A WORLD IN PRINT; FOREIGNERS IN JAPAN'S EARLY MODERN *BANKOKU*

JINBUTSU-ZU

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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Japanese woodblock prints featuring foreigners that appeared after the opening of ports such as Yokohama to international trade in the mid-nineteenth century are broadly referred to as *Yokohama-e* (or "Yokohama Pictures"). While there are already seminal studies that document the representation of Western peoples in *Yokohama-e*, those of Asian peoples have not yet received equal attention. This thesis focuses on a group of prints that include the word "all nations" (*bankoku*) in their titles, particularly those of Utagawa Yoshiiku. Although these prints are currently considered a type of *Yokohama-e*, they are distinctively different from typical *Yokohama-e* in their scope, particularly in its inclusion of many Asian and mythical peoples. This study investigates how this group of "pictures of the peoples of all nations" (*bankoku jinbutsu-zu*) functioned as popular guides to the nations of the world and reflected the domestic new awareness for Japan's role within it.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The opening of Japanese ports to trade with Europe and the Americas in the mid-nineteenth century drastically impacted the quantity and variety of foreign peoples present in Japan. Prior to the 1860s, the ruling Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1868) in Japan tightly controlled foreign presences and interactions, limiting European trade to Dutch merchants in Nagasaki.[1] However, the opening of Yokohama and three other port cities in 1859 ended this period of isolation from Western countries, and Yokohama served as a window into the expanding variety of nationalities now accessible to the Japanese populace. Popular printed material mirrored this new foreign presence, and reflected a conceptual organization of the world that first emerged in sixteenth-century world maps.

The Tokugawa Shogunate's expulsion of European traders and Christian missionaries in the 1630's established what is referred to today as the *sakoku* policy (鎖国), or "closed country" policy. Japan maintained foreign relations with many nations on the Asian continent during the *sakoku* policy. Yet, Japan was isolated from all trade and relations with European nations except the Netherlands, who were restricted to a small man-made island in the port of Nagasaki. In 1853, the arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry (1794-1858 CE) and the United States' demands that Japan open ports to Western traders ended the Tokugawa Shogunate's control over European access to the country. In the trade agreements that followed, the small town of Yokohama, approximately twenty

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[1] Brett Walker, *A Concise History of Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 95.

miles south of Edo (present day Tokyo), was established as an international port, opening in 1859.

The Japanese population's interest in Yokohama's development can be seen in the sudden rise in woodblock prints featuring the newly built port and its international population. Broadly categorized as *Yokohama-e* (横浜絵) or "Yokohama pictures," these prints were sold as souvenirs to visitors, but also served as visual evidence to those unable to visit the port.[2] The majority of *Yokohama-e* were produced between 1860 and 1861, and were readily available for purchase in Yokohama, as well as Edo. These prints were affordable to a large part of the urban population. The commercial printing industry in Japan, which began in the early 1600s, saw technical advances throughout the early modern period that made color prints less costly to produce and purchase.[3]

Yokohama-e functions as a broad term applied to these prints after the Edo period and is used as a catch-all to describe an array of images: ships in harbor, the Yokohama pleasure district, foreign people in Yokohama, foreign people in their foreign lands, and new Western technology. *Yokohama-e* also typically include images that depicted the rapid Western-style modernization that followed the opening of Japanese ports. While scholars have documented the subjects of *Yokohama-e* and the historical information they provide about the port, there is room to further investigate these images of foreign peoples and the hierarchical organization they display.

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[2] Hiroko Johnson, "Yokohama-e," in *Dreams & Diversions: Essays on Japanese Woodblock Prints from the San Diego Museum of Art,* ed. Andreas Marks and Sonya Rhie Quintanilla (San Diego: San Diego Museum of Art, 2010), 160.

[3] Rebecca Salter, *Japanese Popular Prints: from Votive Slips to Playing Cards,* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 14-15.

This thesis focuses on images that currently fall under the broad term of *Yokohama-e* that depict figures from both the Western and Eastern hemisphere, and specifically on *Enumeration of People of All Nations*, (*Bankoku jinbutsu zukushi*, 万国人物尽, hereafter *Enumeration JSMA,* Fig. 1).[4] *Enumeration JSMA* features four individuals, each figure occupying their own quadrant of the print, and accompanied by text identifying their nationality, *Chōsen* (Korean), *Ryūkyū* (Ryūkyū, present day Okinawa prefecture), *Ezo-jin* (Ezo person, today referred to as Ainu), and *Konron-koku* (*Konron* Kingdom) (Fig 2).[5] *Enumeration JSMA* was one print of at least three within a series by Utagawa Yoshiiku (歌川芳幾, 1833-1904 CE), each of which was published in 1861.

Enumeration JSMA and eleven similar prints which will be analyzed in this study engage in a larger context than the port of Yokohama, making their inclusion in the category of *Yokohama-e* troublesome. These images do not focus on the port itself, but instead attempt to represent the many peoples of the world present around the port, and their relationship to Japan. Each of these prints include the word *bankoku* (literally "ten-thousand nations," 万国), which not only speaks to worldwide scope of these prints, but also to sixteenth-century world maps and tables of peoples of the world that accompanied them.

In his canonical works on these early representations of foreigners, Ronald Toby classifies these tables of peoples broadly as *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* (万国人物図)*,* or

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[4] See Appendix A for all figures.

[5] This study will refer to figures by the Romanized Japanese they are labeled as. At the first mention of the figure a translation to English will be provided after, for a full chart of nationalities used please see Appendix B. Unless otherwise noted the translations are by the author.

"pictures of the peoples of all nations." Toby argues that *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* sought to inform audiences about the characteristics of the people of the *bankoku,* and to position them within a systematic order.[6]

Expanding on Toby's analysis and definition of the seventeenth-century *bankoku jinbutsu-zu*, this project asserts that nineteenth-century *bankoku* prints of foreigners, which I will refer to as *bankoku-e* (万国絵), acted as guides to the proximity of these nations to Japan, general categories nations were assigned to, and the social hierarchies present within these organizations. Notably, *bankoku-e* were not produced in conjunction with world maps, and at times Japan itself is removed from the image, a departure from the sixteenth-century *bankoku jinbutsu-zu.* Despite the loss of explicitly geographical representations the arrangement of figures continued to demonstrate foreign nations' proximity to Japan and their place within the hierarchy.

The mass production of *bankoku-e* and the powerful commercial forces behind their production provide insight into how widely these hierarchies and organizations were understood by the general populace. These prints, such as *Enumeration JSMA,* produced in large volumes for a wide range of the population, needed to be both appealing and understandable to their consumers. Thus, *bankoku-e* reveal a great deal about the common knowledge of the Japanese audience of the day. Under this premise, the choice to exclude Japan from some compositions highlights the Japan-centric worldview that pervaded throughout Japan in the mid-nineteenth century. Through an analysis of these

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[6] Ronald Toby, "Three Realms/Myriad Countries an "Ethnography" of Other and the Re-bounding of Japan, 1550-1750," in *Constructing Nationhood in Modern East Asia,* ed. Kai-wing Chow et al. (University of Michigan Press, 2001), 26.

prints elucidates the conception of the world as it was understood at during important

turning point in Japan's history.

CHAPTER TWO

PRESENT CATEGORIZATION OF PRINTS WITH FOREIGNERS

Scholarship in English on prints representing foreigners from the eighteenth and nineteenth century generally organizes these prints into three main categories, *Nagasaki-e* (長崎絵), *Yokohama-e*, and *kaika-e* (開化絵). While scholars such as Ann Yonemura and Willa Jane Tanabe have written extensive surveys on Japanese prints depicting foreigners, the applications of these broad categories is insufficient to describe the purpose of prints this study refers to as *bankoku-e*. This chapter will present the current classifications of *Nagasaki-e*, *Yokohama-e*, and *kaika-e* as seen in seminal works on the subject and analyze the ways images such as *Enumeration JSMA* fall outside of these categories.

Nagasaki-e

After the Tokugawa government expelled the majority of European nations from Japan in 1639, international presence was limited to a handful of places throughout the country, namely the port of Nagasaki. Nagasaki served as the only official site for trade with Dutch and Chinese merchants, and access to foreign merchants was strictly controlled within these spaces.[7] However, interaction did occur, and *Nagasaki-e* provided visual representations of the town's multicultural presence. Dutch and Chinese merchants, as well as their Western-style habits and costumes were popular foci of

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[7] Walker, *A Concise History of Japan*, 94-95.

Nagasaki-e.[8] While most *Nagasaki-e* were neither signed nor dated, the earliest dated

print is from 1764. The production of these prints ended with the opening of the ports in

Yokohama and Hakodate in 1858. Compared to contemporary prints produced in Edo

and the later *Yokohama-e*, *Nagasaki-e* made by local anonymous artists are less colorful

and not as technically impressive.[9] The difference in appearance likely comes from the

different techniques used to produce the prints, although each of these styles initially used

black key-block prints for outlines.[10] Rather than using additional woodblocks for colors,

Nagasaki-e relied on stencils to add color, often leading to poor registration and what

Rebecca Salter describes as "a coarser, more hand-made feel."[11] The stencil technique

comes from Chinese New Year prints; Chinese influence is also apparent in the use of

short-fibered paper and a Chinese-style horse hair burnisher rather than a Japanese *baren*

(馬連) to press the paper onto the inked woodblock.[12] Compositions of Dutch merchants

with servants appear repeatedly throughout *Yokohama-e*, as do depictions of their exotic

goods sold in the port city, and the unfamiliar breeds of dogs they brought with them.[13]

Yokohama-e

　　　Yokohama-e first appeared alongside the forced opening of the port to foreign

trade in 1859 with the United States, followed by England, France, Russia, and the

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[8] Julia Meech, *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions of a New Civilization* (New York: Weatherhill, 1986), 5-6.

[9] Kneeland McNulty, introduction to *Foreigners in Japan; Yokohama and Related Woodcuts in the Philadelphia Museum of Art* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1972), 4-5.

[10] Salter, *Popular Prints,* 82.

[11] Ibid., 83.

[12] Ibid., 83.

[13] Willa J. Tanabe, *First Impressions: Japanese Prints of Foreigners from the Melvin P. McGovern Collection* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1985), 7-8.

Netherlands. These "Five Nations" are often the subject matter of prints, as are the exotic animals and goods that came to Japan via the merchants in Yokohama. These prints represented Western foreigners as the Other through physical traits and costume. Many *Yokohama-e* also captured the language of these "Five Nations" by depicting foreigners with the *katakana* (片仮名) versions of common words. *Yokohama-e* were short lived, and by the early 1870s, the woodblock printing industry was failing as the Meiji government preferred newer, European methods of printing.

According to *The Hotei Encyclopedia of Woodblock Prints*, the first *Yokohama-e* were images of the newly constructed port and its pleasure district, but as international merchants and residents arrived in the late 1860s, the subject matter turned to figural representations.[14] However, *Yokohama-e* were not the first woodblock prints depicting foreigners visiting Japan. Starting in the 1750s, Nagasaki-e depicted international merchants of the older port city and *Yokohama*-e adopted many of these earlier conventions.[15]

Kneeland McNulty's earlier definition of *Yokohama-e* in The Philadelphia Museum of Art's catalogue, *Foreigners in Japan,* traces the influence of *Nagasaki-e* in *Yokohama-e* production, but dates the production of *Yokohama-e* from approximately 1860 to 1863.[16] McNulty notes that like the prints of foreigners produced in Nagasaki, *Yokohama-e* compositions and color techniques are less sophisticated than other prints produced in Edo at the time.[17] The earliest *Yokohama-e* focused on the growth of the city

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[14] Amy Reigle Newland, *The Hotei Encyclopedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints* (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2005), 267.
[15] Salter, *Popular Prints,* 81. See Figures 3-5 for example of prints categorized as *Yokohama-e.*
[16] McNulty, *Foreigners in Japan,* 4.
[17] Ibid., 5.

itself, which was a small village prior to the construction of the port.[18] The focus of the

prints soon shifted to the foreign peoples occupying the trading port, especially their

exotic fashion, appearances, and customs, which claimed to be "true likenesses."[19] As the

appearance of foreigners in the city became the norm, *Yokohama-e* began to depict the

places these foreign people came from originally.[20]

In the catalogue, *First Impressions: Japanese Prints of Foreigners*, Willa Jane

Tanabe expands the date range in which *Yokohama-e* were produced, but divides

production into two general categories. The first, produced from 1860 to 1867, focuses on

the foreign peoples and the activities within the port of Yokohama. The second grouping,

produced from 1868 to the 1890s, depicts the modernization of Japan, including railways

and new Western-style construction.[21]

Ann Yonemura in *Yokohama: Prints from Nineteenth-Century Japan*, dates of

Yokohama-e production from 1859 to 1872, but notes especially concentrated production

in 1860 and 1861. Yonemura writes, "The term *yokohama prints* refers broadly to prints

depicting Yokohama and its first foreign residents…By extension a few additional

themes inspired by the foreign settlement at Yokohama, such as imaginary views of

foreign countries, are encompassed by the same term, even though such prints do not

specifically depict Yokohama."[22] Subject matters Yonemura identifies include the city of

Yokohama, peoples of the Five Nations residing in Yokohama at the time, the

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[18] Ibid., 5.
[19] Ibid., 5.
[20] Ibid., 5.
[21]Tanabe, *First Impressions,* 14. This narrow definition of *Yokohama-e* leaves out *gankirō*, the teahouses images, the subject matter than most often included Japanese people interacting with foreigners.
[22] Ann Yonemura, *Yokohama: Prints from Nineteenth-Century Japan*, (Washington DC: Arthur M. Sackler Galley, 1990), 34.

entertainment district in Yokohama, depictions of foreign nations, and the Westernization

of fashion, transportation, and construction in Japan. A chronology can generally be

applied to the subject matter changes in *Yokohama-e*; as Yonemura notes, early

Yokohama-e focused on the foreign peoples visiting Japan, while later prints focused on

the Meiji period's rapid modernization.[23]

 In *Japanese Popular Prints*, Rebecca Salter highlights the fluidity of the

Yokohama-e as a genre of woodblock prints, and includes *shinbun nishiki-e* (新聞錦絵)*,*

sugoroku (双六)*, omocha-e* (玩具絵)*,* and *bunmei kaika-e* (文明開化絵) in her

discussion.[24] *Shinbun nishiki-e* were illustrated news prints circulating throughout the

1870s that served as a non-official news source for Japan's urban populations. These

colorful, often sensational prints originated in simpler *kawaraban* (瓦版); these single

sheet news prints date as far back as 1615, but did not become popular until the 1850s.

Like their predecessor, *shinbun nishiki-e* included the pronunciation glossary for written

characters to expand the potential audience. The topics covered in these news sheets

ranged from natural disasters to the latest news on *kabuki* (歌舞伎) actors, and the arrival

of American ships off the coast of Japan in 1853.[25] Images of the new people arriving in

Japan did not begin with the production of *Yokohama-e*; the genre emerged due to a

specific interest in the arrival of foreigners. *Sugoroku,* sometimes referred to as *e-*

sugoroku (picture *sugoroku,* 絵双六), were woodblock printed game boards. In the game,

players rolled dice in an effort to move their game piece from the starting point to the

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[23] Ibid., 35.

[24] Salter, *Popular Prints,* 83-87.

[25] Ibid., 58-60.

finish, encountering obstacles as the game piece moves through different spaces.[26]

Omocha-e were similar, as they were also print games or toys, but required the print to be cut out and constructed to use.[27] Produced in the same method and often by the same designers as *Yokohama-e,* these prints allowed interaction between the user and the foreign peoples and places shown.

While Tanabe, Yonemura, and Salter, among other scholars have rightly identified *Yokohama-e*'s use of figures and compositions from earlier *Nagasaki-e* as well as the prints' technical differences, the current definition of *Yokohama-e* continues the use of a geographical restriction that is not applicable. While many prints depicted sites within the port city, others instead chose to imagine the sights and landscapes of foreign nations. Additionally, the inclusion of mythical people in numerous designs enforces that not all *Yokohama-e* show scenes from the city itself.

Kaika-e

What Yonemura and Tanabe identify as a second phase of *Yokohama-e*, Hiroko Johnson describes as *kaika-e*. What separates *kaika-e* is their focus on the modernization of Japan's infrastructure and people, rather than foreigners' presence. These prints documented the transition from the Tokugawa Shogunate to the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and the rapid changes that ensued. Iron bridges, Western-style buildings, and railways were a large part of the Meiji Restoration's building program and common subjects of *kaika-e*.[28] The foreign peoples present in *kaika-e* are more often depicted as

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[26] Ibid., 164.
[27] Ibid., 132-133.
[28] Hiroko Johnson, "Yokohama-e," 167-169.

members of a crowd of both Japanese and non-Japanese peoples within larger and more complex compositions.[29] Defining *kaika-e* as a later phase of *Yokohama-e*, however made the subject matters included too vast to encase under a single term. The subjects of *kaika-e* were not the foreign people that entered Japan, but instead were the foreign ideas and customs Japan had adopted as a direct result of interactions with foreigners.

Bankoku Jinbutsu-zu and Bankoku-e

While *Enumeration JSMA* and similar prints are currently referred to as *Yokohama-e,* they do not seem to fit into any of the representation of foreigners associated with this category. *Enumeration JSMA* was printed in the city of Edo as many other *Yokohama-e*, and likely inspired by the foreign population of Yokohama, the print is distinctly not about the port cities, or any one foreign land. The prominence of peoples from Asian nations distinguishes it from overwhelmingly West-centric fascination in *Yokohama-e*. The inclusion of *bankoku* in its title clearly indicates that its interest lies in representing *all* nations, not only nations that had trade agreements with Japan, which seems to go beyond the scope of any loose definition currently given to *Yokohama-e*. Prints such as the *Enumeration JSMA* described nations through their hierarchy relative to Japan, and while Yokohama functioned as a window in the international community, it was not the only source of these relationships.

In fact, the use of *bankoku* in titles did not begin in the nineteenth century, but was commonly used to describe world maps and adjoining tables of peoples of the world. Similarities in organizational conventions can be seen through examining earlier works

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[29] Ibid., 169.

with *bankoku* in the title. *Bankoku jinbutsu-zu* are seventeenth-century depictions of "peoples of all nations," which most often accompanied world maps and took the form of a grid-like formation of figures. Each person, or male-female couple, was intended to represent their nationality; and their location within the table informed the audience about the locations of each nation within the international hierarchy. The earliest *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* appeared alongside world maps on painted folding screens, but later versions were produced as woodblock prints. Although the borders of the table were often removed, each nation clearly occupies its own space, as each figure aligns neatly to the imposed grid. The figures also provide information about the characteristics of the people of each nation, generally through costume and the tendency to distinguish civilized peoples from the barbaric, an element which remains in *bankoku-e*. These distinctions, in addition to the inclusion of *bankoku* and references to the geographical organizations, suggests a stronger connection to seventeenth-century *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* than is perceived at first glance.

CHAPTER THREE

JAPAN AND THE INTERNATIONAL WORLD ORDER

While the majority of English language scholarship focuses on the depiction of

Western peoples that followed the end of the *sakoku* policies, other Asian nations were

included in these prints, and play a crucial part in understanding the Japanese worldview.

In order to fully comprehend Japan's renewed interaction with the Western world in the

nineteenth century, previous foreign relations with Asian countries need to be examined.

To provide the fullest possible context, this chapter will introduce the history of foreign

relations between the archipelago and continental Asia, with particular focus on the

Tokugawa Shogunate's policies that challenged the Sinocentric world order in East Asia

and shifted the center to Japan.

Early History of Foreign Relations

In *The Genesis of East Asia*, Charles Holcombe traces the Japanese archipelago's

history within the larger East Asian world. Holcombe traces the first influence of the

Asian continent's higher civilization to a wave of immigrants from the Korean peninsula

during Japan's transition from the Jōmon (縄文 14,000–300 BCE) to Yayoi (弥生 300

BCE–300 CE) eras, roughly around 300 B.C.E.[30] However, the Jōmon civilization may

have had roots in the Yue cultures of Southern China and Southeast Asian, witnessed in

traditions such as jar burial and tattooing practices. The Yayoi population grew rapidly

due to the introduction of wet rice cultivation from the continent and absorbed the

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[30] Charles Holcombe, *The Genesis of East Asia, 221 B.C.-A.D. 907* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 201), 184.

primarily hunter-gatherer Jōmon population.[31] While immigration from the Korean

peninsula to the Japanese archipelago occurred, much of East Asia fell under the

influence of the Central Plains civilization by the Chu Kingdom (770–223 BCE) then Qin

dynasty (221–207 BCE). Eventually, this influence extended to the Japanese archipelago

as well. As consolidation of political power under the Yamato (大和, 250– 10 CE) court

began, they attempted to control all interactions with the outside world.[32] After the

reunification of China under the Sui dynasty, Yamato Japan pursued more direct contact

with China, and five embassies were sent between 589 and 894. The Yamato court

adopted Chinese penal and administrative laws, as well as the household registration

system. In the Nara period (710-794 CE), Japan continued to adapt distinctly Chinese

political systems.[33]

     During the Nara period, ownership of *karamono* (唐物), meaning "Tang things,"

was one way the elite classes displayed their economic and cultural power. Immigrants

from the Korean peninsula continued to be a source of Central Plains influence into the

Heian period, especially valued for their literacy in Chinese.[34]

     The adoption of Confucianism in Japan, and the understanding that a true

Confucian leader set a moral example and served as the center of civilization, created a

point of divergence from Chinese dynasties. As Holcombe writes, "The promulgation of

Chinese-style codes of law and the issuance of Chinese-style calendars, reign periods,

and posthumous imperial names were inspired by a spirit of competitive imitation in

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[31] Ibid., 185.
[32] Ibid., 189.
[33] Ibid., 201-203.
[34] Ibid., 192.

Japan; if the Chinese empire was *tianxia* [天下], or 'All-under-heaven,' then a rival of Japanese All-under-Heaven [or *tenka*, the Japanese pronunciation of *tianxia*] would be reproduced on the islands."[35] Vocabulary supporting Japanese All-under-Heaven began with the Yamato; credentials accompanying the Japanese embassy sent to the Sui (581-618 CE) claimed that the Japanese emperor was equal in status and power to that of China. Holcombe further argues that the identity of Japan required an Other to define itself against, and while Japan continued to highly value Chinese calligraphy, paintings, and other cultural elements, Japan began to develop a distinctive identity. This transpired through Japan's adaptation of principles from the Continent, which occurred through interaction with native Japanese cultures, such as the Shinto (神道) religion. During the Yamato period, the Yamato court based in Nara established tributary-like relations with other domains on Honshū (本州). Additionally members of the Paekche Court (18 BCE-660 CE) fled to Japan and stayed at the Yamato court after the defeat by the Silla (668-935 CE), furthering the Japan as "All-under-Heaven" concept. Yamato rulers went so far as to represent the now dominant Silla kingdom as a vassal of Japan.[36]

The creation of the imperial line in 710 and the moving of the capital to Nara marks the start of the Nara period, but the true consolidation of Yamato power was not complete until the Heian Court (794-1185 CE) defeated their northern enemies in 802. The Nara and Heian periods are associated with the high court culture of Japan, known for important contributions in literature, poetry, and visual arts. Continental influence continued through the kingdoms on the Korean peninsula and Tang (618-907 CE)

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[35] Ibid., 211.
[36] Ibid., 209-213.

Embassies that visited Japan. The attempts of China to expand eastward into the Korean peninsula were seen as a threat, and led to the strengthening of central Imperial power.[37] By 1050, however, provincial military figures had become the land holding majority, and a series of rebellions, disease outbreaks, and natural disasters had weakened the ability of the Imperial line to directly control Japan.

Then in 1192, the first *seii taishōgun,* "Barbarian Subduing General," or *shogun* (将軍), was named and founded the Kamakura Shogunate (Kamakura *bakufu*, 鎌倉幕府, 1192-1333 CE), followed in 1336 by the Ashikaga Shogunate (Ashikaga *bakufu*, 足利幕府, 1336-1573 CE). Both periods were full of military conflicts, and for a time, Northern and Southern courts existed. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Southern Court maintained weak ties with the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279 CE) in China, and the problem of piracy caused tension between the two. The Ashikaga Shogunate was the second and final time that Japan would formally submit to the Chinese tributary system. In 1401 the Shogunate adopted the use of the Chinese trade tally system, though this submission was short-lived. Civil conflicts continued into the Ashikaga Shogunate, as the division of power further split between central and regional influences. This period of Japanese history is now referred to as the Warring States period, lasting from 1467 until the unification of the country in 1582 by a series of powerful regional war lords, which eventually became the foundation of the Tokugawa Shogunate.[38]

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[37] Walker, *A Concise History of Japan,* 20-32.
[38] Walker, *A Concise History of Japan*, xxi.

Tokugawa Foreign Relations

The Tokugawa Shogunate began in 1603 under the leadership of Tokugawa Ieyasu (徳川家康, 1543-1616 CE) and is often remembered for the *sakoku* policy which prevented almost all Japanese from traveling abroad and strictly limiting the admittance of foreigners into Japan.[39] Additionally, the *sakoku* policies sought to challenge the Sinocentric world order that dominated East Asia much more openly than any of the former diplomatic policies implemented on the Japanese archipelago. Historically, China positioned itself as the cultural and moral center of the world based on the authority of the Chinese Emperor as the "son of heaven."[40] As the intermediary between heaven and this world who had received the mandate of heaven to rule, the Chinese Emperor, and therefore China, represented the center of civilization.[41] Neighboring countries could participate in Chinese civilization by becoming tributaries of China, which meant acknowledging the power of the Emperor to invest kings and sending tribute missions to China. In return, China permitted trade with their tribute nations. This relationship was based on the Confucian hierarchy of ruler and subjects, requiring a level of submission to China that the Tokugawa Shogunate was unwilling to accept.[42]

Official relations with China were negatively impacted by the Ōnin War (応仁の乱, 1467-1477 CE) and again later during the two invasions of Korea under Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣秀吉, 1536-1598 CE) in the 1590s. As the Tokugawa Shogunate began

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[39] Tashiro Kazui, "Foreign Relations during the Edo Period: Sakoku Reexamined," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 8, no. 2 (1982): 283.

[40] Ronald Toby, "Contesting the Centre: International Sources of Japanese National Identity," *The International History Review* 7, no. 3 (1985): 348.

[41] Ibid., 348.

[42] Ibid., 348.

to reestablish formal relations with East Asia, rather than formerly submitting to the Sinocentric world order, they sought to more forcefully assert the "Japan-as-center" model that was implemented selectively to ethnic other on the archipelago beginning in the Nara period. As Ronald Toby writes, "Previously, Japan had been located on the periphery of a traditional South Asian order defined by 'China-a-central-kingdom'; by 1700 this order was largely reversed, as Japan displaced China at the centre."[43] The Tokugawa government made this change clear by establishing a more formal tribute system of their own, effectively asserting Japan's status as equal to that of China. Tokugawa officials exchanged correspondence with Chinese officials investigating the possibility of trade in 1610, but the following year their correspondence was claiming Tokugawa Japan enjoyed their own tributary, the Ryūkyū Kingdom (琉球国). The language in the correspondence claimed that barbarians were drawn towards Tokugawa as a center of civilization, a role traditionally filled by China, claiming that barbarian nations were recognizing its authority in the region.[44]

Attempts to establish amicable foreign relations with China ceased around 1612, as the Tokugawa government chose to represent itself as a peer, rather than a tributary of China. The Tokugawa *bafuku* went so far as to later reject official Chinese attempts at correspondence. Ming Chinese officials (1368-1644 CE) were told to communicate with Japan through Korean vassals, with an underlying implication that Chinese officials were not worthy of direct communication. The Tokugawa *bakufu* was further able to demote China in the international hierarchy once the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911 CE) was

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[43] Ibid., 350-353.
[44] Ibid., 352-353.

established. Japan considered the Manchu rule during the Qing Dynasty to be a foreign

occupation of Chinese civilization, something that Japan had never permitted. Ming

loyalists furthered this idea by fleeing to reside in Japan rather than live under barbarian

rule. During the Qing Dynasty, Japan began to refer to China as the "Tang," a less polite

term in contrast to the earlier name of *da Ming*, or Great Ming.[45]

In addition to challenging the Sinocentric world order in their relations with

China, Tokugawa Japan created a tribute system that pulled the center away from China.

Borrowing from the *ka-i* (華夷) world system, Japan requested tribute missions and

symbols of submission from neighboring lands, particularly Korea and Ryūkyū. After

Toyotomi Hideyoshi's failed invasions of Korea in 1592 and 1596, the Tokugawa

government reestablished political ties with Korea and embassies began to visit the

capital in Edo in 1607. Throughout the Tokugawa period, Korea sent twelve embassies to

Edo. In addition to sending tribute missions, Japan required Korea to stop the use of

Chinese symbols of centrality. In 1645, Korea ceased to use the Chinese-era name and

began to use the Japanese name in official correspondence, something Korean officials

had previously fought against.[46] The Ryūkyū Kingdom also served as a tributary of

Japan, first as an autonomous country, and later as territory of the Satsuma (薩摩)

domain after 1609. Just as the Chinese had once conferred the Ashikaga shogun, the

Japanese government conferred the Ryūkyūan Kings. The kingdom sent eighteen

embassies to Japan on congratulatory and tribute missions.[47] While the Japanese

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[45] Ibid., 354-356.
[46] Ibid., 355-359.
[47] Ronald Toby, "Carnival of Aliens: Korean Embassies in Edo-Period Art," *Monumenta Nipponica* 41, no. 4 (1986): 18.

government considered the Ryūkyūan and Korean embassies as tribute missions, the true beliefs of these ambassadors may have been different. However, as long as these embassies appeared to recognize a Japan-centered tribute system while in Japan, the pretense remained.

While Japan maintained no official ties with China, commercial trade continued throughout the Tokugawa period. However, Chinese merchants were not accepted in Japan as foreign representatives, as the Dutch *kapitans* of the East India Trading Company were. This meant that Chinese merchants were not received at the shogun's court in Edo.[48] In 1715, Japan exerted further control over Chinese merchants by rejecting trade based on Chinese tally documents, and issued their own permissions to Chinese traders. The Chinese merchants were also restricted to a specific area of Nagasaki, the *Tōjin-yashiki* (唐人屋敷), which was another way Japan asserted its authority over Chinese merchants.[49] Through measures such as this, the Tokugawa Shogunate was able to retain strict control over foreign trade and interactions until the United States forced the ports to open in 1853.

While the arrival of the United States forced the Shogunate to open ports to international trade, Japan did not immediately abandon the *sakoku* policy. In the treaty negotiations that followed, the *bakufu* officials opposed not trade with Western powers, but the physical presence of Westerners on Japanese soil. In an attempt to avoid the presence of unwanted peoples in Japan and make the treaty more palatable to opposing political forces, *bakufu* officials required that trade take place on ships. Conrad Totman

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48 Kazui, "Foreign Relations: Sakoku Reexamined," 294.
49 Ibid., 292.

writes, "Trading abroad appears to be the best way to meet the foreign menace with the least danger of civilizations being subverted. It was a strategy that proposed to modify a relatively minor aspect of the customary content of *sakoku* in order to preserve its larger instrumental function."[50] However, many western powers, such as the United States General to Japan, Townsend Harrisv(1804-1878 CE), desired foreign residences in Edo; this desire eventually led to the capitulation of Japanese officials to open the port of Yokohama.[51] By 1858, trade treaties had been completed with the United States, England, France, Russia, and the Netherlands, later known as the "Five Nations."[52]

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[50] 1. Conrad Totman, "From Sakoku to Kaikoku. The Transformation of Foreign-Policy Attitudes, 1853-1868," Monumenta Nipponica 35, no. 1 (1980): 8.
[51] Ibid., 9-10.
[52] Yonemura, *Yokohama,* 22.

CHAPTER FOUR

MAPPING JAPAN

The assertion of Japan as the cultural center of East Asia that began during the Yamato period and was heavily reinforced by the Tokugawa Shogunate's *sakoku* policies, is visualized in world maps. The earliest maps of the world depicted the Buddhist cosmology and once European cartography techniques were introduced to Japan, they were adapted to fit these assumptions.

When viewed in combination of foreign relation policies, the shift of Japan's location from the periphery of world maps to the central nation becomes more significant. These shifts point to a widespread conception of Japan's position within a global hierarchy. Japanese cartographers adapted maps of both the Buddhist cosmology and later European-style maps to depict the geographic location of Japan. By the time these world maps were widely available in printed materials to the Japanese population, the centrality of the nation became an assumed element in global depictions.

Through the process of mapping space, a visual and conceptual construction of the entity being mapped is created. However, maps rarely remain static images, and their adaptation and alteration can provide insight into the abstracted place's geographic, political, and temporal locations. Production of world maps began in Japan as early as the eighth century, in the form of visual representations of the Buddhist cosmology, which presented Japan at the periphery of the realm. Japanese scholars were able to counteract the physical and conceptual distance from the center of the Buddhist world, India, through establishing unique links between local deities and Buddhist divinities. European cartography techniques presented a different hierarchy, as their maps entered Japan, instead centering the world on Europe or Jerusalem. However, Matteo Ricci (1152-1610

CE), who concentrated his world maps on China as the principal kingdom, transformed this alternate hierarchy for East Asian viewers. As Ricci-style maps appeared in Japan, mapmakers further adapted the image to match a conceptualization of Japan as the dominant power in East Asia, which the Tokugawa government actively sought to propagate. Through these maps, viewers today are able to access the evolution of representation of Japan's location not only geographically, but in the hierarchy of world orders.

The visualization of Japan as the central nation in the world organization seen in these maps served as a template for later *bankoku-e*. Both the geographical organization, which show Japan at the center of the map, and the tables of people which placed Japan in a position of importance are repeated in *bankoku-e*, indicating that by the time these prints were produced, this information about Japan's position in the world was common knowledge.

Buddhist World Maps

Prior to European-style world maps being introduced in Japan, the visualized world consisted of Buddhist representations of the universe. In Buddhist cosmology, the world that humans inhabit is *Jambudvipa*; this large landmass south of *Mt. Sumeru* (須弥山) was conceived of as an island, wide at the top and narrow at the bottom. *Jambudvipa* is often considered a representation of the Indian Peninsula, which is the historical home of the Buddha in Buddhist cosmology.[53] As *Jambudvipa* was the entire physical world,

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[53]Nobuo Muroga and Kazutaka Unno, "The Buddhist World Map in Japan and Its Contact with European Maps," Imago Mundi 16 (1962), 49.

Japan found itself placed on the edge of the map, with the Chinese Empire, the dominant world order in East Asia at the time, between them and *Jambudvipa*. The oldest map in Japan highlighting the three regions of India, China, and Japan is the 1364 *Maps of the Five Regions of India* (*Gotenjiku-zu,* 五天竺図, Fig. 6), created by the Buddhist priest, Jūkai.[54] In this map, the central place is *Tenjiku* (天竺), often translated as "India," but referring more specifically to the homeland of the Buddha, rather than any contemporary political entity on the Indian continent.[55] While the exact source for the 1364 *Gotenjiku-zu* is unknown, it is possible that lost versions came from the Continent with Buddhist travelers as early as the seventh to ninth centuries.[56] Visually, *Tenjiku* occupies the center of the map, with China to the Eastern edge and Japan as an island to the north of China.[57] The space Japan occupies is minimal, literally at the edge of the known world, isolated by seas. Japan's location expresses the Buddhist anxiety about the physical distance from *Tenjiku* as the land of the teachings of the Buddha. This anxiety was doubled by the fear that the world was entering *mappō* (末法), the latter days of the law, when the true teachings of the Buddha would be forgotten.[58]

　　Gotenjiki-zu conforms to a *sangoku* (三国) cosmology, the understanding of the world divided in three parts, *Wagachō* ("Our land," meaning Japan, 我が朝), Shintan (震旦) or *Kara* ("the continent," 唐, meaning China or countries within China's sphere of influence), and *Tenjiku* ("India" or land of the Buddha). The term *sangoku* has been

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[54]Tomoko Goto, "Emergent Consciousness about the Self Depicted in the World Map Screens" (The University of British Columbia, 2000), 15.

[55] Goto, "Emergent", 15; Toby, "Imagining and Imaging 'Anthropos,' 19‑44.

[56] Muroga and Unno, "The Buddhist World Map", 50.

[57] Goto, "Emergent", 15-16.

[58] Muroga and Unno, "The Buddhist World Map", 52.

traced to its first use in 820, but was commonly found in the Buddhist descriptions of the world by the early thirteenth century.[59] In the context of *sangkoku* where *Tenjiku* serves as the center, *Gotenjiku-zu* further places Japan on the periphery of the world and at the bottom of the hierarchy of East Asia.

While the anxieties regarding Japan's distance from *Tenjiku* continued in maps produced in the seventeenth century, later maps included additional geographical elements not included in Buddhist scripture. *Map of India (Tenjiku koku-zu,* 天竺国図, Fig. 7) was included in the 1642 copy of the Japanese encyclopedia *Shūgaishō* (拾芥抄). *Shūgaishō* was originally produced in the fourteenth century, but the map appeared in one of many revisions and reprints of the encyclopedia. *Tenjiku koku-zu* does not include the pilgrimage route of Genjō (玄奘; C: Xuanzang) as the *Gotenjiku-zu* did, but the map notes the distance between Japan and *Tenjiku*, as well as the distance between China and Japan.

Additionally, the inclusion of the countries of *Kittan* (Liao), *Kōrai* (Korea), *Namban* (Countries of the Southern Barbarians), and *Ansoku* (Parthia) began to recognize the multiplicity of nations.[60] As Nobuo Muroga and Kazutaka Unno note, "The Japanese may well have considered the Buddhist view of the world preferable, since this made it possible to place Japan on an equal footing with China by acknowledging the superiority of India as the Holy Land."[61] The other world view that Muroga and Unno refer to is that of China as the Middle Kingdom, where China served as the center of civilization.

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[59] Mark Blum, *The Origins and Development of Pure Land Buddhism : A Study and Translation of Gyonen's Jodo Homon Genrusho: A Study and Translation of Gyonen's Jodo Homon Genrusho* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2002), 90-91.
[60] Muroga and Unno, "The Buddhist World Map", 52.
[61] Ibid.,52.

One way Japan asserted its authority in the Buddhist world cosmology was to highlight its connection to *Tenjiku*. As early as the eighth century, the concept of Japan as *shinkoku* (神国)*,* or "Land of the Gods," postulating that the people of Japan descended from deities and that tribute from foreign nations served as confirmation of this divine origin.[62] By claiming that Japanese deities were in fact themselves descended from buddhas and bodhisattvas, Japan claimed a deeper connection to *Tenjiku* than China, despite its physical distance.[63] While Japan still occupied the right margin on the map, *Tenjiku koku-zu* visualized the growing relationship Japan felt with the source of Buddhism through providing a numerical distance between the two, rather than a vague visual representation of unknown expanse.[64]

However, the Buddhist worldview was not the only option available to Japan in the seventeenth century, as European-style cartography was introduced through trade, which influenced later maps of *Tenjiku*.

While Buddhist world maps of the eighteenth century, such as *Outline Map of All Countries in Jambudvipa* (*Nansenbushū-zu,* 南瞻部洲図, Fig. 8) from 1710, continued to place *Tenjiku* at the center of the known world, European techniques of topographical representation and additional knowledge of the Indian Peninsula were incorporated.[65] This representation of *Jambudvipa* has an arched top, although no geographical information is filled in this space, and the bottom of *Tenjiku* becomes a narrow tip; pilgrimage routes again appear within the continent, affirming its Buddhist affiliation.

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[62] Toby, "Myriad,"18.
[63] Ibid., 18.
[64] Muroga and Unno, "The Buddhist World Map", 52.
[65] Ibid., 58.

Many countries have been added to this representation and the island of Japan, while still located on the Eastern edge of the map, has been divided into several islands with their own subdivisions. This more detailed representation of Japan provides a more prominent location on the map, in addition to the lines representing trade routes that link the archipelago to the continent.[66] Muroga and Unno note that while there are numerous country names represented, similar to European-style maps, little attention is devoted to accurately representing specific locations of these countries. They write, "Thus it is clear that the map does not attempt to indicate the correct positions of the place-names from literary sources, but simply to give an apparent authenticity to its dogmatic geography by showing such names in comprehensive abundance. In this sense, it is not a map meant to locate place-names, but a map adorned with them."[67] It is likely many of the place names on the *Nansenbushū-zu* came from interaction with traders in the port city of Nagasaki and this may have served as a way to represent ties with the powerful and popular European knowledge disseminating from that trade. This map represents an attempt to order the incoming knowledge of the Western world, but still remains within the *sangoku* world hierarchy, despite the addition of more nations.

European-Style World Maps

In the 1540s European traders and missionaries arrived in Japan and brought European cartography techniques and knowledge.[68] As previously mentioned, the influence of Japan's connection to the large trade networks of Southeast Asia and beyond is evidenced by the long list of countries and place names added to eighteenth-century

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66 Ibid., 58-62.
67 Ibid., 60.
68 Toby, "Three Realms," 20.

Buddhist world maps.[69] In contrast to the three realms of *sangoku*, the term *bankoku* (万国) refers to a limitless number of realms, or countries. Another visualization of this *bankoku* can be found in early European-style maps that survived in Japan as folding screens.

Nanban sekai chizu byōbu (南蛮世界地図屏風), folding screens with painted world maps, are the earliest records of European-style maps found in Japan.[70] Dated to 1609, the pair of folding screens known as *World Map* and *Twenty-Eight Cities of the World (Bankoku ezu sekai-zu* and *Nijūhachi toshi-zu,* 万国絵図世界図・二十八都市図, Fig. 9), hereafter referred to as *World Map* and *Twenty-Eight Cities*, includes an eight part screen with a world map flanked on both sides with pairs of men and women from around the world, and a matching screen with twenty-eight cities and eight mounted figures.[71] When read from right to left, Japan is the first country the viewer encounters; however, the world map is visually centered on Jerusalem, which is the most vibrantly colored section of the map, and the European and African continents also contain the most geographic details differentiating from other continents.[72] Japan is still located at the far right of the map, the periphery of the known world. The far edges of the first and last panels are dived into cells, a three by seven grid, and a pair of figures occupies each cell. The role of Japan as a periphery is bolstered by the place of Japanese figures in this chart. Again, reading the chart from right to left, the first peoples on the chart are vaguely European, while the people of Japan and China are not depicted in the parade of peoples

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[69] Muroga and Unno, "The Buddhist World Map", 60.
[70] Joseph Loh, "When Worlds Collide; Art, Cartography, and Japanese Nanban World Map Screens" (Columbia University, 2013), 2.
[71] Ibid., 26-27.
[72] Ibid., 27.

until the bottom of the right most screen.[73] The hierarchy of status depicted here is derived through the cues of civilization of the opening figures and the descent into barbaric peoples towards the end of the screen, marked by their lack of clothing and exaggerated facial features.

The way in which the Japanese figures were represented also points to a Eurocentric worldview. The Japanese female figure is depicted as having curly hair, which was not an acceptable beauty standard in Japan.[74] In reference to early *Nanban sekai chizu byōbu*, Ronald Toby writes, "The earliest maps were Eurocentric, placing the Atlantic Ocean and Europe…or Jerusalem at the center, and relegating Japan and the rest of East Asia to the extreme orient at the far right-hand margins of the map."[75] In other words, the European-centered geography and the representation of Japan as less civilized than their European counterparts represents a worldview, while different from the *sangoku,* in which Japan and the rest of Asia remain at the periphery. Not all European-style maps kept East Asia at the periphery; the introduction of Matteo Ricci-style maps in China and later in Japan provided an alternative perspective.

Matteo Ricci arrived to China in 1582 as a Jesuit missionary, and within two years of his arrival, he created a new version of a European-style world map, likely displayed on the walls of his mission.[76] However, Ricci did not merely copy European maps for Chinese viewers; he translated the place names into Chinese, and reoriented the center of the map to fit the traditional Sinocentric worldview, in which China was the

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[73]Ibid., 23.
[74]Ibid., 24.
[75] Ibid., 24.
[76] Helen Wallis, "The Influence of Father Ricci on Far Eastern Cartography," *Imago Mundi* 19 (1965): 38–45, 38.

center of the world, effectively merging European techniques with a Chinese-centered worldview. Ricci's maps added five "celestial features," two Polar zones, two Tropical, and the Equatorial zone, as well as five separate continents, and the use of latitude and longitude. "The projection [of the third version of the world map] follows that of Ortelius's 'Typus Orbis Terrarum,' published in the *Theatrum* (1570), but Ricci centers his map on the meridian of 170˚ E, which passes east of New Guinea. By placing China and its surrounding territories towards the center of the map, Ricci made a reasonable concession to his Chinese readers."[77] Although Ricci's original map is lost, a copy from 1623 survives, as well as a six-panel folding screen, and the third version of his map from Peking in 1602.[78] The Ricci-style world map did not remain confined to the Chinese empire, but traveled from the Continent to Japan by the mid-seventeenth century. The creation of maps did not occur in a cultural vacuum, and the adoption and alterations of Japanese world maps were only a small part of a larger conception of Japanese centrality.

Matteo Ricci's World Maps in Japan

A Ricci-style world map first appeared in Japan in 1645 as a print produced in Nagasaki, and was the first printed European-style map in Japan, with later editions published in 1645, 1647, 1649, 1671, and 1710. An array of foreign peoples, similar in format to the peoples in *World Map* and *Twenty-Eight Cities,* accompanies the Ricci style map, and in several of the versions this chart is titled *Bankoku jinbutsu-zu* (万国人物図)*,* "pictures of the peoples of all nations."[79] The text included in the 1649 edition above the

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[77] Ibid., 39. See Hellen Wallis's article for more about Chinese cartography techniques used at the time.
[78] Ibid., 38.
[79] Toby, "Imagining," 24.

chart claims these images allow the viewer to see the differences between the many

people of the world, specifically their clothing and weapons.[80] A copy made in 1647

(Shōhō 4, Fig. 10, hereafter referred to as *Shōhō bankoku* following the common title

used today), from the Kobe City Museum serves as a comparison to earlier world maps in

Japan. As in Ricci's Chinese maps, the Pacific Ocean and East Asia are central, which

also moves Japan from the far right edge of the map closer to the center. The format of

organization is similar to *World Map* and *Twenty-Eight Cities,* a grid of five by eight

rectangular cells divided by thin black lines. Unlike the folding screen, *Shōhō Bankoku*

provides the viewer labels of each couples' country of origin, more clearly assigning a

nation of origin to the representative figures.

The order of hierarchy has also been rearranged to suit a Japan-centric worldview.

Reading from right to left to the bottom left corner of the grid, the organization from

civilized to barbaric people is still apparent; however, the definition of civilization has

changed. Rather than prioritizing European civilizations, the designer of this print defined

civilization as cultures that exist within the Sinosphere. Furthermore, Japan becomes the

first country represented, placing them ahead of all other nations. Additionally, the

representation of the Asian peoples configures to Japanese beauty ideals, rather than

European ones. Rather than the wavy hair of the *World Map* and *Twenty-Eight Cities*, the

female Japanese figure has long, straight hair, and both figures wear clothing that would

have been recognizable to contemporary viewers.[81] Not only did world maps that

asserted a Japan-centric worldview, but maps of Japan also adopted characteristics

emphasizing the country's significance.

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[80] Ibid., 24.
[81] Ibid., 31.

Maps of the Archipelago

The earliest maps showing the Japanese archipelago that exist today are estate maps of the land holdings of both religious and secular groups. One such example is *Map of the New Fields of Naruto Village, Imizu District, Ecchū Province*, (*Ecchū no kuni Imizu-gun Naruto-mura konden-zu*, 越中国射水郡鳴戸村墾田図) from the eight century depicting land owned by Buddhist temple, *Todaiji* (東大寺). Such maps emphasize the estate as a complete unit; little information is given about surrounding areas except to mark land that does not belong to *Todaiji*. While such maps create boundaries, the interest lies for what is within this boundaries, not what exists beyond them.[82]

Early national scale map making projects were organized by Imperial powers, through requiring regional daimyo to submit maps, as early as the seventh century.[83] However, the most persistent depiction of Japan is the map attributed to the Buddhist monk, Gyōki, (行基), who is believed to have made his map after travelling around the country. Referred to as *Gyōki-zu* (行基図), or "Gyōki maps," this type of maps is an assemblage of information from each of the provinces that existed in Japan at the time, and include little geographical information, disproportionately representing the distance between places.[84] In the earliest *Gyōki-zu*, outlines of coastlines are rounded and imprecise, instead focusing on the roads that linked sites within Japan. While the existence of a countrywide map of Japan suggests the conception of Japan as a unified

[82] National Institutes for Cultural Heritage. "Map of the New Fields of Naruto Village, Imizu District, Etchu Province." E-Museum; National Treasures and Important Cultural Properties of National Museums, Japan. Accessed June 5, 2016. http://www.emuseum.jp.

[83] Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan : Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period, 1603-1868* (Berkeley ; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 8-9.

[84] Loh, "Collide," 134.

entity, the lack of clear representation of distance suggests Japan's breadth was not yet visually conceptualized.[85] Compared to estate maps, Gyōki-style maps have expanded the realm of interest to encompass all of Japan and the relationship of provinces to one another. However, the lack of information regarding places outside Japan still focus on the relationships within Japan, rather than Japan's relationship to the nations of the world. Map making continued in medieval Japan, but was primarily used for administrative purposes, such as the settlement of land disputes and taxation.[86]

The Tokugawa government was particularly active in the production of administrative maps. The first project began in 1605, building on the extensive survey projects of Toyotomi Hideoyoshi (1536-1598 CE). As with earlier mapping projects, the central power, in this case the Shogunate, gathered information through the submission of provincial maps by daimyo which were later assembled into a national map. The resulting map of the first Tokugawa survey was completed in 1639; this map was enormous, measuring approximately twelve by fourteen feet. As in *Gyōki-zu*, the primary division was on the provincial level, and travel information was included, however, details of the coastline and sea routes were added. Maps such as this were not available to the public, but the creation of such extensive and comprehensive maps acted as a symbol of the Tokugawa Shogunate's ability to bring peace and unite all of Japan. Marcia Yonemoto describes the completion of these maps as, "testaments to the ambition and imagination of the early Tokugawa rulers who were able not only to conceive, but also to construct maps of such unprecedented detailed, size, and scope."[87] Map production did not remain

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[85] Ibid. 134.
[86] Yonemoto, *Mapping*, 9.
[87] Ibid., 9-10.

solely in the hands of the Tokugawa government, and as the commercial printing industry

expanded in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, commercial map

production began.[88]

Woodblock printing came to Japan via China by the eighth century as a means of

reproduction for Buddhist script and images.[89] Apart from the short-lived used of

moveable type from approximately 1590 to 1650, the woodblock relief carving was

consistently used to produce religious texts until the Tokugawa government was

established in the early 1600s.[90] As major urban growth concentrated literate classes and

potential consumers of printed goods, a commercial printing industry grew to meet the

new demand of written information.[91]

The population growth in these cities provided many entrepreneurial opportunities

for lower ranking *samurai* and newly established townspeople, which shifted the

economy from agrarian based to a merchant economy. This shift produced a merchant

class with disposable income, fueling the growth of the entertainment industry within the

cities, as well as the demanded for education. This subsequently led to the rise of literacy

rates, expanding the demand for texts.[92] As Elizabeth Berry discusses, a rise in urban

populations, wealth, and literacy are not the only requirements for a strong publishing

industry to form. A cultural acceptance of shared knowledge and desire to order this

information also needs to develop, forming into what Elizabeth Berry calls the "library of

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[88] Ibid., 16.

[89] Salter, *Popular Prints*, 13.

[90] Susanne Formanek and Sepp Linhart, eds., *Written Texts--Visual Texts : Woodblock-Printed Media in Early Modern Japan*, Hotei Academic European Studies on Japan ; v. 3 (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005), 10.

[91] Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Japan in Print : Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period,* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2006), 21-22.

[92] Ibid., 27.

public information."[93] The Tokugawa government's improvements to the highway systems and the rise of the merchant class in the seventeenth century began to put travel within the hands of the common people, reinforcing the conception of the boundaries of Japan. As travel became more ordinary among lower classes, commercial publishers began to produce more accessible guides and maps for this new class of travelers.

Ishikawa Ryūsen (石川流宣, 1687-1713 CE) was one of many designers of printed material in the Edo period, and was active in the capital from 1680 to 1720.[94] As with most *ukiyo-e* (浮世絵) artists, Ishikawa designed not only art prints, but also guidebooks, illustrations for encyclopedias, and maps. Commercial map designers had no formal training in cartography or survey methods, but based their maps on administrative or earlier commercial maps.[95] Ishikawa's two most famous maps *Outline Map of Our Empire*, 1687, (*Honchō zukan kōmoku*, 本朝圖鑑綱目, Fig. 11)*, and *Map of the Seas, Mountains, and Land of Japan*, 1689, *(Nihon kaisan chōriku zu*, 日本海山潮陸圖 Fig. 12) were both produced in this manner, likely based on *New Outline of Great Japan (Shinsen dai nihon zukan,* 新撰大日本図鑑) from 1678.[96] *Shinsen dai nihon zukan* and Ishikawa's maps distort the shape of Japan to fit into a rectangle, likely so reproduction could occur on a standard size of printing paper and maximize portability, unlike the large-scale Tokugawa maps.[97] In these maps, the subdivision of Japan is still based on provinces highlighted by color, useable road networks, and the coastlines with a stylistic

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[93] Ibid., 30-33.
[94] Marcia Yonemoto, "Envisioning Japan in Eighteenth-Century Europe: The International Career of a Cartographic Image," *Intellectual History Newsletter*, 22 (2000), 17.
[95] Ibid., 18.
[96] Yonemoto, "Mapping," 29.
[97] Ibid., 29.

"frilled" appearance.[98] The edges of the maps are filled with tables of information for the viewer, such as lists of provincial production rates, as well as the names of daimyo and military rulers. Ishikawa also included additional practical information for the traveler, such as distance between locations, local sites worth visiting, and the inclusion of supplementary roads.[99] The prominence of the road networks in Ishikawa maps diffuses any visual center within Japan, instead focusing on the movement of people within the country.[100]

In *Honchō zukan kōmoku* and *Nihon kaisan chōriku zu*, Japan occupies the majority of the space, but is not the only country represented on the maps. Between the many versions of *Honchō zukan kōmoku* and *Nihon Kaisan chōriku-zu,* the Ryūkyū Kingdom, Ezo (恵蘇), and Korea appear skirting the borders of the map.[101]

In the *Nihon kaisan chōriku-zu,* the Ryūkyū Kingdom and the northern island of Ezo are depicted. As previously discussed, the Ryūkyū Kingdom and Korea were established as tribute nations by the Tokugawa government, while Ezo and the Ainu people fell under the rule of the Matsumae (松前) domain.[102] These three countries are labeled with cartouches like the other place names, but are more conspicuous due to the lack of detail. This lack of information makes the foreign countries appear empty and small compared to the expansive Japan that is shown. The foreign nations of the Ryūkyū Kingdom, Ezo, and Korea are further displaced from power by the inclusion of mythical lands on the map. Places such as *Rasetsu koku* (羅刹国), "The Land of Benevolent

[98] Yonemoto, "Envisioning," 17-18.
[99] Ibid., 18.
[100] Ibid., 18-19.
[101] Yonemoto, *Mapping*, 33.
[102] Ibid., 33.

Female Deities," *Kari no michi,* (雁道) *"The Route of the [migrating] Geese,"* and

Nyōgogashima (女護が島)*, "The Land of Women,"* create a playful comparison to real

countries. Yonemoto writes that Ishikawa, "visually equates the 'real' with the

'imagined,' the 'old' with the 'new,' and 'official' foreign relations with imagined

foreign countries."[103] Further play between the concept of the real and imagined can be

drawn from the list of distances to countries in the *Honchō zukan kōmoku* in the bottom

left corner. Countries such as Holland and Russia, as well as the city of Nanjing are listed

with their distance from Japan in *ri* (里) the standard unit of distance in Japan at the

time.[104]

The inclusion of nations other than Japan in Ryūsen's map indicate a conception

of Japan's place within an international world order. The presence of neighboring

countries such as Korean, Ryūkyū Kingdom, Ezo, and the mythical lands create the

boarders of Japan, both geographical and cultural. However, the gaze of the map goes

beyond delineating Japan by including textual information of nations further abroad. In

other words, while this map describes Japan as a complete unit, the nation is also

described in relation to other countries.

Ishikawa not only played with the knowledge of distance, but with time as well.

In explicitly acknowledging Gyōki style world maps, Ishikawa referenced the historic

period of their production, the late Nara and early Heian periods, which had been

idealized as the height of Imperial rule in Japan.[105] Historic references are also present in

the tables, which provide production rates using the antique provincial divisions rather

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[103] Ibid., 34.
[104] Yonemoto, "Envisioning," 19.
[105] Yonemoto, *Mapping*, 31.

than contemporary ones.[106] By referencing the historic periods that were viewed as the height of central power in Japan, Ishikawa encouraged the viewer to conceptualize Japan as a powerful, unified nation.

These maps show the evolution of the representation of Japan from a small island located at the edge of the known world to the powerful center of East Asia. Buddhist world maps served as the earliest forms of a cosmology, which integrated *Tenjiku,* China, and Japan, and world maps using the Buddhist cosmos as a map into the eighteenth century. The three realms of *sangoku* did not remain static. However, new information and cartographical techniques accessed through trade routes were incorporated, and the importance of Japan was bolstered through origin myths that linked the land to Buddhism.

The introduction of European mapping techniques provided an alternate hierarchy. Yet, Japan still remained marginalized by the Eurocentric models. Matteo Ricci's world map then displaced Europe as the center, and focused on the Chinese Empire. Japanese map makers altered Ricci's world map to shift the center farther east, limiting the nations shown and coalescing conceptions of both mythic and real nations. These visual devaluations also occurred at the time the Tokugawa government was conducting their international affairs to achieve the same goals. By the end of the seventeenth century, Ishikawa's maps, and the geographical and historical references to the unity of Japan placed Japan-centric images in the hands of the masses.

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[106] Ibid., 31.

CHAPTER FIVE

EARLY MODERN BANKOKU-E

The hierarchy seen in *Shōhō bankoku* and *Nihon kaisan chōriku zu* places Japan at the center of the world; East Asian, European, and barbaric figures at expanding distances in early modern *bankoku-e.* Similar to geographic representations of the world, figures in these images are identified by their nationality and organized into groups loosely based on geographic proximity.

In "Three Realms/Myriad Countries: An 'Ethnography' of Other and the Re-bounding of Japan, 1550-1750," Ronald Toby extensively discusses the tables of *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* or "people of many nations," as a type of "anthropology" of countless types of people newly introduced to Japan in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. While Toby provides no explicit definition of *bankoku jinbutsu-zu*, a definition can be ascertained from his article.[107] Toby considers *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* a response to the "Iberian irruption" in the 1540s, when European traders and Christian missionaries began to enter Japan. The subject of *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* are these new types of foreign peoples, as opposed the representations of people from India, China, and Japan found in the three realms of the earlier world order.

The new myriads of peoples are defined by their nationality, race, or ethnicity, and while a hierarchy is imposed on the collections, the hierarchy remains fluid. Some foreigners are arranged by geographic proximity to Japan, and others are arranged based on European standards of civilization. According to Toby, early *bankoku jinbutsu-zu*'s hierarchy was mediated by a European gaze, which was later adopted by Japanese artists

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[107] Toby, "Three Realms/Myriad Countries," 15-45.

and modified to fit a Japan-centric worldview.[108] *Bankoku jinbutsu-zu* relied on visual

clues to inform their audience about the nature of the nationalities, and Toby highlights

this as the primary difference between *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* and printed encyclopedias.

According to Toby, a shift in genre began when encyclopedias started to include similar

sections on people of the world. He asserts, "And whereas the *Bankoku* representations

sought only to depict, not to describe, their objects of knowledge…" whereas the textual

information in encyclopedias was more concerned with describing these foreign

peoples.[109]

  Bankoku jinbutsu-zu often depict pairs of figures from each nationality

represented, with each pair delineated from the others, often through the lines of a table

or grid. While some of the versions of *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* include labels for the each

nationality depicted, others allow the audience to match the figures with the appropriate

country or region. Status markers are also included in many of the images for different

nationalities. Sophisticated clothing or lack thereof, the eating of meat, and disheveled

facial hair often serve as indicators of the civilized or barbarian status of the figures. The

latest example Toby cites as *bankoku* is a 1688 version of the *Shōhō Bankoku.[110]*

However, both the use of *bankoku* in print titles and the subject matter of the foreign

people of the world resurged with the end of the *sakoku* policy. This event served as a

new "irruption" of foreign peoples into Japan, and the desire to collect and organize this

new information led to the reuse of elements from *bankoku jinbutsu-zu*.

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[108] Ibid., 29-30.
[109] Ibid., 32. See pages 34-36 for more info on the visualization of the Other in early modern encyclopedias.
[110] Ibid., 42.

Foreigners as a central subject matter were not limited to one format of woodblock print. Triptychs, *sugoroku*, *omocha-e*, and single-sheet prints released in series were all forms in which *bankoku-e* were released. In these prints, each figure is labeled with their nationality or ethnicity and, for the remainder of this thesis will be referred to by the Romanized transcription and translated at the first use of the name.[111] This chapter introduces two triptychs, two game boards, and two series of single-sheet prints from 1860 and 1861 to provide examples of the different formats available, and analyzes the way that each format replicates the organizations seen in sixteenth-century world maps. Some of these prints explicitly place Japan as central, while others use compositional cues to indicate Japan's presence. The title of these prints retained key words from the *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* that accompanied world maps. *Bankoku* and *Jinbutsu* are commonly retained elements, referring to the two primary elements of these images, people from all nations.

Triptychs

Utagawa Yoshitora's (歌川芳虎) *Complete Illustration of Flags and People of All Countries* (*Kakuko kishō tairyaku bankoku jinbutsu zoroi*, 各国旗章大略万国人物揃, Fig. 13) is one such example. Although the year of publication of *Flags and People* is unknown, Utagawa Yoshitora was active from 1836 to 1882.[112] A banner depicting flags of foreign nations stretches across the top of this triptych, with a large crowd gathered below; next to each figure is a cartouche labeling them by nationality. Rather than the

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[111] See Appendix B for a list of names and corresponding translations.

[112] Andreas Marks, *Publishers of Japanese Woodblock Prints: A Compendium* (Boston: Hotei Publishing, 2011), 118.

figures occupying a strict grid system, as in the *Shōhō bankoku*, national flags are arranged in a table at the top of the print, while a crowd of foreign men and women mingle with each other below. Like the figures in *Shōhō bankoku,* which categorized people into roughly Westerners and non-Westerners, the figures in this triptych are loosely separated into categories of European or Western people and Asian foreigners. While the majority of figures towards the front of the crowd appear to be Western or European in origin, a handful of other Asian figures appear in the back rows. These non-Western foreigners generally occupy the background of images, such as the Chinese men identified as *nankin* in the right and left panels, as well as another Asian person carrying a large bag directly under the Swedish flag (瑞典). These non-Western Others are treated distinctly differently from the Westerners depicted.

As in the 1645 *Shōhō bankoku jinbutsu-zu*, Japan leads the table of people. The Japanese couple have been replaced by the Japanese flag, labeled "Great Japan" (*dai nihon,* 大日本). The well-dressed *samurai,* also labeled "*Dai Nihon,*" occupies the center of the triptych and seems to draw the gaze of his neighbors, illustrating Japan's importance (Fig. 14D). The figures immediately surrounding the *Dai Nihon* man are four of the five nations that signed trade agreements with Japan in August and October 1858; *Amerika* (America Fig. 14E)*, Igirisu* (England, Fig. 14F), *Fransu* (France, Fig. 14G)*,* and *Oroshiya* (Russia, Fig. 14H). The French woman leans over the shoulder of the seated *samurai*, while the English and American men are seated to his left and right. Both of the seated figures are slightly closer to the foreground of the image, making the *samurai* the tallest of the seated figures, another subtle symbol of Japan's superiority. These nations were key participants of international trade in East Asia and many had colonial holdings

throughout the region, meaning they were physically present in and around Japan, even though their countries of origin were far away. While many of the figures meet each other's gaze and appear to be interacting with each other, only one figure has turned his back to the audience. The Russian figure, standing behind the right shoulder of the *samurai,* has turned to watch the figures behind him, which gives the audience a clear view of the rifle he wears.

While Utagawa Yoshiiku's (歌川芳幾) *Picture of Foreign Men and Women of All Nations*, (*Bankoku danjo jinbutsuzu-e*, 万国男女人物図会, Fig. 15) closely follows the format of Yoshitora's triptych, Yoshiiku added mythical lands to the representation of foreigners, showing that *bankoku-e* were not limited to real nations. The same combination of real and imaginary places can be seen in seventeenth-century maps, such as Ishikawa's *Nihon kaisan chōriku zu,* which included distances to both real and mythical countries. Yoshiiku removes Japan from the crowd and adds additional Asian and mythical people.[113] The table of flags from Yoshitora's print has been replaced with a list of foreign nations, both real and imaginary.[114]

The groups of types of foreigners within Yoshiiku's triptych is more distinct, with the three types connected through their location in the print. The background is occupied by mythical people such as the Hole-in-the-Chest-People (*senkyō,* 穿胸, Fig. 16A) and the Long-Arm People (Fig. 16B), and Long-Leg People (Fig. 16C, *Ashinaga-tenaga,* 足長手長).[115] The print farthest to the left contains depictions of people from countries within the Sinosphere, including a Ryūkyūan man, a Mongolian, and a man and woman

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[113] Don't know which print came first
[114] Johnson, *Dreams and Diversions,* 166.
[115] Ibid., 166.

from the Qing Dynasty. European Others, specifically figures from France, England, and

Holland, appear in the two right panels. Similarly, Toby observed that the organization in

the earlier *Shōhō bankoku jinbutsu-zu* in, "simple – though not entirely consistent –

tabular arrangements of people, in a geographic order, from the 'nearer' people of eastern

and northeastern Asia at the top to people from 'faraway places with such strange-

sounding names,' as Ingeresu, Amerika, and Perusha at the bottom."[116] This study

highlights the continuation of this categorization from the mid-seventeenth century to the

printed triptychs of Yoshiiku in 1861, and suggests that this method of categorization was

an understood and accepted way to organize foreigners. The leftmost print features

figures from Asian nations, and the rightmost print features people from the European

continent. While there are certainly figures that are incorrectly placed in this schema, this

print provides a general orientation of a world map. Therefore Japan, which

geographically is located between Europe and the Asian continent, must be located in the

center of the print. The compositional evidence is bolstered by the convention of Japan

depicted in the center, as seen in earlier maps. Thus, Japan is surrounded by some of its

most familiar trading partners including Russia, England, China, and the United States,

all of which had a prominent presence in Japan.

However, while the "Picture of Foreign Men and Women of All Nations," depicts

representatives of Japan's nearest neighbors, the Ryūkyū Kingdom (Fig. 16D) and an

Ainu person (Fig. 16E), these figures are not present in the *Shōhō bankoku jinbutsu-zu.*

Toby claims that as the tables were separated from world maps, the Ryūkyū Kingdom

and the Ainu began to be depicted along with the other people of East Asia; evidence for

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[116] Toby, "Three Realms/Myriad Countries," 26.

this belief appears explicitly in geographic representations created in 1689.[117] The status of the Ryūkyū Kingdom and the Ainu people as foreign is explicated by *Nihon kaisan chōriku zu*, where both Ezo and the Ryūkyū are depicted respectively in the top right and bottom left corners of the maps. Only small corners of each country are shown, providing vague information that these countries are located north and south of Japan.

The playful combination of real and mythical foreign people in *Picture of Foreign Men and Women of All Nations* was also seen in Ryūsen's *Nihon kaisan chōriku-zu*, relating the triptych to both the geographical and pseudo-anthropological traditions in Japan. This print does not only add the representation of East Asian people, but also plays with historical representations. By referring to the Chinese specifically as Qing Chinese, Yoshiiku brings historical references into the print (Fig. 16F). By naming these people as Qing Dynasty people, Yoshiiku differentiated the Qing Dynasty from the Ming Dynasty. The Qing dynasty was considered a period of barbarian rule over China, and thus was not a true continuation of Han Chinese culture. This serves as a further reminder that Japan had never been conquered by an outside nation. Yoshiiku's triptych incorporates the grouping, hierarchy, and interplay between the imaginary and real, as well as geographical elements seen in the mid-seventeenth-century *bankoku jinbutsu-zu.*

While the earlier *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* separated each pair of figures into distinct spaces, the figures in this triptych appear together in a crowd, emphasizing their existence as a collection of people. The collection, listing, and organizing of information was a popular pastime in early modern Japan, which Elizabeth Berry calls the "library of public information." Berry writes, "This library is no particular archive but a metaphorical place

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[117] Toby, "Imagining," 32.

where we can arrange the many early modern sources that fit together because of their common purpose: to examine and order the verifiable facts of contemporary experience for an open audience of consumers."[118] Even the inclusion of *bankoku,* which can be translated as "all the countries" speaks to the role of collection in these prints.[119]

Game Boards

Representations of Japan as a central figure in *bankoku-e* was not limited to one form of popular prints. *Sugoroku* and other printed game boards used similar compositional elements that suggest that the audience shared a common understanding of Japan's role as the center of the world. Another print by Yoshiiku from November 1860 includes many of the same figures depicted in *Picture of Foreign Men and Women of All Nationalities,* and arranges them into a circular *sugoroku* board titled *Sugoroku of All Nations* (*Bankoku sugoroku*, 万国寿吾陸, Fig. 17). At the center of the game board is Asahina (朝比奈), whose travels are referenced by the boat he holds in his right hand. [120] The circle Asahina occupies is labeled "Great Japan" (*Dai Nihon,* 大日本) which places Japan at the center of the print. Placing Japan at the center of the game board echoes the movement of Japan in both the geographical elements and tables from the earlier *bankoku jinbutsu-zu.* As previously discussed, Japan was not at first centrally located in maps, but as maps were modified to fit the Japan-centric worldview, Japan was increasingly

[118] Berry, *Japan in Print,* 15.

[119] Ibid., 21.

[120] Katsuya Hirano, *The Politics of Dialogic Imagination: Power and Popular Culture in Early Modern Japan* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014), 130. Asahina was a legendary *samurai* from nineteenth century popular literature who was known for his world travels and is often related to a Gulliver's travels-like figure.

depicted as central. The same promotion of Japan's status occurs in the tables attached to these maps; for instance, the pair of Japanese people moved from the middle of the table to the first square, and therefore became associated with the highest status.

Foreign people occupy the outermost circle of cells, and are labeled at the top of each wedge, which creates a distinct framework for the imposing central figure. Broadly, the foreigners are divided into the same groupings of Yoshiiku's triptych: European (Fig. 18A), mythical (Fig. 18B), and Asian people (Fig. 18C). Asian people occupy the lower left, mythical lands appear in the lower right, and European or Western nations occupy the top half of the circle. As in other *bankoku-e*, each nation or ethnicity is marked with signs of status through clothing and facial hair. The figure identified as Ainu and many of the mythical people are shown without footwear, a sign that they were not civilized. The mythical creatures, as well as the figured identified as the "Black" (*Kurusu,* くるす) people are further barbarized by their lack of clothing, wearing only short pants or skirts. Similar costumes of barbarian people appear in the *Shōhō bankoku jinbutsu-zu*, notably in the cannibal people from Brazil.[121] The Asian and European foreigners are also defined by their clothing; however, the many layers of clothing and headgear marked their culture as civilized. Yoshiiku's game board goes further than visualizing the costumes of the figures, since more information is provided in the background of the board. The Dutch square contains a label with the kanji for "red hair" (*koumou*, 紅毛), which was a term applied to Dutch people and Westerners in general. Additionally, a Western-style building appears in the background, providing the viewer with information about Western architecture. Information about the climate of these foreign lands is also dictated to the

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[121] Toby, "Imagining," 24.

viewer, as seen in the sea-filled background of the Chōsen cell, and the forested background of the British cell.

In addition to being an aesthetic creation, this *sugoroku* could also played as a form of entertainment. [122] Players on this *sugoroku* would begin in the center in Japan, roll a pair of dice, and jump to different spaces with corresponding numbers. The goal of the game was to land on a square that allowed the player to return to Japan. For example, once the player lands on "Great Qing" (大清) and rolls a two, the player returns to Japan and wins the game. The six spaces chosen that allow the player to return to Japan and win the game may also indicate the importance, or familiarity of these countries to the typical player of the game. Players can return to Japan through the countries of Qing China, Ryūkyū, Holland, America, Russia, and Great Britain, all places that previously had, or established trade with Japan in 1858. The ability of return to Japan from familiar countries is further emphasized when the player understands they cannot return to Japan from a mythical country. Like Asahina, the players of the games would have the experience of traveling all over the world, something strictly forbidden to the common Japanese citizen people during the Edo period. In essence, this game allowed its players to visit an array of worlds and return safely home to Japan. If each foreign person is considered to represent their country of origin, the groups are roughly geographical. The group nearest to Japan was East Asia and the Continent, followed by the Europeans and the Western hemisphere, and the mythical people as the even further, unexplored "out there," from which a visitor cannot return. This *sugoroku*'s representation of travel further connects to maps, particularly in the way the game represents "leaving" and

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[122] Salter, *Popular Prints,* 172.

"retuning" to Japan. Ishikawa Ryūsen's *Nihon kaisan chōriku-zu* connects places one could travel through, such as roads and sea routes. While Yoshiiku's travel routes are more conceptual, an indication of movement still lingers.

A year later in 1861, another game board by Yoshitora was published, titled *Game Board Using Foreign Faces* (*Bankoku no atemono*, 万國の当物, Fig. 19). This game board is not a *sugoroku*, but is a combination of a dart and roulette-style game. At the center of this print is an angel carrying a banner.[123] This game board by Yoshitora limits the representations of the foreign people to their faces and excludes the imaginary people of Yoshiiku's prints. However, a division remains between the Western foreigners and Asian foreigners. The Western foreigners are gathered in the bottom right of the print, including a *Furansu* (French man, Fig. 20A), an *Amerika* (American, Fig 20B), an *Igirisu* (English Fig. 20C), an *Oranda* (Holland Fig. 20D), and *Oroshiya* (Russia, Fig. 20E). The rest of the figures on the board are a *Nankin* man (Chinese, Fig. 20P), a man identified as *Kurusu* (Black, Fig. 20O), a woman from *Tenjiku* (India, Fig. 20N), a *Dattan* (Tartar, Fig. 20M), a *Ryūkyū* woman (Ryūkyū, Fig. 20L), an unidentified male figure wearing a pointed black and red hat (Fig. 20K), a *Nanban* (Southern Barbarian, Fig. 20J), a *Kara* woman (Chinese, Fig. 20I), a *Mōko* man (Mongolian, Fig. 20H), a *Chōsen* woman (Korean, Fig. 20G), and a man identified as *Fukkin* (Fig. 20F).[124] Again, these groupings are roughly geographical. Much of the same iconography from the previous *bankoku* is utilized in this print. Most of the European men wear black, Western-style

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[123] This figure is not only exotic due to its subject matter as practicing Christianity was not legal in Japan until the Meiji Restoration; but also the shading techniques used on the winged figure were introduced from Europe. Areas of the figure are shaded with thin parallel lines that very closely resemble cross hatching. This shading technique was not commonly used in popular woodblock prints, and associated with printed material imported into Japan from abroad.

[124] Please see Appendix B for a glossary of transliteration.

hats, and people outside the Sinocentric sphere of influence often sport full beards. While these elements are constant in that they represent foreigners, they often are interchangeable between each different nationality or ethnicity. For example, the Mongolian figure wears a Western-style military jacket while the Tartar man wears a Western-style hat.

The center of the print and the ring of numbers has been cut out of the print, becoming a moveable element of the board game. This allowed the player to spin the center circle, making it possible to shift the value of the squares at will. In other words, this game not only assigned a numerical value to each type of foreigner, but also allowed players to reassign values they deemed appropriate. While the circular design of the game limits the way numbers could be arranged, player may have assigned the highest number to their favorite figure, or the lowest to the least desirable. Unlike Yoshiiku's *sugoroku,* the game player does not explicitly leave Japan to explore strange lands, and the location of the foreign people is left to the imagination of the player.

These board games echo the same grouping of figures into Western, Asian, and mythical figures seen in in the triptychs and *bankoku jinbutsu-zu.* Additionally, these games allowed the audience a more participatory interaction with the nations envisioned through imaginary travel, and Yoshiiku's game board even provided the audience with landscapes of each imagined place. Japan remained at the center of these images, reminding players about the concept of returning to Japan after exploring distant nations.

CHAPTER SIX

SINGLE SHEET PRINTS

In addition to triptychs and game boards, single sheet *ōban* (大判) size

woodblock prints featuring foreign peoples were available for purchase. Some of these

prints were released as part of larger series, which gave the consumer the option to

purchase as many, or as few, prints in the series as they desired.[125] For the purpose of this

study, the prints reviewed are limited to the Yoshiiku's series *Enumeration of People of*

All Nations which includes *Enumeration JSMA* and Yoshitora's comparable series *People*

from Many Countries (*Bankoku jinbutsu no uchi,* 万国人物洒内). In the course of

research, seven prints were found belonging to these two series, all of which were

published in 1861.[126]

Yoshitora published at least three designs in 1861, produced as a series titled

People from Many Countries. Each of these three sheets is visually divided into quarters,

with one figure occupying each section, a format shared by *Enumeration JSMA*. The four

respective prints feature men and women from Russia, England, Holland, France, and

China.[127]

The *Enumeration JSMA* is part of Yoshiiku's series, *Enumeration of People of All*

Nations, with at least four prints produced in 1861. One print includes an Indian man, a

Mongolian man, a woman from "The Country of Women," and a Qing Dynasty Chinese

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[125] It was not uncommon for prints in the same series to be produced by different publishers or for the series titles to vary slightly from print to print.

[126] It is likely that more prints exist in both of these series, but were not found during the course of this study.

[127] See Figures 21-23. Choueke Family Residence. "Yokohama-ei." http://www.choueke.com/index.html. The Choueke Museum. Accessed May 19, 2016. Due to the low quality of the image, translations provided on the webpage were used.

man (Fig. 24). The next print depicts a Dutch man, an American woman, a Russian man, and an American man (Fig. 25).[128] The third depicts a French man with a boar, a Dutch woman, an English man with a dog, and a Chinese man (Fig. 26). These prints differ from Yoshitora's in that the division between the four figures is made more explicit with thin black lines separating each quarter. There is evidence that these types of prints were disconnected along these lines by their owners, as the Minneapolis Institute of Art owns two halves from two separate prints by Yoshiiku, the bottom half of *Enumeration JSMA* (Fig. 27) and the top half of the print with the Dutch man and American woman (Fig. 28).

This series of prints reuses many of the figures seen in Yoshiiku and Yoshitora's earlier triptychs, likely due in part to the lack of direct observation of foreign peoples. While European women were often featured in these prints, the female population of Yokohama was quite low, and most designers relied on Western newspapers for inspiration.[129] Male figures from Yoshiiku's *Picture of Foreign Men and Women of All Nationalities* are also visible in his series *Enumeration of People of All Nations*. The Indian, Mongolian, Qing Chinese, and woman from the "Land of Women" are near copies of the figures that appeared in the earlier triptych. The continuity of these figures helps the viewer identify the essential elements identified with each nation. For example, European women always wear layered skirts and bonnets, and Mongolian men are shown with a long beard and wearing a cap with two long feathers.

Since these prints were sold individually and belong to a larger series, it is important to consider them both as individual works and as part of a larger set. *Enumeration JSMA*, for example, can be analyzed as a part of the series *Enumeration of*

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[128] The woman from "The Country of Women" is the only mythical foreigner I have found in these series.
[129] Yonemura, *Yokohama*, 82.

People of All Nations, as a single print, and as if each quarter was an individual

composition. While this study will consider the different ways Yoshiiku's series,

specifically *Enumeration JSMA,* can be viewed, the same types of analysis could be

applied to Yoshitora's series *People from All Nations*.

Enumeration JSMA

By gathering *Enumeration JSMA* with other prints of the series, perhaps pasting

them to a wall or laying them on the floor, a table of figures emerges, much like the

tables seen in the earlier *bankoku jinbutsu-zu*. However, unlike the tables of *bankoku*

jinbutsu-zu, this table has the ability to expand and contract by adding or removing

individual pages, giving the viewer a degree of control over which nations to include. The

power of the owner to rearrange these images also allows the viewer to exert control over

this conceptual realm, and provides a more interactive experience. If the owner of these

prints decided to separate them in halves or quarters, his or her control over the hierarchy

only multiplies. When viewed in their larger context, Yoshiiku's single-sheet prints

suggest their own organization. Yoshiiku seems to group figures from the Eastern

hemisphere together (Fig. 1 and Fig. 23) and nations representing the Western

hemisphere in another (Fig. 25), an organization that echoes geographic proximity and

early *bankoku jinbutsu-zu*.

As a single print, *Enumeration JSMA* highlights the relationships between some

of Japan's closest neighbors and trading partners from the Edo period. Spatially, the

Chōsen and Ryūkyūan figures are above the Ainu person and the country of *Konron-*

koku. The Chōsen and Ryūkyūan figures are also marked as more authoritative by their

posture. The Ryūkyūan man sits on a large chair, reminiscent of a throne, while the

Chōsen man is mounted; both of these positions are powerful compared to the other two

standing figures. The Ryūkyūan man's position above the two lower figures is

emphasized by his gaze, as he tilts his head to look down at the Ainu man. The Ainu is

depicted with a loom, likely referring to the geometric textiles the Ainu were known for

producing.

The figure from *Konron-koku* is also depicted holding an exotic product, a large

piece of coral. Considering the large body of water behind the figure, and waves that

seem to be rolling into a beach, it is possible that this coral is considered a product of this

country. *Konron* stems from the Chinese conception of *Kunlun*, an adjective used to

describe dark skinned slaves, which may account for darker skin tone of the *Konron* man

in *Enumeration JSMA*.[130] While *Konron-koku* does not refer to any distinct nation in

nineteenth-century Japan its location was generally understood to be within the islands of

Southeast Asia.[131] Additionally, the *Konron* figure is dressed in European-style clothing,

perhaps referring to the European colonization in Southeast Asia.

The combination of the four figures in *Enumeration JSMA* also provides the

viewer with information regarding the proximity of these peoples to Japan, both

geographically and culturally. The geographical proximity to Japan is highlighted by

grouping four Asian peoples, but the comparison of the civilized to barbaric figures

accentuates their cultural remoteness. The Ainu and *Konron* figures are further identified

as barbaric through their appearances. While the Ainu occupy the northern island of

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[130] Julie Wilensky, "The Magical Kunlun and 'Devil Slaves': Chinese Perceptions of Dark-Skinned People and Africa before 1500," ed. Victor H. Mair, no. 122 (2002), 6-7.
[131] Ibid., 6-7.

Hokkaidō, which is a part of Japan today, the Ainu people and the land served as a peripheral concept during the Edo period. The visual cues in this work that declare the Ainu's barbarity are the unkempt long hair and beard, costume, and lack of footwear.[132] The *Konron* man is shown with darker skin, a trait used in *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* to identify barbaric peoples.

The prints in this series, both as a group and as individual images, create and sustain ideas regarding foreignness. One main characteristic that can be seen in these figures is the level of civilization, which is symbolized through costume. As individual representations of nations, each figure also provides clues as to the nature of the people. The level of civility is also linked with a spatial element, peoples generally considered barbaric being located at the fringes of the map.

The grouping of figures seen in *Enumeration JSMA* echo the geographic boarders of Japan. Ezo and Ryūkyū while not truly foreign nations, can be considered the northern and southern borders of the Japanese population. Korea served as a western border, while *Konron* was the border to the southwest of Japan. The geographic element of these images is bolstered by the grouping of Western peoples in other prints from this series. One could argue that by delineating Western and Eastern peoples these prints can be seen to collectively represent the Western and Eastern hemispheres. If this was the case, then Japan would again occupy the center of the image.

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[132] Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "Creating the Frontier: Border, Identity, and History in Japan's Far North," *East Asian History,* no. 7 (1994), 10.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

This study set out to better categorize prints from the 1860s, now referred to as *Yokohama-e*, and to explore these images' role in the conceptualization of the organization of the nations of the worlds. This study chose the term *bankoku-e* to reflect the importance of sixteenth-century world maps and *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* as predecessors of a visualized organization of Japan as the central nation. World maps and *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* not only serve as compositional predecessors, but also indicate that the organization of a Japan-centric worldview that carried into the Japanese general knowledge. The prints of Yoshitora and Yoshiiku assume that their audience was familiar with an international organization that placed Japan at the center and is indicated by the fluidity of Japan's presence. Even when figures representing Japan are not always shown, the compositional similarities to maps and *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* indicates where they should be located.

The close relationship between *bankoku-e*, world maps, and *bankoku jinbutsu-zu* highlights the importance of expanding research of Japanese woodblock prints to include a wider range of printed materials. The relationship between media discussed in this study also problematizes the examination of prints in isolation from other artistic media, as this study demonstrates *bankoku-e* refer heavily to earlier painted world maps.

The ability of the designers of *bankoku-e* to assume their audience understood Japan as the center of the world highlights how deeply the concept had permeated popular culture. While printed materials were mainly produced in urban centers such as Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka, they were mass produced and widely distributed through book

lending systems and travelers, suggesting the possibility that Japan-as-center concept was

understood on a national level. Through the process of creation and viewing these prints,

the conceptual organization of the world was established and solidified for the Japanese

population.

Figure 1: Utagawa Yoshiiku. *Enumeration of People of All Nations, Bankoku jinbutsu zukushi*, (A) 万国人物尽. 1861. Woodblock print on paper, 37.1 x 25.2 cm. The Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art. From The Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art, http://jsma.uoregon.edu (accessed May 29, 2016).

Figure 2: Utagawa Yoshiiku. Reference Figures *Enumeration of People of All Nations, Bankoku jinbutsu zukushi*, 万国人物尽. 1861. Woodblock print on paper, 37.1 x 25.2 cm. The Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art. From: The Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art, http://jsma.uoregon.edu (accessed May 29, 2016). Translations are provided in the following order, transliteration, original text, and English translation.

Figure 3: Utagawa Yoshikazu. *Igirisujin; An English Woman with a Chinese Servant in the Foreign District, from the series Famous Places in Yokohama.* 1861. Polychrome Woodblock Print on Paper, 36.5 x 24.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. From: http://www.metmuseum.org (accessed May 29, 2016).

Figure 4: Utagawa Sadahide. *Sales Room at the Foreign Trade Building in Yokohama*, 1861. Polychrome woodblock print on paper, 34.8 x 72.8 cm. Arthur M. *Sackler* and *Freer Gallery* of Art: the National Museum of Asian Art. From: http://www.asia.si.edu (accessed May 29, 2016).

Figure 5: Utagawa Yoshikazu. *Interior of an American Steamship*, *Amerika koku jōkisen naka no zu.* 1861. Polychrome woodblock print on paper, 35.6 x 73 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. From: http://www.asia.si.edu (accessed May 29, 2016).
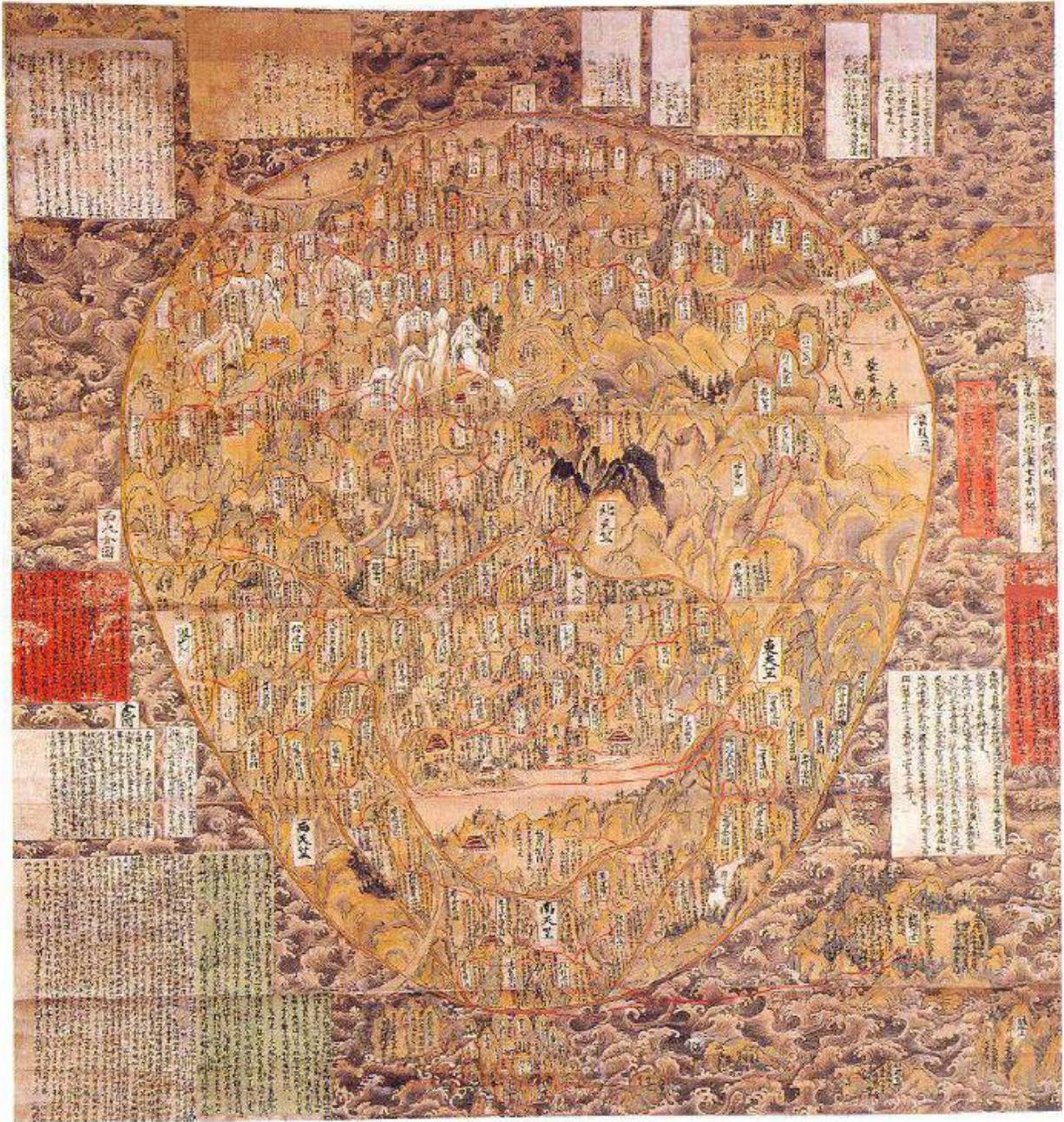
Figure 6: *Maps of the Five Regions of India, Gotenjiku-zu,* 五天竺図, 1364. Ink and color on paper, 177.0 x 166.5 cm. Hōryū-ji, Nara. In Joseph Loh. "When Worlds Collide; Art, Cartography, and Japanese Nanban World Map Screens." Columbia University, 2013.

Figure 7: *Map of India, Tenjiku Koku Zu,* 天竺国図*, Shūgaishō* in 1642. From:
http://cartographic-images.net (accessed May 29, 2016).

Figure 8: *Outline Map of All Countries in Jambudvipa, Nansenbushū-zu,* 南瞻部洲
図, 1710. In Nobuo Muroga and Unno Kazataku. "The Buddhist World Map in Japan and
Its Contact with European Maps." *Imago Mundi* 16 (1962).

Figure 9: *Map of the World and Twenty-eight Cities*, *Bankoku ezu sekai-zu* and *Nijūhachi toshi-zu,* 万国絵図世界図・二十八都市図, 17th century. Pair of eight-part folding screens, ink, color, and gold leaf on paper, each 177.0 x 483.0 cm. Imperial Household Agency,Tokyo. In Joseph Loh. "When Worlds Collide; Art, Cartography, and Japanese Nanban World Map Screens." Columbia University, 2013.
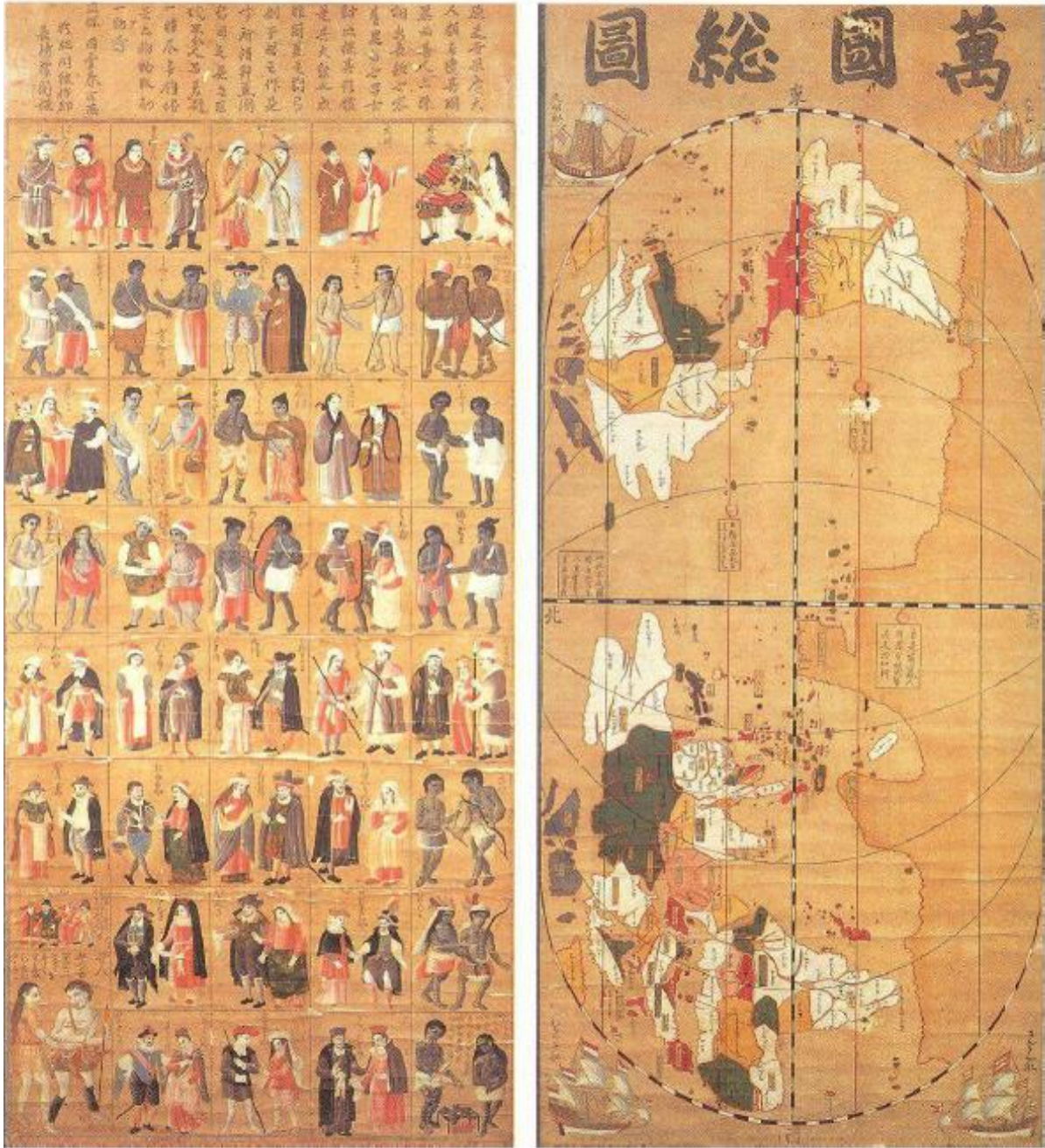
Figure 10: *Shōhō Image of Peoples of All Nations*, *Shōhō bankoku sōzo,* 万国総図, 1645. Woodblock print, hand tinted, world map: 132.4 x 57.9 cm. Shimonoseki City Chōfu Museum, Shimonoseki. In Joseph Loh. "When Worlds Collide; Art, Cartography, and Japanese Nanban World Map Screens." Columbia University, 2013.

Figure 11: Ishikawa Ryūsen, *Outline Map of Our Empire*, *Honchō zukan kōmoku,* 本朝圖鑑綱目, 1689 copy of the 1687 design. In Joseph Loh. "When Worlds Collide; Art, Cartography, and Japanese Nanban World Map Screens." Columbia University, 2013.

Figure 12: Ishikawa Ryūsen. *Map of the Seas, Mountains, and Land of Japan*, *Nihon Kaisan chōriku zu,* 日本海山潮陸圖, 1689. In Joseph Loh. "When Worlds Collide; Art, Cartography, and Japanese Nanban World Map Screens." Columbia University, 2013.

Figure 13: Utagawa Yoshitora. *Complete Illustration of Flags and People of All Countries*, *Kakuko kishō tairyaku bankoku jinbutsu zoroi*, 各国旗章大略万国人物揃, date unknown. Polychrome woodblock print on paper. From The Kanagawa Prefectural Museum 神奈川県立博物館編. Shūtaisē Yokohama Ukiyo-e 集大成横浜浮世絵 [Collection of Yokohama Ukiyo-e]. Kanagawa: Yurindo 有隣堂, 1979.

Figure 14: Utagawa Yoshitora. Reference Figures *Complete Illustration of Flags and People of All Countries*, *Kakuko kishō tairyaku bankoku jinbutsu zoroi*, 各国旗章大略万国人物揃, date unknown. Polychrome woodblock print on paper. From The Kanagawa Prefectural Museum 神奈川県立博物館編. Shūtaisē Yokohama Ukiyo-e 集大成横浜浮世絵 [Collection of Yokohama Ukiyo-e]. Kanagawa: Yurindo 有隣堂, 1979.

Figure 15: Utagawa Yoshiiku. *Picture of Men and Women from All Nations*, *Bankoku danjo jinbtsu zue,* 万国男女人物図絵. 1861. Polychrome woodblock print on paper, triptych. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. From http://www.sdmart.org/collections (Accessed May 29, 2016).

Figure 16: Utagawa Yoshiiku. Reference Figures *Picture of Men and Women from All Nations*, *Bankoku danjo jinbtsu zue,* 万国男女人物図絵*,* 1861. Polychrome woodblock print on paper, triptych. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. From http://www.sdmart.org/collections (Accessed May 29, 2016).

Figure 17: Utagawa Yoshiiku. *Sugoroku of All Nations*, *Bankoku sugoroku,* 国寿吾陸, 1860. Polychrome woodblock print on paper. From http://ir.u-gakugei.ac.jp (Accessed May 26, 2016).
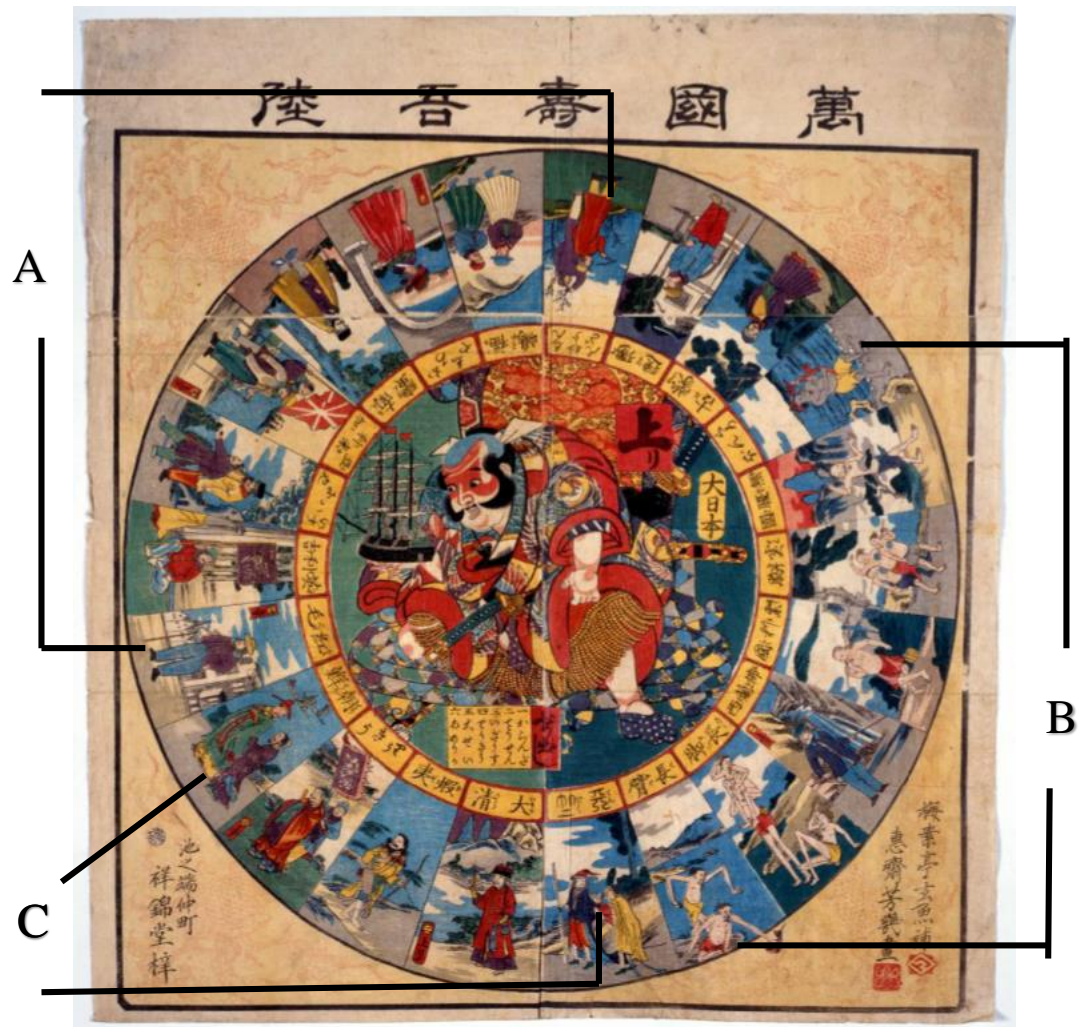
Figure 18: Utagawa Yoshiiku. Reference Figures *Sugoroku of All Nations*, *Bankoku sugoroku*, 国寿吾陸, 1860. Polychrome woodblock print on paper. From http://ir.u-gakugei.ac.jp (Accessed May 26, 2016).

Figure 19: Utagawa Yoshitora. *Game Board Using Foreign Faces, Bankoku no atemono*, 万國の当物, 1861. From The Kanagawa Prefectural Museum 神奈川県立博物館編. *Shūtaisē Yokohama Ukiyo-e* 集大成横浜浮世絵 [Collection of Yokohama Ukiyo-e]. Kanagawa: Yurindo 有隣堂, 1979.

Figure 20: Utagawa Yoshitora. Reference Figures *Game Board Using Foreign Faces, Bankoku no atemono*, 万國の当物, 1861. From The Kanagawa Prefectural Museum 神奈川県立博物館編. Shūtaisē Yokohama Ukiyo-e 集大成横浜浮世絵 [Collection of Yokohama Ukiyo-e]. Kanagawa: Yurindo 有隣堂, 1979.

Figure 21: Utagawa Yoshitora. *People from All Nations, Bankoku jinbutsu no uchi* (A), 万国人物廼内, 1861. Polychrome woodblock print on paper. This print features a Chinese man, a Russian woman, a French woman, and another Chinese person in clockwise order starting in the top right quarter. From The Kanagawa Prefectural Museum 神奈川県立博物館編. Shūtaisē Yokohama Ukiyo-e 集大成横浜浮世絵 [Collection of Yokohama Ukiyo-e]. Kanagawa: Yurindo 有隣堂, 1979.

Figure 22: Utagawa Yoshitora. *People from All Nations, Bankoku jinbutsu no uchi,* (B) 万国人物迺内, 1861. Polychrome Woodblock Print on Paper. This print features an English woman, a Dutch man, a Dutch woman, and a Russia man in clockwise order starting in the top right quarter. From The Kanagawa Prefectural Museum 神奈川県立博物館編. Shūtaisē Yokohama Ukiyo-e 集大成横浜浮世絵 [Collection of Yokohama Ukiyo-e]. Kanagawa: Yurindo 有隣堂, 1979.
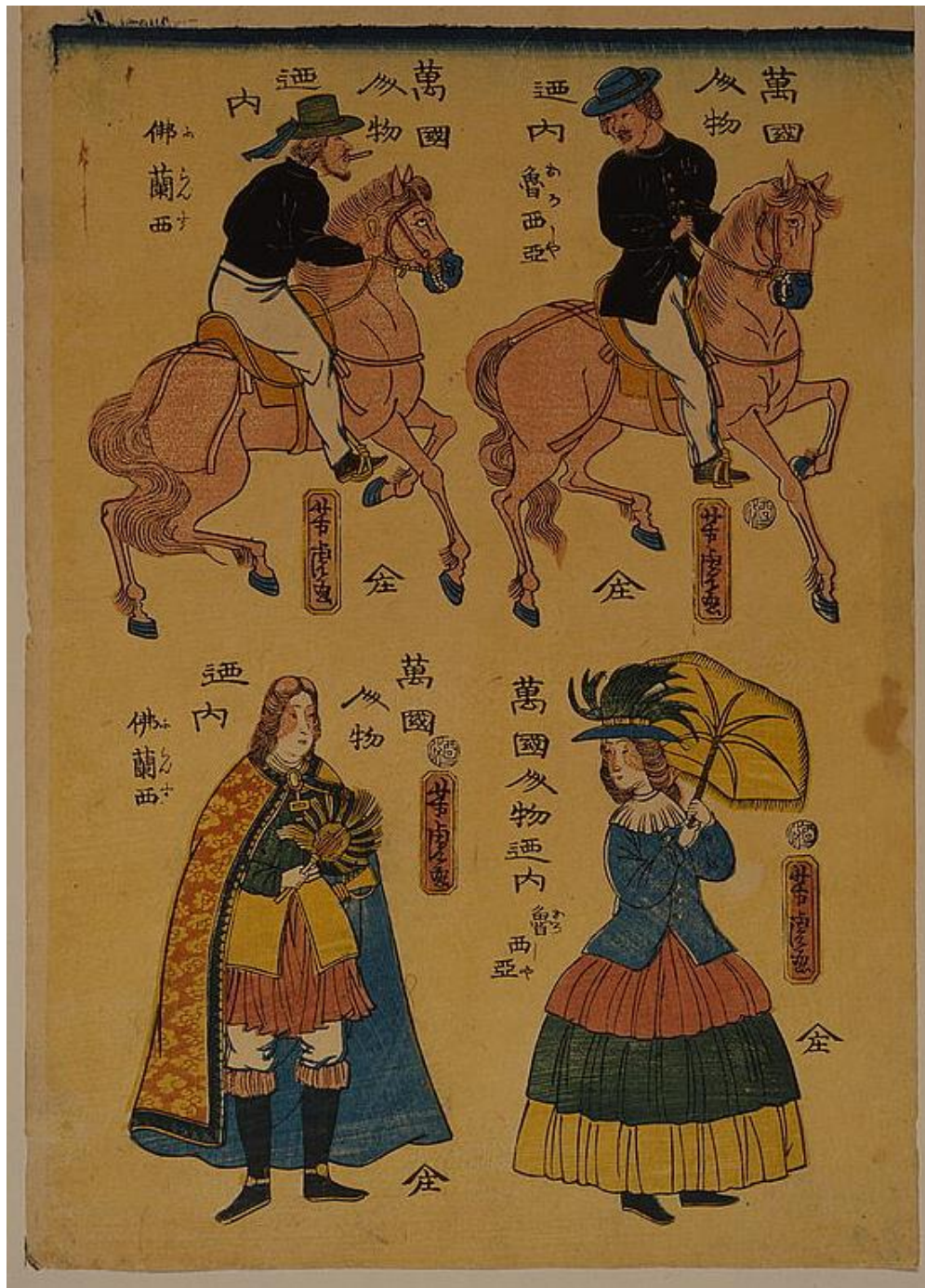
Figure 23: Utagawa Yoshitora. *People from All Nations, Bankoku jinbutsu no uchi* (C), 万国人物迺内, 1861. Polychrome woodblock print on paper. This print features a Russian man on horseback, a Russian woman, a French man and French man on horseback in clockwise order starting in the top right quarter. From The United States Library of Congress http://www.loc.gov (Accessed May 26, 2016).

Figure 24: Utagawa Yoshiiku. *Enumeration of Peoples of All Nations, Bankoku jinbutsu zukushi* (D), 万国人物尽, 1861. Polychrome woodblock print on paper. This print features an India Man, a woman from the "Land of Women," a Qing (Chinese) man, and a Mongolian man in clockwise order starting in the top right quarter. From The Kanagawa Prefectural Museum 神奈川県立博物館編. Shūtaisē Yokohama Ukiyo-e 集大成横浜浮世絵 [Collection of Yokohama Ukiyo-e]. Kanagawa: Yurindo 有隣堂, 1979.

Figure 25: Utagawa Yoshiiku. *Enumeration of Peoples of All Nations, Bankoku jinbutsu zukushi* (E), 万国人物尽, 1861. Polychrome woodblock print on paper. This print features a Dutch man, a Russian man, an American man, and an American woman in clockwise order starting in the top right quarter. From The United States Library of Congress http://www.loc.gov (Accessed May 26, 2016).

外國人物圖畫　清人南京

外國人物圖畫　佛蘭西

外國人物圖畫　英吉利

外國人物圖畫　紅毛女人

Figure 26: Utagawa Yoshiiku. *Enumeration of Peoples of All Nations, Bankoku jinbutsu zukushi* (F), 万国人物尽, 1861. Polychrome Woodblock Print on Paper. This print features a French man with a boar, a Dutch woman, an Englishman with a dog, and a Chinese man in clockwise order starting in the top right quarter. The Choueke Family Residence. From http://www.choueke.com (Accessed: May 26, 2016).

Figure 27: Bottom half of: Utagawa Yoshiiku *Enumeration of People of All Nations, Bankoku jinbutsu zukushi* (G), 万国人物尽. 1861. Polychrome Woodblock Print on Paper. The Minneapolis Institute of Art. From http://collections.artsmia.org (Accessed May 26, 2016).

亞米利加女人　外國人物圖畫　外國人物圖畫　紅毛

Figure 28: Bottom half of: Utagawa Yoshiiku. *Enumeration of People of All Nations, Bankoku jinbutsu zukushi* (H), 万国人物尽. 1861. Woodblock Print on Paper. The Minneapolis Institute of Art. From http://collections.artsmia.org (Accessed May 26, 2016).

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY

Below are a list of names as reference in the text or in the image provided in the order of transliteration, orginal text, Kanji if any was provided, and the English translation.

Amerika, あめりか、亜米利加, America or United States of American
Ashinaga-tenaga, 足長手長, Long Arm Long Leg People
Chōsen, 緒戦, Korea, refers to the Chōsen Dynast
Dai Nihon, 大日本, Japan, literally translates as "Great Japan"
Dai Qing, 大清, Qing Dynasty China, literally translates as "Great Qing"
Dattan, だったん, Tartar
Egirisu, えぎりす、いぎりず、英吉利, England
Ezo-jin、えぞ人, translates as "Ezo Person," referring to the people of the northern island of Japan, today these peoples are referred to as Ainu
Fukkin or Fujian, ふくきん
Furansu, ふらんす、仏蘭西, France
Mōko, もうこ, *Mongol*
Oranda, おらんだ, Holland now referred to as The Netherlands
Oroshiya, おろしや、魯西亜, Russia
Nanban, なんばん, translates as "Southern Barbarian," refers to European traders
Nankin, なんきん、南京, China, less polite term than *Kara*
Kara, から, traditional cultural term of China
Kōmō, 紅毛, translates as "red hair," refers to Westerners specifically the Dutch
Konron-koku、こんろんこく, generally refers to Southeast Asian islands
Kurusu, くるす, "Black" people
Ryūkyū, りゅきゅう, people form the southernmost island of Japan, today referred to as Okinawa Prefecture
Senkyō, 穿胸, "Hole-in-the-Chest" people
Tenjiku, てんぢく、天竺, historical home of the Buddha, often translated as India

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