Nakaminato 那珂湊



At Nakaminato, pictured above in 1842, seagoing boats unloaded Edo-bound cargo that continued to the shogun's capital on inland waterways.

Ōuchi-ke "Go-yōdome," a family's collection of documents on shipwrecks, describes the loss of 28 metric tons of rice from a boat that drifted into rocks at Isohama on January 28, 1700. In 2004 a local historian, Satō Tsugio, compared two writings of the boat captain's name. Ōuchi Yoshikuni (left) represented the family.





THE PICTURE MAP of Nakaminato, above, was made by Watari Kizaemon in Tenpō 13 (1842) and published in Ansei 4 (1857). Map courtesy of the city office of Hitachinaka, Ibaraki Prefecture.

ŌUCHI-KE "GO-YŌDOME," a single volume of 1,390 pages, contains writing from many hands. One hand, probably no earlier than 1735, compiled all the material on wrecks between 1700 and 1735, according to Satō Tsugio, an authority on Mito-han documents. The volume's entire contents, along with reports on 14 other Edo-period shipwrecks, have been printed by Nakaminato Shishi Hensan I'inkai (1993). In this modern volume the 1700 wreck is number 55, pages 81-83.

THE MAPS OPPOSITE are derived from modern sources. The middle map is from Kawana (1984, p. 6, 20) and Kaizuka and others (2000, p. 21). The lowest map is from 1:25,000-scale maps by Kokudo Chiri'in ("Hitachinaka" 1999; "Isohama" 2001) except for the former entrance to Naka River, which is from a 1:200,000-scale map by Rikuchi Sokuryōbu, 1885 (Meiji 18).

THE RICE BOAT went aground at "Hakoiso" (p. 69, column 6). The place name denotes the shore south of the Naka River mouth on a map from 1845 (Tempō 15). The rocks in the photo at right include a group called "Hakoiso" on a fishers' sketch map from Ōarai in 2004.

Main points

High waves on the morning of January 28, 1700, prevented a boat from entering the river-mouth port of Nakaminato. A storm that evening drove the boat to a rocky shore near Isohama village (map, lower right). Lost were all the boat's cargo—28 metric tons of rice—and two of the crew (p. 68-69, 71).

Officials of Mito-han certified the losses in response to a petition (p. 70). The certificate and petition were copied into a family's collection of documents about Edo-period wrecks near Nakaminato (opposite).

The morning high waves probably represent ordinary ocean swells that were opposed at the river mouth by the ebb currents of a long-lasting tsunami (p. 72-75).

Setting

The river mouth at Nakaminato afforded access to inland waterways that conveyed cargo to metropolitan Edo (p. 31, 61). The waterways followed valleys that the sea covered 6,000 years ago. A prehistoric people, the Jomon, fringed this former sea with piles of clam shells (dots, right).

To reach Nakaminato, Edo-period sailors threaded a rocky constriction north of a sand spit (lower map at right, picture map at left). Additional rocks awaited boats that drifted south toward Isohama, a name that means "rocky beach" (photo below).

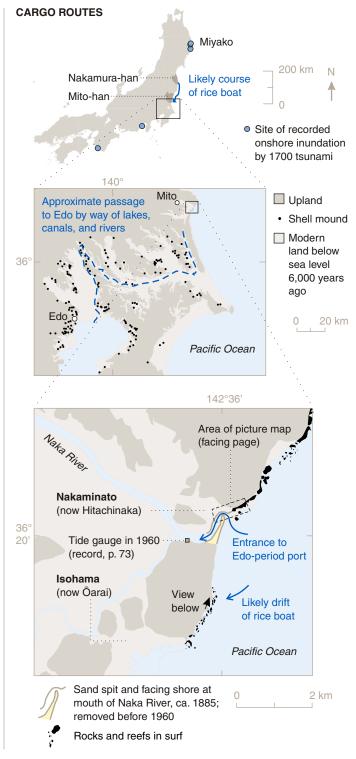
Nakaminato served as the main port in Mito-han. The rice boat came from another domain, Nakamura-han (upper map). The lost rice belonged to the Nakamura daimyo. Villagers from Isohama towed the wreck for salvage but failed to recover any of the rice.

Documents

The boat captain, two local villagers, and two other men petitioned local officials to certify the accident. The petition and the resulting certificate make up "Ura shōmon no koto" (*ura*, port; *shōmon*, certificate; p. 70-71). A headnote states that 470 bails of rice were lost. Next, a narrative explains the loss in the words of headmen from Isohama village. The certificate concludes with a signed statement by representatives of the senior ministers of Mito-han.

The earliest extant copy appears in a family volume, Ōuchi-ke "Go-yōdome" (*go-yō*, official business; *tome*, records). The volume (opposite) contains documents on 131 shipwrecks near Nakaminato between 1670 and 1832.

Rocks break fair-weather surf near former Isohama.



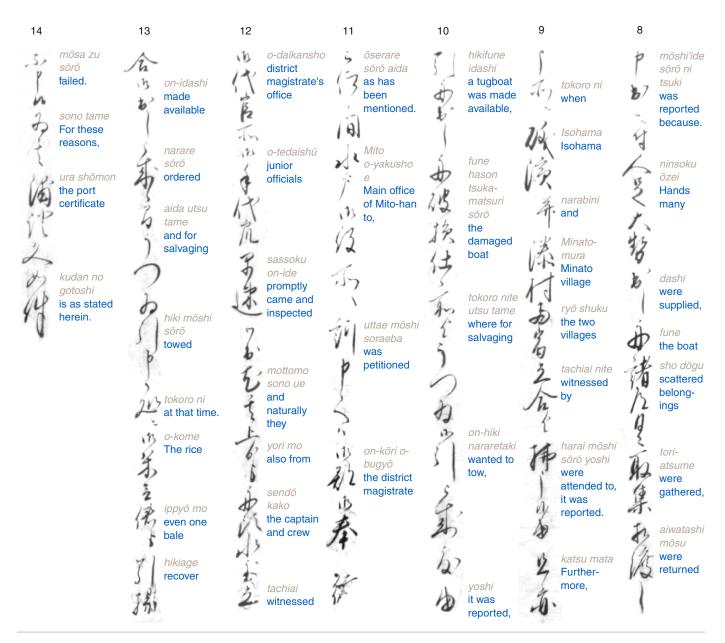


Account in Ōuchi-ke "Go-yōdome" 大内家『御用留』の記述

A BOAT LADEN WITH RICE—470 bales belonging to the daimyo of Nakamura-han—approached the Mito-han port of Nakaminato around 8 a.m. (columns 1-2). High waves held the boat offshore, where the crew cast anchor (3). Still offshore that evening, the crew bailed half the rice during an

evening storm (4-5). But the storm broke the anchor lines and drove the boat to a rocky shore near Isohama village (5-6). Two of the crew perished (7).

Afterwards, villagers from Isohama and Nakaminato collected and returned, to surviving crew, articles that had



Subject marker *wa* written as *ha* (1, 6); object marker *o* as *wo* (7).

Sound change at word juncture: $d\bar{o}ry\bar{o}$ for $t\bar{o}ry\bar{o}$ (1), doki for toki (2), gakari for kakari (3).

12, *kako*—The boat's crew. Printed as *mizu-nushi* (literally, water-owner) in Nakaminato Shishi Hensan l'inkai (1993, p. 82).

Honorific language: *o*- in terms for rice (1, 6, 13), and government offices and titles (11, 12); *on*- in *on-kori* (11), *on-ide* (12), and *on-idashi* (13); *go*- in *go-dōryō* (1). Formal *sōrō* (3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14), *mōsu* (6). Humble *tsukamatsuri* (3, 5, 10).

6, *Hakoiso—hako*, box; *iso*, rock (note, p. 66; photo, p. 67).

7, yoshi...motte—Reported by the captain, Kambe'e, through the Isohama villager, Gon'emon. Kambe'e is also the likely source of the secondhand information marked by yoshi in column 5. washed ashore (8-9). Officials of Mito-han, from a district magistrate's office, oversaw a fruitless attempt to find the rice bales (11-14) and certified the accident (14).

The full document, reproduced on the next two pages, contains this narrative as part of a certificate issued to two

samurai of unstated affiliation. The narrative's authors, all from Isohama, were a pair of boat headmen, Hei'emon and Rokuza'emon; the village headman, Sakubei; and two village assistant headmen, Heisaku and Jiza'emon.



- 2. tōrvō Nakanominato—Mito-han's Nakaminato.
- 4-5, \bar{o} -nami...uchini—The crew jettisoned cargo in hopes of saving the ship.
- 5, tōson chinai—The boat drifted to the area of Isohama, home of the narrative's authors and of two of the certificate's petitioners, Kichirōemon and Gon'emon (p. 70).
- 1, tsumitate—The rice was loaded onto a boat.
- 1-2, saru nanuka ni—On the most recent 7th day before the headnote date (24th day, 12th month, Genroku 12; p. 70). Similarly, dō kokonuka in column 2 means the most recent 9th day.
- 2 and 4, *itsutsudoki*—About 8 o'clock in the morning (column 2) or evening (4); see page 46.
- NOTES. Column 1, migi...o-kome—The rice mentioned previously; itemized, p. 71.
 - 1, *Sōma Danjō sama*—Sōma Masatane served as 5th daimyo of Nakamura-han in 1679-1702.
 - 1, *go-dōryō Ukedo-hama*—Ukedo-hama (literally, Ukedo Beach) was the southernmost of four ports in Nakamura-han (Satō, 1988, p. 167).

Certified loss 浦証文 - 事故の証明

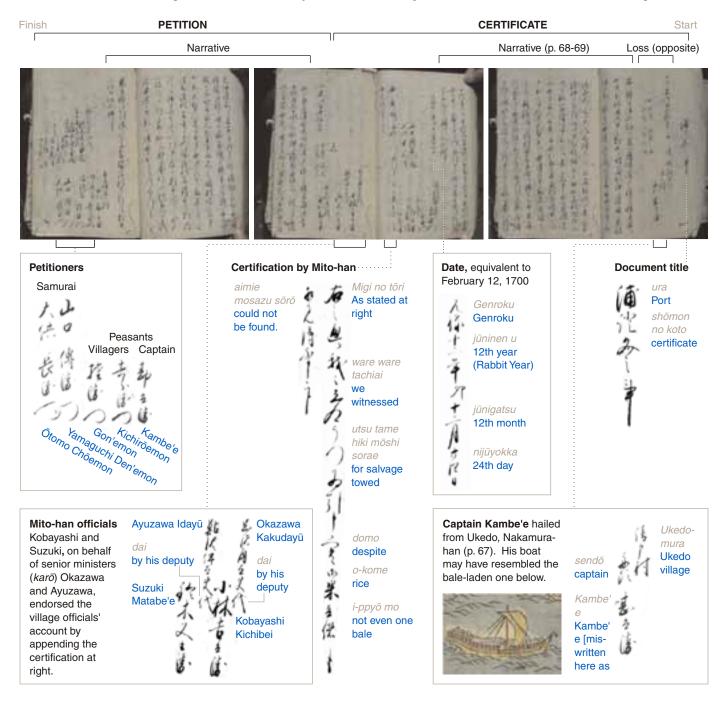
Like a police report on a car crash, a harbor certificate verified the shipwreck.

OBLIGATIONS AWAITED the captain who lost cargo at sea while bound for the Morioka-han port of Kuwagasaki. On arrival he was to inform port officials of the loss. He would then petition them for a port certificate, *ura shōmon*, that could absolve his crew of responsibility while clearing the way for insurance claims.

Similarly in the Mito-han port of Nakaminato, the shipwreck started by the 1700 tsunami resulted in a petition and certificate (below). The petitioners included not just the

captain but also villagers from Nakaminato and Isohama, along with two men we call samurai because they have family names. They addressed their joint petition to officials of Mito-han and Isohama village. In response, village headmen affirmed the accident and han officials, having made an inspection of their own, issued the certificate.

As copied into Ōuchi-ke "Go-yōdome," this ura shōmon contains both the petition and the certificate. Each mentions the "high waves" we ascribe to the 1700 tsunami (p. 73).



The certificate begins by itemizing the loss of 470 bales of rice (right). Those bales probably looked like the ones that burly men fill, cinch, lift, and carry in the Hokusai sketches below. Each bale, with a volume of one $hy\bar{o}$ (*i-ppyo*), probably weighed close to 60 kilograms (130 pounds).

Two and a half bales made up one koku. A unit of volume, the koku measured such quantities as the capacity of freighters. But it also measured wealth and status—the amount of rice granted annually to a samurai (the 50-koku stipend of the former merchant, Moriai Chūzaemon, p. 53), and the officially expected agricultural yields that ranked daimyo domains (examples, below right).



"Men baling rice" From a book of sketches by Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849).



REPUTED YIELDS OF DAIMYO DOMAINS

Morioka-han 100,000 koku





Nakamura-han 60.000 koku





Mito-han 280.000 koku



Wakayama-han 555,000 koku





Morioka-han



Nakamura-han Mito-han

Nakaminato



Known site of 1700 tsunami

Wakayama-han

500 km

ON CERTIFICATION OF SHIPWRECKS, see Miyako-shi Kyōiku I'inkai (1981, p. 498-519) and wrecks 49 and 56 in Nakaminato Shishi Hensan I'inkai (1993).

BOAT AND YIELDS from "Nihon kaisan chōriku zu," 1694 (p. 30-31), courtesy of the East Asian Library, University of California,

"MEN BALING RICE" from "Hokusai manga" ("The sketches of Hokusai"), v. 3, page 6r. Woodblock-printed album published in 1850 by Eirakuya Tōshirō and Kadomaruya Jinsuke. Courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago, image 761.952.

Fair-weather waves 好天下の高波

The 1700 tsunami in Japan began without a storm but may have continued into one.

THE SUN WAS SHINING from Morioka to Wakayama the day before the 1700 tsunami approached Japan (the 7th day, below). On the 8th day, as the tsunami crossed the Pacific (p. 74-75), skies remained fair over Morioka and Wakayama while snow fell in Edo. Rain or snow fell widely on the 9th day, but mainly in the evening and not at Morioka or Nikkō.

Most of these weather observations come from diaries.

says he wrote exactly what he heard.

aristocrat and scholar.

"Kinsumi-kyō ki" Shigenoi Kinsumi, court

Some are official journals—from castle towns, a shrine, a temple, and Edo mansions (p. 61). Others were kept by court aristocrats in the imperial capital, Kyoto.

Among narratives of the 1700 tsunami, only the Nakaminato rice-boat story mentions weather—a storm that arrived 12 hours after the crew first encountered "high waves" as they tried to enter port.

Weather observations **7TH DAY** 9TH DAY 8TH DAY Kuwagasaki Morioka-har Morioka (a) Nikkō (b) clouds late Murakami-han HONSHU Edo (c-e) Ōtsuchi Nagoya (f) Kyoto (g-j) Nakaminato Wakayama (k) Wakayama-han Storm in PACIFIC OCEAN evening Tsushima-han Clouds Rain Snow 8th day → 9th day day **TIMELINE FOR 1700 TSUNAMI** Noticed in Wanes in **Continues** Begins along Unreported **Noticed** off Storm 12th month of Genroku 12 (p. 42-43) west coast of Kuwagasaki but likely at Nakaminato Miho into storm off arrives North America and Ōtsuchi all sites and in Miho Nakaminato?

Weather observers

| LOCATION | | DIARY AND WRITER | LOCATION DIARY AND WRITER | | |
|----------|---------|--|---|--|--|
| а | Morioka | "Morioka-han zassho" Administrators of Morioka-han (p. 44, 60). | h Kyoto " Kinmichi ki " Ōgimach and Shinto scholar. | ni Kinmichi, court aristocrat | |
| b | Nikkō | "Shake gobansho nikki" Officials of shrine for the grave of Tokugawa Ieyasu (shogun, p. 41). | i Kyoto " Tokudaiji hinami " Tok aristocrat. | kudaiji Kōzen, court | |
| С | Edo | "Gokokuji nikki" Buddhist monks. | • | "Sadamoto-kyō ki" Nonomiya Sadamoto, court | |
| d | Edo | "Sakakibara-ke Edo hantei nikki" Officials at an Edo mansion of the Sakakibara family, which then ruled Murakami-han. Diary started 1651, continued to 1866; 553 volumes. For map of Edo mansions of daimyo like the Sakakibara, see pages 61 and 106. | aristocrat and scholar. | aristocrat and scholar. | |
| | | | k Wakayama " Miura-ke nikki " Miura- karō (senior minister; p. 4 | , | |
| е | Edo | "Tsushima-han Edo hantei mainikki" Official diary of an Edo mansion of the Sō family, daimyo of Tsushima-han. | WEATHER OBSERVATIONS are lacking from Nikkō on the 7th and 8th days, and from Nagoya on the 7th day. Observations differ in Edo on the 8th day, in Kyoto on the 8th and 9th days. All were first compiled in Tsuji and others (1998, p. 8), where Ueda mislocated observation g in Ise (80 km south of Nagoya). e — All Korean trade sanctioned by the Tokugawa shogunate passed through Tsushima-han (Totman, 1993, p. 76-77). f — Printed by Nagoya-shi Kyōiku I'inkai (1965-1969). Nagoya castle contained 50,000 m³ of lumber and stood until World War II (Totman, 1989, p. 62; Naito and Hozumi, 2003, p. 52, 63). Sketch from "Nihon kaisan chōriku zu," 1694 (p. 30), | | |
| f | Nagoya | "Ōmu rōchū ki" Asahi Bunzaemon Shigeaki, floor-mat manager (<i>tatami bugyō</i>) of Nagoya castle. The castle was headquarters of one of the three main branches of the Tokugawa family. As the caged parrot (<i>ōmu rōchū</i>) in the book's title, Asahi | | | |

Kyoto

courtesy of East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley.

typhoons, which instead hit Japan in summer and fall (p. 83).

JAPAN'S WINTER STORMS "cause ship disasters as well as damage along the

coast due to wind waves" (Arakawa and Taga, 1969, p. 128). They are not

Waves raised by an opposing current

The morning "high waves" that held the rice boat offshore probably originated as incoming ocean swells that met rivermouth backwash of a long-lasting tsunami.

Several accounts refer to the 1700 tsunami as a tide (p. 40). The Miho headman, for instance, reports that the water came in "something like a very high tide" about seven times between dawn and about 10 a.m. ("the hour of four"). The headman further notes that the water drained "with the speed of a big river" (p. 79, columns 3-4).

Such tide-like currents impressed eyewitnesses to the 1960 tsunami at Nakaminato. They estimated incoming velocities at 7 knots (about 3.5 meters per second) and described the outflow as even faster.

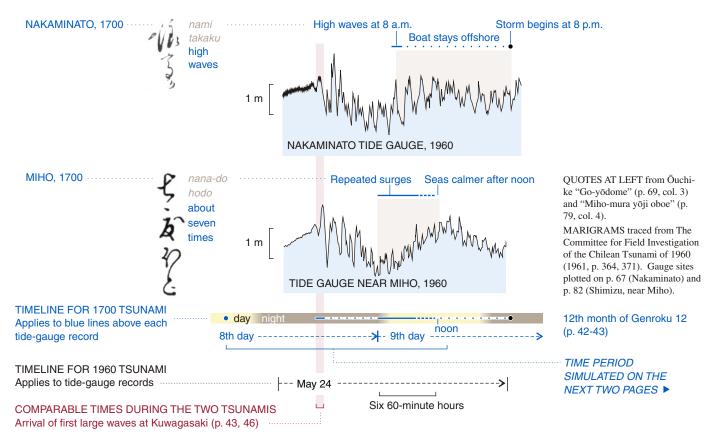
Strong ebb currents heighten incoming ocean waves on river-mouth bars. An Oregon boating manual warns, "If you are trapped outside a rough bar on an ebb tide, it is wise to lay to and wait" until a rising tide produces an inflowing current.

The 1700 tsunami probably produced strong ebb currents that heightened waves at 8 a.m. off Nakaminato. Such currents should not have resulted from the astronomical tide, which was rising at that hour from Kuwagasaki to Tanabe (p. 83). But the tsunami, at Miho, was then producing intermittent, swift outflow. Similar outflow from the port of Nakaminato probably raised the "high waves" that eventually led to the rice boat's demise.

The tsunami likely continued raising river-mouth waves through the morning and perhaps into the early evening. It disturbed seas at Miho until noon (p. 79, columns 4-5). Together with the coming storm it may explain why the rice boat stayed off Nakaminato throughout the day.

An outsize tsunami can go on for 24 hours or more. The 1960 tsunami lasted that long (marigrams below and p. 46). Similarly in a computer model, the 1700 tsunami disturbs the Pacific Ocean for an entire day (next two pages).

Duration of tsunami wave trains in 1700 and 1960



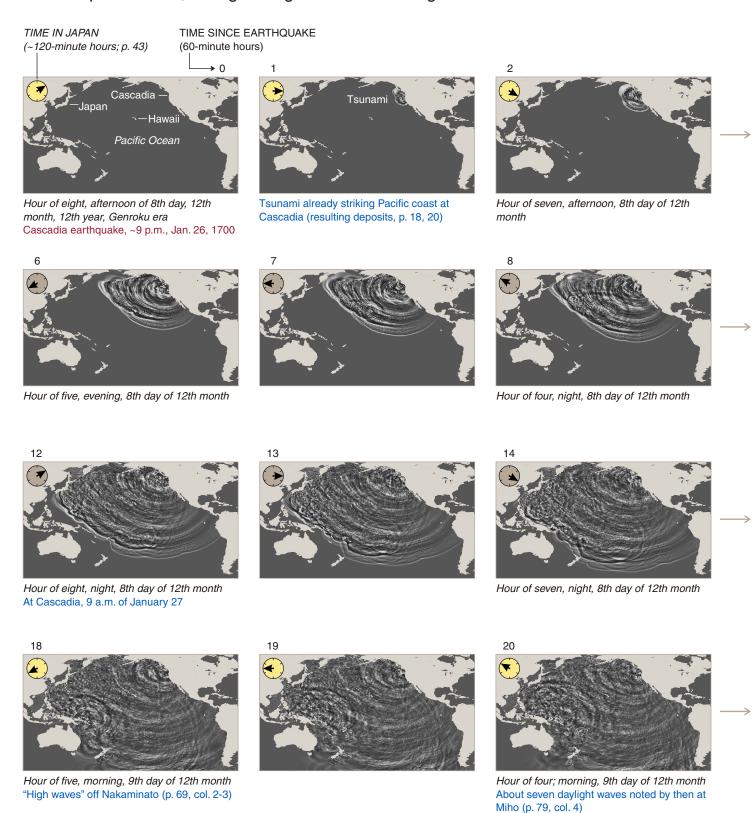
CURRENTS. Toba and Taka (1961, p. 309) summarize eyewitness accounts of currents at Nakaminato during the 1960 tsunami. The Oregon boating manual offers little comfort for the latter-day Kambei who becomes "trapped outside a rough bar with a southwester developing 40-knot or better winds... If possible, run to another port with more favorable bar conditions" (Oregon Sea Grant and Oregon State Marine Board, 1999, p. 8-9). On the bar off the mouth of the Columbia River (river location, p. 22), wave height oscillates at tidal periods and peaks during ebb currents, which at this bar commonly exceed 2 meters per

second. During a five-day series of measurements, ebb currents raised incoming waves of 3 meters to heights as great as 7 meters (González, 1984).

WAVE PERIODS. During a typical wave of the 1960 tsunami at Nakaminato (above), the crest-to-trough fall in water level amounted to 1 meter and took an hour or two. In contrast, the port's astronomical tides change water levels by no more than 1.8 m in six hours, as judged from extreme tides 20 km south of Nakaminato (at Kashima; Maritime Safety Agency, 1998).

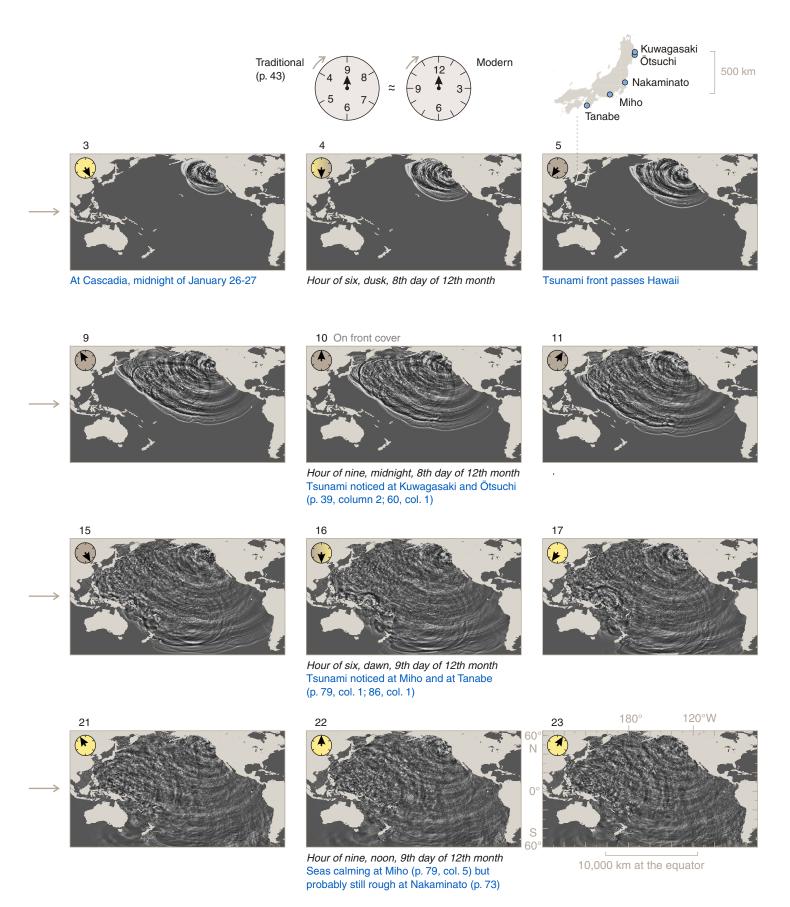
Simulated waves 津波のシミュレーション

In a computer model, a long-lasting 1700 tsunami engulfs the Pacific.



IN THE DEEP OCEAN a tsunami's waves have little height but great crest-to-crest length. As they enter shallow water the waves slow down and stack up. In

the model above, the 1700 tsunami rarely rises more than 0.5 m as it crosses the Pacific but builds against Japanese shores to heights as great as 5 m (p. 99).



THE MODEL depicts the tsunami from a Cascadia earthquake of magnitude 9.0 with a fault rupture 1,100 km long (p. 98-99; Satake and others, 2003).

 $ANIMATED\ VERSION\ of\ the\ model: \\ ftp://www.agu.org/apend/jb/2003JB002521/2003JB002521-animation.gif$