cover it up! This was a great laugh,” (女なとハ尻まで出し、おなさけ所出候ても隠す事不相成、大笑也).⁴⁹

However, it is Jirôkichi’s detailed description of a visit to a brothel (*gorôya* or *merôya*) in Hawai’i that titillates the reader with exaggerated danger and suspense, even if the brothel visit itself is too horrific an experience for Jirôkichi to

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 782.

⁴⁸ The passage reads, “We crawled into the woman’s bath [where we found] a steam bath six feet by six feet, inside of which was a lower level and an upper level, then a third level and even a fourth level, but above this, nothing steamier. The entrance was a double layered door which came together as tight as an *inryô* purse, like a warehouse door. The women on the top level actually beat the women on the lower level. Putting hot water into something like a two-handled basin, they dipped a bundle of ten bird feathers in it and while whacking their bodies, they gazed at us and broke out into great laughter, pointing their fingers (大笑して指を出し). After having a few words with the women, there was more great laughter and no letting up with the finger pointing. We also thought it was hilarious (大笑ひして又候指を出し出し).” See, *Kitamae bune Chôja maru no hyôryû*, 232.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 235.

enjoy.⁵⁰ On the trip to this brothel, Jirôkichi and his companion Kinzô are first confronted with a road full of lizards which they are expected to crush with their feet. Their response to this experience is “terror” (私共恐ろしと申候へハ) and it foreshadows the even more hellish scene that awaits them (and readers) upon the arrival at their destination.

With their hair let down they covered themselves with their hands. There were twenty women crawling out of the river naked and rinsing off with muddy water. I asked who these women were and they told us they were the whores (女郎) [we had come to see.] When taking a good look, [I noticed] they were black and they were missing their bottom two front teeth. Asking about why they don't have front teeth, we were told that since they steal sugar from the master's fields to eat, when they are born, the master has their bottom two teeth removed.⁵¹

Like a group of grotesque mermaids, they emerge from the river, their bodies racially coded and their dental mutilations explained in terms of a system of colonial control on the plantation.⁵² Upon entering the “house of pleasure,” Jirôkichi describes a room full of foreign men and native women picking at the

⁵⁰ Takayama Jun has a chapter on the sexual hospitality (*seiteki kantai*) of native Hawaiian women in his book-length study of Japanese castaways who returned from Hawai'i in 1807. While this chapter does not go into much detail concerning the castaways' experiences with prostitutes, it does trace the sexualization of native Hawaiian women by early Western explorers to the islands. See Takayama Jun, *Edo jidai Hawai hyôryûki: "Iban hyôryû kikoku roku" no kenshô* (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobô, 1997), 145-150.

⁵¹ See *Kitamae bune Chôja maru no hyôryû*, 227.

⁵² Citing Edouard A. Stackpole, Katherine Plummer has suggested that the reference to the “black” women might refer to, “an area of the island that was inhabited exclusively by blacks, called ‘New Guinea.’” However, it should be noted that the use of “black” (*kuroi*) to refer to skin color does not necessarily indicate someone of African origins. This term was also frequently used to describe non-Africans as well. See Katherine Plummer, *A Japanese Glimpse at the Outside World 1839-1843* (Fairbanks, AL: The Limestone Press, 1991), 141.

cooked flesh of beasts that they proceed to consume with their fingers, but which he cannot bring himself to try.⁵³ Over the course of this passage, we begin to sense Jirôkichi's growing sense of alarm and discomfort. But even as this passage directly elucidates the asymmetric racial and gender relations within a particularly colonial space, the story concludes with a return to the playfulness of exaggerated danger and we again see the emergence of laughter as Jirôkichi secretly hatches his plot to escape:

Looking at the figures of these whores, it was very difficult to sit in that seat. By pretending to take a piss, I would escape that hell (小便に行様にして無三に逃出し) only to forget the road home. I ended up wandering on a mountain road and was just hoping to make it to the sea. It was very difficult going, when at last I made it to the Cantonese House. The Cantonese, who are called *bake*, served me watermelons with sugar. Heishirô was there and he asked me why I came back so quickly. I explained to them my travails and even the Cantonese were laughing (カント仁も笑ひ居申候). The next day the rest of the sailors returned and everyone was asking how I managed to escape. We all celebrated our safe return with drinking.⁵⁴

The reference from *Funaosa nikki* to the *hashirigane* remains an example of a specific and quite localized type of prostitution (limited to the port of Toba) and the citation from *Hokusa bunryaku* describes prostitution as it takes place in St. Petersburg, far away from any Pacific port. On the other hand, Manjirô's

⁵³ The description of this brothel in *Jirôkichi hyôryûjin monogatari* is significantly from the description we read in *Bandan* and *Tokei monogatari*. See, *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryô shûsei, dai gokan*, (Tanigawa Kenichi, et.al., eds.) (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobô, 1985).

⁵⁴ See *Kitamae bune Chôja maru no hyôryû*, 228. As for the term *musan* (無三), I take it to be a reference to the Buddhist concept of 無三悪趣願. In short, this is the first of the 48 promises of Amida bodhisatva to sentient beings. The promise states that in the Pure Land one will not find the three bad levels of existence; hell, hungry ghosts, and beasts. I have found that this term, translated here as "hell," appears in other comical texts for certain ironic or exaggerated effect. For example,

Hyôryûki, *Shanghai kôki*, and *Jirôkichi hyôryûjin monogatari* provide concise descriptions of prostitution as it was taking place within the colonized space of ports that catered to the sexual desire of globe-trotting merchants. As such, they reflect the more abstract relations of gender, race, and national identity that circulated throughout the nineteenth century Pacific. It is important to note that while these overtly sexualized spaces may have revealed significant differences to more localized practice within Japan, the language and the form used to describe them is remarkably familiar, insofar that it borrows directly from a more domesticated literary tradition of brothel travel within Japan. The formalized use of laughter and narrative suspense, particularly in conjunction with descriptions of sexual encounters at the brothel, is the very foundation of more familiar *gesaku* and even the earliest *chônin* (urban) literature such as Ikku Jippensha's *Tôkai dôchû hizakurige* 東海道中膝栗毛 (begun in 1802)⁵⁵ or Ihara Saikaku's *Kôshoku ichidai otoko* 好色一代男 (first published in 1682).⁵⁶ The laughter that reverberates

see episode 32 in "Kinofu ha kefu no monogatari," in *Nihon koten bungaku taikai 100: Edo waraibanashi shû* (Odaka Toshio, ed.) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970), 60-61.

⁵⁵ These are just two of the more obvious examples of vulgar and libidinous fiction popular in the Edo period. The similarity to the castaway accounts might be best demonstrated with a reminder of one of Kitahachi's many "sexploits." In the second part of the fourth book of *Hizakurige*, one of the heroes, under the pretense of going to urinate, manages to find a young woman more than willing to provide him with a sexual escape. Upon being discovered in the middle of things by an even younger neighbor boy, he realizes that this woman is completely crazy. Like our castaway Jirôkichi, he attempts to escape, only to be discovered by this woman's father. It is not until Kita's traveling partner and comic sidekick, Yajirôbei, intervenes to save him. Of course, this example too, ends with "great laughter." See *Hizakurige or Shanks' Mare* (Thomas Satchell, trans.) (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1963), 151-153. Also see, *Nihon meicho zenshû 22 kan—Hizakurige sonota, jô* (Tokyo: Nihon Meicho Zenshû Kankôkai, 1927), 188-189.

⁵⁶ *Nihon koten bungaku taikai*, 47: *Saikaku shû, jô* (Tsutsumi Seiji, et al., eds.) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970), 37-215.

throughout these texts may be considered part of what H.D. Harootunian has referred to as the “culture of play” in late Edo literary and graphic culture.⁵⁷ Citing Amino Yoshihiko, he claims that the importance of play or *asobi* in late Edo culture, was nothing less than an expression of freedom from the more rigid social systems that kept people in their place. Referring specifically to “excursion narratives and tales of travel,” Harootunian also suggests a more figurative reading when he writes, “Yet the reference to movement evinced still another meaning associated with *asobi*, which was to authorize crossing established geographical and social boundaries.”⁵⁸ In this light, he reads the laughter in both *Jippensha* and *Shikitei Samba* as the, “recognition of the familiar made to appear strange and even alien.”⁵⁹ In the case of late Edo *hyôryûki* we might conclude that it is just the opposite, that is, laughter in these texts seems to mark the recognition of the strange and alien made to appear familiar.

⁵⁷ Harootunian, challenging the common assumption that culture simply reflects the political, social, and material realities, instead suggests that *gesaku* fiction was able to project a particular form that existed on the horizon of thought and which preceded the full integration of consumer and commodification. For example he writes, “Urban expansion and cultural participation required new definitions. New forms of cultural production accompanying the expansion of cities collectively signified what we may call, from playful literature (*gesaku*), the ‘culture of play.’ By the end of the eighteenth century this had exceeded the limits of its own formal constraints to reveal in vague outline the possibility of constructing a social imagination vastly different from the one authorized by the Tokugawa...The social identity of the ruled was fixed in a closed, hierarchic chain, resembling elements in a stable structure that reflected the order found in nature. Yet the material expansion of Edo as the hub of a world not yet imagined made it possible to challenge these fixed identities through the proliferation of different subject positions.” See, “Late Tokugawa Culture and Thought,” in *The Emergence of Meiji Japan* (Marius Jansen, ed.) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 56-57.

⁵⁸ Harootunian, 58.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 60.

Scholars of prostitution in Japan frequently point towards the transition from the medieval (*chûsei*) to early modern (*kinsei*) periods in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as a move characterized by a system of greater control and regulation (*shûshô seido*, 集娼制度) over brothels.⁶⁰ Most scholars of gender history seem to consider this transition strictly within the context of a hermetically sealed country defined by feudal practice and insulated by *sakoku* (“closed country”) policy.⁶¹ On the other hand, Watanabe Kenji has framed the development of Japanese seaport brothels in terms of an economic development theory much more in line with the early stages of capitalism and the modern world system.⁶² For at least one Edo period writer these ostensibly irreconcilable positions were of little concern. Writing in his *Keizai yôroku* 経済要録,⁶³ we find the early nationalist thinker and Dutch Learning scholar, Satô Nobuhiro, proposing a unique solution to the countries domestic market woes:

If there is shoreline in the vicinity of one’s domain, the land should be well surveyed and a port should be opened. If in fact, there is already an older port that exists, it should be improved so as to make it convenient for large ships to enter and leave. Those houses of pleasure (且其家作) should be made ostentatious and the number of

⁶⁰ See Watanabe Kenji, *Edo yûri jôsuiki* (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1994), 15.

⁶¹ *Nihon josei shi*, (Wakita Haruko, Hayashi Reiko, Nagahara Kazuko, eds.) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1987), 128-135.

⁶² Watanabe, 19-23.

⁶³ According to the *Kokusho sômokuroku*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1965), 17, the *Keizai yôroku* was first produced in manuscript form (*shahon*) in 1827, and still today there are several handwritten copies from the Edo period stored in various libraries throughout Japan. This would indicate that it was circulated, copied, and read for over thirty years before being mass-produced in woodblock print form in 1859. See also, *Nihon shisô taikei* (vol. 45) *Andô Shôeki Satô Nobuhiro hen* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1977), 359-570.

prostitutes (妓女娼婦) should certainly not be restricted, so as to encourage commerce among sea-bound ships from countries far and wide. (広く諸国ノ海船を湊会せしむべし) However when the brothels are rundown and there are no prostitutes, that port will naturally fail to prosper. When the port is no longer a booming market, (物産幅湊せざるときは) there is no reason why it might serve the national interests (国益).⁶⁴

While the development of regulated, licensed, and taxed brothels in Japanese port towns does seem to reflect a more common trend over the Edo period, Satô did not live long enough to see his suggestion implemented and foreign clientele overrunning his native brothels.⁶⁵ Like Manjirô's description of a Hawaiian port, this statement by Satô also recognizes the nature of more international, if not outright colonial-controlled space abroad.⁶⁶ However, a connection between domestic prostitution and the rapidly transforming ports throughout the Pacific does not only exist in the mind of this slightly eccentric economist. Early Meiji intellectual elites such as Fukuzawa Yukichi and Futabatei Shimei also argued for the development of international prostitution in the name of national prosperity.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Satô Nobuhiro's use of the word *kokukuni* here refers to "country," and not "domain" or "province" as it can sometimes be translated. This translation is based on Watanabe Kenji's citation of the text in *Edo yûri jôsuiki* (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1994), 44. See also, *Satô Nobuhiro shû* of *Kinsei shakai keizai gakusetsu taikai* (Ôgawa Shûmei, ed.) (Tokyo: Seibundô Shinkôsha, 1935), 21-60.

⁶⁵ While being exiled from Edo between 1832 and 1843, Satô appears to have regained his credibility later in life as one of the most important (and favored) consultants to *Rôjû* Mizuno Tadakuni. See, Harold Blitho, "The Tempô Crisis," in *The Emergence of Meiji Japan* (Marius Jansen, ed.) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 40-43.

⁶⁶ This is not surprising, considering his remarkable understanding of Russian and English expansion through global trade. See his, "Keizai yôryaku" in *Nihon shisô taikai* (vol. 45) *Andô Shôeki Satô Nobuhiro hen* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1977), 522-570.

⁶⁷ According to Yoshiyuki Nakai, Futabatei "argued that if Japan sent prostitutes to Siberia, their ensuing friendship with the Russians would cause the Russians to become friendlier toward Japan and to know more about the Japanese people, thus helping to avert the prospect of war between the

But returning to the late Edo period and the work of Watanabe Kenji we see that, along with the tightening of control over prostitution, there was also the establishment of a literary tradition of male domestic travel narratives represented by texts such as *Shokudô Ôkagami* 色道大鏡, *Nihon yûkaku sômoku* 日本遊廓總目, and *Shokoku irozato annai* 諸国色里案内.⁶⁸

A strong connection between this tradition of domestic brothel writing and the references to colonial brothels in castaway accounts is best demonstrated by the *Shanghai kôki* cited earlier. A considerable portion of the text focuses not only on Sambei's sexual escapades abroad, but also his conquests at home. The fact that his account includes encounters with prostitutes both at home and abroad produces a sense of consistency in the male gaze, whether the object of desire is the foreign or Japanese female body. Before his departure for China, Sambei begins his account with detailed descriptions of several trips to a teahouse in the "Pine Fields of the Rainbow" (*niji no matsubara*) in the Japanese port town of Karatsu.

I also heard that there happened to be a princess of sorts. An appropriate comical verse,

Five ryô fare to enjoy the sites of Tsushima.

Two for the rainbow of Matsubara.

(五りよふとは／かからで安し／対州と／唐津で忒りよふ／にじの松原)

Taking our time, we followed the road to a "tea house" called *Nigen jaya* in the middle of the pine grove. We took our rest with a young woman of 16 years. Seeing her bring out the tea, we were surprised to find such a rare beauty in the countryside. With her sash of

two peoples." See Yoshiyuki Nakai, "Futabatei Shimei (1864-1909)," in *Papers on Japan (Vol. 4)* (Cambridge: East Asian Research Center Harvard University, 1967), 32.

⁶⁸ Watanabe, 26-33.

pleasing purple *chijimen*, tucked into her *obi*, there were no words to describe her exquisite white face and the attractive way she held back her overflowing locks with one hand. For a moment speechless and gazing, I [eventually] asked,

*Could this be the Virgin of Amatsu,
So far away from her home of Miho?*
(天津乙女か三保ならぬども)

In time, she gestured to speak and with a slightly blushing face she recited,

*I am a child of a fisherwoman
Who lives in the rainbow of the pine grove.*
(虹の松原に住める蟹の子を)

She said this as she came running to serve us.⁶⁹

The “fare” mentioned in Sambei’s first poem can also be read as a direct reference to the price of a woman (not included in the translation above), and may recall the vulgarity with which our castaway describes the women in China. Furthermore, the verbal interaction between our aged Casanova and his “Princess” (御領) take on a seductive quality that is perhaps not as evident when Sambei is limited to rudimentary “brush talk” and more physical commingling. Certainly, the “black” prostitutes that Jirôkichi describes contrast strongly with the much more inviting figure of this “white” faced beauty, and perhaps “unlike Japan,” there are ten women to a room. But for all these differences, it is the remarkable similarity of Sambei’s two descriptions, both at home and in Shanghai, that suggest the adaptation of a masculine discourse of leisure to a new sphere of gendered relations within a trans-Pacific space. This is not only accomplished through the transposition of terms such as *gijo*, *girô*, *merô*, and *jorôya* (common domestic terms

⁶⁹ *Kinsei hyôryûki shû*, 440-441.

for “prostitute” and “brothel”), but also by successfully employing the narrative strategies of seduction commonly found in popular fiction.

Returning to *Funaosa nikki*, we find yet another example of how the rare appearance of a woman again comes to be transformed into a sexualized and vaguely threatening encounter that demonstrates both the inversion of desire and the triangulated relationship between two men and women.⁷⁰ This time the encounter between castaway (Jûkichi) and prostitute is arranged by Alexander Baranov, the governor and Russia-America Fur Company official.

Baranov seated Jûkichi at a table. Facing him were six incredibly attractive women (*fujin*). Baranov, having said something, caused one of these women to at last come and stand before Jûkichi. After touching her forehead, both shoulders, and chest with her hand as a form of veneration, She took Jûkichi’s cheeks in both hands and proceeded to lick his mouth (*kuchi wo namete yukitari*). Then the next woman came and did the same thing until all six had done it and returned to their original seats at the table. When this was finished, Baranov went into the inner room and in his wake, left Jûkichi alone facing these six women. Sweetened ice tea and other things were served while the women looked at Jûkichi and laughed. Jûkichi had no idea what was happening (重吉はいかなる譯か更に分らず). The sky turned a threatening blue. . . as night fell, everyone returned to the ships beginning with Captain Pigot.⁷¹

Marked by ominous references to threatening weather, while also presenting the opportunity for sexual encounter, the story continues with Baranov explaining to Jûkichi that the captain has no intention of actually returning him to Japan. Baranov then suggests that, if Jûkichi truly wishes to return home someday, he should instead

⁷⁰ The work of Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick in her, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985) has been helpful in negotiating the formulation of homosocial relations in these castaway accounts.

choose to remain in Sitka in the service of Baranov.⁷² At this point, a clearly troubled Jûkichi is torn. Weighing the benefits and problems of Baranov's offer "nervously in his head" (*kokoro moto naku omoju naraha*), the narrative draws itself out in indecision.⁷³ He goes back and forth on whether to sleep with the women, prays reverently to the god Kompira to protect him, before again contemplating his preferences for both the second and third women. Realizing the late hour, he resigns himself to having to be with these women throughout the night, only to remind himself that "making excuses usually leads to trouble" (*iiwake wo suru ni hotonto komaritari*).⁷⁴ Even after escaping to Captain Pigot's ship, he again recalls that third woman who offered herself to him as a far safer choice than his other option of once again crossing the seas that killed his crewmates.

In many ways similar to Kôdayû's, Jirôkichi's and even Sambei's accounts, this moment is also interesting in that it reveals the many levels on which seduction works within the narrative. For one, Baranov offers the women as a temptation to lure the Japanese sailor away from his rescuer (Captain Pigot) and thus keep him in Sitka for his own purposes. Associating Jûkichi's ultimate decision to either stay in or leave Sitka with his decision to sleep with one of the women that night, we as

⁷¹ See NSSSS5, 525.

⁷² Baranov leaves Jûkichi with the women, and suddenly everyone else has returned to the ships. In conversations with Professor Stephen Kohl, who has worked on translating this account for many years, he has pointed out that the author, Ikeda Hirochika, leaves this space of time unaccounted for, thus inviting the reader to imagine what happened between Jûkichi and the women.

⁷³ Ibid. 526

⁷⁴ Ibid. 526

readers are momentarily also lulled into wondering if Jûkichi will ever return home. This readerly seduction, like the “great laughter” we have already addressed, suggests that the very manner in which the story is told, with all its stops and starts—its suspense—is yet another literary technique of drawing the reader into the narrative.

It is important to mention that we have looked at only a handful of references to women in castaway accounts. For the purposes of demonstrating a strong connection between these texts and the diction and form of more domestic literary traditions, we focused here on admittedly more fanciful, if not vulgar passages. There is one other account that, while equally fanciful, appears to be exceptional in its overtly moral take on prostitution abroad. Providing us with a distinctly different portrait of prostitution in the mid-nineteenth century United States, Hikozô (also known by his adopted name of Joseph Heco) writes on the subject at various points in his *Hyôryûki* of 1863:

When adultery is discovered [in America], the entire fortune of the paramour is confiscated and is given to the lawful husband; the paramour is evicted from the residence, the woman severs her ties with the relatives and leaves home; she is thus forbidden to marry again; she makes her living for the rest of her life by selling her charms. The prostitutes of the west are all made up of groups of women who have had illicit sexual intercourse, and who themselves sell their charms. I have not heard of a case where parents have sold their children.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ This passage can be found in *Honkoku Hyôryûki* (reprint of Bunmei genryû sôsho daisankan 151-179) (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1915), 174. The translation here is Tosh Motofuji's found in, *Floating on the Pacific Ocean* (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1955), 72.

Or again later, we read in Heco's account,

In America the custom is one man to one woman, and when a man takes a wife, he is prohibited from either buying a prostitute or, it goes without saying, from keeping a mistress. If he transgresses, he is put in prison and undergoes punishment. Moreover, though men of means go into liquor establishments and make merry, there is no such thing as *shaku-tori* or *geisha*.⁷⁶

This somewhat exceptional account aside, we see that the ways of writing about women were not simply the result of an over-determined movement toward a singular and globalized masculinization of the sea-space. Instead we can begin to see how abstract notions of race and gender, methodologies of science and global trade, came to be translated into a hybrid language, that is never simply the castaway's alone. Despite the claim of our transparent scribe (Ikeda Hirochika) or the hollow excuse of our "Dull Translator" (Don Tsûshi), the voices that emerge from these texts reflect the appropriation of a localized *gesaku* literary culture, as much as they reflect the influence of a more formal textual category of *hyôryûki* as scholarly or investigative practice. Locating these many scenes of seduction into a larger space of emerging colonial conditions made possible by exploration, trans-oceanic trade, and whaling in the Pacific, it is tempting to fall back on the expediency of a term such as "modernity." However, if we are to invoke the term *modernity* to describe Wallerstein's "world system," we cannot simply see it as a model imposed from the outside, but instead as an emergent series of translations, "built on imperfect equivalencies." In the case of gender, we may in fact be dealing

⁷⁶ Ibid. 176. Translation is Tosh Motofuji's, *ibid.* 77-78.

with several modernities simultaneously. In the case of domestic prostitution, there is a historical movement toward tighter control and centralized rule under Tokugawa hegemony and the formation of urban society (Wakita, Watanabe). At the same time, a significant setting for late-Edo castaway narratives, the Pacific, becomes the site for a different form of prostitution informed by notions of empire and colony, race and class, and other terms (Wallerstein, Green) that require translation and a hybridization of language. When these two worlds come into contact in the castaway narrative, we begin to see the interrelations among the local, national, and global emerge. Perhaps a critical sensitivity to a plurality of modernities in circulation during the Edo or *kinsei* (“early modern”) period is what is called for, as we begin to unravel the translation and adaptation of concepts such as race, ethnicity, and nationality.



Illustration 3.6. Frontispiece to *Seiyō jijō*

An observant reader opening the cover of Fukuzawa Yukichi's phenomenally popular handbook of Western culture and thinking—*Seiyō jijō* (西洋事情, *Conditions in the West*)—might take pause in examining the frontispiece.⁷⁷ With a caption reading, “The four oceans, one family. The five races, brothers;” (四海一家五族兄弟)⁷⁸ we might even wonder whether the text's subject is the conditions of the West as the title purports, or if it is perhaps not more global in its scope. The author's own comment on the image is as follows: “George Washington, already a well-known figure in Japan, represents the white race, and the other four figures, dressed in ‘native’ costume, represent the red, yellow, brown, and black races.”⁷⁹ As the document above suggests, by 1867 the discourse of racial difference—particularly one that divided the world into five races—had taken root not only among mid nineteenth century Japanese elites, but also some of the 150,000 readers of the text's first edition. As a consummate translator of western concepts, Fukuzawa is often credited with being one of the first to introduce a particular western scientific discourse of race to Japan, as if his ideas were radically new to his

⁷⁷ Originally published in woodblock, this image is reproduced from *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshū*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958), 278.

⁷⁸ This is related to a quote from Confucius. “The gentleman is reverent and does nothing amiss, is respectful toward others and observant of the rites, and all within the Four Seas are his brothers.” See, *The Analects* (D.C. Lau, trans.) (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979), 113.

⁷⁹ Translation of author's comments on this image is taken from, Peter Duus, *The Japanese Discovery of America: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1997), 185.

era.⁸⁰ However, both his ideas and iconography relating this notion of race can be seen in terms of an earlier tradition of late Edo *hyōryūki*. For seventy-five years preceding the release of Fukuzawa's text of 1867, Japanese sailors and fishermen had been returning from encounters abroad with westerners, bringing back with them remarkable reports of a world shaded in flesh-tone hues and governed by a fixed hierarchy of peoples.

These accounts add up not so much to a concise or consistent way of understanding Self and Other but instead, a confused and often conflicting story of people and nations. Bearing witness to the concrete conditions of a colonized Pacific, the question posed but rarely answered by these distressed sailors and fishermen concerned just how they might fit into a scientific conception of the world grounded in an emergent racial discourse. Paying particular attention to castaway accounts as source material, we may trace a genealogy of race and ethnicity in Japan. It is not my intention to present a clear-cut explication of how western scientific knowledge was passively received in Japan, but instead to tease out the moments of conflict between new understandings of race that circulated globally and older indigenous "iconographies of difference."⁸¹ In doing so,

⁸⁰ Aside from Peter Duus (*ibid*), Tessa Morris-Suzuki also emphasizes Fukuzawa's importance as "the chief popularizer" of racial discourse in Japan. Referring to his 1869 text *Sekai kunizukushi* (*Account of the Countries of the World*) as, "the first truly influential representation of the notion of race," she continues, "This short and richly illustrated work introduces the reader to a neatly color-coded vision of humanity: Europeans are white, Asians 'slightly yellow,' Africans black, the people of the Pacific Islands brown, and the inhabitants of 'the mountains of America' red." See Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), 85.

⁸¹ See Ronald Toby; "The 'Indianness' of Iberia and Changing Japanese Iconographies of Other," in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between*

categories such as race and ethnicity will appear as historically contested formations in the Pacific, and not as enlightened truths emanating from the West and simply imposed upon the rest of the world.

Like Fukuzawa Yukiichi, castaways and the authors of their accounts served as tentative interlocutors between worlds, in effect translators of ideas and language. Concerned with the function of travel and translation, James Clifford highlights the role played by these people between worlds, writing, “workers, pilgrims, explorers, religious converts, or other traditional ‘long-distance specialists’... first appear as natives; they emerge as travelers. In fact, as I will suggest, they are specific mixtures of the two.”⁸² My own inclination is to view late Edo castaways as both traveler and native. When immersed in the trans-national space of the nineteenth century Pacific, they are quite consciously objects of the western gaze and at times experience that objectification quite viscerally. For example, when they are asked by curious westerners to perform their “Japaneseness” in the form of song and dance, or when it is determined whether they will be share quarters with the captain at the back of the ship or the bunks of black sailors at the front. On the other hand, in writing about these moments in which abstract and hitherto inconceivable modes of national and racial identity are thrust upon the castaway, their texts also serve as

Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), “Imagining and Imaging Anthropos in Early-modern Japan,” in *Visual Anthropology Review: Journal of the Society for Visual Anthropology*, 14:1 (1998), and “Carnival of the Aliens: Korean Embassies in Edo-Period Art and Popular Culture,” *Monumenta Nipponica*, 41: 4. (Winter, 1986).

⁸² James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 19.

harbingers of world historical colonial conditions outside of Japan. Their texts written upon repatriation sometimes represent awkwardly, at other times creatively, some of the earliest attempts to conceive of Japanese national, racial, and ethnic discourse. In this sense, we might reverse the relations between traveler and native that Clifford argues for, instead realizing that they first appear as travelers and only later to emerge as “natives.” The “native” in this sense is doubled: being both exoticized Other for the westerner, but also the representative and fellow Japanese subject for Japanese readers. Before considering just how these acts of translation take place in early nineteenth century castaway narratives, it is important to first summarize a longer history of alterity in the archipelago.

Certainly Indians, Chinese, Koreans, and other Others from within East Asian sphere of influence had been arriving in the archipelago since pre-historical times, and identities rendered vis-à-vis foreigners emerged out of a mutually shared context of Buddhism, Chinese writing, and other continental technologies such as medicine and weaponry.⁸³ With the arrival of the first Iberian merchants and missionaries in the mid-sixteenth century, proto-racial discourse first began to

⁸³ Some of the most interesting research concerned with medieval representations of the Other has been done by East Asian historians (*Tōyō shi*), and not national historians (*koku shi*). In particular, Murai Shōsuke, has argued for a theoretical model of territorial space that takes into account the conception of the archipelago as a particular center (*rettō naigai no chiiki kûkan no moderu*) within a larger diplomatic and cultural space. In doing so, he states that traditionally understanding of trade and national relations was based on lines or boundaries between political bodies, and calls for a new approach that conceives of (primarily maritime) spaces between these bodies as zones. See “Kōshō (sen) kara kōryū (men) he,” in Murai Shōsuke, *Ajia no naka no chūsei Nihon* (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 1988), 20.

proliferate.⁸⁴ Ronald Toby has argued that Japanese representations of these early non-western Others most frequently placed them in an idealized foreign landscape and not within a more familiar native topography.⁸⁵ Furthermore, he demonstrates that this “Iberian irruption” from the mid-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries spawned a new genre of painting, which brought the *nanbanjin* into the “Japanese cityscape” and geographic imagination.⁸⁶ The term *nanbanjin* (literally ‘Southern Savage’ or ‘Southern Barbarian’) was the preferred nomenclature utilized in describing these sixteenth and early seventeenth century encounters with Europeans. However a second term— *kuronbô*— was also appropriated to signify the newly arrived “black bodies” that accompanied Europeans aboard their galleons.

Ono Takeo, while pointing out much earlier uses of the term *koronbô*, suggests that the word gained new currency once Indians and Africans began to appear on western ships.⁸⁷ Toby convincingly argues that with the expulsion of

⁸⁴ The term “proto-racial discourse” is used here to distinguish it from a later understanding of race grounded in scientific, biological, and ethnographic methodologies. Tessa Morris-Suzuki I think rightfully argues that, “[i]t is difficult, in fact, to find anything in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century Japan which resembles a coherent ideology of race. People might be excluded from or included in the social order, but the grounds for exclusion or inclusion tended to be explained primarily in terms of submission to the power of the state.” *Re-inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), 87. For a study of sixteenth and seventeenth century interaction between Japan and Europeans see, Matsuda Kiichi, *Toyotomi Hideyoshi to Nanbanjin*, (Tokyo : Chôbunsha, 1992) and George Ellison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973).

⁸⁵ See Ronald Toby, “The ‘Indianness’ of Iberia and Changing Japanese Iconographies of Other,” in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 324.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Ono Takeo, *Edo no hakurai fuzoku shi* (Tokyo: Tenbôsha, 1975), 88-89. In tracing the origins of this term, Ono cites the *Wamyôruijushô* written in the 930s, “the characters 崑崙 are read *kuro* and

Iberians and English from Japan in the early seventeenth century, the iconography of *nanbanjin* and *kuronbô* virtually disappears and is replaced by images of *tôjin* (literally, “China man,” but used as a comprehensive term for “foreigner”).

However, we shall see in the following passage from the *Saikai zokudan* 齋諧俗談 written over a century after the ostensible erasure of the explicitly marked *nanbanjin* that the figure of the *kuronbô* still lingered in the imagination of at least one author.

In this popular miscellany first printed in 1758, Ôide Tôka also associates

knowledge of black bodies with westerners. Under his entry for *kuronbô* we read:

Kuronbô: People who come via Dutch ships. They are pure black and extremely agile, running around atop the masts with great skill. Commonly, they are also referred to as *kurobô*. ‘Kuron’ is the Chinese reading for ‘konron’ (崑崙). The ‘bô’ is a common suffix for someone without hair. Furthermore, it is said that in the mountains of Hida and Mino domains there is something called a *kuronbô* that is just like a monkey, but bigger. It is black with long hair and walks well standing up. They can mimic the words of humans quite well and can understand human intentions, although they are harmless. The mountain people call them *kurobô* and they are not afraid of each other. However, if a human comes along and tries to kill one, the *kuronbô* instantly knows and will quickly escape. Therefore it is said that they are impossible to catch.⁸⁸

This passage is notable for the manner in which he conflates the “black body” of sailors with a fanciful mountain creature. We might conclude that by the

was used by the Jin Dynasty emperor Li. They are tall in height and their color is black, thus women serving at court call anything like this *konronbo*. At present, the term is written 崑崙奴 (literally, “black slave”), which has come to be read as *Kuronbô* (崑崙牟坊).” Furthermore, he points to Chinese documents from 642 that identify an embassy from the country of *Koro* (崑崙使). He states that this earliest usage of the term derives from the city of Colombo in on the island of Ceylon (Sri Lanka).

⁸⁸ Quoted in Ono, 90. Toby, while not referring to the document in question, interestingly comments on the figure of the “slightly simian” *kuronbô* and his skills in managing the treacherous rigging of ships in relation to acrobatic troupes in early modern Japan. See Toby (1994), 345-347.

mid-eighteenth century these distant foreigners had come to occupy a mythical world of “star people” and creatures such as *kappa* that also receive comment in Ôide’s text.⁸⁹ But while the figure of the *kuronbô* may have gradually receded into the recesses of the imagination from the moment of expulsion in the early seventeenth century, by the late eighteenth century the term was once again appropriated to describe the concrete and real conditions in the Pacific.

Accounts relating the circumstances of the ship *Ise maru* are perhaps some of the first in which the figure of the *kuronbô* is foregrounded and becomes an important element of the narrative. Caught in a storm at sea in the tenth month of 1764, the crew eventually made landfall on the island of Mindanao after 101 days adrift. The crew was taken captive by native inhabitants of the islands and pressed into service as maritime laborers. From the original crew of twenty, one sailor—Magotarô— was eventually sold to an overseas Chinese merchant before again being sold to a Dutchman who repatriated him through the Dutch offices in Nagasaki in 1771. While many texts recount this sailor’s experiences in the Philippines, Borneo, and other stops in the South Pacific, the *Nankai kibun* (南海紀聞) written and published by Aoki Teien (青木定遠) in 1792 provides us with the most detailed ethnographic description of these areas and their inhabitants.⁹⁰ Here

⁸⁹ The *kappa* is a mythical human-like trickster who lives along rivers in Japan. Both of these are subjects of other entries in Ôide’s text.

⁹⁰ Other accounts include *Tsûkô ichiran* (vol. 270), *Hyôryû Tenjiku monogatari* (in NSSSS5, 653-658), and *Ka-i kyû nen roku* in Arakawa Hidetoshi, ed. *Kinsei hyôryûki shû* (Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppanyoku, 1969), 122-159. For *Nankai kibun*, see NSSSS5, 623-652.

the term *kurobô* is used frequently throughout the text to describe the indigenous islanders who first enslaved Magotarô and to distinguish them from the more familiar Others of Dutch and Chinese.⁹¹ Echoing Ôide's passage from *Saikai zokudan* written three decades earlier, the author still felt compelled to explain the usage of this term in an interlinear note to the reader which reads, "What is referred to as *konronbô* (崑崙奴) here is commonly read in our country as *kurobô* (黒坊). Therefore I will use this term in what follows."⁹²

With the repatriation of Daikokuya Kôdayû and Isokichi from Russia in 1792 (the same year Aoki's text was published), the stage for subsequent literary *hyôryûki* undergoes a dramatic change as Pacific littoral and maritime space begins to reflect a globalized network of colonial relations and controlled spaces. While we still see brief reports in *kuchigaki* form relating relatively uneventful details of maritime accident, numerous longer accounts are also written that focus on this shifting space. Beginning with the encroachment of Russian expansion in the North Pacific, the trend only becomes more clear as trans-Pacific maritime fur trade and whaling significantly increase the number of western ships in waters off the coast of Japan. During this time, the term *kuronbô* comes to signify not simply the pigmentation of certain peoples, but also the relative position of certain less

⁹¹ In a separate account from 1801 relating Magotarô's ordeal (he is referred to in this second account as Magoshichi) the world is still clearly divided into four distinct peoples; Barbarians, Kurobô, Tôjin, and Japanese. Furthermore, the geography consists of four countries; Kurobô no kuni, Tenjiku, China, and Japan. See *Hyôfûtan* in Arakawa Hidetoshi, ed. *Kinsei hyôryûki shû*, 91-120, particularly 96-97.

⁹² *Nankai kibun*, 628.

civilized bodies in relation to dominant and more technologically advanced people. Needless to say, the connotations are negative. The conflicting uses of the word can best be seen in a cursory comparison of several late Edo castaway accounts.

Stopping at the Canary Islands, Santa Catarina (off the coast of Brazil), Marquesas and Sandwich Islands, and the Kamchatka peninsula, we read in the *Kankai ibun* (環海異聞) of 1807 how Tsudayû and three other castaways were able to literally see the world before being repatriated to Japan. In this particular account, the term *kurobô* is used frequently to describe the natives of the above mentioned islands or “island people” (*shimabito*) and is a generalized marker of physical features. This usage is highlighted in the introduction of the text,

While I have seen illustrations of the twenty types of people in the world (諸国の人類は廿余種) in the *Wa-Kan shosho* and having become familiar with the different bodily shapes and languages of dwarfs, *kuronbo*, and giants (these are the exceedingly large people of Marquesas Island) ... my ears perked up and my eyes grew wide when I heard these new and rare tales [of Tsudayû].⁹³

The author Ôtsuki’s excitement of having the opportunity to apply both his scholarly book learning and his more acculturated, if not imaginary, iconography of difference is barely repressible. The *Wa-Kan shosho* 和漢諸書 reflects a particular Ming era diplomatic order and points towards twenty political bodies within an regional East Asian world order grounded in diplomatic relations with the Ming court.⁹⁴ On the other hand, the world of giants, dwarfs, and *kuronbo* that he refers to

⁹³ *Kankai ibun: honbun to kenkyû* (Sugimoto Tsutomu, et al., eds.) (Tokyo: Yazaka Shobô, 1986), 19.

⁹⁴ I am grateful for Professor Hirano Mitsuru’s explanation of this text in question. For more details identifying these “twenty-some” countries, see Murai, 101.

point toward other Others outside any established diplomatic world order. But while the term *kuronbo* is used to describe “dark” or “black” people throughout Pacific spaces, in a later section of the text that includes a short Russian-Japanese dictionary we see under the heading of “Aratsupu” (Arab?) the following: “*Kurobô*. Someone who is undoubtedly from Africa.”⁹⁵ The ambiguity of the term as both a geographically bound referent and a broader category of uncivilized life outside the Ming centered world view is something characteristic of most early nineteenth century *hyôryûki*.

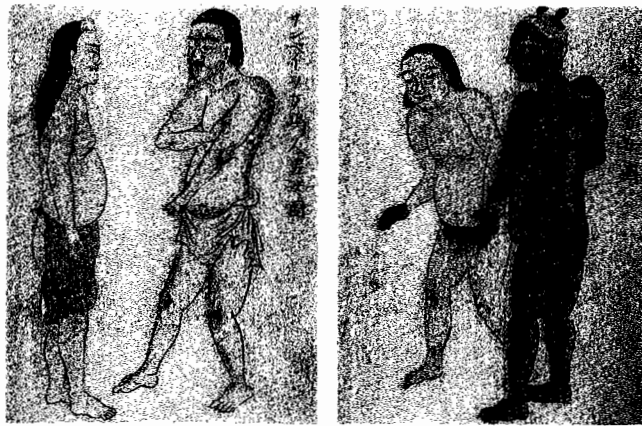


Illustration 3.7. Two images of *shimabito* that are also described as *kurobô* from the *Kankai ibun*.

In this larger context we begin to see how terms such as *koronbô* serve as floating signifiers between multiple codes of Self and Other and are employed

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 437. It is important to remember that this passage is not a direct translation of the word *kuronbô*, but instead of a Japanese explanation of the Russian term, “aratsupu” (“Arab?”).

strategically in order to negotiate structural conflict between systems of representation. A world outside the official East Asian diplomatic order is realized in these texts only through an appropriation of older categories such as giants and dwarfs and earlier iconographies of difference. As the need for Japanese political, geographic, and diplomatic integrity is manifested in a global Pacific context, we can see how these multiple codes of difference work together. For example, in 1811 when Golovnin and his crew were captured by *bakufu* authorities in the northern frontier zone of Ezo, we see an instance in which Russian territorial and commercial expansion is recast in terms of the older and mythical discourse of giants.⁹⁶



Illustration 3.8. Detail from *Oroshiya jin shôho no zu* (Waseda Library)

⁹⁶ The Russian naval officer Vassily Golovnin and his crew were captured by Japanese officials in 1811 while carrying out a survey of the southern Kurile islands. They spent nearly two years in confinement, before being repatriated. Russians attempted to earn his release in exchange for seven Japanese castaways in 1812, but after these negotiations failed, Lt. Ccommander Pyotr Ivanovich Rikord seized Takadaya Kahei and one of his ships in the harbor at Kunashiri. Kahei and part of his crew were taken to Kamchatka, before an exchange was worked out in 1813.

While this detail from a larger scroll entitled *Oroshiya jin shôho no zu* (俄羅斯人生捕之図) in the Waseda University archive simply presents us with the name, age, and height of each Russian captive, their remarkable height (nearly all over seven feet tall) is dramatically presented in relation to a Japanese representation of Self.⁹⁷ The fact that each sailor is tethered and leashed by a Japanese official serves to neutralize the threat of these giants.

Much like the *Shôhō bankoku jinbutsu-zu* and other early Edo period texts that "make explicit claims to an authoritative and didactic gaze," these castaway accounts appropriate obvious markers of savagery including nakedness, tattooing, the use of unprocessed objects such as animal skins and vegetable clothing, and dietary customs.⁹⁸ The image of *shimabito* from the *Kankai ibun* is one of many examples (above). All four figures are barefoot and naked, with only grass or simple cloth skirts to cover their waists. The dark-skinned figure on the right is also significantly tattooed. Finally, in this text as well as the *Funaosa nikki* written slightly later, we read of cannibalism being practiced among some of the natives.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ I am grateful to the librarians at Waseda University for giving me permission to examine and photograph this document in December of 2001.

⁹⁸ Ronald Toby, "Imagining and Imaging Anthropos in Early-modern Japan," in *Visual Anthropology Review: Journal of the Society for Visual Anthropology* 14:1 (1998), 24-27.

⁹⁹ Several castaway accounts mention the practice of cannibalism by indigenous peoples living beyond the seas. Most references to cannibalism seem to come directly from western reports, although they also include elements of an iconography of the Other in place in Japan that is discussed by Ronald Toby. For example, in *Funaosa nikki* we read the following: "Although these two countries [Nooji and Inden] are said to be under the control of Russia, their customs are very rude and they have not yet been much influenced by Russia. The people's hair is uncombed and they daub their faces with red paint, and they always wear rings on their hands. The women put something under their lips from the inside of their mouths to stretch their lips. Whoever is strongest among them becomes the leader. Any woman who appeals to him he takes for his own and has many wives. They eat the flesh of dead people. In neighboring countries criminals are put to death and their corpses are

These codes of representation in *hyôryûki* continue later into the Edo period and appear as a consistent representational mode. The *Tokei monogatari* of 1849 is yet another example. Similar to the images from the *Kankai ibun*, here the "savage" or "native" (*dochakunin*) is represented with only a loincloth (although he also has shoes), revealing to the reader his hairy chest and belly and elaborate tattoos on his upper body.



Illustration 3.9. Image of *dochakunin* from *Tokei monogatari*. In the Maeda Sonkeikaku Bunkô, Tokyo.

These formalized modes of representing the Other both in terms of language and imagery continues to be applied to Pacific spaces of empire, colony, and nation.

brought here to be cut up and sold. They catch sea animals and skin them and trade the skins to neighboring countries for liquor and saltpeter..." From unpublished translation by Stephen Kohl. See *Funaosa nikki* in NSSSS5, 522-523.

In the *Hokusa bunryaku* we read, “Greeks are *kurobô* (黒奴), with upturned noses and twisted lips, their bodies are bright red.”¹⁰⁰ What follows is an extended explanation of an incident where Greek traders began a fight over gambling debts while in Russia and proceeded to murder four Russians. They were eventually captured by officials and sentenced to execution, before a gracious and enlightened Catherine the Great interceded on their behalf. The importance of this seemingly divergent story emphasizes the relative civility of Russia in comparison to Greece.

This passage is found in the fourth volume of the *Hokusa bunryaku* under the subheading, “Places, Customs, and Peoples Encountered in Travel.” While not all Japanese castaway accounts following the *Hokusa bunryaku* are as detailed as this monumental text, most include a similar section describing people and geography in similar terms that divide the world into continents and nations and prescribe to them characteristics that arrange bodies into a vertical hierarchy of peoples. Terms such as *donin* and *dochakumin* (“native”), *zokkoku* and *zokuchi* (“colony”) become essential vocabulary for these castaway account authors and we see an ethnographic turn toward description of customs, family structure, language, and social institutions.

The confusion over the term *kuronbô* that we see in these texts, written a few years before and after the turn of the century, began to be worked out in the following decades. In the ninth volume of *Tokei monogatari*, we find yet another dictionary. This four-language lexicon includes listings for Japanese, Russian,

English, and Hawaiian terms and contains separate entries for “person who is black” (色黒き人) and *kuronbô* (崑崙奴).¹⁰¹ The equivalent English terms corresponding to these two entries are simply glossed as ブリヤキマン and ネットカル (corruptions of “black man” and “nigger”), respectively. At this point, the term *kuronbô* appears as a clearly derogatory term to express one’s relative state of depravity, and distinct from the more objectively descriptive “black man.” However, confusion once again emerges in a passage from the same text describing Anthony, one of the crew members on the ship that rescued these Japanese sailors.

On Cathcart’s ship there were two *kuronbô* and one was called Anthony. His skin was black and his hair kinky. He stood seven feet, five inches and it was said that you could quite easily stick a Japanese *zeni* coin in his nostril. This giant of a man exhibited extraordinary strength, once placing Kinzô in the palm of his hand and tossing him around freely. At the time Kinzô was 19 years old and approximately 120 pounds. This Anthony was generally quiet and reserved, but once five or six crew members began a skirmish with him and even after much scuffling, it was impossible to hold him down. Eventually Cathcart intervened and because Anthony was to blame, he was duly punished. This Anthony is not a *kuronbô*, but was instead was a person from Porutoke[?]¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ NSSSS5, 751.

¹⁰¹ NSSSS5, 179.

¹⁰² NSSSS5, 27.



Illustration 3.10. Image of Anthony from *Tokei monogatari*. Use with permission of Maeda Sonkeikaku Bunkô, Tokyo.

The ambiguity that arises in trying to mesh an older discourse of difference with a new racial discourse circulating in the Pacific manifests itself in various ways. Perhaps none is more succinct than the following description of the American whaler the *Manhattan*, which arrived in Edo Bay in 1845 to repatriate crews from two distressed Japanese vessels picked up in the Ogasawara or Bonin islands. After a brief description of the dimensions of the ship we read:

The quarters in the bottom of the ship were immensely dark and even during the day lamps needed to be lit. Here there were two overseers [*shûchô*] and seven *konrondo* [written with the same characters for *koronbô*, 崑崙奴]. Among them, two were a deep black and their skin was just like lacquer but the palms of their hands and the bottoms of their feet were almost white. Their hair was red and like spirals. This brought the total crew on board to 28 men. Toku and the others

were brought to this room first and given bowls of sugar water by the barbarians (*banjin*).¹⁰³

The passage highlights how the very architecture of the ship projects certain colonial and racial relations embodied within it, while also suggesting a preoccupation with the question of just how the Japanese body might fit within that larger network.¹⁰⁴ Ultimately, the quote reconciles this problem by falling back on the terminology of an older paradigm where the westerner is relegated to barbarian status outside the traditional East Asian order. Older modes of representation are also employed in another account relating the repatriation of castaways from the *Manhattan*. In the *Ôshuku (Yôshuku) zakki* we find an image of the ship with black figures in the mast curiously similar to the iconography of difference appearing first in *nanban-e* of the sixteenth century and reappearing later in the Edo period in representations of acrobats.¹⁰⁵ In the upper left-hand corner we read, “The *kuronbô*,

¹⁰³ Utagawa Kôsei, *Itsushi hyôkyaku kibun* in *Ishii Kendô korekushon Edo hyôryûki sôshû*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Nihon Hyôron Sha, 1992), 472. I am grateful to Miwako Okigami for pointing this passage out to me.

¹⁰⁴ In a separate account titled *Ashû sen Kôhō-maru hyôryûki*, we find a hand-drawn image of one of these crewman, the *kurobô* Harris, relegated to the lower hold of the ship. In the portrait he plays a banjo. See (*Ishii Kendô korekushon*) *Edo hyôryûki sôshû*, vol. 4. (Tokyo: Nihon Hyôronsha, 1992), 447.

¹⁰⁵ See Ronald P. Toby, “The ‘Indianness’ of Iberia and Changing Japanese Iconographies of Other,” in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

when in water, are just like fish. Furthermore, when on the ship, they climb the sails and the masts just like monkeys.”¹⁰⁶

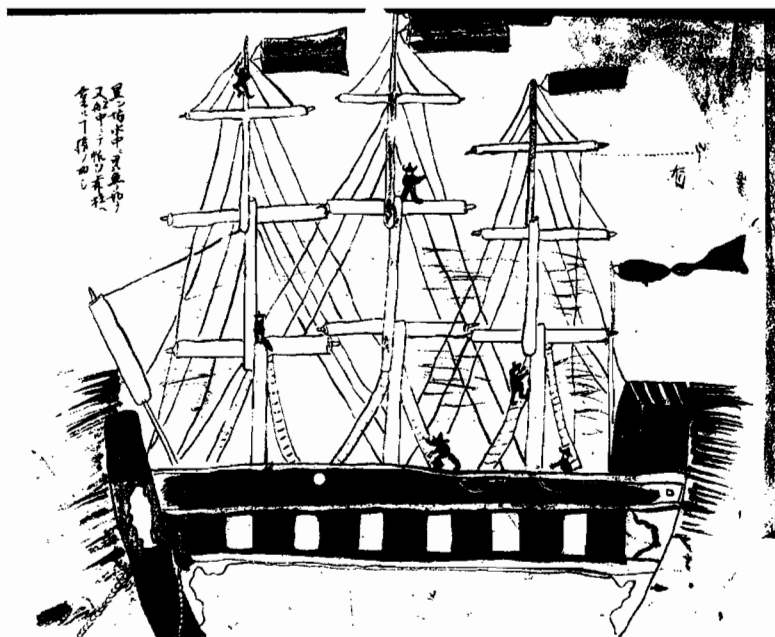


Illustration 3.11. Image of ship with *kuronbô* from *Ôshuku zakki*.

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, the gaze of Japanese castaways comes to read these foreign bodies in a symbolically charged manner. In this context, the term *kuronbô* is removed from its earlier and more specific geographical designations (Africa and India) and instead comes to signify a body's relative position in a global hierarchy of peoples. But while this hierarchy may appear to be stabilizing, the bodies that circulate within it are not.

¹⁰⁶ In *Ôshuku zakki*, vol. 567 under “Kôka Itsushi hyôryûjin ikken,” in the National Diet Library. I am grateful to Stephen Kohl for bringing this text to my attention and providing me with a copy of the image.

In the ninth month of 1842 the castaway Shôzô from Kawajiri, Higo, explained in some detail the fate himself and his fellow crewmen met in a moving letter to his family still in Japan. Describing his rescue by naked black natives in Luzon who dwelt in “animal lairs,” he writes:

When we had finished eating, we gazed at these human figures, and even though our lives had been saved, we could not help but wonder where we might be. The truly sad thing was that since our clothes had been taken from us, under that intense sun, we were becoming like these black men (それより我ともおなしく黒人に相成候).¹⁰⁷

We must be careful not to make too much of the fear of becoming Other that is expressed in this letter. The relative simplicity with which becoming a “black man” is described may only be a trope by which the castaway relates his disappointment of not being able to reunite with his family. However, later in this letter he describes his own position in language that goes beyond the scope of personal disappointment and instead projects himself and his fellow Japanese castaways residing in Macao as representative Japanese bodies immersed in a more abstract global order and hierarchy. “We resolved to stay in China, and if other Japanese drifted here, we would seek them out and send them home. Indeed, we understand world events and are in a place where people from all over the world congregate.” (猶亦我共おる所は、せかひ中の事は相しれ、又はせかいの人はみなあつまり所)¹⁰⁸ In yet another castaway letter written at the same time by Shôzô’s crewmate,

¹⁰⁷ A facsimile of this letter is contained in “Hyôryû nin shojô utsushi,” in *Sôsho Edo bunkô: Hyôryû kidan shûsei* (Katô Takashi, ed.) (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankô Kai, 1990), 388-400. The passage in question is from p. 395. As always, I am indebted to Stephen Kohl, with whom I translated these letters.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 396.

Jusaburô, their function as Japanese representatives in this global hierarchy is again emphasized. Gesturing toward a global organization of nations, he concludes, “it is as if we were somewhere between China and other foreign nations.” (唐国ト異国ノアイダニイルゴトクニヨツテ)¹⁰⁹

Considering that both of these letters were written at the peak of the Opium Wars in China, a time when both China’s international status and the rest of East Asia was thrown into jeopardy, this anxiety over Self identity and Japan’s position in the world is not surprising. In fact, the opium wars played a key role in determining just how Japan tried to figure itself into an international hierarchy of nations. Rotem Kowner has already traced European racial views of Japan from 1548 to 1853 and in so doing, he states the earliest contacts between Japanese and Europeans during the time of the “Iberian irruption” always depicted Japanese as “white.”¹¹⁰ Kowner demonstrates that, not until 1775 when Johann Friedrich Blumenbach classified the Japanese as “yellow” in his treatise *De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa*, did this “perceptual change,” become “irreversible.”¹¹¹ Blumenbach is also credited with being the first to postulate a five-race system, not unlike the classification expressed by Fukuzawa Yukichi in his *Sieyô jijô*.

Kowner’s research unfortunately does not address the much more difficult question of how this racial discourse was received in Japan. From quite early

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 392.

¹¹⁰ Rotem Kowner, “Skin as Metaphor: Early European Racial Views on Japan, 1548-1853,” in *Ethnohistory* 51:4 (fall 2004), 751-778.

Japanese scholars of Dutch were translating European scientific discourse that categorized the peoples of the world into distinct races. In particular the work of Swedish naturalist Carl von Linne (Linnaeus, 1707-1778) was avidly read by Dutch scholars and formed the basis for Blumenbach's theories. Linne divided humanity into four broad geographical categories—*americanus* (red), *europaeus* (white), *afer* (black), and *asiaticus* (sallow)—and his texts were being used by Japanese scholars as early as 1789.¹¹² The importation of these ideas is most likely related to the arrival in Japan of Linne's student Charles Peter Thunberg, who served as a physician at the Dutch factory in Nagasaki from 1775 to 1776.¹¹³ His contribution to racial discourse was to turn away from skin color and instead focus on the structure of eyes. His observations and theory that Japanese were a distinct sub-race of the Chinese were published in the third volume of his *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia: Performed between the Years 1770 and 1779*.¹¹⁴ From this point (1795), the question of racial connections between the Japanese and Chinese loomed large for both western theorists of race as well as their Japanese translators. We have already briefly considered how Vassily Golovnin and his crew were represented by

¹¹¹ Ibid, 764.

¹¹² This schematization is only developed in Linnaeus's tenth edition of *Systema Naturae* (1758-1759). Ibid, 762. However Kowner's study, concerned with western knowledge of Japan, does not address when any of these western texts were first introduced into Japan. See Matsuda Kiyoshi, *Yōgaku no shoshiteki kenkyū* (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1998). See also, Hirano Mitsuru, "Kinsei Nihon ni okeru Hottain 'Shizen shi' no riyō," in *Ashida bunkō hensaniinkai chūkan hōkoku* (Tokyo: Meiji Daigaku Shuppan, 2002.)

¹¹³ Donald Keene has written extensively on early Japanese-Dutch exchange. See, Donald Keene, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe, 1720-1830* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), 1-30.

¹¹⁴ Kowner, 764.

Japanese artists, but his own captivity narrative describing his two years in Japan presents us with a radically different mode of representation. His is a world not of dwarfs and giants, but instead one that appropriates the language of science and human taxonomy. He argues that the Japanese are descendents of the Tartars and not the Chinese. He adds, “Everything testifies that the Chinese and the Japanese were never one people. The Japanese even abominate the idea that the Chinese may have been their ancestors.”¹¹⁵ But while he approaches his subject in scientific terms he also suggests that it was not his idea alone that Japanese were racially distinct from Chinese. Golovnin’s text was one of a handful of texts that western scholars turned to for a western eyewitness account of Japan and we may assume his ideas had a profound impact on how westerners before the early 1850s conceived of Japan in racial terms. Furthermore, the Dutch translation of his text, *Mijne Lotgevallen in Mijne Gevangenschap bij de Japannars. 2dln. Uit het Russisch volgens de Hoogduitsche vertailing* was translated as early as 1825 by Baba Sajûrô and titled *Sôyaku Nihon kiji* 遭厄日本紀事.¹¹⁶ Therefore this brief textual history suggests that fitting Japan into a global hierarchy of nations and the Japanese into a fixed system of race was not something simply imposed by western scientists and travelers, but instead a process built upon a complex series of exchanges in the

¹¹⁵ Vasily Mikhailovich Golovnin, *Memoirs of Captivity in Japan, during the Years 1811, 1812, and 1813, with Observations of the Country and the People*, vol. 3 (London, 1824), 9-11. Quoted in Kowner, 766-767.

¹¹⁶ Copies of both the Dutch translation and Baba’s translation can be found in the Aoi Bunkô archive in Shizuoka, Japan. This is the major repository of texts in the possession of Tokugawa *bakufu*.

Pacific. While Golovnin's attribution of Tartar origins to the Japanese may have found its roots in arguing Russian claims to Ezo and beyond, Japanese (especially after the Opium Wars) had just as much reason to distinguish themselves from China.

This becomes very apparent in castaway accounts of the late 1830s through the 1850s and parallels the coinage of Japanese terms such as *jinshu* 人種 and *jinrui* 人類 to translate "race," that we see for example in the following passage from *Tôkô kibun* by Iwasaki Toshiakira:¹¹⁷

Furthermore, my ears perked up when I heard the strangest of facts such as, from the beginning the three races of people in the American continent (又亜墨利三種の人物) maintain close relations with England, France, Spain, Portugal, Luzon, India, Annam, Malacca, Africa, and other barbarian peoples of the five great continents. And while your humble servant was delighted to intently listen to these curious and strange tales, this singular opportunity is due only to the supreme blessings of our nation (国家恩賚) for which I bear sincere gratitude.¹¹⁸

However, Japanese castaways were not simply translators of racial discourse. They were, at least in one case, the only living subjects on which western scientists and phrenologists based their discourse. In writing his *The Races of Man and their Distribution* of 1848, Charles Pickering had the opportunity to examine five

¹¹⁷ Hirano Mitsuru has also demonstrated that these terms were used during the Tempô era (1830-1844) in translations of Linneaus and his contemporary Houttuyn. See Hirano, p. 4. Ronald Toby has also pointed to uses of the term *jinrui* before this time, however these earlier uses are not so racially specific, instead encompassing a broader notion of "anthropos." See Ronald Toby, "Imagining and Imaging Anthropos in Early-modern Japan," in *Visual Anthropology Review: Journal of the Society for Visual Anthropology* 14:1 (1998), 21.

¹¹⁸ "Tôkô kibun," in *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryô shûsei*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobô, 1985), 310.

Japanese castaways in Hawai'i.¹¹⁹ Following Thunberg and Golovnin, this encounter led him to argue that the Japanese were of a distinct race from the Chinese.

Their personal appearance differed from my preconceived ideas of the Japanese; and, for a time, I was unwilling to admit their connexion with the Malay race. In my notebook I find recorded, that they were all short, rather stout built men, with their complexion nearly as dark as the Hawaiian; which, together with their slight profile, the nose rather flat, and their thick black hair, left me for some time in doubt. Mr. Drayton at once recognized the Polynesian features in the eldest of the party... the lad, however, had the nose so remarkably broad and flat, that all idea of the Mongolian race was out of the question.¹²⁰

Accounts by these same castaways reflect an understanding of racial discourse that was not learned from their brief encounter with Pickering, but instead witnessed, interpreted, and translated during their ten-year experience plying the waters of the Pacific. The “lad” whom Pickering observed was none other than Nakahama Manjirô. The accounts that relate his adventures are numerous, but among them the *Hyôson kiriyaku* 漂巽紀略 of 1852 presents the reader with the most detailed and complete image of people and spaces in the Pacific. While the account may be read as a scholarly text relating new and unfamiliar global conditions, it also

¹¹⁹ Rotem Kowner has mentioned this briefly in his “Skin as Metaphor: Early European Racial Views on Japan, 1548-1853” *Ethnohistory* 51:4 (fall 2004), 770.

¹²⁰ Charles Pickering, *The Races of Men and Their Distribution* (London, 1848), 117. Quoted in Katherine Plummer, *The Shogun's Reluctant Ambassadors* (Portland: The Oregon Historical Society, 1991), 143-144.

appropriated the iconography of nakedness, tattooing, and other earthy qualities that separated Japan and colonizing nations from indigenous colonized peoples.¹²¹



Illustration 3.12. An image of natives from *Hyôson kiryaku*.¹²²

¹²¹ We might consider how magazines such as *National Geographic* function in a similar manner throughout the twentieth century.

¹²² My copy of this manuscript is printed from a facsimile copy on CD ROM in the University of Hawai'i Library. I was only able to print out the images in monochrome while doing research in the archive. The color image reproduced here is taken from *Drifting Toward the Southeast* Kawada Shôryô, *Drifting Toward the Southeast: The Story of Five Japanese Castaways* (Junya Nagakuni and Junji Kitadai, trans.) (New Bedford, MA: Spinner Publications, Inc., 2003), 95.

Looking at a more popular and vernacular version of Manjirô's account, printed and published as *Hyôryûki* in 1853, we see terminology such as “the country of *Kuronbô*” and “the country of Devils” to describe places that were now commonly known as specific colonial spaces. In this text too, we see a clear distinction between an educated and industrious Japanese Manjirô who is invited to marry the daughter of his benefactor Captain Whitfield, and a group of lazy Cantonese merchants with whom he met in Hawai'i and San Francisco.

It is at this point that we come full circle, back to Fukuzawa Yukichi and his claims of five distinct races of man. In 1860 the ship *Kanrin-maru* was sent to the United States in order to ratify the Japan-United States Treaty initiated by Commodore Mathew Perry in 1853. Manjirô was asked to serve as navigator and must have had ample opportunity to communicate with the man who would become Japan's foremost scholar of the west, Fukuzawa. Having lived ten years in the United States already, we might think that Manjirô shared with Fukuzawa his experience and awareness of racial discourse. While the image from his *Seiyô jijô* suggests a fixed scientific categorization of people, at other times Fukuzawa may have come to realize the problems that Japan would face on the international stage if it were to continue being lumped together with an Asian or yellow race. Despite being the translator of scientific racial theory into Japanese, Fukuzawa is perhaps better known for his famous national slogan first coined in 1885—*Datsu A, Nyû Ô* 脱亜入歐—a call for Japan to “separate itself from Asia and

become one with Europe.”¹²³ The tentative translator Fukuzawa, unlike the authors of castaway narratives before him, was able to take some assurance in a universalistic discourse of science that in the last years of the Edo period was difficult to challenge in terms of an older indigenous or even Sino-centric ideology. Instead the focus shifted to a notion of “recovering” the lost past that had already been displaced. However, this nostalgia or attempt to recover lost ground was not an exclusively Meiji phenomenon. In looking at late-Edo reiterations of three earlier castaways—Magoshichi (Magotarô), Tenjiku Tokubei, and the crew returning from Dattan in the mid-seventeenth century—we may begin to consider in the following chapter just how this nostalgia for the past reveals itself to late-Edo readers and viewers. However before we do, let us look at two more terms that circulate in late Edo castaway accounts, those being *dojin* 土人 (and related derivatives) and *shima bito* 島人.

As with notions of gender and race, we see in late Edo castaway accounts the emergence of an ethnographic practice of describing in detail the physical and cultural characteristics of other peoples. As early as the sixteenth century, along with world maps from Europe, written and illustrated texts describing the peoples of the world began to appear with some frequency: This *Bankoku jinbutsu zu* 万国人物図 published in Nagasaki in 1645, is one example.¹²⁴

¹²³ The slogan is invoked even today when Japan’s relations with its immediate neighbors, Korea and China, are discussed in newspaper articles. See Norimitsu Onishi, “Ugly Images of Asian Rivals Become Best Sellers in Japan,” in the November 19, 2005 edition of the *New York Times*, A1 (continued on page A6).

¹²⁴ The image is taken from the Kobe University Library website.



Illustration 3.13. *Bankoku jinbutsu zu* (1645)

While we may point to numerous geographic and scientific texts, primarily from the Chinese and Dutch, that were imported and subsequently translated into Japanese, *hyōryūki* on the other hand, provided readers with ostensibly first- and secondhand accounts of the worlds beyond the sea. As with race, the categories of ethnicity that emerge from these texts in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries appear not as Western concepts simply adopted as a totalizing discourse of the world's peoples, but instead through a much more complicated and piecemeal mix of traditional Japanese iconographies of difference layered upon more recent scientific discourses such as that found in the Swedish naturalist Carl von Linne's (Linnaeus, 1707-1778) *Shizen shi* 自然

志or, as was later translated into English as, *A General System of Nature*.¹²⁵ We can point to numerous examples from the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries in which, at these textual moments of ethnographic discovery, the authors turn to outside sources to either confirm or contradict the speaking voice of the repatriated castaway telling his story.

For example, in the *Tôkô kibun* (東航紀聞) written by Iwasaki Toshiaki (岩崎俊章) in 1851, we see that the author is compelled to substantiate the accounts of his two castaway subjects—Yaeichi and Zensuke—of the *Eiju-maru* (榮寿丸): A ship sailing out of Setsu Domain and belonging to the *Nakamura ya* of Nishinomiya that became distressed at sea and drifted to the coast of Mexico in 1840. In a sub-section of the text titled “Jinbutsu fûzoku,” or “The Customs of People,” the author attempts to synthesize what his castaway informants had shared with him concerning the ethnic make up of “America.”

There are three types (種) of people in America. One of these, is a group (種族) of people born to Europeans who long ago came here by ship and took women of this land as their wives. It is said that there is also a type (種類) of people who immigrated as (male-female) couples. The second group (種族) consists of the aboriginal peoples (本土人). These are called *Inryô* (Sp: Indio?). This group (種族) is in a pitiful decline and the current population is diminished. The third are called Appachi (Apache), whose origins were not asked about. This group (種族) is impoverished. In fact, only the European type of people (歐羅巴種の人物) are flourishing and expanding, and it is said that currently all Americans are of this type (種類). Since California was first cultivated and developed (墾闢) by Englishmen, it is said that the English group/tribe (英人の種族) is most

¹²⁵ See Matsuda Kiyoshi, *Yôgaku no shoshiteki kenkyû* (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1998). See also, Hirano Mitsuru, “Kinsei Nihon ni okeru Hottain ‘Shizen shi’ no riyô,” in *Ashida bunkô hensaniinkai chûkan hôkoku* (Tokyo: Meiji Daigaku Shuppan, 2002.) The work of both of these historians suggest that Linne’s text was translated into Japanese before it was ever translated into the English edition, *A General System of Nature* (1806).

plentiful. Currently, the English are immigrating here in large numbers, with people from Manila next.

亜墨利加洲の人物三種あり。其一は中古已来、歐羅巴人航海移住し、本土の女を妻として生産せし種族なり。或は男女俱に來住せし種類もありといふ。其二は本土人の種類なり。これをインリヨーといふ。此種族衰滅して今存するもの僅なり。其三はアッパチといふ。由来を聞得ず。此種族は益少し。唯歐羅巴種の人物のみ年々滋蔓彌盛にして、今の亜墨利加人は皆この種類なりと云。カリホルニヤは英人始て墾闢せし故に、英人の種族最多しといふ。今猶英人の來住せるもの多く、マネラ人これか次なり。

Upon reading this passage, we see that Iwasaki's first statement, that is, that there are three types of people in America—the offspring of Europeans and indigenous peoples, Indians, and Apache—is soon undermined by the various other types and groups that proliferate throughout the text. Even in this short passage we see the offspring of European couples, the English immigrants, and people of Manila defying his original claim. The usage of these terms such as *shu*, *shurui*, *shuzoku*, *hon dojin*, and later *jinsyu*, presents the translator with significant challenges when attempting to render the text into English. At the expense of style, I have tried to maintain a consistency in translating these particularly troublesome terms by sticking with “type” for *shu* and *shurui*, “group” and sometimes “tribe” for *shuzoku*, etc. But with the usage of several different overlapping terms, we might also consider the difficulty that Iwasaki himself had in negotiating the testimony of Yaeichi and Zensuke vis-à-vis knowledge Iwasaki had gleaned from other geographic and proto-ethnographic texts referred to in the *Tôkô kibun*.¹²⁶ Finally (in reference to this passage), we might also

¹²⁶ Likewise, Stephen Kohl, in an unpublished presentation given at the Association of Asian Studies 2008 Annual Conference in Atlanta, pointed out that the complexities of tracing the sources of ethnographic illustrations found in castaway accounts. Often it is difficult to determine whether the image is based upon the castaway's testimony or other images circulating among authors.

note the author continually reminds us of the oral nature of the castaway's testimony with the frequent use of the sentence final *to ifu* (といふ／と云). This trace of the castaway's voice, while echoing the authority of a firsthand witness, also anticipates what immediately follows this passage. Iwasaki seems compelled to refer his readers to the recently published translations of Dutch geographic studies by Mitsukuri Shôgo 箕作省吾 that appeared as the *Konkô zushiki* (坤輿圖識) of 1845. By doing such, he effectively establishes a direct comparison between the latest ethnographic knowledge of the Americas based on his castaway informants and the discourses of cultural geography that were circulating in the form of translated scientific texts. Using the technique of *niji sage* or "two-character indentation," Iwasaki comments upon this eye-witness schematization of populations in the Americas with the following:

According to the *Konkô zushiki*, the people of America are of different types. Currently, they are divided into three large categories; the first called *dojin*, the second called Westerners, and the third is called the *Koryuorensu* type, and *this contradicts what the castaways have said.* (emphasis added)

坤輿圖識云、亜墨利加ノ人物敷種あり。今別テ三大別トス。一曰土人種、二曰
西
洋人種、三曰コリウヲレンス人種云々とありて、漂人等かいふ所と異同あり。
127

We see here just one example of the frequent dissonance between what the castaways report and the knowledge of the more formally educated authors of these *hyôryûki*. There is also ample evidence that the sailors and fisherman themselves, before ever becoming castaway, had already fed their own ethnographic curiosities

¹²⁷ Iwasaki Toshiakira, *Tôkô kibun* (preface is dated 1851) in NSSSS5, 373.

through the consumption of more popular media circulating in Japan such as illustrated books, *mise mono*, *kaichô*, or other displays of foreign objects held at temples, shrines, and urban festivals.¹²⁸ For example, looking at the anonymously penned *Hyôryûnin Jirôkichi monogatari* based on Jirôkichi's experiences in Hawai'i and the North Pacific, we read that upon his arrival in Sitka,

We did our hair up in the *sakayaki* style so that they would think we are Japanese and treat us kindly. Jirôkichi says that he was familiar with the customs/appearance of the various foreign peoples (彼国々の風体) and that they were no different from the images he had seen earlier outside of Edo (江戸表等に、有之絵姿之通に替り不申候).¹²⁹

While the source of these images that Jirôkichi claims to have seen sometime before drifting across the Pacific remains unclear, we might note that earlier castaways such as Koichi of the *Shinshô-maru* and Oguri Jûkichi of the *Tokujô-maru* upon returning to Japan, did in fact display objects in areas around Ise/Nagoya which they had brought back from the North Pacific and Russia. Perhaps it was one of these events that Jirôkichi attended, or perhaps it was simply the case that he happened to view some set of illustrations that happen to be circulating. The point is that not only the authors of *hyôryûki*, but, at least in some cases, also the castaways themselves had a certain ethnographic awareness of the world around them. Furthermore, we see that a trans-Pacific channel of knowledge exchange had developed to the degree that Daikokuya Kôdayû, Oguri Jûkichi, Jirôkichi, and other castaways visiting areas in the

¹²⁸ For three important works on Edo curiosity see: Uchiyama Jun'ichi, *Edo no kôkishin: bijutsu to kagaku no deai* (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1996); Margarita Winkel, *Discovering Different Dimensions: Explorations of Culture and History in Early Modern Japan* (Unpublished dissertation from Leiden University, 2004).

¹²⁹ Kobayashi(2000), 221.

Pacific all mention that their foreign hosts, whether in Sitka or Petropavlovsk, seem to know something of Japan and Japanese customs. Oguri Jûkichi for example, after being picked up by the ship the *Forrester* in 1815 off the coast of Southern California, was shown Japanese artifacts in both Sitka (by Baranov) and in Kamchatka where he met the Russian governor Rudakov. The governor not only greeted him in Japanese, but also showed Jûkichi several Japanese objects that he claimed to have received from Takadaya Kahei when he was held captive in Russia a few years before Jûkichi's arrival. Likewise, Jirôkichi of the *Chôja -maru* upon his arrival in Hawai'i in the 9th month of 1839, demonstrates the speed with which information traveled between Japan and colonial sites throughout the Pacific. In *Tokei monogatari*, we see that when the crew went ashore, they were asked about the Ôshio Heihachirô disturbance of 1837 in Ôsaka, an event they were hearing about for the first time from foreigners in Hawai'i.

Having touched on just a few of the many examples of trans-Pacific knowledge exchange found in late Edo *hyôryûki*, let us turn our attention to two specific terms—*dojin* and *shimabito*—that appear in three important castaway accounts written in the last decades of the eighteenth and first decade of the nineteenth century. The texts are the *Nankai kibun*, *Hokusa bunryaku*, and *Kankai ibun*. These accounts are important since they become models for later *hyôryûki* authors, both in terms of overall form as well as for the particular lexicon they offer to describe colonialism in the Pacific. Needless to say, *dojin* and *shimabito* are part of this new lexicon.

Dojin, or literally “earth person,” is a term that has been in use since before the Edo period. Compared to more specific later meanings, this term in the early Edo

period seems to have been limited in usage to describing people living in a particular area or what we might translate as “a local.” Today one of the more popular icons of *dojin* is a naked or nearly naked African or South Pacific Islander. It is also been adopted by at least some of today’s younger generation as an expression of social rebellion and fashion, as in the case of a group of young women in Shibuya who as late as 2002, call themselves the *Dojinzoku* or “Earth People Tribe.”

Aside from the many popular images of *dojin* circulating today, it is important to note that from March of 1899 until May of 1997 this term *dojin* even found its way into official State usage to describe the Ainu peoples. In fact, the *Hokkaidô kyû dojin hogo hô* or Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act was the legal basis for a nearly century-long assimilation policy that in turn, devastated Ainu cultural and linguistic memory.

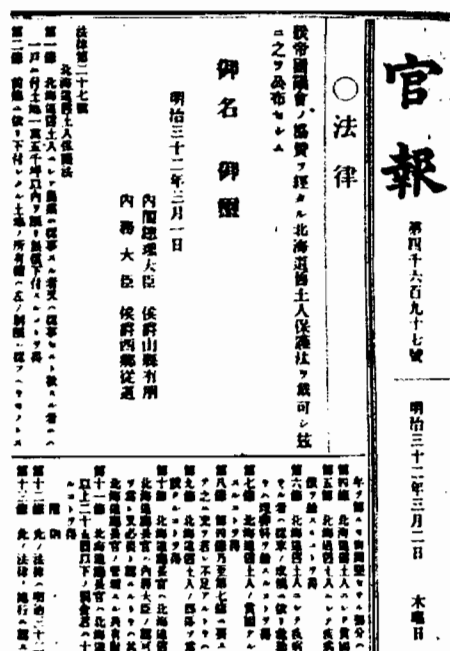


Illustration 3.14. *Hokkaidô kyû dojin hogo hô* or Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act (1899)

Although this term rarely (if at all) appears in early-Edo period castaway accounts, from the late eighteenth century, usage of the term is quite frequent. Perhaps the first castaway accounts to use this term extensively are those accounts relating the travails of Magotarô of Nagasaki, who in 1764 while on board the *Ise-maru*, drifted to Mindanao Island in the southern Philippines. In the *Nankai kibun*, published in 1820, but circulating in manuscript form soon after Magotarô's return to Japan in 1771, the author, Aoki Teien employs both the terms *dojin* as well as *kuronbô* to refer to the people of this island. His frequent usage of the term tends to go beyond the more neutral meaning of "the people of this land," and particularly in moments of thick ethnographic description, suggest a civilizational depravity. First making landfall after 101 days of aimless drift at sea, the crew believes they are in an uninhabited land. Spending several days looking for food and fresh water, they eventually stumble upon a dwelling. The text then explains that, "nearly one hundred strange people" (異形ノ人百人バカリ), with black skin and hair, either naked or wearing grass and leaves, and armed with blowguns and spears, (and bird guns???) line up before the castaways. These "strange people" then proceed to steal all of their goods and the *tenma* or lifeboat that the castaways had used to come ashore. They are then stripped and bound, but also fed. After a futile attempt to explain that they are Japanese (by writing the characters for *Nihon* in the sand), the lost sailors realize their captors are illiterate as well. This begins an eight-year ordeal that finds them first in the custody of these *dojin*, before being sold to a Chinese merchant, and finally a Dutchman who is ultimately responsible for

repatriating the sole survivor Magotarô. The author Aoki, in an extended commentary, explains that according to the *Bankoku chimei kô* 万国地名興 there are many islands in this area inhabited by *dojin* and that they are all more or less the same (皆大同小異アリ), even though he later points out significant differences such as the preference for human flesh among occupants of another island.¹³⁰ He also tells us in an interlinear note that this island is a Dutch territory (阿蘭陀の領地ニナリ), despite the fact that no Dutchmen appear to assist these destitute Japanese castaways. Dutchmen and Chinese are referred to as such, and likewise, later in the text French, Danish, and Italian ships are also mentioned in the context of explaining European expansion in the South Pacific.¹³¹ In contrast, *dojin* stands as a catchall phrase referring to peoples clearly not European or Chinese. This is perhaps the earliest Japanese castaway account to describe western colonial activity throughout the world in such stark terms, but it is certainly not the last. For from the late eighteenth century, as *hyôryûki* come to paint for their reading audience(s) a clearer picture of what is happening in the Pacific, the term *dojin* comes to be used with more frequency.

In the *Hokusa bunryaku* of 1794, we see the term used to describe a fairly broad range of indigenous peoples of the Aleutian Islands and eastern Russia. However, instances in which the term is also used to refer to European Russians can also be found.

Likewise, we read such statements as, “Greeks are *kuronbô*,”¹³² while Europeans are

¹³⁰ NSSSS5, 628. See also, p. 632 for cannibalism reference.

¹³¹ Ibid, 637.

¹³² Ibid. 751.

collectively referred to as *ijin* (夷人).¹³³ And while the contrast between *dojin* and their colonial overlords is perhaps not as distinct as we see in *Nankai kibun*, nonetheless it again often appears to distinguish Russians from others. For example we read,

Long ago, these *dojin* were originally violent savages (野陋強暴) that valued only bravado (専勇を好むのみにて) and there were very few who understood reason (道理を辨たる者も少かりし) until one hundred years ago when this country's Emperor (国王) Pyotr Alexeyevich [Peter the Great] excelled in virtue, demonstrated superior knowledge, and as an unequalled holy warrior hero (神武英雄絶倫) cultivated lands far and wide, opened river routes, developed thoroughfares, and profited immensely from trade. Thus the country flourished, as other lands send scholars and dignitaries, and he opened schools here and there, the people of this country were taught math and writing, so that even the lowliest peasants, artists, and performers could improve their skills, thus bringing about new ideas and shedding old bad customs regarding even manners, language, and clothing, so that day by day his legacy thrives.¹³⁴

While here, it appears that Russian expansion is a benevolent and enlightened undertaking, the last lines of the text present perhaps a more critical slant. “However, since it is so extremely cold half of the people cannot live there and thus there are many abandoned lands. Those *dojin* who remain become extreme savages, who can only fish, hunt and excel at preparing animal pelts. Therefore, the profit from taxing them is decreasing.”¹³⁵

The *Kankai Ibun*, written by physician and scholar of Dutch Learning Ôtsuki Gentaku in 1806, chronicles the repatriated crew of the *Wakamiya-maru*, which went

¹³³ Ibid, 764.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 742.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 825.

adrift in 1792 and wound up, like castaways from the *Hokusa bunryaku* a decade earlier, on an island in the North Pacific. The term *dojin* appears numerous times throughout text, however many of these cases it is somewhat ambiguous from the context whether they are referring indigenous peoples or the Russian traders and officials that by this time had established a dominant foothold in the region. This is most evident in the section subtitled “*Dozoku fūshū* or “Local customs and practices.”¹³⁶ The path the four eventually repatriated castaways take brings them first through Siberia and to St. Petersburg on the extreme western edge of Russia, where they then board a ship and sail through the Baltic, the Atlantic, the Canary Islands, Brazil, Hawaii, and Kamchatka, before being repatriated in Nagasaki. Because the iconography and ethnographic description of spaces such as the Canary Islands, Brazil, and Hawai’i appears as the most exotic to the castaways, we might expect the term *dojin* to appear, however in these particular sections the term *dojin* actually does not appear once. Instead the term, *shimabito* or “islander” is used. This term, while certainly related to and sometimes conflated with *dojin*, has a slightly different genealogy.

Like *dojin*, *shimabito* certainly predates the Edo period and certainly has a relatively neutral meaning. However, also similar to this term *dojin*, its appearance in Edo period accounts as a term to differentiate a group of naked, hairy people, from another more familiar group of Others, seems to come about in the very late eighteenth century. In the *Nanpyōki* 南瓢記 published by Zeniya Chōhei (Shihōken, 枝芳軒) in 1798, we see a group of castaways drifting to Annam or Vietnam. While

¹³⁶ *Kankai ibun: honbun to kenkyū* (Sugimoto Tsutomu, ed.), 230-233.

the country of Annan was traditionally part of the Sino-centric sphere of East Asia and the people of Annan had figured into more traditional worldviews circulating in Japan for some time before the Edo period, in this castaway account we see the emergence of a new figure, that of the “islander” or *shimabito*/*Tôjin*. Their comment on these islanders is as follows. “Approaching the island, we came ashore, but these people were different from the mainlanders. Their hair was grown out and their beards long. Their hair was bundled up with a small skewer.”

(こぎ寄せ嶋へ上がるが、本国人とは違、^{そうがみ}総髪にて髭ながく小さきくしにて髪を巻きとめ)¹³⁷

For most of the twentieth century Ainu peoples of northern Japan, the *Chishima* or Kurile islands, and Etorofu or Sakhalin were legally rendered as “former *dojin*.” Although the survivors of the *Wakamiya-maru* are forced to be repatriated at Nagasaki, from the nineteenth century onward, more and more castaways are also repatriated through *Ezo chi* or what is now called Hokkaido. In so many of these accounts, we also find direct comparisons being made between Ainu (usually referred to as Ezo, Ezojin, or other terms such as *moi* (hairy barbarian) and the newly witnessed *dojin* and *shimabito* of the world. To return to *Hokusa bunryaku*, we see a provocative passage in which we are told the people of Amchitka resemble Ainu, and furthermore a suggestion that Russian policy in the North Pacific is more developed than either Matsumae and *bakufu* policy in the region. We read, “The *dojin* of this land are equivalent (*hitoshiki*) in barbary (*ebisu*) to the Ezo, however many more officials below the rank of *daikan* are sent there [to oversee operations.] Furthermore, in

¹³⁷ Katô Takashi, ed., *Sôsho Edo bunko 1: hyôryû kitan shûsei* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1990), 191.

looking at exploration narratives of Ezo-chi from this time or even earlier, one may find instances where the Ainu subjects are referred to as both *dojin* and, in the case of *Chishima* Ainu, as *shimabito*.

In conclusion, we see that by the late eighteenth century, the vocabulary as well as a certain ethnographic curiosity and imagination emerge from *hyôryûki*. While all too often the phenomenon of Japanese colonialism is thought to have instantly begun from the Meiji period onward, this analysis of castaway accounts gestures towards a certain continuity bridging the Edo-/Meiji- or modern-/ pre-modern divide at least in terms of an emerging worldview that underwrites colonialism and is used to articulate it. In fact, late Edo *hyôryûki* are a profoundly colonial form of literature, not only for the rich description of western empire building in the Pacific, but also as a medium to comprehend and translate it for a home audience. In doing so, the texts endow the peripheral and contested spaces such as Ezo-chi and the Ogasawara Islands with Japanese figures and authority, and also on a more abstract level provide an epistemological basis for laying claim to new spaces and peoples. In other words, the representational conventions found in castaway narratives from the first half of the nineteenth century in fact came to frame Japanese colonial endeavors in the second half of the century. This will be addressed in the final chapter of this project. For now, let us turn to an alternative category of *hyôryûki* forms that were also circulating among more popular, urban audiences at the very same time intellectuals were attempting to translate an increasingly colonized Pacific.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND DIPLOMATIC REVOLUTIONS: REITERATIONS OF THREE EARLY EDO PERIOD CASTAWAY ACCOUNTS

Miraculously, the ship on which Asanoshin rode—was it because he was Japanese?—escaped damage from the storm. Where it had been blown, however, no one on board knew. The great ship drifted wherever the wind and the waves took it. Somehow the days passed, and the food and water began to run out. No one on board expected to live much longer. But then, in the distance, beyond the surging waves, lookouts saw an island. The excited sailors used all the life left in them to row toward it. It was the Island of Women, a country inhabited only by women.¹

--Fûrai Sanjin, *Fûryû Shidôken den* (1763)

In the last months of 1763 a curious book—*Fûryû Shidôken den* 風流志道軒伝—written by Fûrai Sanjin (a.k.a. Tenjiku Rônin, Hiraga Gennai) was all the rage, going through numerous re-printings and spawning a boom in accounts of fictional world travel.² Fûrai frames his tale as a sermon given by a historically verifiable storyteller of some fame who preached in Asakusa and who went by the names of Shidôken and Fukai Asanoshin. Asanoshin's story recalls his experience of visiting numerous countries with the aide of a magic fan given to him in a dream by the immortal and guide by the name of Fûrai Sanjin (not to be confused with the author's *nom de plume*).

¹ Translated by Chris Drake, in Shirane Haruo, *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 504. See also, NKBT55, 155-220.

² For a history of the text see Noda Hisao, *Nihon kinsei shôsetsu shi, dangibon hen* (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1995), 165-166. A partial list of representative world travel texts produced following the appearance of Gennai's *Shidôken den* to 1800 include; *Ikoku kidan Wasôbei* 異国奇談和莊兵衛 of 1774, that actually acknowledges Gennai's text; *Ikoku saiken Wasôbei kôhen* 異国再見和莊兵衛後編 of 1779, which was critical of the first Wasôbei text; *Ikoku fûzoku waraishirushi resshi* 異国風俗笑註烈子 of 1783; *Kyôkun kidan Morokoshi saiken banashi* 教訓奇談東唐細見嘶 of 1784; *Seisengyoku ikkô gendan* 成仙玉一口玄談 of 1786; *Sanzen sekai mitekita banashi* 三千世界見来嘶 of 1799, *Mitekita banashi kôhen nurete de kuri* 見来嘶後編濡手で栗 of 1799; and *Zusan manshin dorohahaki* 杜撰慢心泥籌 of 1800.

Although not a castaway account per se, the final volume of the text adopts the form of *hyôryûki* in Asanoshin's final venture before his return to Japan. After convincing the Chinese court to send him back to Japan so that he might make a life-size copy of Mount Fuji, the armada of 300,000 ships carrying paper and paste is met with by storms conjured up by the Japanese gods. Asanoshin's boat alone survives the storm, but among the crew, Asanoshin alone (was it because he was Japanese?) survives the demands of the island's sex-starved inhabitants.

Today Gennai's *Shidôken den* stands as a masterpiece of the *dangi bon* genre and a brilliant satire of mid-eighteenth century Japan. The Island of Woman (*nyogonoshima*) that Gennai conjures up was not his invention alone. In fact, other famous literary authors such as Ihara Saikaku, as well as anonymously written castaway accounts of the day (see next chapter) occasionally made reference to this fantastic space in the middle of the ocean.³ But at least in Gennai's account, this island is not the exotic and pleasurable utopia of male heterosexual fantasy, but instead a site in which male and female roles are reversed in an otherwise familiar space of the legitimate urban brothel districts in Edo and elsewhere. With Asanoshin enslaved as a prostitute, Gennai provides a critique of the actual conditions of indentured women of another floating world. Gennai has often been compared to his European contemporary

³ There are also Ainu and Dutch references to islands of women. The term is said to have been a poetic name for the Hachijojima islands from very early.

Jonathan Swift, and his ability to satirize by de-familiarizing the category of the “real,” is reminiscent of Swift’s own fictional castaway account, *Gulliver’s Travels*.⁴

Although this *dangi bon* predates the arrival of Kôdayû and Isokichi in 1792, we might assume that as an associate of Katsuragawa Hoshû, his brother Morishima Chûryô, Ôtsuki Gentaku, Sugita Genpaku, and other Edo- and Nagasaki-based scholars familiar with the geography of the outside world, that he had direct access to *hyôryûki* accounts.⁵ Recently, Marcia Yonemoto has argued that Gennai’s work reflects a certain “geographic imaginary” that she claims emerged among urban consumers both high and low in the eighteenth century. She points to world maps and Chinese encyclopedias and gazetteers of the known world such as the *San cai tu hui* 三才圖會 of 1609 and *Shanghai jing* 山海經 of the second century, B.C.E. as the source for Japan’s own worldview.⁶

Yonemoto concludes that Japanese texts such as Terajima Ryôan’s *Wa-Kan sansai zue* 和漢三才図絵 begun in 1712 and Nishikawa Jôken’s *Ka-i tsûshô kô* 華夷通商考 of 1695 (revised 1709) attempted to arrange a new geographic knowledge “within one

⁴ It has been suggested that Gennai read a Dutch version of Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels*, although these theories are based on similarities between the two texts, and without any conclusive evidence. A summary of Homer’s *Odyssey* existed in Japan from very early on. See Donald Keene, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe, 1720-1830, Revised Edition* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1969), 74-75. Likewise, *Robinson Crusoe* was translated numerous times by the late Edo period, and in fact, Nijima Jô is said to have brought it along with a copy of the bible when he set out for America in 1864. For Nijima Jô information see Hirakawa Sukehiro, “Japan’s Turn o the West,” in Bob Wakabayashi, ed., *Modern Japanese Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁵ Noda notes that in the introduction to his *Kakanfu ryakusetsu* 火浣布略説 Gennai explains how he learned the method of making asbestos and other inventions he is credited with, through his participation in a discussion between Aoki Sensei (I assume Aoki Konyô) and one Captain Yangaransu. See Noda (1961), 310. Noda Hisao, *Kinsei shôsetsu shi ronkô* (Tokyo: Kaku Shobô, 1961), 310-316. Demonstrating even further that Gennai not only had access to numerous castaway accounts, but also Dutch sailors. See also Yonemoto (2003), 110.

overarching epistemological system inherited from the Chinese. Both [texts] fundamentally shaped the work of later Japanese writers and illustrators—including authors of satirical fiction—who depicted foreign countries and peoples.”⁷ The Chinese “overarching epistemological system” she explains earlier is, “a new Japan-centered worldview,” or what we have referred to earlier (following Arano) as *Nihon-gata ka-i chitsujo*.⁸ But perhaps the better question to be asked is not whether *Shidôken den* or other Edo fiction of the world might engage a shared imaginary geography, but instead what other geographic imaginaries might circulate in the text? Looking at the reiterations of early Edo castaways in the late Edo period, we can see a certain dissonance among multiple geographic imaginaries. Ikeuchi Satoshi in his study of tycoon diplomacy and might (武威), has articulated similar concerns when he writes,

During this same time in the mid-eighteenth century, not only was there this Japan-centered civilized-barbarian consciousness (日本型華夷意識), but also, as the Motoori Norinaga strain of Nativist Studies upheld, a worldview (世界観) that centered on the emperor and the court to explain Japan. Furthermore, Dutch and Confucian scholars who understood *ka* and *i* in relative terms and conceived of Japan as instantly outside the paradigmatic center (中華), came to the forefront from the eighteenth through to the nineteenth centuries. In other words, in Japan in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there were a plurality of worldviews that coexisted, and a Japan-centered civilized-barbarian consciousness was simply one among them.⁹

⁶ Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868)*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 105.

⁷ Yonemoto (2003), 106.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁹ Ikeuchi Satoshi, *Taikun gaikô to 'bui': Kinsei Nihon no kokusai chitujo to Chôsen kan*, Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppan Kai, 2006), 201.

While most of the texts considered by late-Edo and Meiji period readers to be *hyôryûki* are shorter, bureaucratic documents of the *kuchigaki* form, there are a handful of notable exceptions.¹⁰ In fact, if we were to plot out incidents of drift that generated multiple textual retellings, three general categories would emerge. From the beginnings of the Edo period, through to 1794, most all accounts take place in the context of established East Asian diplomatic protocol and most foreign spaces and peoples fall within a traditional understanding of nations and peoples. As has already been demonstrated, with the repatriation of Kôdayû and Isokichi in 1792 we begin to see a new formal genre of *hyôryûki* emerge. During this same moment, older castaway narratives also re-emerged in more popular forms and genres that tended to disseminate castaway narratives to wider reading and viewing audiences. While after 1794, most accounts of significant length and detail focus on encounters with westerners, older accounts that did not, now began to be rewritten as published adventure narratives and *kabuki* theater, as if these older stories had somehow been rendered politically safe to rewrite as fiction.¹¹ Thus, two of these three general categories of *hyôryûki* texts that emerge during the late-Edo period consist of 1) accounts relating to traditional Asian others (Chinese, Koreans, Siamese, Cambodians, Ryukyans, etc.) written throughout

¹⁰ Besides the three subjects of this chapter, namely Tenjiku Tokubei, Magotarô/Magoshichi, and the surviving crew of *Dattan hyôryûki*, we might consider *Hyôfûtan*, and two accounts to Vietnam as major texts produced before 1792. There are also several early accounts related to uninhabited islands (see Chapter Five) and Ezo that exceeded the formal limits of *kuchigaki*.

¹¹ The few accounts taking place exclusively in Asia after 1800, such as *Palau hyôryûki*, *Luzon hyôryûki*, and *Batan hyôryûki* still comment upon a colonized Pacific and are populated by a mix of westerners, Chinese, indigenous peoples.

the Edo period but in increasingly popular forms by the late-Edo period; and 2) accounts written between 1794 and the 1860s that take as their topic western expansion and colonialism in the Pacific. A third, less-represented category that spans both the early- and late-Edo period is made up of 3) accounts dealing with uninhabited islands (addressed in the next chapter).

While we have focused primarily on accounts of maritime disaster taking place in the late Edo period, in this chapter we will consider three incidents of drift that actually took place in the early Edo period. Our objective is not to recover the historical details of the accounts themselves, but instead to investigate the remarkable manner in which they were re-inscribed and staged in the late Edo period. In doing so, we shall see that over the course of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it was not so much a single dominant world-view or geographic imaginary that informed cultural production, but that numerous world-views—including a revised *ka-i* order that now placed Japan as the true inheritors of Ming civilization, notions of the world based on earlier visions of a Tenjiku-centric geography, as well as a slightly later notion of the globe based on knowledge marked by scientific methods predominant in many of the texts we have considered thus far.¹²

¹² Margarita Winkel suggests as much in her unpublished study of Edo period perceptions of the world. For example, in her discussion of Morishima Chûryô's *Kômô zatsuwa* and *Bankoku shinwa*, she emphasizes Chûryô's use of both Chinese and Western texts, concluding that he, "not only succeeds in making new and original observations, but also to evaluate foreign conditions quite independently from one single type of source on world view." Margarita Winkel, "Discovering Different Dimensions: Explorations of Culture and History in Early Modern Japan," Doctoral Dissertation, Leiden University, 2004), 115.

TENJIKU TOKUBEI

In the 7th month of 1804 the *Kawarazaki za* of Edo staged Tsuruya Nanboku the IV latest play, *Tenjiku Tokubei ikoku banashi* or “Tenjiku Tokubei’s Tales of Foreign Countries.” Records indicate that this play was sold out for over two straight months and its popularity vaulted both its author and lead actor, Onoe Matsunosuke, into a realm of unprecedented fame.¹³ The play begins with the return of a Japanese castaway from the land of Tenjiku. He discovers that his real father is in fact the Korean refugee priest, Sôkan, who has spent his life plotting the assassination of the shogun. Tokubei, inheriting the secrets of toad magic, eventually brings about resolution to the conflict by destroying Sôkan’s mansion and soldiers.

According to the *Shibai nendaiki* 芝居年代記, the performance included outrageous tricks such as giant fire-breathing toads, the collapse of a building on stage, and throwing performers off stage into tubs of water that would in turn drench the audience. But what seems to have made the biggest splash was the fact that for the first time in Kabuki history, costume changes were done underwater and with such speed that rumor soon spread that the actor Matsunosuke was using Christian black magic to perform such feats.¹⁴ Scholars conclude that it was Matsunosuke and Nanboku

¹³ Toita Kenji, *Meisaku kabuki zenshû*, vol. 9 (Tokyo: Tôkyô Sôgen shinsha, 1969), 5.

¹⁴ Kawatake Shigetoshi, *Hyôshaku Edo bungaku sôsho kabuki meisaku shû, jô* (Tokyo: Dai Nihon Yûbenkai Kôdansha, 1935), 204.

themselves that generated such rumors for the sake of increasing even more the popularity of the play, nonetheless this did not stop the *Machibugyô* from sending officials to the theater to conduct a thorough investigation.¹⁵ Despite the concerns of officials, the play was allowed to continue being performed and by later that year people in the streets of Edo were chanting, “*Ryôgoku Matsuroku mizu atari!*” (“Splashed by the water of Ryôgoku Matsuroku!”) as reference to Matsunosuke’s staged antics.¹⁶ Likewise, the popularity of the Tokubei legend is attested to in the extensive number of woodblock prints based on specific performances that exist today.



Illustration 4.1.

Three-panel woodblock print for *Onoe Kikugorô Ichidaiki (Ichimura za)* by Utagawa Kuniyoshi¹⁷

¹⁵ Ibid, 204. See also Toita, 6 and James Brandon & Samuel Leiter, eds., *Kabuki Plays on Stage: Darkness and Desire, 1804-1864* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 35.

¹⁶ Kawatake, 204.

¹⁷ From Tsubouchi Memorial Museum, Waseda University, also in Brandon & Lietier.



Illustration 4.2. Illustration for *Oto ni kiku Tenjiku Tokubei* from *Shibai nendai ki*¹⁸



Illustration 4.3. Illustrated program (*Yon gô me*) for *Tenjiku Tokubei ikoku banashi*¹⁹

¹⁸ Toita Kenji, *Meisaku kabuki zenshû*, vol. 9 (Tokyo: Tôkyô Sôgen Shinsha, 1969), 8.

¹⁹ Toita Kenji, *Meisaku kabuki zenshû*, vol. 9, 3.

While some scholars have attributed both the popularity of the play and its emphasis on the “bizarre” to the decadence of the *Bunka-Bunsei* eras (1804-1830),²⁰ the inscription and performance of the Tokubei legend was not new to the early nineteenth century. A partial list of texts would include:

1707 *Tokubei Tenjiku monogatari, hyôryûki* with characteristics of *setsuwa* written by the Priest Sôshin

1743 *Tenjiku Tokubei ki, hyôryûki* manuscript at Kyoto University

1757 *Tenjiku Tokubei kigigaki ôrai, kabuki* play (*Ômatsu Hyakusuke za*)

1757 *Tenjiku tôkai monogatari*, popular handwritten *hyôryûki* of which several copies still exist

1763 *Tenjiku Tokubei sato no sugatami, jôruri* play written by Chikamatsu Heiji and Takemoto Saburôhei (*Takemoto za*)

1784 *Tenjiku Tokubei ôrai banashi*, printed text written by Rakuda Sanjin

1804 *Tenjiku Tokubei monogatari kusazôshi* written by Santô Kyôden and illustrated by Utagawa Toyokuni

1804 *Tenjiku Tokubei ikoku banashi, kabuki* play written by Tsuruya Nanboku IV (*Kawarazaki za*)

1832 *Tenjiku Tokubei oboegaki, hyôryûki* manuscript

1847 *Onoe Kikugorô ichidaiki, kabuki* play (*Ichimura-za*)

²⁰ Brandon & Leiter, 34.

Likewise, providing a handful of titles, Ikeuchi Satoshi identifies 45 named and unnamed accounts written between 1737 and 1878 that take as their topic the story of Tokubei.²¹ His interest in the Tokubei legend, is part of a larger concern for the ways in which popular (国民) representations of Koreans were manifested in early modern artistic texts of the Other (近世文芸における異国観).²² He singles out two other legends—those of Coxinga made popular in Chikamatsu Monzaemon’s *Kokusenya gassen* and those relating the murder of the Korean official Sai Tensô 崔天宗 in 1764²³ at the hands of Suzuki Denzô, one of the Tsûshima Domain’s Korean translators—that along with Tenjiku Tokubei, present dramatic possibilities in re-writing historical foreign relations. Ikeuchi’s research attempts to read these later re-workings as expressions of sympathy for Korea that was earlier invaded by the Japan and further demonstrate a growing concern for justice found in other theater of the time focused on more domestic issues. We shall see later in this chapter that this mid-eighteenth century boom in Japanese popular representations of Koreans coincided with the re-inscription not only Tokubei, but also the castaways from 1644 that returned from drifting to Tartary (*Dattan*).

Although the theatrical techniques incorporated into Nanboku’s masterpiece were perhaps new to audiences, the story of Tokubei was not. The drama they witnessed would have resonated with earlier versions of Tokubei’s story found in popular drama, graphic art, and literature. The highly fictionalized accounts of Tokubei

²¹ Ikeuchi (2006), 180-181.

²² *Ibid.*, 194-199.

²³ See Ikeuchi (2006), 150-151 for detailed account of this incident.

that found their way into late Edo period theater and popular fiction all find their common source in the much earlier *Tokubei Tenjiku monogatari* (1707). A brief genealogy of these texts reveals that the story, as it appeared in Nanboku's 1804 performance was the result of numerous textual reconfigurations taking place across genres over nearly one century. In 1757 the kabuki play *Tenjiku Tokubei kikigaki ôrai* had proven very successful for the *Ômatsu Hyakusuke za*.²⁴ That same year, the document *Tenjiku tôkai monogatari* was written.²⁵ Seven years later the *Takemoto za* staged *Tenjiku Tokubei sato no sugatami* as a *jôruri* play. Based on a brief look at the *Kokusho sômokuroku*, we can see that numerous handwritten accounts concerning Tenjiku Tokubei were written over the course of the Edo period including; the *Tenjiku Tokubei ki* (1743), *Tenjiku Tokubei ôrai banashi* (1784), and *Tenjiku Tokubei oboegaki* (1832).²⁶ Contemporaneous with Matsunosuke's performance mentioned earlier, the most famous popular writer and illustrator of the day, Santô Kyôden and Utagawa Toyokuni respectively, even turned to the Tokubei legend, writing their *kusa zôshi* text, *Tenjiku Tokubei monogatari*. Even after Nanboku's version of 1804, the story has been rewritten for the stage and has continued to prove popular with the success of plays

²⁴ Toita, 4.

²⁵ In the National Diet Library. A printed edition of the text can be found in volume 10 of the *Nihon bunko*.

²⁶ Numerous referenes to Tenjiku castaway accounts and other more popular forms of this particular Tenjiku castaway account can be found in *Kokusho sômokuroku*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967), 821.

such as *Onoe Kikugorô ichidaiki* performed by the *Ichimura-za* in 1847 (Illustration 4.1).

Although the story of Tokubei was often rendered fantastic through dramatic reinventions, all the stories borrow the basic story of a historically verifiable *hyôryûki* based on the adventures of a sailor, Tokubei, whose ship became distressed in 1627. The earliest accounts chronicle his wanderings throughout the land of Tenjiku, providing the reader with descriptions of the peoples, customs, wildlife, and products of distant foreign countries, while later accounts such as *Tenjiku Tokubei ikoku banashi* focus on extrapolating the details of Tokubei's return to Japan. While we have already seen several examples in which a particular incident of drift, in turn generated a plurality of inscriptions, the Tokubei stories are somewhat remarkable for both the sheer number of reiterations and the specific popular forms of theatrical performance that these particular retellings take.

Nanboku's play was investigated for connections to Christian black magic only to be approved by the Edo magistrates. We may also consider the fact that the author of the *Tenjiku Tokubei monogatari*, Santô Kyôden, had spent 50 days in handcuffs for writing subversive *sharebon* a decade earlier while his Tokubei text seemed to have passed without any similar repercussions.²⁷ While it is often said that castaway narratives were underground texts that were otherwise strictly controlled, the appearance of numerous printed accounts as well as public theatrical performances

²⁷ Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 240-241.

demonstrates that dissemination of at least some of these texts was not so tightly monitored.²⁸ We might wonder why authors of the time felt compelled enough to flirt with authority in telling such a story, or was there something that distinguished Tokubei's story from other castaway narratives that in turn allowed it to be reiterated in such popular forms? In order to consider these questions further; let us now turn our attention to the earliest versions of Tokubei's story known as the *Tokubei Tenjiku monogatari*.²⁹

Although Edo period castaway accounts are often considered as a monolithic genre, this study has attempted to demonstrate that what constitutes the category of *hyôryûki* is in fact comprised of a broad spectrum of texts ranging from the *kuchigaki* form, to encyclopedic accounts modeled on Katsuragawa Hoshû's *Hokusa bunryaku* and Ôtsuki Gentaku's *Kankai ibun*, to playful accounts that employ poetry and other literary means for the sake of entertainment. Tokubei's maritime travel must first be formally and historically differentiated from other accounts of the era. It is in many ways the product of a different epoch characterized by licensed trade with foreign countries through the distribution of *shuin* or vermilion seals.³⁰ In this account we see

²⁸ On a related note, we might also point toward a sets of illustrations in the Kôchi Prefectural Museum and the Whale Museum in Taiji, Wakayama produced at the very end of the Edo period meant to accompany a oral performance of Manjirô's story (*kami shibai*).

²⁹ See Appendix E for a complete translation of *Tokubei Tenjiku monogatari*. This is based on the document as it is reproduced in EHSS1, 487-504. This is the definitive version of the text in print and is based on the work of Ishii Kendô, who compiled and transcribed the text into printable form based upon multiple handwritten versions and variants.

³⁰ Iwao Seiichi is the most eminent scholar of this early transnational trade. See *Shuinsen bôeki shi no kenkyû* (Tokyo: Tokyo : Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1985 and *Shuinsen to Nihon machi* (Tokyo: Shibundô, 1963). See also, Nakamura Hiroshi, "Maps Used by Japanese Licensed Trading Ships," in Nakamura Hiroshi, *East Asia in Old Maps* (Honolulu: East West Center Press, 1964), 74-84.

numerous instances where Tokubei clearly associates himself with this elite group of traders privileged to carry out trade within this older order.

It is said that since in the past, merchants from Japan were permitted to carry out trade with Tenjiku, Suminokura Yoichi, Chaya Shirojirô, Hirano Heijirô, Kagoya, Beniya, and folks of this ilk became official Tenjiku traders. I, Tokubei, was a merchant captain working under Suminokura Yoichi and chartered by the ship captain Maebashi Kiyobei departing Nagasaki on my way to Tenjiku at age fifteen.³¹

Fortunately for Tokubei, his return to Japan in 1633 came only two years before the already mentioned set of maritime prohibitions (*kaikin*), commonly misconstrued as *Sakoku rei*, came to be implemented, and thus his fate was not subject to dictates that now forbade travel abroad by Japanese and threatened to execute any repatriated Japanese.³² Although we are told that Tokubei himself dictated his story, we are also told that it was not until age of 89, over seventy years after his return to Japan, that he took the tonsure and priestly name of Sôshin and proceeded to record his account. Recollected seventy-some years after the fact, this story is somewhat unique among Edo period castaway accounts of the foreign. During the long 74 year period that transpired while the narrator Tokubei/ Sôshin was refining his story, regulations controlling overseas travel were reconfigured, repatriation policies between countries were formed, and a whole genre of texts known as *hyôryûki* or castaway accounts came to be spawned. As we have seen, by the turn of the nineteenth century these texts came to

³¹ All citations from the *Tokubei Tenjiku monogatari* are taken from my appended translation. I am grateful for Stephen Kohl's advice with this translation.

³² Hiraga Noburu, ed., *Nihonshi shiryô senshû*, vol. 1. (Tokyo: Bon'ninsha, 1990), 141-142.

almost always warn of the ominous designs of Western imperial and commercial expansion in Asia. Furthermore, they relate an equally imagined yet very new geography of a finite and nearly closed world of colonies and colonizers, a hierarchy of civilization, race, and emerging Nation-States, and an ideology of territorial exploitation. In other words, by the 1790s this textual category of *hyôryûki* became intimately linked to the development of global relations in the context of early modern world history. However, being of an earlier epoch, Sôshin's version of the story is grounded in a radically different Buddhist-centered geography and topography in which the category of "the West" is barely existent and a region of the world now considered "Europe" remains peripheral at best. In *Tokubei Tenjiku monogatari* we do see a few references to European countries, however their status as a colonial threat is completely absent. This is despite the fact that knowledge of the Dutch or the English at this time ironically came via the imperial outposts they were able to set up in Batavia and other Southeast Asian ports.

Going to Chaya, Rokukon, and Hitsuhira, about 800 *ri* from the capital [Kyoto]³³ there is a place called Shakatai. From this place leaving Suwau and Kyara, it is another 900 *ri* in the SW direction to a place called Jagatara [Jakarta]. This place produces various leather products as well as shark [skin] and other goods. Until this point we were still in the country of Makata, however to the southwest is barbarian country of Tsuritogisu [Portugal???]. In the northwest direction are Oranda [Holland], Igrisu [England], Nuisukuwanniyoro, and the country of Dattan.³⁴

³³ Alternate text reads, "in the SW direction." The text seems to make a very large geographical jump here and begins to describe a completely different area. It is impossible to determine based on the text whether this is information gleaned from firsthand experience or not.

³⁴ The narration of this geography may be based on the colonial outposts in Asia that these western countries laid claim to, or it may actually refer to the European countries themselves. Since Sôshin does not include any distances here, it seems he could in fact be referring to the very distant European

Makata being the extent of Tokubei's travels, the European countries appear simply as neutral components in a catalog of foreign countries—a catalog comprised of identifiable, unidentifiable, and completely imaginary lands (such as the islands of men and women)—and that exist only on the horizon, at the limits of this Buddhist-centric worldview. This positioning of countries is radically different from the vast majority of castaway narratives that come later. By way of contrast, Katsuragawa Hoshū's geographic descriptions of the world as they appear in the *Hokusa bunryaku* are painted with a western inflected notion of world geography.

Having been shown maps of Amchitka and various places [we were able to imagine] the direction, route, and distance to Kamchatka and [we could see] that this was one island in the “Areuchisuki” archipelago. The island of Arukukuto in Zeogarahi lies right between the two great continents of Asia and America. The islands are spread out like stars all the way to the coast of North America. However, since these islands are so small, they cannot all be named. They begin 600 or 700 *ri* to the northeast of Ezo at 52 or 53 degrees North Latitude. . . [Russians] have without a doubt laid claim to America. Among the four great continents, three—America, Asia, and Europe—are connected.³⁵

Although we may find fault with the details of this description by Katsuragawa, the basic components of continent, nation, and colony, as well as the abstractions of European exploration such as latitude, that we see here, marks a dramatic break from castaway accounts such as Tokubei's that came before it. Reading *Tokubei Tenjiku monogatari* today, we are continually confronted with a certain geographic dissonance.

countries themselves. It is important to note that unlike later Edo period castaway accounts which often focus heavily on descriptions of empire and colonial relations, Tokubei's story seems to be completely void of this vocabulary.

³⁵ NSSSS5, 744.

Even the designation of the space “Tenjiku” presents a problem. Early literary texts such as *Taketori monogatari* and *Konjaku monogatari* often equate this term with India and this is still a common practice today. However Tokubei’s travels in fact take place throughout a space coinciding with today’s Southeast Asian countries of Cambodia, Thailand, and Vietnam. While focusing on mendicant priests from Tenjiku arriving in Japan (*Tenjiku jin hijiri*), the historian Tanaka Takeo, has demonstrated that by the fourteenth century the land of Tenjiku was in fact a much more loosely determined space that included Java, parts of China, and other areas outside the traditionally understood borders of India.³⁶

Tenjiku is perhaps better understood in terms of its central position in a particular Buddhist cosmology represented by a particular type of map known as *Go Tenjiku zu* 五天竺図. Tenjiku was frequently divided into five (and sometimes sixteen) smaller countries and was said to comprise the larger part of the continent of *Jambudvîpa* or “The Whole World.” (J: *Nansen bushû*). The birthplace of the Buddha and center of this worldview was commonly marked by a vortex in the north-central mountains of this landmass and a central lake from which four major rivers flow.³⁷

Map 4.1 is a very early example of how this worldview was conceived spatially. It is interesting to note that in this map, the Japanese archipelago remains on the very upper right-hand border, on the very edges of the world. While this geography came

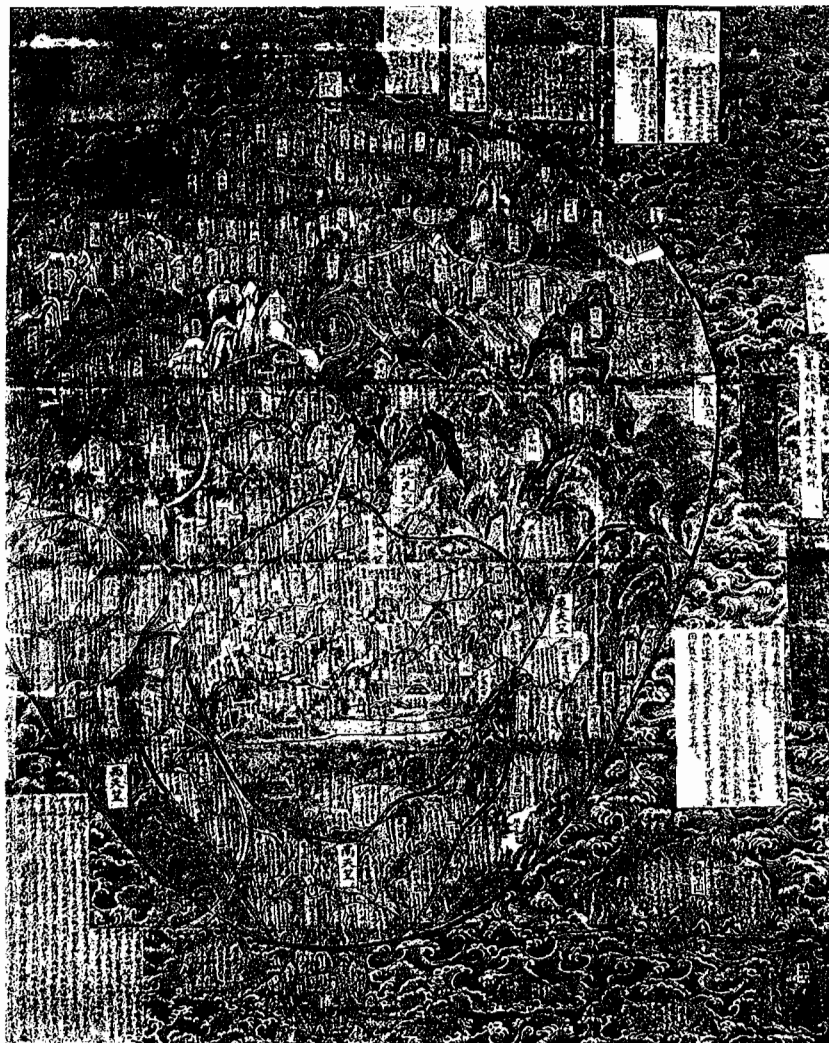
³⁶ Tanaka Takeo, “Ken Minsen bôekika Tachibanayô Nishinobu to sono izzoku,” in *Chûsei kaigai kôshô shi no kenkyû* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan, 1959), 117-120.

under greater and greater scrutiny, with the growing knowledge from the West and a redirected gaze toward the Pacific, these *Tenjiku zu* continued to be produced and evidence suggests that the particular view of the world embodied in these maps maintained a certain authority over the course of the early Edo period. This is not to say that it was the only, or even predominant, geography of the day. By the end of the eighteenth century, maps based exclusively on western geographic knowledge also came to circulate. (See Map 4.2) As a parallel or alternative geography, these maps superimposed a latitude-longitude grid over the world and established a spherical logic of the globe by having all horizontal lines bend in proportion to their relative distance to the equator. Produced just a few years after Tokubei was said to have written his account, we may also consider the *Nansen bushû bankoku shôka no zu* of 1709 or 1710³⁸ by the priest Hôtan (Map 4.3) as another example of the many *Tenjiku* maps that were produced during this period. While Japan appears as a much more accurate and distinct body in relation to the continent, we also see European countries distinctly marked in the upper left-hand corner. Muroga and Unno have demonstrated that Hôtan based his map on an earlier anonymous map known as the “Namba map” (Map 4.4), and incorporated new geographic information about the European world gleaned from the *Dai Min kyûhen bankoku jinseki rotei zenzu*.³⁹ Thus they conclude that, “Hôtan’s problem was now properly to bring these far-off countries into Jambu-dvîpa while

³⁷ See Muroga & Unno, “The Buddhist World Map in Japan and its contact with European Maps,” in *Imago Mundi*, vol 16 (1962), 49-69.

³⁸ The exact dating of this map is somewhat unclear. See Muroga & Unno, 62.

retaining its traditional shape. The Namba map provided him with the best material possible.”⁴⁰ Thus, this map maintains the elements of the vortex and rivers that emanate from it, as well as the singular landmass that comprises this world found in the Tenjiku precursors.

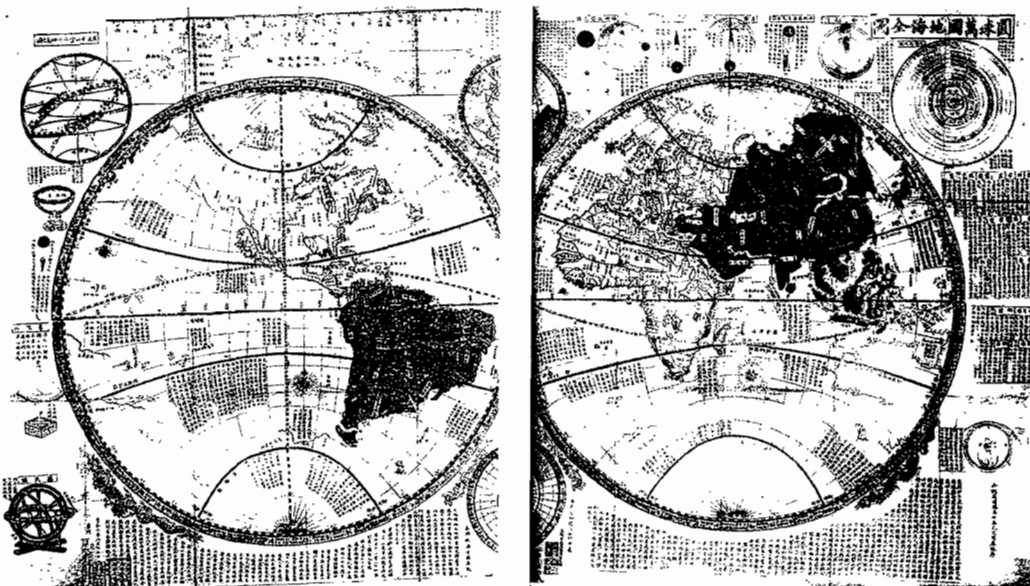


Map 4.1. *GoTenjiku zu* at Hyōryūji, 1364⁴¹

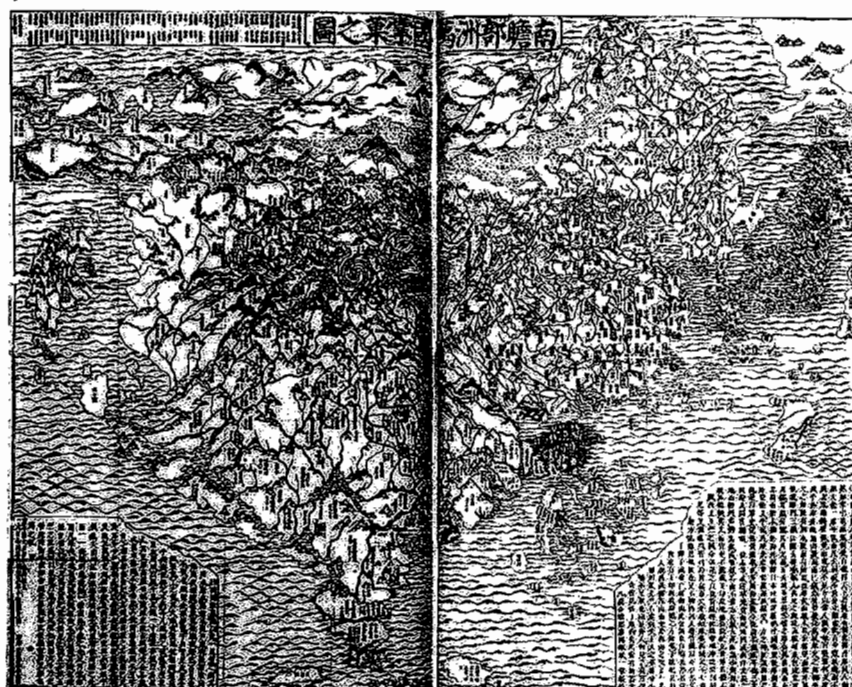
³⁹ Ibid, 62.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 62.

⁴¹ From *Nihon no kochizu* (Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1969), 1.

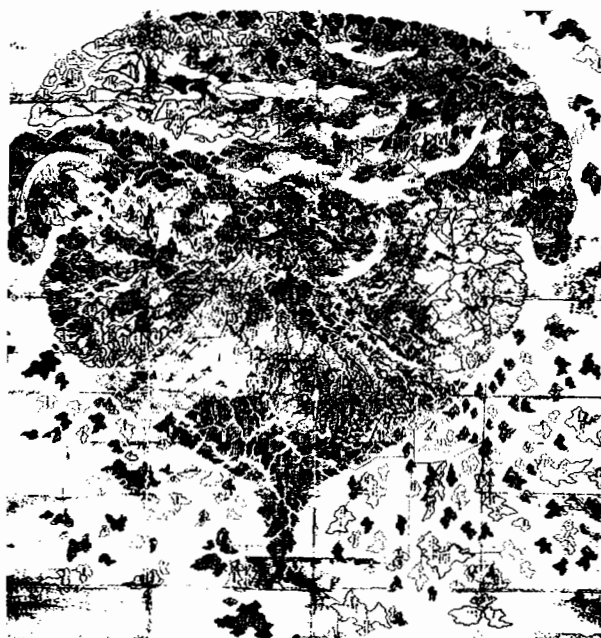


Map 4.2. *Enkyû bankoku chikai zenzu*, 1802⁴²



Map 4.3. *Nansen bushû bankoku shôka no zu*, c.a. 1710 by the priest Hôtan⁴³

⁴² From *Nihon no kochizu* (Tokyo: Sôgensha, 1969), 20-21.



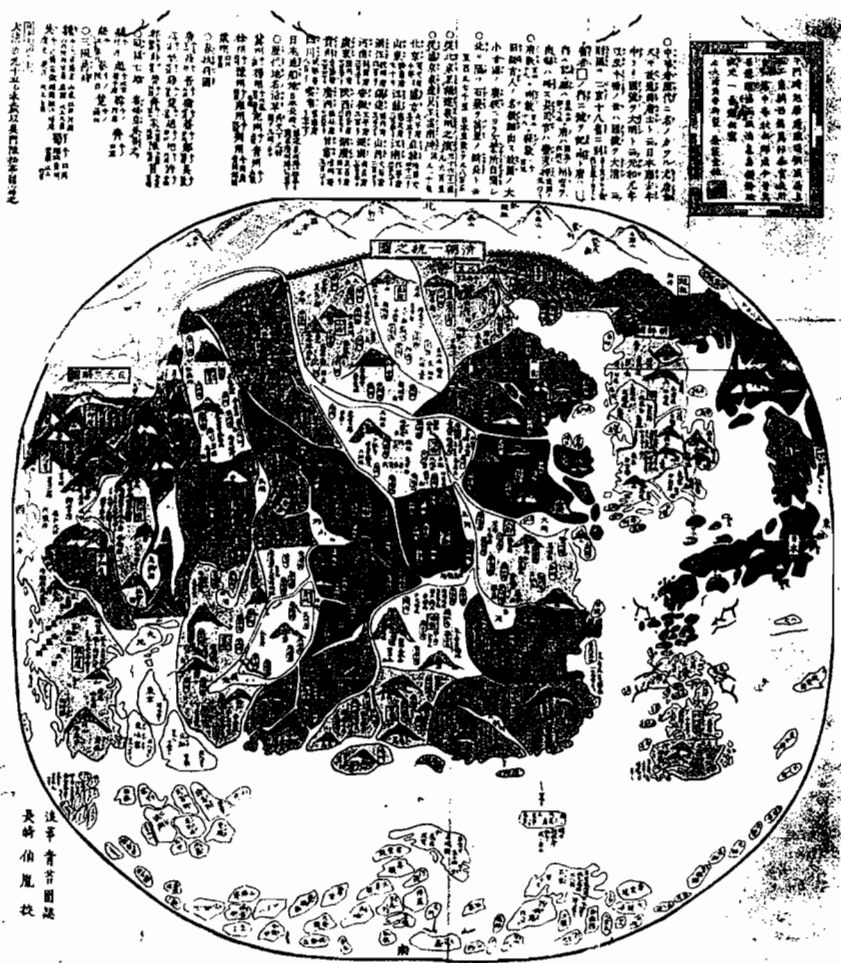
Map 4.4. "Namba Map"⁴⁴

With a long history of exchange between China and Japan, we may well wonder why the "Middle Kingdom" does not appear completely accurate. Certainly we may find it marked (if not so accurately) in the Tenjiku maps we have already seen. In the *Shinchô ittô no zu* (Map 4.5), we see the centrality of China emphasized at the expense of Tenjiku. It is important to note however that Tenjiku, along with the Japanese archipelago and the Korean peninsula are still there, even if relegated to the extreme right margin. Perhaps the most interesting fusion of these two disparate geographies is found in the *Bankoku ikkan zu* of 1809 (Map 4.6) Except for the Americas, this map

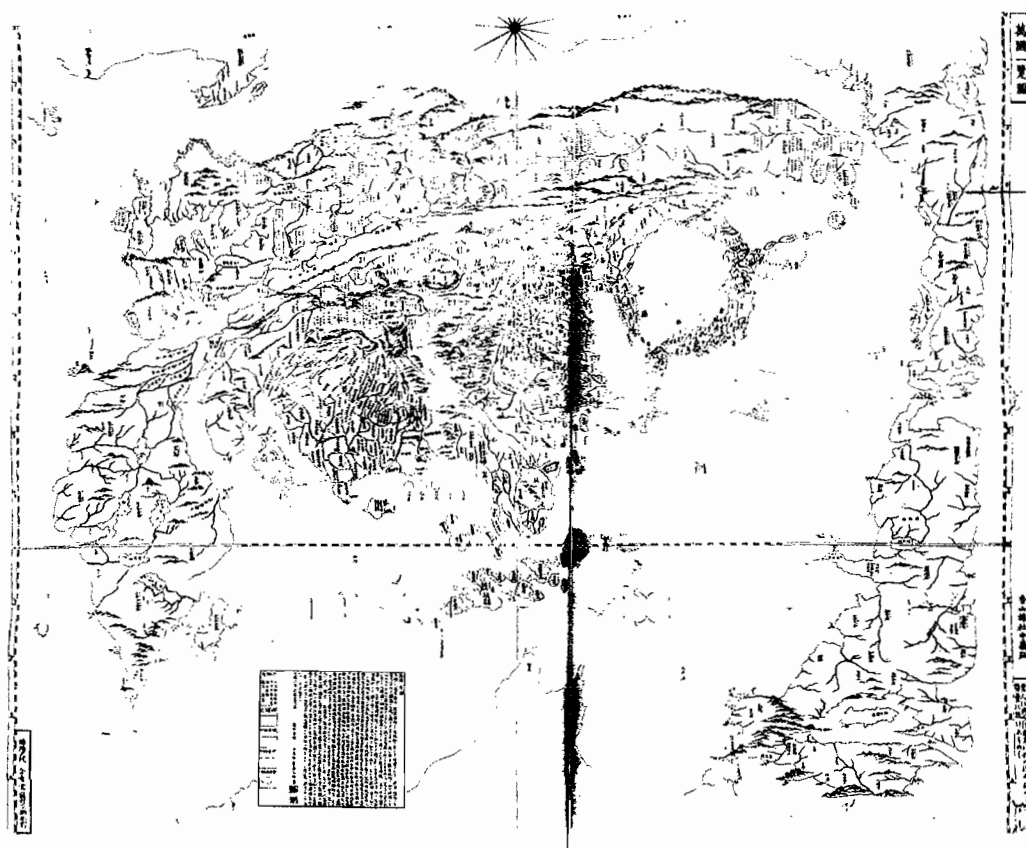
⁴³ From Columbia University Japanese Maps webpage. Also in *Nihon no kochizu* (Tokyo: Sôgensha, 1969), 13

⁴⁴ From Nobuo Muroga & Kazutaka Unno, "The Buddhist World Map in Japan and its Contact with European Maps," in *Imago Mundi*, XVI (1962), 58.

reveals an awareness of the world not so different than our own worldview. It does so, while maintaining the earlier mentioned characteristics of *Tenjiku zu* such as the vortex. But in order to reconcile these two perspectives, it relies on two separate map keys. While the key in the lower left-hand corner refers to the newer concepts of continents, the five color-coded circles near the center of the map speak of the “Five Tenjiku.”



Map 4.5. *Shinchô ittô no zu* by Seitaien (1835)⁴⁵



Map 4.6. *Bankoku ichiran zu* by Koyano Yoshiharu (1809)⁴⁵

The transformations in geographic knowledge manage to even permeate the concrete usage of language. The verb “*tôten*” (“to cross to Tenjiku”) which appears numerous times in Tokubei’s narrative with such phrases as, “*Nagasaki wo shussen tsukamatsuri tôten itashi sôrô*,” (from the above citation) suggests its own becoming obsolete and must have already sounded somewhat archaic in the context of post-*shuinsen* international relations. Originally used to describe Chinese priests’ travels to

⁴⁵ From *Nihon no kochizu* (Tokyo: Sôgensha, 1969), 17.

⁴⁶ From *Nihon no kochizu* (Tokyo: Sôgensha, 1969), 22-23.

the holy-land of Buddhism, by the beginning of the seventeenth century it was more often used to describe international trade between Japan and various ports in Southeast Asia.

The antiquated sense of this term is reinforced with the repeated qualification that the story is one set “in the past,” and repeated emphasis that the circumstances of Tokubei’s misfortune are something rendered no longer possible. Towards the end of his story we again read:

In those days, the commercial products sent from Japan included mosquito netting, umbrellas, fans, lacquer ware, guns, bronze, tools, swords, long knives, *however this is now strictly forbidden* by Japan.⁴⁷ *In those days*, we would return from Tenjiku with thread, fabric, medicines, fragrant woods, and shark that we bought.

Aside from distinguishing between transoceanic trade of the past and present, it is important to also point out that the geography of Tokubei’s account is populated with Buddhas, dragons, and even mythical phoenixes. It is unique among castaway narratives in that it borrows heavily from *setsuwa* tradition and lacks scientific and ethnographic description found in later accounts. Unlike later versions of Tokubei’s story that appear on stage and in popular literature, *Tokubei Tenjiku monogatari* primarily focuses on visits to holy sites, explanations for the origins of relics kept by temples in Japan, and anecdotes of a mysterious world. For example, he identifies a stupa in Cambodia with Ryôjusen, or Vulture Peak, in Northern India, where we are told, Shakamuni gave a sermon.

⁴⁷ Alternate text reads, “In particular umbrellas, netting, and fans comprise the majority of cargo because Japanese paper is so thin and strong.”

Forty *ri* upstream from the capital there is a mound called Ryôjusen.⁴⁸ It is one *ri* high and eight *chô* wide and 16 *chô* in length. At this place you can see a huge boulder. On this Rock Mountain a sermon was given by Shakamuni. High on that rock is the Buddha's wash basin.⁴⁹

Since our author of this tale is writing only after Tokubei has become the priest Sôshin and is identified with being affiliated with a temple in Takasago, Harima, we might not find this formal emphasis on the *setsuwa* 説話 tradition and the preponderance of Buddhist-related stories so strange. As a hagiographic document relating the adventures of Tokubei, it also may have been written in part to ratify the cultural authority of the temple with which Tokubei is affiliated. We should not overlook passages in the text that draw direct connections between Sôshin the Buddhist priest and the system of *Shuinsen* trade.⁵⁰ For example, invoking the name of a particular temple in Japan, we find Tokubei at one point explaining just how a set of sutras written on leaves of a tree from Tenjiku find their way to Harima. As Tanaka's earlier cited study demonstrates, social institutions at least partially outside the direct control of centralized governance, particularly Buddhist temple complexes, developed tight relations between the highly regulated system of official vermilion seal traders.⁵¹

⁴⁸ This mountain, Ryôjusen, is the famed "Vulture Peak," where the Buddha was said to have expounded many sutras. It is actually located in central India, however it seems that our narrator has once again confused his geographies.

⁴⁹ Alternate text reads, "a statue of the Buddha, his footprints, and a wash basin."

⁵⁰ While pointing out that the *Shuin sen* "system" (*seidô*) was instituted by an emerging early-modern centralized State, Iwao is also careful to demonstrate that the development of this system also had its origins in a shift from an older worldview (*kyû chitsujo*). Iwao Seiichi, *Shuinsen to Nihonmachi* (Tokyo: Shibundô, 1963), 8-14.

⁵¹ Tanaka Takeo, "Ken Minsen bôekika Tachibanayô Nishinobu to sono izzoku," in *Chûsei kaigai kôshô shi no kenkyû* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan, 1959), 121.

There are leaves of the *Tarayau* tree growing around the mountain of Ryôjusen. [Editor explains that this is a reference to the leaves of the Tara tree, upon whose leaves are inscribed the teachings of the Buddha.] Every year one cartload [of leaves] is exported. They have some of these leaves at Jûrinji Temple in Takasago.⁵² An old priest at Tehiyatai asked us to get one of these leaves of the Tarayau tree on which the disciples at the time of Buddha's life used to transcribe the Buddha's sermons. The elder priest asked for one leaf and because this man was the father-in-law of Kinoshita Rokubei—the overseer of the dorm belonging to my employee Maebashi Seibeï—we offered this to the temple.

We may also consider the following story of the Japanese merchant Môtei, whom we are told Tokubei had met in person. This is a very concrete example of a merchant attempting to smuggle back into Japan, artifacts of particularly sacred value whose ultimate planned destination would have more likely than not been a temple:

There is a person named Môtei from Japan who came to Tenjiku twice. On his second trip he had wrapped two or three of these Rain Dragon scales in some nose papers and boarded the ship. At the mouth of the Ryûsa River they were not able to budge an inch, upon which the captain of the ship determined that among those on board someone was in possession of either the bones or scales of a Rain Dragon. Môtei would have to quickly dispose of them in the river while a search [for the culprit] was being conducted among the crew, otherwise even after several months, the ship would refuse to move as long as they could not find any contraband on board. They would begin to fight among themselves thinking that one of them had concealed something on their persons. Although they had all boarded the ship in the morning, by noon they were still stuck, and since none of them were to leave the ship, this man called Mobei secretly took all three scales from his pocket and disposed of them. Immediately the boat took off. I heard this story from Mobei himself. It is because of the power invested in the Rain Dragon, that they can only be captured alive [and later] cut up and sold in pieces. It is very difficult to dismiss this story completely, [since] the depth of the Ryusa River at its center is 75 *hiro*, and I was told that there are places that are 100 *hiro*.

⁵² Alternate text reads, "Nagasaki."

Although this particular story does not reappear in Nanboku's staged performance of *Tenjiku Tokubei ikoku banashi* てんじくとくべいいこくばなし 音菊天竺徳兵衛, it is juxtaposed nicely with the later playwright's invention of fire-breathing magic toads. While the earlier stories of dragons are "difficult to dismiss," by the 1800s the fire-breathing toads lay far enough outside the realm of possibility that their existence remains an unthreatening fiction. The sorcery of controlling these magic toads is associated in the play with both Christianity and Ainu beliefs, through Tokubei's costumes that incorporate elements from both the West and indigenous peoples (stage notes have him wearing both Ainu-like and Dutch-sailors costumes). Though loosely based on Sôshin's original account, the playwright Nanboku added this Christian motive with specific directions concerning Tokubei's appearance. As Brandon and Leiter point out,

Christianity, officially prohibited in the 1600s, was associated with miraculous powers. The large Japanese toad (*gama*). . . [were] considered frightening. The Ainu were reputed to believe that lunar eclipses were caused by a toad swallowing the moon. . . Many folktales and plays. . . exploit this belief, sometimes with a leading character mastering the toad's magic and, with the toad at the character's side, using its power to overcome its enemies.⁵³

In considering just how fictional this invention appeared to late Edo viewers, we should recall the fact that rumors of Christian sorcery that surrounded the production of this play had nothing to do with the incorporation of fire-breathing toads, but instead with the inventive acting techniques of its star performer Matsunosuke. Thus, as this older Buddhist-centric geography of the Five Tenjiku countries was rendered obsolete

⁵³ Brandon & Leiter, 35-36.

and replaced by a newer knowledge of the world informed by an increasing western presence in Asia, new *literary* and fictional possibilities for the Tokubei story become apparent.

Perhaps the most significant twist on the story of Tokubei that took place in later Edo dramatic interpretations involves the identity of Tokubei himself. In the *Tokubei Tenjiku monogatari* of 1707 Tokubei is unambiguously associated with a temple in Takasago, Harima (in today's Hyôgo Prefecture). However, in Nanboku's play of 1804 Tokubei comes on stage and is introduced as, "the captain Tokubei... from Takasago in northern Japan. Five years ago he was blown off course and landed in India."⁵⁴ While Takasago is a place-name for several sites in the archipelago (and Taiwan), the somewhat ambiguous, for Edo audiences "Takasago in northern Japan" was most likely the port of Takasago in Ezo-chi (now part of Muroran, Hokkaidô). Along with the Ainu-patterned, padded robe that Tokubei wears later in Act II, this introduction manages to recast the castaways origins away from the Inland Sea, to the frontier zone of the north where a decade earlier Kôdayû and Isokichi had been repatriated and where the threat of Russian encroachment and Christianization of the Ainu in the *Chishima* Islands had become one of the most significant concerns for the *bakufu*. As the play unfolds, we learn that Tokubei has returned to the mansion of the father he never knew, the Korean refugee Sôkan, who has married a Japanese woman (Yûnami, Tokubei's mother) and has spent his years in Japan so that he might master invincible magical

⁵⁴ *Kabuki Plays On Stage, volume 3: Darkness and Desire, 1804-1864* (James R. Brandon & Samuel L. Leiter, eds.) (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 37.

powers and carry out his life-long dream of assassinating the Shôgun. Sôkan's true identity and admission of hoping, "to avenge Japan's cruelty toward Korea," comes in his dramatically charged scene of suicide. The following scene then shifts to the deck of Tokubei's ship, where Sôkan acknowledges his paternity and proceeds to pass the magic sword, mirror, and secrets of toad magic on to his son. After testing and experimenting with his newly found powers, Tokubei turns to his father and says, "Wonderful! I'll soon bring Japan to its knees! The gutters will run with blood! I understand the magic, Father!" and later, at the close of the scene, he states, "I'll rule land and sea! I'm invincible! Death and destruction to all Japan! I can even level Mt. Fuji!"⁵⁵ This re-assignment of Tokubei's identity as not quite Japanese, but instead as someone from the border lands of the emerging national consciousness and with a Korean lineage, seems to have its origins in *Tenjiku Tokubei kikigaki ôrai* of 1757.⁵⁶

While Ikeuchi does not provide any textual analysis of the 45 Tenjiku texts he identifies, this theme of Korean revenge that we see in this particular Tenjiku play certainly fits well with his argument that popular sentiment among Japanese audiences in the later Edo period tended to reflect sympathies for Korea. Furthermore, we might point to similarities this Tenjiku play shares with the other two historic narratives that Ikeuchi points to, namely the *Coxinga* and *Sai Tensô* literature. As in the *Coxinga* stories, the hero of Nanboku's Tenjiku play is the child of a Japanese mother and foreign father. Furthermore, the geographic imaginary in both plays is rendered

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 44-45.

⁵⁶ See Ikeuchi (2006), 384.

problematic in their respective reiterations. While Nanboku may have embraced an increasingly obsolete Tenjiku-centric tale as source material in order to critique *bakufu* relations with Korea, Chikamatsu Monzaemon also foregrounds the geographic schematization of his *Kokusenya Gassen* of 1715, highlighting a certain dissonance between a map that places China at its center, and the question of Japan's own claims to centrality in a post-Ming East Asia. For example, in Act III, scene 1 we read:

I knew that Japan lay to the east, at the edge of the world, so each day at dawn I bowed to the rising sun, and at dusk I spread out a map of the world and said to myself: 'Here is China, there is Japan, where my father is.' Japan seemed so near on the map, but you were three thousand leagues away or more.⁵⁷

As with Coxinga, Nanboku and other later writers and artists found the Tokubei story on the one hand sufficiently exotic for entertainment purposes, but on the other hand, historically and geographically far enough removed from contemporary realities in order to avoid both the censorship of authorities and freely manipulate the details of the original castaway narrative in creative ways. Nanboku was not the only late Edo writer to re-write early Edo castaway narratives in creative ways, and as we shall see in our analysis of later versions of the early Edo castaways from *Dattan hyôryûki* and Magoshichi/Magotarô legends, also engage the shifting geographic imaginations of their readers in important ways.

⁵⁷ Translated by Michael Brownstein, in *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900*, 288. See also, NKBT50, 256-272.

DATTAN HYÔRYÛKI

The *Dattan hyôryûki* 韃靼漂流記 was first written in the 8th month of 1646 soon after 15 of the original 58 crew members were repatriated to Japan via the Qing court in Beijing and the Chosŏn court of Korea.⁵⁸ Along with *Tokubei Tenjiku monogatari*, it is considered to be one of the earliest detailed (beyond the *kuchigaki* form) castaway narratives of the Edo period.⁵⁹ Also similar to the Tokubei story, the Dattan castaways' story was significantly rewritten at least nine times after 1646.⁶⁰ The general story appears in various forms under the title of *Ikoku monogatari* 異國物語, while it was published twice as both *Kanei hyôryûki* 寛永漂流記 and the *Chôsen monogatari* 朝鮮物語, the latter being published in at least two editions. This suggests that there was a profound interest in this story among reading audiences throughout the Edo period, and that by the early eighteenth century the reading audience included urban consumers who

⁵⁸ For a *katsuji* version of the earliest documentation regarding this shipwreck see *Ishii Kendô korekushon Edo hyôryûki sôshû, dai I kan* (Yamashita Tsuneo, ed.) (Tokyo: Nihon Hyôronsha, 1992), pp. 97-130. A summary/ translation of this account was done by V. Posdneeff and published as, "The Wanderings of the Japanese Beyond the Seas," in *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society*, Second Series, Volume 6 (1929), 20-51. The most extensive research to date done on these texts was by Sonoda Kazuki, *Dattan hyôryûki no kenkyû* (Fongtien City: South Manchurian Rail Co., 1939). See also, Sugiyama Kiyohiko, "Dattan hyôryûki no kokyô wo tazunete: Echizen Mikuni Minato hômonki," in *Manzoku shi kenkyû, dai san gô* (July 2004), 156-172.

⁵⁹ As for the attribution of being one of the first *hyôryûki* following the implementation of early Edo *kaikin* see, Arakawa Hidetoshi, *Nihonjin hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Jinbutsu Ôraisha, 1964), 39.

⁶⁰ Suzuki Aya, in an article on the *Chôsen monogatari*, cites Sonoda's *Dattan hyôryûki no kenkyû* stating that there are nine different versions of this account produced in the Edo period. See, Suzuki Aya, "Enkyô – Kanenki no 'Chôsen buumu' ni miru jita ishiki," in *Rekishî hyôron* No. 651 (July 2004), 64.

purchased the text in published form.⁶¹ Needless to say, there is no evidence that the published versions of the story were suppressed or caused any problems with authorities. Furthermore, unlike the Tokubei legend, the later versions of *Dattan hyôryûki* are not performed on stage or in puppet theater and instead of relying on the fantastic power of toad magic and other supernatural elements to tell the story, the versions of the Dattan castaways' story remains more-or-less a travel narrative, framed as factual, and relying on detailed and accurate description of places the castaways stayed and the people with whom they met. The *Dattan hyôryûki* and variants of *Ikoku monogatari* are texts in two parts, the first being a summary of the castaways travels, followed by a longer section comprised of specific points of elaboration and descriptions of language, counting systems, etc. encountered in Dattan and Beijing.

A month after their return via Tsushima in the spring of 1646 two castaways, Kunita Hyôemon and Ono Yosaburô, were summoned to Edo to be questioned. The resulting text, *Dattan hyôryûki*, was a detailed account of the ships' crew and the survivors' experiences through northeast Asia, to Beijing, and Korea on their return home. The writing of the text coincided with the moment the *bakufu* were considering

⁶¹ For a *katsuji* version of the *Ikoku hyôryûki* see, Arakawa Hidetoshi, *Ikoku hyôryûkishû* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1962). The *Kanei hyôryûki* was reproduced and published as a *fukusei* edition by Kisho Fukuseikai (Tokyo: Yoneyamadô, 1940). The *Chôsen monogatari* was reproduced and published as a *fukusei* edition by the Kyôtô Daigaku Kokubungakkai. See, Kimura Riemon, *Chôsen monogatari* [reprint of original 1750 text] (Kyoto: Kyôtô Daigaku Kokubungakkai, 1970). Kyushu University Library has placed a digital copy of the original text on the internet. See, <http://record.museum.kyushu-u.ac.jp/ntyoutop.html> (May 1, 2006).

sending arms and assistance to the Ming loyalists and at a point when the *bakufu* was in dire need of updates on the newly established Qing dynasty.⁶²

According to the *Dattan hyōryūki*, in the 4th month of 1644 Takeuchi Fujiemon and his son Takeuchi Tōzō outfitted two ships and Kunita Hyōemon outfitted a third with a total crew of 58 men.⁶³ Their original itinerary was to sail from their home port of Mikuniura in the province of Echizen on the coast of the Japan Sea to Matsumae in what is now in southern Hokkaidō. They soon encountered a storm that blew for approximately fifteen days. When the winds and rain finally abated, they found themselves off the coast of an uninhabited shore. They assumed they had drifted to the northeast, but after taking on drinking water and repairing their ships, they encountered yet another storm, which drove their ships fifty *ri* (approximately 196 km.) further to the west. Here they encountered natives in small boats, and once they realized that these foreign peoples had access to ginseng, the Japanese sailors decided to somehow load their ships and return with a rare and valuable cargo. The day after meeting the foreigners, fourteen of the crew stayed on board the ships while the remaining forty-four set off in search of ginseng, led by native guides. The crewmembers who went ashore were ambushed and killed by the natives, who then turned to loot and set fire to

⁶² For a thorough review of this see Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early-modern Japan*, Princeton University Press, 1984, 131 ff.

⁶³ The following narrative summary is taken from Stephen Kohl and Michael Wood, "Getting the Story Right: A Castaway's Travels in Korea and the Textual Genealogy that Followed," forthcoming from Columbia University Press. See also Arakawa Hidetoshi, *Nihonjin hyōryūki* (Tokyo: Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1964), 24-32. As Stephen Kohl and Haruna Akira, before him have pointed out, the likelihood that this was actually a case of accidental drift is highly suspect. However, perhaps because of geopolitical sensitivities at the time, the castaway's story was accepted as a case of drift.

the ships. In the end only fifteen of the fifty-eight castaways survived to be made slaves by their captors.

Eventually Manchu (Dattan) officials arrived to investigate. They took the fifteen Japanese survivors and three local village officials to the capital at Shenyang and brought them before the magistrate. The official ruled that the local people were guilty of ill-treating the castaways and of not reporting the matter of the arrival of foreigners to the authorities. While they were taken care of in Shenyang, they were told that they would have to petition the emperor in the newly established capital of Beijing if they hoped to return to Japan. The castaways arrived in Beijing in the autumn of 1644 where they were given a house, food and clothing, and servants to take care of their housekeeping. In the spring of the following year they submitted a petition to the emperor asking to be repatriated. Six more months passed until finally on the 5th day of the 11th month, they were told that they would depart within the week for Japan via Korea. The Japanese were outfitted with winter clothes for traveling and given horses. They joined more than a hundred horsemen with banners and servants all going to Seoul.

They passed through the Great Wall at Shanhaikuan, and returned to Shenyang before making their way south toward Korea. At the Yalu River most of the Dattan escort turned back when the castaways, along with about ten of the Dattan officials were met by a party of some two hundred Koreans who took them on to Seoul. Arriving at the end of the 12th month, the castaways were impressed by their Korean

escort, thinking that they had drawn such attention.⁶⁴ Perhaps they did not realize that the Dattan court was sending an ambassador to Seoul and they were merely attached to the ambassador's retinue.

In Seoul the castaways were entertained on several occasions with elaborate feasts and given gifts, before being sent to Pusan. As Stephen Kohl has pointed out, the reason for their delay in Seoul was that Cheng Meng-shou, an interpreter for the Dattan ambassador who had been part of the retinue from Beijing to Seoul, proposed that a delegation including himself should accompany the castaways not merely to Pusan, but all the way to Edo in order to meet with the Shogun Iemitsu and present him with a message from the newly installed Qing emperor.⁶⁵ The Korean officials who had dealt regularly with the *bakufu* through Tsushima and its representatives knew perfectly well that this proposal was outrageous. After Korean officials succeeded in persuading the Qing ambassador to instead write a letter on behalf of his emperor, it was taken to Pusan and handed to a Japanese representative, who in turn passed it to the proper authorities in Tsushima. Nonetheless, Cheng Meng-shou's proposal delayed the castaway's departure for Seoul by three days and caused considerable dismay among

⁶⁴ The description of the treatment the castaways receive by the Manchu (in this text "Dai Min" is used) officials often conflates the castaways' nationality with the level of attention they receive. For example, in the *Takeuchi* manuscript it reads, "Even if we became slightly ill, a doctor would be called and because Japanese are clean freaks (日本人は綺麗ずき成る由にて), they would constantly purify themselves. Furthermore, the wives and such of high ranking officials (奉行衆の奥方など) were always begging us to sing Japanese songs, and we were additionally treated to many feasts." EHSS1, 102-103. Sonoda, Kazuki. *Op. Cit.*, 303.

⁶⁵ Kohl & Wood, (forthcoming article, page 6 of manuscript submitted to editors)

the Korean officials.⁶⁶ At Pusan the castaways were turned over to the custody of Furukawa Iemon who was the Tsushima domain's representative in Korea. They were given lodgings in at the Japan House⁶⁷ (K: *Waegwan*) in Pusan. On the 17th day of the 2nd month of 1646 the castaways arrived at the port of Wani no ura on Tsushima and were at last on Japanese soil almost two years after leaving their homes. They spent nearly four months on Tsushima presumably being debriefed by Tsushima authorities, and then were sent on to Osaka, arriving there on the 16th day of the 6th month.

While *Dattan hyôryûki* is perhaps the earliest extended version of these castaways' travels, Arakawa has argued that the story was soon reworked in various manuscript forms and titled *Ikoku monogatari*. He continues his argument by suggesting that the *Ikoku monogatari* was written as a morality tale combining the historical events with elements of a much older legend of Urashima Tarô, by which the greed of the sailors in trying to smuggle ginseng into Japan for the sake of profit is criticized, although this may be somewhat of a stretch.⁶⁸ While the *Ikoku monogatari* and many other shorter documents exist concerning this account of drift, for our purposes we will now turn to later published forms of this story that appear to have been widely consumed.

While the earliest re-inscriptions of the *Dattan hyôryûki* were handwritten manuscripts, the *Chôsen monogatari* published in Kyoto in 1750 by Kimura Riemon

⁶⁶ For a summary of this see: Sonoda, Op. Cit., 184-7, and Haruna, Akira. *Sekai wo mite shimatta otokotachi: Edo no ikyo taiken*, Chikuma Bunko, Tokyo, 1988, 251-304.

⁶⁷ In *Chôsen monogatari* this is referred to as *Nihon machi no ryôshuku* (日本町の旅宿).

and the *Kanei hyôryûki* published sometime in the Hôei or Shotoku periods (1704-1716), stand as two examples of commercially published texts.⁶⁹ Suzuki Aya has argued that the writing and publishing of the *Chôsen monogatari* coincided with a “boom” in things Korean that was sweeping Japan in the late 1740s and 50s.⁷⁰ As with late Edo performances of the Tenjiku story, we might wonder why the Dattan castaways demonstrated such a publicly visible afterlife in the late Edo period, long after the question of Qing legitimacy (for the *bakufu*) had been resolved. Was it simply attributable to a boom in commercial literature on Korea?

These versions of the story are palimpsests of sorts, having been built upon layers of earlier texts, but while their origins may be traced to the handwritten manuscripts of *Dattan hyôryûki*, a closer examination reveals that they are in fact strikingly different. While the *Dattan hyôryûki* primarily describes events in Dattan and Beijing, the description of their time in Korea is relatively scant, limited primarily to descriptions of the food and goods they received from the Chosŏn Court and an

⁶⁸ Arakawa (1964), 32-33.

⁶⁹ While I have been able to find at least two editions of the *Chôsen monogatari* (including a version brought back by Siebold, now in the Leiden University collection), the *Kanei hyôryûki* seems to only exist today in a *fukusei* (reprint from original woodblock prints) edition produced during the war years. See Yamada Seisaku, ed. *Kanei hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Yoneyamadô, 1940). For dating of the original *Kanei hyôryûki* see Kobayashi (2000), 202.

⁷⁰ Suzuki (2004); It should be noted that much earlier Ronald P. Toby pointed out this boom in Japanese representations of Koreans in popular culture, pointing out that the 1748 embassy incited popular enactments of Korean visitors. See Ronald P. Toby, “Carnival of Aliens: Korean Embassies in Edo-Period Popular Art and Culture,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 41:4 (Winter 1986), 422. Suzuki does not consider the earlier *Kanei hyôryûki* that was certainly one source for Kimura in his own writing of the story, but it may be that as *Chôsen monogatari* corresponded to the arrival in Japan of Hong Kyehui’s visit to Ieshige in 1748, the earlier *Kanei hyôryûki* may have been at least partly inspired by the arrival of Cho T’aek 37 years earlier.

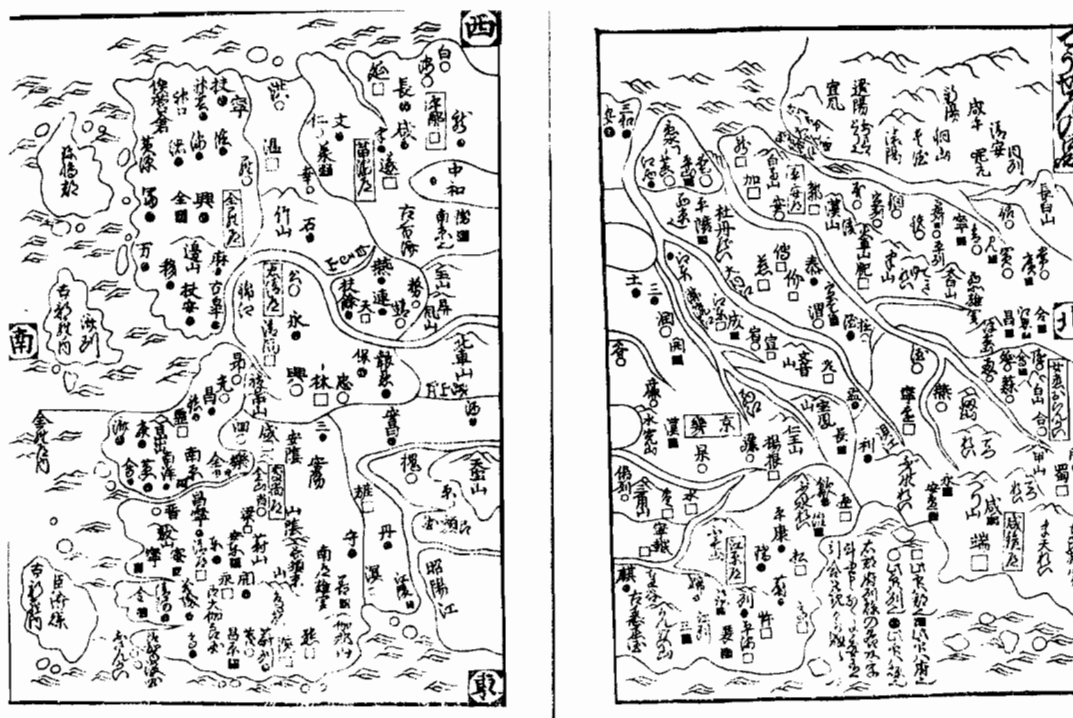
itinerary of their travels through Korea. The relative absence of information regarding Korea in the earliest versions of the Dattan castaways reflects the geopolitical concerns of the *bakufu* concerning the Ming and Manchu courts. For example, when the drifters are put under the charge of two Tsushima officials while still in Korea, in essence the first time officials directly answering to the *bakufu* have the castaways in custody, we read, “Our joy could not be expressed in words and there was no equivalent in this world. They [Tsushima officials] listened to our tales of Dattan and the Great Ming.”⁷¹ Told from the castaways’ perspective, this moment in the text seems to emphasize the purpose of *Dattan hyôryûki* being primarily to relate conditions in Dattan and the status of China during the Qing takeover from the Ming court.

On the other hand, the four-volume *Kanei hyôryûki* dedicates approximately half of its pages to the relatively short time spent passing through Korea during their return home. Separate from the castaway narrative, the final volume is exclusively focused on general description of the geographic, political, social, and cultural elements of Korea with maps and a dictionary, and in comparison to the later *Chôsen monogatari*’s maps and dictionaries, it is clear that Kimura was familiar with the earlier text. As the title of Kimura’s text suggests, the process of shifting emphasis from Dattan to Korea is completed over these three accounts and *Kanei hyôryûki* appears to provide a transitional role.

Comparing the fourth book of *Kanei hyôryûki* to the fifth and final volume of *Chôsen monogatari* demonstrates a strong influence on the latter text. Unlike the

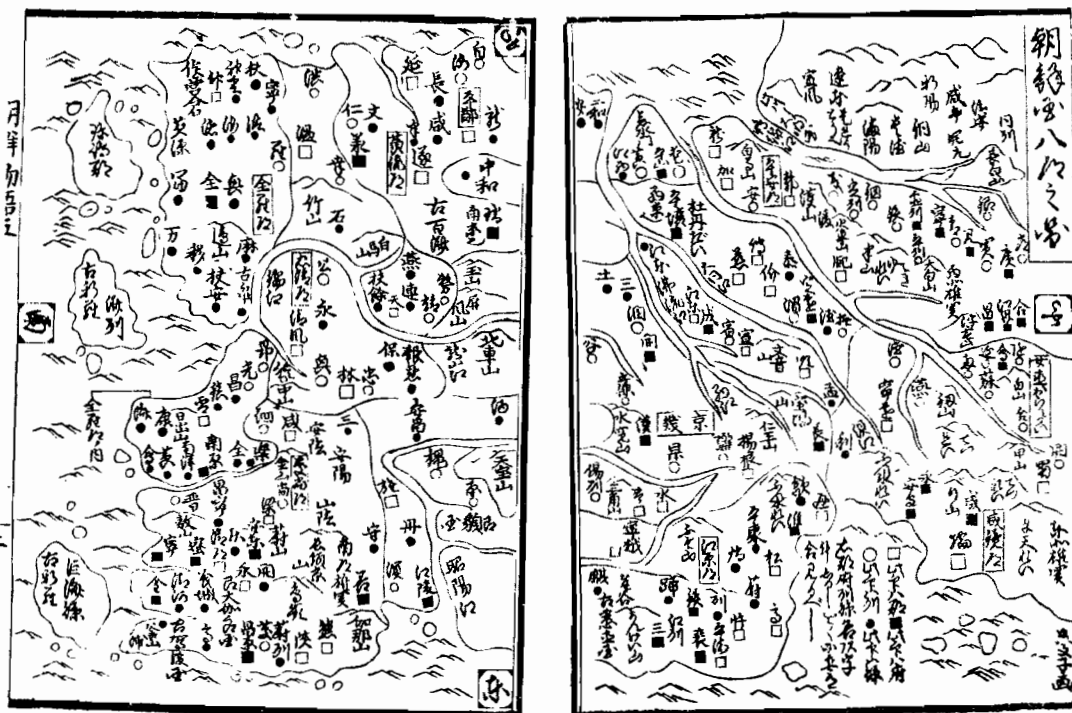
⁷¹ EHSS1, 104.

preceding volumes of each text which are narratives accompanied by images, the final volumes of both texts are instead composed of two maps, a gazetteer of Korea, a list and description of ranks and titles, and a Japanese-Korean dictionary. In particular, the map of Korea with which the volume begins appears to be nearly a direct copy, the only differences being minor changes to the title in the upper right-hand corner.



Map 4.7. *Kanei hyōryūki* (vol. 4), “Map of Korea”⁷²

⁷² *Kanei hyōryūki* (fukusei ed.)



Map 4.8. *Chōsen monogatari* (vol. 5), “Map of Korea”⁷³

Likewise the gazetteer of Korea, a list and description of ranks and titles, and a dictionary in the *Kanei hyōryūki* which follow the maps, are more or less similar to those found in the *Chōsen monogatari*, the most significant difference being that the dictionary in the former text also contains equivalent foreign terms in the languages of Manchu and Beijing and contains slightly fewer entries compared with the later *Chōsen monogatari*, again demonstrating a gradual shift in topic from Dattan to Korea over the course of 106 years between the writing of *Dattan hyōryūki* and the publication of *Chōsen monogatari*.

⁷³ *Chōsen monogatari* (fukusei ed.)

The *Dattan hyôryûki* mentions only briefly two matters related to the castaways' experience in Korea; the performance of Japanese songs for the Korean officials and a description of the foods that were served to them in the Capital. However, the five volumes of the *Chôsen monogatari* are quite detailed in not only relating the events that transpired while the castaways were being repatriated from Korea (via Tsushima), but also expands upon historical, geographic, political, linguistic, and general cultural knowledge of Korea. Hamada Atsushi, in his introduction to the published facsimile copy of the 1750 text, suggests that some of the lexicographic information in the *Chôsen monogatari* may have been taken from the “*Ikoku jinbutsu Chôsen*” 異国人物朝鮮 section of Terajima Ryôan's *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 of 1713.⁷⁴ More recently Suzuki Aya has confirmed Hamada's original assumption that the *Wakan zue* was another source (besides the *Dattan hyôryûki*) for the *Chôsen monogatari*. She has also demonstrated that the author of the *Chôsen monogatari*, Kimura Riemon, borrowed heavily from the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀.⁷⁵ An historical linguist, Hamada was primarily interested in knowledge of the Korean language in Japan and considered only the word list contained in the *Chôsen monogatari*.⁷⁶ Suzuki on the other hand, based her findings

⁷⁴ He bases this assumption on the fact that all the words contained in the dictionary attached to the *Chôsen monogatari* are also contained in this earlier work. See *Chôsen monogatari*, 6-7. The Tôyô Bunko has produced a convenient 18 volume edition of the *Wa-Kan sansai zue*. See, Terajima Ryôan, *Wa-Kan sansai zue* (Shimada Isao, et al., eds.) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1986). For the text in question see Volume 3, 237-257.

⁷⁵ Suzuki Aya, “Enkyô – Kanenki no ‘Chôsen buumu’ ni miru jita ishiki,” in *Rekishi hyôron* No. 651 (July 2004), 64.

⁷⁶ However it should have been clear to Hamada that, since there are only 108 Korean words listed in the *Wa-Kan sansai zue* (compared with 298 words in the *Chôsen monogatari*), that other sources were also

on a close analysis of the narrative content, pointing out a correspondence between phrasings and references to some of the earliest known relations between the Japanese archipelago and the Korean peninsula. While her conclusions are nuanced, her research demonstrates that the *Chôsen monogatari* was written in order to recast Korea's relative position to Japan. For example, in her discussion of Confucianism she points out that the *Chôsen monogatari* repeatedly emphasizes Korea's tributary relationship with Japan, but at the same time presents Korea as a country upholding the principles of Confucian order and maintains an examination system (*kakyo seido* 科举制度) unlike Japan.⁷⁷ She also maintains that *Shinkoku* 神国 thought—an emerging form of nationalist discourse that posited Japan as a divine and superior country—is absent from *Chôsen monogatari*.⁷⁸

But while Suzuki is careful to present a reading of the *Chôsen monogatari* that represents Korea in a positive light, we cannot overlook elements of the text that seem fairly explicit in positioning Korea in a subservient position vis-à-vis Japan. For example, concerning Korea's refusal to send emissaries to Japan after Hideyoshi's invasions, the text reads, "Since [Korea] has been a tributary (*zokkoku*) of Japan from time immemorial, it was insulting to us." 世々日本の属国ながら是われをいやしんずるなり⁷⁹

referred to in compiling the latter text. See, Terajima Ryôan, *Wa-Kan sansai zue* (Shimada Isao, et al., eds.) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1986), 255-256; and *Chôsen monogatari*, 208-223.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 66-67.

⁷⁹ *Chôsen monogatari*, 57. Cited in Suzuki, 66.

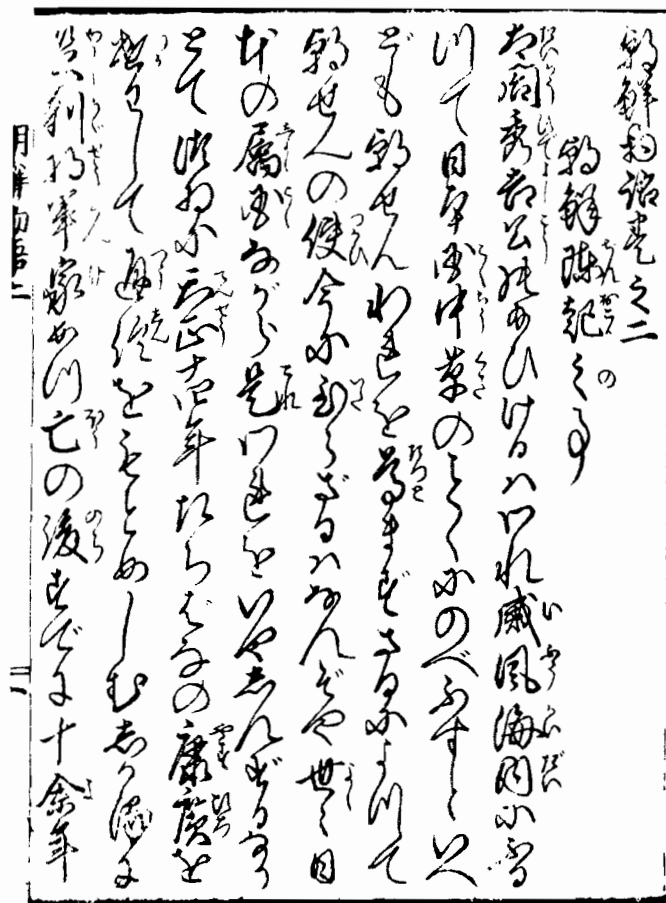


Illustration 4.4. Page from *Chōsen monogatari* referring to Korea as a Japanese Colony (属国)⁸⁰

Other aspects of the text that have been interpreted as demonstrating a respect on the part of the author for Korea, may also be interpreted in a opposite manner. For example, the fact that the castaways were treated to such elaborate feasts and showered with gifts during their stay could be read on the one hand as demonstrating Korean civility. On the other hand, if we are to consider the lowly status of the castaways in

⁸⁰ From Hamada's *fukusei* edition. Interestingly, the page from the edition kept in Leiden differs. While the text is the same, in the lower right hand corner of the text we have an illegible author's name XX子著. This may be another name for Kimura, or it may be that the second volume is written by someone other than Kimura.

comparison to their hosts, we may take this passage to suggest the ridiculous admiration paid to even the lowliest Japanese sailors due to some sort of perceived inherent superiority.

In fact, while both Hamada and Suzuki seek to find other textual influences on the *Chôsen monogatari*, without comparison to the earlier *Dattan hyôryûki* and *Ikoku monogatari*, and ignoring the clear role that the *Kanei hyôryûki* played in the composition of the later account, they fail to see the more obvious transformations this story underwent over the course of a 110 years. Not only did the publication of *Chôsen monogatari* satisfy the popular demand for information on Korea identified by Suzuki, it in fact was the final shift in a multi-step process of rendering an early account of drift, marked by lack of established protocol, into a tale of Japanese superiority over Korea (and by extension, Dattan).

Firsthand accounts of the newly established Qing court at Beijing were of particular strategic importance for the *bakufu* and Tsushima domain, however it should be noted that the capital of Beijing is referred to throughout text as the “Great Ming northern capital” (大明の北京) in the *Dattan hyôryûki* and at least some versions of the *Ikoku monogatari*.⁸¹ While this alone may suggest that the castaways themselves, even after being repatriated and questioned at various points along the way, remained oblivious to the geopolitical shifts they encountered. However, in other parts of the text

⁸¹ For example, EHSS1, 97.

they refer to battles between the Great Ming and Dattan.⁸² In comments on the languages of Dattan and the Great Ming it becomes clear that the castaways are not confused about the dynasty change, and that the author consciously chose to frame the account in a geographic imaginary based on an East Asian diplomatic order that placed the Ming court at the center of civilization and Dattan on the periphery as a barbarian tributary state. As for Japan's position in this hierarchy of civilization, according to the *Dattan hyôryûki* high-ranking officials wined, dined, and generously provided for even these lowly castaways, precisely because they were Japanese. The castaways themselves attribute their privileged position to the fact that they are subjects of the Shôgun, and express gratitude toward him, and not Beijing or Seoul.

The intentional use of the name Dattan was in fact a pressing diplomatic point of contention between Korea and Japan during the castaways' repatriation. Having pressed for an official letter of gratitude on behalf of the *bakufu* addressed directly to the Qing court for the repatriation of these Japanese castaways, Korea served as an uncomfortable mediator between their neighboring states. After producing a letter (after some delay), Tachibana Narimitsu delivered it to the Korean representative Min Ohyop in the 11th month of 1646. But Min rejected the letter on the grounds that Japanese officials chose to use the characters *Dattan* 鞆鞆国 instead of Qing 清国.⁸³ Stephen Kohl, in an analysis of the diplomatic paper trail that followed these castaways, writes:

⁸² EHSS1, 111.

This launched a furious diplomatic debate. Min opened the exchange by saying that he had never heard of a country called Dattan and asked what nation that term referred to. Tachibana countered by arguing that the Ming court had also been called Chiangnan and that Korea (Chōsen) was also called Koguryō, and that by the same token the Qing court is also called Dattan. “That is the name by which my country (Japan) prefers to call it. There is no other significance to it than that.” Min then replied, “Your country (Japan) lies beyond the sea, while my country (Korea) is right next door [to China]. Thus there is no reason why we would not know the proper national designation of the Qing court. Moreover, in this matter of repatriating castaways, our promise to see that they were repatriated was clearly made to the nation of Qing. Therefore, should not your country also respond accordingly? This is the correct way and thus it is impossible for me to accept this document. Please revise it. I insist that you make your documents consistent with ours. Is it such a difficult thing for you to change a few characters?” At this point Tachibana dug in his heels and rejoined, “Even if there are errors in the text, the entire letter was written by Hayashi Dōshun and cannot be changed.”⁸⁴

Etsuko Hae-jin Kang, in her study of ethnocentric ideologies under a Chinese world order, has demonstrated that Hayashi Dōshun (Razan) played a key role in the transformation of diplomatic protocol in the 1630s. In establishing what is referred to as “taikun diplomacy,” Kang demonstrates that Hayashi’s protocol reflected a shift in the diplomatic perception of China and Korea after the fall of the Ming.⁸⁵ While the Ming Dynasty claimed a certain centrality and placed both Japan and Korea on the periphery as subordinate and tributary states, Kang demonstrates that both Korea and Japan adopt their own ideologically informed notions of each country being the true inheritors of

⁸³ This is based on the research in Stephen Kohl in Kohl & Wood (forthcoming), as was presented by Stephen Kohl at a conference on Korean travel writing at Leiden University in 2006.

⁸⁴ Ibid

⁸⁵ Etsuko Hae-Jin Kang, *Diplomacy and ideology in Japanese-Korean relations: From the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 159-164. She also makes a strong argument that Hayashi Razan was instrumental in reconciling Confucianism with Shinto thought and the rise of *Shinkoku* thought.

East Asian supremacy. Her schematization of Japan's diplomatic perceptions suggest a parity between the Japanese and Ming Chinese emperors while positioning Japanese shoguns and Korean kings as equivalents. This is at odds with Japan's ideological perception of its relation to Qing China, which she also diagrams.⁸⁶



Diagram 4.1. Japanese Diplomatic Perception (post-Razan)

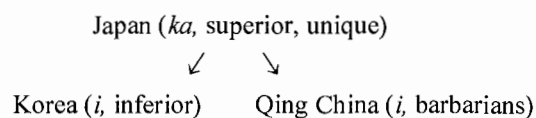


Diagram 4.2. Japanese Ideological Perception

The distinctions in Japan's ideological and diplomatic visions of itself that Kang outlines, explains at least in part the insistence on maintaining the somewhat anachronistic "Dattan" in Japan's letter of gratitude. For both Tachibana and Hayashi Razan himself, embracing the name of Dattan was also a manner of maintaining the nomenclature of a Ming-centered diplomatic order, and keeping the Q'ing in their subordinate, tributary status. That the Qing would be sensitive to the symbolic significance of this, or that a concerned Korea would push for change, is understandable.

But it also allows us to consider the ideological facet of the *Dattan hyôryûki* texts, and the significance of their later Edo manifestations.

The publication of the *Kanei hyôryûki* coincides with another shift in Japan's perceived status within an East Asian diplomatic order. With the rise of Arai Hakuseki in the Tokugawa Ienobu's administration and his short-lived reforms Japan-Korea relations in 1711, Japan's relations to the Qing become secondary to Korea's own assertions of supremacy. Based on the notions of peace, simplicity and parity, Hakuseki attempted to rectify the complications of having a center of authority (emperor) separate from the center of power (shôgun), by changing the title of "Taikun" (great prince) to "Nihon koku ô" (King of Japan).⁸⁷ Through Hakuseki's reformulation of East Asian relations the ideological and diplomatic perceptions of Japan's relative position also changed. For Hakuseki, the Qing dynasty was not an equivalent replacement for what was once the "Great Ming." In fact, by making it clear that "Japanese kings" (shôguns) maintained parity with "Korean kings," he also assumed a superlative position once reserved for the Ming, but now due to Qing shortfalls, was only occupied by the Japanese *Tennô*.

As with the older *Dattan hyôryûki* and *Ioku monogatari* texts, their later commercially published re-writes also maintain the usage of "Dattan" and it seems that even though in other contexts the Japanese eventually adopted *Shin* 清 (but not "Great *Shin*) to refer to the Qing, the many versions of the 1644 castaway incident remain consistent in their usage of Dattan. What changes in the later re-writes in not the

⁸⁶ Diagrams are adapted from Kang (1997), 165.

references to “Dattan” and the absence of “Qing” but instead, the disappearance of references to the Ming. By the early eighteenth century it was perhaps more obvious that the Qing arrival in Beijing was not a temporary development. The erasure of any references to the Ming that had first appeared in the *Dattan hyôryûki*, thus manage to reframe the question of Qing China’s relative status to Japan and Korea by rendering the country as a barbarian usurper. As a catalyst for both Japan and Korea’s own assertions of supremacy come in direct conflict, texts such as *Chôsen monogatari* become one cultural form in which to project ideological formations that recast Korea as an historic colony of Japan (*zokkoku*).

⁸⁷ For a summary of Arai Hakuseki’s reforms see Kang (1992), 197-203.

MAGOTARÔ/ MAGOSHICHI ACCOUNTS

Having considered two examples of how early castaway narratives—those of Tokubei and the Dattan castaways—come to be rewritten in radically different ways, we now turn to our last case of pre-Kôdayû accounts that come proliferate in popular forms during the late Edo period, the case of Magotarô (as his name appears in *kuchigaki* documents as well as a lengthy *Nankai kibun*) or alternatively, Magoshichi (as his name appears in most popular handwritten narratives).⁸⁸ Unlike our first two examples, the incident of Magoshichi/ Magotarô's drift between the years 1764 and 1771 is historically much closer to the accounts of the *Shinshô-maru* and *Wakamiya-maru*. But as with the previous examples, the case of this third incident produces not only numerous handwritten manuscripts but also the *Nankai kibun* by the Dutch Scholar Aoki Teien, one of a handful of castaway accounts to be published by during the Edo period.⁸⁹ Later collectors of *hyôryûki* may have recognized that the numerous versions of the *Ise-maru* accounts, fell into two general categories of Magotarô and Magoshichi *hyôryûki*. Ishii Kendô included *Nankai kibun* (Magotarô) and *Fukinagare Tenjiku*

⁸⁸ I will use both names based on which text is under discussion. The fact that he has two first names is not uncharacteristic of Edo period castaways, but the fact that one name is used exclusively in official and academic texts, while another is used by several other texts that clearly share much else in terms of both form and content, suggests that this account circulated among two circles of readers, those interested in the conditions and ethnography of the South Pacific on the one hand, and a group of readers (perhaps in his hometown or sailors with whom he once sailed) that knew him as Magoshichi.

⁸⁹ Arakawa Hidetoshi recognizes three of these accounts and provides a summary of the castaway Magotarô's experiences. See, Arakawa Hidetoshi, *Nihonjin hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Jinbutsu Ôraisha, 1964), 48-56.

hyôryûki in his *Kôtei hyôryû kidan zenshû* and Ikeda Hiroshi in his introduction to his own *katsuji* edition of *Nankai kibun* and *Hyôryû Tenjiku banashi* comments,

Nankai kibun was compiled by Aoki Teien over the years and its academic value is quite high, while the *Hyôryû Tenjiku monogatari* [*Hyôryû Tenjiku banashi*], even though the author is unknown, was written as literature. 文学的に書かれたものである Ishii Kendô once said, ‘When we speak of literary value 文学的価値あるもの *Magoshichi Tenjiku monogatari* and *Tokujô-maru Funaosa nikki* are certainly two jewels.’⁹⁰ 双璧すべく

Furthermore, as with the *Wakamiya-maru* castaways, Magotarô’s repatriation at Nagasaki in 1771, generated numerous *kuchigaki* documents and other debriefing documents. It appears that the length of his absence from Japan, as well as the exotic nature of his reports relating the conditions in the South Pacific piqued the interest of the Nagasaki Bugyô, Izumi no kami Natsume, as well as official Dutch translators Namura Genjirô and Imamura Genyûemon 源右衛門 and other *bakufu* officials.⁹¹ While these documents are in some ways more detailed in terms of names of particular islands visited and peoples met, unlike the more popular documents that were to also surface soon after Magoshichi’s return, they are significantly briefer, valuing detail over narrative.

⁹⁰ NSSS5, 624.

⁹¹ The *bakufu*-related documents regarding Magotarô are found in Arakawa Hidetoshi, *Nihon hyôryû hyôchaku shiryô shû* (Tokyo: Chijin Shokan, 1962), 275-294.

Considering three of these Magoshichi texts—*Fukinagare Tenjiku monogatari* (1770?),⁹² *Hyôryû Tenjiku banashi* (1770?),⁹³ and the *Ka-i kyû nen roku* (1774) —⁹⁴ we can see that they all share a common source, with whole paragraphs of the first two versions being nearly identical. This is best demonstrated by comparing the manner in which a particular scene from the narrative is written. Before the *Ise-maru* became distressed, Magoshichi/ Magotarô experienced an ominous, and in his own words, “a most strange” dream that is incorporated in the more colloquial versions of his story. Having planned to depart from the port of Kobuchi the following day, we read:

Fukinagare Tenjiku monogatari

然るに、十月十四日の夜半ごろかと覚えし頃、百人一首に見覚えし、
しきしなにしんのう 式子内親王の絵ごとき じょうろう 上臈の、じゅうにひとえ 十二一重をあでやかに、ともま 艫の間の神前より出
 で給ひ、我は小淵に待つべしと、かた 岡の方へぞ飛去り給ふ、くん 異香四方に薫して夢
 覚めたり、孫七不思議に思ひかゝる ためし 例も聞かざれば、我等今年十九歳、なま
 じいなる事いひ出し、ちやうろう 嘲哂されんも はづ 恥かしく、口外には出さざりけり⁹⁵

Hyôryû Tenjiku banashi

⁹² There are several handwritten manuscripts that are nearly identical to *Fukinagare Tenjiku hyôryûki*, such as *Karatomari Magoshichi hyôwa* (in the Imperial Household Agency archive), *Chikuzen Magotarô hyôryûki* (in the Mitô Domain’s Shôkôkan archive), and *Tenjiku monogatari* (in the National Diet Library), exist. See Ikeda Hiroshi’s introduction to the text in NSSS5, 624. Because of the many different titles used with this version of the story, it is difficult to get an exact figure of how many remaining texts exist today, but it demonstrates that this version of the story was relatively popular and circulated and rewritten throughout the late Edo period. I will use Ishii Kendô *katsuji* version of the account found in EHSS2, 113-157, the dates of which place its inscription before Magoshichi’s return to Nagasaki. Most likely the dating of the text is incorrect since it is highly unlikely that Magoshichi would have returned to his hometown months before his verifiable return through Nagasaki. I will also refer to *Chikuzen Karatomari ura Magoshichi Tenjiku banashi* in ESSS5, 653-668.

⁹³ Two modern *katsuji* versions of the text exist. See, NSSS5, “*Nankai kibun Tenjiku Hoyryû monogatari*,” 623-652; and NHSS2, 161-252.

⁹⁴ The *Ka-i kyû nen roku* is found in Arakawa Hidetoshi, *Kinsei hyôryûki shû* (Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1969), 123-159. The Introduction (*jobun*) is dated 1775, while the conclusion is dated 1774.

⁹⁵ EHSS2, 114-115.

然るに十月十四日夜半頃と覺しき頃、百人一首の内、式子内親王の繪を見る如き上臈の、十二ひとへもあでやかに、艦の間の神前より出給ひ、我は小淵に待へしと、岡の方へそ飛去り給ふ。異香に薫して夢覺たり。孫七不思議の思ひなし、かゝる例しも聞ざれば、我等今年拾九歳、なまじいなる事言出て嘲哂されんも恥かしく、口外には出さざりける。⁹⁶

Ka-i kyû nen roku

然に十月四日夜更て、時刻覚ねど、百人一首にて見覺し、てふど式子内親王の繪をみる如き十二壺重の裳束にて、赤地の錦の几帳匂ふ艦ともの間の神前より、小淵にまつぞと飛去り給ふと見て、夢は覺たり。孫七不思議の思ひをなし、かゝる例を聞ざれば、我等今年十九歳、なまじ心なる事言出し笑れんも耻かしく、口外には出ざりき。⁹⁷

In essence the above three passages relate a dream encounter that Magoshichi has with a specter-like flying robe similar to the robe which adorns the picture of Shikishi Naishinnô in the “Collection of One Hundred Poets.” The encounter takes place on the deck of the ship and the robe appears from the ship’s shrine at the back of the ship. In the dream, Magoshichi is warned by the apparition to wait in the Port of Kobuchi, however since Magoshichi is only nineteen years old and sensitive to the ridicule he may receive if he were to relate his dream to others, he chooses to avoid embarrassment and remain silent. While there are several minor discrepancies among the three passages above, the similarities clearly demonstrate that they share a single source. Furthermore, that subject of the above passages describe not only the dream, but also the reasoning behind deciding to stay quiet about the dream, implies that the shared source originated from a orally transmitted version of the story issued from the mouth of Magoshichi himself. Finally, this

⁹⁶ ESS5, 653.

⁹⁷ Arakawa, *Kinsei hyôryûki shû*, 124-125.

passage stands as yet one more case in which some later Edo *hyôryûki* exploit the emotional and interior reasoning of the speaking castaway to render the tale more entertaining, but also more relative to the reader's interests in a story guided by thinking and reasoning speaking subject. The use of *warera* (generally reserved as first person plural pronoun) to refer to Magoshichi (*warera kotoshi jûkyû sai*) is an adoption of the common pronoun found in *kuchigaki* texts (along with the similar *watakushidomo*), however in the case of these Magoshichi-related *hyôryûki*, Magoshichi is the sole survivor, and so we might expect a singular pronoun such as *ware*, *watakushi*, or even a proper noun such as "Magoshichi" (which is also commonly used in these texts) when the narrator refers to himself. The appearance of these plural nominals, allows the singular narrator to speak of the un-repatriated crew, but with a singular speaking voice embodied in Magoshichi himself, the tale is rendered as ultimately individual experience of heroic proportions (ala Matsudaira Sadanobu's interests in the subjectivity of the castaway).

Although this analysis may appear to over-generalize or conflate all the colloquial Magoshichi texts as identical, it is important to note that the trope of the dream is employed in slightly different ways in the three texts we have considered. In particular, *Ka-i kyû nen roku* employs reference to both the dream- and floating world-state in its retelling. For example, soon after the storm responsible for their distress passes, we read, "However, the winds still blew strong, the waves swelled stormy and cold, side-waves severed the rudder, and the ship was once again in a pitiful condition so we discarded the surplus lumber. Not knowing in what country

we may end up, it was simply like a dream (只夢覺し心地也.)⁹⁸ Likewise, the ship is qualified by the phrase, “a ship lost on a dream-road” (夢路にまよふ舟),⁹⁹ Magoshichi’s experience is referred to as, “the dream of my nineteenth spring” (今年十九の春の夢) and “moving through a dream of light and shadow” (光陰夢と移り行),¹⁰⁰ while his emotional state is described as “the feeling of seeing a dream” (夢見る心地).¹⁰¹ Furthermore, the trope of the *ukiyo* or “Floating World” of urban entertainment is also invoked in these particular texts. Again, in *Ka-i kyû nen roku* the narrator states, “the following year we again drifted on the waves of the floating world,”¹⁰² 今年も浮世の波に漂ひてand earlier we read,

Until now nine crew had escaped life and only four had escaped death and more and more our story was not one of the floating world, but one of the envy of the dead, the dew encroaching on life...” (今迄九人に死別れ、四人には生別れ、いとゞ浮世の便りなく、死行人の羨しく、露とも命はおしからじ、),¹⁰³

While the author(s) of *Ka-i kyû nen roku* depend on the tropes of dreams and the floating world most frequently, in fact all of the three colloquial versions of this story that we have considered here share some of this. Most notable is the conclusion that is more or less shared by all three texts, with minor variations.

⁹⁸ Arakawa (1969), 127.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 130.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 133 and 141, respectively.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 139.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 143.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 134.

In the closing sentences of these three accounts we again see a similar narrative pattern emerging that ends with references to both the floating world and dreams (perhaps the result of an oral conclusion developed by Magoshichi himself). In both the *Fuki nagare Tenjiku monogatari* and the *Hyôryû Tenjiku banashi* we read that with no wife, child, or parents the narrator feels the “suffering of this truly floating world,” (誠に浮世の有様こそ悲しけれ) and wonders the difference between dream and reality (夢現とぞ思ひける).¹⁰⁴

Talk of dreams and the floating world do not appear in either the *kuchigaki* versions of the story or the more detailed accounts of Dutch interpreters in Nagasaki such as *Ikoku hyôryû no koto*.¹⁰⁵ In *Nankai kibun*, a much-abbreviated mention of Magotarô’s dream of the disembodied robe incident does appear, but only marginally as an interlinear note. It is likely that Aoki Teien or later editor of the text, having read or heard of Magotarô’s dream from earlier versions of the story, decided to add it as an afterthought. However significant discrepancies, such as the disembodied robe now appearing as a woman in a white robe, may also suggest that Aoki gleaned this detail from yet another source.

Although there are certainly many narrational similarities between the *Nankai kibun* and the more colloquial versions of the story, the significantly different formal qualities of the *Nankai kibun* are notable. Aoki Teien’s *Nankai*

¹⁰⁴ EHSS2, 157; ESSSS5, 666. Quotes are taken from the former, the latter account is nearly identical.

¹⁰⁵ In Arakawa Hidetoshi, *Ikoku hyôryûki shû* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1962), 77-85.

kibun is remarkable for the formal similarities it shares with *Hokusa bunryaku* and *Kankai ibun* of 1794 and 1805, respectively. In fact, the later *Nankai kibun* reads as a scientific and ethnographic exploration of the different people met and places passed through during Magotarô's eight years of drift, slavery, and return to Japan. While Magotarô's incident of drift took place two decades before Kôdayû's *Shinshô-maru* first came ashore in the North Pacific, it is important to remember the version of Aoki Teien's *Nankai kibun* was published posthumously more than two decades after Katsuragawa Hoshû wrote his *Hokusa bunryaku*. While we may assume that Teien did meet with Magotarô numerous times to collect the exhaustive materials for his text, either Teien himself or one of his students who ultimately published the text we have before us today, modeled the text upon the earlier accounts of Russian repatriation. The subheadings found in *Nankai kibun* such as "Production" 物産 and "Customs," 風俗 as well as the inclusion of lexicons and maps suggest as much. Likewise, as with the accounts of repatriation from Russia, there is a pronounced difference in the geographic vision of the world when compared to the more colloquial Magoshichi stories. While both the Magoshichi accounts and this Magotarô account employ terms such as Tenjiku, Nanban, and Tôjin—all carry-overs from an earlier geography—the *Nankai kibun* is more detailed in foreign place names and frequently quotes from the *Min-Shin no sho kiroku*, 明清ノ諸記録 the Tôsei yôkô 東西洋考 and other geographic texts. In the *Nankai kibun* glimpses of a colonized Pacific come through not so much in the main body of the text, but

instead in the indented editorials of either Aoki Teien or a later editor. For example, under the entry for tobacco we read the following comment that recasts Japan within a larger system of global trade:

Upon further investigation, these days in places where sailing ships of the world pass through, there is nothing more useful than tobacco. At first, this plant [was found by] a Frenchman in the land of Tabako in Mexico in America, who collected the seeds and cultivated it in Europe. In many countries they came to call it Tahako, as it is in various parts of Asia. 200 years ago, it came from Batavia to Luson where it became established. I have heard that trading ships pass through all the countries of East Asia with several countries preferring this [Luson] tobacco. This tobacco is also grown in our realm (本朝), but we began with a type of tobacco having come directly from Batavia.¹⁰⁶

For Aoki, unlike the earlier anonymous Magoshichi texts, Magotarô's drift, enslavement by natives, and ultimate repatriation with the help of a Dutchman was not a means by which to craft a story of suffering and salvation so much as it was a catalyst for investigating the geopolitical conditions of Southeast Asia and both Chinese and western scientific discourse and trade relating to the area. The earliest castaway narratives of the Edo period such as *Dattan hyôryûki* (1646) took as their subject Japanese sailors and fishermen who accidentally drifted to other lands in Asia or, as we see in *Tokubei Tenjiku monogatari* (1707), reiterations of much older accounts of merchants that predated the maritime prohibitions of the 1630s and sailed abroad under the auspices of the vermilion seal trade (*shuin sen*) system. In these narratives the geographic imaginary is based upon either a traditional view of the world based upon the order of *ka-i* or a

Buddhist inspired worldview that held Tenjiku as central. If we may distinguish these as two separate worldviews we must also acknowledge that they were not as incompatible as they might first appear. Maps such as *Shinchô ittô no zu* also suggest a certain syncretism between these more traditional understandings of the world. Likewise, the stories of Magoshichi tend to merge both the geographic imaginary of Tenjiku and the worldview of civilized center and barbarian periphery associated with an Asian *ka-i* order. In so doing, the once epicenter of a Buddhist cosmology found in Tenjiku, is rendered the epitome of barbarity and home of wicked *kuronbô*, while the benevolence of Magoshichi's Chinese and Dutch overseers is emphasized.

With the return of the first Japanese castaways from Russia at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, we begin to see a significant change in both the form and content of castaway narratives. Like the maps that these repatriated sailors returned with, the world no longer emanated from the *axis mundia* of Tenjiku or the concentric circles of civilization emanating from Asia, but instead was reterritorialized through the abstract concepts of longitude and latitude. Unlike the more ambiguous zones of civilization and barbarism reflected in the *ka-i* order, accounts came to be informed by clearly delineated boundaries between Orient and Occident, continents, empires, and nations just as its subjects came to be defined in terms of race and status as native or ruler.

¹⁰⁶ ESSSS5, 641.

We have seen that in the case of Tenjiku Tokubei stories the geographic imaginary that informs the earliest texts is rendered obsolete by the mid-Edo period, in turn allowing later authors to fictionalize the story in fantastic ways that appealed to theater audiences. Likewise, the *Dattan hyôryûki* undergoes several formal transformations in the early to mid-eighteenth centuries in light of a shifting relationship with Korea, the Qing, and other Asian neighbors, ultimately recasting Japan as the new center of Asian civilization. However, in the case of Magotarô/ Magoshichi it does not appear to be such a simple case of translating the experience into a more believable worldview. Instead, Magotarô/ Magoshichi's story seems to have achieved at least some level of popularity as *both* a text for entertainment and as a learned survey of recent conditions in the South Seas. As has already been argued, the influence of Katsuragawa Hoshû's *Hokusa bunryaku*, and to a lesser extent Ôtsuki Gentaku's *Kankai ibun*, presented later readers and castaway scholars an important literary form, marked by comprehensive narrative, scientific and ethnographic concerns, and erudite editorial commentary. Aoki Teien clearly attempted to adapt Magotarô's story to such a format. But while the first repatriates from Russia may have instigated this formal shift, castaway authors before 1794 certainly exploited the entertainment, moral, and narrative potential of stories of drift within Asia. Therefore, while we may point to accounts of Russia as monumental in the development of *hyôryûki* as a literary medium, it was a process that began with earlier accounts of drift.

UNINHABITED ISLES AND THE SPACE OF THE *KINKAI* (“NEAR SEAS”)

What is meant by a maritime nation? It is a country not connected by land to any other, but bordered on all sides by the sea. There are defense preparations that are suited to a maritime nation, and that differ in kind from those prescribed in Chinese military works.

--Hayashi Shihei, *Kaikoku Heidan* (1791)¹

We have seen that with the repatriation of castaways from Russia in the late eighteenth century, the *bakufu* concerns with territorial encroachment, along with a more diffuse interest in world geography and knowledges resulted in a new textual form for the inscription of drift. This form initiated by the *Hokusa bunryaku* and *Kankai ibun*, projected a world-geography of continents and empires and spoke of an increasingly colonized Pacific and the ideological underpinnings of human and material resource extraction by distant western powers. At the same time, with this new focus on rapidly changing relations in the Pacific and a preoccupation with assumed hierarchies of global power, older “intra-Asian” accounts also came to be rewritten in a variety of more popular cultural forms. But while these accounts depended on an inherent category of

¹ Translation taken from Donald Keene, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe, 1720-1830*, Revised Edition (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1969), 39.

the “foreign,” a third group of castaway accounts were also written that took as their literary *topos*, spaces much closer at hand. These *hyôryûki* generally take place in the space of *mujintô* 無人島 and deal with uninhabited islands and more ambiguous spaces in peripheral spaces of the archipelago. Haruna Akira has noted that during the Edo period the category of “*hyôryû*” included both “itinerancy in foreign lands” (異国遍歴), or what he also refers to as the “Odysseus type” (オデッセウス型), as well as less common experiences in uninhabited spaces which he refers to as the “Robinson type” (ロビンソン型).² However, unlike Robinson Crusoe, who Haruna recognizes as a model, Japanese castaways to uninhabited islands take place not half way around the world from home, but in the small islands much closer to the nation. While several of these *mujintô* accounts predate the territorial anxieties brought about by first Russia, and later England and the United States, like the older stories of *Dattan hyôryûki* and *Tenjiku Tokubei*, they were resurrected to assert claims of Japanese occasional occupation of these otherwise uninhabited lands in the later Edo period. In other words, this third strand of our genealogical braid of *hyôryûki* appears from relatively early in the Edo period but came to take on a new significance in the later Edo period, once *bakufu* officials began to assert geographic boundaries of the nation and make claims to certain peripheral sites of the State.

Having addressed both encounters with westerners and accounts focused primarily on encounters with older Others within East Asia, we will now turn to accounts that focus primarily on spaces of the Near Sea (*kinkai* 近海). In particular, we

will look specifically at *mujintô hyôryûki* related to the Ogasawara and Tori shima islands to the southeast, accounts taking place in the frontier zone of Ezo in the north, contested islands of Takeshima and Utsuryôdô in the Japan Sea. In doing so, our analysis of Japan's near-sea spaces of drift will address three of four territorially contentious sites Hayashi Shihei demonstrated concern over in his *Sangoku tsûran zûsetsu*.³ Joining Honda Toshiaki, Matsudaira Sadanobu, Kudô Heishirô, and other Edo period intellectuals who called on the *bakufu* to secure territorial claims of Japan, Hayashi Shihei raised significant concern over the establishment of national borders with the writing of his *Sangoku tsûran zûsetsu* and *Kaikoku heidan* 海国兵談 (1785 and 1791, respectively). The former text may best be described as a geographical primer focusing on Korea, Ryukyu, Ezo, and Mujintô, while the latter outlines a strategy for strengthening and developing economic and territorial claims along the coast, especially in Ezo-chi to the north.

These sites comprise four separate points of contact between early-modern Japan and the outside world, and even into the twenty-first century, have continued to be sites of territorial contention.⁴ In analyzing these spaces of drift on the edges of the archipelago, we shall better understand the relationship between castaway accounts as a

² See entry for "Hyôryû" in the *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 11 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1987), 1033.

³ Despite the tripartite nature of Hayashi Shihei's *Sangoku tsûran zûsetsu* 三国通覧図説, the text is in fact divided into four distinct topical sections (朝鮮, 琉球, 蝦夷, and 無人島). See, Hayashi Shihei, *Shinpen Hayashi Shihei zenshû*, vol. 2, (Tokyo: Daiichi Shobô, 1979).

⁴ It might be mentioned that even today, Japan is engaged in territorial disputes with Russia, Korea, and China. Furthermore, as recently as 1968 and 1972 respectively, the United States claimed the Ogasawara

cultural and textual category on the one hand, and the ever-transforming configurations of political and geographic space. As the frontier zone imbued with sub-national relations gave way to outright appropriation by the State, these once ambiguous zones came to be rendered within the bounds of a distinct State and its newly recognized nationalist subject. Hayashi Shihei's calls for a system of maritime defense, not dissimilar from Matsudaira Sadanobu's own, included both the collection and study of *hyôryûki* related to Ezo-chi and spaces of the near seas.

While Japan has not always been considered an exclusively thalassocratic nation—an important exception being the first half of the twentieth century—the term *shimaguni* (“island nation” 島国) has been in use since the earliest written records to describe a political body in the archipelago.⁵ The notion of Japan as a maritime nation expressed by Hayashi Shihei was nonetheless complicated by the notion of tributary relations between Japan and its neighbors in Korea, Ryûkyû, and Ezo. Several texts from this period, including those of Hayashi Shihei and the *Chôsen monogatari* discussed in the previous chapter, suggest that these surrounding countries were of

and Okinawa islands. The fact that roughly twenty percent of Okinawa is still US military bases, has caused some to suggest that the United States has still not returned sovereignty over these islands to Japan.

⁵ In the *Kojiki* (712) the term *Ôyashimaguni* (“The great country of eight islands”) is used. It should be pointed out that the eight islands referred to are today referred to Honshû, Shikoku, Kyûshû, Awaji, Iki, Tsushima, Oki, and Sado islands and furthermore, that the characters used to write this term are 大八州國 and not the characters 島国 more common today. The discourse of Japan's geographic and cultural borders all too often assumes or posits a well-defined Nation-State and National culture. In the post-Pacific War era in particular the notion of *shima-guni* or “island nation” has served as an important foundation for a proposition that Japanese are somehow isolated from world developments and as such, have been able to foster their own unique cultural identity (*Nihonjin ron*). At the same time, this emphasis on Japan's geographic, and by extension cultural insularity, has served as a powerful means to conceal the history of Japanese imperial expansion that took place in the first half of the twentieth century.

zokkoku 属国 (“subject states”) status. This somewhat complicated maritime identity led to a preoccupation with peripheral islands as Japan came to transform its polity and foreign policy, once construed and informed by rules of East Asian civilization and tributary status, into a geographically delineated nation with stable and ostensibly irrevocable borders. Rendering a somewhat ambiguous geographic and cultural boundary zone into a clearly marked international borderline was of utmost importance to the *bakufu* as liminal territories came to be occupied by foreigners. In this endeavor, castaway accounts, both factual and fictional, dealing with the near seas on the edges of the nation had an important role to play.

MUJINTÔ OF THE OGASAWARA AND TORISHIMA ISLANDS

Just as it was important to describe the cultural and ethnic limits of Self and Other in castaway accounts taking place in the farthest reaches of the seas, it became equally important to inscribe a hard boundary to delimit the territorial extent of the nation. These accounts of the near seas are markedly different from other *hyôryûki* accounts in that they are primarily concerned with laying claim to smaller peripheral islands, thus drawing a line or border where once stood a less clear zone or frontier. In this sense these castaway accounts of the near seas tended to be more geographic and less anthropologic, particularly with *mujintô hyôryûki* that ostensibly had no Other to speak of *per se*. These stories of “no man’s land,” thus became accounts of “Japan’s lands” on the very periphery of the Nation. Increasingly the term *mujintô* (or alternatively, *bunintô*) came to signify more specifically uninhabited lands on edges of and ostensibly in the possession of Japan. Thus, the category of *mujintô hyôryûki* came to play an important role in delineating the emerging hard boundaries of the nation, and it is no coincidence that anthologies of *mujintô hyôryûki* accounts, along with several completely fabricated accounts, began to appear at the end of the Edo period when these islands came under threat of occupation by non-Japanese.

While *mujintô* may be literally translated as simply “uninhabited island,” the term came to signify a specific group of islands off the Izu peninsula that included what are today known as the Ogasawara (Bonin), Iwojima, and Tori shima (Markus Island) archipelagos 700 miles southeast of Edo.⁶ While these remote islands today are considered the easternmost lands claimed by Japan, during the Edo period their status was much more ambiguous. Thanks in part to a group of castaways from Awa Province who managed to return from these islands in 1670, the *Bakufu* ordered Shimaya Ichizaemon to investigate the presence of uninhabited islands off the tip of the Izu Peninsula and Hachijôjima. In the Fourth (leap) month of 1675 the *Fûkokuju-maru* set sail from Shimoda, and after passing Hachijôjima and Aogashima, reported a small round island (*maruyama*) with a three *ri* (approximately 7.5 miles) circumference.⁷ The official report titled *Shimaya Ichizaemon mujintô e noriwatari oboegaki* states that sailors boarded a small boat to explore the island and were surprised to find many large white birds that they were able to capture with their bare hands and were not in the least afraid of humans. Thus this island came to be known as Tori shima and later castaways to this island frequently mention the presence of large, fearless white birds (thought to

⁶ Kawai Hikomitsu (*Nihinjin hyôryûki*, 120-121) claims that few castaways who drifted to the Ogasawaras could ever return home so the documents relating to these accidents are few. However he claims that many Japanese castaways must have continued to drift to other islands and mixed with natives ??? or that it is impossible to verify whether some accounts took place in Ogasawaras or other uninhabited islands. He points to one document relating the drifting of Kichiuemon, Shohei, and Rokuhei of Sanuki, Takamatsuura in 1625 who reported drifting to an *inhabited* island, before returning to Hachijojima (via Aogashima). According to their story, the first island they arrived at would have been one of the Ogasawaras. Kawai mentions only two accounts that can be identified as Ogasawara accounts (compare to 11 Tori shima accounts, 12 Aogajima, and 100s of Hachijojima islands).

⁷ *Shimaya Ichizaemon mujintô e noriwatari oboegaki* (*shahon* manuscript in Meiji University Central Library copied during Edo period).

be albatrosses). The *Fûkokuju-maru* continued on to other uninhabited islands to the south (the Ogasawara Islands) where they carried out more detailed investigation of the islands before returning to Edo in the following month.

England and America claimed possession of Haha and Chichi jima islands in 1824 and 1853 respectively. By 1830, with permission from Richard Charlton, the British Consul in Honolulu, Matteo Mazarro set out with about 30 settlers of European and Polynesian descent to start a colony on the islands. While *bakufu* concerns with Russia in Ezo-chi continued, by the third decade of the nineteenth century the primary external threat to Japan as represented in castaway accounts shifted to England and their new foothold in Japan's *mujintô* to the South. For example, we read in *Tokei monogatari*:

At this time England has a very powerful military and it is said that they plan to conquer the entire world within 100 years. Those that have not yet been conquered and those in Russian territory always told us that you could see the wrath of England on the surface as well as the evil inside their hearts. Furthermore, English ships are hated in Canton and the Portuguese do not even approach them... At that time we were also told that 300 *ri* to the south of Enshû and west of Hachijojima there was an uninhabited island that had in recent years been developed and populated by 50 [English] people.⁸

England comes to be more maligned with each Asian imperial exploit. In particular the Opium wars are frequently made reference to in accounts written after 1840. In *Bandan* we read how in 1841 the castaway Jirokichi had heard rumors while in the Sandwich Islands of a war being waged in Canton concerning an opium

⁸ NSSSS5, 93

disturbance with the Chinese.⁹ Likewise, Ôtsuki Kiyomasa (son of Gentaku-, author of *Kankai ibun*) includes in his *Luzon koku hyôryûki* (1845) not only a detailed history of domination in the Philippines, but also a much more recent story of English aggression with China in the Opium wars.¹⁰ The beginnings of this long history of hegemony that Ôtsuki relates begins with the suzerain Ming court, however it ends with the once the powerful Chinese sphere of influence giving way to both British warships and the demands of international trade. Noting the profits it brings Luzon, Ôtsuki's editorial commentary explains that England's war with China is part of larger global ambitions on the part of Britain for profit from trade. This is not the only account to predict the massive influence the English would have throughout the planet over the course of the next century. *Bandan* too, warns that, "Already six-tenths of the world is English and in one hundred years their language will certainly be mixed throughout the world and everything will be transformed by English customs."¹¹ With the appearance of a new "English" colony in the near seas off Japan, the *bakufu* acted deliberately to claim these once uninhabited islands.

In 1861 Iemochi sent a *bakufu* mission to Ogasawara and began to populate the islands with subjects from Hachijôjima. By 1876, all residents (including those originally coming from Hawai'i) were made subjects of Japan. While cases of Japanese drifting to these islands appear to have taken place as early as the late sixteenth century,

⁹ NSSSS5, 301

¹⁰ NSSSS5, 578

¹¹ NSSSS5, 265.

it was not until the early nineteenth century that they these accounts were proliferated, categorized, and anthologized, precisely at the moment when these previously uninhabited islands came to be populated. While most of these accounts of distressed sailors can be verified through interrogation proceedings and other historical records, there are also numerous falsified accounts that were written in the early nineteenth century but claim to re-articulate incidents of drift taking place centuries before. In this final chapter, we will consider how this textual category of *mujintô hyôryûki* comes to be established and how the space of uninhabited islands comes to fix itself within geographic imagination of late Edo Japanese.

In the 12th month of 1861, after more than two weeks aboard Japan's prized warship *Kanrin maru*, the *bakufu*'s magistrate of foreign affairs, Mizuno Chikugo no Kami Tadanori, at last set foot on the contested ground he had come to claim. His destinations on this mission were Chichi and Haha jima in the Ogasawara chain approximately 700 miles southeast of Edo.¹² Reports that these ostensibly uninhabited islands were in fact the site of a small colony of Western and Polynesian settlers from Hawai'i had been familiar to the *bakufu* for nearly 30 years. The consternation caused by this territorial encroachment is suggested by the care with which Mizuno and the *bakufu* had plotted their own arrival in the islands. While the colonists continued to

¹² These islands are also known as *mujintô*, but one historian has argued that the Sinified reading for "island" (*tô*) was adopted only later and that throughout the Edo period *mujinshima*, *muninjima*, and other variants using the indigenous *shimaljima* were used. See Hirano Mitsuru, "'Izu Shichitô zenzu tsuke mujinjima hachijû shozu' 'Zôtei Izu Shichitô zenzu tsuke mujinjima hachijû shozu/ Sôbu Bôsô kaigan zu' no seiritsu jijô to chosha tsuke Ogasawara shima no kyûmei 'mujin shima' ha 'muninshima,' in *Aida Bunkô Hensaniinkai: Chûkan hôkoku 2*, vol. 49 (Tokyo: Meiji Daigaku Jinbunkagaku Kenkyûjo, 2001), 376-382.

refer to their new home as the Bonin Islands (ironically a corruption of the Japanese *Bunin*, yet another way to read “uninhabited” 無人), Mizuno preferred to instead call them the Ogasawara islands.¹³ He had sent members of the crew ashore the day before in order to erect a *hi no maru* flag atop the soon to be renamed Mt. Asahi. They also served notice to the leaders of the foreign port community on Chichijima or Peel Island as it was known to its residents, that Mizuno would be granting them an audience the following day.¹⁴ For Mizuno’s coming ashore, the crew erected tents and bunting on the beach and arranged other preparations that deliberately mimicked Commodore Mathew Perry’s staged arrival in Japan nearly a decade earlier.¹⁵ Dressed in full ceremonial attire, Mizuno proceeded to meet with Nathaniel Savory who had arrived in the islands thirty-one years earlier as a leader of the original group of colonists. What ensued was a bizarre showdown in which both parties attempted to prove legal possession of the islands. With the most famous castaway of his day, Nakahama “Jon” Manjirô, serving as interpreter, Savory claimed that the islands were

¹³ In his *The History of the Bonin Islands, 1827-1876*, Lionel Berners Cholmondeley cites Kaempfer as the originator of this phonetic corruption. See Lionel Berners Cholmondeley, *The History of the Bonin Islands, 1827-1876* (London: Constable & Co., 1915), 6-7.

¹⁴ Tabohashi Kiyoshi wrote extensively about this mission, and published his research in a four-part installment of *Rekishî chiri* (vol. 39 and vol. 40) in 1922. For description of this meeting and a transcription of the meeting see, Tabohashi Kiyoshi, “Ogasawara shotô no kaishû, ichi,” *Rekishî chiri* 39:5, 369. His research appears to be based on the examination of various documents, but the above encounter can be confirmed by comparing to “Ogasawara shima no junken gokaitaku setsu torishirabe sôrô omomuki môshiage sôrô shotsuke,” in *Ogasawara shima kaitaku shôki, chûkan* in the Diet Library Archives [ID # 173-177] leaf 3 to 11.

¹⁵ Hyman Kublin has suggested that the *bakufu* turned to Perry as a model for colonial diplomacy. See Kublin, 274. Tabohashi, whom Kublin was greatly indebted to, is less direct but suggests the same thing. See Tabohashi 39:5, 21. My own research on the Ogasawara islands in the late Edo and early Meiji eras, suggests that Perry’s own interest in developing the islands provoked the *bakufu* to send an official mission to the islands and lay claim to them.

in the possession of England and that he had documentation from 1827 that stated as much. Mizuno, in a clever act of diplomatic one-upmanship, countered by citing a relatively obscure handwritten document known as the *Tatsumi bunin-jima sojô narabi ni kôjô tomegaki* that claimed that the islands had been discovered and named by Ogasawara Sadayori nearly three hundred years earlier. In order to emphasize Japan's claims to the island, he added that until recently the islands in question had been inhabited by Japanese.¹⁶ Without recourse to any earlier documentation, Savory surprisingly conceded that he had in fact seen some evidence of prior Japanese occupation. In exchange for recognition of Japanese territorial rights to the islands, Savory was given a barrel of *sake*, 50 soup bowls, live ducks, and other goods. The negotiations were completed with Nathaniel Savory committing to paper his acceptance of Japanese dominion and rule. He concluded this letter with the following:

My expectations are to remain here for life. Since the arrival of the Japanese authorities I have been treated with respect and much friendship. To the Chief Commissioner in particular for the very kind manner which he has been pleased to treat me I return him my sincere thanks.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,
N. Savory¹⁷

While it is unclear exactly what evidence of Japanese occupation Savory was referring to in his encounter with Mizuno, it is certain that this had not been the first time Savory had met with Japanese in the islands. Twenty-two years earlier, in the 11th

¹⁶ Tabohashi Kiyoshi, 369.

¹⁷ Cholmondeley, 119.

month of 1839 a ship from the port town of Otomo, Michinoku called the *Chûkichi maru* drifted to the island with its crew of six. Savory and other colonists provided assistance to the distressed sailors in order that they might return home. Receiving an English book on ship construction, Sannosuke and his crew repaired their vessel and returned to Japan in the 3rd month of the following year.¹⁸ Their recorded testimony (*kuchigaki*) elaborated on the daily lives of thirty “red-eyed, dark-skinned” settlers in waters “just off the tip of Hachijo jima.”¹⁹ The *bakufu* ordered Utagawa Yôan (1798-1846) to translate the text on ship construction that they received.²⁰

While these castaways from the *Chûkichi maru* served as the earliest eyewitness report of Westerners on these islands, numerous other castaway accounts written between 1831 and Mizuno’s arrival in 1861 also mention foreigners living in islands off the coast of Izu.²¹ In fact, castaway accounts served as the primary documentation by which information concerning these islands came into Japan. Even before their occupation by foreigners, *bakufu* officials were made aware of this space. The earliest

¹⁸ The castaway account relating these details is found in Arakawa Hidetoshi, *Ikoku hyôryûki zoku shû* (Tokyo: Kishô Kenkyûjo, 1964), 238-249. See also, *Tsûkô ichiran zokushû*, vol. 150 (*Ikokubu yon hyôryû*).

¹⁹ Arakawa, 241 & 245 respectively.

²⁰ Kawai Hikomitsu, *Nihonjin hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Shakai Shisôsha, 1967), 120-121.

²¹ *Hyôryûki* such as *Bandan* written in 1851 and accounts from roughly the same time relating the events surrounding Nakahama Manjirô’s (Mizuno’s interpreter) ten years abroad are examples. Another incident involving the repatriation of sailors from two separate ships (the *Kôhō maru* and *Senshu maru*) by an American whaler *The Manhattan* in 1845 also provided Japanese officials with details of the foreign colony in the Ogasawaras. While the former ship was picked up at sea, the latter of these two Japanese ships managed to drift to an island. See “A-shû sen Kôhō maru hyôryûki” and “Itsushi hyôkyaku kibun” in *Ishii Kendô korekushon Edo hyôryûki sôshû*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Nihon Hyôronsha, 1992), 411-484. See also entries for March 15th to April 21st (1845) in the “Log of the Whaleship Manhattan” on microfilm at The Whaling Museum.

authenticated reports of these islands by Japanese took place in 1670, when a derelict ship from Awa returned to Japan.²² Following this incident, the *bakufu* in 1675 ordered Shimaya Ichizaemon to carry out a detailed exploratory mission to the islands.²³ Outside of the various castaway accounts, this was the only documented visit to these islands by a Japanese until Mizuno's arrival.

Although visits to these islands by Japanese before 1861 were limited almost exclusively to the occasional castaway, they did not go unnoticed by a larger readership. Itô Tôgai mentions the islands in his *Yûken shôroku* (written in the *Kyôhō* era, 1716-1735), while Hattori Genroku and Yamashita Yoshifusa attempted to visit the islands in 1774 before being blown back to Japan in a storm. Likewise, Hayashi Shihei argued for their exploration and development in his *Sangoku tsûran zûsetsu* of 1785, as did Satô Nobuhiro in his *Kondô hisaku*.²⁴ In his *Gaikoku jijô sho*, Watanabe Kazan publicly called for stronger coastal defense and stated that he had heard from a Dutchman in Dejima in 1837 that British had taken over the islands.²⁵ His interest in the subject led

²² See *A-shû sen mujintô hyôryûki* in Yamashita Tsunewo (ed.), *Ishii Kendô korekushon Edo hyôryûki sôshû*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Nihon Hyôronsha, 1992), 193-204.

²³ His report is found in a *shahon* manuscript in the Meiji University library *Shimaya Ichizaemon mujintô e noriwatari oboegaki*. [ID # 299-1]

²⁴ All cited in Tanaka Hiroyuki, "Edo jidai ni okeru Nihonjin no mujintô (Ogasawaratô) ni tai suru ninshiki," in *Kaiji shi kenkyû*, vol. 50 (June, 1993). Concerning Hayashi Shihei, we might note that Marcia Yonemoto claims that Shihei, "perceived the primary oceanic avenue between Japan and the West as one that circumnavigated Asia and Europe," furthermore concluding that, "the Pacific is completely absent from his view." Contrary to this opinion, it is clear that Shihei was very much concerned with invasion by the West from the Pacific side. See Marcia Yonemoto, "Maps and Metaphors of the 'Small Eastern Sea' in Tokugawa Japan (1603-1868) in *Geographical Review* 89:2 (April, 1999), footnote #6.

²⁵ Watanabe Kazan, "Gaiikoku jijô sho," in *Nihin shisô taikai*, vol. 55 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1976), 31.

him to seek passage to the islands, before he was arrested in the famous *Bansha no goku* Incident of 1839 and was eventually compelled to commit suicide.²⁶ Likewise, more literary collections such as the *Kasshi yawa* (1818-1830) tell a fantastic story of an entire village from Kôzuke province mysteriously disappearing in the space of a night, only to be discovered later living on an island off the Izu peninsula.²⁷ While in 1772, Kanzawa Teikan included in the 37th volume of his *Okina gusa* a verifiable story of a castaway who spent 21 years on an uninhabited island before returning to Japan.²⁸

²⁶ Charges included; 1) His involvement in a plan orchestrated by a priest Junsen to visit the islands secretly, 2) Aside from the aforementioned plan, he also privately plotted to feign shipwreck in order to go to America via Luzon and Hawai'i 3) He wrote *Bojutsu yume monogatari*, based on translations provided by Takano Chôhei [However, Chôhei is usually credited with writing it.] 4) He had been keeping correspondence with Ôshio Heihachirô. He was eventually exculpated of these charges and instead re-arrested for writing a critique of the *bakufu* titled *Shinki ron*, which was apparently discovered during a search of his dwelling. See, Tanaka, 10.

²⁷ Tanaka, op.cit.

²⁸ For date see *Okinagusa jô* (Tokyo: Kyoikusha Shuppan, 1980), 15. For account in question, see *Okinagusa ge* (Tokyo: Kyoikusha Shuppan, 1980), 160-174. This is one of the most remarkable and popular castaway accounts from the Edo period. In 1719 a merchant ship carrying a crew of twelve met stormy weather off the Bôshû peninsula. Drifting for roughly two months, land was sighted in the first month of 1720. Without food or water, the crew decided to go ashore. But while searching the small island, both their launch and larger ship were destroyed in the surf, and they found themselves marooned on what is today known as Tori shima (or Markus Island). While there was no source of fresh water on the island, they devised contraptions to collect rainwater and lived off of grasses, seaweeds, fish, and albatrosses. During the winter of 1721, an abandoned vessel became stranded off the coast of this island and the men discovered that it carried sixty to seventy bales of rice, of which they were able to recover about half (20-30). Even after drying the rice, they had nothing to store it in, therefore they left what they could not immediately eat packed in bales. However one of the bales began to sprout young rice plants that they managed to plant throughout the island wherever enough soil was to be found. This provided them with about 3 *to* of rice per year, which they used sparingly. They also managed to make their own clothes and tools. Of the original 12 crew members, most succumbed to malnutrition and disease. However three-- Heisaburô, Jinpachi, and Jinzaburô—managed to survive twenty years. This was long enough to meet the crew of another distressed ship with a crew of 17 that happened to drift to this island. The crew of this newly arrived ship was given food and water by the three men and repairs were made to the ship, before the survivors from both ships returned to Edo via Hachijôjima in 1739. Numerous versions of this story were written out, circulated, and even performed in the form of *shibai* entertainment throughout the remainder of the Edo period. The repatriated sailors were even summoned to a private interview with the 8th Shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune. See Arakawa Hidetoshi, *Kinsei hyôryûki shû* (Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppanyoku, 1969), 288.

Stories of these islands continued to proliferate throughout Japan, as did occasional crackdowns by the *bakufu* attempting to stifle such discourse.²⁹ There is evidence to suggest that by the late 1830s, discussion of these islands outside the context of castaway accounts was perceived as taboo. For example, the author of the preface to Tōjō Kindai's *Izu Shichitō zenzu*, specifically mentions that ten years prior Ôgura Nagatsune and Watanabe Kazan had argued that exploiting the islands would bring national profit, as did Hiraga Kunimichi (Gennai) and Hayashi Tomonao (Shihei) fifty years before them.³⁰ Framing his own efforts within a larger discourse on the uninhabited islands to the south, did not prevent him from suffering the same fate as his predecessors. As with Ôgura Nagatsune, Watanabe Kazan, and Hayashi Shihei before him, Tōjō too was placed under house arrest in 1842 for the publication of his own text related to these islands.³¹

It is clear that the *bakufu* had kept a close watch over information regarding this contested space, thus it is highly unlikely that Mizuno, in his negotiations with Savory on the beach in 1861, would not have known the details surrounding the *Tatsumi bunin-jima sojō narabi ni kōjō tomegaki* which he had diplomatically employed. What he

²⁹ Hayashi Shihei, Tōjō Kindai, and Watanabe Kazan were just a few who were punished for writing about *mujintō*.

³⁰ I am grateful to Professor Hirano Mitsuru for first directing me to this document in the Aida Archive at Meiji University, and later going through it with me. Hirano's theory concerning the dating and authorship of this document can be found in Hirano Mitsuru, "'Izu Shichitō zenzu tsuke mujinjima hachijū shozu' 'Zōtei Izu Shichitō zenzu tsuke mujinjima hachijū shozu/ Sōbu Bōsō kaigan zu' no seiritsu jijō to chōsha tsuke Ogasawara shima no kyūmei 'mujin shima' ha 'muninshima,'" in *Aida Bunkō Hensaninkai: Chūkan hōkoku 2*, vol. 49 (Tokyo: Meiji Daigaku Jinbunkagaku Kenkyūjo, 2001), 376-382.

³¹ This is documented in the 33rd book of the 33rd volume of Sakata Shōen's *Ogasawara jiki* (manuscript in the National Diet Library Archive dated 1874) and is cited in Hirano Mitsuru (2001), 376.

failed to mention to Savory was that this text, which he had used to secure Japanese territorial claims to the islands, was in fact based upon a completely fabricated voyage of discovery. Concocted in 1727 by a petitioner calling himself Ogasawara Kunai Sadatô, the text was originally thought to be based on the records of Sadatô's purported ancestor, Ogasawara Sadayori. He submitted the documents to the *bakufu* in order to receive permission to explore the islands. However, it was eventually revealed that Sadatô was no more than a charlatan and in 1735 was exiled for his deceptions and forgery.³² Considering the extensive preparations for this mission and the carefully staged meeting with Savory, it is doubtful that Mizuno would not have known about Sadatô and the spurious nature of his manuscript. This, coupled with his statement that Japanese had been living in the islands until recently, suggests that Mizuno quite consciously employed the use of false intelligence to justify territorial claims, and demonstrates the renewed importance of documentation, both factual and fictional, relating to these islands. This decision coincided with the *bakufu*'s attempt to populate the islands by sending thirty-eight immigrants from Hachijôjima in 1862. Along with several officials including Obana Sakunosuke who was appointed by Mizuno to oversee this fledgling outpost, an actual Japanese presence was first established.

It is thus not so surprising that acts of collecting and anthologizing these *mujintô hyôryûki* also became important endeavor during the *bakumatsu* and into the early Meiji era. Ôguma Ryôichi has pointed out that the most ambitious project to collect

³² For an account of Sadatô's deceptions and the Bakufu's response see, *Koji ruien*, vol. 3 (*chibu ichi*) (Tokyo: Koji Ruien Kankôkai, 1912), 682-683.

documentation related to foreign relations was the *Tsûkô ichiran*, completed in 1853 by the Hayashi family. He also notes that the 12th volume is dedicated to documentation dealing with uninhabited islands.³³ However, this was by no means the only such attempt. Other examples of collections from the late Edo period that bring together multiple *mujintô hyôryûki* and related materials include *Mujintô yori kikoku no mono goshirabigaki*, *Toshû mujintô hyôryûki*, and the *Kaihyô ibun*.³⁴ While the first two collections focused exclusively on the space of uninhabited isles, the *Kaihyô ibun* is much broader in scope and stands as perhaps the most extensive anthology of castaway accounts compiled in the Edo period.³⁵ Consisting of seventy-nine extant volumes, the editor(s) organized the various accounts into geographical categories labeled with signs of the zodiac.

³³ Ôguma Ryôichi, *Rekishi no kataru Ogasawaratô* (Tokyo: Nanpô Dôhō Engokai, 1966), 17-18.

³⁴ These include *Hachijô jikki*, *Mujintô yori kikoku no mono goshirabigaki*, *Toshû mujintô hyôryûki*, and *Shimaya Ichizaemon mujintô e noriwatari oboegaki/ mujintô tôkai karabune no gi tsuke tomegaki/ hyôryû no oboe/ Chûei hanashi kikigaki*. It should be noted that in comparison to the *Tsûkô ichiran* and *Kaihyô ibun*, most of these anthologies tend to have been compiled on a more regional basis, and appear less concerned with projecting a national identity or claiming the islands as Japanese.

³⁵ Housed in the Dôshisha University archive, this document is as remarkable as it is mysterious. Based on five indexes (*mokuroku*) that are attached to the inside back cover (*mikaeshi*) of volumes 15, 17, 18, and 41, it is evident that the complete document has not survived. However I cannot determine how many volumes were originally included with the 79 surviving volumes, since the indexes only list the various castaway accounts without distinguishing volume numbers. The authorship and date of compilation are also in question. The editor refers to himself as Tessô Dojin (徹桑土人) which is clearly a nom-de-plume. The many accounts are also written in different brush, suggesting that the anthology was a collaborative effort among several people. Each volume however is stamped with a vermilion seal of “Bunhōdōin” (文鳳堂) which, according to Iwasaki Naoko (citing Miyaji Masato), was used by Matsuura Takeshirô and Edo merchants doing business with him. Matsuura was alive until the Ansei era (1854-1860). The latest account to appear in the collection took place in 1847. Based upon this information, we can assume that the text was most likely compiled in the late 1840s or early 1850s. Recently photographic facsimiles of each page of the text as it exists today have been made available through the internet and include a *Kaidai* by Iwasaki.

- (子) Rat— Ezo/Karafuto/Dattan (Northeastern China)
 (丑) Ox— Shina (China) /Russia/Ezo
 (寅) Tiger— Ogasawara Islands and *mujintô*
 (兔) Rabbit— Ryûkyû
 (辰) Dragon— Taiwan
 (巳) Snake— Chôsen/Russia
 (午) Horse— Tôdo (China)
 (未) Ram— Canton (Southern China), Annam (Vietnam)
 (申) Monkey— Batan/Luzon (Philippines), Other areas in Southeast Asia (Borneo, Thailand)

(cock, dog, and boar are missing and may never have been part of the collection)

The *tora* or tiger grouping of texts appears as the shortest grouping within the anthology, but demonstrates that *mujintô* accounts had come to be seen as an independent sub-category of castaway stories. Comprising a scant two volumes (48 and 49), it contains three *mujintô hyôryûki*,³⁶ as well as a map (*Ogasawara shima zenzu*), and a document titled *Ogasawara Kunai yuisho gaki*. This last document is not a castaway account, but instead a detailed description of the Ogasawara chain and surrounding islands with a focus on the exploitable resources, attributed to the rogue Sadatô who had been exiled for fabricating his ancestor's mythical discovery in the sixteenth century. While this recalls the document that Mizuno had referred to in his discussions with Savory, we might note that the title here has been altered to suggest both its historical veracity and its elevated importance as a source for otherwise questionable claims to the islands by Japan (*yuisho* = "venerable").

³⁶ These include *Enshû Arai Jinpachi Jinzaburô mujintô hyôryûki*, *Edo Horie Chô Tomiya Takebei mujintô hyôryûki*, and *Awa Buyô Tokunosuke Shimousa Chôshi Minato Jûsuke mujintô hyôryûki*. The last of which mentions the occupation of these islands by foreigners.

Even more surprising is the appropriation of falsified castaway accounts by *hyôryûki* scholars in the Meiji and even early Shôwa eras. For example, Ishii Kendô, includes in his *Ikoku hyôryû kidan shû* of 1927 two accounts—*Genwa hyôryûki* and *Sanshû bune shimaguni dakkô dan*—supposedly taking place in 1616 and 1625 respectively, that were in fact falsified documents most likely written sometime during the early to mid-nineteenth century.³⁷ While he is careful to cite the location of the original manuscripts from which he transcribed the stories, he never once mentions the fact that no contemporary documentation confirming their veracity exists, nor seems to question the questionable content of their narratives. For example, the *Genwa hyôryûki* relates a dubious tale in which three castaways drifted to an island off the Izu peninsula only to be captured by a community of almost one hundred Japanese who traced their ancestry to two couples who came from Miura (Kanagawa) in 1558. They were held as laborers until a disease struck the island. The three then drifted to Hachijôjima where the castaway Kihei was said to have met Ukita Hideie (former lord of Bizen exiled for his support of Toyotomi).

By the time Kendô had published his text, the islands had unquestionably become part of the Japanese empire, thus it is likely that his oversight regarding these specific texts was simply the legacy of an earlier time when the status of possession was contested. Mizuno's oversights on the other hand were quite deliberate. For example, an early historian of the islands Russell Robertson, in an address to the Asiatic Society

³⁷ Ishii Kendô, *Ikoku hyôryû kitan shû* (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ôraisha, 1971 (reprint). Concerning the questionable origins of these texts, see also Yamashita Tsuneo (ed.), *EHSS1* (Tokyo: Nihon Hyôronsha, 1992), 64.

of Japan in 1876, stated that the *bakufu* had erected a stone monument on the island in 1862 that recorded Ogasawara Sadayori's sixteenth century discovery of the islands.³⁸ Concerned with the encroachment of Westerners in to waters of the coast of their realm, it is understandable why *bakufu* officials strategically revived once apocryphal texts in order to secure territorial claims.

But while Mizuno and others representing Japan's case in international diplomacy may have known about the spurious origins of these documents, Savory, Perry, Robertson and other Westerners with an interest in the islands strangely conceded knowing about Japan's claimed connections with the islands. It is unclear why they did not question Mizuno's story, but considering the scant references to the islands that appeared in European texts we might also wonder if they had reason to. Engelbert Kaempfer first mentioned the incident of 1670 in which Japanese castaways returned from the islands in his *History of Japan*.³⁹ The earliest mention of Sadayori's discovery of these islands in a European language comes much later in the work of Julius Kalproth, who translated Hayashi Shihei's *Sangoku tsûran zûsetsu* into French in 1826.⁴⁰

³⁸ Russell Robertson, Esq., "The Bonin Islands," in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. IV (Tokyo: Yushodo Booksellers, Ltd., 1964 (reprint)), 124.

³⁹ In his *The History of the Bonin Islands, 1827-1876*, Lionel Berners Cholmondeley cites Kaempfer as the originator of this phonetic corruption. See Lionel Berners Cholmondeley, *The History of the Bonin Islands, 1827-1876* (London: Constable & Co., 1915), 6-7.

⁴⁰ Julius Klaproth, *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1824-1828), vol. 2, 190-197. I have not seen this text and am relying here on the work of Kublin, who cites this document on pages 266-267. Writing in 1951, Kublin was probably the first non-Japanese to uncover the details of this longstanding hoax. He concludes, "through the instrumentality of Rémusat and Klaproth the legend of Ogasawara Sadayori was

While possession of the islands continued to be contested after Mizuno's visit, the *bakufu*'s position continued to emphasize Sadayori's discovery in the sixteenth century, while foreign parties at least accepted it. When Sir Rutherford Alcock first received news of Mizuno's mission to the islands, he wrote to Japanese diplomatic officials arguing that Japan had forfeited any rights to the islands since they were uninhabited at the time that Captain Beechey had claimed them for England in 1827. As a compromise to the dispute, he recommended that they be opened to shipping by all nations.⁴¹ The *bakufu*, having already read Mizuno's initial report of bountiful resources in the islands, officially responded to Alcock's proposal by stating that Japanese had been in the islands long before any British subjects had.⁴² With yet another occupation of these islands by American military forces from 1943 to 1968, the Ogasawara islands briefly reemerged as a topic of numerous texts, however castaways seem to have been for the most part forgotten.⁴³

The first of these *mujintô* castaway accounts appearing under the "Tiger" sub-heading of *Kaihyô ibun* titled *Enshû Arai Jinpachi Jinzaburô mujintô hyôryûki* (遠州荒井甚八・仁三郎無人島漂流記) relates one of the most remarkable and popular castaway accounts from the Edo period. The story begins in 1719 when a merchant ship carrying a crew of twelve met stormy weather off the Bôshû peninsula. Drifting for roughly two

introduced to the West, where it has been accepted with little question to this very day. Ironically, he was writing this at a time when the islands had been a United States' possession (1945-1968).

⁴¹ Kublin, 277.

⁴² In *Isshin shi*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Monbushô, 1940), 918. Cited in Kublin, 278.

months, land was sighted in the first month of 1720. Coincidentally, this is just about the time when Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* was being published in England for the first time. Without food or water, the crew decided to go ashore in a smaller launch to see if they could find anyone willing to help them. While searching the small island, both their launch and larger ship were destroyed in the surf, and they found themselves marooned on an uninhabited island, what is today known as Tori shima (or Markus Island). While there was no source of fresh water on the island, they devised contraptions to collect rainwater and lived off of grasses, seaweeds, fish, and albatrosses. During the winter of 1721, an abandoned vessel became stranded off the coast of this island and the men discovered that it carried sixty to seventy bales of rice, of which they were able to recover about half (20-30). Even after drying the rice, they had nothing to store it in, therefore they left what they could not immediately eat packed in bales. However one of the bales began to sprout young rice plants that they managed to transplant throughout the island wherever enough soil was to be found. This provided them with about three *to* (54 liters) of dry rice per year, which they used sparingly. They also managed to make their own clothes and tools. Of the original twelve crew members, most succumbed to malnutrition and disease. However three—Heisaburô, Jinpachi, and Jinzaburô—managed to survive twenty years. This was long enough to meet the crew of another distressed ship with a crew of seventeen that happened to drift to this island. The crew of this newly arrived ship was given food and water by the

⁴³ United States policy during the (extended) occupation included allowing only the descendents of the original non-Japanese colonists to live in the islands.

three men and repairs were made to the ship, before the survivors from both ships returned to Edo via Hachijôjima in 1739.

The second *mujintô hyôryûki* in the *Kaihyô ibun*, titled *Edo Horie Chô Tomiya Takebei mujintô hyôryûki* 江戸堀江町富屋武兵衛無人島漂流記, relates the details concerning this second ship. These two stories together comprise one of the most dramatic castaway accounts of the Edo period. And while no strange foreigners were encountered, numerous versions of their story were written out, circulated, and even performed in the form of *shibai* entertainment throughout the remainder of the Edo period. The repatriated sailors were even summoned to a private interview with the 8th Shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune.⁴⁴

The third and final account to appear in the *Kaihyô ibun* is titled *Awa Buyô Tokunosuke Shimousa Chôshi Minato Jûsuke mujintô hyôryûki* 阿波撫養徳之丞下総銚子湊重助無人島漂流記, however the title on the inside cover of the 49th volume of this anthology refers to it more simply as *Anan hyôpaku jikki* 阿南漂白実記. This document relates the drift and subsequent rescue of crews from the *Kôhō maru* and *Senshu maru* in 1845 by an American whaler *The Manhattan*. While the former were picked up at sea, the latter of these two Japanese ships also managed to drift to Tori shima.⁴⁵ From 1830 onward, both English and Americans inhabited Haha jima in the Ogasawara chain in order to provide a refuge to whalers plying the waters of the Pacific. Ports and bases were established sufficient for carrying out repairs and the restocking of food and water

⁴⁴ Arakawa Hidetoshi, *Kinsei hyôryûki shû* (Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1969), 288.

⁴⁵ EHSS4, 411-484. 阿州船幸宝丸漂流記・乙巳漂客記聞

supplies. As Westerners came to use the islands more frequently, the rescue of Japanese sailors drifting to this area also increased. Including perhaps Japan's most famous castaway, Nakahama (Jon) Manjirô. The fact that Manjirô does not appear once in the entire *Kaihyô ibun* suggests that it was compiled before his return to Japan in 1851.

The *Awa Buyô Tokunosuke Shimousa Chôshi Minato Jûsuke mujintô hyôryûki* is one of many castaway accounts that relate the occupation of these islands by Westerners, which was certainly of great consternation to the *bakufu*. However, it is curious that the editors of the *Kaihyô ibun* chose among the numerous castaway accounts dealing with uninhabited islands in and around the Ogasawara chain, this particular one. This last text is removed from the first two accounts by more than one hundred years. If they were resigned to compiling only a partial anthology of *mujintô* accounts, would it not have made more sense to include arguably the more dramatic and sensational account of the *Chûkichi maru*, whose crew of six in 1840 (only five years prior to the account included) drifted to Haha jima in the Ogasawaras and met directly with Nathaniel Savory, who at the time led the first permanent Western colony in the islands. The story was fairly well known among readers of castaway accounts, while their story also appears to have been disseminated among a more popular readership in the form of brief summaries that began to appear in *kawaraban*.

The contentious history that characterizes these islands throughout the late Edo period is also evident in the titles attributed to the individual documents included in the

Kaihyô ibun. While the term Ogasawara appears in the first two documents comprising the *Torashû*, the three castaway accounts instead refer to the space as *mujintô*. The term *mujintô* was and still is used to describe any uninhabited island, and in fact appears in this more literal sense of the term in other sections of the anthology. (For example, in the eleventh volume in the context of uninhabited islands in the far north.) However in 1675 the 4th Shogun Tokugawa Ietsuna sent an expedition team to these islands in question. This endeavor literally put these islands on the map for the *bakufu*, and while occupying an extremely peripheral position among the political concerns for the *bakufu*, they were formally recognized with a name. The Chinese characters for *mujintô* were used as a proper noun to identify these islands, and from this time the reading for these characters was established as *Bunin jima*.⁴⁶

With the later discovery by James Coffin in 1824, these islands were for a short period referred to by Westerners as the Coffin Islands. With the arrival of Matteo Mazarro and thirty other settlers in 1830, the individual islands in the chain retained their Western names, but the term Bonin Islands (a corruption of the Japanese *Bunin*) came to be used to describe the entire chain. While this designation is attributed to Engbert Kaempfer and appears in his *History of Japan, Together with a Description of the Kingdom of Siam 1690-1692*, its political purpose in the nineteenth century, only

⁴⁶ See Hirano Mitsuru, "Bunkyû nenkan no Ogasawara shima kaitaku jigyô to honsôgakushatachi," in *Sankô shoshi kenkyû dai 49 gô* (March 1998), 5 and 37.

emphasized the original lack of any human population, thus rendering these lands fair game for the advance of American and English colonization in the Pacific.⁴⁷

It was only at this time, with the occupation of certain islands by Westerners that the *bakufu* made a concerted effort to secure claim to these islands. In doing so, one of the first initiatives was to refer to them as Ogasawara shima, and not *mujin* or *bunintô*. Named after Ogasawara Sadayori, the first recorded Japanese discoverer of these islands, this appellation solidified a historical claim going back to 1592. In fact one of the documents contained in the *Kaihyô ibun* collection, the *Ogasawara kunai yûisho gaki*, is attributed to a descendent of Sadayori, Ogasawara Sadatô, who for one reason or another felt compelled to produce such a document in the 1830s, nearly 250 years after the purported discovery by his ancestor Sadayori. While the name Ogasawara appears more frequently on Japanese maps and in official documentation from the 1830s on, castaway accounts instead tend to retain the older term *mujin* or *bunintô*. Thus we see even the final document in the *Kaihyô ibun* collection which, we may be reminded, was only produced after 1845, titled *Awa Buyô Tokunosuke Shimousa Chôshi Minato Jûsuke mujintô hyôryûki*. Perhaps repatriated castaways from these islands and the authors responsible for writing their accounts saw their own endeavors as part of a established subgenre of *hyôryûki* dealing specifically with *mujintô hyôryûki*, for even after the appellation of Ogasawara was instituted, the accounts tended to prefer

⁴⁷ In his *The History of the Bonin Islands, 1827-1876*, Lionel Berners Cholmondeley cites Kaempfer as the originator of this phonetic corruption. See Lionel Berners Cholmondeley, *The History of the Bonin Islands, 1827-1876* (London: Constable & Co., 1915), 6-7.

mujintô.⁴⁸ This recognition may have been fueled by the attention the surviving subjects of the *Enshû Arai Jinpachi Jinzaburô mujintô hyôryûki* and *Edo Horie Chô Tomiya Takebei mujintô hyôryûki* (the first two *mujintô hyôryûki* found in the *Tora* section of the *Kaihyô ibun*) received upon their eventual return to Japan. In fact, Daikokuya Kôdayû was neither the only, nor even the first castaway to receive an audience with the Shôgun. Fifty-four years earlier, during the sixth month of 1739, the eighth Tokugawa Shôgun Yoshimune met with these six of these *mujintô* castaways, three of whom had spent more than twenty years on an uninhabited island. For the length of survival alone, their tale is perhaps one of the most dramatic stories of survival among Edo period castaway accounts, and as we have already seen, was recorded in various popular forms such as the *Kasshi yawa* and *Okina gusa*.⁴⁹ But perhaps the anonymously written *Nanpu ni fukinagaresareta Enshû Arai bune kako no kikoku monogatari* best demonstrates the ubiquitous nature of this story and the literary or entertainment value that such a tale might hold.⁵⁰ This particular version of the story begins, as in most other versions, with a factual description of the uninhabited island to which they drift and the basic functions of securing water and food. In regards to

⁴⁸ I have yet to find a castaway account based on an actual incident of drift that uses “Ogasawara” to designate an island or archipelago.

⁴⁹ NSSSS5, 468. See also, Kobayashi Kaoru, *Tori Shima hyôchaku monogatari—jûhasseiki shômin no mujintô taiken* (Tokyo: Seizandô, 2003), 95-97; Kawai Hikomitsu, *Nihonjin hyôryûki* (Tokyo: Shakai Shisôsha, 1967), 188-191.

⁵⁰ For a complete transcription of the *Nanpu ni fukinagaresareta Enshû Arai bune kako no kikoku monogatari* kept in the Hamamatsu City Central Library see, *Shizuoka Ken shi, shiryô hen 1, Kinsei 5* (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Ken, 1990), 1011-1015. The title, as it is written on the cover of the text (*hyôshi*) is, *Enshû Arai bune fukinagashi kikoku monogatari koto*.

drinking water, we read that the castaways' thirst is satiated only once they have prayed to Japanese gods (日本国中神々様) after which they are rewarded with three days of rain. Unlike other versions of this account, the castaways decide to go to another island one hundred days sail from their original site of landfall instead of remaining on the same island for twenty years. It is on the second island that the Arai castaways' story diverges into a mode of fantasy writing.

We read that on this second island, which is later described as “Tenjiku Annan koku,” (Vietnam) the castaways discover a group of armed, naked, dark-skinned men and women who stand eight feet tall and exhibit large mouths, long hair, high noses, and bright eyes. Threatening at first, once the castaways demonstrate they are from Japan, the natives drop their sticks and provide food for the drifters. While this text recalls the other Tenjiku stories—both Tokubei's and Magoshichi's—that we examined in the previous chapter, it also functions to recast the old Asian Others as barbaric and strange beast-like creatures. But most striking is the description of orgiastic practices among the islanders.

At night, with out distinction between men and women, they enter a house to rest and copulate ten or fifteen at a time. Like beasts, they do not care whose wife they are with, and when they are attracted to an attractive bride (嫁色ニ致度故発り候時) they spend their time having sex without any concern for day or night, inside or outside.⁵¹

After four months of, what we can only imagine to be, exhaustive ethnographic fieldwork among this island of fornicators, the castaways explain that they would like to

⁵¹ *Shizuoka ken shi, shiryô hen 13 (kinsei 5)*, 1012.

return to Japan and are given a boat for that purpose. However, the next leg of their adventure brings them no closer to home, but instead to an island of forty or fifty beautiful, white-skinned, curly haired women. The castaways, as the only men on the island, are housed in a palatial and well-secured building where they are fed exotic foods and given a yellow, gooey alcohol. However, their luck again seems to quickly change as each man is paired with five or six women and forced into sexual servitude (淫乱にして) both day and night. Reminiscent of Hiraga Gennai's *Fûryû Shidôken den* or Ihara Saikaku's *Kôshoku ichidai otoko*, the particularly male fantasy of an island of women is fully adapted to an otherwise historically verifiable castaway incident. Much like Asanoshin in Gennai's work, the only recourse these castaways have is begging for direct intervention from Japanese gods. After six of the nine castaways die due to overexertion, and are eaten like fishes by the women, the three surviving castaways beg the Japanese gods and Amaterasu for help and after getting the women drunk and keeping them occupied for two days without rest, they make their escape by small boat. The distraught women left crying on the shore soon begin swimming in pursue the fleeing boat, but again praying to Amaterasu, the castaways, "took poles that were in the boat and beat, beat the women off, for certainly the mysterious divine powers of a divine nation are not shallow." 船ニ有之候棹を取て打払ひ々々誠ニ神国の不思議の神力浅からず⁵²

⁵² Ibid., 1014.

CHISHIMA ISLANDS AND EZO

While the exact location of a mythical island of woman has long been associated with the islands of the Izu Peninsula, other peripheral spaces both in south near the Gôtô Islands and in the far North off the coast of Hokkaidô have been identified as the locus sailors' (and readers') fantasies. In fact, while this myth is certainly not unique to the Japanese Archipelago, Basil Hall Chamberlain includes in his *Aino Folk-tales* an Aino castaway account concerning an island of women told to him by the Chief Penri in 1886.⁵³ Furthermore, Japanese maps of Ezo-chi (Hokkaidô) from the Edo period also occasionally identify certain small islands as "Island of Women." In fact, Edo period map makers seem to have found the North Pacific particularly fertile seas for the re-discovery of numerous lands from a much older world view. Not only can we find maps locating an island of women, but also the land of dwarves, giants, and *rasetu*.⁵⁴

⁵³ Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Aino Folk-tales* (London?: Folklore Society, 1888), 37-39. The story, as told by Penri, explains that the women of this island sprout teeth in their vaginas when the grass begins to sprout, thus their husbands cannot stay with them. They are married to the east wind and become impregnated by holding their skirts up to the wind. The castaways, a father and two sons from Iwanai who went adrift while hunting sea lions, arrive on the island and taken in by the women. With the fall of the first autumn leaf, the three men are paired with the three highest ranking women of the island and are occupied in their new role as consorts until the following spring, when the Chieftainess of the island explains to the father that her teeth have begun to sprout and that it is time for him to return to his home. Not able to resist one last encounter, the father uses the scabbard of his knife as a substitute for his penis. The Chieftainess leaves her "teeth" marks on it, and we are told at the conclusion, "All the Ainos saw the beautiful scabbard which the chief had used with that woman."

⁵⁴ For example, The *Matsumae tôzu* identifies a *Nyôbôshima* 女房嶋 in the Tsugaru Straights with a note mentioning there is a source of fresh water on this island. Dates for the production of this map are

One of the earliest Japanese castaway accounts dealing with Ezo-chi is an account from 1660 (?). In this text, the *Seishû sen hokkai hyôchakki* 勢州船北海漂着記, a crew of fifteen aboard a ship belonging to Ise Matsuzaka Shichirôbei encounter a storm off the coast of Shizuoka while transporting an annual rice shipment from Kii to Edo.⁵⁵ They find themselves on one of the Chishima (Kurile) islands and, after seven months, are repatriated on an Ainu boat to Etorofu Island. At the conclusion of this *hyôryûki* is a somewhat tangential story that, we are told, was related to the castaways by the Ezo people (Ainu) themselves (蝦夷人物語申し候は).⁵⁶

Occasionally the people of Dwarf Island (小人島) would come to steal soil from Ezo. But they felt threatened here and went to hide. When they did, they lost sight of their boats. Since the route from Ezo to Dwarf Island is 100 *ri* they made pots from the earth they had come to steal and made themselves small. There are many eagles on Dwarf Island, and

unknown, but it is stamped with the seal the *kokugaku* scholar and map collector, Kurokawa Mayori (黒川真頼蔵書 and 黒川真道蔵書), who lived from 1829-1909. See, Takagi Takayoshi 崇世芝 *Hakodate bunka hakken kikaku 2, Hokkaidô no kochizu: Edo jidai no Hokkaidô no sugata wo sagaru* (Hakodate: Goryôkaku Tawaa, 2001), 16-17. In the first half of the 18th century Terajima Ryoan's *Wa-kan sansai zue* identifies a 女人島. See Takagi (2001), 64. Likewise, *Matsumae Ezu* identifies a large island as Dwarf Island and also notes that the island is known as *Rasetsu* Island. "Rasetsu," (San: rākṣasa) 羅切 is a Buddhist term for castration in order to avoid sexual desire. It is also a name given to malevolent Buddhist devils 羅刹 known to eat humans. According to Takagi, these were gendered as female. Takagi (2001), 14-15. *Ezo Matsumae no zu* in the Ichiritsu Hakodate Toshokan identifies a Dwarf Island 小人嶋 and Woman Island 女嶋, with note as to their relative distances to other areas. In the *Ezo kokuzu*, next to an island identified as *Ratsukau shima* is written "女嶋、三ツ有." See, Takagi (2001), 20-21.

⁵⁵ EHSS1, 133-137. This *kuchigaki* document is signed by the captain Shichirôbei and two others and appears to be a legitimate document in this respect. However, there is no date given as to the time it was written, and I have not been able to find any corroborating evidence to suggest this account actually took place. While Ishii Kendô first transcribed this text into *katsuji* form, he was working with a version of the document as it is found in a late Edo period anthology of castaway accounts titled, *Ikoku hyôchaku senwa* (in the Tôkyô Kaiyô Daigaku archive). This appears to be the earliest version of this account available today, and it may be that this account was either fabricated or rediscovered by the editor of *Ikoku hyôchaku senwa* or some other late Edo writer. In either case, references to this castaway account do not find their way into eighteenth century Japanese texts listing other Ezo-related castaway incidents, such as Mogami Tokunai's *Ezo zôshi*, Kudô Heisuke's *Aka Ezo fûsetsukô*, and Hayashi Shihei's *Sangoku tsûran zusettsu* (all discussed later in this chapter).

⁵⁶ EHSS1, 137.

when these people pass, eagles are likely to snatch them away. When a strong wind blows, groups of ten people grab hands and go about their business.⁵⁷

But while Edo Japanese maps of traditional Ainu lands tended to populate the seas with islands whose names suggested populations consisting of only women, or dwarves, demons, and other such Others of a more traditional worldview, it is important to note that the Japanese perceived cultural superiority over Ainu remained grounded in a relationship framed in terms of *ka* and *i*, civilization and barbarism. In other words, the status of Ezo vis-à-vis Japan, especially in the late Edo period was less like the uninhabited islands to the south, or even Tenjiku, and more similar to Ryukyu and Korea, insofar that their relative position to Japan was regularly performed through diplomatic procedure and stagecraft, and furthermore Japan's own superiority was bolstered by rituals of tribute and gift exchange. The maps of Ezo/ Matsumae that contain fantastic spaces, produce a visual model of the concentric circle model of relative barbarism used to represent the *ka-i* model and reproduces the traditional hierarchy of otherness, by placing the Ainu somewhere geographically between the civilized center of Japan and the more exotic spaces of danger and disorder. But while Japan's relationship with Ezo was envisioned through certain ideological frames of reference that allowed for gradual zones of foreign-ness, in their relations with Russia, it became clear that a clear border was needed to staunch the gradual encroachment of Russians into Ezo.

⁵⁷ EHSS1, 137.

Recently Tessa Morris-Suzuki, Bruce Batten, and others working on early-modern representations of the proto-Nation-State, have argued that the geographic borders of early-modern Japan underwent a significant transformation in the mid-nineteenth century from one of less clearly delineated zones or frontiers to one of lines or boundaries. Morris-Suzuki in particular has demonstrated that this is true of cultural identity as well as geographic or territorial identity.⁵⁸ As David Howell and others have begun to elucidate the extent of colonial development at the borders of a nation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the role that castaways and their narratives play, was an extremely important one. For the way in which space on the periphery of the archipelago was conceived, passed through, and written about is a common feature of these eighteenth and early nineteenth century *hyōryūki*. It is in descriptions of sites closer to home, on its periphery, where these texts perform important border-crossings and inscribe the cultural and political limits of Japan and its peoples.

Kudō Heisuke, a physician from Sendai and close friend of Hayashi Shihei, wrote in 1783 his *Aka Ezo fūsetsukō* 赤蝦夷風説考, an alarmist tract arguing that the government should secure territory in Ezo in order to counter Russian territorial ambitions to the area. In the introduction he writes,

Bordering Holland to the east is a country called ‘Oroshiya.’ The capital of this country is called ‘Musukauhiya.’ What we began referring to as ‘Musukobeya’ here in our country is the same [place]. From the Kanbun era (1661-1672) this country began to grow out of control (*habikorite*), and during the Shōtoku era (1711-1715) they came all the way to

⁵⁸ See, Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation (Japan in the Modern World)* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe Inc., 1998) and Bruce L. Batten, *To the Ends of Japan: Pre-modern Frontiers, Boundaries, and Interactions* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i, 2003).

Kamchatka in the interior of Ezo (*Oku Ezo*) and ordered everyone to cross over (*mina kirishitagahetari*)...Between Ezo and Kamchatka are the Chishima Islands. From the Kyohô era (1716-1735), increasingly more of these islands fell into the hands of Russians and they began building forts and such. The people of this country [Russia] occasionally drifted (*hyôryû shite*) right up to the edge of Matsumae. With the border having been set with Holland, they expanded more than 5,000 *ri* eastward, and I might add, have become one country stretching all the way to the interior of Ezo.⁵⁹

His text is remarkable for the manner in which it plots the advance of Russian colonialism into what he clearly sees as Japanese territory of Oku Ezo, as well as the important role he assigns to both real and feigned castaway accidents in this unfolding design. Although his introduction only refers to incidents of *hyôryû* in general terms, throughout the text that follows he mentions several specific cases. In fact, the first of several “Tales of Matsumae” (松前ノ物語) that he addresses in his text is the case of crew of sixteen Japanese sailors led by Takeuchi Tokubei who drifted to Kamchatka in 1744.⁶⁰ He continues his argument, suggesting that compiling these castaway accounts and other accounts of Russians in Ezo—what he refers to as “Tales of Matsumae” along with written documents from Holland are the means by which to reassert territorial claims.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Ôtomo Kisaku, ed., *Hokumon sôsho*, vol. 1 (*Aka Ezo fûsetsukô, Ezo shui, Ezo sôshi*) (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1942), 213.

⁶⁰ The names of the captain and the number of crew are left out of Kudô’s version of the story. I have relied on the more detailed report found in *Ezo sôshi* by Mogami Tokunai. See Ôtomo Kisaku, ed., *Hokumon sôsho*, vol. 1 (*Aka Ezo fûsetsukô, Ezo shui, Ezo sôshi*) (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1942), 389-391.

⁶¹ *Aka Ezo fûsetsukô, Ezo shûi, Ezo sôshi* (*Hokumon sôsho*, Vol. 1) (Ôtomo Kisaku, ed.) (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1972), 211-212.

The attention Kudô ascribes the Chishima (Kurile) Islands is also part of a larger discourse developing in late eighteenth century Japan. This chain of more than thirty named islands stretching 2000 kilometers from the Nemuro Peninsula on the extreme eastern edge of Hokkaidô to the southern tip of the Kamchatka Peninsula had long been an important trade route for Ainu peoples, and by 1697 had become a bridge of trade exchange between Japanese in the south and Russians in the north.⁶² By the 1730s Russians had moved south through the islands, establishing a fur tax system of colonization, outposts of Russian traders and soldiers, and occasional skirmishes with less cooperative Ainu.⁶³ While Edo had heard of this encroachment on the part of Russia from reports of the Matsumae domain, Kudô's focus on the islands and Russia's presence in them was in fact submitted to the Council Elder Tanuma Okitsugu, who subsequently ordered an expeditionary force to be assembled in order to complete a thorough survey of the Ezo.⁶⁴

One of the results of the *bakufu*'s interest in Ezo was the *Ezo zôshi* 蝦夷草紙 written by Mogami Tokunai in 1790. Tokunai, who served as a primary investigator in Tanuma's exploratory party, was surprised to meet three Russians living on Etorofu,

⁶² Kawakami Jun points out that the Russian discovery of these islands mentions that the natives had porcelain, lacquer ware, and cotton fabrics from Japan. See, Kawakami Jun, "Nichi-Rô kankei no naka no Ainu," in Kikuchi Isao, ed. *Nihon no jidai shi 19, Ezo shima to hoppô sekai* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 2003), 260.

⁶³ In 1770 an elder from Etorofu was hunting in Uruppu when he was murdered by a Russian. The following year, groups of Ainu from Etorofu and Rashowa islands retaliated by murdering twenty Russians in Uruppu. See Kawakami (2003), 262-263. With an established presence in Uruppu from 1773 to 1776, using Ainu translators familiar with Russian and Japanese, Irkusk merchants known as "Shabaarin" tried to establish trade relations with Japan via Uruppu in 1774. Kawakami (2003), 264.

⁶⁴ Kawakami (2003) 266-267.

along with other evidence such as graves, that suggested a prolonged presence.⁶⁵

Tokunai's *Ezo sôshi*, as well as Satô Genrokurô's *Ezo shûi* 蝦夷拾遺 both correlate Russian expansion to the global trade of sea otter skins from Ezo to Russia to Beijing. Satô's text even states that since Russians have been taking so many pelts, that Ainu can not easily catch them, and thus the sea otter pelt network of trade that began in the northern Chishima islands had come to incorporate Ainu in the southern islands and even on the mainland of Hokkaidô in areas around Akkeshi where pelts were traded for Japanese rice, *sake*, and tobacco from Japan.⁶⁶

Mogami's *Ezo sôshi*, like Kudô's earlier *Aka Ezo fûsetsukô*, also points to several castaway incidents in order to glean details of Russia's expansion into these islands. Specifically, he mentions a case of two Japanese boats drifting to Ezo one in 1756 and the other in 1762.⁶⁷ He also mentions incidents of Russians drifting to Ezo and the case of a never-repatriated Japanese castaway going to Russia in 1744.⁶⁸ So we see that even before Matsudaira Sadanobu had the opportunity to meet with Daikokuya Kôdayû and Isokichi in 1792, castaway accounts had functioned as a primary source of information regarding Russian exploitation of Ezo. What Katsuragawa Hoshû's

⁶⁵ Kawakami (2993), 266. See also, *Aka Ezo fûsetsukô, Ezo shûi, Ezo sôshi* (*Hokumon sôsho*, Vol. 1) (Ôtomo Kisaku, ed.) (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1972),

⁶⁶ Kawakami (2003), 267-268.

⁶⁷ *Aka Ezo fûsetsukô, Ezo shûi, Ezo sôshi* (*Hokumon sôsho*, Vol. 1) (Ôtomo Kisaku, ed.) (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1972), 375 and 409. References to these accounts also appear in Hayashi Shihei's *Sangoku tsûran zusetsu*. See, Hayashi Shihei, *Shinpen Hayashi Shihei zenshû*, vol. 2, (Tokyo: Daiichi Shobô, 1979), 38-39.

⁶⁸ *Aka Ezo fûsetsukô, Ezo shûi, Ezo sôshi* (*Hokumon sôsho*, Vol. 1) (Ôtomo Kisaku, ed.) (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1972), 389-391.

Hokusa bunryaku provided was a new form suited to explaining a new hegemonic practice based not on the ceremonial tributary/ *uima* exchange practices between Matsumae officials and Ainu, but a system of hegemony based on power, pelts, and profits. The much expanded scope of *Hokusa bunryaku* spoke of, among other things, a radically different notion of world history and relations between nations. For example, in the *Hokusa bunryaku* (1794) we read:

Long ago the natives were fierce savages who valued only bravery and lacked all reason. Then 100 years ago the Emperor Peter endowed with great virtue and infinite wisdom became the incomparably heroic holy warrior who laid claim to lands far and wide. He opened rivers, carried out commerce, and accumulated great profits from trade so that the country prospered. Calling on famous scholars from various countries, he opened schools and educated the people. From arithmetic and writing to the many industrial arts, the country made superior progress in all technologies and revolutionized the detrimental aspects of their old customs, changing even their habits, language, and dress as their lives improved daily. From 1514, when the first imperial dynasty was established, Russia became an increasingly powerful country. Particularly during the time of Peter the Great the army grew stronger and they conquered the NE of Sueshiya and Finland in the north and the Turks to the south. Overtaking several strongholds at Asofu and Pyurudô along the coast of the Black Sea, to the east they also invaded Greater Dattan/ Tartar on the Asian continent. From the desert to the Arctic Sea all the way to the Anian Straits that forms the boundary with the Continent of America, [this country] stretches south to north 800 *ri* and east to west 1600 *ri*, swallowing all lands, it is now the greatest empire in the world.⁶⁹

In reading several *hyôryûki* centered on these islands from the early nineteenth century, we begin to see a distinct line emerge through what was once a linked chain of islands that served as a conduit of Ainu trade and culture. For example, the account of the *Keishô-maru* out of Nanbu that drifted to Horomushiri Island (Harumu *kotan*) in the

⁶⁹ NSSSS5, 742.

northern part of the archipelago in 1803, states clearly that the island is Russian territory (魯西亜属島).⁷⁰ Furthermore, crossing over to Kamchatka and Paramushiru island the following year, the account states that the Ainu in Rashowa Island have taken Russian names, customs, and adopted the Orthodox faith.⁷¹

By 1810 skirmishes with Russians in Ezo led to a much more cautious attitude among castaway narrative authors. In *Eijûmaru Rokoku hyôryûki* (1816) Murakami Sadanosuke writes, “Having defeated France and exiled Napoleon, Russia is now the strongest country in Europe. Aside from Japan, Kitai, and Canton the control they exert is ubiquitous.”⁷² Likewise, in the well-circulated *Funaosa nikki* Ikeda Hirochika writes, “Although now Japan and Russia are at peace with each other, earlier three Russians were captured in Matsumae and imprisoned for three years.” Furthermore, his account also suggests a clear and undisputed border between the two countries. “The ship anchored in the eleven *ri* of open water that separates the Russian island of Urutsutsu (Uruppu) and the Japanese island of Etorofu.”⁷³

Unlike the *mujintô* of the south, the case of the Chishima Islands was not one in which Japan wrested control of territory away from a newly arrived and fledgling foreign colony. Instead, the Chishima Islands came to be divided between two separate spheres of Japanese and Russian influence as both sides attempted to assert control over

⁷⁰ *Tsûkô ichiran* vol. 219, 441.

⁷¹ Kawakami (2003), 277.

⁷² Ayuzawa, 84

⁷³ NSSSS5, 536

an indigenous populations and exploitation of their labor in the extraction of natural resources. The tensions this produced in the form of occasional murders, kidnappings, and other international skirmishes in the north was also dissimilar from the Ogasawara case. While both sites demonstrate how the State came to deploy the narratives of castaways in securing territorial claims, in the case of Ezo-chi, *bakufu* preoccupations with defense against Russia, as well as ideological, commercial, and political relations between Ainu and *Wajin* populations were long term factors simply not an issue with uninhabited isles to the far south.

We have seen that the production of *hyôryûki* dealing exclusively with Ezo, and in particular the Chishima Islands increased dramatically with the presence of Russians in the mid- and especially late eighteenth century. As a final note regarding this site of drift, we might also consider that other *hyôryûki* such as *Funaosa nikki*, whose surviving sailors were repatriated through Ezo. While these texts had their subjects simply passing through this space in order to return home from a much further and foreign place, the attention given to the otherwise ambiguous zone on the periphery of home is notable. The *Funaosa nikki* for example, relates 16 months adrift at sea, encounters with westerners off the coast of California, Spanish colonial residents in North America, and extensive coverage of the castaways' time in Sitka and other Russian territories, but dedicates one-third (the last book) of the entire text specifically

to a detailed description of Ezo.⁷⁴ The text populates the frontier with *bakufu* officials and outposts, Japanese trading houses and their ships, branch temples with ties to Japanese institutions, and other territorial markers in a landscape clearly imbued with icons of Japanese presence, if not domination. As a backdrop to the bodily transformations and rituals of repatriation such as hair-cutting, purifying, dressing in Japanese clothes, consumption of Japanese foods, on the one hand, and visiting of temples and shrines, interrogations, interviews, *fumie* and other vows attesting to the truth of their story on the other, the texts at this point present the clearest demonstration of territory and subject remade under the rubric of an emerging national identity. Attempts by the author to emphasize clearly distinguishable cultural identities as autonomous as the bodies of land that contain them when describing the foreign, it is this final stage of return and boarder-crossing upon which the success of the narrative ultimately depends.

⁷⁴ This is the shortest of the three volumes and therefore is not one-third in total length. Nonetheless, we can see that this final leg of the journey home through Ezo is a significant part of this and other late-Edo *hyôryûki*.

TAKESHIMA AND UTSURYÔDÔ (Kr.: DOKTO, ULLEUNGDO)

Turning our attention now to the Japan Sea, we will consider the case of two uninhabited islands that have long been contested by both Japan and Korea. While no obviously falsified documents or diplomatic deployments of spurious texts are involved in this territorial dispute, we shall see how *bakufu* efforts to compile diplomatic documentation in the late Edo period involved also a rewriting of certain texts in order to bolster claims to such islands. Bruce Batten has referred to this space as a “vague belt of ocean; a maritime frontier as opposed to a boundary,” and in so doing has shifted our attention away from anachronistic definitions of national territories, toward a more nuanced reading of subjects occupying the space between.⁷⁵ In particular the distinction he makes between frontier and boundary allows us to rethink geographically marked difference not in terms of any clear cut Self/Other framework, but instead as a historical process through which hard boundaries are eventually rendered. By doing so, we can begin to account for the subtle shifts that take place during the Edo period in the ways this space was passed through and represented.

The *Tsûkô ichiran* 通航一覽 is unquestionably the most significant attempt to compile both castaway accounts and other documents relating to foreign relations

⁷⁵ Bruce Batten, “Frontiers and Boundaries of Pre-modern Japan,” in *Journal of Historical Geography*, 25, 2 (1999), 170.

during the Edo period.⁷⁶ Under the numerous volumes relating to Chôsen, are individual reports of both official and unofficial encounters between Japan and its immediate neighbor. However the main editor of this project—Hayashi Fukusai—did not simply compile documents of the past as a reference for future diplomacy. His editorial comments are immediately recognizable since he was careful to place all commentary and extra-textual material in half-sized print. In the case of accounts relating the experiences of Japanese castaways drifting to Korea, we may note what is commented on and how these comments contribute to our reception of the tales. For example, in copying accounts originally found in the *Taikanroku* 對韓錄, a record of diplomatic missions between Japan and Korea produced by the Tsushima domain 対馬 in 1639, there is reference to seven fisherman who drifted to Utsuryôdô 鬱陵島 (which Fukusai adds, is also called “Takeshima”) and the Korean Peninsula before being repatriated to Japan in 1618. A second incident of a fisherman from the province of Hôki (roughly corresponding to modern day Tottori Prefecture) drifting to Korea in 1637 is likewise taken from the *Yûbyô nikki* 猷廟日記. It is clearly stated in both accounts that these castaways were engaged in fishing in the vicinity of Takeshima (currently called Utsuryôdô in Japan and Ulleungdo in Korea) when their respective vessels became distressed. Nonetheless, in neither of the original documentation is Japan’s territorial claim to this island suggested. While the islands of Takeshima and

⁷⁶ This compilation was carried out by Hayashi Fukusai. According to an unpublished manuscript by Makabe Jin, Fukusai began the project in 1850 and finished in 1853. Kobayashi Shigefumi suggests that the project was begun in the years following the repatriation of Daikokuya Kôdayû and the crew of the *Wakamiya maru* ten years later. Hayashi Ôkei continued the project with his *Tsûkô ichiran zokkushû* which was completed in 1857.

Utsuryôdô are simply listed by name in the accounts, other islands such as Tsushima are qualified by phrases such as, “Nihon koku no Tsushima shû” (“the province of Tsushima in the country of Japan”). If we were to look only at the original texts without paying attention to Fukusai’s editorial additions we may conclude that the islands in question were seasonal contact zones for fisherman of both Korea and the Japanese archipelago. These documents mention fisherman from both shores taking advantage of the rich waters in the vicinity of the islands that resulted from a confluence of the Tsushima Current from the south and the cold Liman Current from the north. However, we cannot simply dismiss what the editor of the *Tsûkô ichiran*, in compiling the above mentioned castaway accounts from more than 200 years before, chose to add in the form of inter-lineary notes. By doing so, he essentially evokes a boundary or line, where before stood a much more ambiguous and intermediary zone, thus reterritorializing the islands in terms of national possession and the castaways themselves in terms of national subjects.

Relying on a set of terms more common to castaway accounts from the 1790s on, the editor here anachronistically rewrites this once ambiguous space as now being part of Japan. For example, with the first appearance of the name Takeshima in the original 1639 text, we read in the form of an editorial note added to this castaway account as it appears in the 137th volume of the *Tsûkô ichiran*:

This island exists between our country’s territory and the country of Korea. It is said that this island was originally a Korean colony (彼國屬國), however since there were no natives (土着の人民) living there, Japan (本朝) again claimed it as our own. At that time, fisherman and sorts from countries in the nearby seas (近傍海國) frequently crossed over to

carry out work incessantly. By the Genroku era an incident (事起り) had occurred because of conflicts (争論) between those fisherman.⁷⁷

While this statement posits Japan's claim to the island based upon the fact that it was unpopulated, the author also recognizes the geographically and historically intermediary position between countries that the island had occupied. This fundamental contradiction between outright possession and the more ambiguous nature of a frontier zone, is further highlighted as the editor provides details of conditions leading up to the Genroku period (1688-1704). As a zone of contact between fisherman from various edges of what is today known as the Japan Sea or Eastern Sea in Korea, the conflicts that arise on the island appear indicative of this more general abstract transformation of space. The "incident" referred to in this note concerning the possession of the island in question is later discussed in detail in 137th volume of the *Tsûkô ichiran*. In a separate volume of the text devoted solely to Takeshima, Fukusai compiled several documents exchanged between a Chôsen official Yun (朝鮮國東萊府使尹守) and the Sô family of Tsushima dating back to 1612. The earliest documents relate to a debate that was initiated when the Lord of Tsushima claimed that, "Takeshima is an island in the possession of Japan," (竹島は日本屬島なるよし). The response from Korean officials which Fukusai includes in the *Tsûkô ichiran* (originally dated 1614) argues that the island that Tsushima refers to as Iso Takeshima is in fact a Korean island known as

⁷⁷ Hayashi Fukusai, *Tsûkô ichiran (kan no 135)* in *katsuji* version *Tsûkô ichiran dai 3* (Hayakawa Junsaburô, ed.) (Osaka: Seibundô, 1967), 609.

Utsuryôdô, and furthermore that Korean documents claim it as theirs. (即我國所謂鬱陵島者也、載在輿圖、屬於我國).⁷⁸

Following this, the “incident” or “conflict” of the Genroku period briefly mentioned in the castaway account of the 135th volume is then explained in detail. The documents confirm that fishermen/hunters (海獵) from both Korea as well as the Ôtani and Murakawa families of Hôki Province in Japan visited the islands seasonally. These two families had received explicit permission to do so in the form of a “license for crossing to Takeshima” (竹島渡海免許) granted to them by the *bakufu* in 1625.⁷⁹ However, this license was revoked in 1696 following the capture of two Korean fishermen by the Ôtani and Kawamura families two years earlier.⁸⁰ This is the “dispute” referred to earlier and, according to the documents presented by Fukusai, both Chôsen and *bakufu* officials banned fishing in the vicinity of Takeshima/ Utsuryôdô after this. However evidence suggests that neither side ceased using the site. For example, in the *Oshû mikiki gôki* 隠州視聽合紀 written sometime around 1740 and cited by Ise Kanbe who was exiled to Oki Island, we read that in the spring, summer, and autumn seasons Koreans visit Takeshima in order to gather abalone and other shellfish.⁸¹ Likewise, in quoting a variant version of the castaway account titled *Chôsen monogatari*, Fukusai again rewrites the original text which clearly states that Japanese

⁷⁸ *Tsûkô ichiran* 4: 21.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 23-24. See also Ikeuchi (2005), 46-48.

⁸⁰ *Tsûkô ichiran* 4: 23.

⁸¹ Cited in Ikeuchi (2005), 50.

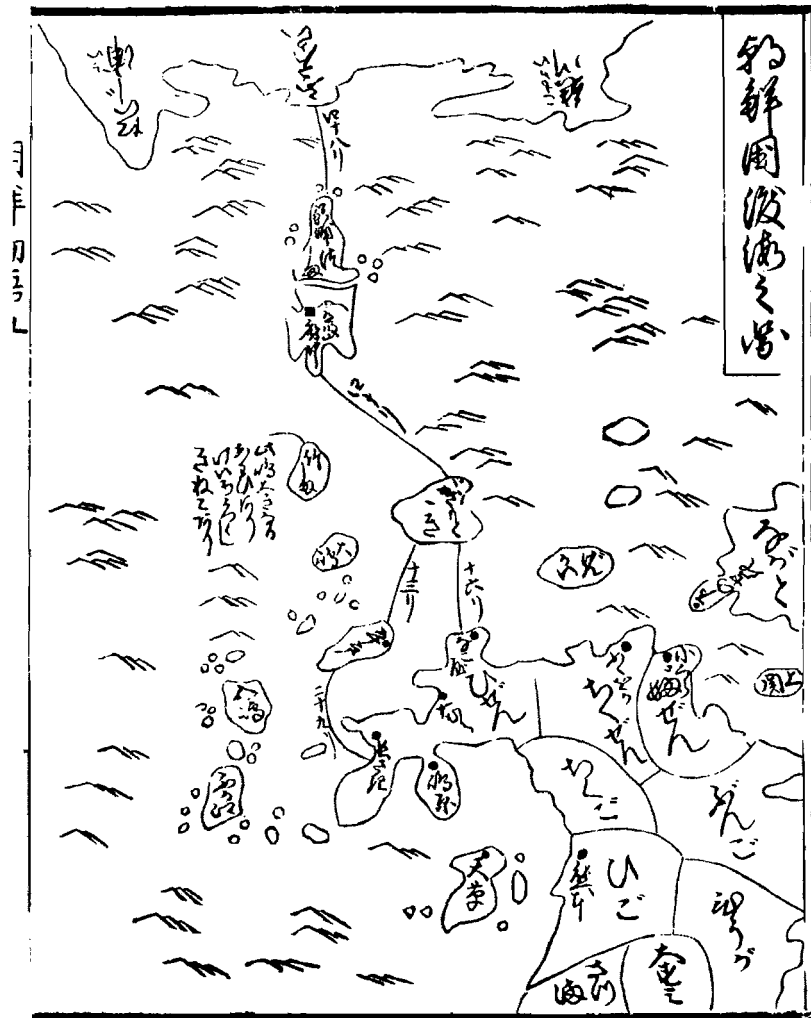
fisherman were using these islands to fish in 1733 and 1734. In this case he adds a note stating that the dates are mistaken in light of the events that transpired during the Genroku period (1688-1704) just discussed. Perhaps his revisions are meant to preclude the possibility that the *bakufu*'s orders were not followed. While the motivations behind his editorial decisions are impossible to determine with any degree of certainty, we might also point to his original source which he quotes—a variant of the *Chôsen monogatari* (異本朝鮮物語)—is also somewhat suspect. Thus the emphasis on its variant form (*ibon*) made by Hayashi Fukusai in the *Tsûkô ichiran* suggests that either he was working with a manuscript based on the published work or he was working with an altogether entirely different text from *Chôsen monogatari* discussed in the previous chapter.

We have already considered how the *Dattan hyôryûki* of 1644 came to be rewritten in a variety of published and unpublished forms in the eighteenth century as shifting notions of Japan's relative position to Korea within a traditional East Asian order began to emerge. The commercial success of texts such as *Chôsen monogatari* depended at least in part upon a new public fascination with Japan's immediate neighbors (*rinkoku*) in the mid-eighteenth century, but earlier antecedents such as *Kanei hyôryûki*—on which Kimura based a significant portion of his *Chôsen monogatari*—are also to be found. In comparing yet two other maps found in these texts, we can see how the rewriting of castaway accounts also played an important role in delineating a hard boundary in place of an ambiguous band of non-territorial space.



Map 5.1. Map Representing Waters between Japan and Korea from *Kanei hyôryûki*⁸²

⁸² *Kanei hyôryûki*, vol. 4 (fukusei ed.)



Map 5.2. Map Representing Waters between Japan and Korea from *Chōsen monogatari*⁸³

The map titled “Chōsen tôkai no zu,” from the *Kanei hyōryûki* appears more stylized and employs a particular “iconography of difference” in order to populate the waters with Westerners in the upper and lower left corners, Korean fisherman off the coast of Takeshima in the upper right corner, and Japanese fisherman off the coast of

⁸³ *Chōsen monogatari*, vol. 5 (fukusei ed.)

“Isana” or “Whale Island.”⁸⁴ On the other hand, the map titled “Chôsen koku tôkai no zu,” from the *Chôsen monogatari* appears much more roughly sketched and devoid of any human signifiers by which to encode this maritime space. While the route that the castaways took in their return to Japan is delineated in both maps, the *Chôsen monogatari* map contains an additional route connecting Iki-Hirado-Nagasaki which is not shown on the earlier map. Likewise, the distances between landmasses, while similar, are not the same. For example the distances between Tsushima and Iki on the *Kanei hyôryûki* map is thirty-six *ri*, while on the *Chôsen monogatari* map it is stated as forty *ri*.

In comparing the accounts and taking into consideration the differences, we might assume that the author of the *Chôsen monogatari* used a different source as the basis for his second map of the seas between Japan and Korea. However a closer examination suggests this may not be the case. In particular the description of Takeshima is remarkably similar, even if the placement of the island on the two maps is not. In the map from the *Kanei hyôryûki* we read of how the abalone are beyond compare because of their large size, how the bamboo is plentiful, and how the island is populated by cats having beautiful coats of fur but not being able to catch mice. In looking at the castaway accounts contained in the *Tsûkô ichiran* with which we began, references to abalone and other natural products such as bamboo, ginseng, fish, and sea

⁸⁴ See Ronald Toby, “Imagining and Imaging ‘Anthropos’ in Early-modern Japan,” in *Visual Anthropology Review*, 14, 3 (Spring-Summer), 19-44.

lions can be found.⁸⁵ However, this reference to cats is uncommon and may be singular among Japanese documents dealing with Takeshima/ Utsuryôdô. Thus it is surprising that the *Chôsen monogatari* also mentions that “cats with beautiful coats of fur exist” (*keiro utsukushiki neko ari*).⁸⁶ The similarity in the way in which the island is described lends credence to the idea that either the *Kanei hyôryûki* was the source for the map found in the *Chôsen monogatari* or that they shared a common source that remains unknown.

If the *Kanei hyôryûki* was in fact used by Kimura Riemon as a source for the compilation of his own text, he quite consciously altered the location of Takeshima. Unlike the *Chôsen monogatari*, the *Kanei hyôryûki* places the island northwest of Tsushima and clearly to the right of the course taken by the castaways in their repatriation. That fact that it has been placed somewhere between Tsushima and Iki Island, both unquestionable Japanese territories at the time, and furthermore the fact that the Korean-looking fishermen have been erased from the map altogether, acts to reterritorialize the island within a Japanese territorial space.

The three sites of the Ogasawara/Tori shima islands to the south, Ezo and the Chishima islands to the north, and Takeshima/Utsuryodô islands to the west are not the only ones to consider. Watanabe Miki’s work on Ryukyuan castaway accounts demonstrates that Hayashi Shihei’s fourth site of concern—Ryukyu—also came to be inscribed politically, territorially, and culturally, at least in part through Ryukyuan

⁸⁵ *Tsûkô ichiran* 4: 24-25. See also, Ikeuchi (2005), 49.

⁸⁶ *Chôsen monogatari*, 193.

policy regarding the care and repatriation of castaways.⁸⁷ Based on what we have considered here, it is clear that a particular textual category of late-Edo *hyôryûki* was comprised of not only reports of distant lands and foreign peoples, but other forms suited to other desires closer to home. While in the previous chapter we saw how certain incidents of drift were reiterated through forms of popular consumption, accounts of the periphery were primarily appropriated and in some cases manipulated by the *bakufu* in order to better secure claims to these otherwise contested sites.

⁸⁷ The work of Watanabe Miki includes, “Shin dai Chûgoku ni okeru hyôchakumin no shochi to Ryûkyû, ichi,” and “Shin dai Chûgoku ni okeru hyôchakumin no shochi to Ryûkyû, ni,” in *Nantô shigaku* volumes 54 (1999: Nov.) and 55 (2000: May) in which she presents an exhaustive study of early-modern Ryukyuan castaways drifting to China. Her research demonstrates that Ryukyuan authorities used the arrival of foreign castaways to re-enforce notions of an emerging Ryukyuan identity vis-à-vis Korea, China, and Japan.

CONCLUSION

The moral earth, too, is round! The moral earth, too, has its antipodes! The antipodes, too, have their right to exist! There is another world to discover—and more than one! On to the ships, you philosophers!

--Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science* 4: 289¹

The romantic thrust of maritime discovery as a metaphor for philosophy was apparently too tempting for Friedrich Nietzsche, yet his calls for a morality of the globe that transcends the inherent perspectivism of National Histories and his openness to a multiplicity of worlds is particularly appealing today. For nineteenth century Europe, as for nineteenth century Japan, so much of what was radically new or only vaguely imaginable arrived first by sea. For Nietzsche and Japanese castaways alike, the ship (in one case metaphorical, in the other quite material) was the vessel by which they embarked into unknown waters. But the parallel has its limits. We must keep in mind that the nature of the castaway's discovery is ostensibly accidental, having been

¹ Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science* (Bernard Williams, ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 163

initiated by contingencies of the wind and waves. In fact, for the castaway and other subjectivities of the beach, nothing is discovered as much as it is revealed. It so happens that as I near completion of one stage of this research on late-Edo castaway narratives, the sea and winds conspire to draw me away. For it just so happens that this summer, up and down the Oregon coast (less than a half day's bicycle ride away) the contingencies of the sea have once again revealed the hulls of old ships and other relics of history. The sands have shifted and this summer tourists flock to that liminal band of sand to catch a glimpse of jetsam last seen by their grand parents' generation.

I have resisted the bicycle ride and a day of digging in the sands, in order to instead uncover textual relics of a cultural practice of inscribing the experience of drifters at sea. This "discovery" of a formalized textual category of Edo period *hyôryûki*, if it is to be called a discovery at all, is in many ways also accidental and unintentional. Much like the long-buried hulls just recently reemerged from the sands, *hyôryûki* from before Katsuragawa Hôshu up to the present, have repeatedly gone through cycles of burial only to be rediscovered and reiterated. The possibility of overseas drift and subsequent repatriation is in many ways antithetical to the dominant and entrenched historiographic paradigm of *sakokuron* and accompanying ideas that early-modern Japan was had either an active engagement with, or even knowledge of the outside world. Nonetheless, there have been particular moments when these

stories of drift attracted the attention of readers during both the Edo period and later. Kôdayû and Isokichi's repatriation from Russia spawned intellectuals to collect, read, anthologize, and write *hyôryûki* in the early 1800s. Ishii Kendô compiled the largest printed collection of *hyôryûki* to date by the mid-Meiji period, at the same moment these texts were being rediscovered as historical documentation. During the Pacific War, scholars such as Yoshioka Nagayoshi, Sonoda Kazuki, and even the novelist Ibuse Masuji were once again reiterating the stories of Edo period castaways. Likewise, since 1980s *hyôryûki* have once again reemerged as a topic of both academic conferences and more popular literary and cinematic consumption. These moments when *hyôryûki* have once again become visible also happen to be times of geopolitical shift and the beginnings of new spatial imaginaries. Ishii hoped to demonstrate some essential Japanese spirit unique to the archipelago through his interest in these stories of maritime catastrophe and homecoming. In short he had elevated Matsudaira's nameless castaway heroes to the level of national heroes of another time. On the other hand, by the time of the war years the Nation-State had unambiguously extended its territorial claims to the continent, and thus academic study of the Japan's past relations with Manchuria and other protectorates within the Greater Asian Co-prosperity Sphere, came to be discovered in Edo period *hyôryûki*. Likewise, while it is tempting to indulge in the romance of discovery, my own research has been guided by a particular

set of contingencies in this “era of globalization.” In short, I am not the first to discover the castaway upon the beach. But unlike previous discoveries of the castaway, ours takes place at a time when the notion of national identity continually collides with a much more efficient identity of the global consumer. In other words, an important difference between previous moments of discovery and this endeavor has to do with the ideological underpinnings of the Nation and national identity. As I read and think about these texts, the discursive formations of national identity, as they are inscribed through *Shinkoku*, *Rangaku*, and *Kokugaku* discourse, are assumed from the beginning. The ability to recognize the narrative and textual aspects of these *hyôryûki* as a cultural form that in turn projected and produced a national body in the subject of the castaway is also historically conditioned. In his essay on shipwreck as metaphor of western philosophy and literature, Hans Blumenberg points to the second book of Lucretius’s cosmic poem in which the poet, “imagines observing, from the safety of shore, other people who are in peril on the storm-tossed sea: ‘e terra magnum alterius spectare laborem.’” Blumenberg concludes, “Clearly, the pleasantness that is said to characterize this sight is not a result of seeing someone else suffer but of enjoying the safety of one’s own standpoint.”² I question whether my own proclivities for reading

² Hans Blumenberg, *Shipwreck with Spectator: Paradigm of a Metaphor for Existence* (Steve Rendall, trans.) (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997), 26.

these accounts as discursive capitulations toward an emerging national subject, as simply an attempt to enjoy the safety of my own standpoint as someone who finds himself equally uncomfortable with Japanese and American manifestations of nationalist discourse, and most at home somewhere between one coast of the Pacific and another. In this sense, my “discovery” seems accidental at best and self-serving at worst. But as a project marked by false starts and incorrect assumptions, the conclusions to which I now come are also the result of innumerable contingencies. In short, there are other ways in which this investigation has led to accidental or unintended findings.

When I began this project, I expected to find eight or maybe ten major Edo period castaway accounts on which to focus my research. I soon realized that over the course of 230 years (from 1640 to 1870) extant *hyôryûki* texts number in the hundreds, if not thousands. This is especially true if we include in our count, *kuchigaki* and more diffuse forms such as kabuki and puppet theater; oral storytelling performances (*kami shibai*); single-sheet *kawaraban* prints; shrine, temple, and other public displays (*kaichô* and *mise mono*); and even shrine plaques (*ema*) and other memorials. I have resisted referring to *hyôryûki* as a “genre,” precisely because the stories themselves demonstrate a remarkable ability to cross over into other forms, for other reading audiences. I first identified a lineage of detailed and encyclopedic *hyôryûki* that were initiated *formally*

with the *Hokusa bunryaku* and *Kankai ibun* and *ideologically* by colonial encroachment of Russia into the North Pacific and borderlands of Ezo. The “Nativist Studies,” “Dutch Studies,” Confucian scholars, and other intellectuals of the late-Edo period, who served as translators of world geography, western science, and international relations, as well as inventors of an emerging global and national discourse, busied themselves collecting and writing accounts that were framed by an aesthetic of objectivism and detail manifested as factual and informed reports. These accounts project particular geographic and ethnographic visions of the world beyond the seas; inscribe a cultural, political, and mythic notion of “Japan;” which in turn, served to envision this new world of the Pacific. Having identified this particular formal manifestation of *hyōryūki* as having taken place between 1790 and 1860, I chose early on in this project to focus upon that seventy-year period, falsely assuming that these encyclopedic texts comprised the only major *hyōryūki* form of this time period. Only afterward, was I able to see other concurrent formal developments taking place with other *hyōryūki* forms. Other writers during this somewhat arbitrary timeframe turned instead to older Edo period castaway accounts and rewrote them in more popular forms, for much larger audiences. Taking incidents of drift from the early-Edo period as the subject of their rewritings, the geographic imaginary of these other *hyōryūki* forms fused traditional iconographies of difference and a center-periphery paradigm with other more recent developments in

diplomatic and geographic knowledge.

Likewise, as there were accounts translating a colonized Pacific, as well as stories reinterpreting older others centered in the waters on the other side of the archipelago, there was also an important group of texts that took as their subject sites much closer to home in a peripheral zone surrounding the archipelago. This third category of *hyôryûki* which were written throughout the Edo period came to re-inscribe the broad band of maritime space known as the “near seas” (近海, opposed to *oki* 沖) consisting of several topographies, including *mujintô* (the uninhabited island), *nyogogashima* (the island of women), *Ezo* and *Chishima* (the frontier zone of the north), and sites of seasonal fishermen and hunters that *became* ambiguous only once the space came to be contested.

At first glance, it might appear that this new way of seeing the sea, and by extension the world, rendered older accounts logically suspect or insignificant, and therefore opened them up to reinterpretation and fictionalization. But in fact these overlapping visions of the world—be they based on the latest western maps, an archaic Buddhist-inspired Tenjiku, an East Asian ideology of civilized center and barbaric periphery, or even spaces from older myths and fantasies—all existed and circulated simultaneously. It is not that one worldview simply replaced another, but that they engaged each other, always attempting to make sense of the new, based on previously

accepted forms of knowledge. So long divided by the incommensurate methodological boundaries that posit a clear distinction between *shiryô* or “historical documentation” on the one hand, and *bungaku* or “literature” on the other, I have come to see these texts on a spectrum of difference ranging from the more bureaucratic and pragmatic form at one end, and the more literary and seemingly entertaining texts at the other end. In doing so, we can begin to grasp a significant textual category that cuts across generic forms. These textual crossovers take place on both the formal level and the ideological level, and represent an historical cultural category of *hyôryûki* texts.

Pointing to similarities the *Chôsen monogatari* shares with Edo period *yomihon* texts, Hamada Atsushi called the former *shôsetsu* (frequently translated as “novel”), while he argued that the older *Dattan hyôryûki* stood as *hyôryûki*.³ Above the Chinese characters for these two terms he added phonetic script (*furigana*) that reads “fiction” and “nonfiction,” respectively. While *Chôsen monogatari* is neither *shôsetsu*, nor even “fiction,” we can imagine the difficulties that Hamada faced in categorizing and comparing such a texts, if only because it has been a central aspect of this study. While he clearly saw formal differences between the two texts, he grossly mischaracterized the later *Chôsen monogatari*.

³ Kimura Rizaemon, *Chôsen monogatari* (Kyoto Daigaku Bungakubu Kokugogaku Kokubungaku Kenkyûshitsu, eds.)(Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku Bungakkai, 1979), 2. [*Fukusei ban* with Introduction by Hamada Atsushi].

J.M. Coetzee, in a castaway narrative of his own, writes:

Without desire how is it possible to make a story? It was an island of sloth, despite the terracing. I ask myself what past historians of the castaway state have done—whether in despair they have not begun to make up lies.⁴

While his account is itself a discovered tale, retold (that of *Robinson Crusoe*), he too seems to identify a particular tension between the real and the imaginary that so often informs these texts. Coetzee recognizes the guiding force of all narrative—desire—to be at the heart of his own narrative of drift, but he also points to the primal drive directing the narration of history. For Coetzee and Edo period *hyôryûki* authors alike, their texts embody a methodological conundrum and highlight the nexus of two modes of investigation insofar as history can never escape narrative just as narrative is itself fundamentally historical.

Likewise, in a castaway novel of his own, Umberto Eco asks,

But is there anything more uncertain than the Histories we read, wherein if two authors tell of the same battle, such are the incongruities revealed that we are inclined to think they write of two different conflicts? On the other hand, is there anything more certain than a work of fiction, where at the end every Enigma finds its explanation according to the laws of the Realistic?

He concludes, “An Idea [fiction] insidiously antithetical to the first [History], for in this way the invented story will be superimposed on the true story.”⁵ It is here, in

⁴ J.M. Coetzee, *Foe* (New York: Viking, 1987), 88.

⁵ Umberto Eco, *The Island of the Day Before*, William Weaver, trans. (London: Vintage, 1998), 368.

the image of a palimpsest that we find another model (other than on a spectrum) by which to understand these texts. The iterability of these texts, that is, the layer upon layer of retelling, allows us to see over time how *hyôryûki* come to be reread, rewritten, and reinterpreted as vehicles for radically different visions of the world.

While the Edo period *kuchigaki* form functioned as an important means of regulating the littoral porosity of the political body on the part of the *bakufu*, both scholarly and more ribald forms of later *hyôryûki* served to regulate the cultural body. The subject of the castaway, cast into an international context of other others, returns home, only to be inscribed as “Japanese.” The notion of “re-patriation” suggests a return to the familiar, but in fact, the castaway returns with a new identity, a new sense of the world, and most importantly a new sense of home. In some ways, the act of repatriation is anything but a return to the old, and instead the embodiment of an imminent identity or one that lies just beyond a literal horizon, but also the horizons of thought and imagination. The transformative experience of drift, marked by both rituals of repatriation and the more performative elements found in these narratives, are ultimately grounded in new spatial visions of the world, the Nation, and Self and the Other.

Looking at these texts on a spectrum of formal difference, we can also see a general trend over the course of the Edo period towards a multiplicity of *hyôryûki* forms

associated with various spatial discourses. In discussions of spatial difference in Japanese history—whether the focus is on the shift from medieval to early-modern Japan, or early-modern Edo to modern Meiji—the tendency is to over-generalize a radical epistemological break based upon an either/or logic that ultimately cannot account for a multiplicity of topographies.⁶ It is no coincidence that frequently these studies focus on either the origins or the last gasps of the *bakufu*. For example, in his discussion of pre-modern spatial consciousness (空間意識), Matsuda Osamu points to “topographies of daily life” (中世的日常地平), and contrasts them with more exceptional topographies (非日常的地平) comprised of the “hidden space” (隠れ空間) of devils (鬼), mountain people (山人), goblins (天狗), and wandering mendicants (聖).⁷ For Matsuda, these hidden spaces and the bodies that occupied them were of a radically different dimension and type, compared to the topography of the everyday, but by the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries he argues, “Early modernity [read ‘Edo period’] came to decisively reject this medieval spatial consciousness,” (このような中世的空間意

⁶ Certainly others, less interested in generalizing the epochal character of history, have also problematized this model. For example, Jeffrey Hanes, arguing that the Meiji Nation-State was defined by centralized control over time and space, also acknowledges the struggles between that centralized control and peripheral forces. See Jeffrey E. Hanes, “Contesting Centralization? Space, Time, and Hegemony in Meiji Japan,” in Helen Hardacre and Adam L. Kern, eds. *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 385-485.

⁷ Matsuda Osamu, *Edo itan bungaku nooto* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 1993), 15-16.

識は近世において決定的に否定される。)⁸

This examination of late-Edo *hyôryûki* suggests that at least some Edo writers, and by extension readers, “decisively reject[ed]” neither hidden space, nor the older iconographies of difference, but instead adapted them to new spaces (now hidden beyond the waves, but visible and imaginable through cartographic and narrative texts) and new bodies. It is in this manner that I speak of multiple worldviews circulating simultaneously.

This is not to say that newer visions of the world and nation did not also come to be established in part through *hyôryûki*. In conclusion, we must note that this examination of late-Edo *hyôryûki* is just a small slice of a much more complex process by which stories of drift came to function on an ideological level. A more complete picture would require not only an examination of earlier Edo period accounts, but also an examination of how Chinese, Korean, Ryukyuan, and other traditional neighbors managed drift on diplomatic, cultural, and ideological levels within an East Asian context. Likewise, we might look forward to later iterations and reiterations of the castaway into the Meiji period and beyond. Finally, a more expansive, if not complex analysis of *hyôryûki* must include a direct engagement with another persistent and powerful narrative, namely the cultural and political establishment of a modern Japan.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

In theory, regulation of littoral border crossing became a monopoly of the *bakufu* through the implementation of maritime prohibitions and the establishment of particular protocol for handling both humans and objects that washed ashore. However, this is not to suggest that the late-Edo *bakufu* in some way wielded the centralized hegemony so often identified with the Meiji period Nation-State of Japan. While the *bakufu* demonstrated nearly full control of how the castaway was repatriated, they did not have the ability to stem the proliferation of textual forms that ultimately resulted from any given repatriation. When we consider that many late-Edo castaways had their lengthiest and most detailed accounts written by domain scholars interested in advancing their own regional reputations, we might begin to consider the castaway as a floating signifier whose story was never simply his, but also never limited to *bakufu* control either. In this sense, the image of a compound-state (*baku-han seidô* 幕藩制動) is perhaps a fairly reasonable means by which to represent the political entity of Tokugawa Japan, even if multiple narratives of a cultural and a divinely sanctioned “Japan” often times superseded more localized boundaries of early-modern Japan.

This study is simply one in a long line of “discoveries” made possible by the castaway. It began as a critical interrogation of the idea that Edo Japan was a culturally and politically “closed” geo-body. The perspective of the castaway and the texts he leaves behind suggest a different story—one of frequent, and ostensibly

accidental contact with the outside world on the part of the castaway—but also one of active engagement with that world on the part of the writers and readers of *hyôryûki*.

While the ideological implications of *sakokuron* have been made partially visible since at least the 1970s, it remains a persistent historical condition by which to constitute the traditions of contemporary Japan. While castaways and their accounts have had their day in the sun at different times in the past, under a dominant discourse of isolationism, these accounts remain too often buried in the sands. If we for a moment consider these incidents of Edo drift as historical fact (which they are just as much as they are aesthetic or textual), that can be substantiated through *hyôryûki* as well more traditional historical documentation such as temple records or diaries of the Nagasaki Bugyô, the notion of a perfectly isolated country incubating its sources of tradition unfettered by foreign influence becomes untenable. To borrow from Eco, the *Sakokuron* narrative at certain times has come to be “more certain than fiction,” and as such, the “enigmas” of drift are placed under erasure. What is called for is a new paradigm for talking about the early modern moment of Japan. Both the notion of *sakoku*, and its teleological extrapolation of seeing enlightenment, civilization, and modernity as a strictly Meiji phenomena tend to perpetuate a hierarchical order of development between Japan and the West; blind us the many unofficial contacts and engagements (either through encounters or texts) with the outside world; and ultimately limits our ability today to conceive of anything but a

stunted and backward past. What is called for, is a methodology that cuts across traditional disciplines to account for the practices of the past that are rendered invisible by paradigmatic assumptions of the present. In this regard, I hope that this study has directed us to a new “moral antipode,” by uncovering a medium by which late-Edo Japanese participated in, witnessed, and interpreted a Pacific and global theater. On to your ships!

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Selection of Edo Castaway Incidents and Relevant *Hyôryûki*

| | Yr./ mo. | Origin, ship name, and crew | Site of landfall | Sites visited | Return | Partial Listing of Accounts |
|---|-------------|--|---|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| 1 | 5/ 1644 | Echizen, 3 ships belonging to Takeuchi Fujizaemon of Shinpo Village Crew of 58 | 3 boats to Siberia and were rescued by indigenous peoples, later sabotaged?, only 15 survive attack. | ·North Pacific ·Beijing ·Korea | 15 returned through Tsushima in 1646 | 鞆鞆漂流記 寛永漂流記 朝鮮物語 異国物語 越前船漂流記 順歴誌 |
| 2 | 11/ 1668 | Bishû, Ôno Village Crew of 15 | Drifted to Battan and enslaved by indigenous peoples. Killed and used for fertilizer once they could not work. Survivors built boat and escaped to other island. | ·Battan Island ·「舟山列島 晋陀 山」 | 11 returned Gotô Islands in 1670 | 尾州大野村船漂流 一件 馬丹嶋漂流記 |
| 3 | 11/ 1719 | 遠江筒山五兵衛船 Crew of 12 | Drifted to Tori Shima until another ship from Edo also drifted to island. Together, 20 returned using lifeboat of 2 nd ship | ·Tori Shima | 3 returned through Hachijo Islands in 1739 | 遠州船無人島物語 翁草 無人嶋より帰国之 もの共吟味仕候 趣申上候書付 |
| 4 | 12/ 1752 | Edo 福聚丸 Sannosuke and 14 others | Drifted to Luzon Island and brought to Manila by Christians, because 2 groups returned separately, bakufu suspected discrepancies and learned Sannosuke had lied about Christianity. Became only | ·Philippines ·S. China (乍 浦) | Sannosuke returned in 1755, following year 4 more returned @ Nagasaki | 乍浦ヨリ豆州ノ 者送来事 乍浦船ヨリ呂宋漂 着ノ者送来事 |

| | | | | | | |
|----|---------|---|--|---|--|--|
| | | | documented execution of castaway | | | |
| 5 | 9/1757 | Shima 若市丸 Crew of 6 | Landed in Taiwan after 150 days of drift during which time 2 died. 1 other died on Taiwan. | ·Taiwan ·S. China (福州,南京,乍浦) | 3 returned in 1759 @ Nagasaki | 志州船台湾漂着話 |
| 6 | 10/1764 | Chikuzen 伊勢丸 Magotarô/Magoshichi and 19 others | Drifted to Mindano Island, enslaved by indigenous peoples. Mag. sold to Chinese, and later to Dutchman | ·Mindano ·Borneo ·Jakarta ·S. China | Mag. returned 1771 @ Nagasaki | 南海紀聞 吹流れ天竺物語 華夷九年録 漂流天竺語 漂夫譚 |
| 7 | 11/1765 | Hitachi 姫宮丸 Crew of 6 | Drifted to Annan | ·Vietnam | Bought boat and 4 returned in 1767. Met crew of 3 from another castaway Japanese ship (住吉丸) at 会安 and so 7 were repatriated @ Nagasaki. | 安南国漂流物語 奥人安南国漂流記 |
| 8 | 12/1782 | Ise 神昌丸 Daikokuya Kôdayû, Isokichi and 15 others | Drifted to Amchitka and rescued by indigenous peoples and Russians | ·Russia ·North Pacific | 3 were returned in 1792 through Ezo. Koichi died upon arrival. | 北槎開略 磯吉物語 漂民御覽之記 露西亜国漂流記 |
| 9 | 1/1785 | Tosa 松屋儀七船 Chôhei and 3 others | Drifted to Tori Shima | ·Tori Shima ·Ogasawara Isles | Chôhei was sole survivor, until he met another castaway crew of 11 in 1787(肥前船) followed by a 3 rd castaway crew of 6 (住吉丸) who drifted to the island in 1790. Together, they built a boat and 14 returned through Hachijo Islands. | 無人島漂流記 鳥島物語 甲子夜話 無人島談話 |
| 10 | 5/1793 | Okushû 若宮丸 Tsûdayû and 15 others | Drifted to Aleutian Island and rescued by indigenous peoples and Russians | ·Russia ·England ·Southern Africa ·Canary Islands ·Brazil ·Hawai'i | 4 return in 1804@Nagasaki | 環海異聞 北辺探事 魯西亜国漂流記 |
| 11 | 9/1794 | Okuriku 大乘丸 Crew of 16 | Drifted to Vietnam | ·Vietnam ·S. China, Macao, Canton ·Saho | 9 returned in 1795 @ Nagasaki | 南瓢記 |
| 12 | 1/1806 | Osaka 稲若丸 Zenmatsu and 7 others | Rescued at sea by American ship | ·Hawai'i ·Macao ·Canton ·Batavia | 2 return in 1807@Nagasaki | 芸州善松北米漂流譚 夷蛮漂流帰国録 |

| | | | | | | |
|----|-------------|---|--|--|--|---|
| 13 | 11/ 1810 | Setsu 歎喜丸 Kyûzô and 15 others | Drifted to Kamchatka | ·Kamchatka ·Russia | 6 brought to Kunashiri in 1812, Kyûzô (amputated foot) sent to Hakodate in 1813. | 魯齊匪國漂流聞書 |
| 14 | 12/ 1812 | Satsuma 永寿丸 Crew of 25 | 6 drifted to Harama Kotan in Chishima Islands after 10 mos. Drift. | · Chishima Islands ·Kamchatka | 3 returned through Ezo with 徳乗丸 survivors | 永寿丸魯國漂流記 |
| 15 | 10/ 1813 | Bishû 督乗丸 Jûkichi and 13 others | Rescued off the coast of CA by <i>The Forrester</i> | · North America ·Alaska ·Kamchatka | 2 return in 1816 through Ezo | 船長日記 日本人おろしや流 れ行被助帰国の事 |
| 16 | 12/ 1820 | Okuriku 神社丸 Crew of 12 | Drifted to Palau Islands, and 8 sent to Manila (Thailand?) | ·Palau ·Thailand? ·Manila ·Macao, Saho | 7 were returning from China on 2 Chinese ships. Chinese ships met storm and became castaway. 7 returned @ Nagasaki, but 1 died. | ペラホ物語 パラウ漂流記 |
| 17 | 12/ 1827 | Okuriku 融勢丸 Crew of 11 | Drifted to Battan Islands | ·Philippines ·温州府 | 11 returned in 1828 @ Nagasaki. Some accounts report being saved by Chinese ship at sea, others state they visited Christian country | 融勢丸唐流帰国記 予州岩城村勇吉漂 流記 |
| 18 | 8/ 1830 | Bizen 神力丸 Crew of 19 | Drifter to Battan Islands | ·Philippines · Macau, Canton, Saho | 14 returned in 1831 @ Nagasaki | 神力丸馬丹漂流口 書 |
| 19 | 10/ 1832 | Bishû 宝順丸 Otokichi, Iwakichi, Kyûkichi and 11 others | Rescued by Makah and turned over to Ft. Vancouver | · North America ·Hawai'i ·England ·South Africa · Macao, Canton, Singapore ·Ryukyu | 'the three kichis' were on board the <i>Morrison</i> in a failed attempt at repatriation@Edo and Satsuma in 1837 | 通航一覽 他漂流民(二人) の手紙 |
| 20 | 11/ 1835 | Higo 庄蔵船 Shôzô, Jusaburô, Rikimatsu, and 1 other | Drifted to northern coast of Luzon | ·Philippines ·China | 3 tried to return on the <i>Morrison</i> in 1837, Jusaburô died in 1853, Rikimatsu returned to Japan in 1855 | Letters by Jusaburô and Shôzô 栄力丸漂流記談 |

| | | | | | | |
|----|-------------|--|---|---|---|---|
| 21 | 9/ 1838 | Etchû 長者丸 Jirôkichi and 10 others | Rescued at sea by <i>James Lover</i> whaler | ·Hawai'i ·Ohotsk ·Alaska | 6 return through Ezo in 1843 | 蕃談 時規物語 漂流人次郎吉物語 時規漢記 |
| 22 | 11/ 1839 | Okuriku 中吉丸 Crew of 6 | Drifted to Chichi Is. (Ogasawaras) and with the help of foreign colony, were able to repair their ship | · Ogasawara Isles | All 6 returned through Hachijô Islands | 小友船漂流記 |
| 23 | 1/ 1841 | Tosa 釣り船 Manjirô and 5 others | Drifted to Tori- shima where they stayed for a year before being rescued by an American whaler | ·Hawai'i ·United States ·Ryukyu | 3 returned in 1851 through Ryukyu | [萬次郎] 漂流記 漂流万次郎帰朝談 漂流奇談 漂巽紀略 漂民聞書 漂客談奇 |
| 24 | 10/ 1841 | Setsu 永住丸 Hatsutarô and 12 others | Rescued by a Spanish trading ship, but 9 of 13 were marooned in Baja, Mexico | ·Mexico ·Hawai'i ·Macao ·China | 2 returned in 1843, 3 returned in 1845 @ Nagasaki | 栄寿丸漂流口書 東航紀聞 初太郎 漂流記 海外異聞 墨是可新話 亜墨竹枝 |
| 25 | 1/ 1845 | Awa (Tokushima), 幸 宝丸 Crew of 11 | Drifted to Tori Is. Where they stayed for 1 mo. Before being rescued by the whaler <i>Manhattan</i> | ·Tori Is. | 1845年に浦賀で11人 | 阿州幸宝丸漂流記 乙巳漂客記聞 通航一覽 |
| 26 | 2/ 1845 | Okuriku 千手丸 Crew of 11 | Rescued by American whaler <i>Manhattan</i> | | Returned with crew cited above | 乙巳漂客記聞 通航一覽 |
| 27 | 1/ 1850 | Kishû 天寿丸 Crew of 13 | Rescued by American whaler | ·Kamchatka ·Hawai'i ·Alaska ·China | 5 returned in 1851@ Nagasaki 7 returned in 1852 through Ezo | 紀州船米国漂流記 漂流船聴書 |
| 28 | 9/ 1850 | Setsu 榮力丸 Hikozô, Iwakichi, Sanpachi, and 14 others | Rescued by an American ship | · North America ·China | 10 returned in 1854, 3 mentioned returned later | [彦藏] 漂流記 アメリカ彦藏自伝 撰州人米国漂流始 末記 |
| 29 | 4/ 1851 | Echigo 小舟 Jûtarô and 12 others | Sole survivor rescued by American whaler | California, ? | ? | <i>Argus Ship Log</i> |
| 30 | 8/ 1868 | 大木丸 Crew of 35+ | | ·Taiwan ·China | | 上海航記 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|-------------|------------------------------------|---|----------|--|----------------------|
| A | 10/ 1626 | Harima 住倉与一前橋清兵衛 Crew of 80? | Ship abandoned in SE Asia and returned on foreign ship | ·SE Asia | Returned @ Nagasaki on Dutch ship in 1628 | 徳兵衛天竺物語 通航一覽 252卷 |
| | | | | | | |

Appendix B: Edo Castaways to Russia

| | Year and route | Castaways and no. of crew | Length of drift | Site of landfall | Return | Accounts |
|----|----------------------------|--|-----------------|-------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| 1 | 1695 Osaka → Edo | Dembei and 14 others | 7 mos. | Kamchatka | Did not return | |
| 2 | 1710 Kishū → Edo | 'Sanima' and 9 others | ? | Kamchatka | Did not return | |
| 3 | 1728 Satsuma → Osaka | Sōza, Gonza and 17 others | 6 mos. | Kamchatka | Did not return | |
| 4 | 1744 Nanbu → Edo | (1200石) 多賀丸 Takeuchi Tokubei and 17 others | 6 mos. | Chishima Islands | Did not return | ・蝦夷拾遺 ・蝦夷草紙 |
| 5 | 1783 Ise→Edo | (1000石) 神昌丸 Kōdayū, Isokichi, Koichi and 14 others | 8 mos. | Aleutian Islands | 3 @ Nemuro in 4/ 1792 | ・北槎聞略 ・北槎異聞 ・漂民御覽之記 |
| 6 | 1793 Senda → Edo | (800石) 若宮丸 Tsūdayū and 15 others | 6 mos. | Aleutian Islands | 4 @ Nagasaki in 1/ 1804 | ・環海異聞 ・北辺探事 ・魯西亞國漂流記 |
| 7 | 1803 Hakodate →Edo | (582石) 慶祥丸 Crew of 14 | 4 mos. | Chishima Islands, Kamchatka | 6 returned by themselves through Etorofu in 3/ 1806 | ・通航一覽、卷319 ・休明光記、卷7 |
| 8 | 1810 Hyōgo→ Edo | (1100石) 歎喜丸 Heisuke and 15 others | 2.5 mos. | Kamchatka | Returned through Kunashiri (Chishima) in 9/ 1812. 7 return to Hakodate in 10/ 1813 | ・通航一覽 ・魯西亞國漂流聞書 |
| 9 | 1813 Satsuma→ Edo | (1200石) 永寿丸 Kizaemon and 24 others | 10 mos. | Chishima Islands | 3 are repatriated off coast of Etorofu in 7/ 1816 | ・漂海紀聞 ・魯西亞漂流記 ・通航一覽 |
| 10 | 1813 Edo → Nagoya | (1200石) 督乘丸 Jūkichi and 13 others | 17 mos. | California coast | 2 return with crew above | ・船長日記 ・日本人おろしや流 れ行彼助帰国の事 |
| 11 | 1832 Esashi → Edo | (350石) 五社丸 Crew of 8 | 4 mos. | Hawai'i | 3 are repatriated through Etorofu in 7/ 1836 | ・天保雜記 ・蒼軒遺集 |
| 12 | 1838 Hakodate →Edo | (650石) 長者丸 Jirōkichi and 10 others | 6 mos. | Rescued by an American whaler | 6 repatriated through Etorofu in 5/ 1843 | ・蕃談 ・時規物語 ・次郎吉物語 |
| 13 | 1850 Edo→ Kishū | (950石) 天寿丸 Crew of 13 | 2.5 mos. | Rescued by an American whaler | 7 return @ Shimoda, 5 return @ Nagasaki in 1852 | ・表民蛮語 ・漂客談奇 |

Appendix C: *Kanbun* Introduction to *Bandan* 蕃談 (1849)

Long ago in the days of Jin (晉), a fisherman happened to discover a village in a peach forest whose residents knew only peace. Telling people his story, half believed it and half had doubts, and in the end they could not clearly distinguish what was true and what was false. It is the same with me now hearing this castaway's story, and I cannot help but think that I am like someone from the days of Jin. This castaway is about forty years old, his face a dark rusty color, and he is magnificent and superior. He has a good memory and eloquent tongue. It has been twelve years since he became cast away, however he relates various foreign countries' customs and facts with his stories and drawings that are vivid and trustworthy. Particularly concerning products and devices, he can offer very detailed dimensions. However, there are more than a few discrepancies between his account and the knowledge of scholars of Western Learning. But all things have their youth an age and even the most ancient of things must undergo revolution (因革). Even though he actually visited the places he speaks of and bases his accounts on what he saw and heard, some will refuse to believe and instead say that he is wrong and that the Western Learning scholars must be right. I only met the castaway five or six times, but when I did I was sure to prepare ink and paper in order to record his stories, and in the end produced three volumes and have called it "Bandan." Even if we acknowledge that there are many pointless words, redundancies, and difficult parts, we must also admit that because novelty is spreading throughout the world it may prove helpful. Truly, it was my great wish from long ago to read 10,000 books and travel 10,000 *ri*. Yet while this castaway is merely a lowly sailor, he has wandered to distant lands abroad, seen and heard the strangest things, and so it isn't that he is not grand. There is no one whose heart, upon hearing his story, will not be charmed. However, for me even now I gush with special feelings. Those people moved to that utopia in the peach forest to escape tumultuous world, but they simply shut the door to their cave in a clump of mud for five hundred years while political disturbances came and went, beginning with the Han, and later the Wei and the Jin, they were unaware of dynastic transitions as they lived in retreat from the world. Suddenly hearing what was actually taking place in the world from a fisherman there was surprise and suspicion, and even though the Jin had doubts about the story of the Peach grove, it should have been clear that there was a far superior way. Currently, the many countries in the five continents throughout the world fight like a cloud and a concealed tiger, some are considered empires (帝), and some are considered kingdoms (王), and all the countries, strong and weak, are lined up and there is no peace. However our country alone in the middle of the great ocean is independent and does not engage with others. For two hundred years virtuous enlightenment has reigned and the people have happily enjoyed great peace

and cannot even imagine the turmoil of other countries. With peace a daily affair, it is not that we choose to enjoy the benefits of a Peach grove. Therefore, when I hear the castaway's story what I feel is that actually the people of the Peach Grove were such [like Japan] and the people of Jin were such.

Appendix D: Dictionaries and Lexicons in Edo Period *Hyôryûki*

| <u>Account (year written)</u> | <u>Languages</u> | <u>Relative Length/Contents</u> |
|--|---|--|
| 1) <i>Ikoku monogatari</i> (1644) | Japanese, Manchu, Peking | Set up as a comparison between languages of Dattan and Peking, with only foreign readings written in <i>furigana</i> above <i>kanji</i> . Numbers, food, animals, and approximately 30 other words. ¹ |
| 2) <i>Echizen bune hyôryûki</i> (1646? Kanei 23 nen) | Same as #1. | Similar to #1. ² |
| 3) <i>Bishû Ôno mura fune hyôryû ikken</i> (1668) | “Batan” | Numbers and 42 other terms. ³ |
| 4) <i>Jûsanya-maru Taiwan hyôryûki</i> (1754) | “Tô no kotoba” | 14 terms. ⁴ |
| 5) <i>Annan koku hyôryû monogatari</i> (1767) | “Annan kotoba” | Numbers and 127 other words. ⁵ |
| 6) <i>Chikushû Karadomariura Magoshichi Tenjiku banashi</i> (1770) | “Tenjiku no kotoba,” “Tôjin no kotoba” | Numbers: 1-10, 100, 1000, 10,000. Castaways claim to have naturally (<i>shizen</i> |

¹ *Ikoku hyôryûki shû* (Arakawa Hidetoshi, ed.) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1962), 13-15.

² NSSSS5, 568-569.

³ NSSSS5, 557.

⁴ EHSS1, 251.

⁵ EHSS2, 275-277; Cf. NSSSS5, 596-597.

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| | | <i>ni</i>) learned these through trade. ⁶ |
| 7) <i>Ichioyō-maru Fukushū hyōryūki</i> (1782) | “Tōkoku nite kikioboe sōrō gokotoba aramashi” | Numbers and 124 words. ⁷ |
| 8) <i>Hokusa bunryaku</i> (1794) | Japanese-Russian (subdivided into 17 topics) | Significant number of entries comprising the entirety of volumes 10 and 11. ⁸ |
| 9) <i>Isokichi monogatari</i> (1794) | Japanese-Russian | While not as extensive as #8, the dictionary takes up approximately 1/3 of the entire text. ⁹ |
| 10) <i>Kanton hyōsen zakki</i> (1796) | “Kanton jin kotoba” | Numbers and 71 other words. ¹⁰ |
| 11) <i>Nanpyōki</i> (published in 1798) | Annan | Numbers and brief list of terms. ¹¹ |
| 12) <i>Hyōfūtan</i> (1801) | “Kuronbō” and “Tōjin” | 25 terms and phrases, plus numbers and months (for <i>Tōjin</i> only). ¹² |
| 13) <i>Kankai ibun</i> (1805) | Japanese-Russian (subdivided into 12 topics) | Significant number of entries comprising the entirety of volume 8. ¹³ |
| 14) <i>Oroshiya no kotoba</i> (probably printed and | Japanese-Russian | The entire text is a lexicon that was |

⁶ NSSSS5, 661.

⁷ EHSS2, 464.

⁸ NSSSS5, 804-823.

⁹ EHSS3, 134-137.

¹⁰ EHSS4, 545-547.

¹¹ EHSS2, 312-313.

¹² *Kinsei hyōryūki shū* (Arakawa Hidetoshi, ed.) (Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1969), 97-98.

¹³ *Kankai ibun: Honbun to kenkyū* (Sugimoto Tsutomu, et al., eds.) (Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō, 1986), 236-259.

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| sold at the exhibition of his goods in Nagoya in 1819) | | separately released and sold by Jūkichi. ¹⁴ |
| 15) <i>Nankai kibun</i> (published in 1820) | “Kuronbô yakugen” and “Tôkyaku yakugen” | Contains short list of words in Chinese and a shorter list of “Kuronbô” words. Also has three “Kuronbô” songs transliterated into <i>kana</i> . ¹⁵ |
| 16) <i>Kansei hyôryûki</i> (1822) | Japanese-Russian | Contains numbers and less than 50 terms. ¹⁶ |
| 17) <i>Kishû Kuchikumano hyôryû (no) hanashi</i> (1843) | Japanese-Spanish Japanese-Chinese (subdivided into five topics) | Spanish is over 9/10 of total list, with only 32 Chinese terms. ¹⁷ |
| 18) <i>Amerika shinwa</i> (1844) | Japanese-Spanish (subdivided into 15 topics) | More substantial than # 23 ¹⁸ |
| 19) <i>Ruson koku hyôryûki</i> (1845) | A mix of “Tôkoku,” “Igirisu,” “Manera” (Manila), and “Kajibara” | Only numbers are listed for each language, the remaining terms are not distinguished. ¹⁹ |
| 20) <i>Ashû sen Kôhōmaru hyôryûki</i> (1845) | Japanese-American (Includes American pronunciation of Japanese place names.) | Includes numbers but very limited lexicon (36 words). Reflects limited time sailors spent onboard the <i>Manhattan</i> . ²⁰ |

¹⁴ Manuscript in Meiji University Central Library, Tokyo.

¹⁵ EHSS2, 246-249.

¹⁶ Manuscript in Meiji University Central Library.

¹⁷ NSSSS5, 462-463.

¹⁸ EHSS4, 326-340.

¹⁹ Manuscript copy in Meiji University Central Library archive; EHSS4, 250-252; and NSSSS5, 576.

²⁰ EHSS4, 438-439.

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| 21) <i>Tokei monogatari</i> (1849) | Japanese-Russian-American-Sandwich Island With Cantonese addendum (sub-divided into 12 topics and also indexed by <i>kana</i> .) | The entirety of the 9 th volume. Along with #8, one of the most extensive dictionaries in Edo <i>hyōryūki</i> . ²¹ |
| 22) <i>Tōkō kibun</i> (1850) | Japanese- mostly Spanish (Subdivided into 15 topics) | Comprising second half of 5 th volume. ²² |
| 23) <i>Tōyō hyōkyaku danki</i> (1851) | Japanese-American-Oahu (subdivided into 7 topics) | Comprising one of three volumes. ²³ |
| 24) <i>Kaigai ibun</i> (printed in 1854) | Japanese-Spanish (subdivided into 13 categories) | Significant portion of the third volume. ²⁴ |
| 25) <i>Kishū sen Beikoku hyōryūki</i> (1854) | Japanese-American | Less than 50 words and phrases. ²⁵ |
| 26) <i>Nagase murabito hyōryūdan</i> (1855) | Japanese-American (with a note stating that American (<i>Amerika kotoba</i>) is the same as English (<i>Igirisu dōzen</i>)) | Approximately 200 entries. ²⁶ |
| 27) <i>Banshūjin beikoku hyōryū shimatsu</i> (1855) | Japanese-English Japanese-Chinese | The English comprises a large section half way through the text. The Chinese is limited and |

²¹ Manuscript copy in the Maeda Sonkeikaku Bunkō archive, along with Ishiguro Senhiro's *Kokugaku* lexicon; NSSSS5, 174-215.

²² NSSSS5, 409-413.

²³ NSSSS5, 610-613.

²⁴ I have seen numerous copies of this text in archives and at a used-book store in Kanda, Tokyo. Can be seen at Waseda University Library and Tokyo Kaiyō University, as well as the Dōshisha Main Library. See, <http://lib.s.kaiyodai.ac.jp/library/bunkan/tb-gaku/hyoryu/hyoryu.html>.

²⁵ EHSS5, 247-248.

²⁶ NSSSS5, 686-688.

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| | | comes at the very end of the text. ²⁷ |
|--|--|--|

²⁷ EHSS5, 430-434, 453.

Appendix E: Complete Translation of *Tokubei Tenjiku monogatari*
 徳兵衛天竺物語 (1707)²⁸

In Takasago from the Province of Harima there is a man called Tenjiku Tokubei. Currently he is a priest who goes by the name of Sôshin and lives in the Kamishio district of Osaka. When this Sôshin was young he crossed over from Japan to Tenjiku and, remembering the seas and land, he wrote it down and then returned home. In this year 1627 [later editor writes “1707”] he is 89 years old and has proceeded to write down his story. This will surely be considered an old man’s tale and as a “tale” it has been entrusted to a frivolous brush. [However, this Tokubei] is still now alive.²⁹

Captain Tenjiku Tokubei of Takasago in Harima, from the age of 15 went to Tenjiku and there are two or three writings that cover the routes and descriptions of the sea and land between Nagasaki and China, China and Tenjiku that have been completed.

²⁸ Tenjiku is often glossed as “India,” however there is significant geographical dissonance between these two terms. Tenjiku is perhaps better understood in terms of its central position in a particular Buddhist cosmology represented in *Go Tenjiku zu* (fig. 1). Tenjiku was frequently divided into five (and sometimes sixteen) smaller countries and was said to comprise the larger part of the continent of *Jambu-dvîpa* or “The Whole World.” The birthplace of the Buddha and center of this worldview was commonly marked by a vortex in the north-central mountains of this land mass and a central lake from which four major rivers flow. See Muroga & Unno, “The Buddhist World Map in Japan and its contact with European Maps,” in *Imago Mundi*, vol 16 (1962), 49-69.

This translation is based on the document reproduced in (*Ishii Kendô Korekushon*) *Edo hyôryûki sôshû*, dai ikkan (Yamashita Tsuneo, ed.)(Tokyo: Hyôronsha, 1992), 487-504. This is the definitive version of the text in print and is based on the work of Ishii Kendô, who compiled and transcribed the text into printable form based upon multiple hand written documents. He notes textual variants parenthetically, but unfortunately only identifying them with the ambiguous *betsubon* (“alternate text.”) This translation relegates most of these variants to footnotes, however when the variant is minor and provides clarity it is occasionally included in the main text. Ishii also occasionally adds editorial commentary, which is preserved in the main text in brackets. I am most grateful for the assistance and time of Stephen Kohl who kindly read through this translation for me and assisted me with the various ambiguities of the text.

²⁹ Although the form of this document invokes the genre of *monogatari* or “tales” as a model, it is also very indebted to the genre of *setsuwa* or “didactic legend.” See EHSS1, 488. In fact these two genres are not exclusive, See *Princeton Companion to Japanese Literature*, 346. It is important to point out that unlike the formulaic beginning of both *setsuwa* and *monogatari* (今は昔, 今昔, etc.), this text makes an interesting adaptation by instead claiming that the source of the narrative is still alive. (今に存命なり) Later Edo period castaway accounts also insist on this affect of verisimilitude by emphasizing the source of the text coming from an eye witness account. This generic development in castaway accounts may be related to this adaptation of older literary genres, but it also must be considered in terms of the legal status of the speaker in later accounts and the fact that their stories are also refracted through the genre of interrogation reports or *kuchigaki*.

It is said that since in the past, merchants from Japan were permitted to carry out trade with Tenjiku, Suminokura Yoichi, Chaya Shirojirô, Hirano Heijirô, Kagoya, Beniya, and folks of this ilk became official Tenjiku traders. I, Tokubei, was a merchant captain working under Suminokura Yoichi and chartered by the ship captain Maebashi Kiyobei departing Nagasaki on my way to Tenjiku at age 15.

From Nagasaki to the Island of Women and the Island of Men is 96 *ri*,³⁰ to Takusanku [later editor writes “Takasago, Taiwan”] it is 650 *ri*. This country called Takusanku is 750 *ri* in length and in the open waters 13 *ri*³¹ from the port serving the Capital³² there are the two islands of Ukura and Tôken. From here it is directly south of Japan.

Going west 650 *ri* from Takasanku, I saw the entrance to Canton and its port city of Amagawa [later editor writes, “Port of Ama, Macau”], whose depth is 980 *hiro*. It is so deep that we had a hard time dropping anchor. The star called the *Ô kurusu* [later editor writes, “The Southern Cross”] rises in the south and from this place one can also see the North Star. With a clock [i.e. “compass”] you can determine the directions and navigate the seas. From this place you can see both the “Big Cross” and the “Little Cross.”³³

When we came to the place called the border of Hyô 300 *ri* south of Amagawa, we had reached the limits of Nankin.³⁴ From here, going west 300 *ri*, we saw the peaks of Toronka in Kôchi [Kôshi].³⁵ This was the birthplace of the Great Dharma Patriarch.³⁶

³⁰ The Isles of Women and Men are part of the common geographic imaginary of the Edo period. For this translation distances, weights, lengths, and monetary values are kept in the original units. Rough conversions can be done based on the following equivalencies:
1 *ri*=36 *chô*=3.927 km, 1 *ken*=6 *shaku*=1.818 m, 1 *hiro*=5 (6) *shaku*=1.515 m (1.818 m), 1 *koku*=100 *shô*=1000 *gô*=180.391 l.

³¹ Alternate text reads, “20-30 *ri*.”

³² Alternate text includes, “the entrance to the capital is called ‘Keifun’.”

³³ The terms *Ôkurusu* and *shokurusu* are literally translated as “Big Cross” and “Little Cross” respectively. Stephen Kohl suggests that this is a confusion with the Big and Little Dippers.

³⁴ Alternate version says, “Tonkin.”

³⁵ This is the old name for the area of current day Hanoi.

³⁶ Yamashita Tsuneo concludes that this must be the Five Mountains area near Hoinan in Central Vietnam. See EHSS1, 488.

From here we sailed south 400 *ri*,³⁷ where there is an island called Hôkontôrô of Kabocha [editor adds, “Cambodia”]. After sailing northwest 800 *ri* we came to the country of Makata [editor adds that this is a kingdom that existed in central India] and the mouth of the Ryûsa River. We were 3,800 *ri* from Nagasaki.³⁸

3 *ri* up the Ryusa River in the country of Shamu [Siam] is castle called Hantehiya.³⁹ At this place we transferred to a smaller *hayabune* boat and presented the vermilion seal we brought from Japan to the king⁴⁰ of the Kingdom of Makata.

27 *ri* up river from Bantehiya there is a castle.⁴¹ Long ago at this site, Kûkai and Monju engaged in a battle of wisdom. 25 *ri* up river from here is a Capital called Daikai (大海). From here we were 75 *ri* from the mouth of the Ryusa River.

At the temple known as Tehiyatai⁴² there are the remains of the home of the Great Buddha disciple Sudatta that later became the home of the King of Siam.⁴³

From Tehiyatai, we passed through the town for 7 *ri* where there were three temples that are each 20 *ri* long.⁴⁴ However, the distance of “7 *ri*” is in fact 42 *chô* by Japanese measurement standards.⁴⁵

³⁷ Alternative text we reads, “There is an island called ‘Kuwarô’ in Chanba [later editor adds that this is a kingdom that existed in southern Vietnam that was destroyed in 17th century]. From here we sailed south 400 *ri*.”)

³⁸ It seems that Makata (also written, “Makada”) may in fact be the old Indian kingdom of Magadha. It is in fact nearly impossible to be sure of where the narrator is talking about, since he continually confuses distances, directions, and place names. It seems likely that if the captain Tokubei (after becoming the priest Sôshin) in fact wrote this story, he would have relied on navigational maps in existence at the time to explain a more accurate geography. I think it is more likely that the author of this text is someone with no firsthand experience of either Southeast Asia or the Indian subcontinent. His claims to firsthand authority are more likely a narratival strategy in order to reaffirm a geographically inaccurate Buddhist cosmology that existed before the knowledge of maritime travel replaced it.

³⁹ Alternate text reads, “Bandebyia.” Yamashita has determined that this place is the merchant shipping offices for the capital of Siam, Ayutthaya. According to Yamashita, the Ryusa River is in fact the Champraeya River. See *Edo hyôryûki sôshû*, dai ikkan, 488.

⁴⁰ Alternative text reads, “Capital.”

⁴¹ Alternate text identifies this castle as “Bankoku.” Furthermore, the alternative text(s) read(s), “A further 20 *ri* up river is the castle called Korihisara. At this place is the Seirin Temple on Keikurii Mountain.”

⁴² Alternate text reads, “there is a building.”

⁴³ Alternative text reads, “長老王.”

One of the temples has erected a standing Buddhist statue as its central holy image and this temple faces East. There is also a statue of the Buddha of Nirvana and this temple faces North. [That is, the] head points toward the North with the face turned toward the West.⁴⁶

The thickness of the pinky finger of the sleeping Future Buddha is more than 3 *ken* and we can certainly guess [its size]. With fifteen people standing hand in hand they would barely encircle one-third of one of the pillars of this temple. Inside the enshrining temple there are three sections, each 8 *ken* in width. This distance is known as “one temple *chô*” (しやか堂町).

Today, they say that these temples have a relic buried in a mound and the venerable Buddha himself erected the three aforementioned images. The Buddhist offering at memorial services for the dead is gold leaf. Since they apply it to both the images of the Buddha and the temple itself, you can see the Golden Buddha. These three temples are tremendous. With the height of 20 *ri*, you can see them⁴⁷ from the seas off the country of Makata. Although there are many tall mountains in the interior of this country that cannot be seen from the sea, you can see the three temples. The temples serve as a marker for navigation and ships sail by its beacon. Those things called mountains pale in comparison.

Forty *ri* upstream from the capital there is a mound called Ryôjusen.⁴⁸ It is one *ri* high and eight *chô* wide and 16 *chô* in length. At this place you can see a huge boulder. On this Rock Mountain a sermon was given by Shakamuni. High on that rock is the Buddha’s wash basin.⁴⁹ On the 42 *ri* route that runs between the capital and

⁴⁴ Alternate text reads, “there were 3 Buddhist temples.” Yamashita suggests that this temple complex is in fact Angkor Wat, however this seems to contradict his earlier assumption that the Ryusa River is the Champraeya. (See note #11).

⁴⁵ Alternative text reads, “originally one Japanese *ri* was equal to one *chô*. For the temples that are 20 *ri* in length, each *ri* of a foreign country is six *chô*.”

⁴⁶ Alternate text reads, “There are three sacred images of a standing Buddha, a sitting Buddha, and a sleeping Buddha. The standing Buddha faces East, the sitting Buddha faces North, and the face of the sleeping Buddha faces West.”

⁴⁷ Alternate text adds, “for a continuous 67 *ri*.”

⁴⁸ This mountain, Ryôjusen, is the famed “Vulture Peak,” where the Buddha was said to have expounded many sutras. It is actually located in central India, however it seems that our narrator has once again confused his geographies.

⁴⁹ Alternate text reads, “a statue of the Buddha, his footprints, and a wash basin.”

Ryôjusen there is a market held between the third month and the end of the fourth month.⁵⁰ Forty-three *ri* up river, there is a giant rock called *zazenseki* [Meditation Rock]. This rock is thirty-two *chô* high and hangs out over the middle of the Ryusa River. Above this rock are various [statues of] Buddhas sitting in meditation therefore it is called *Zazenseki*. On that rock there is a temple of various Buddhist statues.⁵¹

Inside this temple there is the venerable image of a meditating Shakamuni. Two *ri* down river from the *Zazenseki* is the mouth of the Ganges River.⁵² The length of the Ganges River is about 1,200 *ri*.

Heading towards the interior on the Ryusa River, up river about seventy *ri* there is the capital called Ôkai. Although we took a junk to this point, from here on we were forbidden to go any further. With transportation not a possibility, we transferred to a small boat and went further up river. Asking someone who was familiar with the routes up and down the Ryusa River, [he said,] it had been eight years since he had gone up and down the river, and although he had done it, it was best not to travel up river to Tandoku Mountain. There appear to be innumerable routes to the interior and they are long going.

Going to Chaya, Rokukon, and Hitsuhira, about 800 *ri* from the capital⁵³ there is a place called Shakatai.⁵⁴ This place produces various leather products as well as shark [skin] and other goods. Until this point we were still in the country of Makata, however to the SW is barbarian country of Tsuritogisu [Portugal???]. In the NW direction is Oranda [Holland], Igirisu [England], Nuisukuwanniyoro [???], and the country of Dattan.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Alternate text adds, "This is the so-called, 'Eight Day Market of Tenjiku'."

⁵¹ In alternate text this sentence begins, "Aside from hanging out over the Ryusa River."

⁵² Although he uses the characters for the Ganges (垣河川) here. In an alternate text he phonetically writes, "Konga." "The river is called the Konga River and it branches off and flows East." A separate alternate text includes, "This place is at the branch down river in Kabôcha [Cambodia]."

⁵³ Alternate text reads, "in the SW direction." The text seems to make a very large geographical jump here and begins to describe a completely different area. It is impossible to determine based on the text whether this is information gleaned from firsthand experience or not.

⁵⁴ Alternate text adds, "From this place leaving Suwau and Kyara, it is another 900 *ri* in the SW direction to a place called Jagatara [Jakarta]."

⁵⁵ The narration of this geography may be based on the colonial outposts in Asia that these western countries laid claim to, or it may actually refer to the European countries themselves. Since Sôshin does not include any distances here,, it seems he could in fact be referring to the very distant European countries themselves. It is important to note that unlike later Edo period castaway accounts which often

There are leaves of the Tarayau tree growing around the mountain of Ryôjusen. [Editor explains that this is a reference to the leaves of the Tara tree, upon whose leaves are inscribed the teachings of the Buddha.] Every year one cart load [of leaves] is exported. They have some of these leaves at Jûrinji Temple in Takasago.⁵⁶ An old priest at Tehiyatai asked us to get one of these leaves of the Tarayau tree on which the disciples at the time of Buddha's life used to transcribe the Buddha's sermons. The elder priest asked for one leaf and because this man was the father-in-law of Kinoshita Rokubei—the overseer of the dorm belonging to my employee Maebashi Seibeï—we offered this to the temple. This Rokubei is Japanese and he is lord under the king here.⁵⁷ In Japan his rank is [equivalent to] *Dainagon*.

I left for Tenjiku on the 16th day of the 10th month of Kan'ei 3 (1626), departing from Fukuda in Nagasaki. In the following year on the 3rd day of the 3rd month in the year of the rabbit (1627) I arrived at Hantehiya on the Ryusa River in the country of Makata in Central Tenjiku. We stayed here through the rest of the year and on the 3rd day of the 4th month of our 3rd year, the year of the Tiger (ed., Kan'ei 5) (1628), we departed from the mouth of the Ryusa River in the country of Makata. The 11th day of the 8th month of that year we returned to Nagasaki.

Going to Tenjiku we were on a *karabune* ship with a crew of 397 sailors belonging to Suminokura Yoichi that was 29 *ken* in length and 9 *ken* wide. Afterwards, we borrowed a ship belonging to the person called Yôsu⁵⁸ of Holland and returned. [Editor notes that this is the Dutchman Jan Josten who drifted to the shores of Bungo in the island of Kyushu as a sailor on board the ship *Liefde* in the spring of Keichô 5 (1600). He gained the trust of Tokugawa Ieyasu and served as a diplomacy and trade advisor and received permission to build a mansion in Edo, the traces of which remain today in Chuo-ku, Yae-shû. However, it seems that Tokubei's record confuses Jan Josten with the English captain of the *Liefde*, William Adams. Furthermore, this dates the account as having taken place roughly 30 years before the dates given. I believe that Isshii's assumption that this is a reference to the *Liefde* incident (because Josten's name is mentioned) is suspect. It seems more likely that he was told he was on a "Josten ship" by a foreign crew who assumed Tokubei would understand that it was a Dutch ship. For one, Tokubei mentions the Dutch House in Edo as "Yôsa yashiki"

focus heavily on descriptions of empire and colonial relations, Tokubei's story seems to be completely void of this vocabulary.

⁵⁶ Alternate text reads, "Nagasaki."

⁵⁷ Alternate text adds, "his stipend is 300 *koku*, in Tenjiku."

⁵⁸ Alternate text reads, "Yayôsu."

(Josten's mansion), and his place in Nagasaki (which is more likely a Company House). Secondly, documentation of the *Liefde* that I have looked at does not mention repatriating the crew of a Suminokura ship.] Yôsu has a mansion in Nagasaki and, receiving 1000 *koku* from Japan, he also has a mansion in Edo called the *Yôsu Yashiki*. Ichizaemon⁵⁹ of Nagasaki calls the Dutch ships, “*saobune*.” Our ship had a crew of 384. At that time I was 19 years old and 21 years old returning home. We left Fukuda, Nagasaki on the 14th day of the 11th month. We landed in the country of Makada of central Tenjiku on the 18th day of the 2nd month of the following year. On the 18th day of the 8th month of the next year we arrived in Nagasaki.

Hanrigase (万里が瀬) [Rapids of 10,000 *ri*] is the boundary between Nankin and Tonkin. The border of Hyô and the border of Hanrigase are lined up perfectly to make a single boundary. The narrow point of these rapids is 15 *ri*. At the end of the Hanrigase is the entrance to the Buddhist temple/Jagatara [Jakarta].⁶⁰

Within the territory of the country of Makata is the long, hellish Enra wo uro road of Santome. From the capital it is in stages of 1000 *ri*. To Santome [São Thomé] is 3000 *ri* where they trade textiles, leather goods, and other things. It is extremely hot here.⁶¹ In all seasons, people needing to get around will use carts to do so. If you happen to fall from the carriage you will become burned and mummify.

In Makata there is a fruit called a *yashi* [literally “palm,” but clearly a coconut] that is similar to a large Japanese pear. Breaking the *yashi* in half we find 4 *go* of water. This water is said to counteract several poisons. This would be convenient for Japanese in order to prepare medicines. They fill each *yashi* half with about three *go* of rice, and using this as their measure, sell it for a silver coin. They sell it in quantities of sixty⁶² cups and each of these silver coins buys approximately 18 *shô*.

⁵⁹ “Captain Bitôto” precedes Ichizaemon’s name in an alternate manuscript.

⁶⁰ There is some ambiguity as to what is at the end of these rapids. Ishii’s text places “Buddhist temple” in the main text and rellegates the alternate reading of “Jagatara” in parenthesis. Considering the orthographic similarities between *しゃかだう* and *じゃがたら*, we can perhaps understand the source of this confusion.

Alternate text also adds, “However, these rapids flow 3,400-3,500 *ri* from the NE to the SW.”

⁶¹ Alternate text reads, “Tenjiku is a land of scorching heat.” If Sôshin is in fact referring to the port of São Thomé, he would then be on the West coast of the Indian subcontinent and has made yet another vast geographic jump in his narrative.

⁶² Alternate text reads, “six.”

Kyara [Sandalwood] Mountain is in Chaya, central Tenjiku. It is called Kyara Mountain of Rokukon. This place exports many things.⁶³

In the country of Makata as well, there is a forest called Mt. Kyara. From the 8th month⁶⁴ they begin to strip the bark on the upper part of the trees and by the 3rd month of the following year they designate the poor quality wood as *jinmanahan*, and the good quality wood they call *kyara*.

There are many coral balls [jewels] at the mouths of the Ryusa and Karaka Rivers. Furthermore, we went to the gates of the capital of Tonkin since there are also to be found in the Tokaku River.

There are no pines in the country of Makata. They have trees called *shitan*, *kokutan*, and *sendan*. There are also other various plants here.⁶⁵ However, there is also something like bamboo but thinner. The core is hollow, about the width of the small finger. It grows exactly one *shaku* between joints. These are used as flooring in smaller houses.⁶⁶

These people are taller than the Japanese.⁶⁷ Men shave below the ears,⁶⁸ and their heads are done up in the *keshi bozu* style of Nankin. [Bald except for the very top.] Women and children use sandalwood oil, putting this oil on their bodies and hair, which they part down the middle.⁶⁹ They wear something that looks like a one-piece pair of pants.⁷⁰

Men have short swords called *hitsutoku* similar to *kaifu* fisherman's knives.

⁶³ Alternate text reads, "Aside from this place, Luson and Cabocha are also major exporters."

⁶⁴ Alternate text reads, "3rd month."

⁶⁵ Alternate text reads, "There is lots of bamboo, called giant bamboo. It is 4 or 5 *shaku* thick."

⁶⁶ Alternate text adds, "Houses here are usually built two stories high. Since it is such a hot country, they build a raised floor and live on the second floor. They open up a place underneath. For roofs they use tiles but there are also reed roofs. They use Chinese mats for *tatami* since they are cool."

⁶⁷ Alternate text adds, "They look very high class from birth."

⁶⁸ Alternate text reads, "Hairs on their head are hung down with the ends cut."

⁶⁹ Alternate text reads, "Their hair hangs down just as is. Their hair and nails look normal."

⁷⁰ Alternate text reads, "The front comes down and is bound to make an underbelt in the back like *jittoku* clothing. The women wear courtly dress that hangs across the shoulder."

Men both high and low wear crowns. The higher-ranking folks wear their crowns with silver tassels and the lower ranks wear brass.

All those who take holy orders must avoid passing through any street in which women are passing through. In order to use such a road, the men first wait [for the women to pass] and then coming out into the road, recite the word, “*chaka*” ten times. They can then pass on the road. *Chaka* is the word for Shakamuni.

The laity, when seeing a Japanese, place their hands together and offer a pray, saying *chaka*. More than anything, this is a sign of respect.⁷¹

From the 3rd or 4th month until the 6th or 7th month it gets slightly cooler, however it is exceptionally hotter than the heat of Japan. From the 8th or 9th month until the 3rd or 4th month it is much warmer than it is in the summer [in Japan]. Depending on the day, one can shower two or three times in a day.

The white silver here *haifukigin* or uses ash-blown silver.⁷² Japanese silver is only 75% in value [by comparison]. The ash-blown silver is cut to the weights of one *monme* one *bu*, or two *bu* five *rin*. It is equivalent to a Chinese *kaku* coin. On the *ryô* coin it is deeply embossed so they do not have to weigh them. They also have *zeni* coins similar to Japan.

As for rice, it is harvested three times annually in the third, sixth, and tenth months.⁷³ The first and the last harvests are not taxed.⁷⁴ They do not collect the straw of the rice.⁷⁵ The ears of the plant are cut off and stored as such, and they do the same with the second harvest. They make straw bags by folding over rattan and sewing it together. One bag holds 4 or 5 *masu* each. They do not have straw bags made of rice stalk, neither do they have rope made of rice stalks. Rope too is twisted from shaved

⁷¹ Alternate text adds, “Eating is called *kinkafuiyatohamirai*.”

⁷² This seems to be a reference to a specific smelting process, however the translator is unclear as to details.

⁷³ Alternate text reads, “they harvest three times a year, the first planting is in spring during the first month. Afterwards, the second planting sprouts up [on its own] from the tufts of cut stalks of the first planting.”

⁷⁴ Alternate text adds, “Taxes are paid with best rice from the middle harvest of the sixth month.”

⁷⁵ Alternate text reads, “The grass is cut and disposed of. The rice is stored in something resembling an untreated cask.”

rattan. The heights of the rice stalks are 5 *hiro* for the first harvest, 4 *hiro* for the second harvest, and about 3 *hiro* for the third harvest.⁷⁶

There are many varieties of four legged beasts, including tigers, elephants, boar, lions, and Chinese deer. The king of this country keeps (an) elephant(s) in a special stable made for them.⁷⁷

Since there are no cows, even peasants keep water buffalo much like they do cows in Japan, and use them to pull carts. Horses here are slightly smaller than the horses in Japan. There are no monkeys.⁷⁸

Jakau dogs [Jackals?] are hunted with guns and their bodies are placed in vessels and buried. Afterwards, they are dug up and sold. Because of such a disgusting practice, [Tokubei] said the people of Tenjiku are hateful people. There is also an animal called a *hyô* [leopard] that looks a lot like a *jakau* dog. Since they are good for nothing, they are abandoned. That is why they say, “the death of *hyô*,” in Japan.⁷⁹

In the Ryûsa River there are various types of fish.⁸⁰ There are lots of serpents whose faces are as large as Japanese cow faces with the exception of horns. They are 7 or 8 *ken* long, but occasionally get up to 13 or 14 *ken*. When it is sunny in the afternoons, they climb up on sand bars in the Ryûsa River and take naps while snoring loudly. The people of this place take long sticks and often go to the place where these serpents nap and, with the tip of the sticks, will hold them down and immediately bind up the beasts with the stick. Hanging them from the stick, they capture them alive,

⁷⁶ Alternate text adds, “There is no wheat, millet, or similar grain, but they do have soy beans and other lentils.” In a separately cited alternate text we find the following description, “melon and eggplant are always plentiful and taste similar to those in Japan. The melons are exceptionally delicious however there are no white melons. The eggplant grow year round and are like trees, so they climb these trees with ladders to harvest them.”

⁷⁷ Alternate text reads, “Prodding them with pitchforks, the elephants are led around. The scars on the elephants faces are healed if they see the stars at night. During war, large elephants are lined up in a **Seirô formation.**”

⁷⁸ Alternate text adds, “Beasts called *funtô* are similar to Japanese mountain dogs and kill people.”

⁷⁹ This seems to be a mistake on the part of the author. “The death of *hyô*,” is in fact a reference to the Chinese *History of the Five Dynasties* and the phrase 豹死留皮. The idea expressed by such a phrase is that a leopard leaves behind its beautiful coat after it is dead, and it is used as a reference to someone whose name lives on after death. See *Kôteiban Shin Kan-Wa jiten* (Taishûkan shoten).

⁸⁰ Alternate text specifies, “carp, crucian carp, striped bass.”

bring them back home, cut them up, and sell them for profit. They have four legs and the scales are about the size of a *koban* coin.⁸¹ They are of a blackish blue color.

There is a person named Mōbei from Japan who came to Tenjiku twice. On his second trip he had wrapped two or three of these Rain Dragon scales in some nose papers and boarded the ship. At the mouth of the Ryūsa River they were not able to budge an inch, upon which the captain of the ship determined that among those on board someone was in possession of either the bones or scales of a Rain Dragon. He would have to quickly dispose of them in the river while a search was being conducted among the crew [for the culprit], otherwise even after several months, the ship would refuse to move as long as they could not find any contraband on board. They would begin to fight among themselves thinking that one of them had concealed something on their persons. Although they had all boarded the ship in the morning, by noon they were still stuck, and since none of them were to leave the ship, this man called Mōbei secretly took all three scales from his pocket and disposed of them. Immediately the boat took off. I heard this story from Mobei himself. It is because of the power invested in the Rain Dragon, that they can only be captured alive [and later] cut up and sold in pieces. It is very difficult to dismiss this story completely, [since] the depth of the Ryusa River at its center is 75 *hiro*, and I was told that there are places that are 100 *hiro*.

Children who bathe in the waters of the Ryusa River will set up weirs and swim within these enclosures. If one of them happens to be caught by a Rain Dragon, a priest from Hiyatai will be summoned. If he writes something [a magic talisman] for them and floats it down the river, it will cause the snake to be stunned so they are able to catch it.

The fact that the serpents of the Ryusa River do not have horns is because of the Buddha sermon, so now they have no horns.

The houses here all keep peacocks as they do chickens [in Japan].⁸² If a phoenix is flying through the air, they become frightened and flee indoors. They allow this because the Phoenix is said to eat peacocks.

There are also kites and crows. The kites have the same coloration as the kites in Japan, however the crows, instead of being black, are completely white.

⁸¹ *Koban* coins varied in size over the Edo period. The coin size referred to here is probably about 6 cm x 3.5 cm.

⁸² Alternate version adds, "The feces of these birds is poisonous to humans, so they discard it outside."

In Tenjiku there is a man named Yamada Jinzaemon [ed. Chôsei] who is the leader of one of the provinces of Siam. It is said that he received a seal for official trade from Japan and that this Jinzaemon was originally a clerk serving one of the teachers in the *Daikan* in Yamada, Ise in Japan. On a trip to Edo he paid a visit to Musashi where he ran into some trouble, was met with an interrogation and escaped to Nagasaki where he boarded a ship to Siam. Going to Siam, he was asked by the king to fight various battles, and having achieved various exploits, became son-in-law to the king and an heir to royal power.

Yamada Jinzaemon is called the *Nayakakuhon*.⁸³ This *Nayakakuhon* is a general in charge of a province. This rank is *nanfu*⁸⁴ and is equivalent to the Minister of the Left.

The population is primarily made up of warriors and great land barons⁸⁵ working to protect the Emperor.

In those days, the commercial products sent from Japan included mosquito netting, umbrellas, fans, lacquer ware, guns, bronze, tools, swords, long knives, however this is now strictly forbidden by Japan.⁸⁶

In those days, we would return from Tenjiku with thread, fabric, medicines, fragrant woods, and shark that we bought.

The Captain of Suminokura Yôichi, Maebashi Kiyobei did business with Osaka *shioya* [salt merchant].⁸⁷ At that time, the great elders of Osaka included Hamaya,⁸⁸

⁸³ Alternate text reads, “*Oyakakuhon*.”

⁸⁴ Alternate text reads, “*Ôfû*.”

⁸⁵ According to alternate text, these barons are in charge of tens of thousands of *chô* each.

⁸⁶ Alternate text reads, “In particular umbrellas, netting, and fans comprise the majority of cargo because Japanese paper is so thin and strong.”

⁸⁷ Alternate text names the Osaka *shioya* merchant as “Dôkun.”

⁸⁸ Alternate text adds, “Yodoya.”

Kôan [ed. 孝安], Ôtukaya,⁸⁹ Shinsai [ed. 心齊] and Shioya Dôi.⁹⁰ I was hired by Capt. Kiyobei and in this capacity I went to Tenjiku.⁹¹

We had a crew of eighty in our SumikuraYôichi vessel. Questioning folks familiar with the sea routes from Nagasaki to Nanban, Holland, and various other places we chose this crew. Altogether there were 317 hired hands [in the ships that we set out with.]⁹²

| | |
|------------------|--|
| <i>Taian</i> | = refers to the person in charge of steering |
| <i>Ta'an</i> | = refers to the person in charge of raising the sails |
| <i>Dôten</i> | = refers to the person in charge of the anchôr |
| <i>Sahon</i> | = refers to the person in charge of funerals |
| <i>Ahon</i> | = refers to the person who can adroitly climb the mast |
| First, | = refers to the housers in charge of the three ropes |
| Second, and | and three sections of the ship |
| Third Points | |
| <i>Tekkô</i> | = refers to the person in charge of loading the cargo |
| <i>Kakitsuke</i> | = purser |

1. *Inya* 2. *Arasu* 3. *Teresu* 4. *Kuwatoro* 5. *Shinku* 6. *Sein* 7. *Seiku* 8. *Obira* 9. *Nobi*
10. *Ten* 100. *Tehen* 1000. *Raki* 10,000. *Han*
The quantitative terminology is as it is written.

Names of the Places in Tenjiku

Tonkin, Kôchi, the birthplace of Daruma, Chamuba, Luson, Hyanwa, Kabocha
These are the Five Imperial Capitals.⁹³

Chachiu, Fukuchiu, Chinchiu, Chinmou, Kou no kuni, Kantou, Nankin
These are the seven capitals.

⁸⁹ Alternate text adds, "Yanami."

⁹⁰ Alternate text adds, "Dôkun."

⁹¹ Alternate text adds, "I was hired as a clerk for Kiyobei and recruited 80 crew members."

⁹² Alternate text adds, "Among the crew officials, those dealing with the mast, rudder, and anchor are determined as specific sub-ranks."

⁹³ Alternate text adds, "Kûkai was at the place called Urihisara. At this place is the Seirei Temple on Mount Keikuwai."

Those having received official permission to trade with Tenjiku:
 Suminokura Yoichi, Chaya Sshirojiro, Hirano Hejiro, Goto, Kagoya, Beniya--
 These six are from Kyoto
 Miji Heizo, Takagi Sakuyemon, Orandaya Yosu-- Nagasaki
 Yamada Jinzaemon-- Tenjiku

When I first left for Tenjiku the Nagasaki Magistrate was Takenaka Uneme.
 From this year, Hôei 4 [1707], it has been 74 years since I left. At age 84 I took the
 tonsure and the priestly name Sôshin. I am now in my eighties and last year committed
 myself to attaining the graces of the gods.⁹⁴

Osaka Shioya-machi

Sôshin

⁹⁴ Alternate text reads, "At the time I left for Tenjiku, the Nagasaki Magistrate was run by Takegaku Uneme. In Hôei 4 I was 96 years old. At 88 I took the tonsure, and the name Sôshin. I live in Osaka Kamishio machi."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Published Texts

- Aczel, Amird. *The Riddle of the Compass*. New York: Harcourt, Inc., 2001.
- Adachi, Hiroyuki. *Iyô no fune: yôshikisen dōnyū to sakoku taisei*. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1995.
- Aiko, Gyosō, Bunzō Maekawa, and Teiki Sakai. *Kaigai ibun*. Edo: Seifudō, 1854.
- Akizuki, Toshiyuki. *Nihon hokuhen kensa to chizu no rekishi*. Sapporo: Hokkaidō Daigaku Toshokan Kōkai, 1999.
- Amino, Yoshihiko. *Nihon no rekishi wo yominaosu*. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1991.
- . “Nihon shakai saikō.” In *Hyōryū to hyōchaku*, Umi to Rettō bekkān. Edited by Tanigawa Kenichi. Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1993.
- Anonymous. *Kanei hyōryūki (fukuseiban)*. Edited by Yamada Seisaku. Tokyo: Yoneyamadō, 1939-1940.
- Anonymous. *Iban hyōryū kikkoku roku (fukuseiban)*. Nagoya: Bukku Shopu Maitaun, 2006.
- Anonymous. “Nihon hajime no ‘Roshia Fea’ Koichi no ihin wo tenji shite daiseikō.” In *Saiken Nihonshi*, Edo III:1, 2: 30, Aug. 2002.
- Aoki, Okikatsu, Toshiaki Iwasaki, Joseph Heco, and Akira Ikeda. *Nankai kibun*. Kaigai tokōki sōsho, 4. Tokyō : Yūshōdō Shuppan, 1991.
- Arakawa, Hidetoshi. *Kishō shiryō shirīzu 3: Nihon hyōryū hyōchaku shiryō*. Tokyo: Chijin Shokan, 1962.
- . *Ikoku hyōryūki shū*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1962.
- . *Ikoku hyōryūki zoku shū*. Tokyo: Kishō Kenkyūjo, 1964.

- , *Nihonjin hyôryûki*. Tokyo: Jinbutsu Ôraisha, 1964.
- , *Ikoku hyôryû monogatari*. Tokyo: Shakai Shisôsha, 1969.
- , *Kinsei hyôryûki shû*. Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1969.
- Arano, Yasunori. *Kinsei Nihon to Higashi Ajia*. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1988.
- , *Edo bakufu to Higashi Ajia*, Nihon no jidaishi 14. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 2002.
- Asao, Naohiro. "Sakokusei no seiritsu." In *Kôza Nihon rekishi*, vol. 4. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1970.
- Ayuzawa, Shintarô. *Hyôryû: Sakoku jidai no kaigai hatten*. Tokyo: Shibundô, 1956.
- Backus, Robert L. "The Kansei Prohibition of Heterodoxy and Its Effects on Education." In *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 1., Jun., 1979.
- Batten, Bruce. "Frontiers and Boundaries of Pre-modern Japan." In *Journal of Historical Geography*, 25, 2, 1999.
- , *To the Ends of Japan: Pre-modern Frontiers, Boundaries, and Interactions*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2003.
- Bitô, Masahide. *Edo jidai toha nanika*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1992.
- Blumenberg, Hans. *Shipwreck with Spectator: Paradigm of a Metaphor for Existence*. Translated by Steve Rendall. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997.
- Blussé, J.L. and W.G.J. Rummelink, editors. *Dejima Diaries Marginalia, 1700-1740 Scientific Publications of the Japan-Netherlands Institute, No. 12*. Tokyo: Nichi-Ran Gakkai, 1992.
- Bodart-Bailey, Beatrice M., editor. *Kaempfer's Japan: Tokugawa Culture Observed*. Edited by Bodart-Bailey. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999.
- Boxer, C.R. *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951.

- Brandon, James R. & Samuel L. Leiter, editors. *Kabuki Plays On Stage, Volume 3: Darkness and Desire, 1804-1864*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.
- Burns, Susan L. *Before the Nation: Kokugaku and the Imagining of Community in Early Modern Japan*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar Núñez. *Castaways*. Edited by Enrique Pupo-Walker and translated by Frances M. López-Morillas. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Calvino, Italo. *Invisible Cities*. San Diego: Harvest Books, 1978.
- Catz, Rebecca D. *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Cawelti, John G. *Adventure, Mystery, and Romance: Formula Stories as Art and Popular Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976.
- Chamberlain, Basil Hall. *Aino Folk-tales*. London: Folklore Society, 1888.
- Chang, Elaine K. "Run Through the Borders." In David E. Johnson & Scott Michaelsen, editors. *Border Theory: The Limits of Cultural Politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.
- Chikamatsu, Monzaemon. *Kokusenya kassen*. In *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900*. Edited by Haruo Shirane. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Cholmondeley, Lionel Berners. *The History of the Bonin Islands, 1827-1876*. London: Constable & Co., 1915.
- Clark, Steve, ed. *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*. London: Zed Books, 1999.
- Clifford, James. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Coe, Michael. "Archeological Linkages with North and South America at La Victoria, Guatemala." In *American Anthropologist*. New Series, Vol. 62, No. 3, June 1960.

- Coetzee, J.M. *Foe*. New York: Viking, 1987.
- Confucius. *The Analects*. Translated by D.C. Lau. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979.
- Corbin, Alain. *The Lure of the Sea*. Translated by Jocelyn Phelps. Oxford: Polity Press, 1994.
- Cordingly, David. *Women Sailors and Sailors' Women: An Untold Maritime History*. New York: Random House, 2001.
- Creeley, Robert. *Autobiography*. New York: Hanuman Books, 1990.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987.
- Defoe, Daniel. *The Life and Most Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe Of York, Mariner, Who Lived Eight and Twenty Years in an Uninhabited Island on the Coast of America, Near the Mouth of the Great River Oroonoko : with an Account of His Deliverance Thence, and His After Surprising Adventures*. Philadelphia: Printed for William Woodhouse, 1803.
- Dening, Greg. *Islands and Beaches*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986.
- , "The Theatricality of observing and being observed: Eighteenth-Century Europe 'Discovers' the 18th Century Pacific." In *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*. Edited by Stuart B. Schwartz. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Don, Tsûshi. *Amerika hyôryûtan*. Tôto [Edo]: Busôdô, 1852.
- Dôshisha Daigaku. *Nihonjin hyôryûki bunken mokuroku*. Kyoto: Dôshisha Daigaku Toshokan, 1984.
- Dubrow, Heather. *Genre: The Critical Idiom Series*, No. 42. New York: Methuen and Company, 1982.
- Duus, Peter. *The Japanese Discovery of America: A Brief History with Documents*. Boston: Bedford Books, 1997.
- Dymond, Tim. "A Library Sailor: An Interview with Greg Dening." In *Limina: A Journal of Historical and Cultural Studies*, Vol. 7, 2001.

- Eagleton, Terry. *The Idea of Culture*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2000.
- Eco, Umberto. *The Island of the Day Before*. Translated by William Weaver. London: Vintage, 1998.
- Ellis, Frank H. *Twentieth Century Interpretations of Robinson Crusoe; A Collection of Critical Essays*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969.
- Ellison, George. *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.
- Farris, William Wayne. "Shipbuilding in Japan, Origins to 1600," Paper presented at the Tools of Culture Conference at the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, June 1999.
- Fujita, Satoru. *Matsudaira Sadanobu*. Tokyo: Chûô Kôronsha, 1993.
- . *Kinsei kôki seiji shi to taigai kankei*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2005.
- Fukuzawa, Yukichi. *Zôtei Ka-Ei tsûgo*. In *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshû*, vol. 1. Edited by Keio Gijuku. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1969.
- Genette, Gérard. *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980.
- . *Fiction & Diction*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Girard, René. *Deceit, Desire and the Novel: Self and Other in Literary Structure*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.
- Golovnin, Vasily Mikhailovich. *Memoirs of Captivity in Japan, during the Years 1811, 1812, and 1813, with Observations of the Country and the People*. Vol. 3. London, 1824.
- Green, Martin. *The Robinson Crusoe Story*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990.
- Hamada, Atsushi. Introduction to *Chôsen monogatari* by Kimura Riemon. Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku Bungakkai, 1979.
- Hamada Hikozaô. *Hyôryûki*. Edo?: s.n, 1863.

- Hamel, Hendrik. *Hamel p'yoryugi*. Seoul: Ilchogak, 1954.
- Heco, Joseph. *The Narrative of a Japanese; What He Has Seen and the People He Has Met in the Course of the Last Forty Years*. San Francisco: American-Japanese Publisher's Association, 1895.
- , *Hyoryu Ki: Floating on the Pacific Ocean*. Early California travels series, 30. Los Angeles: G. Dawson, 1955.
- Hane, Mikiso, translator and editor. *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1974.
- Hanes, Jeffery E. "Contesting Centralization? Space, Time, and Hegemony in Meiji Japan." In *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, Edited by Helen Hardacre with Adam L. Kern. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Harootunian, H.D. *Toward Restoration: The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan*, With a New Preface. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.
- , *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- , "Late Tokugawa Culture and Thought." in *The Emergence of Meiji Japan*. Edited by Marius B. Jansen. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Haruna, Akira. *Sekai wo miteshimatta otokotachi*. Tokyo: Bungei Shunshu, 1981.
- , *Hyôryû: Josefu Hiko to nakamatachi*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1982.
- , *Nippon Otokichi hyôryûki*. Tokyo: Chûô Kôronsha, 1988.
- , *Sekai wo mite shimatta otokotachi: Edo no ikyo taiken* (Revised Edition). Chikuma Bunko, Tokyo, 1988.
- , "Hyôryû," in *Kokushi daijiten*. Edited by Kokushi Daijiten Henshû Iinkai. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1990.
- , "Hyôryûki," in *Kokushi daijiten*. Edited by Kokushi Daijiten Henshû Iinkai. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1990.

- . “Hyôryûmin sôkan seido no keisei in suite,” *Kaijishi kenkyû*, No. 52, July 1995.
- . “Rekishigaku ni okeru ‘hyôryû’ no genzai,” *Chôfu Nihon bunka*, No. 10, March 2000.
- Hayami, Akira. “Introduction: The Emergence of ‘Economic Society’,” *The Economic History of Japan, 1600-1990*, Volume One: *Emergence of Economic Society in Japan, 1600-1859*. Edited by Akira Hayami. Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1999.
- Hayashi, Fukusai. *Tsûkô ichiran*. Edited by Hayakawa Junsaburô. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1912-1914.
- . *Tsûkô ichiran, zokushû*. Edited by Yanai Kenji. Osaka: Seibundô, 1968.
- Hayashi, Shihei. *Shinpen Hayashi Shihei zenshû*, vol. 2. Tokyo: Daiichi Shobô, 1979.
- Henriot, Christian. *Prostitution and Sexuality in Shanghai: A Social History, 1849-1949*. Translated by Noël Castelino. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Hiraga, Noburu, editor. *Nihonshi shiryô senshû*. Tokyo: Bon'ninsha, 1990.
- Hiraga, Gennai. *Fûryû Shidôken den*. In *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900*. Edited by Haruo Shirane. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Hirakawa, Sukehiro. “Japan’s Turn o the West.” In *Modern Japanese Thought*. Edited by Bob Wakabayashi. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Hirano, Mitsuru. “Bunkyû nenkan no Ogasawara shima kaitaku jigyô to honsôgakushatachi.” In *Sankô shoshi kenkyû*, Vol. 49. March, 1998.
- . “‘Izu Shichitô zenzu tsuke mujinjima hachijû shozu’ ‘Zôtei Izu Shichitô zenzu tsuke mujinjima hachijû shozu/ Sôbu Bôsô kaigan zu’ no seiritsu jijô to chosha tsuke Ogasawara shima no kyûmei ‘mujin shima’ ha ‘muninshima.’” In *Aida Bunkô Hensaniinkai: Chûkan hôkoku 2*, vol. 49. Tokyo: Meiji Daigaku Jinbunkagaku Kenkyûjo, 2001.
- . “Kinsei Nihon ni okeru Hottain ‘Shizen shi’ no riyô,” *Ashida bunkô hensaniinkai chûkan hôkoku*. Tokyo: Meiji Daigaku Shuppan, 2002.

- Ibuse, Masuji. *Sazanami gunki: tsuki Jon Manjirô hyôryûki*. Tokyo: Kawade Shobô, 1941.
- . *Jon Manjirô hyôryûki Honjitsu kyûshin*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1990.
- Ichimura, Yûichi and Shinzaburô Ôishi. *Sakoku: Yuruyakana jôhō kakumei*, Shinsho Edo jidai, 4. Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1995.
- Ikeda, Hirochika and Masayuki Murase. *Ikeda hirochika jihitsubon funaosa nikki tokujô-maru hyôryûki o yomu*. Tokyo: Seizandô shoten, 2005.
- Ikeuchi, Satoshi. *Kinsei Nihon to Chôsen hyôryûmin*. Kyoto: Nozomigawa Shoten, 1998.
- . *Tottori ni nagaretsuita Chôsen jin*. Tottori: Tottori Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 1998.
- . *Taikun gaikô to 'bui': Kinsei Nihon no kokusai chitujo to Chôsen ka*. Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppan Kai, 2006.
- Ikku, Jipensha. *Tôkai dochû hizakurige*. In *Nihon meicho zenshû*, Vol. 22. Tokyo: Nihon Meicho Zenshû Kankôkai, 1927.
- . *Hizakurige or Shanks' Mare*. Translated by Thomas Satchell. Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1963.
- Ikuta, Michiko. *Daikokuya Kôdayû no seppun*. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1997.
- Imanishi, Hajime. *Kokumin kokka to mainoriti*. Tokyo: Nihon keizai hyôronsha, 2000.
- Inoue, Katsuo. *Nihon no rekishi*, Vol. 18: *Kaikoku to bakumatsu henkaku*. Tokyo: Kôdansha, 2002.
- . *Nihon gendaishi 1: Bakumatsu Ishin*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2006.
- Ishii, Kendô. *Kôtei hyôryû kidan zenshû*. Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1900.
- . *Ikoku hyôryû kitan shû*. Reprint. Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ôraisha, 1971.
- . *Ishii Kendô Korekushon: Edo hyôryûki sôshû*, Six Volumes. Edited by Yamashita Tsuneo. Tokyo: Nihon Hyôronsha, 1992.

- Ishii, Kenji. "Kinsei shoki no seiyôgata hôsen." In *Fune*. Edited by Sudô Toshiichi. Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1968.
- , "Sengoku bune." In *Fune*. Edited by Sudô Toshiichi. Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1968.
- , "Wabune no kôzô." In *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryô shûsei*, vol. 5. Tokyo: Sanichi Shobô, 1985.
- Ishikawa-ken Toshokan Kyôkai. *Ka Nô hyôryûtan (fukkoku)*. Kanazawa: Ishikawa-ken Toshokan Kyôkai, 1972.
- Itazawa, Takeo. *Mukashi no Nanyô to Nihon*. Tokyo: Nihon Hôsô Shuppan kyôkai, 1940.
- Iwanami Shoten. *Kokusho sômokuroku*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989.
- Iwao, Seiichi. *Shuinsen to Nihonmachi*. Tokyo: Shibundô, 1954.
- , *Shuinsen bôeki shi no kenkyû*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1985.
- Iwasaki, Haruko. "Portrait of a Daimyo: Comical Fiction by Matsudaira Sadanobu." In *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 38, No. 1. Spring, 1983.
- Iwashita, Tetsunori. *Edo no kaigai jôhō nettowaaku*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 2006.
- Jansen, Marius, editor. *The Emergence of Meiji Japan*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- , "Late Tokugawa Culture and Thought." In *The Emergence of Meiji Japan*. Edited by Marius Jansen. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Johnson, David E. and Scott Michaelsen, editors. *Border Theory: The Limits of Cultural Politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.
- Kaempfer, Englebert. *Kaempfer's Japan: Tokugawa Culture Observed*. Edited by Bodart-Bailey. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999.
- Kanezashi, Shôzô. *Nihon kaiji kanshû shi*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1967.

- Kang, Etsuko Hae-jin. *Diplomacy and Ideology in Japanese-Korean Relations: From the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century*. London: Macmillan Press, 1997.
- Kanzawa, Teikan and Yasuhiko Ukihashi. *Okinagusa*. Higashimurayama: Kyôikusha, 1980.
- Katagiri, Yôichi, editor. *Nihon koten bungaku zenshû: Taketori monogatari, Ise monogatari, Yamato monogatari, Heichû monogatari*. Tokyo: Shôgakkan, 1972.
- Katô, Takashi. ed. *Sôsho Edo bunko ichi Hyôryû kidan shûsei*. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1990.
- Katsuragawa, Hoshû. *Hokusa bunryaku*. In *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryô shûsei*, vol. 5. Tokyo: Sanichi Shobô, 1995.
- . *Hokusa bunryaku*. Edited by Kamei Takayoshi. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2005.
- Kawada, Shôryô. *Drifting Toward the Southeast: The Story of Five Japanese Castaways*. Translated by Junya Nagakuni and Junji Kitadai. New Bedford, MA: Spinner Publications, Inc., 2003.
- Kawai, Hikomitsu. *Nihonjin hyôryûki*. Tokyo: Shakai Shisôsha, 1967.
- Kawakami, Jun. “Nichi-Rô kankei no naka no Ainu.” In *Nihon no jidai shi 19, Ezo shima to hoppô sekai*. Edited by Kikuchi Isao. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 2003.
- Kawase, Hikomitsu. *Nihonjin hyôryûki*. Tokyo: Shakai Shisôsha, 1967.
- . “Hyôryû.” In *Fune*. Edited by Sudô Toshiichi. Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppanyoku, 1968.
- Kawasumi, Tetsuo, editor. *Nakahama Manjirô shûsei*. Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1990.
- . “Hyôryû no jidai haikai ni kan suru shiryô.” In *Nakahama Manjirô shûsei*. Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1990.
- Kawatake, Shigetoshi. *Hyôshaku Edo bungaku sôsho kabuki meisaku shû, jô*. Tokyo: Dai Nihon Yûbenkai Kôdansha, 1935.

Keene, Donald. *The Japanese Discovery of Europe, 1720-1830*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969.

-----, *World Within Walls: Japanese Literature in the Pre-Modern Era, 1600-1867*. New York: Grove Press, 1976.

Keio Gijuku, editors. *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshû*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958.

Kikuchi, Isao. *Ezogashima to hoppô sekai*, Nihon Jidaishi 19. Okyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 2003.

Kikuchi, Shunsuke, editor. *Tokugawa kinrei kô*, vol. 1-6. Tokyo: Shihôshô, 1932-1939.

Kimura, Ki. *Kaigai ni katsuyaku shita Meiji no josei*. Tokyo: Shibundô, 1963.

Kimura, Riemon. *Chôsen monogatari*. Edo: Eto Shorin, 1750.

Kisaki, Ryôhei. *Kôdayû to Rakusuman: Bakumatsu Nichi-Ro kôhoshi no ichi sokumen*. Tokyo: Tôsui Shobô, 1992.

-----, *Sendai hyômin to Rezanofu*. Tokyo: Tôsui Shobô, 1997.

Kisho Fukuseikai. *Kanei hyôryûki* (fukuseiban). Tokyo: Yoneyamadô, 1940.

Kito, Hiroshi. *Nihon rekishi*, Vol. 19: *Bunmei toshitenô Edo shisutemu*. Tokyo: Kôdansha, 2002.

Klaproth, Julius. *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, 3 vols. Paris, 1824-1828.

Kobayashi, Kaoru. *Kaei mujintô hyôryûki*. Tokyo: Sanichi Shobô, 1998.

-----, *Tori Shima hyôchaku monogatari—jûhasseiki shômin no mujintô taiken*. Tokyo: Seizandô, 2003.

Kobayashi, Shigefumi. *Nipponjin ikoku hyôryûki*. Tokyo: Shogakkan, 2000.

Kobayashi, Shôji, Seiichi Hasegawa, and Yoshihiro Senda, editors. *Nihon kaiiki rekishi taikei*, Vol. 4. Osaka: Seibundô, 2005.

- Koga, Dôan and Gentaku Ôtsuki. *Oroshiya koku montô*. In *Edo hyôryûki sôshû, bekkân: Daikokuya Kôdayû shiryô shû*, Vol. 3. Edited by Yamashita Tsuneo. Tokyo: Nihon Hyôronsha, 2003.
- Kohl, Stephen and Michael Wood. "Getting the Story Right: A Castaway's Travels in Korea and the Textual Genealogy that Followed." In *Imagining Korea, Imagining the World: Korean Travel Writing and the Spatial Imaginary*. Edited by JaHyun Kim Haboush, Boudewijn Walraven, Marion Eggert. New York: Columbia University Press, forthcoming.
- Kokushi Daijiten Henshû Iinkai. *Kokushi daijiten*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1979.
- Kondô, Tsuneji, editor. *Mikawa bunken shûsei kinseihehen jô*. Toyohashi-shi, Aichi-ken: Aichi-ken Hôhan Chihôshi Henshû Iinkai, 1963.
- Kornicki, Peter. *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History for the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001.
- Kostova, Ludmilla. "Meals in Foreign Parts: Food in Writing by Nineteenth-Century British Travelers to the Balkans." In *Journeys: The International Journal of Travel and Travel Writing* 4:1.
- Kowner, Rotem. "Skin as Metaphor: Early European Racial Views on Japan, 1548-1853," *Ethnohistory* 51:4, Fall 2004.
- Kubota, Takao, editor. *Matsura no miya monogatari*. Tokyo: Kanrin Shobô, 1996.
- Kurachi, Katsunao. *Hyôryû kiroku to hyôryû taiken*. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2005.
- Landau, Sidney I. *Dictionaries: The Art and Craft of Lexicography*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Ledyard, Gary. *The Dutch Come to Korea*. Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch in conjunction with Taewon Publishing Company, 1971.
- Lensen, George Alexander. *The Russian Push Toward Japan: Russo-Japanese Relations, 1697-1875*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959.
- , *The Russian Push toward Japan: Russo-Japanese Relations, 1697-1875*. New York: Octagon Books, 1971.

Lentricchia, Frank and Thomas McLaughlin, editors. *Critical Terms for Literary Study, Second Edition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Leslie, Edward E. *Desperate Journeys, Abandoned Souls: True Stories of Castaways and other Survivors*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1988.

Makabe, Jin. *Tokugawa Kôki no gakumon to seiji: Shôheizaka gakumonjo jusha to Bakumatsu gaikô henyô*. Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 2007.

Martel, Yann. *The Life of Pi*. Orlando: Harcourt Books, 2001.

Maruyama, Masao. *Nihon seiji shisô shi kenkyû*. Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan, 1952.

Marx, Karl. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy-Volume One*. Translated by Ben Fowkes. New York: Vintage Books, 1977.

Miyoshi, Masao. *As We Saw Them*. New York: Kodansha International, 1994.

Matsuda, Kiichi. *Keichô shisetsu—Nihonjin hajime no Taiheiyô ôdan*. Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ôraisha, 1969.

----- . *Toyotomi Hideyoshi to Nanbanjin*. Tokyo: Chôbunsha, 1992.

Matsuda, Kiyoshi. *Yôgaku no shoshiteki kenkyû*. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1998.

Matsuda, Osamu. *Edo itan bungaku nooto*. Tokyo: Seidosha, 1993.

Matsudaira, Sadanobu. "Daimyo Katagi." In *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 38, No. 1., Spring, 1983.

----- . *Kagetsu sôshi in Nihon zuihitsu taisei*, Part 3, Volume 1. Tokyo: Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei Henshûbu, 1976.

Matsumura, Seiichi, editor. *Tosa nikki*. In *Nihon koten bungaku zenshû: Tosa nikki, Kagero nikki*. Tokyo: Shôgakkan, 1973.

Matsushima, Shunjirô. *Sakoku wo hamideta hyôryûmono: sono ashiato wo ou*. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1999.

Matsuura, Seizan. *Kasshi yawa*. Edited by Nakamura Yukihiro and Nakano Mitsutoshi. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1987.

- McCullough, Helen Craig editor. *Classical Japanese Prose: An Anthology*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.
- Meggers, Betty, Clifford Evans, and Emilio Estrada. "Early Formative Period of Coastal Ecuador: The Valdivia and Machalilla Phases." In *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology*, Vol. 1. Washington: US National Museum, 1965.
- Melville, Herman. *Moby-Dick or, The Whale*. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1964.
- Meskill, John. *Choe Pu's Diary: A Record of Drifting Across the Sea*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1965.
- Miner, Earl, Hiroko Odagiri, and Robert E. Morrell, editors. *The Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Morohashi, Kenji. *Dai Kan-Wa jiten*. Tokyo: Taishûkan Shoten, 1968.
- Morris-Suzuki, Tessa. "A Descent into the Past: The Frontier in the Construction of Japanese History." In *Multicultural Japan: Palaeolithic to Postmodern*. Edited by D. Denoon, M. Hudson, G. McCormack & T. Morris-Suzuki. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- . *Re-inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998.
- . "The Frontiers of Japanese Identity," In *Asian Forms of the Nation*. Edited by Stein Tønnesson and Hans Antlöv. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- Motohashi, Ted. "The Discourse of Cannibalism in Early Modern Travel Writing." In *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*, edited by Steve Clark. London: Zed Books, 1999.
- Murai, Shosuke. *Ajia no naka no Chûsei Nihon*. Tokyo: Azekura Shobo, 1988.
- Murase, Masayuki. *Ikeda Hirochika jihitsubon "Funaosa nikki" Tokujô-maru hyôryûki o yomu*. Tokyo: Naruyamadô Shoten, 2005.
- Muroga, Nobuo and Kazutaka Unno. "The Buddhist World Map in Japan and its Contact with European Maps." In *Imago Mundi*, XVI, 1962.

- , and Kazuhiko Yamori. *Bandan: hyôryû no kiroku ichi*. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1965.
- Nagakuni, Junya, editor. *Jon Manjirô no subete*. Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ôraisha, 1992.
- , *Jon Man enkerese*. Kôchi: Kôchi Shinbunsha, 1982.
- Nakahama, Akira. *Nakahama Manjirô no shôgai*. Tokyo: Fujiibô, 1971.
- Nakai, Yoshiyuki. "Futabatei Shimei (1864-1909)." In *Papers on Japan*, Vol. 4. Cambridge: East Asian Research Center Harvard University, 1967.
- Nakamura, Akira. *Umi no sekai shi*, Kôdansha Gendai Shinsho. Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1999.
- Nakamura, Hiroshi. *East Asia in Old Maps*. Tokyo: Kasai Publishing, 1964.
- Nakane, Chie, Shinzaburô Ôishi, and Conrad Totman. *Tokugawa Japan: The Social and Economic Antecedents of Modern Japan*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1990.
- Nanba, Matsutarô. "Sengoku bune no kôkai." In *Fune*. Edited by Sudô Toshiichi. Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppan Kyoku, 1968.
- , Nobuo Muroga, and Kazutaka Unno. *Nihon no kochizu*. Osaka: Sôgensha, 1969.
- Neider, Charles, editor. *Great Shipwrecks and Castaways: Authentic Accounts of Disasters at Sea*. New York: Dorset Press, 1990.
- Nelson, Thomas A.W. "Merchants and Mercenaries: The Overseas Japanese Diaspora in East Asia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Centuries," (unpublished presentation given at the AAS Annual Meeting, New York, March 2003).
- Nietzsche, Friedrich. *The Gay Science*. Edited by Bernard Williams. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Nishinomiya, Z. Kazuo. "A View of the Outside World During Tokugawa Japan: Reports of Travel by Castaways—1636 to 1856—." Unpublished dissertation from the Department of Geography, University of Washington, 1972.

- Nishizato, Kikô. *Baun gô no kuryoku hanran to Ryûkyû Ôkoku: Yuragu Higashi Ajia no kokusai chitojo*, Okinawa gakujutsu kenkyû sôsho 1. Ginowan-shi: Yôjû Shorin, 2001.
- Noda, Hisao. *Kinsei shôsetsu shi ronkô*. Tokyo: Kaku Shobô, 1961.
- , *Nihon kinsei shôsetsu shi, dangibon hen*. Tokyo: Benseisha, 1995.
- Nogami, Yaeko. *Kaijin-maru*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970.
- Ôba, Osamu. *Hyôchakusen monogatari*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2001.
- Odaka, Toshio, editor. *Nihon koten bungaku taikei 100: Edo waraibanashi shû*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970.
- Ôgawa Shûmei, editor. *Satô Nobuhiro shû of Kinsei shakai keizai gakusetsu taikei*. Tokyo: Seibundô Shinkôsha, 1935.
- Ôguma, Ryôichi. *Rekishi no kataru Ogasawaratô*. Tokyo: Nanpô Dôhō Engokai, 1966.
- Onishi, Norimitsu. "Ugly Images of Asian Rivals Become Best Sellers in Japan." In *The New York Times*. A1 and A6. November 19, 2005.
- Ono, Takeo. *Edo no hakurai fuzoku shi*. Tokyo: Tenbôsha, 1975.
- Ooms, Herman. *Charismatic Bureaucrat: A political biography of Matsudaira Sadanobu, 1758-1829*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.
- Ôtomo, Kisaku, editor. *Aka Ezo fûsetsukô, Ezo shûi, Ezo sôshi: Hokumon sôsho*, Vol. 1. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1972.
- Pickering, Charles, and John Charles Hall. *The Races of Man; And Their Geographical Distribution*. London: H.G. Bohn, 1851.
- Plummer, Katherine. *A Japanese Glimpse at the Outside World 1839-1843: The Travels of Jirokichi in Hawaii, Siberia, and Alaska*. Kingston, Ontario: Limestone Press, 1991.
- Plummer, Katherine. *The Shogun's Reluctant Ambassadors: Japanese Sea Drifters in the North Pacific*, Third edition, revised. Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1991.

- Posdneeff, V. "The Wanderings of the Japanese Beyond the Seas." In *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society*, Second Series, Volume 6, 1929.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Pupo-Walker, Enrique. Introduction to *Castaways* by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Ravina, Mark. *Land and Lordship in Early Modern Japan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Redclift, Michael R. *Frontiers: Histories of Civil Society and Nature*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006.
- Richards, John F. *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Roberts, Luke Sheperd. *Mercantilism in a Japanese Domain: The Merchant Origins of Economic Nationalism in 18th-Century Tosa*. New York : Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Robertson, Russell. "The Bonin Islands." In *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. IV. Tokyo: Yûshodô Booksellers, Ltd., 1964.
- Ross, Angus. *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966.
- Sabu, Kohso. "Two Modes of Translation, or a Crossing over the Pacific." In *Imported: A Reading Seminar*. Edited by Rainer Ganahl. New York: Semiotext(e), 1998.
- Sakakura, Atsuyoshi, editor. *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, Vol. 9: *Taketori monogatari, Ise monogatari, Yamato monogatari*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1962.
- Sano, Yoshikazu. *Shin sekai he: Sakoku Nihon karahamideta Eijû-maru no jûsan nin*. Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppanyoku, 1989.
- Satô, Nobuhiro "Keizai yôryaku." In *Nihon shisô taikei* (vol. 45) *Andô Shôeki Satô Nobuhiro hen*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1977.

- Sayre, Gordon M. *American Captivity Narratives: Selected Narratives with Introduction (New Riverside Editions)*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2000.
- Scoy, Herbert A. van. "Fact and Fiction in Mendez Pinto's 'Peregrinacam'." In *Hispania*. Vol. 32, No. 2. May, 1949.
- Screech, Timon. *The Shogun's Painted Culture: Fear and Creativity in the Japanese States, 1760-1829*. London: Reaktion Books, 2000.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- Shapinsky, Peter D. "Lords of the Sea: Pirates, Violence, and Exchange in Medieval Japan," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2005.
- Shirane, Haruo. *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Shunyô, Gyôjin. *Aboku chikushi*. Edo: Gakuhandô, 1843.
- Sonoda, Kazuki. *Dattan hyôryûki no kenkyû*. Fongtien City: South Manchurian Rail Co., 1939.
- Strassberg, Richard E. *A Chinese Bestiary*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Sudô, Toshiichi, editor. *Fune*. Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppanyoku, 1975.
- Sugimoto, Tsutomu. *Kankai ibun—honbun to kenkyû*. Tokyo: Yasaka Shobô, 1986.
- Sugita, Genpaku. *Rangaku koto hajime*. Edited by Ogata Tomio. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2002.
- Sugiyama, Kiyohiko. "Dattan hyôryûki no kokyô wo tazunete: Echizen Mikuni Minato hōmonki." In *Manzoku shi kenkyû, dai3gô*. July, 2004.
- Suzuki, Aya. "Enkyô – Kanenki no 'Chôsen buumu' ni miru jita ishiki," *Rekishî hyôron* No. 651, July 2004.
- Tabohashi, Kiyoshi. "Ogasawara shotô no kaishû, ichi." In *Rekishî chiri* 39:5.

- Takagi, Takayoshi. *Hakodate bunka hakken kikaku 2, Hokkaidô no kochizu: Edo jidai no Hokkaidô no sugata wo sagaru*. Hakodate: Goryôkaku Tawaa, 2001.
- Takahashi, Tomio. *Henkyô: Mô hitotsu no Nihon shi*, Kyôikisha Rekishi Shinsho, Nihonshi 13. Tokyo: Kyôikusha, 1987.
- Takase, Shigeo. "Hyôryûki *Bandan* ni kan suru kôsatsu." In *Shirin* 40:1. Kyoto: Kyôto Daigaku Shigaku Kenkyûkai, 1957.
- . *Kitamae bune Chôja-maru no hyôryû*. Kanazawa: Seisui Shoin, 1974.
- Takayama, Jun. *Edo jidai Hawaii hyôryûki: "Iban hyôryû kikoku roku" no kenshô* Tokyo: Sanichi Shobô, 1997.
- Tanaka, Hiroyuki. "Edo jidai ni okeru Nihonjin no mujintô (Ogasawaratô) ni tai suru ninshiki." In *Kaiji shi kenkyû*, vol. 50. June, 1993.
- Tanaka, Kuninari, editor. *Ka-Nô hyôryûtan*. Kanazawa: Ishikawa Ken Toshokan Kyôkai, 1972.
- Tanaka, Takeo. "Ken Minsen bôekika Tachibanayô Nishinobu to sono izzoku." In *Chûsei kaigai kôshô shi no kenkyû*. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan, 1959.
- Tanaka, Yûko. *Kinsei Ajia hyôryû*. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1991.
- Tanigawa, Kenichi, editor. *Edo shomin seikatsu shiryô shûsei*, vol. 5. Tokyo: Sanichi Shobô, 1968.
- , editor. *Hyôryû to hyôchaku: Umi to rettô bunka, bekkân*. Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1993.
- Tashiro, Kazui. "Foreign Relations during the Edo Period: Sakoku Reexamined," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 8:2.
- . "Foreign Trade in the Tokugawa Period—Particularly with Korea." In *Emergence of Economic Society in Japan, 1600- 1859*. Edited by Hayami Akira. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Tawara-chô Kyôiku Iinkai. *Tawara chôshi*. Tawara chô, Aichi: Tawara chô Hakubutsukan, 1980.

- Tenri Bijutsukan Hensankai. *Seiyôjin no mita Nippon: Maruko Pooro kara Perii made*. Kyoto: Tenri Gyararii, 1985.
- Terajima, Ryôan. *Wa-Kan sansai zue*. Edited by Shimada Isao. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1986.
- Terui, Sôsuke. *Tenmei Ezo sakken shimatsu ki*. Tokyo: Yaedake Shobo, 1974.
- Toby, Ronald P. "Reopening the Question of *Sakoku*: Diplomacy in the Legitimation of the Tokugawa Bakufu." In *Journal of Japanese Studies*. 3: 2 Summer, 1977.
- "Carnival of Aliens: Korean Embassies in Edo-Period Popular Art and Culture." In *Monumenta Nipponica*. 41:4, Winter, 1986.
- *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.
- "The 'Indianness' of Iberia and the changing Japanese iconographies of Other." In *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Period*. Edited by Stuart B. Schwartz. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- "‘Ketô jin’ no tōjō wo megutte: Kinsei Nihon no taigai ninshiki tashakan no issokumen," *Kyōkai no Nihonshi*. Edited by Murai Shōsuke, Satō Makoto, Yoshida Nobuyuki. Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1997.
- "Kinsei Nihonjin no etonosu ninshiki." Edited by Yamauchi Masayuki and Yoshida Motoo. *Nihon imeeji no kōsaku: Ajia Taiheiyō no toposu*. Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1997.
- "Imagining and Imaging Anthropos in Early-modern Japan." In *Visual Anthropology Review: Journal of the Society for Visual Anthropology* 14:1, 1998.
- "Kinseiki no ‘Nihonzu’ to ‘Nihon’ no kyōkai." In *Chizu to ezu no seiji bunka shi*. Edited by Kuroda Hideo. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2001.
- "Review: Rescuing the Nation from History: The State of the State in Early Modern Japan." In *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 56, No. 2, 2001.

- Toby, Ronald and Kuroda Hideo, *Gyôretsu to misemono*. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1994.
- Todorov, Tzvetan. *On Human Diversity: Nationalism, Racism, and Exoticism in French Thought*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Toita, Kenji. *Meisaku kabuki zenshû*, vol. 9. Tokyo: Tôkyô Sôgen Shinsha, 1969.
- Tôta, Kaneko. *Hyôhaku no haijintachi*. Tokyo: Nihon Hôsô Shuppan Kyôkai, 2000.
- Tozawa, Yukio. *Edo ga nozoita 'Seiyô.'* Tokyo: Kyoiku Shuppan, 1999.
- Tsutsumi, Seiji, editor. *Nihon koten bungaku taikei, 47: Saikaku shû, jô*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970.
- Turner, Victor. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977.
- Uchiyama, Junichi. *Edo no kôkishin: bijutsu to kagaku no deai*. Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1996.
- Unekawa, Shizuo. *Kaiun kô kokushi*. Osaka: Kaiji Ihôsha, 1927.
- Usui, Yôsuke. *Batan hyôryûki: Kanryoku-maru Batan hyôryûki wo otte*. Tokyo: Sôbunsha, 2001.
- Van Sant, John E. *Pacific Pioneers: Japanese Journeys to America and Hawaii, 1850-80*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000.
- Varley, H. Paul. *Japanese Culture, Third Edition*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1984.
- Wakita, Haruko, et al., eds. *Nihon josei shi*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1987.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. *The Modern World System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600- 1750*. New York: Academic Press, 1980.
- . *The Second Era of Great Expansion of the Capitalist World-Economy, 1730-1840s*. San Diego: Academic Press, 1989.

- Watanabe, Kazan. "Gaiikoku jijô sho," *Nihin shisô taikai*. Vol. 55. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1976.
- Watanabe, Kenji. *Edo yûri jôsuiki*. Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1994.
- Watanabe, Miki. "Chû-Nichi no shihai ronri to kinsei Ryûkyû: 'Chûgoku jin, Chôsen jin, ikoku jin' hyôchaku min no shochi wo megutte." In *Rekishi gaku kenkyû*. Vol. 810, January, 2006.
- , "Hyôryû hyôchaku to kinsei Ryûkyû," *Okinawa ken shi: kakuronpen*, vol. 4, Kinsei. Naha: Okinawa Kyôiku Iinkai, 2005.
- Whitehead, Neil L. "Hans Staden and the Cultural Politics of Cannibalism." In *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 80, No. 4, Special Issue: Colonial Brazil: Foundations, Crises, and Legacies. November 2000.
- Winkel, Margarita. *Discovering Different Dimensions: Explorations of Culture and History in Early Modern Japan*. Unpublished dissertation from Leiden University, 2004.
- Wood, Michael. "Masculinism, Colonialism, and the Late Edo Castaway Narrative: Japanese Accounts of Port Brothels in the Pacific." In *E-ASPAC: A Peer-Reviewed Electronic Journal for Asian Studies* (2005 issue).
- Yamada, Seisaku, editor. *Kanei hyôryûki*. Tokyo: Yoneyamadô, 1940.
- Yamagishi Tokubei and Sano Masami, editors. *Shinpen Hayashi Shihei zenshû*, vol. 2, Chiri. Tokyo: Daiichi Shobô, 1979.
- Yamamoto, Hiroko. "'Enkôan gôshû rokuhen' ein to honkoku." In *Nagoya shi hakubutsukan kenkyû kiyô dai jû-ikkan*. Nagoya: Nagoya Shi Hakubutsukan, 1987.
- Yamashita, Tsuneo, editor. *Ishii Kendô Korekushon: Edo hyôryûki sôshû*, 6 volumes. Tokyo: Nihon Hyôronsha, 1992.
- , "Bunkyû gannen Kumano nada hyôryû jiken no tokuisei." In *Nihon kaijishi no shomondai, senpaku hen*, vol. 1. Edited by Ishii Kenji. Tokyo: Bunken Shuppan, 1995.
- , editor. *Edo hyôryûki sôshû bekkân: Daikokuya Kôdayû shiryô shû*, 4 volumes. Tokyo: Nihon Hyôronsha, 2003.

Yogakushi Kenkyukai, editors. *Ôtsuki Gentaku no kenkyû*. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1991.

Yonemoto, Marcia. "Maps and Metaphors of the 'Small Eastern Sea' in Tokugawa Japan (1603-1868)." In *Geographical Review* 89:2, April, 1999.

----- . *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868)*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

Yoshimura, Akira. *Hyôryû*. Tokyo: Shinchôsha, 1980.

----- . *Hyôryûki no miryoku*. Shinchô Shinsho. Tokyo: Shinchôsha, 2003.

----- . *Daikokuya Kôdayû*. Tokyo; Mainichi Shinbunsha, 2003.

Yoshioka, Nagayoshi. *Hyôryûsen monogatari no kenkyû*. Tokyo: Hokkô Shobô, 1944.

Zumwinckle, Richard and Tadanobu Kawai, translators. *Kaigai ibun*. Los Angles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1970.

Selected Manuscripts and Other Unpublished Materials

Meiji University Central Library, Tokyo

Dattan hyôryûki

Funaosa nikki

Chikyû bankoku zusetu

Ajia Amerika taishizu

Kansei hyôryûki

Luzon koku hyôryûki

Gonaimitsu môshiage sôrô hyôryû ijin ikken

Shimaya Ichizaemon mujintô he noriwatari oboegaki

Mujintô tôkai Karabune no gi tsuki tomegaki

Hyôryûno oboe

Sendai sen Roshia koku hyôryû kikigaki

Tô shû mono ikoku hyôryû itashi sôrô kuchigaki utsushi

Chikyû bankoku zusetu

Iwase Bunko, Aichi

Hyôryû yume monogatari

Tokyo University Shiryô Hensanjo, Tokyo*Bandan***Dôshisha University, Kyoto***Hyôryûki**Meriken hyôryûki**Kaihyôibun**Kankaiibun**Funaosa nikki***Yoshitoku Bunko, Tokyo***Kawaraban with Manjirô Story***Maeda Ke Sonkei Kaku Bunko, Tokyo***Tokei monogatari*

“Tokei monogatari jo kanazuke narabi inshô”

*Tokei kanki**Gotokei no kenjô yurai narabi yôhō no oboe***Hokkaidô University***Kaibô okusoku**Matsumae shuppan hyôryû banashi**Hyôryû nin oboegaki**Hyôryû nin kikigaki utushi**Ôshû Matsumae ryô hyôryûnin kôjô no utsushi**Sendai hyôryûnin kuchigaki**Tosaburô hyôryû banashi**Kyûzô Roshiya koku hyôryû kikigaki*

“Nemuro ryô no tsuke no uchi ikitarafushi he ikokusen torai hyôryûnin domo sashioki taihan tsukamatsuri sôrô gi môshi agesôrô kakitsuke”

Kyoto University*Tenjiku Tokubei ki**Chôsen monogatari***National Diet Library***Ôshû zakki**Tôsa no mono mujintô hyôryûki**Kankaiibun**Ogasawara jiki*

Tenri University, Tokyo*Peregrinations***Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, Chiba**

“Map of Asia” by Abraham Ortelius

Waseda University, Tokyo*Meriken hyôryûki**Hyôryû shimatsu ki*

“Onoe Kikugorô ichidaiki”

“Oroshiya jin shôho no zu”

*Funaosa nikki**Oroshiya no kotoba***University of Hawai’i, Honolulu***Hyôryûki**Hyôson kiryaku* (microfilm)**The Bishop Museum, Honolulu***Bandan***Leiden Univeristy, The Netherlands***Chôsen monogatari***Tokyo Kaiyô Univeristy On-line Archive**<http://lib.s.kaiyodai.ac.jp/library/bunkan/tb-gaku/hyoryuki.html>*Ikoku hyôchaku senwa***Others**Kohl, Stephen, translator. *The Captain’s Diary*. Unpublished translation of *Funaosa nikki*.