

**AN ANALYSIS OF *AMERIKA SHINWA*: MANUSCRIPT CIRCULATION AND
EPISTEMOLOGICAL BACKGROUND IN EARLY MODERN JAPAN**

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Abstract

This thesis examines the manuscript *Amerika shinwa* (New Stories about America, 1844) by Maekawa Bunzō, which reports the experience of the Japanese sailor Hatsutarō (1823–1889) in Baja California following a shipwreck. This study offers two primary analyses of the text. Firstly, I examine the scholarly network of the manuscript in the second half of the Edo period (1603–1868). I present examples of manuscript circulation and consider the importance of this medium for the transmission of secret information in the late Edo period. I also provide biographical context for the authors Maekawa Shūkō (1801–1854) and Sakai Sadateru (dates unknown), including their social and scholarly connections with other Confucian scholars.

Secondly, I describe some of the paradigms through which foreign knowledge was organized and classified. I discuss the influence of *honzōgaku* (materia medica) on *Amerika shinwa* in particular and on early modern study of the natural world more broadly. I contrast the book's concepts and illustrations of plants and animals with those of influential encyclopedias of the Edo period, such as the *Bencao gangmu* (Compendium of Materia Medica, 1596), the *Kinmōzui* (Illustrated Dictionary for Beginners, 1666), and the *Wakan sansai zue* (Illustrated Dictionary of the Three Realms in Japanese and Chinese, 1712). This comparison sheds light on the categorization and organization of plants and animals in the text.

The primary goal of this study is to provide a close reading and contextual analysis of *Amerika shinwa*, focusing on the circulation of foreign knowledge as well as the tools that enabled comprehension of plants, animals, and utensils from Mexico.

Lay Summary

In this thesis, I explore the manuscript *Amerika shinwa* (New Stories about America, 1844), held at the University of British Columbia, which tells the real story of a Japanese castaway's journey in Mexico. I analyze the historical context of the manuscript by first introducing the production of castaway narratives of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, then explore the manuscript's physical qualities, biographies of its authors, and its circulation. I also examine *Amerika shinwa* in terms of the knowledge categorization of plants and animals described in the text. I contrast the terminology and illustrations of the sections on Plants and Animals in *Amerika shinwa* with Chinese and Japanese encyclopedias of materia medica, primarily the *Bencao gangmu* (Compendium of Materia Medica, 1596), *Kinmōzui* (Illustrated Dictionary for Beginners, 1666), and the *Wakan sansai zue* (Illustrated Dictionary of the Three Realms in Japanese and Chinese, 1712).

Preface

This thesis is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, José Manuel Escalona Echániz.

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Lists of Abbreviations

Ch. Chinese

fol. folio

J. Japanese

Kr. Korean

lit. literally

par. paragraph

r. recto

v. verso

vol. volume

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I would like to acknowledge that this thesis was produced on the traditional, ancestral, and unceded territory of the x^wməθk^wəyəm (Musqueam) people. I am grateful to have been able to study, as an uninvited visitor, on their lands.

This thesis is the result of a long process of research I undertook involving continuous interactions with many people. Below I will attempt to recall the many individuals who made my research possible.

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Dedication

To all the good people I had the chance to meet in Vancouver between 2019 and 2022.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The crew's provisions having all been consumed, little by little they ate the cargo of sake and sugar. Since this was a period of little rainfall, drinking water was in scant supply, and so they ate as little salt as possible. Thus, they gradually became weaker and less able to do their work. The men could only pray to the Gods and Buddhas.... There were some days without wind, but the sailors lost all hope, because they could see only clouds or waves in all that vast ocean, and never anything even resembling an island.

Maekawa Shūkō and Sakai Sadateru, *Kaigai ibun*¹

Imagine drifting on the sea for four months with twelve other people, with barely enough food and water and the constant uncertainty about whether you might survive the next day. Then, when finally rescued by a huge foreign ship, you don't understand a word spoken to you, and the crew reveal themselves to be pirates, who steal all your belongings and force you to work aboard their ship under appalling conditions. After two months, you and some of your fellow sailors are suddenly deserted on a beach in an unknown land. There, a fifty-year-old man takes you home. You feel embraced by his kindness, but after six months, you discover that his real intention was

¹ Richard Zumwinkle, trans., *Kaigai Ibun. A Strange Tale from Overseas, or, A New Account of America, Compiled by Maekawa Bunzō and Sakai Junzō, from the Narrative of Hatsutarō, a Japanese Castaway* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1970), 29–30.

to marry you to his daughter. Imagine that these chance encounters brought you to see and interact with people, plants, animals, and objects you never before witnessed.

The above is a brief summary we can piece together from *Amerika shinwa* 亜墨新話 (New Stories about America, Maekawa Shūkō and Sakai Sadateru, 1844),² which represents the experiences and knowledge conveyed by Hatsutarō 初太郎 (1823–1889), a sailor from Awa Province who was in charge of the cargo ship *Eijūmaru* 永住丸. Hatsutarō drifted on the Pacific Ocean with twelve other sailors and was brought to Baja California in 1842 by a Spanish ship, finally returning to Japan via Nagasaki on a Chinese vessel in 1844. The terrifying adventure of Hatsutarō was the first time a citizen of Japan had travelled to Mexico in more than 220 years,³ and Hatsutarō carried with him valuable information about flora, fauna, and humans. His story is compiled in the book *Amerika shinwa*, a manuscript copy of which is held by Rare Books and Special Collections at the University of British Columbia (hereafter UBC).

During the Edo period (1603–1868) Japanese castaways who returned from regions outside Japan were seen by the ruling elites as possessing valuable information about foreign lands. The records produced from their tales of the places, people, and objects they had witnessed were crafted into narratives which were both informative and entertaining. The historian Katherine Plummer calls historical castaways “reluctant ambassadors,” as many of them were key to establishing relations with foreign nations and crucial for decision-making in

² The date of 1844 is what is recorded in the UBC Library catalogue. As I will show, this manuscript was likely produced around 1846. No location or publisher is indicated in the UBC manuscript.

³ The last historically recorded contact of a Japanese citizen with Mexico was 1618, when Hasekura Tsunenaga (1571–1622), retainer of the lord of Sendai, departed from Acapulco with his embassy after an unsuccessful mission ordered by the Sendai lord Date Masamune 伊達政宗 (1567–1636), which was intended to build commercial relationships with Mexico. Zumwinkle, *Kaigai Ibun*, 10.

the Bakumatsu (1853–1867) and Meiji (1868–1912) periods. The castaway Nakahama “John” Manjirō 中濱 (ジョン) 万次郎 (1827–1898),⁴ for example, is known to have been a member of the first embassy to the United States, which was sent in order to sign the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between Japan and the United States (*Nichibei shuko tsūshō jōyaku* 日米修好通商条約).⁵ Moreover, the letters from the castaways Jusaburō 寿三郎 (1813–1853) and Shōzō 庄蔵 (1810–unknown) influenced the retraction of an edict on the bombing of foreign ships and presumably impacted the diplomatic opening of Japan.⁶ Zensuke 善助 (1817–1874), the captain of the *Eijūmaru* and Hatsutarō’s fellow traveller, was sent to Edo to examine the gifts from Commodore Perry’s American ship after its arrival in 1853.⁷

The accounts written about castaway experiences are today often referred to as *hyōryūki* 漂流記 (lit., “drifting records”). While the dictionary *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* registers the earliest usage of the term as in 1863, it was common for *hyōryūki* to appear in titles of texts starting early in the Edo period, such as the *Dattan hyōryūki* 韃靼漂流記 (A Castaway Record about Tartary People, manuscript, 1644).⁸ Such works have been analyzed in depth since the Meiji period—first by the Meiji-era editor and writer Ishii Kendō 石井研堂 (1865–1943),⁹ later

⁴ John Manjirō was originally a cook on a fishing boat from Usa-ura (present Kōchi Prefecture). The boat drifted to Torishima, and after five months, he and his crew were rescued by an American whaling ship. He visited Hawai‘i and Massachusetts and while in Massachusetts, he was educated in subjects such as English, mathematics, and navigation. He subsequently worked on a whaling ship and a gold mine in California to raise money to return to Japan. See Kobayashi Shigefumi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 2000), 174.

⁵ Kobayashi, 174.

⁶ Kobayashi, 113.

⁷ Yamashita Tsuneo, *Edo hyōryūki sōshū: Ishii Kendō korekushon*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1992), 601.

⁸ *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. “漂流記” (*hyōryūki*), accessed July 10, 2022, JapanKnowledge.

⁹ Ishii Kendō’s main works on *hyōryūki* are *Hyōryū kidan shū* 漂流奇談全集 (Compilation of Strange Castaway Stories, Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1900) and *Ikoku hyōryū kidan shū* 異国漂流奇譚集 (Compilation of Strange Stories of Drifting to Other Countries, Tokyo: Fukuei Shoten, 1926).

in the Shōwa period by the meteorologist Arakawa Hidetoshi 荒川秀俊 (1907–1984),¹⁰ and more recently in the Heisei period (1989–2019) by the historians Kawai Hikomitsu 川合彦充 (1912–1989)¹¹ and Kobayashi Shigefumi 小林茂文 (1952–).¹² Within English-language scholarship, historians Katherine Plummer and Michael Wood have offered significant contributions to the study and appreciation of *hyōryūki* by translating noteworthy texts and underscoring the historical importance of castaways and their accounts.

My study of *Amerika shinwa* has benefitted greatly from Richard Zumwinkle’s English-language translation of *Kaigai ibun* 海外異聞 (A Strange Tale from Overseas, no location or publisher indicated, 1854),¹³ as well as Richard F. Szimpl’s translation of the *hyōryūki* known as *Funaosa nikki* 船長日記 (A Captain’s Diary, manuscript, 1822)¹⁴ and Nagakuni Jun’ya’s and Kitadai Junji’s English edition of the *Hyōson kiryaku* 漂異紀略 (Drifting Toward the Southeast, manuscript, ca. 1851).¹⁵

The majority of *hyōryūki* texts were edited in the Edo period by high-ranking scholarly authorities, such as Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 (1757–1827),¹⁶ Katsuragawa Hoshū 桂川甫周

¹⁰ Arakawa’s most prominent published books on *hyōryūki* are *Ikoku hyōryūki shū* 異国漂流記集 (Compilation of Records of Drifting to Other Countries, Tokyo: Kishō Kenkyūjo, 1962) and *Kinsei hyōryūkishū* 近世漂流記集 (Compilation of Early Modern Drifting Records, Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1969);

¹¹ See Kawai’s *Nipponjin hyōryūki* 日本人漂流記 (Drifting Records of Japanese People, Tokyo: Shakai Shisōsha, 1967).

¹² See Kobayashi’s *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki* ニッポンジン異国漂流記 (Drifting Records of Japanese to Other Countries, Tokyo: Shōgakusan 小学館, 2000).

¹³ For an English translation, see Zumwinkle’s *Kaigai Ibun*.

¹⁴ See Szimpl’s *Funaosa Nikki: A Captain’s Diary: Jukichi’s Four-Year Odyssey across the Pacific, through California, Alaska, Kamchatka, and Back to Japan* (Nagoya: Chunichi Publishing Co., 2005).

¹⁵ See Nagakuni Jun’ya and Kitadai Junji, trans., *Drifting Toward the Southeast: The Story of Five Japanese Castaways Told in 1851 by John Manjiro* (New Bedford: Spinner Publications, 2003).

¹⁶ Ōtsuki Gentaku authored the *hyōryūki* known as *Kankai ibun* 環海異聞 (Exotic Tales of a Voyage around the World, 1807) and was a Dutch Learning (Rangaku) scholar, physician, astronomer, and geographer. He was a

(1751–1809),¹⁷ and Maekawa Shūkō 前川秋香 (1801–1854),¹⁸ who was the co-author¹⁹ of *Amerika shinwa*. As scholars versed in Sinitic precedents, it was customary for these writers to rely on Ming-era encyclopedias composed in Literary Sinitic (*kanbun* 漢文) as well as those produced in Japan, such as the *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 (J. *Honzō kōmoku*, Compendium of Materia Medica, Jinling: Hu Chenglong, 1596) or the *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 (Japanese and Chinese Illustrations of the Three Forces, Osaka: Ōnogiichibee, 1712) to classify foreign objects the castaways encountered. As I will show, based on the influence of these encyclopedias, even objects found in Baja California may be described and represented following Ming-era precedents.

This thesis offers the first attempt to describe and contextualize the *Amerika shinwa* manuscript found in Rare Books and Special Collections at UBC. I position myself as a literary scholar undertaking a close reading of the Plants and Animals section of Book 3 of the UBC

student of Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白 (1733–1817), a famous Rangaku academic and author of *Kaitai shinsho* 解体新書 (New Treatise on Anatomy, Edo: Suharaya Ichibee, 1774). Ōtsuki's most prominent work is *Rangaku kaitei* 蘭学階梯 (A Guide to Dutch Studies, Edo: Gungyokudō, 1788), a primer of the Dutch language. See Louis-Frédéric and Käthe Roth, *Japan Encyclopedia* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 766.

¹⁷ Katsuragawa Hoshū authored the *hyōryūki* known as *Hokusa bunryaku* 北槎聞略 (Abridged Story of a Raft in the North, 1794) and was an official bakufu physician and proponent of Dutch Learning (Rangaku). He was proficient in language studies and world topography and pioneered the use of the microscope in Japan. He also collaborated in the translation of the *Kaitai shinsho*. See Grant K. Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch 1600–1853* (Curzon: Taylor and Francis, 2013), 84–85.

¹⁸ Maekawa Shūkō was a Confucian scholar from Awa Province and co-author of *Amerika shinwa*. For more biographical information, see Chapter 3, section 7.

¹⁹ The concept of “author” must be approached with care in terms of premodern Japanese texts. In the case of *Amerika shinwa*, there are three overlapping layers of storytelling: the castaway's testimony, Maekawa's retelling, and Sakai's additions. Within the metadata of the University of British Columbia Library, Maekawa Shūkō is credited as the author. The Preface of *Amerika shinwa* states:

“The Lord thus ordered the Confucian scholar Maekawa Bun to record (the story) and made the retainer Sakai Sadateru actually help him.”

(太公儒員臣前川文に命じて之を録せしめ、小臣酒井貞輝をして実に其の事を助けしめ)

See Maekawa Shūkō, *Amerika shinwa*, vol. 1, fol. 1r.

manuscript, drawing for context from the research of intellectual historians, cultural historians, and book history scholars to better understand the epistemological background of the manuscript and its possible circulation.

Chapter 2 introduces Edo-period castaway stories (*hyōryūki*) by providing general descriptions of these texts, explaining their conventional scholarly classification, and examining their historical and literary relevance. This chapter builds on the classifications and notions constructed by the historian Ikeuchi Satoshi 池内敏, who specializes in stories of Edo-period castaways who travelled to the Korean peninsula.

Chapter 3 explores the UBC manuscript of *Amerika shinwa* and provides a physical description of the manuscript, a short biography of its authors Maekawa Shūkō and Sakai Sadateru, and considers the purported circulation of the work. This chapter borrows from the literary scholar Peter Kornicki to better understand the context for the manuscript based on his analysis of a wide spectrum of works significant to the history of the book in Japan and Asia.

Chapter 4 analyzes the impact of encyclopedias produced in Ming-era China and Edo-era Japan, mainly the *Bencao gangmu*, *Kinmōzui* 訓蒙図彙 (Illustrated Dictionary for Beginners, no location indicated, Yamagata-ya, 1666), and *Wakan sanzai zue*, and how these influenced the epistemological classification of knowledge found in *Amerika shinwa*, focusing on the sections related to plants and animals. This chapter draws from the foundational work in English-language scholarship by social historian Federico Marcon, who has offered an exhaustive investigation of Edo-period natural knowledge encyclopedias.

In answering the question of what kind of intertextual network takes part in the composition of *Amerika shinwa*, this study offers two different approaches. The first focuses on

the circulation of the manuscript and its general relation with other *hyōryūki*, while the second consists of an analysis of the composition of a specific descriptive section of the book.

Chapter 2: What are *hyōryūki*? Challenges in classification

2.1 What are *hyōryūki*?

Hyōryūki, in its strict sense, is the Japanese term for castaway narratives, generally as a consequence of a shipwreck. These narratives acquired great significance during the Edo period, particularly due to the *kaikin* 海禁 edicts issued by the bakufu in 1635, which forbade Japanese people from leaving the country under penalty of death²⁰ and banned foreigners from entering Japan. The exception were Chinese and Dutch merchants, who were permitted to operate and reside in the port of Nagasaki.²¹ The domain of Tsushima maintained commercial and diplomatic relations with the Korean peninsula, while the domain of Matsumae held ties with Ezo (the territory encompassing present Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kuril Islands) and Satsuma with the Ryūkyū kingdom.²² Therefore, contact with other nations during the Edo period was limited. This legislation forbidding Japanese to leave the archipelago made shipwrecks and the subsequent rescue of the sailors by foreign ships the only way for the Japanese to visit external territories, and thus *hyōryūki* became exceptional forms of narrative and valuable sources of information about territories that had no official relations with the Japanese archipelago.

Despite the supposed historical prominence of the castaways for being, in many cases, the first contact of the Japanese with locations beyond East Asia, there is still a lack of

²⁰ Michael S. Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2011), 14.

²¹ Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony*, 66.

²² Robert I. Hellyer, *Defining Engagement: Japan and Global Contexts, 1640–1868*, Harvard East Asian Monographs 326 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2009), 20.

recognition of the castaways in Japanese history books, perhaps due to their humble ranks.²³ The sailors who drifted were primarily low-ranking, uneducated men, who were boatmen and sometimes farmers who sailed to supplement their incomes.²⁴ Since Japanese castaways' illiteracy made it difficult to document their experiences without the assistance of scholars, allegedly direct accounts written by castaways are scarce.

Castaway narratives tend to represent two kinds of subjects: people who have drifted away from Japan toward foreign lands (known as *hyōryūmin* 漂流民), and those who have drifted from other countries and arrived in Japan (*hyōchakumin* 漂着民). Although we see records of both, tales of *hyōryūmin* are the most extensively documented during the Edo period.²⁵ By implication, a vast majority of Japanese scholarly work on *hyōryūki* focuses on *hyōryūmin*. The earliest castaway narratives and the use of the term *hyōryū* 漂流 (to drift) are found in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicles of Japan, 720) and these depict the hardships of the return of emissaries from Koma 高麗 (also Kōrai, Kr. Goryeo) in the year 570.²⁶ Other accounts, such as the *Matsura no miya monogatari* 松浦宮物語 (The Tale of the Matsura Palace, ca. twelfth century), ascribed to Fujiwara no Teika (1162–1241), highlight the experience of a heroic figure from the Japanese archipelago (in particular, from Yamato Province) overseas (in this case, to

²³ Katherine Plummer, *The Shogun's Reluctant Ambassadors: Japanese Sea Drifters in the North Pacific* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1991), xv.

²⁴ Plummer, *The Shogun's Reluctant Ambassadors*, 12.

²⁵ Michael S. Wood, "Literary Subjects Adrift: A Cultural History of Early Modern Japanese Castaway Narratives, ca. 1780–1880" (Ph.D. diss, University of Oregon, 2009), 25.

²⁶ "The emissaries from Koma, in pain due to the wind and the big waves, went astray, losing any sight of the port. They entrusted themselves to the waters and drifted; and arrived at coast by chance."

(高麗使人、辛=苦風浪、迷失=浦津。任=水漂流、忽到=着岸-) Kojima Noriyuki, ed., *Nihon shoki* 2, *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 3 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2004), 456.

the Tang China), a trope that would continue as an enduring presence in *hyōryūki* of the Edo period.²⁷

The number of shipwrecks or ships that drifted in the Edo period was significant compared to previous periods; Ikeuchi registers 204 cases between 1612 and 1868.²⁸ The main causes of castaways in the Edo period are attributed to the marine current Kuroshio²⁹ and wind patterns (which made most shipwrecks occur in winter³⁰) as well as a ship construction designed for interior coastal trade.³¹ Until the Edo period, most castaways who drifted ended up stranded inside the Japanese archipelago, particularly the island of Hachijō, for which approximately two hundred cases are recorded, followed by forty cases in Qing territory, thirty-three in Joseon, thirteen in Luzon (the largest island of the Philippines in the extreme north), five in Russia,³² and five in North America.³³

Hyōryūki written before 1794 focused on the sojourns of Japanese castaways in neighbouring regions of the Asian continent, mostly Joseon and Ming and Qing China. The merchant sailor from the Ise Province Daikokuya Kōdayū 大黒屋光太夫 (1751–1828) was the first repatriate to be interrogated at length by the shogunate authorities regarding life in Western

²⁷ Wood, “Literary Subjects Adrift,” 15.

²⁸ Ikeuchi Satoshi, “Edo jidai ni nokosareta hyōryūki,” in *Zekkai no sekigaku* (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 2017), 270.

²⁹ Szípl, *Funaosa Nikki*, xvii.

³⁰ The strong winds of the winter originating in the northwest are called *ōnishikaze* 大西風 (strong winds of the west). See Kobayashi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki*, 53.

According to Kawai, 88 out of 147 cases of shipwrecks in the Edo period occurred between the tenth and twelfth months of the year. See Kawai Hikomitsu, *Nipponjin hyōryūki*, Gendai kyōiku bunko 598 (Tokyo: Shakai Shisōsha, 1967), 309.

³¹ The most common cargo ship in the Edo period was the *Sengoku-bune* 千石船 (also known as *benzaizen* 弁才船) and had a capacity of one thousand *koku* of rice (approximately 180 metric tons). See Plummer, *The Shogun’s Reluctant Ambassadors*, 9.

³² Ikeuchi, “Edo jidai ni nokosareta hyōryūki,” 273.

³³ Kobayashi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki*, 101.

countries.³⁴ Starting with the repatriation of this merchant sailor from Russia in 1792, the end of the eighteenth century was a turning point in the history of *hyōryūki*, with the narrative focus of such tales shifting from Asia to Russia and the American continent.³⁵ The chances of being rescued by North American and European vessels increased during the early nineteenth century due to a growing market with Qing territory and the discovery of whales in the seas of the north and east coasts of Japan, which increased the number of North American and European ships in Japan's vicinity.³⁶ There are thirty-six registered rescue cases by North American and European ships from 1806 until 1868. Twenty-five were from the United States, followed by five English ships, two Dutch, two Spanish, one French, and one German.³⁷

Among all these accounts, the best-known castaway story of the Edo period is that of Nakahama Manjirō, a fisherman from the Tosa Province (present Kōchi Prefecture) rescued by a whaling vessel from the United States and taken to the United States in 1844.³⁸ Different texts were produced from his story, one of them being Yoshida Bunji's *Hyōkaku kidan* 漂客奇談 (A Remarkable Story of a Castaway, manuscript, 1854), copies of which are stored in Rare Books and Special Collections at UBC. Other relevant *hyōryūki* in possession of UBC are Ōtsuki Gentaku's 大槻玄沢 (1757–1827) *Kankai ibun* 環海異聞 (Exotic Tales of a Voyage around the World, manuscript, 1807) and Maekawa Shūkō's (1801–1854) *Amerika shinwa*, the main subject of this study. All these examples describe experiences of castaways in “Western” territories and

³⁴ Plummer, *The Shogun's Reluctant Ambassadors*, 23.

³⁵ Wood, “Literary Subjects Adrift,” 17.

³⁶ Plummer, *The Shogun's Reluctant Ambassadors*, 25.

³⁷ Ikeuchi, “Edojidai ni nokosareta Hyōryūki,” 273.

³⁸ Szippel, *Funaosa Nikki*, xvi.

reflect the influence of Western European nations and the United States within the Pacific from the eighteenth century onwards.

The question of whether *hyōryūki* are historical documents or literary works has long been debated among scholars. While Kobayashi asserts that the classification of literature is contingent upon an audience found outside the bakufu officers,³⁹ Michael Wood believes that a *hyōryūki* becomes literary when narrative strategies such as anticipation and dramatic exaggeration are used.⁴⁰ As an example of the use of anticipation and exaggeration, in *Funaosa nikki* there is a passage in which Jūkichi performs a paper divination (*kamikuji* 紙龜) ritual to ask about the future rescue of his ship.

He prepared to divine the future again, this time writing the months from January to December on the slips of paper. Then he drew two slips. They said “January” [*shōgatsu*, the first month according to the Japanese traditional lunisolar calendar] and “February” [*nigatsu*, the second month according to the lunisolar calendar]. Next Jūkichi prayed to the gods: “Please tell me the date on which I will be saved,” and wrote the dates from New Year’s Day to the end of February [second month] on slips of paper. He drew two slips. On them were written: “January [first month] 27” and “January [first month] 28.” Jūkichi was overjoyed at the result, telling himself: “Just a little more patience!” Then he performed one last divination, writing the points of the compass on the slips of paper to determine the direction from which land would come into sight. The slip he drew said “northeast.”⁴¹

³⁹ Kobayashi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki*, 76.

⁴⁰ Wood, “Literary Subjects Adrift,” 127–32.

⁴¹ Szippel, *Funaosa Nikki*, 32.

(何月比にハ助り侍らんやと、紙鬩正月より十二月迄書て伺ひしに、正月廿七日
正月廿八と二ツ付たり。又夜も有事にし侍れハ、覚悟すへし日をしらしめたまへ
とて、正月二月六十日の鬩を取に、正月廿七日正月廿八日二ツ附けれハ、もはや
わづかのしんほう也と先〔幸〕よろこび、扱又何方に山を見付侍んやと、方角の
鬩を取けれハ、丑寅の方と出る)⁴²

Here we find an emphasis on Jūkichi's emotions through the usage of the hyperbolic expression
“overjoyed” (*sakiyorokobi* 先よろこび) and his self-encouraging inner monologue in the form
of the phrase “Just a little more patience!” (*mohaya wazuka no shinhō nari* もはやわづかのし
んほう也). The description of Jūkichi writing the dates on the divination papers offers an
anticipation of what is going to happen a few lines after.

The oracle had been proven true, and Jūkichi thanked the gods for their protection.

Jūkichi's first impulse was to tell the other two men, but thought better of it, reasoning
that the news might too much of a surprise and paralyze them shock.⁴³

(出し事なれハ、いとかたしけなくて、やかて二人の者へもいひ聞きんと思ひし
が、中々に早腰をぬかしてハあしかりなんと、一人色々用意をそしける)⁴⁴

While we cannot know whether Jūkichi actually performed the paper divination with these exact
dates written, the author and editor Ikeda Hirochika skillfully employs the technique of surprise
by the foreshadowing of events as a way to keep the reader interested in the narrative.

⁴² Murase Masayuki, ed., *Ikeda Hirochika jihitsubon “Funaosa nikki”: Tokujōmaru hyōryūki o yomu* (Tokyo: Naruyamadō Shoten, 2005), 51.

⁴³ Szippel, *Funaosa Nikki*, 33.

⁴⁴ Murase, *Ikeda Hirochika jihitsubon “Funaosa nikki,”* 52.

Hyōryūki are, in short, historically and literally valuable texts for their content and style. They contributed not only to expanding the knowledge of foreign lands but, by implication, to the national perception of what it meant to be “Japanese.”⁴⁵ At the same time, they offered a form of entertainment to their readers, primarily the shogun, feudal lords, and the scholars related to them.

2.2 Historical classifications

2.2.1 Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 2, section 1, the earliest use of the Sinitic term *hyōryū* 漂流 (to drift) is found in the *Nihon shoki*. However, use of the term *hyōryū* does not become more pervasive in Japan until the dissemination of the Sinitic text from Joseon, *Haedong jegukgi* 海東諸國紀 (J. *Kaitō shokokki*, Chronicles of Countries of the Eastern Sea, 1471, printed by the Joseon government in 1512) by Shin Suk-ju 申叔舟 (1417–1475).⁴⁶ From the first half of the seventeenth century, the term *hyōryūki* 漂流記 or *hyōryūtan* 漂流譚 appears in the titles of many texts, including *kawaraban* prints, shrine plaques (*ema* 絵馬), and kabuki plays.⁴⁷ Yet what Meiji-era scholars categorized as *hyōryūki* and compiled into anthologies of such narratives were the records of castaways’ testimonies and their derivative texts (*hensanbutsu* or edited texts) written by intellectuals of the Edo period.

The historian Kobayashi Shigefumi posits four different types of *hyōryūki*, based on the degree of proximity to the castaway’s narrative. According to Kobayashi’s scale, the most

⁴⁵ Kobayashi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki*, 287.

⁴⁶ Wood, “Literary Subjects Adrift,” 22.

⁴⁷ Wood, 355.

historically important *hyōryūki* are those written directly by castaways, along with records of their oral accounts. Next are documents explaining the castaways' direct experiences, written by scholars not related to the government. Last are tales compiled under bakufu or domain orders.⁴⁸ These degrees of proximity should be considered when analyzing their historical relevance or their purported “veracity.”

The following subsections will address other means of categorizing *hyōryūki*, based on authorship. These categories are adopted by both Kobayashi and Wood, and include accounts written by Edo officials (known as *kikigaki*), those produced directly by castaways (*tegaki*), and works compiled by scholars (*hensanbutsu*).

2.2.2 *Kuchigaki* (direct accounts)

Japanese castaways were interrogated immediately after their return to the Japanese archipelago, and the records of these interrogations were written at magistrate's offices (*bugyōsho* 奉行所) located in the ports of Nagasaki, Matsumae, Satsuma and Tsushima, and later in the offices in the provinces of the castaway.⁴⁹ The castaways were imprisoned in a building called an *agariya* 揚屋, which was usually primarily used for dissident samurai. Once castaways had been taken in for interrogation, they were ordered to step on Christian images (*fumi-e* 踏み絵) to demonstrate that they had not converted to Christianity.⁵⁰

Scholars describe the common attitude of the officials towards castaways as cruel—those who returned to the Japanese archipelago were treated as criminals and not permitted to see their

⁴⁸ Kobayashi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki*, 119.

⁴⁹ Ikeuchi, “Edo jidai ni nokosareta hyōryūki,” 271.

⁵⁰ Kawai, *Nipponjin hyōryūki*, 168.

families,⁵¹ most having to wait six months to a year before they were allowed to return to their hometowns.⁵² This stringent attitude from the officials is explained in a testimonial record from a castaway from Osaka who drifted into Qing territory, including a passage stating, “They examined my body, and, on top of that, they inspected and examined my scrotum” (軀を改め、その上にて陰囊までさぐり改め候).⁵³

The records of interrogations that took place in the *agariya* were referred to as *kuchigaki* (also known as *kōjō* 口上 or *kōjōsho* 口上書).⁵⁴ *Kuchigaki* were forbidden from being circulated but many copies were produced in secret.⁵⁵

There exist two types of *kuchigaki*: those in question-answer form (*mondō keishiki* 問答形式) and those in testimony form (*kyōjutsusho keishiki* 供述書形式). While extant question-answer-style *kuchigaki* are rare, those in testimony form are abundant.⁵⁶ Both types are mostly written in *sōrōbun* 候文 (a formal written style used for official documents) and testimonies are narrated in the first person.

The titles of *kuchigaki* are conspicuously long and descriptive, such as *Matsumae bugyō shihai shirabeyaku shita Murakami teisuke, Etorofu-tō tsumeai nite, hyōryūjin Jūkichi aitadashi-sōrō kuchigaki no oboe* 松前奉行支配調役下村上貞助、エトロフ島詰合にて、漂流人重吉相糺候口書の覚 (Notes on the Interrogation of the Castaway Jūkichi during the Meeting in the

⁵¹ Kawai, 170.

⁵² Kobayashi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki*, 120.

⁵³ Cited in Kawai, *Nipponjin hyōryūki*, 168.

⁵⁴ Kobayashi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki*, 120.

⁵⁵ Kawai, *Nipponjin hyōryūki*, 221.

⁵⁶ Okada Kesao, “‘Rangaku-kei bungaku’ no aru asupekuto: ‘Hokusa bunryaku’ soshite ‘Kankai ibun,’” *Nihon bungaku* 30, no. 1 (1981): 62.

Island of Etorofu, by official interrogator Murakami Teisuke, 1822)⁵⁷ and *Kansei mujintō hyōmin Uraga bansho kuchigaki* 寛政無人島漂流民浦賀番所口書 (Testimonial of the Kansei Era at the Uraga Guardhouse of a Castaway to a Desert Island, 1797).⁵⁸ Apart from the term *kuchigaki* and *kōjō* (or *kōjōsho*), the titles also sometimes end with the expressions *–no koto* 之事 (about –), *–hyōryū no shidai* 漂流之次第 (circumstances of drifting), *–oboe* 覚 or *–oboegaki* 覚書 (memorandum), and *–aramashi* 荒猿 (summary).⁵⁹

The government officials usually questioned the castaway based on a set of predetermined queries, including, what was the identity of the castaways? What kind of journey did they undertake? Which conditions caused the ship to go off-route or wreck? What was their experience overseas like? How was the process of their return? Interrogators would ask the returnee whether they had converted to Christianity, if they were carrying weapons after their return, and whether they had conducted business overseas.⁶⁰ When castaways returned with foreign objects with them, these were inspected and listed at the end of the document.⁶¹

Although *kuchigaki* are represented as records of the direct words of the castaways, we can imagine that fear of punishment would have shaped the oral narratives of these travellers, and that they would have exercised caution in representing religious interactions so as not to appear to be Christian converts.⁶²

⁵⁷ Yamashita, *Edo hyōryūki sōshū*, vol. 4, 206–7.

⁵⁸ Ikeuchi, “Edo jidai ni nokosareta hyōryūki,” 274.

⁵⁹ Okada, “‘Rangaku-kei bungaku’ no aru asupekuto,” 62.

⁶⁰ Kawai, *Nipponjin hyōryūki*, 168.

⁶¹ Okada, “‘Rangaku-kei bungaku’ no aru asupekuto,” 62.

⁶² Kobayashi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki*, 151.

Kuchigaki were usually recorded twice over, first at the initial port of arrival after the castaway's return to the Japanese archipelago, and second, during an interrogation with the feudal lord of their respective province. It was customary to send the first *kuchigaki* to the feudal lord of the castaway's province. As a result, the second *kuchigaki* was often virtually identical in content to the first.⁶³

Kuchigaki are thus the first testimonies registered in the Japanese archipelago of returning castaways. Although they offer valuable information about the castaway's experience overseas, they are subject to limitation in style and content due to pre-established questions, textual formality, the ideological intentions of the interrogations, and the fear of the castaways of being chastised.

2.2.3 *Tegaki* (self-written accounts)

Self-written castaway accounts or *tegaki* 手書 are extremely rare, not only due to the lack of literacy of the shipwrecked but also because of the prohibition of spreading any information about their stay overseas.⁶⁴ Due to the limited literacy of the authors of extant works, the texts tend to be short and stylistically inconsistent.

There are scarce examples of purported *tegaki* known thus far. Ikeuchi posits three texts in this category. The earliest one is *Dattan hyōryūki*, also known as *Ikoku monogatari* 異国物語 (A Tale of a Foreign Land, manuscript, 1644), which narrates the story of castaways staying in northern Qing territory. The next is *Doshūjin Chōhei hyōryū nikki* 土州人長平漂流日記 (The Diary of the Shipwreck of Chōhei of Tosa, 1785) containing the narrative of a sailor from Tosa

⁶³ Kawai, *Nipponjin hyōryūki*, 221.

⁶⁴ Plummer, *The Shogun's Reluctant Ambassadors*, 8–12.

Province who drifted to Hachijō Island.⁶⁵ The third is *Hyōryūki* 漂流記 (A Castaway Record, manuscript, 1850), by Hamada Hikoō 浜田彦蔵 (1837–1897), who was known in the United States as Joseph Heco. Although these texts are written in the first person, and there is no reference to editors, their elaborate style suggests editorial interventions. In the case of Hamada Hikoō's *Hyōryūki*, the Preface asserts that in writing the text he was assisted by a friend, who is believed to be the journalist and businessperson Kishida Ginkō 岸田吟香 (1833–1905).⁶⁶ Based on the evidence of stylistic assistance, these texts should perhaps not be considered *tegaki* in the strictest sense of self-authored works.

While they are not formal narrative texts, the closest examples of *tegaki* in terms of texts directly written by castaways are two letters by Jusaburō 寿三郎 (1813–1853) and 庄蔵 Shōzō (1810–unknown), two Japanese castaways from the Higo Province who drifted ashore to the Philippines in 1835. In 1837, the American trade ship they had boarded along with five other Japanese castaways from different provinces, the *Morrison*, was bombarded by the military authorities on the Uraga coast, making their return to Japan impossible. Both eventually wrote two letters to the Nagasaki's magistrate's office requesting permission to go back to their homeland. The letters arrived in Nagasaki five years later (1841) via the German protestant evangelist Karl Gützlaff (1803–1851), who had received it from both castaways during their stay in Macao. Intriguingly, Hatsutarō, the protagonist of *Amerika shinwa*, also had the chance to

⁶⁵ Ikeuchi, "Edo jidai ni nokosareta hyōryūki," 274.

⁶⁶ Kobayashi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki*, 205.

meet these two castaways when he visited Macao in 1843, according to a passage found in *Amerika shinwa*.⁶⁷

The letters of Jusaburō and Shōzō describe the hardships and uncertainties of their shipwreck, their sorrow due to the bombing of their ship by Americans, and the hopes of reuniting with their family.⁶⁸ Both letters combine formal style with occasional grammatical errors (e.g., カヘリタクコト)⁶⁹ and vernacular style (e.g., どこ^{われわれ}のいづくにきたやら).⁷⁰ While Shōzō's account combines hiragana and kanji, Jusaburō's is written almost entirely in katakana, mostly in a phonetic orthography (e.g., ワ for the particle ハ, ソロ for サウラフ).⁷¹ This style suggests the castaways' limited literacy and hints that the letters may have indeed been written by the castaways themselves.

Another work that could be treated as *tegaki* is the *Hyōryū shimatsu-ki* 漂流始末記 (A Record of the Course of Drifting Events, manuscript, date unknown), attributed to Zensuke, captain of the *Eijūmaru* and companion of Hatsutarō, a sailor from the Awa domain and the protagonist of *Amerika shinwa*. The *Hyōryū shimatsu-ki* is unusual in being formatted as a hanging scroll and written horizontally using Japanese and Latin script. At the end of the text,

⁶⁷ “There were three people from Kawajiri in Higo Province, Shōzō, Jusaburō, and Kumatarō; all in the same place” (肥後の国川尻のもの、庄蔵、寿三郎、熊太郎と云三人皆一所に居たり). Maekawa, *Amerika shinwa*, Book 1, fol. 29r.

⁶⁸ Yamashita, *Edo hyōryūki sōshū*, vol. 4, 202–24.

⁶⁹ “My desire to return to my country cannot be compared to [is not smaller than] either the mountains or the sea” (ワタクシ、ワガクニエ、カヘリタクコト、ウミヤマニモ、タトエラエズ). Yamashita, *Edo hyōryūki sōshū*, vol. 4, 211. The technically correct grammatical construction would be “カヘリタキコト.”

⁷⁰ “We wondered where we had arrived” (我どもどこ^{われわれ}のいづくにきたやら、おもいまはし). Here, the interrogative pronoun “where” is repeated both in informal (*doko* どこ) and formal (*izuku* いづく) registers. Yamashita, *Edo hyōryūki sōshū*, vol. 4, 218.

⁷¹ Yamashita, vol. 4, 211.

authorship is noted in both scripts as follows: “‘Suzamihura yensque Caqu” (*Susami-ura Zensuke kaku*) 周参見浦 善助書.⁷²

An interesting characteristic of this text is that the use of *rōmaji* ローマ字 (Latin characters) appears to have been influenced by Spanish orthography (e.g., *jodo* for *hodo* 程; *llunichi* for *jūnichi* 十日, and *huchi* for *uchi* 内, see Figure 1). This orthographic form is exceptional since in the 1840s knowledge of Spanish was limited and *rōmaji* was mainly used as a script for Dutch words. The style of the Japanese graphs also suggests that the *Hyōryū shimatsu-ki* may have been written by Zensuke himself. The irregularly sized and spaced kanji graphs; short, simple sentences; and lack of any use of cursive suggest a limited level of education and literacy. Like Jusaburō’s letter, Zensuke’s *Hyōryū shimatsu-ki* employs *kana* phonetically, like that of Jusaburō’s letter (e.g., 漂イ for 漂ヒ, エ for the particle へ, see Figure 1).

⁷² Zensuke, *Hyōryū shimatsu-ki*, n.d., Waseda University Library, call no. ル 02 03394.

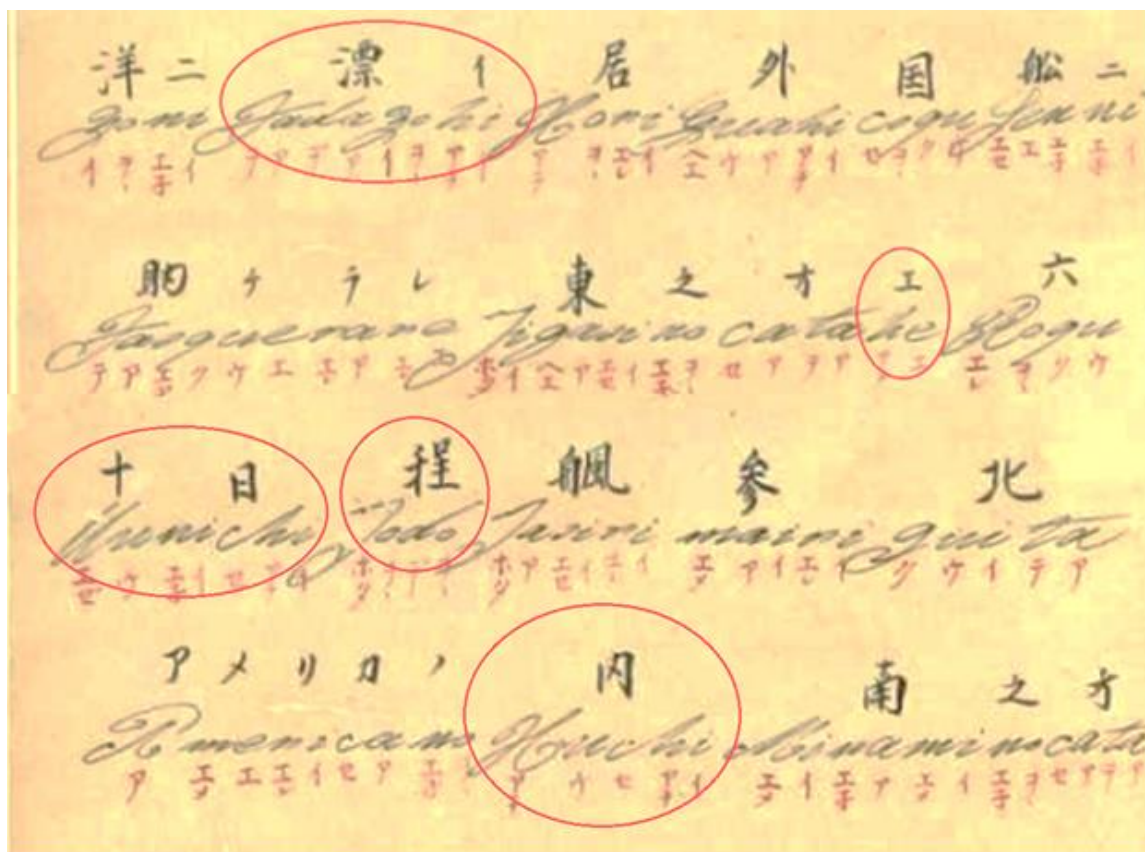


Figure 1. Hyōryū shimatsu-ki, detail (ovals added). Courtesy of Waseda University Library.

“Yo ni Tadayohi Hori Guahi Coqu Sen ni Tasquerare Jigasi no cata he Roqu Ilunichi jodo jasiri mairi quita
America no Huchi Minami no cata 洋ニ漂イ居外国船ニ助ケラレ東之方エ六十日程颯参北アメリカの
内南之方”

(After being carried away in the ocean, a foreign ship rescued us. After it sailed for sixty days towards the
East, [they made us disembark] in the south of America.)

As seen in this section, castaway narratives deemed to be *tegaki* are scarce and many appear to have been subjected to editorial interventions by others. One way to determine whether such texts were written directly by the castaway is to consider stylistic aspects such as the phonetic

orthography and grammatical inconsistencies found in the texts attributed to Jusaburō, Shōzō, and Zensuke.

2.2.4 *Hensanbutsu* (edited accounts)

Hensanbutsu 編纂物 are castaway stories edited by scholars. They usually include the narrative of the period of drifting and a separate section with information about the geography, flora, fauna, language, and people encountered. Edited *hyōryūki* are also complemented by illustrations, Literary Sinitic poetry and prose (*kanshibun* 漢詩文), and classical Japanese style writing (*wabun* 和文).⁷³ The titles of works categorized as *hensanbutsu* include ending words that imply the concept of something heard or narrated, such as *-bunryaku* 聞略 (summary of something heard), *-kibun* 紀聞 (record of something heard), *-ibun* 異聞 (strange story heard), *-tan* 譚 (story), *-monogatari* 物語 (tale), *-kidan* 奇談 (remarkable story), *-nikki* 日記 (journal), among others.⁷⁴

The editors of these *hyōryūki* were mostly scholars deeply associated with the bakufu. In many cases, a daimyo would commission a scholar to write the text, or the text might be presented by a scholar to a feudal lord as a present. For example, Kaku Sukeyuki's 賀来佐之 (1799–1857) *Meshiko shinwa* 墨是可新話 (New Stories about Mexico, 1845) was offered to the lord of the Shimabara domain, Matsudaira Tadanari 松平忠誠 (1824–1847),⁷⁵ while Katsuragawa Hoshū's 桂川甫周 (1751–1809) *Hokusa bunryaku* 北槎聞略 (Abridged Story of a

⁷³ Murase, *Ikeda Hirochika jihitsubon* “Funaosa nikki,” 7.

⁷⁴ Wood, “Literary Subjects Adrift,” 102.

⁷⁵ Kobayashi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki*, 199.

Raft in the North, 1794) was gifted to the shogun Tokugawa Ienari 徳川家斉 (1773–1841).⁷⁶

The editors were usually scholars related to Rangaku (“Dutch Learning,” including doctors such as Ōtsuki Gentaku, the editor of *Kankai ibun*), immersed in Neo-Confucianist studies or Zhu Xi Studies (such as Maekawa Shūkō, author of *Amerika shinwa*), and well versed in Kokugaku (“National Learning,” like Katsuragawa Hoshū, author of *Hokusa bunryaku*). Thus, it is not uncommon to find that the vocabulary lists and content describing the foreign lands the castaway visited are organized systematically resembling the encyclopedias of the time, such as Terajima Ryōan’s 寺島良安 (1654–unknown) *Wakan sansai zue*.⁷⁷ The objective of the scholarly part of these texts was to provide the lord of the domain or the shogun with valuable foreign information.⁷⁸ The scholars elaborated their texts after listening to the interrogations undertaken in the magistrate offices, or reading *kuchigaki* records, or holding private meetings with the castaways. For instance, the essay *Wagakoromo* 我衣 (My Robe, 1815) was written by Katō Ebian 加藤曳尾庵 (1763–unknown) after interviewing Daikokuya Kōdayū,⁷⁹ with additional information woven into the text after Katō consulted other *hyōryūki* and Rangaku texts. Among influential scholarly works on *hyōryūki*, there is the Ming-era Sinitic translation of a world map by Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), *Kunyu wanguo quantu* 坤輿萬國全圖 (J. *Kon’yo bankoku zenzu*, Compilation of Images of All the Countries of the World, Beijing: publisher not indicated, 1602), which is cited in the Literary Sinitic account of Hatsutarō’s tale, *Aboku chikushi* 亜墨竹枝 (A Song about the People from America, no location indicated: Gakuhandōzō, 1846). Another

⁷⁶ Kawai, *Nipponjin hyōryūki*, 234.

⁷⁷ Wood, “Literary Subjects Adrift,” 279.

⁷⁸ Kobayashi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki*, 239.

⁷⁹ Kobayashi, 198.

example is the topographic treatise (*chishi* 地誌) *Kon'yo zushiki* 坤輿図識 (Illustrations and Explanations of the World, Edo: Okadaya, 1845), which appears as a reference in the *hyōryūki* known as *Tōkō kibun* 東航紀聞 (A Story of a Navigation to the East, manuscript, 1850).⁸⁰ In the case of *Amerika shinwa*, we find references to two topographic treatises: the *Kunyu tushuo* 坤輿圖說 (Illustrated Explanation of the World, J. *Kon'yo zusetsu*, no location or publisher indicated, 1674), which was compiled by the Jesuit missionary Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688), and the topographic work about America, *Shin'u shōshiki* 新宇少識 (Small Knowledge about the New World, no location or publisher indicated, 1816) by Abe Ryūhei 安部竜平 (1784–1850).⁸¹ Castaway narratives tend to be constructed in reported speech, some aspects of which may be seen as echoing tale literature (*monogatari bungaku*), including expressions conveying “they said” (といふ、とぞ、となり、由なり),⁸² which suggest the oral nature of the testimony on which the narrative is based.⁸³ Castaway narratives include interspersed comments by the author which are distinguished by indentations (*nijisage* 二次下げ),⁸⁴ marginalia, and writing in a smaller script. These comments sometimes reference other works and may affirm or contradict what the castaway says.

Until the end of the eighteenth century, *hyōryūki* focused on castaways in regions surrounding the Japanese archipelago, in particular the Korean peninsula, Ming and Qing territories, and the Philippines. Katsuragawa Hoshū's *Hokusa bunryaku* is the first edited

⁸⁰ Kobayashi, 227–28.

⁸¹ Maekawa Shūkō and Sakai Sadateru, *Amerika shinwa* (University of British Columbia, 1844), Book 3, fol. 1r.

⁸² Okada, “‘Rangaku-kei bungaku’ no aru asupekuto,” 64.

⁸³ Wood, “Literary Subjects Adrift,” 178.

⁸⁴ Wood, 228.

hyōryūki describing time spent by a Japanese citizen in a European nation, and it is considered the most influential for scholarly authors and editors in the production of later *hyōryūki*, both in style and structure. It tells the narrative of the sailor Daikokuya Kōdayū landing in Russia in the year 1782, and it includes a section describing Russian natural objects (minerals, birds, plants, beasts) and proto-ethnographic depictions (food and drink, taxes, coins, chess, etc.), as well as a vocabulary of the Russian language. Later *hyōryūki* would use the *Hokusa bunryaku* as a model for their narrative style and organization of the content.⁸⁵ Katsuragawa's *Hokusa bunryaku* also inspired some topoi commonly found in later narratives, including dramatic depictions of sailors cutting their hair for ritual purposes or praying to the deity of the ship along with myriad *kami* and Buddhist deities.⁸⁶

As works that were meticulously produced with colour illustrations, thematic descriptions, and vocabulary lists, edited *hyōryūki* were potentially interesting for a vast number of readers,⁸⁷ but due to the ban on the dissemination of foreign information, these edited *hyōryūki* mainly circulated in manuscript form. Scholarly research has revealed only eight *hyōryūki* printed in the Edo period.⁸⁸ Since the castaway's experience beyond the archipelago of Japan was not permitted to be disseminated, some authors adopted various strategies to ensure their works were printed and distributed. For example, Aoki Akikatsu 青木興勝 (1762–1812),

⁸⁵ Wood, 141.

⁸⁶ Okada, “‘Rangaku-kei bungaku’ no aru asupekuto,” 64.

⁸⁷ Evidence of a wider interest in *hyōryūki* can be seen in by the number of copies that were in circulation and are still extant. Some texts are currently represented by two hundred extant copies. Kobayashi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki*, 192.

⁸⁸ These texts are *Kan'ei hyōryūki* 寛永漂流記 (A Castaway Record of the Kan'ei Era, 1704–1716), *Nanpyōki* 南瓢記 (A Story of Drifting to the South, 1798), *Nankai kibun* 南海紀聞 (Records of the Southern Sea, ca. 1820), *Aboku chikushi* 亜墨竹枝 (A Song about the People from America, 1846), *Manjirō hyōryūki* 満次郎漂流記 (Manjirō's Castaway Record, 1853), *Kaigai ibun* 海外異聞 (A Strange Tale from Overseas, 1854), and *Hyōryūki* 漂流記 (Castaway Record, 1863). See Kobayashi, 202–5.

author of *Nankai kibun*, purportedly claimed that he would distribute only ten copies among his peers, despite having used premodern movable type (*kokatsuji* 古活字) to produce the work. Perhaps as a precautionary measure, the author and preface of *Kaigai ibun* are omitted from the woodblock print run, while *Nanpyōki*'s author Shihōken Seishi 枝芳軒静之 (dates unknown) claimed that his story was inspired by a dream.⁸⁹

Edited *hyōryūki* were thus carefully planned scholarly texts aimed at private consumption by ruling elites. Following the production of *Hokusa bunryaku*, the *hyōryūki* narratives tended to be presented in the style of reported speech, in a manner somewhat similar to tale literature, and they often included extranarrative thematic explanations about geography, plants, animals, people, and artifacts from the land visited, inspired by influential encyclopedias of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

2.3 Conclusion: The contributions of *hyōryūki* to historical and literary studies

The recurrence of drifting vessels and shipwrecks caused by ship construction and natural phenomena during the Edo period resulted in the production of a vast number of castaway stories. Prohibitions on the dissemination of information from outside Japan limited the circulation of *hyōryūki* to elite scholars and officials serving the bakufu, who secretly borrowed and copied them.

Classifying Edo-period *hyōryūki* may be challenging, but compilations from the Meiji period have contributed to the establishment of canonical texts and subgenres, and thus today *hyōryūki* are categorized as *kuchigaki* (direct accounts), *tegaki* (self-written accounts), and *hensanbutsu* (edited accounts). As official records more rigid in style and content which were

⁸⁹ Kawai, *Nipponjin hyōryūki*, 240.

produced through interrogation, *kuchigaki* offered the first written source of information about Japanese castaways who had returned; these records were then often copied. The few examples of extant texts authored by castaways themselves—including letters—which were known as *tegaki*, show the humble identity of most castaways and can be understood as the most direct account of their experiences. Moreover, edited *hyōryūki* (known as *hensanbutsu*) provided a new kind of narrative in this genre similar to tales (*monogatari*) and intertwined with comments by the editor that highlight the scholarly network of knowledge rooted in Sinitic and Rangaku texts.

Hyōryūki texts contributed not only to the creation of a narrative genre but also to the production of new knowledge that was seen as useful for the ruling elites of the Bakumatsu period in their interactions with European and North American nations during the “opening of the country” (*kaikoku* 開国). Thus, Edo-period *hyōryūki* proved to be valuable references as historical documents while also helping to produce a new kind of literature, the significance of which has been largely overlooked by conventional historians and researchers of literature.

Chapter 3 will explore the UBC *Amerika shinwa* manuscript, focusing on its content, structure, related works, physical descriptions, circulation, and authorship in order to elucidate what makes the manuscript historically significant during the decades of the 1840s and 1850s within the Japanese archipelago.

Chapter 3: *Amerika shinwa* as a manuscript

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the content and structure of the manuscript *Amerika shinwa*, links *Amerika shinwa* to related works, offers a physical description of the UBC manuscript, and considers authorship and possible circulation when it was written. The purpose of this section is to answer the question of why the manuscript is historically important between the 1840s and 1850s in terms of both its content and circulation.

The *Amerika shinwa* (also read as *Aboku shinwa*) 亜墨新話 manuscript is a historically fascinating yet understudied work within the Japanese Maps of the Tokugawa Era collection stored in Rare Books and Special Collections on the Vancouver campus of UBC. Some copies of *Amerika shinwa* have the alternative titles *Amerika hyōryū shinwa* 亜墨漂流新話 (also read as *Aboku hyōryū shinwa*; New Tales about Drifting to America)⁹⁰ and *Meriken hyōryūki* 米利幹漂流記 (Record of Drifting to America).⁹¹

As the title implies, when *Amerika shinwa* was produced it was thought to hold the latest information about the American continent, even for the authorities in Nagasaki.⁹² Moreover, it appears to be the first text created in Japan with topographic descriptions of Mexico.⁹³ In fact, the arrival of the sailor Hatsutarō in Mexico offered the first contact between Japan and Mexico in 220 years.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ One copy of *Amerika hyōryū shinwa* or *Aboku hyōryū shinwa* is stored in the repository of the Shikoku University Library. See Ōta Tsuyoshi, “Inoue Shun’yō ‘Aboku chikushi yowa’ honkoku,” *Shikoku Daigaku kiyō* A, no. 41 (2013): 160, 175.

⁹¹ One copy of *Meriken hyōryūki* is held by the Waseda University Library under call no. ル 02 03081.

⁹² Ōta, “Inoue Shun’yō ‘Aboku chikushi yowa’ honkoku,” 31.

⁹³ Plummer, *The Shogun’s Reluctant Ambassadors*, 161.

⁹⁴ Ōta Tsuyoshi, “Inoue Shun’yō ‘Aboku chikushi’ kaisetsu,” *Ryōshō* 19, no. 2014–04 (2014): 31.

In regard to its structure, the first part of the text (Book 1 in the UBC manuscript copy) focuses on the drifting and shipwreck of the *Eijūmaru* 永住丸 (also written as *Eijumaru* 永寿丸), while the second part (Books 2 and 3) is made up of descriptions of different elements that Hatsutarō found in Mexico, divided into the following subjects: clothing (*fukushoku* 服飾), customs (*fūzoku* 風俗), ships (*shūsen* 舟船), amusements (*yūge* 遊戯), coinage (*kazai* 貨財), flora (*sōmoku* 草木), fauna (*kinjū* 禽獸), geography (*chikei* 地形), climate (*kikō* 氣候), people (*jinbutsu* 人物), language (*gongo* 言語), drink and food (*inshoku* 飲食), and housing (*kyoshitsu* 居室). Chapter 4 will focus on the flora and fauna sections found within the second part of *Amerika shinwa*. What characterizes these two sections is not only the topographic and proto-ethnographic details but also the explanations of the practical uses of objects and natural resources. As an example of the practical use of things, there is a description of coffee (*kōhī* 過稀) in the “Drink and food” section.

Inside the [coffee plant] case, there are two things resembling beans. [People] roast them and grind them into powder with a mortar, mix that with sugar, and drink it by making it a tea. Its fragrant taste greatly improves drinks and foods, strengthens the mood, clears the head, and heals colds, phlegm, malaria, dropsy, and dampness. It regulates menstruation, and cures various liver, stomach, and uterus diseases, among others. It effectively stops diarrhea and, moreover, does not cause constipation. Apart from that, it has many other good effects.

(殻の中に二ツの豆のごときものあり、是を炒て、銅の磨^{うす}にて挽き砕き、砂糖にまぜて、熱き湯に点じのむなり。味香ばしく、能^{よく}飲食を進め、心気を健^{すこやか}にし、

頭腦を軽くし、風邪痰咳、水腫湿気等を除き、軽水を通じ、肝胃、子宮等の諸病
を治し、能く瀉痢を止めて、しかも秘結せず。其外、功能多きものなるよし)⁹⁵

In this passage, the authors explain the way coffee is extracted and prepared while underscoring its medicinal effects. This explanation of the practical use of natural resources is present in a vast majority of sections. As I will explore further in Chapter 4, descriptions of plants and animals reflect the influence by *honzōgaku* 本草学 (materia medica)⁹⁶ encyclopedias, such as the *Bencao gangmu*.

Following the First Opium War in China (1839–1842), concerns of being attacked by Western European nations and the United States led to increased interest by Japanese authorities in the military technology of the American continent and thus in the objects we see depicted in *Amerika shinwa*.⁹⁷ The extreme detail found in the “Ships” (舟船 *shūsen*) section of *Amerika shinwa* contrasts with other sections. Technical descriptions on the ship structure and navigational and military capacities abound. For example, one part dedicates considerable attention to explaining steamships:

There is something called a “steamship (*kasen* 火船).” It is more than 40 *ken* (about 73 metres) long, and it is made entirely of iron. It has two huge iron wheels on both sides of the ship. Inside, there is a mechanism in which a big fire is lit to boil water. By the contact of this mechanism, the outer wheels are moved, paddling the water to make the

⁹⁵ *Amerika shinwa*, Book 3, fol. 22r.

⁹⁶ *Honzōgaku* was a Sinitic term that encompassed the investigation and classification of the medical properties of substances. See Daniel Trambaiolo, “The Languages of Medical Knowledge in Tokugawa Japan,” in Benjamin A. Elman, ed., *Rethinking East Asian Languages, Vernaculars, and Literacies, 1000–1919*, Sinica Leidensia 115 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014), 162.

⁹⁷ Ōta, “Inoue Shun’yō ‘Aboku chikushi yowa’ honkoku,” 31.

ship advance. When there are favourable winds, sails are placed. When the wind is contrary, it can run even with the sails lowered. It is fast like an arrow. It is said that in war, it is always used to send food provisions for soldiers and for (sending) emergency messages.

This section considers Qing vessels known within the Japanese archipelago and finds them to be lacking compared with European and American ships.

It is said that, for example, a ship from China (Morokoshi 唐土) and Japan (Nihon 日本) is truly like a child's toy compared to this [kind of vessel].

(唐土、日本の船などは、これに比すれば、誠に小児の戯れのごとしとかや)⁹⁸

Similarly, in the section on “Customs” (*fūzoku* 風俗) in Book 2, attention is also given to the description of military and weaponry assets, including illustrations of soldiers and a military formation.

For weapons, they only have long shotguns with a sword attached to them [bayonets?], and canons. They do not use bows and arrows, and while they have swords, they are mostly aimed at thrusting, not having especially anything to cut. Thus, it seems there is no one who knows the art of fencing. The shotgun's sword can be detached.

(武器は長き鉄炮の先きに剣を付たると、石火矢とのみにて、弓箭の類は用ひず。剣はあれども、突きばかりを主意として、格別切るゝふものに非ず。夫故、剣術といふことは、誰も知りたる様子にはなし。鉄炮の剣は、取りはづしに成やうにせり)⁹⁹

⁹⁸ *Amerika shinwa*, Book 2, fol. 20r.

⁹⁹ *Amerika shinwa*, Book 2, fol. 13v.

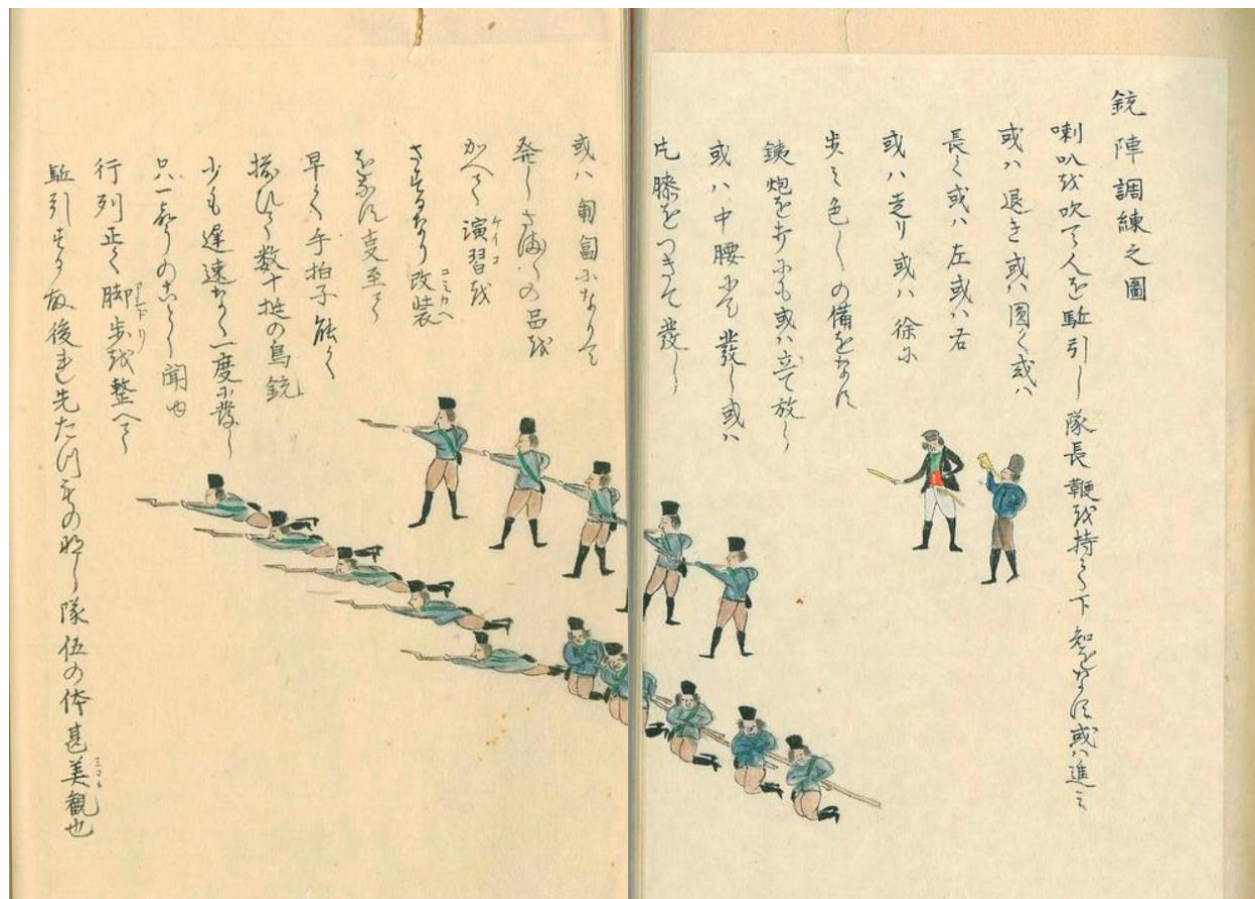


Figure 2. *Amerika shinwa*, Book 2. “Image of a military drill of fire-armed soldiers.”

Jūjin chōren no zu 銃陣調練之図 (Fol. 15r–15v). Courtesy of UBC Library.

These thorough descriptions of ships and soldiers allegedly found on Hatsutarō’s journey may suggest a particular interest of the authors Maekawa Shūkō and Sakai Sadateru in military assets. Moreover, the fact that the book is dedicated to the feudal lord of Tokushima reflects a possible interest from the bakufu in learning external military techniques. This rise of interest in foreign technology is ostensibly due to the recent aftermath of the First Opium War, in which the Qing

empire was defeated by the British Empire, and the subsequent concern by Japanese elites in national security.¹⁰⁰

The *Amerika shinwa* manuscript thus provides the castaway narrative and journey of Hatsutarō and categorized descriptions about geography, people, tools, and natural resources found in Mexico. Many of these depictions are accompanied by illustrations and are ostensibly aimed at a practical use.

3.2 A sailor adrift: The tale of Hatsutarō

Book 1 of the UBC manuscript of *Amerika shinwa* presents the narrative of the journey¹⁰¹ of Hatsutarō, a sailor from Awa, which can be summarized as follows.

On the eighteenth day of the ninth month of the twelfth year of Tenpō (1841), a group of thirteen sailors aboard the commercial ship *Eijūmaru*¹⁰² 永住丸 departed from Uraga 浦賀 (present Kanagawa Prefecture), bound for Ōshū.¹⁰³ However, due to strong winds, they were forced to change their route and stop at the harbour of Ajiro 網代,¹⁰⁴ in Izu Province.¹⁰⁵ Approximately two weeks later, they finally sailed from Ajiro and resumed their route toward Ōshū. After eight days, they were able to advance around six *ri* (about twenty-three kilometres)

¹⁰⁰ Rebekah Clements, *A Cultural History of Translation in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 181.

¹⁰¹ *Amerika shinwa*, Book 1, fol. 6r–38r.

¹⁰² The *Eijūmaru* (sometimes written as *Eijūmaru* 永寿丸) was property of the businessman Ihei 伊兵衛, from the Nakamura-ya 中村屋, in Settsu Province, Hyōgo Nishi-Miyauchi-chō 兵庫西宮内 (present Kobe city). It had a capacity of about 195 metric tons and was carrying sake, salt, sugar, incense, spun cotton, soybeans, and 900 kilograms of rice. It was a ship intended for the large scale sale of commodities within the southern part of Ōshū (present prefectures of Fukushima, Miyagi, Iwate, Aomori, and part of Akita). See Kawai, *Nipponjin hyōryūki*, 75.

¹⁰³ As mentioned in the previous note, Ōshū represents the present prefectures of Fukushima, Miyagi, Iwate, Aomori, and part of Akita.

¹⁰⁴ Present Ajiro Town (Ajiro-chō 網代町) in Atami City (Atami-shi), Shizuoka Prefecture.

¹⁰⁵ Present Shizuoka Prefecture.

until they reached the coast of Cape Inubō (Inubō-saki 犬吠埼),¹⁰⁶ in Shimōsa Province.¹⁰⁷

However, strong winds from the northwest pushed them toward the interior of the Pacific. As a result of the continuous winds, they went cast adrift for four months. In order to keep afloat, they were forced to gradually jettison much of their cargo. After approximately 120 days adrift, they were rescued by an armed Spanish ship called *Ensayo*.¹⁰⁸ Subsequently, the Spanish crew stole their cargo and violently forced the sailors from the *Eijūmaru* to work on the ship. After sixty days aboard, they arrived at San Lucas (Sanroka サンロカ) in Baja California (Baha Karuhoruniya バハカルホルニヤ), Mexico, and the Spanish crew decided to leave seven of the thirteen Japanese seamen on the shore.¹⁰⁹ After communicating with the locals using gestures, they were served food and offered a place to reside for two nights.

On the third day of their stay, they were taken on a boat and left ashore in San José del Cabo. There they encountered two of the other castaways from the *Eijūmaru* who had remained on the Spanish ship. Each of the Japanese sailors was taken in by a local, and Hatsutarō was forced to accompany a fifty-year-old bureaucrat known as Miguel Choza (Migeri Chosa ミゲリチョサ) to his house. Miguel Choza offered his hospitality to Hatsutarō in the hopes of marrying Hatsutarō to his daughter. Not keen to accept this offer, Hatsutarō continued to long for home and, after six months, convinced Miguel Choza to find a means of enabling passage to Japan.

¹⁰⁶ Located in Chōshi City (Chōshi-shi), Chiba Prefecture.

¹⁰⁷ Present southern parts of Chiba and Ibaragi Prefecture.

¹⁰⁸ The *Ensayo* (J. *ensāyo* エンサーヨ号 or *ensājo* エンサージョ) was 13 *ken* (about 24 metres) long, and it had departed from Manila for Mexico for smuggling purposes. It had a crew of 28 people, allegedly three Spanish (including the captain) and the rest from Manila. See Kawai, *Nipponjin hyōryūki*, 79; Plummer, *The Shogun's Reluctant Ambassadors*, 162; and Yoshikazu Sano, *Shinsekai e: sakoku Nihon kara hamideta Eijumaru no jūsannin* (Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1989), 6.

¹⁰⁹ Kobayashi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki*, 33.

Miguel Choza sought the help of his friend, Captain Berón, who helped Hatsutarō sail back to Japan along with Zensuke, the captain of the *Eijūmaru*.

Hatsutarō and Zensuke boarded the steamship *Berigante* ベリガンテ from Mazatlán bound for Macao, passing by Hawai‘i. When they arrived at Macao, the men running the ship obliged Hatsutarō to disembark alone, for unclear reasons. Hatsutarō stayed in Macao for ninety days and then boarded a Chinese vessel that stopped at Zhapu 乍浦,¹¹⁰ Amoy 廈門,¹¹¹ Ningbo 寧波,¹¹² and Hangzhou 杭州,¹¹³ and finally arrived at Nagasaki in the twelfth month of the fourteenth year of the Tenpō era (1844).

Later historians claim that after being kept by the authorities in Nagasaki for an interrogation, Hatsutarō received permission to return to Tokushima, in Awa Province (present Tokushima Prefecture). Upon arrival he was interrogated by the retired lord of the domain, Hachisuka Narimasa 蜂須賀斉昌 (1795–1859),¹¹⁴ who was accompanied by the current lord Hachisuka Narihiro 蜂須賀 斉裕 (1821–1868).¹¹⁵ In order to keep a record of the session, Hachisuka Narimasa ordered the attendance of the Confucian scholar Maekawa Shūkō.¹¹⁶ *Amerika shinwa*, which was originally divided into four separate books,¹¹⁷ is the result of these interrogations by Hachisuka Narimasa, which were recorded by Maekawa Shūkō and stylized further by Sakai Sadateru.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁰ Located in the north of present Zhejiang Province, China.

¹¹¹ Located in the southeast of present Fujian Province, China.

¹¹² Located in the northeast of present Zhejiang Province, China.

¹¹³ Located in northwestern part of present Zhejiang Province, China.

¹¹⁴ Sano, *Shinsekai e: sakoku Nihon kara hamideta Eijūmaru no jūsannin*, 8.

¹¹⁵ Oku Masayoshi, “Kanshibon ‘Kita Amerika zukan’ no hanashi,” *Gaidai Bibliotheca* 195 (January 2012): 12.

¹¹⁶ Kobayashi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki*, 207.

¹¹⁷ Ōta, “Inoue Shun’yō *Aboku chikushi yowa honkoku*,” 160.

¹¹⁸ Sano, *Shinsekai e: sakoku Nihon kara hamideta Eiju Maru no jūsannin*, 319.

Amerika shinwa, therefore, presents an extensive journey through the Pacific experienced by the sailor Hatsutarō, starting with the drifting and rescue of his ship, followed by his stay in Baja California, his stop in Qing territories, and finally, his repatriation via Nagasaki. After Hatsutarō's return to Awa, the scholar Maekawa Shūkō recorded the story based on the interrogation of Hatsutarō by domain authorities. *Amerika shinwa* was subsequently written with the help of Sakai Sadateru using this record of interrogation.

The next section will examine the trajectory of the production of *Amerika shinwa*, the number of copies and later publications of the text, and the peculiarities that make the UBC manuscript unique.

3.3 What is *Amerika shinwa*?

The Preface (*jo* 序) was written by the Confucian scholar Nawa Kigan 那波希顔 (dates unknown) and Saitō Korehiro 斎藤惟裕 (also known as Kansaku 寛作, dates unknown), who was the official who took charge of Hatsutarō in Nagasaki.¹¹⁹ The original text included illustrations by Morizumi Sadateru 守住定輝 (1809–1892), and was divided into four volumes, with the first two about Hatsutarō's story and the latter two containing descriptions of nature and the people Hatsutarō encountered in of Mexico.¹²⁰ After the composition of *Amerika shinwa*, Maekawa Shūkō offered the manuscript as a gift to the retired lord of the Tokushima domain Hachisuka Narimasa.¹²¹ An abridged, woodblock printed version (*hanpon* 版本) titled *Kaigai ibun* was anonymously published in 1854, and it has been termed the “pirated version of *Amerika*

¹¹⁹ Kawai, *Nipponjin hyōryūki*, 83.

¹²⁰ Plummer, *The Shogun's Reluctant Ambassadors*, 162–63.

¹²¹ Kobayashi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki*, 207.

shinwa” by contemporary scholars.¹²² The first transcribed (*honkoku* 翻刻) edition of *Amerika shinwa* appeared in the Meiji period and included only the castaway narrative without the encyclopedic descriptions. It was written by Ishii Kendo 石井研堂 (1865–1943) and published in 1900 in his *hyōryūki* compilation *Hyōryū kidan zenshū* 漂流奇談全集 (Compilation of Strange Castaway Stories). Another *honkoku* version was edited by Mishima Saiji 三島才二 (1876–1934) in *Nanban kibun-sen* 南蛮紀文選 (Anthology of Nanban [Western European, lit. “southern barbarian”] Records), 1926). This version also lacks the encyclopedic descriptions found in the second part of *Amerika shinwa*. In 1992, Yamashita Tsuneo 山下恒夫 (1939–2004) published the first complete transcription of the manuscript, based on the copy at the Seikadō Library (Seikaidō Bunko 静嘉堂文庫),¹²³ accompanied by commentary, within his examination of *hyōryūki* which were anthologized by Ishii Kendo between 1900 and 1926.¹²⁴

In regard to the number of Edo-period manuscripts of *Amerika shinwa*, the Database of the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books of the National Institute of Japanese Literature (*Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku dētabēsu* 国文学研究資料館 日本古典籍総合目録データベース) registers fourteen different copies in Japan, each one produced in a variety of number of volumes, ranging from one to seven.¹²⁵

¹²² Yamashita, *Edo hyōryūki sōshū*, vol. 4, 594.

¹²³ Yamashita, 598.

¹²⁴ Yamashita Tsuneo reexamines Ishii Kendo’s collections of Edo-period *hyōryūki* known as *Hyōryū kidan shū* 漂流奇談全集 (Compilation of Strange Castaway Stories, 1900) and *Ikoku hyōryū kidan shū* 異国漂流奇談集 (Compilation of Stories of Drifting to Other Countries, 1926). See Yamashita, *Edo hyōryūki sōshū*, vols. 1, 2.

¹²⁵ *Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku dētabēsu*, s.v. “亜墨新話” (*Aboku shinwa*), accessed August 6, 2022, Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan. http://dbrec.nijl.ac.jp/KTG_W_612475

Just as the multiple copies of *Amerika shinwa* found in Japan offer a spectrum of formats and differences in content, the manuscript of *Amerika shinwa* in the collection of Rare Books and Special Collections at UBC also differs from the purported first manuscript version¹²⁶ in some significant ways. First, it is divided into three books instead of four. Book One includes a Preface in Literary Sinitic (*kanbun*) and its body contains the story of Hatsutarō, while Books Two and Three offer geographical, natural, and human descriptions of Mexico along with a vocabulary list. What is unique compared to other manuscripts is the addition of a Literary Sinitic version of Hatsutarō’s tale, known as *Aboku chikushi* 亜墨竹枝 (A Song about the People from America, 1846), which was written by the same co-author (Maekawa Shūkō), with additions by Inoue Shun’yō (1812–1892). Following *Aboku chikushi* there is a brief Literary Sinitic text containing the story about the sailors of the *Kannonmaru* 観音丸. This story of the *Kannonmaru* sailors who drifted to the Luzon Island serves as the basis for the later *Ruson-koku hyōryūki* 呂宋国漂流記 (Records of the Drifting to Luzon, 1845), written by Ōtsuki Bankei. Hatsutarō and Zensuke had the chance to meet the *Kannonmaru* sailors in Chapu, and, according to Zensuke in *Tōkō kibun*, they also met by chance while the *Eijūmaru* was drifting on the Pacific.¹²⁷ Immediately following the *Kannonmaru*’s castaway narrative, there is a brief story of Hatsutarō’s journey as the ship drifted. At the end of the *Amerika shinwa* manuscript, there is an anonymous dedication, also in Literary Sinitic, which states: “Thus, this humble servant reports this information to his officer. I offer this draft for his reading.” (以上即チ伏侍人公司ニ報交ス、此草覽ニ呈ス)¹²⁸

¹²⁶ An early authoritative manuscript claimed to be the “original” according to Plummer in *The Shogun’s Reluctant Ambassadors*, 162–63.

¹²⁷ Yamashita, *Edo hyōryūki sōshū*, vol. 4, 602.

¹²⁸ *Amerika shinwa*, Book 3, fol. 40r.

Thus, *Amerika shinwa* was copied and presented in different formats, first as a manuscript divided into multiple volumes, followed in 1854 by an anonymously printed abridged version called *Kaigai ibun*, and from 1900 to 1996, as a modern transcribed version. What makes the UBC manuscript unique is the inclusion of three *kanbun* texts, two related to the shipwrecks of the Eijūmaru and Kannonmaru, and one as an anonymous dedication.

3.4 Related works

There exists an array of texts derived from the stories of the different castaways from the *Eijūmaru*, from testimonies (*kuchigaki*, e.g., *Eijūmaru hyōryū kuchigaki*) to longer and more edited texts (*hensanbutsu* such as *Meshiko shinwa*). This is likely because after the sailors returned, they had the opportunity to meet various scholars, or, in one case, to purportedly record the tale of their own experiences (e.g., *Hyōryū shimatsu-ki*). The list below describes all the Edo-period works known to date that contain the experiences of Hatsutarō and his boat companions.

Table 1. Works related to *Amerika shinwa* by date.

Title	Type of text	<i>Eijūmaru</i> sailors who appear in work
<i>Kita-Amerika zukan</i> 北亜墨利加図巻 (1844), by Ide Naoyuki 出直之	Illustrated scroll based on an interview with Hatsutarō	Hatsutarō
<i>Hyōryūnin Zensuke kikigaki</i> 漂流人善助聞書 (ca. 1845), author unknown	Testimony (<i>kuchigaki</i>)	Zensuke
<i>Kaigai iwa</i> 海外異話 (1846), author unknown	Edited <i>hyōryūki</i>	Inosuke 亥之助

<i>Aboku chikushi</i> 亜墨竹枝 (1846), by Maekawa Shūko, Inoue Shun'yō	Narrative <i>kanshi</i>	Hatsutarō
<i>Aboku chikushi yowa</i> 亜墨竹枝余話 (1846), by Inoue Shun'yō	Continuation of <i>Aboku chikushi</i> , in <i>wabun</i>	Yaichi, Inosuke
<i>Hatsutarō hyōryūki</i> 初太郎漂流記 (1846), by Inoue Shun'yō	Testimony (<i>kuchigaki</i>)	Hatsutarō
<i>Meshiko shinwa</i> 墨是可新話 (1849), by Kaku Sukeyuki 賀来佐之	Edited <i>hyōryūki</i> with illustrations and thematic descriptions of Mexico	Takichi 太吉
<i>Tōkō kibun</i> 東航紀聞 (1851), by Iwasaki Toshiaki 岩崎俊章	Edited <i>hyōryūki</i> with illustrations and thematic descriptions of Mexico	Yaichi 弥市, Zensuke 善助
<i>Kaigai ibun</i> 海外異聞 (1854)	Printed version of <i>Amerika shinwa</i> , with some content reorganized and omitted	Hatsutarō
<i>Eijumaru hyōryū kuchigaki</i> 栄寿丸漂 流口書 (date unknown), author unknown	Testimony (<i>kuchigaki</i>)	Unknown
<i>Kishū Kuchikumano hyōryū-banashi</i> 紀州口熊野漂流噺 (date unknown), author unknown	Unknown	Yaichirō 弥一郎, Yaichi

<i>Hyōryū shimatsu-ki</i> 漂流始末記 (date unknown), by Zensuke	Hanging scroll (<i>kakejiku</i> 掛け軸) of a short text conveying the story of the captain Zensuke. Written horizontally in Sinitic graphs (kanji), Latin alphabet, and vernacular graphs (<i>kana</i>)	Zensuke
<i>Tenpō shinwa</i> 天保新話 (date unknown), author unknown	Unknown	Yaichi
<i>Amerika hyōryū shinwa</i> 亜墨漂流新話 (1844), by Maekawa Shūko and Sakai Sadateru	Alternative title for <i>Amerika shinwa</i>	Hatsutarō 初太郎
<i>Meriken hyōryūki</i> 米利幹漂流記 (date unknown), by Maekawa Shūko and Sakai Sadateru	Abridged version of <i>Amerika shinwa</i> without illustrations	Hatsutarō
<i>Aboku hyōryū shinwa</i> 亜墨漂流新話 (1844), by Maekawa Shūko and Sakai Sadateru	Alternative title of <i>Amerika shinwa</i>	Hatsutarō

3.5 Physical description of the University of British Columbia manuscript

In 1964, together with a collection of more than three hundred maps from the Tokugawa era, *Amerika shinwa* was initially moved from the private library of collector George H. Beans

(1894–1978) in Jenkintown, Pennsylvania to the University of British Columbia.¹²⁹ The University purchased the collection the following year using funds that were part a three-million-dollar donation from the benefactor H. R. MacMillan.¹³⁰

The UBC *Amerika shinwa* manuscript is formatted as three volumes which are pouch-bound (*fukurotoji* 袋綴じ), each measuring 26.4 centimetres in height and 18 centimetres in length. The title *Amerika shinwa* is found on the title tag (*daisen* 題箋), which appears on the cover. The three volumes contain six fold-out sheets of a map of Hatsutarō's route, illustrating the ships *Eijūmaru* and *Ensayo* and the house of Miguel Choza, and offering views of the cities of Mazatlán and Macao. Other illustrations include objects used in daily life such as combs, musical instruments, and coins; soldiers and weapons; and people, plants and animals, all of which are things Hatsutarō allegedly saw in Baja California. The paper has been heavily damaged by bookworms, mostly in the margins; fortunately, this does not impact the legibility of the text. The covers of Books 2 and 3 are in overall good condition, but the front cover of the Book 1 has been discoloured by mould. This first volume has George Beans' bookplate with the inscription "Tall Tree Library," which refers to his personal library in Pennsylvania.¹³¹ Although the cataloguing tag on the cover notes that the manuscript was recorded in 1844, the inclusion of the *Aboku chikushi* section in the manuscript indicates that this copy was in fact written after 1846.

¹²⁹ M. Ramming, "Remarks on the Reproduced Japanese Maps," *Imago Mundi*, no. 10 (1953): 128.

¹³⁰ D. W. Strangway, *President's Report on the Library* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1987), 27.

¹³¹ University of British Columbia, Open Collections, "Bookplate for George H. Bean" call no. BP GEN USA P B436

There are two corrections made to single graphs in Book 1, fol. 25v (see Figure 3), over the characters *o* を and *chi* 遅 in the text “*kairo o hakari, fune no chisoku o tamesu*” 海路を測り、船の遅速をためす, which can be translated as “They calculate the sea route and test the speed.”



Figure 3. Error amendments in *Amerika shinwa*. Book 1, fol. 25v. Courtesy of UBC Library.

The manuscripts held by the National Institute of Japanese Literature do not show errors in these characters, which leads us to conclude that these mistakes were made by the copyist.

The margins include explanatory notes which complement the main narrative text and are present in other manuscripts as well as the printed version *Kaigai ibun*.

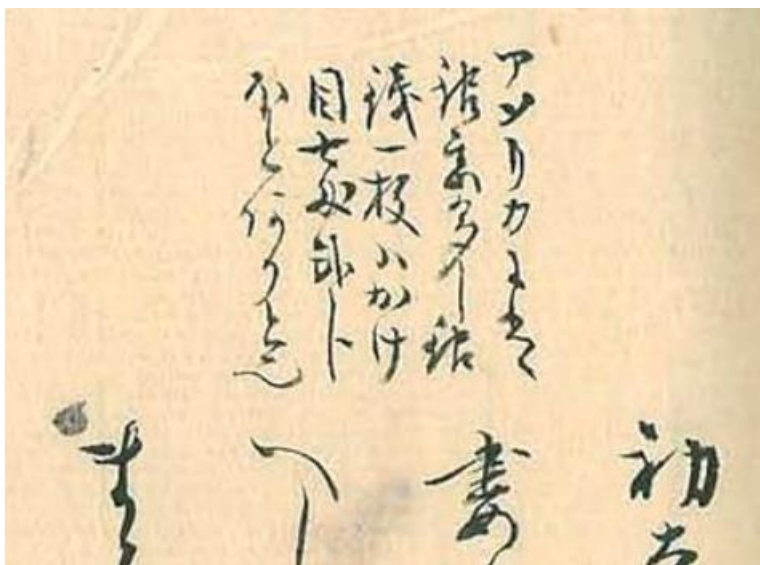


Figure 4. Example of margin commentary in *Amerika shinwa*. Book 1, fol. 24r. Courtesy of UBC Library.

Underneath the pastedown (*mikaeshi* 見返し) inside the front cover, there is an inscription resembling a *fuchō* 符牒, i.e., a coded text with the price of the book (Figure 5),¹³² presumably from the bookstore. The brushwork includes graphs in *katakana* and the Sinitic graph for “*shime* 𠄎,” commonly used by Edo and Meiji-period book vendors to hide insider information about the product’s price.

¹³² Yamamoto Yoshitaka, private correspondence with author, March 23, 2022. For more information about *fuchō*, see Suzuki Toshiyuki, *Shoseki ryūtsū shiryōron: josetsu* (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2012).

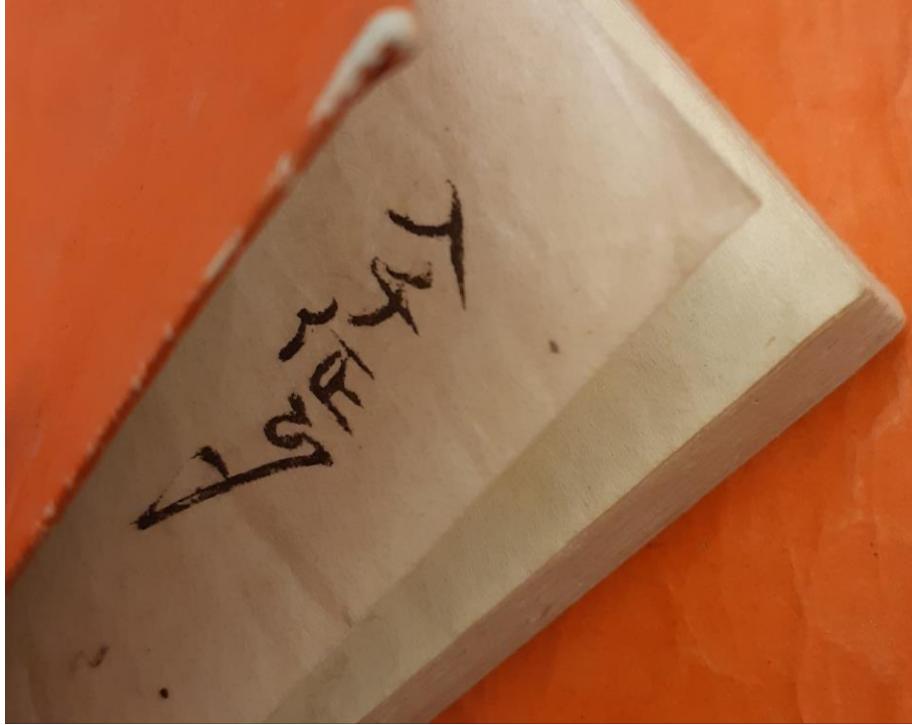


Figure 5. *Fuchō* mark. *Amerika shinwa*, Book 1, reverse of the back cover. Courtesy of UBC Library.

Another characteristic of the manuscript from UBC is the Literary Sinitic text *Aboku chikushi*, which contains vernacular reading marks in red (Figure 6) that the official published version of 1846 does not provide. Comma-like marks signal the end of a sentence, whereas vertical lines denote proper nouns. The inclusion of these vernacular reading marks offers a visual aid for parsing the text and shows a distinct interest from at least one former reader in highlighting the places and people described in the manuscript.

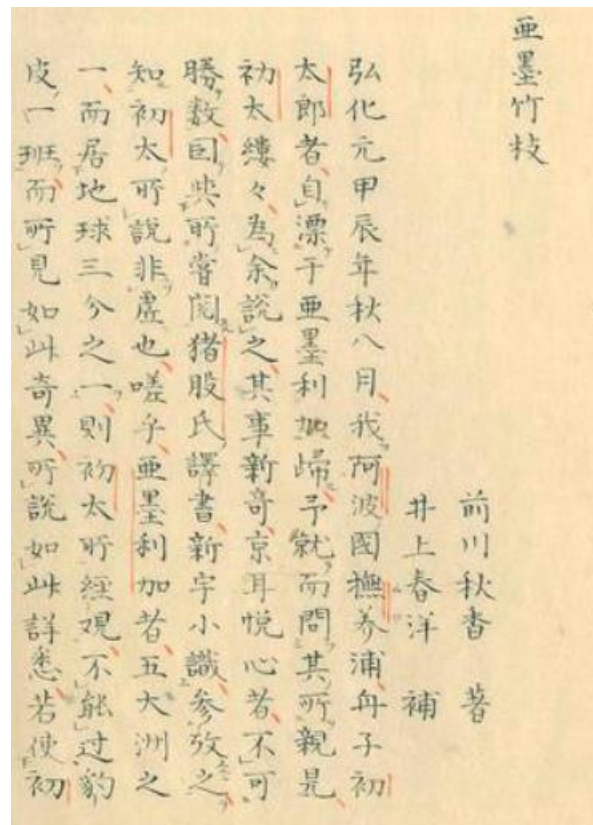


Figure 6. Beginning of *Aboku chikushi*. *Amerika shinwa*, Book 3, fol. 29r. Courtesy of UBC Library.

All the aforementioned features make the UBC manuscript of *Amerika shinwa* distinct.

3.6 *Amerika shinwa* and its circulation as a late-Edo-period manuscript

Although a printing system based on xylography was used extensively in Japan from the seventeenth century until the 1870s,¹³³ it is estimated that at least that a half of the books produced in the Edo period circulated in manuscript form.¹³⁴ Why were manuscripts so prevalent

¹³³ Linda H. Chance and Julie Nelson Davis, “The Handwritten and the Printed: Issues of Format and Medium in Japanese Premodern Books,” *Manuscript Studies* 1, no. 1 (2017): 100.

¹³⁴ Peter Kornicki, “Keeping Knowledge Secret in Edo-Period Japan: 1600–1868,” *Textual Cultures: Text, Contexts, Interpretation* 14, no. 1 (2021): 16.

and how is the early modern culture of copying by hand related to the production and circulation of *Amerika shinwa*?

Scholars of early modern book history agree that the aesthetics and culture of calligraphy were crucial to the enduring nature of manuscript production in Edo-period Japan. The book historian Peter Kornicki furthermore associates the diffusion of texts in manuscript format with notions of secrecy, which were deeply entrenched in traditional forms of knowledge sharing through copying practices.

Due to the restriction on foreign information imposed by the bakufu, not only were books and documents—particularly maps—confiscated from castaways who returned to Japan, it was also forbidden for these castaways to discuss their experiences in foreign lands with others once interrogation was complete at the *agariya*.¹³⁵ There were, however, some rare exceptions. With the purpose of raising funds to build a funerary stone (Figure 7) in memory of the sailors who died in the shipwreck, the castaway Oguri Jūkichi 小栗重吉 (1785–1853), the central character of *Funaosa nikki*, performed in a travelling exhibition of the objects brought from Russia while he sold a self-published document with a list of the items and a brief story of his adventure.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Kobayashi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki*, 120.

¹³⁶ Kawai, *Nipponjin hyōryūki*, 232.



Figure 7. Memorial stone in the shape of a ship commissioned by Jūkichi.

Jōfukuji 成福寺 (present Aichi Prefecture). Illustration by José Echániz based on a photograph in Szimpl, *Funaosa Nikki*, 108.

In the case of *kuchigaki* testimonials, transcripts of these interrogations were never printed as they were intended to serve as confidential documents limited to use within the magistrate office. Nevertheless, there are numerous manuscript copies of *kuchigaki* to be found,¹³⁷ indicating that information usually leaked among government officials.

¹³⁷ Kawai, 236.

Regarding edited *hyōryūki*, we know that their production was usually ordered by the daimyo after he commanded that an interview be undertaken with the castaway.¹³⁸ Since the information was considered secret, it was not customary for the scholar to make copies for himself. Moreover, as Kornicki illustrates with the case of the famous sinologist Hayashi Razan's (1583–1657) commissioned works, it would be considered an act of disloyalty to the feudal lord.¹³⁹ Edited *hyōryūki* were thus copied by other means.

We know that feudal lords customarily lent and borrowed books and made copies based on them. For example, the lord of the Tosa domain, Yamauchi Toyoshige 山内豊信 (1827–1872), lent his copy of *Hyōson kiryaku* to another daimyo during a visit to Edo. The daimyo borrowing the manuscript then copied it for himself.¹⁴⁰ In the case of *Kankai ibun*, although in theory it was a book secretly stored by the Sendai clan, it was first exposed to an external readership through when the shogunal vassal Makino Shigetake 牧野成傑 (1769–1838) borrowed it and ordered it to be copied thereafter.¹⁴¹ *Hokusa bunryaku* was ordered by the shogun Tokugawa Ienari as a secret book (*kimitsu monjo* 機密文書) yet the *Kokusho sōmoku* 国書総目録 (General Catalogue of National Books) registers two hundred copies of this text, including one held in Saint Petersburg.¹⁴² Other evidence of *hyōryūki* circulation is found in the abundance of citations to other texts within *hyōryūki* themselves. For instance, we observe references to *Kankai ibun* in *Funaosa nikki* and *Amerika shinwa* in *Tokei monogatari*.¹⁴³

¹³⁸ Kawai, 234.

¹³⁹ Kornicki (3–19), “Keeping Knowledge Secret in Edo-Period Japan: 1600–1868,” 13.

¹⁴⁰ Kobayashi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki*, 182.

¹⁴¹ Kobayashi, 195.

¹⁴² Kobayashi, 192.

¹⁴³ Kobayashi, 196–97.

The citations to these texts also reflect the close relation between the daimyo and the scholars they commissioned, who evidently had access to *hyōryūki* held by other daimyo. The system of alternate attendance (*sankin kōtai*) may have contributed to the circulation of *hyōryūki* since it required the vassals of the shogun to reside periodically in Edo.¹⁴⁴

The 1790 ban of heretical studies (*igakukin* 異学禁) and subsequent book censorship legislations, which were aimed at morals that contravened *Shushigaku* doctrines,¹⁴⁵ may have influenced *hyōryūki* manuscript production, especially after the prosecution of Hayashi Shihei 林子平 (1738–1793) in 1792 for the publication of *Kaikoku heidan* 海国兵談 (A Discussion of the Military Problems of a Maritime Country, location not indicated, self-publication, 1788) due to its “misleading maps.”¹⁴⁶ Like various other kinds of manuscripts that were able to circumvent the scrutiny of censorship, such as *jitsuroku-mono* 実録物 (records of true events),¹⁴⁷ it is still not clear whether *Amerika shinwa* was sold or borrowed from book lenders (*kashihon'ya*). There is, however, proof of the sale of manuscripts related to political scandals which were secretly sold and include a *kashihon'ya*'s seal.¹⁴⁸ In the case the UBC *Amerika shinwa* manuscript, there are no seals or other marks revealing ownership by an individual or bookstore from the Edo period, but the presence of a *fuchō* behind the *mikaeshi* indicates that the book was put on sale in the Edo or Meiji period. While it is difficult to determine the exact date on which the *fuchō* was

¹⁴⁴ Geoffrey C. Gunn, *World Trade Systems of the East and West: Nagasaki and the Asian Bullion Trade Networks* (Leiden : Boston: Brill, 2018), 123.

¹⁴⁵ Peter F. Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 7 (Leiden; Boston; Brill, 1998), 338.

¹⁴⁶ Wood, “Literary Subjects Adrift,” 116–17.

¹⁴⁷ Susan L. Burns, *Before the Nation: Kokugaku and the Imagining of Community in Early Modern Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 27–28. An analysis of *jitsuroku* is beyond the scope of this thesis but a comparison could offer interesting parallels with *hyōryūki*. I am grateful for Joshua Mostow suggesting possible linkages between these two kinds of texts.

¹⁴⁸ Kornicki, “Keeping Knowledge Secret in Edo-Period Japan: 1600–1868,” 17–18.

might have been recorded, it was probably sold after the ban on foreign information was lifted in 1853.

All this evidence, along with the anonymous dedication found at the end of the manuscript, suggests that this manuscript of *Amerika shinwa* could have circulated within limited circles of high-ranking samurai and the scholars employed by them. If it was eventually sold in a bookstore during this period, the publication policies may have made its sale secret due to the ban on disseminating foreign information, which continued until 1853.¹⁴⁹

3.7 Maekawa Shūkō, Sakai Sadateru, and Morizumi Sadateru (recognized) authors of *Amerika shinwa*

This section offers short biographies of the authors Maekawa Shūkō and Sakai Sadateru, as well as the illustrator Morizumi Sadateru. While the “authors” (*chosha* 著者) named in the Preface to *Amerika shinwa* and those who appear in the UBC catalogue are identified as Maekawa Shūko and Sakai Sadateru, the story is undeniably constructed based on the memories of the sailor Hatsutarō. While early modern publishing practices and current library records may credit Maekawa and Sakai as the recorders and editors of *Amerika shinwa*, it is important to note the figure of Hatsutarō as an “unrecognized author.” While it is difficult to separate Hatsutarō’s voice from the layers of narrative added and embellished by the editors and contributing authors, his tale is the thread that runs through the text and illustrations of *Amerika shinwa*. Below I will indicate what we know about these other authors and illustrator beyond the central yet under-recognized figure of Hatsutarō.

¹⁴⁹ Kobayashi, *Nipponjin ikoku hyōryūki*, 205.

Although information about Maekawa Shūkō and Sakai Sadateru, is scarce, we know that both served as assistants to those of the samurai class and that they were outstanding scholars of their time, based on the trust they received from the lord of the Tokushima domain. Regarding the painter Morizumi Sadateru, we know that he was also closely tied to the lord of the Tokushima domain and that he was a recognized artist in the Meiji period.

Maekawa Shūkō 前川 秋香 (1801–1854)

Maekawa Shūkō, also known by the given names Bunzō 文蔵, Fumi 文, and On 温, was born in 1801 in the village of Hayasaki, in the county of Itano, Awa Province (present Naruto, Tokushima Prefecture). At the age of fourteen, he served a merchant called Yabe. Eight years later, he entered the academy of the Confucian scholar Shinosaki Shōchiku 篠崎小竹 (1781–1851).

Years later, he studied in Nagasaki and founded the academy Reitakusha 麗沢社. Having learned about the development of the Opium Wars, he decided to return to Awa Province to report the details to the Tokushima lord Hachisuka Narimasa. Maekawa's report to Hachisuka and his support of the Tokushima lord led to a promotion to official Confucian teacher (*jukan* 儒官). Afterwards, he moved to Suketō and taught in the Terashima Learning Academy (Terashima Gakumonjo 寺島学問所).¹⁵⁰ In 1844, the lord of Tokushima heard Hatsutarō's story and ordered Maekawa to interrogate Hatsutarō and write *Amerika shinwa*. Two years later, Maekawa produced the content of *Aboku chikushi* and Inoue Shunyō (1812–1892), an official doctor of the Tokushima domain, then rewrote it in the form of a Literary Sinitic poem (*kanshi*)¹⁵¹.

¹⁵⁰ Ōta, "Inoue Shun'yō 'Aboku chikushi' kaisetsu," 38.

¹⁵¹ Ōta, 38.

Maekawa's narrative became so well-known that the Confucian scholar Ōhashi Totsuan 大橋訥庵 (1816–1862) invited him to give a lecture in Edo, where he became notable for his writing talent. Maekawa died after the great earthquake of Nankai, on the sixth day of the eleventh month of the seventh year of the Kaei era (1854).¹⁵²

Sakai Sadateru 酒井定輝 (1806–1860)

Sakai Sadateru, also known by the given name Junzō 順蔵, was born in 1806.¹⁵³ Although he belonged to a sailor family, due to his passion for topography, he gained the favour of Tokushima lord Narisama and was promoted to samurai. He travelled to many places in Japan, usually accompanied by the artist Morizumi Tsurana 守住貫魚, the original illustrator of *Amerika shinwa*. Sakai was renowned for his writings on his travels based on his encyclopedic knowledge and strong memory. In 1838 he became a servant in charge of footwear (*zōritori* 草履取), and he was still of a relatively low rank when he collaborated with Maekawa on the writing of *Amerika shinwa*.¹⁵⁴

Morizumi Sadateru 守住定輝 (1809–1892)

Also known by the penname Tsurana 貫魚, Morizumi Sadateru was born in Osaka¹⁵⁵ and educated in the Sumiyoshi School (Sumiyoshi-ha 住吉派) of Japanese painting. Morizumi was designated the official painter of the [Tokushima] domain (*han no eshi* 藩の絵師).¹⁵⁶ In 1890 he

¹⁵² Ōta, 38.

¹⁵³ Yamashita, *Edo hyōryūki sōshū*, vol. 4, 597.

¹⁵⁴ Ōta, “Inoue Shun'yō *Aboku chikushi* kaisetsu,” 31.

¹⁵⁵ John Vollmer and Glenn Taylor Webb, *Japanese Art at the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria: The Fred and Isabel Pollard Collection and Other Acquisitions*, (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1972), 126.

¹⁵⁶ Sano, *Shinsekai e: sakoku Nihon kara hamideta Eijumaru no jūsannin*, 319.

became a member of the an Art Committee of the Imperial Household (*Teishitsu Gigeiin* 帝室技芸員),¹⁵⁷ and later that year won the gold medal in the first imperial Painting Exhibition (*Kaiga tenrankai* 絵画展覧会).¹⁵⁸ In order to produce the illustrations for *Amerika shinwa*, Morizumi met personally with Hatsutarō over a period of more than ten days.¹⁵⁹ He was a renowned artist and his contribution of illustrations to *Amerika shinwa* likely made the work more compelling and entertaining to the reader.

3.8 Conclusions: The significance of *Amerika shinwa* as a manuscript

The *hyōryūki* known as *Amerika shinwa*, recorded by Maekawa and Sakai, presents an exciting story about the first documented contact between Japan and Mexico after 220 years, and it offers fascinating depictions of foreign natural and human elements. *Amerika shinwa* shares structural and stylistic attributes with other *hyōryūki* such as *Hokusa bunryaku* and *Funaosa nikki*, encompassing a mediated castaway narrative conveyed in reported speech, thematic descriptions and vocabulary related to the land viewed by the castaway, and various illustrations. *Amerika shinwa* weaves in the scholarly texts and currents of thought of the time; as mentioned in the previous chapter, the geographic descriptions explained by Hatsutarō are assessed by Maekawa and Sakai, who contrast them with the books *Kunyu tushuo* and *Shin'u shōshiki*, thus legitimizing the castaway's experience and showing what they believe to be a more accurate description. Moreover, the linguistic contribution in the form of thematic glossaries reflects the

¹⁵⁷ Sano, 320.

¹⁵⁸ Rosina Buckland, *Painting Nature for the Nation: Taki Katei and the Challenges to Sinophile Culture in Meiji Japan* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 111.

¹⁵⁹ According to the Preface (*reigen* 例言) written by Morizumi Sadateru in *Kaigai ibun*, he composed his drawings by “inviting Hatsutarō ... and listening to his explanations in detail for more than ten days” (初太郎を招き ... 旬余詳に其説を聴き). *Kaigai ibun*, Book 1, 3a.

penchant of Edo-period scholars for lexicography, which was present in many other *hyōryūki* such as the *Hyōson kiryaku* and encyclopedias such as the *Kinmōzui* and the *Wakan sansai zue*.

Like many other *hyōryūki*, *Amerika shinwa* presumably circulated secretly in manuscript form. This hypothesis can be surmised by considering the prohibitions of the dissemination of foreign knowledge, the scarce number of published *hyōryūki* at this time, and two peculiarities of the UBC manuscript: an absence of any property seals and the anonymity of the dedication at the end of the book.

Amerika shinwa thus offers a manuscript fascinating in terms of its descriptive detail, which conveys a rare encounter with Mexican people and objects that would contribute to imagery in Japan of the foreign. The UBC manuscript is distinct in its inclusion of the three *kanbun* texts: *Aboku chikushi*, a narrative on the *Kannonmaru* and *Eijūmaru*, and an anonymous dedication. The presence of the first text, *Aboku chikushi*, suggests the need to amend the cataloguing date of the UBC manuscript, since it was a work published in 1846, two years after *Amerika shinwa*.

This chapter has focused on the general content and structure of the *Amerika shinwa* manuscript and considered related works. Chapter 4 will turn to an in-depth examination of the sections on Plants and Animals, and briefly consider the vocabulary section in relation to *honzōgaku*, a long tradition of study surrounding natural objects and their benefit to human beings.

Chapter 4: Plants and animals in *Amerika shinwa*

4.1 Introduction

This section will address the importance of Ming-, Qing-, and Edo-period encyclopedias on *materia medica* (*honzōgaku* 本草学) in the creation of *Amerika shinwa* by examining the categorization and description of plants and animals in the UBC manuscript.

Firstly, I will offer an overview of the formation and evolution of organized natural and social knowledge in Japan, focusing on the seventeenth-century arrival into Tokugawa Japan of the Ming-era text *Bencao gangmu* and the ensuing transmission of knowledge from this text. I will consider how *honzōgaku* was central to the development of modern natural history (*hakubutsugaku* 博物学) and its ideology and practices in Japan. Subsequently, I will briefly examine the taxonomies of relevant encyclopedias and manuals in the Edo period, such as *Bencao gangmu*, *Kinmōzui*, and *Wakan sansai zue*.

Secondly, I will carry out a close reading of several sections of *Amerika shinwa* to show how this historical organization of knowledge and ideas is reflected in the manuscript. I will focus on illustrations and accompanying descriptions and comments by Maekawa Shūkō and I will reference a comparative chart I created to show how plants, animals and, people are classified according to historical *honzōgaku* terms.

4.2 Historical methods of encyclopedic classification in early modern Japan

Zhu Xi Studies (*Shushigaku* 朱子学) was an influential branch of Neo-Confucianism based on the ideology of Zhu Xi 朱子 (1130–1200), which gained prominence among the intellectual elites of Tokugawa Japan after the Japanese invasion of the Korean peninsula (1592–1598). During the occupation, Japanese soldiers brought with them scholarly books and prisoners who were versed in *Shushigaku* scholarship. The tenets of Zhu Xi Studies were promoted by the Rinzaï Zen monk Fujiwara Seika 藤原惺窩 (1561–1617) and transmitted to the shogunal advisor Hayashi Razan.¹⁶⁰ *Shushigaku* embraces the notion that all things are composed of *qi* 氣 (material and energetic elements) and *li* 理 (principles).¹⁶¹ A central idea of *Shushigaku* is the “investigation of things” (*gewu zhizhi* 格物致知), a concept found initially in the *Daxue* 大学 (The Great Learning), one of the canonical Four Books of Confucianism selected by Zhu Xi. By studying the principle (*li* 理) of things, one could achieve self-cultivation and not only restore the heart’s original state but also acquire a comprehensive metaphysical vision of the universe.¹⁶² A proponent and influential scholar of *Shushigaku* was the shogunal advisor Hayashi Razan and other prominent scholars of *Shushigaku* include Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇斎 (1619–1682) and Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒 (1630–1714).

¹⁶⁰ Peter Nosco, “Intellectual Change in Tokugawa Japan,” in *A Companion to Japanese History*, ed. William M. Tsutsui (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2007), 103.

¹⁶¹ Federico Marcon, *The Knowledge of Nature and the Nature of Knowledge in Early Modern Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 44.

¹⁶² Kiri Paramore, *Japanese Confucianism: A Cultural History*, Asian Connections (Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 44.

In 1607 the shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) dispatched Hayashi Razan to Nagasaki to collect a shipment of books, and among them was the pharmacopeia *Bencao gangmu* by Li Shizhen 李時珍 (1518–1593).¹⁶³ The shogun sought this book because he was interested in cultivating herbs¹⁶⁴ and by 1638 he had commanded the creation of two herbal gardens (*yakuen* 薬園).¹⁶⁵ Hayashi Razan popularized the *Bencao gangmu* among scholars thanks to his translation and studies compiled in the *Tashikihen* 多識編 (Compilation of Many Explanations, no location or publisher indicated, 1630).¹⁶⁶

The *Bencao gangmu* was a text that followed a classificatory system of natural objects according to Zhu Xi's cosmological ideas of *li* and *qi*.¹⁶⁷ A significant part of the content of this encyclopedia is a philological study, in which words related to natural things (plants, animals, and minerals) were listed with the purpose of identifying them with their actual names (*mingwu* 名物, J. *meibutsu*). This lexicographical approach is also present in seventeenth-century encyclopedic works in Japan, such as the *Tashikihen*¹⁶⁸ and the *Kinmōzui*.¹⁶⁹ Another purpose of the *Bencao gangmu* is the cultivation and use of beneficial natural species. The scholar and translator of the *Bencao gangmu* Paul Unschuld defines the work as “an almost two-millennia-long panorama of wide-ranging observations and sophisticated interpretations, ingenious

¹⁶³ For an English-language study of the *Bencao gangmu* and its author, see Carla S. Nappi, *The Monkey and the Inkpot: Natural History and its Transformations in Early Modern China* (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 2009).

¹⁶⁴ Michael Dylan Foster, *Pandemonium and Parade: Japanese Monsters and the Culture of Yokai* (University of California Press, 2008), 33.

¹⁶⁵ Willy Vande Walle and Kazuhiko Kasaya, eds., *Dodonaus in Japan: Translation and the Scientific Mind in the Tokugawa Period* (Leuven; Kyoto: Leuven University Press; International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2001), 15.

¹⁶⁶ Foster, *Pandemonium and Parade*, 32.

¹⁶⁷ Marcon, *The Knowledge of Nature and the Nature of Knowledge in Early Modern Japan*, 44.

¹⁶⁸ Marcon, 71.

¹⁶⁹ Foster, *Pandemonium and Parade*, 36.

manipulations and practical applications of natural substances for the benefit of human health.”¹⁷⁰ The *Bencao gangmu* contains 1,892 entries of which 275 are on minerals, 444 on zoology, and 1,094 on botany, classified according to new taxonomical systems and noting more than 2,000 herbs and 8,000 recipes.¹⁷¹ This extensive and practical compilation of materia medica, drawing from a long tradition, formed the basis for encyclopedic understanding of natural objects in Japan during the seventeenth century.

Li Shizhen drew from a long tradition of manuals known as *leishu* 類書 (classifying book), which in the Tang dynasty (618–907) intended to educate officials or serve as aids for state examinations.¹⁷² The first known *leishu* was the *Erya* 爾雅 (J. *Jiga*; Examples of Refined Usage, 3rd century BCE), a vocabulary compendium aimed at accuracy in the naming of things. It is divided into twelve categories, the first graph of each category consisting of *shi* 稊 (J. *shaku*, meaning, exegesis). The *Erya* served as a primary source for the *Bencao gangmu*, as can be seen in the frequent quotations from the *Erya* which are found in the *Bencao gangmu*.¹⁷³ Another primary source text for the *Bencao gangmu* is the *Jiuhuang bencao* (Famine Relief Herbal, 1406), which originally provided information about the shape and preparation of medicinal substances in case of famine.¹⁷⁴

From the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries, Japanese scholars relied heavily on the *Bencao gangmu* to inform their explorations in *honzōgaku* studies. The concept of *honzō* 本草

¹⁷⁰ Paul U. Unschuld, trans., *Ben Cao Gang Mu, Volume II: Waters, Fires, Soils, Metals, Jades, Stones, Minerals, Salts* by Li Shizhen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2021), 31.

¹⁷¹ Herbert Plutschow, *A Reader in Edo Period Travel* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 14–15.

¹⁷² Plutschow, 13.

¹⁷³ Zheng Jinsheng, Nalini Kirk, Paul D. Buell, et. al., eds., *Dictionary of the Ben cao gang mu*, vol. 3 (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018), 121.

¹⁷⁴ Sugimoto Tsutomu, *Edo no hakubutsugakusha-tachi* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 1985), 34–35.

was originally coined to represent the importance of plants as medicines, yet it came to embody a broader sense of all kinds of natural objects beneficial for people's health, regardless if they were plants, animals, or minerals.¹⁷⁵

Later, in the eighteenth century, the shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684–1751) also helped to contribute to the expansion and diffusion of learning related to encyclopedias and materia medica. He ordered the creation of a medicinal garden and promoted the cultivation of ginseng and other herbs to deal with the epidemics of the time. Furthermore, he commissioned the translation of manuals by the European nature scholars Rembert Dodoens (1517–1585) and Jan Jonston (1603–1675). Yoshimune was also enthusiastic about foreign species of plants and animals, to the extent that he commissioned the importation of an elephant from Vietnam in 1728.¹⁷⁶ His enthusiasm for materia medica influenced even rural areas, as the manual *Fukyū ruihō* 普救類方 (Various Ways to Widely Save [the People], 1729), became a book commonly found in the libraries of village leaders.¹⁷⁷

With the development and expansion of herbology in Japan, many other encyclopedias were imported from Ming and Qing China and published in Japan. Another significant Chinese encyclopedia was the *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖會 (Illustrations of the Three Forces, 1609), compiled by Wang Qi 王圻 (ca. 1535–1614) and his son Wang Siyi 王思義 (dates unknown), of which a Japanese version, *Wakan sansai zue* was edited by Terajima Ryōan. This encyclopedia divides

¹⁷⁵ Sugimoto, 17.

¹⁷⁶ Enomoto Kunio, “Edojidai no dōshokubutsu zukan,” in *Edojidai no Kishū no honzōgaku o chūshin ni: dōshokubutsu zukan* (Wakayama: Wakayama Shiritsu Hakubutsukan, 1994), 60.

¹⁷⁷ Masaki Wakao, “Ideological Construction and Books in Early Modern Japan: Political Sense, Cosmology, and World Views,” in *Listen, Copy, Read: Popular Learning in Early Modern Japan*, ed. Matthias Hayek and Annick Horiuchi (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 53–54.

the content into three categories, Heaven (天 *ten*), Man (人 *jin*) and Earth 地 (*chi*). Heaven was subdivided into: Calendar, Seasons and Man; Man into: Ethics, Religion, Custom, Tools and Earth; and Earth into: Mountains, Water, Metals, Plants and Minerals.¹⁷⁸ The “Man” section contains a vast amount of information ranging from social classes and gender relations to customs, folklore, technology, economy, foreign relations and foreign peoples, art, religion, military matters, clothing, toys, and shipbuilding.¹⁷⁹ Eleven similar subcategories of Man are present in the Vocabulary section of *Amerika shinwa*, as shown in Table 3. *Wakan sansai zue* also includes plants and animals found in the Japanese archipelago, as well as aspects of Japanese history and religion, and it was one of the first encyclopedias to add information from European sources.¹⁸⁰

Another encyclopedia popular in Edo-period Japan was the *Kinmōzui* by Nakamura Tekisai 仲村惕斎 (1629–1702), a famous author of moral books and popular Japanese illustrated editions of Chinese classics, such as the *Qianzi wen* 千字文 (J. *Senjimon*, The Thousand Character Classic, sixth century) and the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 (The Classic of Mountains and Seas, 1597). The *Kinmōzui* was so prominent that five different versions were published between 1666 and 1789.¹⁸¹ According to its Preface, the *Kinmōzui* draws references from the *Sancai tuhui*

¹⁷⁸ Plutschow, *A Reader in Edo Period Travel*, 13.

¹⁷⁹ Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period, 1603–1868* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 107.

¹⁸⁰ Marcon, *The Knowledge of Nature and the Nature of Knowledge in Early Modern Japan*, 81.

¹⁸¹ Christophe Marquet, “Instruire par l’image : encyclopédies et manuels illustrés pour enfants à l’époque d’Edo,” in *La pédagogie par l’image en France et au Japon*, ed. Marianne Simon-Oikawa and Annie Renonciat (Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2009), 75–91, par. 22.

and *Nongzheng quanshu* 農政全書 (Complete Treatise on Agronomy, 1639), as well as the *Bencao gangmu* and *Shanhaijing*.¹⁸²

Like the *Sancai tuhui*, the terms of the *Kinmōzui* are classified into major thematic categories that cover the “three forces” (*sancai* 三才, J. *sansai*), consisting of Heaven (*tian* 天, J. *ten*), Earth (*de* 地, J. *chi*), and Man (人 *ren*, J. *jin*). The seventeen categories of the 1666 edition are as follows: the stars and natural phenomena, nature, constructions, men and trades, the human body, clothing, precious materials (minerals, textile fibres, etc.), utensils and objects (including weapons and tools), animals, birds, fish, insects, cereals, edible plants, fruits, trees, floral plants.¹⁸³

This *Kinmōzui* contains approximately 1500 entries and brings together a vocabulary of approximately five thousand words. Generally, for each character, a Chinese reading and a Japanese reading are given, as well as related words.¹⁸⁴ For example, for the entry *sho* 書 (book) we find the Japanese vernacular reading *fumi* ふみ followed by a synonym, *hon* 本; then specific terms such as *kanjiku* 巻軸 (scroll) and its native Japanese reading *makibumi* まきぶみ; *ōkan* 横巻 (horizontal scroll), which is given as a synonym of the previous term; and *sakushi* 冊子 (bound book), to which the vernacular term *tojifumi* とじふみ corresponds.¹⁸⁵ A similar structure can be observed in an entry of an extended edition of the *Kinmōzui* (*Zōho Kinmōzui* 増

¹⁸² Marquet, “Instruire par l’image : encyclopédies et manuels illustrés pour enfants à l’époque d’Edo,” 75–91, par. 23.

¹⁸³ Christophe Marquet, “Instruire par l’image : encyclopédies et manuels illustrés pour enfants à l’époque d’Edo,” in *La pédagogie par l’image en France et au Japon*, ed. Marianne Simon-Oikawa and Annie Renonciat (Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2009), 75–91, par. 24.

¹⁸⁴ Marquet, 75–91, par. 26.

¹⁸⁵ Marquet, 75–91, par. 26.

補訓蒙図彙, The *Kinmōzui* Extended, no location and publisher indicated, ca. 1695), also authored by Nakamura Tekisai. Here, terms for writing tools are accompanied by illustrations and by both readings, synonyms, and semantically related words. For example, for the concept “筆” (brush), the readings *hitsu* ひつ and *fude* ふで are provided, as well as the synonym *kanjōshi* 管城子, and its related words, such as *hikkan* 筆管, brush stand. (see Figure 8).

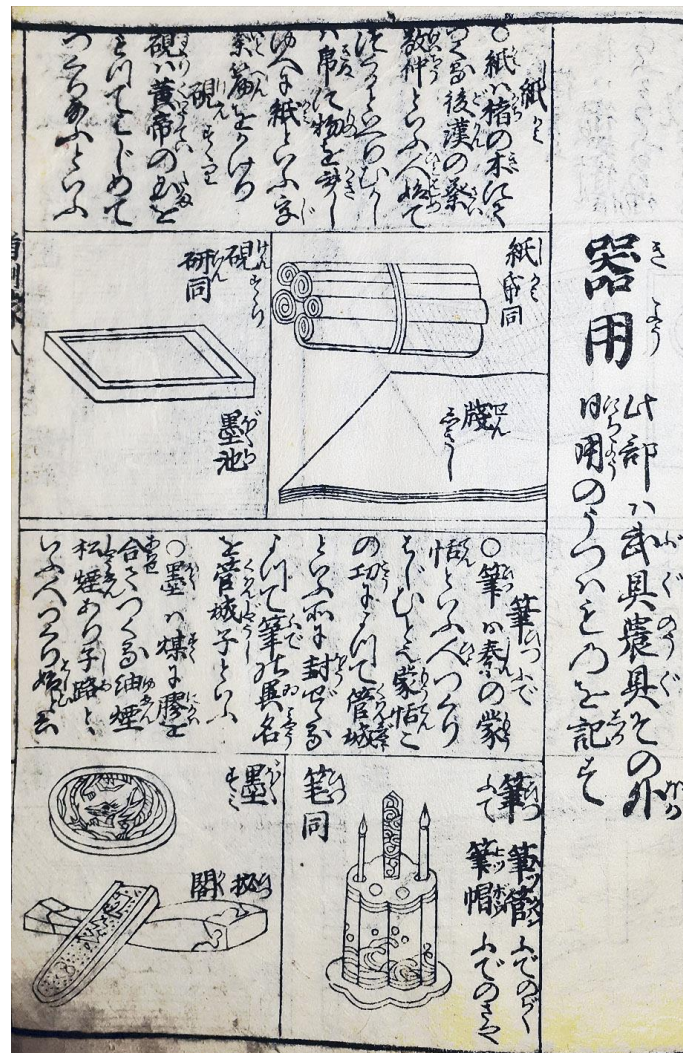


Figure 8. *Zōho Kinmōzui* (zen), “Tools” (*kiyō* 器用).

Illustrations of writing tools accompany the concepts, readings, and synonyms. Fol. 84r.

Courtesy of the private collection Suzuran Bunko.

Besides the *Sancai tuhui*, a plethora of smaller and much more affordable books of reference abounded in early modern Japan, something that Michael Kinski calls “household encyclopedias,” which consisted of single or double-volume publications. An example of this was the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* 永代節用無尽蔵 ([Time]-saving [Compilation] for Countless Generations as an Inexhaustible Storehouse, 1831), by Hori Gennyūsai 堀原入斎 (dates unknown) and Hori Genpo 堀原甫 (dates unknown).¹⁸⁶ The *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* contains 160 entries and covers areas such as calendar and astrology, astronomy, geography, scenic views, ethics, Chinese and Japanese history, government, etiquette, cultural pursuits, religion, Buddhist schools, divination, famous personalities, artisans, professions, and a list of Korean syllabic scripts.¹⁸⁷

With the spread of *hōnzogaku* supported by these encyclopedias and other studies, along with public exhibitions and scholarly conventions, *honzogaku* shifted toward a general interest in the material world rather than the close study of materia medica.¹⁸⁸ In the first half of the nineteenth century, we thus see a new approach to the study of natural things which is focused more on their morphology and habitat rather than their medicinal properties, an approach which forms the foundation of what would become natural history (*hakubutsugaku* 博物学) in the Meiji period.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ Michael Kinski, “Treasure Boxes, Fabrics, and Mirrors: On the Contents and the Classification of Popular Encyclopedias from Early Modern Japan,” in *Listen, Copy, Read: Popular Learning in Early Modern Japan*, ed. Matthias Hayek and Annick Horiuchi (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 71–72.

¹⁸⁷ Kinski, 75.

¹⁸⁸ Ian Jared Miller, *The Nature of the Beasts: Empire and Exhibition at the Tokyo Imperial Zoo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 31.

¹⁸⁹ Sugimoto, *Edo no hakubutsugakusha-tachi*, 30.

4.3 Classifications and descriptions of foreign plants in *Amerika shinwa*

The section on “Plants” (*sōmoku* 草木) in *Amerika shinwa* is contained in the first five folios of Book 3, depicting eight different species. It makes use of foreign words to describe some plants which may also be found in Japan, e.g., *algodón* (cotton), *caña* (cane). Brief physical descriptions accompany the practical use of these plants, and illustrations are attached to some of them.

In terms of plants described in the section, we find seven different kinds: *kariso* (reed?), *brasil* (sappan), *pitaya* (dragon fruit), *limón* (lemon), *guayaba*, an unnamed plant, and *algodón* (cotton).

The first subsection explains the representative plants found in Baja California, which include short trees less than one *hiro* 尋 (about 1.5 metres) due to the hot conditions, as well as longer but “bent trees” (曲り／＼たるもの). Following, it includes two abundant (*hanahada ōshi* はなはだ多し) plants: (*kariso* カリソ, “something similar to Chinese reed” [*tōyoshi no gotoki mono* 唐葭のごときもの]) and sappan (*brasil* [*burashīru* ブラシイル], “which refers to sappan” [*sūō no koto nite* 蘇木のことにて]).¹⁹⁰

In the second subsection there are five plants listed: *pitaya* (dragon fruit), *limón* (lemon), *guayaba*, a “forgotten name,” and *algodón* (cotton). Each of the plants is compared with their Japanese or Chinese counterparts.¹⁹¹ Furthermore, all of them except for “forgotten name” have foreign nomenclatures and are described in the order in which they would appear based on the

¹⁹⁰ *Amerika shinwa*, Book 3 fol. 1r.

¹⁹¹ *Amerika shinwa*, Book 3 fol. 1r–5v.

taxonomical system found in Iwasaki Tsunemasa's 岩崎常正 (1786–1842), *Honzō zufu* 本草図譜 (Illustrated Catalogue of Materia Medica, Edo: Yamashiroya, 1830). *Honzō zufu* is a botanic encyclopedia which follows which follows the same system as *Bencao gangmu* and contains about 2920 full-colour and page-wide illustrations of plants.¹⁹² On Table 2, we can observe the Spanish terms of the plants used in this second subsection of Plants in *Amerika shinwa* and the Sinitic and Japanese equivalents used to explain them. The third column of Table 2 shows the location of the Sinitic and Japanese references in the *Honzō zufu*.

Table 2. List of the second subsection of plants in *Amerika shinwa* and their correspondence with the *Honzō zufu*.

Spanish plant name used in <i>Amerika shinwa</i>	Sinitic and Japanese references in <i>Amerika shinwa</i>	Classifications and subdivisions of Sinitic and Japanese references in the <i>Honzō zufu</i>
<i>pitaya</i> (<i>pitaya</i> ピタヤ, dragon fruit)	It is like a cactus (<i>saboten</i> 霸王樹). (霸王樹に似て)	1- herbs (<i>sōbu</i> 草部) 7- stone herbs (<i>sekisōrui</i> 石草類)
<i>limón</i> (<i>rimon</i> リモン,	It is similar to the citrus <i>sudachi</i> 酸橘. (酸橘に似て)	4- fruits (<i>kabu</i> 果部) 2- mountain fruits (<i>sankarui</i> 山果類)

¹⁹² Tanaka Junko, Iwatsu Tokio, Murata Hiroko, et. al., “*Honzō zufu*, and How a Copy Came to Be in the Kew Library,” *Curtis's Botanical Magazine* 36, no. 1 (2019): 60.

lemon)		
<i>guayaba</i> (<i>guwayaho</i> ; グワヤホ)	Its skin quality is similar to the pear (<i>nashi</i> 梨子). (皮の質梨子によく似て)	4- fruits (<i>kabu</i> 果部) 2- mountain fruits (<i>sankarui</i>) 山果類
“forgotten name” (名を忘れた り)	It is extremely similar to the Chinese windmill palm (<i>shuro</i> 棕櫚). <small>はなただ</small> (甚 棕櫚に似て)	5- trees (<i>mokubu</i> 木部) 2- tall trees (<i>kyōboku</i> 喬木)
<i>algodón</i> (<i>arugodon</i> アルゴドン, cotton)	This is, in other words, cotton (<i>momen</i> 木綿). (即ち木綿なり)	5- trees (<i>mokubu</i> 木部) 3- shrubs (<i>kanbokurui</i> 灌木類)

There are four different plants illustrated in the same section, the aforementioned *pitaya*, along with *chirimoya* (cherimoya), *higo* (fig), and *wamochi* (unknown), all fruit trees. The full-colour illustrations are accompanied by a short text describing the leaves and fruit of the plant depicted. The series of illustrations includes one explanatory drawing of the same size as the other illustrations, depicting the tool used to collect the pitaya fruit. Because of its size, this illustration may seem discordant with the section, but it evinces the primary *honzōgaku* notion of natural resources in terms of their use by humans, what the *honzōgakusha* Kaibara Ekiken called

“the essentials for people’s everyday life” (*minsei nichiyō no kaname* 民生日用の要).¹⁹³ We can thus see the inclusion of the tool for harvesting pitaya as reflecting an interest in the practical use of the fruit.



Figure 9. The *pitaya* ピタヤ (dragon fruit) along with its instrument for collection.

Amerika shinwa Book 3, fol. 2v and fol. 3r. Courtesy of UBC Library.

It is important to denote the descriptive role of illustrations in the nineteenth century in Japan. According to Marcon, around the mid-eighteenth century, illustrations in Japanese encyclopedias

¹⁹³ Sugimoto, 16.

shifted from a primarily decorative function to a more descriptive one, which helped the reader identify the species. In this regard, on fol. 2v of Book 3, we find one illustration of the fruit “pitaya” with an explanation that “the size is the same as the picture” (*ōkisa zu no gotoshi*).¹⁹⁴ All the illustrations coincide with the textual descriptions, and, as with the main text all of them seem to be based on Chinese or Japanese plants, like in the case of “*shiriboira*” (chirimoya? ciruela?).¹⁹⁵

If we pay attention to Japanese encyclopedias from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we can observe that their descriptions were mostly nomenclative, that is, to show the reader different ways to name the same plant, or, in contrast, to avoid confusion with other species. This approach to descriptions can be linked to the practice in *leishu* books of identifying things with their (actual) names (*mingwu* 名物). The textual descriptions often consider more detail about each object than the illustrations. For example, in examining the term “kumquat” (*kinkan* 金柑), we find that both the *Kinmōzui*¹⁹⁶ and the *Zōho Kinmōzui* offer both Japanese vernacular and Literary Sinitic nomenclatures, along with a simple illustration (Figure 10).

¹⁹⁴ *Amerika shinwa*, Book 3, fol. 2v.

¹⁹⁵ *Amerika shinwa*, Book 3, fol. 4v. While Zumwinkle translates it from *Kaigai ibun* as “ciruela” (prune) (p. 140), Kawata Reiko interprets the term as “chirimoya”: “Chirimoya.” “It is like a kumquat, but longer” (*Shiriboira: kinkan no gotoku ni shite, nagashi* シリボイラ-金柑のごとくにして、長し). See Reiko Kawata, “Una versión japonesa de Mazatlán: acerca del informe de un naufrago japonés,” in *La Presencia novohispana en el Pacífico insular: actas de segundas jornadas internacionales celebradas en la Ciudad de México, del 17 al 21 de Septiembre de 1990*, ed. María Cristina Barrón (Mexico: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1992), 73–97.

¹⁹⁶ *Kinmōzui*, Book 20, fol. 10v.



Figure 10. Entry for “kumquat” (*kinkan* 金柑) in the *Zōho Kinmōzui* (zen). Fol. 198r.

Courtesy of the private collection Suzuran Bunko.

In the case of *Wakan sansai zue*, the descriptions are also mainly semantical, in which the variants of the Sinitic names are represented in a larger font than the descriptive text and are followed by their etymology based on Chinese classics (Figure 11).



Figure 11. Entry for “kumquat” (*kinkan* 金柑) in the *Wakan sansai zue*. Vol. 66, fol. 37r.

Courtesy of Waseda University Library.

With later encyclopedias from the early nineteenth century, such as the aforementioned *Honzō zufu* (Figure 12), we observe that the illustration has come to occupy more space on the page than the text. The titles refer to the vernacular and Literary Sinitic nomenclature, and the text begins with a physical description of the tree, including its branches and flowers, and ends

with the alimentary use of the fruit. The illustration matches the descriptions in detail, “thorns, leaves similar to the mandarin, tree flowers divided into five angles, yellow fruits.” The grainy texture of the fruits is also noticeable, and it gives the reader an easier way of identifying the species. This new format for illustrative depiction found in *Honzō zufu* developed when the notion of “true representations” (*shashin* 写真) was emerging in the early nineteenth century, disseminated by the Shōhyakusha society, a *honzōgaku* group of mid- and low-ranking samurai scholars from the Owari domain.¹⁹⁷ A focus on these new kinds of detailed illustrations came to replace the attention given to lexicography (*meibutsugaku* 名物学) in *honzōgaku* research through the beginning of the nineteenth century, represented by increasingly colourful and realistic images which occupied a greater portion of the page.

¹⁹⁷ Marcon, *The Knowledge of Nature and the Nature of Knowledge in Early Modern Japan*, 196.



Figure 12. Entry for “kumquat” (*kinkan* 金柑) in the *Honzō zufu*. Facsimile edition by Iida Kuratarō 飯田蔵太

郎 (1919). Book 62. Fol 23r. Courtesy of Cornell University and Google Books.

In the case of *Amerika shinwa*, we also see depicted an illustration of the tree “*shiriboira*” which occupies the whole page, accompanied by the physical description of the fruit based on comparison (“like a kumquat but long”) and location (“in the mountains”), an explanation of its

extraction (“by shaking the tree, the ripe fruits will fall by themselves”) and its taste (“sweet”). However, we do not find any additional information in the painting itself, which implies that its representation seems entirely based on the record written by Maekawa Shūkō or by Hatsutarō’s oral descriptions of what he witnessed.¹⁹⁸ The colour of the fruit is presumably inspired by that of the kumquat, as real chirimoyas have a greenish hue.

¹⁹⁸ As previously noted, the illustrator Morizumi Sadateru states in his Preface to *Kaigai ibun* that he produced his illustration by “inviting Hatsutarō ... and listening to his explanations in detail for more than ten days.” *Kaigai ibun*, Book 1, 3a.



Figure 13. *Amerika shinwa*, explanation of “chirimoya” (*shiriboira* シリボイラ). Book 3, fol. 4v.

Courtesy of UBC Library.

We can find another instance of illustrations functioning to guide the reader in the case of the pitaya fruit,¹⁹⁹ for which the description states, “the size is as in the image” (*ōkisa zu no gotoku*).

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Figure 14. *Amerika shinwa*, description of *pitaya* ピタヤ (dragon fruit). Book 3, fol. 2v.

Courtesy of UBC Library.

¹⁹⁹ Today, “pitaya” usually refers to fruit of the genus *Stenocereus*, while “pitahaya” or “dragon fruit” refers to fruit of the genus *Selenicereus* (formerly *Hylocereus*), both in the family *Cactaceae*. In this thesis, I translate the Japanese term ピタヤ (*pitaya*) as “dragon fruit.”

²⁰⁰ *Amerika shinwa*, Book 3, fol. 2v.

The use of an image to clarify the actual size of a pitaya, however, does not mean that the illustrators were direct observers of this fruit. In fact, the size of the fruit is described in the main text of the Plants section, “about one *jō* in height” (*takasa ichijō bakari*).

The influence of *honzōgaku* encyclopedias and their approach on the production of *Amerika shinwa* is apparent based on the order in which the plants of this section are presented, the references to specimens found in Literary Sinitic sources, and the design and format of the illustrations. Although they appear to be elaborate, detailed images, the illustrations do not aim to faithfully represent the real plants Hatsutarō encountered but were presumably brushed based on Hatsutarō’s explanation of his encounters and inspired by various sources, presumably *honzōgaku* encyclopedias such as the *Honzō zufu*.

4.4 Classifications and descriptions of animals in *Amerika shinwa*

There are six categories of animals described in the Fauna (*kinjū* 禽獸, lit., “birds and beasts”) section of *Amerika shinwa*, in which their species are mostly compared to their Qing and Edo-era equivalents. The order of the categories of fauna found in *Amerika shinwa* does not coincide with that of the *Honzo kōmoku*, *Wakan sansai zue*, or *Kinmōzui*—for example, fish are presented at the end of the set of animals while fish would appear between “domestic beasts” (*chikujū* 畜獸) and “bugs” (*mushi* 虫) based on the order found in the three encyclopedias. There are, however, some similarities between these encyclopedias and *Amerika shinwa*, which I discuss below.

The categories and species of “Fauna” in *Amerika shinwa* are explained in the following order:

1. Birds (*chōrui* 鳥類): cormorant, common gull, domestic pigeon, mountain-dwelling turtledove, chicken, duck, “bird similar to a black kite”, sparrow, unidentified “small birds,” turkey.
2. Beasts (*kemono* 獣): dog, mouse, pig, cow, horse, ordinary horse (“*caballo*”), “*macho*,” donkey, camel, common goat, “fluffy goat” (“*borrego*,” lit. “yearling sheep”), “rough-haired goat” (“*cabrón*,” buck).
3. “*Montegato*” (lit. “wildcat”).
4. “*Ardilla*” (lit. squirrel).
5. Bugs (*mushi* 虫): snake, flea, lice, spider.
6. Fish (*uo* 魚): general term for fish (*pescau*), prawn (*camarón*), whale (*ballena*),

Japanese amberjack, young Japanese amberjack, red stingray, trout, Japanese sea perch.

Throughout the *Amerika shinwa* “Fauna” section we frequently see the species’ names included in the local language, perhaps influenced by the approaches of early *honzōgaku* encyclopedias, which focused on detailed lexicographical description of species. One example of this is with the words used to denominate “horse”: “The ordinary horse is called “*caballo*.” There is another kind of horse with slightly longer ears called ‘*macho*’” (常の馬をカワヨといふ。別に一種の馬ありて耳少し長きものをマチヨといふ).²⁰¹ When we compare this entry to other encyclopedias, such as the *Kinmōzui*, we can find similar descriptions of subdivisions of animals and their name, both in Literary Sinitic pronunciation and vernacular Japanese.

²⁰¹ *Amerika shinwa*, Book 3, 6a.

“‘*Ri*’ 驪 is a horse which is completely black. It is a ‘*kurokoma*.’ A ‘*ku*’ 駒 is a horse that has reached two years old. Moreover, the horses taller than five *shaku* (about 1.5 metres) are called ‘*ku*.’”²⁰²

(驪は馬の専らに黒きものなり。黒駒なり。駒は馬の二歳なるを駒といふ。又五尺以上を駒といふ)

Camels are also mentioned in this section, along with the respective Spanish term “*camello*.” What is remarkable about this definition is the reference by Maekawa Shūkō to the exhibition of camels several years previously in Japan.

“There are also camels, and they are called ‘*camello*.’ They are identical to those exhibited in Japan a few years ago.”

(駱駝もあり、カメイヨといふ。先年日本にて縦観にしたると少しもかはらず)²⁰³

The event described was likely one of the popular exhibitions that travelled to various locations in Japan, such as Osaka and Edo, which included two camels introduced by Dutch men via Nagasaki in 1821.²⁰⁴ Exhibitions of rare species in Edo-period Japan became widespread from the mid-eighteenth century, with the popularization of “product conventions” (*bussankai* 物産会) or “pharmaceutical meetings” (*yakuhinkai* 薬品会). At these events, *honzōgaku* scholars and enthusiasts displayed their rare collections to the public, which encompassed both commoners and samurai. These conventions were the basis for spectacles (*misemono* 見せ物) in which

²⁰² *Kinmōzui*, Book 12, fol. 7v–8r.

²⁰³ *Amerika shinwa*, Book 3, fol. 6r.

²⁰⁴ Calvin L. French, Sugase Tadashi, and Usui Kiichi, *Through Closed Doors: Western Influence on Japanese Art 1639-1853* (Kobe: Kobe City Museum of Namban Art, 1977), 48.

strange living creatures were shown.²⁰⁵ Foster argues that exhibitions of rare specimens “also generated textual artifacts akin to the encyclopedias.” He mentions the six-volume catalogue by Hiraga Gennai (1728–1779), *Butsurui hinshitsu* 物類品騭 (A Selection of Species, 1763), which depicts more than two thousand items from Edo conventions. As an example of a rare specimen from these exhibitions, Gennai includes an iguana.²⁰⁶

Following the explanation of the “beasts,” in *Amerika shinwa*, there is mention of two unique species, a “*montegato*” (wildcat) and an “*ardilla*” (squirrel). The first one, “*montegato*” is directly related to a legend purportedly heard by Hatsutarō.

According to a story by the natives, there is a creature called “*montegato*”.... It is said that when it comes into a house in the middle of the night and bites someone’s nose, that person will instantly die.

(土人の話にモンテガトといふものあり。 ... 夜中人家に來りて人の鼻をかむときは其人忽ち死ぬといふ)²⁰⁷

Legends or stories conveyed by locals can be linked to the notion of reported speech, which is frequently found in encyclopedias. In his description of the *Wakan sansai zue*, Foster highlights the importance of reported speech in validating the evidence found in entries of this encyclopedia, arguing that “[it] serves as well as (or better than) empirical observation to legitimate an item.”²⁰⁸ Many entries of the *Wakan sansai zue* use the expression “it is said that...” in their definitions. Foster offers the example of the mythological creature *kitsune* to

²⁰⁵ Foster, *Pandemonium and Parade*, 50.

²⁰⁶ Foster, 50.

²⁰⁷ *Amerika shinwa*, Book 3, fol. 6v.

²⁰⁸ Foster, *Pandemonium and Parade*, 41.

show how legends are used to explain specimen: “Also, it is said that, if you place the horn of a rhinoceros at a kitsune hole [den], the kitsune will not return home.”²⁰⁹ Legends are therefore seen as another reliable source for describing this animal.

The introduction of “*montegato*” as an animal in *Amerika shinwa* is immediately followed by a parenthetical definition: “‘*Monte*’ means ‘mountain’ (*yama* 山); ‘*gato*’ means ‘cat’ (*neko* 猫). Therefore, it is a wildcat (*yamaneko* 山猫).”²¹⁰ This lexicographical clarification is similar to those found in the *Kinmōzui*, as seen with the example of “horse.” While there is no term such as “*montegato*,” to describe a wildcat in Spanish but “*gato montés*,” “*montegato*” resembles a semantical calque of “*yamaneko*.” It may be therefore an attempt by Hatsutarō or Maekawa Shūkō to reconstruct the term based on known words. Curiously, both terms for “cat” and “mountain” are found in the vocabulary section in the Book 3, and this fact reinforces the hypothesis of lexical reconstruction through the use of a Japanese syntactic order. We find a similar example of Japanese reconstructions in the Literary Sinitic part of *Aboku chikushi*, in which a conversation by Hatsutarō with a person from Baja California is explained. Apparently, this person with whom Hatsutarō interacts has heard a rumour that “Japanese eat people.”²¹¹ The expression used in this section is a phonetic transcription in katakana of the (apparently) Spanish-language “*Japón gente comer*” (*Happon hente komeru* ハツホンヘン テ コ メ ル 法琤陰的各滅尔),²¹² where it

²⁰⁹ Foster, 41.

²¹⁰ *Amerika shinwa*, Book 3, fol. 6v.

²¹¹ “(Someone) was saying as a joke: ‘Do Japanese eat people?’ A stranger was making making fun of (Hatsutarō) and said: *Japón gente comer*.” (戯に言ふ。「日本人を食ふや。」夷人嘲笑して曰く、法琤陰的各滅尔). *Amerika shinwa*, Book 3, fol. 6v.

²¹² *Amerika shinwa*, Book 3, fol. 31r.

should be “(los) japoneses comen gente.” The grammatical structure of this phrase is noticeably Japanese vernacular, as we find an inflected verb at the end.

This pattern of including the terms in the Spanish is not only a method to make the foreign species appear more exotic, but it is also an evident influence of *honzōgaku* encyclopedias from the *Honzō kōmoku*, in which naming the species both in Sinitic characters and Japanese vernacular is a crucial part of legitimizing the terms of the plants and animals.

The second “strange animal” described is an “*ardilla*” (squirrel). We find the following definition:

There is a creature that greatly resembles a tiger, both for its fur pattern and its shape.

When it gets angry, it shakes its thick tail and becomes very violent. Its name is “*ardilla*.”

(鼠の大きさなる獣あり、毛模様より頭の形まで甚虎に似たり。怒るときは太き尾をふりたてて甚勇猛なり。名はアルデイヤといふ)²¹³

We observe definitions of squirrel both in *Bencao gangmu* and *Kinmōzui* with the terms 貂 (*jō*) and 栗鼠 (*risu*). In the *Kinmōzui*, we can read this definition: “A *jō* is a kind of mouse mostly yellow and black, hairy and warm. ... It is popularly known as ‘*risu*’.” (貂は鼠の類。大にしでうて黄黒色なり。毛ぶかくしてあたゝか也。... 俗はりすといふ)²¹⁴ The fact that this

specimen appears in both *Kinmōzui* and *Wakan sansai zue* encyclopedias and with its vernacular name (*risu*) probably means their Japanese readers were familiar with squirrels. While scholar

²¹³ *Amerika shinwa*, Book 3, fol. 6v.

²¹⁴ *Kinmōzui*, Book 6, fol. 11v.

Maekawa Shūkō may have been cognizant of them, perhaps Hatsutarō was not, and this may be one of the reasons the “ardilla” is not lexically related to a squirrel in the text.



Figure 15. *Zōho Kinmōzui* (detail), squirrel (*jō* 貂, *risu*). Fol. 153v.

Courtesy of the private collection Suzuran Bunko.

The “ardilla” is described with a double exotification, first, because of the use of a foreign term to denote an ostensibly unique specimen, and second, because of the comparison to a tiger.

Like the “ardilla,” the tiger is a creature also foreign to Japan, and it was widely exhibited in the *bussankai* (exhibitions) from the eighteenth century onwards.²¹⁵ Intriguingly, one of the terms used in the Edo period to name the mythological creature *kappa* was “water tiger” (*suiko* 水虎).²¹⁶ Thus, the term tiger not only defines the colour patterns in the “ardilla” but also its strangeness.

In the *Wakan sansai zue* the tiger appears as one of the first five creatures of the “beasts” (*jūrei* 獣類) section (Book 38), along with other four Chinese mythological creatures, the *qilin*

²¹⁵ Marcon, *The Knowledge of Nature and the Nature of Knowledge in Early Modern Japan*, 224.

²¹⁶ Marcon, 195.

麒麟 (J. *kirin*), *shizi* 獅子 (J. *shishi*, lion), *xiezhi* 獬豸 (J. *kaichi*), and *baize* 白澤 (J.

hakutaku). Furthermore, by observing the illustration of a tiger in the *Kinmōzui* and comparing it to other animals, such as the squirrel shown above, we can observe that the tiger's depiction is less realistic than other creatures, with exaggeratedly bigger eyes which appear to intensify its mythical nature.



Figure 16. *Kinmōzui*, tiger (ko 虎, *tora*). Vol. 6, 2v. Courtesy of Waseda University Library.

Both “*montegato*” and “*ardilla*” are unique animals with unusual features based on folklore. Their position in *Amerika shinwa* immediately following the explanation of “beasts” appears to be intentional in that this order is similar to the classification of the *Bencao gangmu* and the *Wakan sansai zue*. In both books, one of the subcategories of “Beasts” (*jūbu* 獣部) called “mysterious species” (*kairui*, 怪類) is also located at the end of the list. In this subsection of “Beasts,” we can find demons and legendary creatures who abide in the mountains, such as

the *yenü* 野女 and the *muke* 木客. In the *Wakan sansai zue* we also find Japanese counterparts of these monsters as well as native ones, such as the *kawatarō* (kappa).²¹⁷

“Bugs” (*mushi* 虫) is the following group of animals described in the “Birds and Beasts” section of *Amerika shinwa*. Unlike all the other subsections, none of the terms within the “Birds and Beasts” section include vernacular versions in Spanish, which has the effect of making these terms appear less unique to Mexico. Apart from different insects such as lice and mosquitoes, there is mention of lizards and snakes in this category, which parallels the classification of these reptiles with “bugs” in all three encyclopedias, *Benciao gangmu*, *Wakan sansai zue* and *Kinmōzui*. Therefore, the concept of “bug” here it is not the modern idea of “insect” but a broader category based on the *honzōgaku* tradition.

In the final section, “Fish,” we find the general Spanish term “*pescau*.” The fact that it is a dialectical form and not a standard one (*pescado*) reflects the orality of the text and possibly the lack formal education of the people with whom Hatsutarō interacted in Mexico. As for the species of fish included, all of them are described by the authors using Japanese equivalent terms.

4.5 Taxonomies in *Amerika shinwa*’s vocabulary section

Midway through Book 3 of *Amerika shinwa*, there is a vocabulary list²¹⁸ containing Sinitic script and Spanish, with occasional Japanese in *furigana*. The list includes fifteen categories, which encompass both natural and human elements such as “geography” (*chiri* 地理), “body” (*shintei* 身体), or animals (動物 *dōbutsu*). Some Sinitic terms are written in what seems to be *tōwa* 唐話,

²¹⁷ *Wakan sansai zue*, vol. 26, fol. 16r–20v.

²¹⁸ Fol. 14r–19v.

a variant of vernacular Chinese mostly spoken by official interpreters (*tsūji* 通事) of the Chinese language in Nagasaki.²¹⁹

Fifteen different categories are displayed in an order paralleling that of the *Wakan sansai zue*. As Plutschow notes, both the *Wakan sansai zue* and its Chinese counterpart have their categories divided into three larger sections, the “three powers” (Ch. *sancai*, J. *sansai* 三才), namely, Heaven (*tian* 天), Earth (*de* 地) and Man (*ren* 人). The following chart displays all the categories explained in the vocabulary section, classified according to these Three Powers.

Table 3. Taxonomies in *Amerika shinwa*’s vocabulary section and their correspondence to the broader categories of the *Wakan sansai zue*.

Heaven (<i>ten</i> 天)	1. Astronomy (<i>tenmon</i> 天文) 2. Time (<i>jirei</i> 時令)
Earth (<i>chi</i> 地)	3. Geography (<i>chiri</i> 地理)
Man (<i>jin</i> 人)	4. Human relations (<i>jinrin</i> 人倫) 5. Body (<i>shintei</i> 身体) 6. Actions (<i>dōsa</i> 動作) 7. Speech (<i>genji</i> 言辞) 8. Food and drink (<i>inshoku</i> 飲食) 9. Clothing (<i>ihaku</i> 衣帛) 10. Utensils (<i>kisai</i> 器財)

²¹⁹ Nan Ma Hartmann, “From Translation to Adaptation: Chinese Language Texts and Early Modern Japanese Literature” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2014), 4.

	11. Ships (<i>tansen</i> 舟船)
	12. Residences (<i>kyoshitsu</i> 居室)
	13. Animals (<i>dōbutsu</i> 動物)
	14. Plants (<i>shokubutsu</i> 植物)
	15. Numbers (<i>sūryō</i> 数量)

It is important to note that plants and animals are included in the “Man” section according to the *Wakan sansai zue*. The use of this macro category for these living beings may be because of the importance in *hōnzogaku* of the practical use of natural things for human beings.²²⁰

There is also some innovation seen in *Amerika shinwa* related to the conventions of *honzōgaku*. This can be seen in the usage of the terms “animal” (動物 *dōbutsu*) and “plant” (植物 *shokubutsu*). These concepts significantly differ from the aforementioned ones, *kinjū* 禽獸 (lit. birds and beasts) and *sōmoku* 草木 (lit. herbs and trees) and correspond to translations of the Western Aristotelian taxonomy for plants and animals. The words *dōbutsu* and *shokubutsu* were introduced in Japan by Udagawa Yōan 宇田川榕菴 (1798–1846) in his work *Botanika-kyō* 菩多尼訶經 (The Botany Sutra, Edo: Suharaya, 1822), in which he also introduced the Linnean binomial system.²²¹ Maekawa was probably cognizant of *Botanika-kyō* and uses the terms *dōbutsu* and *shokubutsu* as a tool for classification which he harmonizes with that of the *Sancai tuihui*. It is also worth noticing that the animals are listed before the plants, while in the

²²⁰ Nobuo Kawajiri, “The Missed Influence of French Encyclopedists on *Wasan*,” *Japanese Studies in the History of Science*, no. 15 (1976): 80.

²²¹ Miller, *The Nature of the Beasts*, 25.

honzōgaku tradition, plants are displayed before animals. This unusual order is presumably an influence of the *Botanika-kyō*, since the word “animal” is described before “plant.”²²² The fact that every entry includes at least one Sinitic graph evinces the hegemony of Sinitic thought also present in the three encyclopedias.

The chart in the Appendix of this thesis shows that the animals are presented in almost entirely the same order as that of the *Bencao gangmu*, *Kinmōzui*, and *Wakan sansai zue*. As seen in the chart, all animals in the vocabulary section of *Amerika shinwa* have a descendent order according to the *Bencao gangmu* (numbers 50 to 39), and an ascendant one if compared to the *Kinmōzui* (numbers 12 to 15) and *Wakan sansai zue* (numbers 37 to 52). The fact that the animals are classified in this analogous systematic way suggests that the authors of *Amerika shinwa* likely used these encyclopedias as references when writing the vocabulary section.

4.6 Conclusion: A manuscript reflecting shifting ideologies

After examining the informative text of *Amerika shinwa* and its descriptions of plants and animals, we can conclude that it was produced within the paradigms of the *honzōgaku* encyclopedias *Bencao gangmu*, *Kinmōzui*, and *Wakan sansai zue*. The influence of *honzōgaku* ideas may be seen in multiple aspects of the manuscript content and format, including the lexicographic descriptions, the practical use of textual descriptions and illustrations, and the categorical system of plants and animals.

²²² Yoshino Masaharu, “Nihon ni okeru shokubutsu-kan no henkaku: ‘Botanikakyō’ no rekishiteki igi,” *Dōshisha Joshi Daigaku Nihongo Nihon Bungaku Gakkai* 24 (June 30, 2012): 57.

The first aspect consists of the lexicographical description of species, which is based on Chinese *leishu* books and is the primary purpose of the *Bencao gangmu*, in which we find short definitions of terms in Sinitic characters, vernacular Japanese, and Spanish.

The second feature is the practical use of plants and animals, one of the main purposes of *honzōgaku*. We find this not only in the use of an abundance of descriptions of extraction and preparation of plants, but also in the detailed texts and illustrations showing how to collect certain fruits or depicting their actual size. The importance of illustrations as a detailed visual guide for the reader is another aspect of later Japanese *honzōgaku* encyclopedias from the first half of the nineteenth century.

Furthermore, the philosophical view of the world of *honzōgaku* is present in the categorical order of the plants and animals listed in *Amerika shinwa*. These categories follow the cosmological and anthropocentric ideas of Li Shizhen and Wan Qi. Moreover, we can also observe the influence of later encyclopedias such as the *Botanika-kyō*, with the inclusion of the Western terms “animal” and “plant.” These terms do not contradict the traditional Chinese ones but serve as a complementary tool in the categorization of species.

Thus, the role *honzōgaku* encyclopedias played in *Amerika shinwa* is significant and shows how *honzōgaku* served as both a categorical system and a way to understand both native and foreign species in the Japanese archipelago during the period from the eighteenth century until the late nineteenth century.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and future directions

Along with other *hyōryūki* held by the UBC Library, *Amerika shinwa* proves to be a historically significant text, not only for its unusual story and depictions of Baja California but also for being a manuscript which presumably circulated in secrecy among the highest echelons of scholars and samurai. Its colourful illustrations complement the narrative and, at the same time, serve as an auxiliary tool for the descriptions of the plants and animals in the text.

In regard to the epistemological background of the text, we see layers of knowledge which were derived from *hyōryūki*, as well as from Chinese, Japanese, and Rangaku works. This study has focused on the influence *honzōgaku* encyclopedias on the categorization of plants in *Amerika shinwa*, but the UBC manuscript may also be contrasted with other *hyōryūki* and read alongside Rangaku and Kokugaku texts. Future research and comparative analyses of *Amerika shinwa* and other works would bring new approaches to the manuscript and offer a more detailed understanding of both its style and epistemology. As this study has attempted to show, the *Amerika shinwa* manuscript offers paths for broader insights into knowledge circulation in the late Edo period.

In this study, I have discussed the function of the illustrations as practical and auxiliary means of offering complementary explanations of how plants and objects are used. Future research might consider the material and technical aspects of the images, including pigments used and the historical contexts for material aspects. What painting procedures did the artist use? How do the images in the UBC copy of *Amerika shinwa* differ from other manuscripts? Approaching these questions would further elucidate elements that make the UBC manuscript unique.

While this thesis has demonstrated how *honzōgaku* served as the basis for the depictions of plants and animals in the second part of *Amerika shinwa*, many other aspects invite further analysis. The text also contains a fascinating proto-ethnographic depiction of the world foreign to Tokugawa Japan, including people residing in Baja California and those in Qing territory. Future research might examine the paradigms or ideologies that were rooted both in Hatsutarō and the authors' perceptions and how these were formed. For example, in the text we see frequent use of the graph “barbarian” (夷 *i*) to refer to non-Chinese foreigners, which at first sight could imply a Sinocentric mentality. At the same time, the term *dojin* 土人 is used for Mexican Indigenous people, offering inroads for considering what this means within the history of Western settler colonialism.

A final future direction might be through a deeper linguistic analysis. While many studies of the Japanese and English languages offer a general idea of the Spanish and Indigenous lexicon from the text, an approach informed by a knowledge of Spanish and Indigenous linguistics would help address incongruencies and obscure vocabulary. A thorough lexicographical study would not only help to recover the missing links between the terms mentioned in *Amerika shinwa* and historical ones used in Baja California, but would also shed further light on the process of language learning undertaken by Hatsutarō and by ruling elites in late Edo Japan.

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Appendix: Terms for animals in *Amerika shinwa* and their categories in the three encyclopedias

This is a table with terms for animals in *Amerika shinwa* and their categories in the encyclopedias *Bencao gangmu*, *Kinmōzui* and *Wakan sasai zue* (see Chapter 4.5).

Term in <i>Amerika shinwa</i>			Category of the term in the three encyclopedias		
Kanji ²²³	Katakana	Purported katakana interpretation in Spanish	<i>Bencao gangmu</i> (1596) (Including subcategories)	<i>Kinmōzui</i> (1666)	<i>Wakan sansai zue</i> (1712)
<i>uma</i> 馬 (horse)	<i>kawayo</i> カワヨ	<i>caballo</i> (horse)	50- <i>shoubu</i> 獸部 (J. <i>jūbu</i> , beasts) 1- <i>chulei</i> 畜類 (J. <i>chikurui</i> , domestic species)	12- <i>chikujū</i> 畜獸 (domestic beasts)	37- <i>chikurui</i> 畜類 (domestic species)
<i>chōkiba</i> 長耳馬 (long-eared horse)	<i>macho</i> マチヨ	<i>macho</i> (lit. male)	50- <i>shoubu</i> 獸部 (J. <i>jūbu</i> , beasts) 1- <i>chulei</i> 畜類 (J. <i>chikurui</i> , domestic species)	12- <i>chikujū</i> 畜獸 (domestic beasts)	37- <i>chikurui</i> 畜類 (domestic species)

²²³ I have added a tentative Japanese reading for convenience.

<i>ro</i> 驢 (donkey)	<i>bora</i> ボラ	<i>burra</i> (jennet; female donkey)	50- <i>shoubu</i> 獸部 (J. <i>jūbu</i> , beasts) 1- <i>chulei</i> 畜類 (J. <i>chikurui</i> , domestic species)	12- <i>chikujū</i> 畜獸 (domestic beasts)	37- <i>chikurui</i> 畜類 (domestic species)
<i>rakuda</i> 駱駝 (camel)	<i>kameiyo</i> カメイヨ	<i>camello</i> (camel)	50- <i>shoubu</i> 獸部 (J. <i>jūbu</i> , beasts) 1- <i>chulei</i> 畜類 (J. <i>chikurui</i> , domestic species)	12- <i>chikujū</i> 畜獸 (domestic beasts)	37- <i>chikurui</i> 畜類 (domestic species)
<i>ushi</i> 牛 (cow)	<i>vaca</i> バカ	<i>vaca</i> (cow)	50- <i>shoubu</i> 獸部 (J. <i>jūbu</i> , beasts) 1- <i>chulei</i> 畜類 (J. <i>chikurui</i> , domestic species)	12- <i>chikujū</i> 畜獸 (domestic beasts)	37- <i>chikurui</i> 畜類 (domestic species)
<i>buta</i> 豕 (pig)	<i>kochi</i> コチ	<i>cochino</i> (pig)	50- <i>shoubu</i> 獸部 (J. <i>jūbu</i> , beasts) 1- <i>chulei</i> 畜類 (J. <i>chikurui</i> , domestic species)	12- <i>chikujū</i> 畜獸 (domestic beasts)	37- <i>chikurui</i> 畜類 (domestic species)
<i>men'yō</i> 綿羊 (sheep)	<i>borego</i> ボレゴ	<i>borrego</i> (yearling sheep)	50- <i>shoubu</i> 獸部 (J. <i>jūbu</i> , beasts)	12- <i>chikujū</i> 畜獸	37- <i>chikurui</i> 畜類 (domestic species)

			1- <i>chulei</i> 畜類 (J. <i>chikurui</i> , domestic species)	(domestic beasts)	
<i>somō</i> <i>men'yō</i> 粗毛綿羊 ("rough- haired goat")	<i>kaburon</i> カブロン	<i>cabrón</i> (buck)	50- <i>shoubu</i> 獣部 (J. <i>jūbu</i> , beasts) 1- 畜類 <i>chulei</i> (J. <i>chikurui</i> , domestic species)	12- <i>chikujū</i> 畜獸 (domestic beasts)	37- <i>chikurui</i> 畜類 (domestic species)
<i>hitsuji</i> 羊 (goat)	<i>chibo</i> チボ	<i>chivo</i> (goat)	50- <i>shoubu</i> 獣部 (J. <i>jūbu</i> , beasts) 1- 畜類 <i>chulei</i> (J. <i>chikurui</i> , domestic species)	12- <i>chikujū</i> 畜獸 (domestic beasts)	37- <i>chikurui</i> 畜類 (domestic species)
<i>shika</i> 鹿 (deer)	<i>benado</i> ベナド	<i>venado</i> (deer)	50- <i>shoubu</i> 獣部 (J. <i>jūbu</i> , beasts) 1- 畜類 <i>chulei</i> (J. <i>chikurui</i> , domestic species)	12- <i>chikujū</i> 畜獸 (domestic beasts)	37- <i>chikurui</i> 畜類 (domestic species)
<i>neko</i> 猫 (cat)	<i>gato</i> ガト	<i>gato</i> (cat)	50- <i>shoubu</i> 獣部 (J. <i>jūbu</i> , beasts)	12- <i>chikujū</i> 畜獸 (domestic beasts)	37- <i>chikurui</i> 畜類 (domestic species)

			1- <i>chulei</i> 畜類 (J. <i>chikurui</i> , domestic species)		
<i>yamaneko</i> 山猫 (wildcat)	<i>montegato</i> モンテガト	“ <i>montegato</i> ” (<i>gato montés</i>) (lit. “cat mountain”; mountain cat)	50- <i>shoubu</i> 獸部 (J. <i>jūbu</i> , beasts) 9- <i>guailei</i> 怪類 (J. <i>kairui</i> , eerie species) (beasts - eerie species)	12- domestic beasts (<i>chikujū</i> 畜 獸)	40- <i>gūruī</i> - <i>kairui</i> 寓類・怪類 (primates and eerie species)
<i>toranezumi</i> 虎鼠 (“tiger- mouse”)	<i>aridiya</i> アリデイヤ	<i>ardilla</i> (squirrel)	50- <i>shoubu</i> 獸部 (J. <i>jūbu</i> , beasts) 4- <i>yulei</i> - <i>guailei</i> 寓類・怪類 (J. <i>gūruī</i> - <i>kairui</i> , residential and strange species)	12- <i>chikujū</i> 畜獸 (domestic beasts)	40- <i>gūruī</i> - <i>kairui</i> 寓類・怪類 (residential and strange species)
<i>shisoku</i> 四足	<i>kuwadobata</i> クワドバタ	<i>cuatro patas</i> (“four legs”; quadruped)	52- <i>shoubu</i> 獸部 (J. <i>jūbu</i> , beasts) 1- <i>shouleī</i> 獸類 (J. <i>jūruī</i> , beast species)	12- <i>chikujū</i> 畜獸 (domestic beasts)	37- <i>chikurui</i> 畜類 (domestic species)

<i>jūnyū</i> 獣乳	<i>rechi</i> レチ	<i>leche</i> (milk)	52- <i>shoubu</i> 獸部 (J. <i>jūbu</i> , beasts) 1- <i>shoulei</i> 獸類 (J. <i>jūrui</i> , beast species)	12- <i>chikujū</i> 畜獸 (domestic beasts)	37- <i>chikurui</i> 畜類 (domestic species)
<i>ondori</i> 雄鶏	<i>gayo</i> ガヨ	<i>gallo</i> (rooster)	48- <i>qinbu</i> 禽部 (birds, J. <i>kinbu</i>) 1- <i>yuanqinlei</i> 原 禽類 (birds living on plains, J. <i>genkinrui</i>)	12- <i>chikujū</i> 畜獸 (domestic beasts)	42- <i>genkinrui</i> 原 禽類 (birds living on plains)
<i>mendori</i> 雌鶏 (hen)	<i>gaina</i> ガйна	<i>gallina</i> (hen)	48- <i>qinbu</i> 禽部 (birds, J. <i>kinbu</i>) 1- <i>yuanqinlei</i> 原 禽類 (birds living on plains, J. <i>genkinrui</i>)	12- <i>chikujū</i> 畜獸 (domestic beasts)	42- <i>genkinrui</i> 原 禽類 (birds living on plains)
<i>karakun</i> 吐綬鶏 (turkey)	<i>guahorote</i> グアホロテ	<i>guajolote</i> turkey	48- <i>qinbu</i> 禽部 (birds, J. <i>kinbu</i>) 1- <i>yuanqinlei</i> 原 禽類 (birds living on plains, J. <i>genkinrui</i>)	12- <i>chikujū</i> 畜獸 (domestic beasts)	42- <i>genkinrui</i> 原 禽類 (birds living on plains)

<i>ahiru</i> 鶩 (duck)	<i>bato</i> バト	<i>pato</i> duck	47- <i>qinbu</i> 禽部 (birds, J. <i>kinbu</i>) 1- <i>shuiqinlei</i> 水禽類 (J. <i>suikinrui</i> , water birds)	13- <i>kinchō</i> 禽鳥 (birds)	41- <i>suikinrui</i> 水禽類 (water birds)
<i>hato</i> 鳩 (鳩) (pigeon)	<i>baroma</i> バロマ	<i>paloma</i> pigeon	49- <i>qinbu</i> 禽部 1- <i>linqinlei</i> 林禽類 (J. <i>rinkinrui</i> , forest birds)	13- <i>kinchō</i> 禽鳥 (birds)	43- 林禽類 <i>rinkinrui</i> (forest birds)
<i>uo</i> 魚 (fish)	<i>beshikau</i> ベシカウ	“ <i>pescau</i> ” (colloquialism of <i>pescado</i>) (fish)	44- <i>linbu</i> 鱗部 (J. <i>rinbu</i> , scaled species) 1 <i>yulei</i> 魚類 (J. <i>gyorui</i> , fish)	14- <i>ryūgyo</i> 龍魚 (dragons and fish)	48-52- <i>gyorui</i> 魚類 (fish)
<i>ebi</i> 蝦 (prawn)	<i>kamaron</i> カマロン	<i>camarón</i> (prawn)	44- <i>linbu</i> 鱗部 (J. <i>rinbu</i> , scaled species) 1- <i>yulei</i> 魚類 (J. <i>gyorui</i> , fish)	14- <i>ryūgyo</i> 龍魚 (dragons and fish)	49- <i>gyorui</i> - <i>kōkai</i> 魚類 - 江海 (fish – rivers and seas)
<i>kujira</i> 海鯨 (whale)	<i>baina</i> バヰナ	<i>ballena</i> (whale)	44- <i>linbu</i> 鱗部 (scaled species) 4- <i>wulinyu</i> 無鱗魚 (J.	14- <i>ryūgyo</i> 龍魚 (dragons and fish)	49- <i>gyorui</i> - <i>kōkai</i> 魚類 - 江海 (fish – rivers and seas)

			<i>muringyo</i> , fish without scales)		
<i>hebi</i> 蛇 (snake)	<i>kurebura</i> クレビラ	<i>culebra</i> (snake)	43- <i>chongbu</i> 蟲部 (bugs) 2- <i>shelei</i> 蛇類 (snakes)	15- <i>chūkai</i> 虫介 (bugs and shells)	52- <i>ranseirui</i> 卵 生類 (creatures born from eggs)
<i>tokage</i> 蜥蜴 (lizard)	<i>kaneyoron</i> カネヨロン	<i>camaleón</i> (chameleon)	43- <i>chongbu</i> 蟲部 (J. <i>chūru</i> i, bugs) 1- <i>lónglèi</i> 龍類 (J. <i>ryūru</i> i, dragons)	15- <i>chūkai</i> 虫介 (bugs and shells)	52- <i>ranseirui</i> 卵 生類 (creatures born from eggs)
<i>ka</i> 蚊 (mosquito)	<i>sankūdō</i> サンクウド ウ	<i>zancudo</i> (mosquito)	39- <i>chongbu</i> 蟲部 (J. <i>chūru</i> i, bugs) 1- <i>luanshenglei</i> 卵生類 (J. <i>ranseirui</i> , creatures born from eggs)	15- <i>chūkai</i> 虫介 (bugs and shells)	52- <i>ranseirui</i> 卵 生類 (creatures born from eggs)
<i>hachi</i> 蜂 (bee)	<i>bitachi</i> ビタチ	(<i>pitachi</i> ?) <i>abeja</i> (bee)	39- <i>chongbu</i> 蟲部 (J. <i>chūru</i> i, bugs) 1- <i>luanshenglei</i> 卵生類	15- <i>chūkai</i> 虫介 (bugs and shells)	52- <i>ranseirui</i> 卵 生類 (creatures born from eggs)

			(J. ranseirui, creatures born from eggs)		
<i>ari</i> 蟻 (ant)	<i>orimiigashi</i> ヲリミイガ シ	<i>hormigas</i> (pl.) (ants [pl.])	39- <i>chongbu</i> 蟲部 (J. <i>chūru</i> i, bugs) 1- <i>luanshenglei</i> 卵生類 (J. <i>ranseirui</i> , creatures born from eggs)	15- <i>chūkai</i> 虫介 (bugs and shells)	52- <i>ranseirui</i> 卵 生類 (creatures born from eggs)
<i>shirami</i> 虱 (lice)	<i>biohoo</i> ビヲホヲ	<i>piojo</i> (lice)	39- <i>chongbu</i> 蟲部 (J. <i>chūru</i> i, bugs) 1- <i>luanshenglei</i> 卵生類 (J. <i>ranseirui</i> , creatures born from eggs)	15- <i>chūkai</i> 虫介 (bugs and shells)	52- <i>ranseirui</i> 卵 生類 (creatures born from eggs)
<i>uji</i> 蛆 (worm)	<i>gusano</i> グサノ	<i>gusano</i> (worm)	39- <i>chongbu</i> 蟲部 (J. <i>chūru</i> i, bugs) 1- <i>luanshenglei</i> 卵生類	15- <i>chūkai</i> 虫介 (bugs and shells)	52- <i>ranseirui</i> 卵 生類 (creatures born from eggs)

			(J. ranseirui, creatures born from eggs)		
<i>tamago</i> 卵 (egg)	<i>goebo</i> ゴエボ	“güevo” <i>huevo</i> (egg)	39- <i>chongbu</i> 蟲部 (J. <i>chūruī</i> , bugs) 1- <i>luanshenglei</i> 卵生類 (J. <i>ranseirui</i> , creatures born from eggs)	15- <i>chūkai</i> 虫介 (bugs and shells)	52- <i>ranseirui</i> 卵 生類 (creatures born from eggs)