Salt, Shores, and Shipbuilding: The Geo-political, Inter-personal, and Economic Networks of the Ōtomo Corsairs of Northern Kyushu

Maria Grazia Petrucci
University of British Columbia

The Journal of Northeast Asian History
Volume 10 Number 1 (Summer 2013), 65-95

Salt, Shores, and Shipbuilding: The Geo-political, Inter-personal, and Economic Networks of the Ōtomo Corsairs of Northern Kyushu

This article analyzes the history of the various corsair clans under the political rule of the Ōtomo family in the sixteenth century in Japan by taking into account their economic endeavors and the resources at their disposal acquired through the exploitation of several industries at a time when silver, as currency, was making its first appearance in Japan. This is an account of how those clans, especially the principal clans such as the Kibe, Tomiku, Watanabe, and Wakabayashi, ruled the coastline of northern Kyushu while sponsored by the Ōtomo family. The article interprets the historical record in light of their skills as seafarers, merchant-pirates, envoys, and even as Christians in the case of the Kibe, and as a political link between the daimyo at the top of the hierarchical ladder and those of lower station such as merchants and fishermen in the harbor villages of the coast, as well as in transhipment harbors such as Usuki and Saga no Seki.

Keywords: Ōtomo clan corsairs (Tomiku and salt making at Himejima), Kibe (welder, Christians), Watanabe and Wakabayashi (coastal patrols and toll fee barriers, in charge of shipbuilding and lumber trade)

Salt, Shores, and Shipbuilding: The Geo-political, Inter-personal, and Economic Networks of the Ōtomo Corsairs of Northern Kyushu

Maria Grazia Petrucci
University of British Columbia

Introduction

The Ōtomo corsairs comprised various families that from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries protected the coast of Northern Kyushu. These clans, to name only a few, included the Kibe, Tomiku, Watanabe, and Wakabayashi. These groups often defined in Japanese documents of the time as coastal patrols (*keigo-shū*) have been interpreted in Japanese scholarship as belonging to the military hierarchy of local warlords (*sengoku daimyō*). These patrols have been also interpreted as navies (*suigun*) in the service of local warlords, but more often have been considered as coastal protection against local pirates (*kaizoku*).

Post-war Japanese scholars such as Amino Yoshihiko have considered people living on the seashores as "sea-people" who turned to piracy during harsh economic downturns.[1] Other scholars, such as

The author is thankful to the Japan Foundation which has made possible her research trip to institutions holding several documents and book series used for this article. Special thanks are given to professors Nakano Hitoshi, Nakajima Gakusho, and Hattori Hideo of Kyushu University for their support while I researched in Kyushu. I am grateful to Professors Kage Toshio and Kanda

Udagawa Takehisa, have interpreted these "pirates" as armies in the service of local warlords and therefore as part of the local lord warrior apparatus.[2] Similarly, Sakurai Eiji interprets pirates as economically tied to certain institutions such as temples, and therefore as an appendix to the landed military elite.[3] More recently, scholars such as Saeki Kōji[4] and Yamauchi Yuzuru have interpreted Japanese piracy as a phenomenon that took diverse aspects, from looters to coastal protectors as well as escorts of tribute vessels.[5] Among Western scholars dealing with Japanese piracy, Peter D. Shapinsky has embraced the concept of "sea-lords" by extensively studying the Murakami clans of the Seto Inland Sea.[6] In regard to the coastal patrol of northern Kyushu, scholars working in local history, such as Akutagawa Tatsuo and Fukugawa Kazunori, as well as Takita Manabu[7] and, more recently, Kage Toshio, have studied the pirates of northern Kyushu as part of the military structure of the feudal daimyo houses by either interpreting the phenomenon of piracy as an outcome of

---

Takashi for their encouraging comments and help in situ. I also would like to express my thanks to Mr. Kajishima Masaji of the Kyushu University Manuscript Library, and to Mr. Truelove David of the Inter-Library Loan Department at the University of British Columbia, as well as to the staff of the Ōita kenritsu sentetsu shiryōkan for their help in selecting documents and of course last but not least to all my professors, and to the graceful support of *The Journal of Northeast Asian History* staff, editors, and peer reviewers.

1 Amino Yoshihiko, *Akutō to kaizoku* (Tokyo: Hōsei daigaku shuppankyoku, 1995), 365-366.

2 Udagawa Takehisa, *Sengoku suigun no kōbō* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2002), 68-74.

3 Sakurai Eiji, "Sanzoku, kaizoku to seki no kigen," in *Chūsei o kangaeru: Shokunin to geinō*, ed. Amino Yoshihiko (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1994), 113-148.

4 Saeki Kōji, "Kaizoku ron," in *Ajia no naka no Nihonshi*, vol. 3: *Kaijō no michi*, eds. Arano Yasunori, Ishii Masatoshi, and Murai Shōsuke (Tokyo: Sanyōsha, 1992), 35-62.

5 Yamauchi Yuzuru, *Setouchi no kaizoku* (Tokyo, Kōdansha, 2005), 6-10.

6 Peter D. Shapinsky, "Predators, Protectors, and Purveyors: Pirates and Commerce in Late Medieval Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 64, no. 2 (Autumn 2009), 273-313.

7 Akutagawa Tatsuo and Fukugawa Kazunori are the editors of several collections of documents published under the serial title *Saigoku bushidan kankei shiryōshū*. This collection deals with the families that established their domains on the coast of northern Kyushu, most of these in the service of the Ōtomo warlords. Takita Manabu is the editor of the *Hennen Ōtomo shiryō* series also used in this article.

poor living conditions during bad harvest seasons, as filling the vacuum of power in certain littoral areas ruled by piratical gangs, or as militaries or navies subordinate to the daimyo that projected the highest authority in the region.[8] I argue here that the coastal patrol clans in northern Kyushu were corsairs in terms of being semi-independent from the Ōtomo warlords, and as such they rose in status and notoriety by exploiting not only their skills as maritime warriors, but also the economic and political networks in their ascribed geographic locations.

The Ōtomo Corsairs

The Japanese term for coastal patrols to distinguish warriors who fought naval battles and protected the shores from "pirates," *keigo-shū*, often presents a dichotomy of characters very clearly defined. In reality, the distinction was rather blurred as there were skilled seafarers who conducted coastal patrols but were also pirates, and maritime warriors who even in the service of warlords committed acts of violence or "piratical acts" on the seas. In reality, coastal patrols and pirates were often one and the same. In my view, those coastal patrols were interchangeable with "pirates," or more accurately "corsairs." Although the latter term originally referred specifically to the Mediterranean "*corsa*," the Japanese coastal patrols were more similar to these privateers than to pirates. Japanese coastal patrols indeed received documents similar to European letters of marque (*hakkyū*) or *lettres de course* in which were written the lands or deeds pertaining to them in exchange for their services. Although those documents are not precisely equivalent to letters of marque, the dependency that they created between the landed lords and their littoral retainers is clear. Even with regard to

---

[8] Kage Toshio, *Sengoku daimyō no gaikō to toshi ryūtsū: Bungo Ōtomo-shi to Higashi Ajia sekai* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 2006), 91-101.

the Murakami clans, which ruled the waterways and toll barriers of the Seto Inland Sea and were often perceived as the Japanese "pirates" par excellence, the term "pirates" can be contested in view of the fact that contemporary Jesuit missionaries explicitly termed them "corsairs."[9]

Luis de Guzman, in describing the travels of the Vice Provincial Father Gaspar Coelho from Sakai to Kyushu, wrote, "As Father Gaspar Coelho left Sakai to go to Bungo, he went to an island that belonged to a Corsair famous all over Japan who was called Xiximadono.... The corsair received the Father with lots of honor...."[10] Xiximadono was in fact a member of the Noshima Murakami clan, hence a "pirate" of the Seto Inland Sea as interpreted by Shapinsky. The Murakami clan even before the territorial unification of Japan under Toyotomi Hideyoshi, which occurred in 1586 with the subjugation of Kyushu, became retainers of the Mōri clan. Therefore the term "pirate" became inaccurate, as they were now in the service of a landed daimyō. As such were the coastal patrols of northern Kyushu, who being in the service of the Ōtomo warlords for at least two or three generations exploited to the fullest their geo-political as well as their economic environment. It is the premise of this article that economic reasons and geo-political locations permitted a transformation of these littoral clans in northern Kyushu into organized naval warriors in the service of the Ōtomo family. Among all the clans that protected the coastline there were a few that stood out and rose to power from the early fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries: the Kibe, Tomiku, Watanabe, and Wakabayashi.

---

[9] Luis De Guzman, *Historia de las missiones que han hecho los religiosos de la Compañia de Iesus, para predicar el Sancto evangelio en la India Oriental, y en los reynos de la China y Japon*, chapter 22 (Alcala: Gracian, 1601), 343.

[10] Ibid., 343-344.

The Kibe Clan's Geo-economic Network

The coastal area of northern Kyushu, from Shimonoseki to the city of Usuki, has an uneven shoreline encompassing a prominent peninsula descending into the gulf of Funai and turning east towards the present-day Usuki. On that peninsula, in Kunisaki and Urabe, the Kibe clan rose to prominence under Ōtomo Mochinao, and between 1456 and 1471, under Ōtomo Chikashige, they became part of a group of close retainers of the Ōtomo with signatory power (also known as *kahanshū*).

In 1468, Kibe Yamashiro no kami went to Korea as a trader authorized (*jukenin*) by the Tsushima daimyo Sō Sadakuni.[11] He may have traded on behalf of the Ōtomo family from the time the Ōtomo participated in the tributary trade with Korea, sending, as tribute sulphur and other commodities. In the *Haedong jegukki*, a Korean record of travels to and from Japan written in the late fifteenth century, there is an entry for Kibe Yamashiro no kami arriving as an envoy with the title of Deputy and possessing a permit granted by Sō Sadakuni.[12] It also recorded that Kibe Yamashiro no kami was originally from Bungo (nowadays Ōita), Usa-shi kibe.[13] Indeed, the Kibe received the rights to the revenue from a plot of land in Usa-shi, as proprietors (*ryōshu*).[14] However, those were not the only land rights that the Kibe clan came to acquire. In fact, by the 1580s the Kibe were in areas of Bungo such as Kunisaki, Hayami, and Hibi, as well as on the nearby island of Kayajima (Kamajima). In addition to being of strategic importance for maritime

---

[11] Akutagawa Tatsuo and Fukugawa Kazunori, eds., *Saigoku bushidan kankei shiryōshū*, vol. 2, *Kibe monjō* (Tokyo: Bunken shuppan, 1992), 115.

[12] Although as suggested by Hashimoto Yū (2005), that embassy may have been a fake embassy to Joseon, this is still evidence that Kibe Yamashiro no kami was by then already in the service of Ōtomo Yoshinaga.

[13] Tanaka Takeo, trans. and ed., *Kaitō shokokuki* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1991), 178.

[14] Akutagawa and Fukugawa, eds., *Saigoku bushidan kankei shiryōshū*, vol. 2, *Kibe monjo*, 115.

passage to Kyoto and Osaka, two important economic centers of consumption, these territories also had sustainable economies of their own. Since the Kamakura period, northern Kyushu had been a region of salt production particularly on islands such as Kayajima. As well, while salt was typically derived from salt beds, in Kyushu since the twelfth century furnaces were used to extract it from sea water, and the same people skilled in building furnaces were also skilled in producing tools, metals, and weapons from iron and other materials.[15]

In Kyushu, salt production in the Sengoku period was found mainly in Amakusa, Kumamoto, and other locations such as the insular Kayajima. Although the Kibe were connected with the island of Kayajima, and possibly even with salt making, it is not certain that they were involved in the production of iron and iron tools. This is illustrated in documents addressed to Ōtomo Yoshinaga, Ōtomo Yoshiaki (1502-1550), and Ōtomo Yoshishige from the Kibe commanders Yatarō and Kikosuke, and others addressed to a third Kibe commander, Noto no kami of Kunisaki. These documents all show that the Kibe commanders offered such valuable metals as gold, silver, and iron tools and pieces, as well as a variety of long and short swords. It would seem that the Kibe were men skilled in metal working and we know, especially during Yoshiaki's rule, that Kibe Noto no kami sent him as many as five pieces of cut iron or iron currency (*kurokane*) as offerings.[16]

We also know that Kibe Chindai no kuma was acquainted with the rulers of Kayajima, as he received land that previously belonged to Kayajima Tōji[17] on the order of Yoshiaki. Thus, there is ample evidence that the Kibe had connections to both the island and the rulers of Kayajima, and it is reasonable to assume that they may also have played

---

15 Hattori Hideo, *Tosushi shishi: Chūsei-kinsei hen*, http.//hd.handle.net/2324/17856, 2008, 13-171.

16 Akutagawa and Fukugawa, eds., *Saigoku bushidan kankei shiryōshū*, vol. 2, *Kibe monjo*, 32, 60.

17 Ibid., 49.

a role in the island's economic production of salt or iron tools. Indeed, evidence exists that the Kibe were involved in metal working much earlier than this. In 1550 in Nakatsu, Kibe Naizōnoshō Shigenori requested a permit to be a metal master from the then-powerful political blacksmiths' association led by Matsugi Hisanao, a man well connected with Kyoto nobility.[18] Again, in 1589, Kibe Shinzaemon, from the Takedatsu-Kibe line of Hibi, received land revenues in Kunisaki (the Ise fief), a forge at Nansannishi no hara, and a residence in Yamano[19] while working first under Yoshiaki and later under Chikaie (1561-1614). This is further proof that some belonging to the various Kibe clans had acquired the status of metal workers.

This is especially noteworthy as the Ōtomo family had commercial relations with the Portuguese by the mid-sixteenth century, and it is possible that they also learned how to build muskets and cannon locally wherever iron ore could be extracted. In fact, by 1552, Ōtomo Yoshishige sent a locally constructed musket imitating Portuguese techniques to the Ashikaga shogun. And while there were other blacksmiths working for the Ōtomo elsewhere in northern Kyushu, the Kibe were under the jurisdiction of the Hachiman shrine of Usa-gun, whose metal workers built cannons for the Ōtomo family in the early Tenshō period (1573-1592).[20]

As previously discussed, the Kibe first began trading with Korea for the Ōtomo, but it is likely that they also began to trade on their own behalf. An inscription on a wooden board found at the Machida Shrine in Kokura (northern Kyushu) indicates that, in 1499, the Kibe family was part of the local mercantile association (*ton'ya*) of the shrine.[21] This

---

[18] Nagoya Daigaku Bungakubu kokushi kenkyūkai, *Chūsei Imonoshi shiryō* (Tokyo: Fuji seihan, 1982), 64.

[19] Ibid., 74.

[20] Fukugawa Kazunori, "Bungo Ōtomo shi to teppō ni tsuite," *Nihon rekishi* 353 (1977), 81.

[21] Akutagawa and Fukugawa, eds., *Saigoku bushidan kankei shiryōshū*, vol. 2, *Kibe monjo*, 116.

suggests that they expanded their activities under the Ōtomo, and by the early sixteenth century they dealt internationally with the Korean trade and domestically in metal and lumber, as well. In order to trade they not only had to own ships and be skilled seafarers but also they had to carry weapons to deal with the lawless environment in which they lived as well. Absent weapons, the majority of merchants at sea would be easy prey for pirates and might themselves become pirates, looting other ships when the occasion arose. The Kibe were known to be pirates in the fifteenth century, but by the early sixteenth century several of their members had differentiated their individual activities so that only a few were still involved in serving the Ōtomo as corsairs to protect the coast. However, in the early sixteenth century, surviving documents establish that the Kibe clan was extensively involved in coastal protection under Ōtomo Yoshinaga and Yoshiaki. In 1512, after mutinies aboard two of Ōtomo Yoshinaga's tributary ships from China, Yoshinaga ordered Kibe Yatarō, Kushiku Tōkurō, and Tomiku Sansaburō to hold those ships in a bay in Hyūga.[22] Another document from the 1530s describes how Yoshiaki deployed the Kibe to control pirates roaming the seas close to their shores. On that occasion, the Kibe worked in concert with the Kushiku, Imi, Araki, Takedatsu, Yoshihiro, and Himejima families to patrol the coasts. In 1544, Kibe Kikonosuke was captain of one of the patrol ships that safely carried Yoshiaki's daughter to meet her future husband, a member of the Isshiki family.[23]

The Kibe, therefore, geographically and economically took advantage of their extensive networks among other seafaring clans along the coast of northern Kyushu, and shared a long history with some of those families. This was the case with the Tomiku, who migrated to Kyushu during the Kamakura period and settled first in the Kunisaki

---

[22] Ibid., 28-29.

[23] Ibid., 66.

peninsula and later at Isshaku (Saga no seki). By the Sengoku period, the Tomiku were serving under the Ōtomo, as were the Kibe, and were the recipients of land rights over several territories in Buzen (Usa-gun), Chikuzen (Kashii and Sashi-gun), Bungo (Tomiku Ura), Aki-gun, and the Kunisaki peninsula, all in proximity to the Kibe clan.

The Tomiku and Their Kinship Connections

The Tomiku originally served the Ōtomo under the supervision of their close retainers, the Tahara, who by the 1530s had designated the Tomiku deputies of Kunisaki and, in Akitsuki, were made deputies over the quarters of sixty towns.[24] By the 1550s, the Tomiku were part of the Kunisaki group formed by other skilled seafarers such as the Kibe and the Kushiku, but around the same time internal conflict within the clan caused breakaway elements to join others like the Himejima and the Urabe bay groups.[25] Their piratical past is suggested only by association, when they appear in documents to be related to other notorious seafarers and coastal patrols such as the Kibe. However, unlike the Kibe, the Tomiku held higher local governmental posts and had widely spread land revenues throughout Kyushu. The reason for this was that the Tomiku were allied by marriage to the Ōtomo, specifically Tomiku Akihide, was married to a woman of Ōtomo Yoshiaki's family. Akihide and Sansaburō were the main characters defining the Tomiku as the Ōtomo's corsairs, as Akihide rendered his services to Yoshiaki aboard ships controlling the Kunisaki peninsula.[26]

Nishio Kazumi has discussed the value of political marriages between pirate clans like the Murakami and their sponsoring landed

---

[24] Ibid., 82.

[25] Ibid., 83.

[26] Ibid., 83.

warlords, namely the Kōno, Kobayakawa, and Mōri during Oda Nobunaga's territorial unification of central Japan.[27] Political marriages were useful to gain authority and status, but they also meant that a certain degree of interaction was created, in particular when there were conflicts and territorial losses and conquest at stake. These interactions were not only military but also economic and personal, although as demonstrated by Nobunaga himself, who even sacrificed his brothers and in-laws, the kinship side of those alliances was rather fragile. Even so, political marriages were sometimes relevant to political survival in the period, as demonstrated by the Ōtomo and their retainers. As the Tomiku clan's status rose, there is evidence that they moved away from patrolling the coast to more land-based official positions, as proved by the Tomiku-Hashimoto clan who settled first in Usuki and later in Kitsuki (Hisasho village) in their newfound role as merchants. However, not all members of the Tomiku changed their secular profession. Hashimoto Shinzaemon, a descendant of the Tomiku-Hashimoto clan, who had served on a carrier as naval captain during the campaigns of Hideyoshi between 1592 and 1598, returned to northern Kyushu as a masterless samurai (*rōnin*) until again becoming a naval captain under the Hosokawa clan in the early years of the Tokugawa shogunate.[28] The Tomiku are just one of the several families of corsairs that at the beginning of the new regime dominated by the "pax Tokugawa" surrendered their status as "corsairs" and "pirates" to mold their skills into newly created positions in the now commercially viable mercantile ships that were trading on behalf of landed lords in certain domains. First, however, this clean transformation did not occur overnight, and second, it may have not been as clear-cut as stated in documents of the Tokugawa era.[29] The need for legitimacy and

---

[27] Nishio Kazumi, *Sengokuki no kenryoku to konin* (Tokyo: Seibundō, 2005), 195-204.

[28] Akutagawa Tatsuo and Fukugawa Kazunori, eds., *Saigoku bushidan kankei shiryōshū*, vol. 4, *Tomiku monjo* (Tokyo: Bunken shuppan, 1992), 83.

[29] The *Buke mandaiki*, written in 1644 by a member of the Murakami family, is one such document

legitimization brought even the Murakami clans to write their own biographies during the early Tokugawa years as a way of cleansing themselves of past misdeeds and showing loyalty to their new overlord the Tokugawa shogun.

The Watanabe as Shipbuilders and Leaders of the Manai Group

The Watanabe, based in the adjacent gulf of Beppu, was another family that served the Ōtomo as corsairs. Like the Tomiku and Kibe clans, they received land fiefs and rights directly from the Ōtomo family. Their importance is related to the fact that they managed resources like timber used in ship building and other relevant resources in their controlled territory. Historically the Watanabe clan, like the Kibe, settled in Kyushu as armies sent by the Kamakura bakufu to repel the Mongol attacks in Kyushu. By 1351, the Watanabe clan had settled in northern Kyushu at Hayami, brought by the armies of Imagawa Ryōshun, who had been sent by the Muromachi shogunate to govern Kyushu as supreme military authority (*Kyūshū tandai*). But by 1398 the Watanabe had established a close relationship with Ōtomo Chikayo, and as a result came to occupy a position in the jurisdictional office in the village of Manai. They were granted the revenues of seventy houses in Amabe-gun Nakamura village and of fifty more in Hayami-gun. In time, the Watanabe also came to control the gulf of Funai.

By 1415, however, the Watanabe faced a number of crises. Their station at Manai was burned down by a certain Midainyūdō who had slandered Chikayo.[30] Around the same time they battled the Kimura and Ōga clans and lost Manai, only to regain it by entering the service of the

---

still extant and preserved in the Yamaguchi-ken Monjokan (Yamaguchi Prefectural Archives).

[30] Akutagawa Tatsuo and Fukugawa Kazunori, eds., *Saigoku bushidan kankei shiryōshū*, vol. 15, *Watanabe monjo* (Tokyo: Bunken shuppan, 1992), 90.

Ōga and Bekki clans, the latter a cadet family of the Ōtomo.[31] By 1484, the Watanabe clan had divided into five lineages: Higashi Akiyoshi, Nishi Akiyoshi, Higashi Seisho, Hirabatake, and Iwakado, to which another family, the Kawauchi, was added. The predominant family within the Manai group was the Higashi Seisho lineage, as they continued to work as corsairs for the Ōtomo family even in a time of internal succession conflicts.

In fact, the Watanabe, by serving the Ōtomo for several generations, gained authority over their controlled area, on both land and sea. In 1518, Ōtomo Yoshiaki fought domestic as well as inter-domain conflicts that gave rise to a system that strengthened alliances between cadet families aided by marital alliances, as was the custom at the time, but also by economic incentives in the form of land revenues and commercial rights. The alliances that formed among the corsairs of the northern Kyushu coast formed precisely the same structure as those of landed daimyo. Around this time, the form that the Manai group took as corsairs working for the Ōtomo changed into a sort of naval militia used for patrolling the coast and conducting raids. Fukugawa Kazunori confirms this in reporting that the Manai group received land and fiefs in the Kunisaki peninsula and in Hayami on the gulf of Beppu that tied them to the littoral. Their military exploits occurred in the mid-1530s during the conflicts between the Ōuchi and Ōtomo clans.[32]

In 1532, Ōtomo Yoshiaki lost the territory of Usa-gun (patrolled by the Kibe, as described above) to the Ōuchi forces who ruled Usa-gun under Sada Asakage.[33] Two years later, Yoshiaki unsuccessfully attacked the Sada and lost the coastal area controlled by the smaller clan of the Yakushiji pirates, who switched sides at their convenience. All those

---

[31] Hibi chōshi, *Ōita-ken Tsukumi Hibi-chō*, vol. 2, 622.

[32] Akutagawa and Fukugawa, eds., *Saigoku bushidan kankei shiryōshū*, vol. 15, *Watanabe monjo*, 91.

[33] Hibi chōshi, *Ōita-ken Tsukumi Hibi-chō*, vol. 2, 625.

naval battles were fought by the Manai group, who not only patrolled the shore against enemies, but also protected their ship-building site. In Manai the Watanabe worked in the construction of vessels and for that enterprise they needed timber. Therefore they were in charge of procuring lumber under the Ōtomo's jurisdiction from nearby forests and mountains. From the late fifteenth century, the Watanabe received several awards and prizes. Documents relating to the Watanabe clan report that, for example, a certain Watanabe Tōtōmi no kami was awarded a Chinese character (a *kanji* to change his name) by Ōtomo Chikatsuna.[34] In the same period a certain Watanabe Sakyōbe had received from the Ōtomo the reconfirmation in Manai village of land revenues (*tsubōchi*) for forty towns.[35] And again in 1484, a certain Watanabe Hyōgo no suke was ordered to settle a succession dispute in land belonging to the Kutami when the recipient of land rights died in battle.[36] This is tremendously important, not because they had jurisdictional power over Kutami's land, but because they were put in charge of protecting Ōtomo's economic interests in that area. In fact, until 1501 the Watanabe were in charge of supervising territories under the Kutami clan because of the Ōtomo clan's economic interests in foreign trade and shipping. Stepping back to 1412, it is known that Ōtomo Chikayo possessed a vessel of 1,500 *koku* tonnage called *Kasugamaru*. An extant document recording voyages of the *Kasugamaru* between Kyushu and Hyōgo shows that the vessel was given permission to enter both the toll-fee barriers existing at Hyōgo, and at the delta of the Yodo River, close to the consumer districts of Osaka and Kyoto.[37] Thirty years later, in 1442, the *Kasugamaru* was still in operation and is described in the 1445 records of Hyōgo harbor held by

---

[34] Ibid., 350.

[35] Ibid., 355.

[36] Ibid., 355-256.

[37] *Ōita-ken shiryō*, vol. 26, docs. 10-13.

the Tōdaiji temple.[38] By the second half of the fifteenth century, Ōtomo Yoshisuke (or Chikatoyo, 1459-1496), issued an order to Takita Rokurō to levy timber for the construction of ships from all the domains controlled by his retainers.[39] The Takita were Ōtomo retainers controlling the village of Yamakado in Kutami district. Although Yoshisuke requested timber from several places, it is obvious that the order designated Kutami district as the main place of operation. Hence, Kutami was a center to which timber was brought from other mountain locations to be utilized as construction material. In a letter, Ōtomo Masachika, successor of Yoshisuke, reconfirmed that Watanabe Hyōgo no suke was the heir of the land of Kutami and Ichikawa fiefs upon the death of his father, Watanabe Musashi no kami, in battle.[40] Although the document does not specify a date, it is believed to have been issued by the late fifteenth century. But this is not the only document that ties the Watanabe clan to shipbuilding. In 1544, Ōtomo Yoshiaki ordered the construction of several coastal patrol vessels to the Manai group led by the Watanabe clan. In particular, two documents signed by Yoshiaki show that in the space of some two-and–a-half months the ships ordered were completed and fully functional on the seas, and that they were built with the purpose of protecting the coastal areas.[41] In both documents there is reference to the coastal patrol group led by the Kibe. Therefore, there is the possibility that they worked as a team in shipbuilding with the Kibe clan. In effect, both the Kibe and Watanabe clans existed under the Ōtomo family umbrella, and they were also adjacently located. They received

---

[38] Hayashi Tatsusaburō, *Hyōgo kita no seki irifune naichō* (Tokyo: Chūō kōron shuppan, 1981), 181.

[39] *Ōita-ken shiryō*, vol. 26, doc. 47.

[40] Akutagawa and Fukugawa, eds., *Saigoku bushidan kankei shiryōshū*, vol. 15, *Watanabe monjo*, 26.

[41] *Watanabe monjo*, Ōita Kenritsu Senketsu Shiryōkan collection, doc. 4341 image and doc. 4343 image (photographed by the author).

orders directly from the Ōtomo in the procurement and operation of the coastal patrol ships (Ōtomo resources) as evidenced in the document below, where there is a request to build "*keigo-fune*" or coastal patrol vessels.

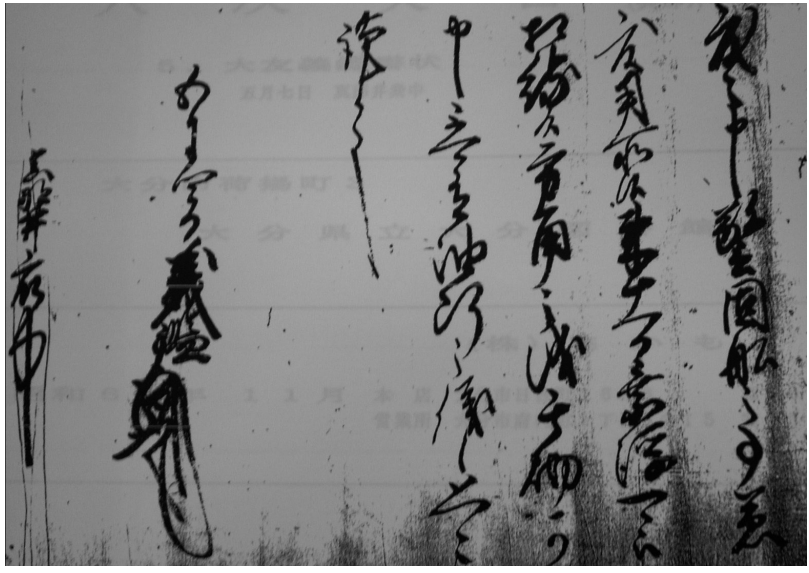

Figure 1. Document issued by Ōtomo Yoshiaki to the Manai group; from the Ōita kenritsu senketsu shiryōkan (Ōita Prefecture Ancient Sages Historical Archives).

The Ōtomo were involved directly in supervising the shipbuilding industry left to the Watanabe to manage due to their strategic plans to fend off maritime attacks. One of the major issues, as previously described, was the several attacks by enemy forces, mainly the Ōuchi, who encroached upon Ōtomo territories. Although the construction of ships was an activity related to trade and coastal protection, it required the cooperation of several territorial groups, and this was possible in wartime as all the groups and militia were fighting a common enemy for their livelihood. Another reason is that, as the Manai group comprised

carpenters, they were also able to build wooden fortresses, and due to the sustained attack form the Ōuchi, Ōtomo Yoshiaki also began building fortresses in his controlled territories and coastal areas. By the 1530s, however, he issued an order to halt the construction. The reasons for that order are debated, because Yoshiaki resumed the construction of several fortifications after a few years. Among these was the fortress Shikaetsu, a stronghold controlled by the Watanabe.[42] In a document most likely dated 1535, Yoshiaki issued an order for its construction to the various retainers that were part of his magistrate group residing in the area of Yamaga village, close to Hibi. These retainers were the Kimura, Nagano, Tahara, Yoshihiro, Hayashi, and the powerful Ōga clan.[43] The Shikaetsu fortress was at the border between the provinces of Buzen (partially controlled by Ōuchi forces) and Bungo (controlled by the Ōtomo family) and was intended to fortify the borders against sudden attack. Yoshiaki also fortified the province of Chikugo in order to protect the gulf of Funai, where commercial exchanges were taking place. By 1533 the fortress of Tsunomure, in Yamaga, also underwent construction work.[44]

The funding for this work was provided by the wealthy landowner Hirai Saemon, to whom Yoshiaki had granted revenues from a fief.[45] The use by Yoshiaki of local landowners' funds to build defensive posts had the effect of decreasing funds available to the local retainers in their fiefs. Thus, while building fortresses and ships in the littoral areas, Yoshiaki also reduced the prospect of domestic conflict among the retainers of the Ōtomo clan.

The Watanabe, as corsairs for the Ōtomo, continued to be involved in coastal patrols and shipbuilding, as detailed in a document dated 1548

---

[42] Hibi chōshi, *Ōita-ken Hayami Hibi-chō*, vol. 2 (Ōita: Ōita-ken Hayami-gun Hibi-chō, 1986), 385.

[43] Ibid., 365.

[44] Takita Manabu, *Ōtomo hennen shiryō*, vol. 16, 393.

[45] Takita, *Ōtomo hennen shiryō*, vol. 26, 127.

and signed by Yoshiaki wherein he ordered the Manai group to oversee shipbuilding in order to patrol the shores and, as well, to watch for pirates whose vessels lurked in nearby waters.[46] It should be noted that it is not specified who those "pirates" were, as in times of conflict enemy ships were considered pirates rather than "parties at war." Therefore, the term "pirates" used in wartime does usually refer to enemy parties, rather than to looting marauders on the sea. Just because these enemies were engaged in acts of naval warfare that included piratical acts such as looting and taking captives.

The conflict with the Ōuchi intensified during the Tenbun period (1532-1555) until the Ōuchi clan was completely eradicated with the defeat of Sue Harukata at the Itsukushima battle with the Mōri clan. By the mid-sixteenth century, though, the Ōtomo family with Yoshishige had to face more powerful enemies. Until at least 1554, the Watanabe were still in charge of the Kunisaki and Funai coast, as a document dated 1554 shows that Watanabe Jirōsaburō had succeeded as heir to his father, Saburōzaemon, and was reconfirmed in his fief by Ōtomo Yoshishige, Yoshiaki's successor. By 1562, when the Mōri attacked Ōtomo forces to gain the Ōuchi's lost territories in Northern Kyushu, the Ōtomo and the Mōri engaged in several naval battles. In the eleventh month of 1562, Watanabe Sakyōryū received intelligence from Yoshishige on the status of Moji harbor, previously ruled by the Ōuchi but conquered by the Ōtomo, and a strategic passageway on the route to the Seto Inland Sea.[47] The Watanabe, along with several other militias gathered by the Ōtomo, fought the organized pirates-turned-corsairs of the Mōri clan, namely, the powerful piratical clans of the Murakami located on various islands of the Seto Inland Sea. These clans operated alongside the Ōuchi corsairs now recruited into the forces of Kobayakawa Takakage, who led a

---

[46] Hibi chōshi, *Ōita-ken Hayami Hibi-chō*, vol. 2, 367.

[47] Ibid., 369.

considerable fleet commanded by the Kurushima, Noshima Murakami, and the Nomi (the latter were pirates and mercenaries close to Hiroshima Bay). The Watanabe and the Kibe were known to the Jesuit missionaries as the Murakami "corsairs," and had connections with the Portuguese merchants. Hence, their networks included the diffusion of religious ideas. The Watanabe, who served under Ōtomo Yoshishige Sōrin, the so-called Christian daimyo, could not be spared from missionary encounters. There is evidence that they came into contact with Jesuit missionaries hosted by Yoshishige in Kyushu. As for the Kibe, with Kibe Pedro Kasui, the Japanese priest who dedicated his life to Catholicism in the early years of the seventeenth century, and whose parents were of pirate extraction, the Watanabe contact with Christianity is unclear due to the paucity of extant documents. In the early letters of Francisco Xavier, the first Jesuit missionary in Japan, there is mention of his stay in Bungo where he was welcomed by the "King of Bungo," Yoshishige, who was baptized with the homonym "Don Francisco" in honor of Xavier. What is known is that the Portuguese were aware of the harbor of Hibi (described in their map as Figi) and they may have converted some of the population during their years of residence in Bungo. As far as the Watanabe's contact with Christianity is concerned the only documents are related to a certain Watanabe Torozaemon Constantino, who settled later in the city of Hakata.[48]

Although the Watanabe continued their service as corsairs, by the 1570s their notoriety was surpassed by another clan who held the major waterways in northern Kyushu: the Wakabayashi.

The Wakabayashi and their Political Networks

The Wakabayashi were another clan of corsairs who arrived in Kyushu

---

[48] Matsuda Kiichi, *Nanban shiryō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Nakauchi shuppan, 1967), 357.

following the troops of the Hōjō in the late Kamakura period. By 1486, they had been granted a boat and a piece of land in Isshaku along with revenues from that land. However, when the Isshaku territory fell under Ōtomo Masachika, the Wakabayashi also began acting as coastal protection units. They prospered under the Ōtomo, and by the Sengoku period (1477-1603) they had land revenues from several places in Kyushu: Ono, Ōita, Amabe-gun in Bungo Province, and Takeno-gun in Chikugo Province. They had become managers of economically scattered fiefs.

Figure 2. View from Kitsuki Castle and Usuki waterways

During the rule of Ōtomo Yoshiaki, Wakabayashi Echigo no kami served in a coastal patrol. Additionally, under Ōtomo Chikaharu, another Wakabayashi (Shigeoki) was awarded fiefs in places close to Usuki, Tsukumi village and Takamatsu. As a dwelling he was given one ship to perform his duties as *kaijō gōyō*, a term that corresponds to maritime

purveyor.[49] In 1571, Wakabayashi Genroku received from Ōtomo Masachika a fishing vessel in the bay of Usuki with which to supply the Ōtomo with fresh fish.[50] His role included patrolling the nearby littoral and protecting it from vessels of unknown origins. Hence, the Wakabayashi began by engaging in merchant fishing. Amino Yoshihiko justly stated that in their early stages pirates were "sea people" (*kaimin*) who needed to provide for themselves and turned to piracy in times of bad harvest or poor fishing.[51] However, that conclusion is debatable, as the primary requirement for even petty pirates was the ability to loot at sea, and in order to do so they must have had a fast seagoing vessel of at least medium size that in optimal conditions was supplied by local retainers, if not by the main daimyō, as was the case with the Wakabayashi. Of this opinion is Fujita Tatsuo, who claimed that the status of "pirates" was not for the seamen themselves, but for their sponsors, the warlords of southern Japan.[52]

Through their coastal patrols the Wakabayashi had gained particular visibility with the expansionist policies and tributary trade of Ōtomo Yoshiaki, who gained access to the trading routes and permits sold by the shogunate to trade with Ming China. While Yoshiaki supported the newly installed shogun (Ashikaga Yoshizumi) advocated by the Hosokawa, he was hostile to the Ōuchi, who supported Ashikaga Yoshitane. The increasing competition in trade between the Ōtomo and Ōuchi clans resulted in increased surveillance of the coastal area and its toll barriers. In 1547, Wakabayashi Shigeoki, located in Isshaku, had risen so far in stature among other corsairs that the "*shige*" character in his name was

---

[49] Ōita kenritsu senketsu shiryōkan, *Ōtomo suigun*: *Umi kara mita chūsei Bungo* (Ōita: Ōita kenritsu senketsu shiryōkan, 2003), 59-60.

[50] Ibid., 2.

[51] Amino Yoshihiko, *Nihon chūsei no hinōgyōnin to Tennō* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1984), 263-267.

[52] Fujita Tatsuo, *Hideyoshi to kaizoku daimyō* (Tokyo: Chūō kōron shinsha, 2012), 24-26.

bestowed on him by Ōtomo Yoshishige himself. Shigeoki earned this honor in maritime battles between 1559 and 1563 against expansion in Northern Kyushu by the warlord of Aki, Mōri Motonari (1497-1571), who had uncontested power over the routes of the Seto Inland Sea, had the alliance of pirates like the Murakami, and possessed the silver mines of the Ōuchi used to finance military expenditures.[53]

In 1568, Wakabayashi Shigeoki protected the harbor of Aio no ura against the forces of the Ōuchi with both arrows and firearms. But by 1572, as Wakabayashi records show, he was still a fish merchant in the town of Saga no seki.[54] By 1586, under Ōtomo Yoshimure, successor of Yoshishige, he was awarded the title of magistrate of Saga no seki. In this role, Shigeoki was responsible not only for the harbor of Saga no seki and its inhabitants, but also for issuing several rulings approved by Yoshimune. He issued a series of edicts for the city, the most famous of which is the promulgation of "Saga no seki's regulations," a set of eleven rules that began with the establishment of tolls to be paid in silver at toll barriers in the two bays of Kami no ura (Upper Bay) and Shimo no ura (Lower Bay), the two villages at either end of the town of Saga no seki. The second rule regarded the standardization of scales to measure goods to be weighed, to conform to the scale used in the town and by the merchants of Usuki, while the third rule concerned the handling of firefighting emergencies. Thus, most of the regulations regard the behavior that foreigners had to maintain once in Saga no seki.

Of particular interest for our present purpose, however, is rule number eight, which dealt with vessels arriving at Saga no seki. It established that trading vessels were to be handled by the local mercantile association in terms of providing dwellings for travelling merchants and setting conditions for the selling and buying of

---

[53] *Ōita-ken shiryō*, vol. 35; Ōita Kenritsu Senketsu Shiryōkan, *Ōtomo Suigun*; *Wakabayashi monjo*.
[54] Ōita Kenritsu Senketsu Shiryōkan, *Ōtomo suigun*, 2-3.

goods.[55] At the apex of his fascinating career, Wakabayashi Shigeoki, as magistrate, ruled over all aspects of Saga no seki as a commercial harbor and a prominent passageway for maritime routes that allowed seafarers from the Seto Inland Sea to reach Shikoku, Southern Kyushu, and several East Asian countries. The Wakabayashi family came to control the straight of Saga no seki, one of the two barriers en route to trade in international waters, and there they levied a toll payable in silver. The fact that such levies were imposed in silver denotes that by then the circulation of silver in southern Japan had increased to the point where tolls were exacted in the metal, while daily shopping and payments were still conducted with copper coins imported from the Ming. In 1592, when Toyotomi Hideyoshi, then ruler of most of central and southern Japan, ordered the invasion of Joseon, Wakabayashi Jinnai (under Ōtomo Yoshimune, the son of Yoshishige) offered silver as homage to the conqueror. This demonstrates that by 1592 the Wakabayashi had not only gained military power but had become wealthy as well. They had risen from being fishermen and purveyors to coastal patrol and, indeed, assumed the positions of both magistrate and *hikan*. The position of the *hikan* was bestowed upon men of samurai origin or warriors whose background was of lower birth, or on people of mercantile status and lower samurai who had gained prominence through military enterprises. It was a position of power but not one as recognized as magistrate (*daikan*). The *hikan* controlled harbors and the communities of workers in their areas (*genin*), and therefore had leverage in terms of manpower when it came to gathering soldiers and sailors for imminent battles. They also had accounting capabilities and levied taxes in the harbors that they controlled.[56]

The strait controlled by the Wakabayashi was the easternmost tip of

---

[55] Ibid., 66.

[56] Regarding the relationship between *hikan* and harbors, Kishida Hiroshi has demonstrated that this position was not an insignificant one, in regard to his studies on the Sako of Shimonoseki.

land that formed a boundary with the nearby island of Shikoku, where Ōtomo corsairs would often raid and pillage coastal villages. These matters were documented by a middle-class retainer of the powerful Kōno family who, like the Mōri, had marriage ties to the Murakami pirates of the Inland Sea, and by the mid-fifteenth century governed over one hundred retainers and coastal towns.[57] One of those retainers, Doi Kiyonaga, dedicated himself to improving the quality of produce on the land, and, while writing a manuscript on how to reap and sew the fruits of the land, he described the devastating pillaging of coastal villages by corsairs living in Ōtomo territories.[58] Between the 1530s and 1580s, the town of Uwa in Iyo witnessed several raids conducted by the Ōtomo and Iyo corsairs hired by the Ōtomo *in situ* (Saeki, Tsuruhara, Tahara, Usuki, Wakabayashi, etc.) aimed at gaining full control of both sides of the straight and getting some spoils along the way. It was in 1572, when Wakabayashi Shigeoki was dealing in mercantile activities and fighting the Mōri, that Shigeoki twice crossed the straight dividing Northern Kyushu from Shikoku Island on orders from Ōtomo Yoshishige. The apparent purpose was to attack the Saionji family of Shikoku, but in reality, the attack was against Ichijō Kanesada, who had married Yoshishige's sister for political reasons. The Wakabayashi, of whom three members went armed as musketeers, joined the Saeki, Fukae, and Tsuruhara to attack the two fortresses located at Uwa-gun Nagayakisan in a battle in which Shigeoki lost six of his men.[59] Again, in 1578, Shigeoki was dispatched on a mission to deal with the Ito clan, who had rebelled and formed an alliance with the Shimazu. In this campaign, Wakabayashi Shigeoki emerged supreme in a naval battle against his enemies. Two years later, he fought the Tahara, who were close retainers

---

[57] Kageura Tsutomu, *Kōno shi no kenkyū* (Matsuyama: Seri kabu gaisha, 2007), 216.

[58] Hokazono Toyochika, *Sengokuki zaichi shakai no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kokura shobō, 2003), 190.

[59] Ōita Kenritsu Senketsu Shiryōkan, *Ōtomo suigun*, 59.

of the Ōtomo but had rebelled against the rule of Ōtomo Yoshimune. When it was discovered that the Tahara had sought an alliance with the Mōri and Kobayakawa, Shigeoki led more than ten ships to attack the Mōri stronghold in Suō province. He was able to sink one of the enemy ships, losing two of his own family members and three comrades in battle.[60]

Shigeoki may have been a merchant-pirate turned corsair and an admiral who achieved heroic victories in naval battle, but there are additional aspects to his life. By 1587, he had assumed the Buddhist name Dōkan and was married to the daughter of Urakami Dōsatsu. An advantage for Shigeoki in his mercantile activities was that the Urakami family was well-connected to the merchant Nakaya Sōetsu, with whom Shigeoki and Dōsatsu had travelled in 1585 to Kyoto to accompany Yoshimune on a visit to Hideyoshi. Urakami Dōsatsu was a tea connoisseur and master of tea ceremony (*cha no yū*).[61] By association Wakabayashi Shigeoki shared the benefit of participating in these private summits, as the ceremonies were highly regarded, and provided him an insight into the political life of the time. According to the Isshaku Sonji, Urakami Dōsatsu wrote a letter to Shigeoki in which he describes all he had experienced in the tea ceremonies as performed in the presence of the Kanpaku Hideyoshi.[62] The document is, in itself, an explanation of tea caddies and tea ceremony tools used, but it also illuminates the cultural interests of a man such as Shigeoki. His historical image as corsair or merchant-pirate alone might paint him poorly without the understanding that Shigeoki rose from nothing to stand close to the highest political echelons of his day. His leadership and seafaring skills, his military record, as well as his long experience both at sea and in the

---

[60] *Saga shishi*, vol. 2 (Saga: Saga shishi hensan iinkai, 1977-1982), 145.

[61] *Ōtomo hennen shiryō*, vol. 1; *Saga shishi*, 143.

[62] *Saga shishi*, 145-146.

political environment of Saga no Seki township, made Shigeoki an outstanding man of his time.

In fact, Shigeoki was just one of several outstanding Wakabayashi men, but he was certainly a deserving representative of the clan. He stands, however, among many anonymous and often historically forgotten personages who rode the wave of the entire epoch. Shigeoki lost his life to illness during the first Korean invasion, and was succeeded by his son Jinnai. Jinnai was born in 1568 and served under Yoshimune in the disastrous (for the Ōtomo) battle of Mimigawa against the Shimazu clan. Being close to Yoshimune, he participated in the Korean invasion, but as Yoshimune was blamed for not aiding General Konishi Yukinaga's troops as they retreated toward the coast, Jinnai's fief was withdrawn by Hideyoshi and he retired quietly in Yamaguchi. Jinnai lived in Nagasaki, where he died in 1637 at the age of seventy. We know that he continued his father's legacy as leader of commercial navy groups (*kaisen*) in the Seto Inland Sea.[63] It is the history of most corsairs and merchant-pirates of the Sengoku period that their skills allowed them to continue their seafaring endeavors under the Tokugawa regime, often as ships' captains under the command of domain lords, or by belonging to commercial associations and being classified as merchants or sailors.

Conclusions

The larger story of these several clans who, by the mid-fourteenth century, had raided and pillaged the coasts of Northern Kyushu begins, then, with their voluntary migration. As the Japanese shogunate needed protection from foreign invaders and had twice experienced threats from the Mongols, several clans following the Hōjō and Imagawa relocated to northern Kyushu. The Kibe and the Wakabayashi, in particular, rose from

---

[63] *Saga shishi*, 129-131.

lowly stations to positions as corsairs with close ties to the Ōtomo family forged through their skills. The Tomiku also shared connections to both the Kibe and the Ōtomo, but each of these clans differed in their relationships to their environment and their overlords. As has been shown here, these corsair clans took full advantage of their environment to create economic, geo-political, and interpersonal networks that brought them to the fore as participants in the seashore economy that flourished between the fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Chronologically, some clans overlapped others as the Kibe, Watanabe, and Tomiku as coastal patrols and corsairs decreased in importance with the rise of the Wakabayashi and tighter political control under Hideyoshi's unification. However, several clans were able to adapt to the Tokugawa era relatively well by using their seafaring and economic skills acquired in times of conflict and on the coast of northern Kyushu. Their importance is due to their activities on the sea as part of the maritime history of Sengoku Japan. What these corsairs shared under Ōtomo rule was their authority over the territories of the littoral, bestowed upon them by the Ōtomo clan, which included the right to patrol the coast and manage shipping and related industries such as shipbuilding, metal working, gunsmithing, salt production, and woodworking, as well as the right to make policy in their localities. In addition, the Watanabe and Wakabayashi clans stood out politically for having gained the position of *hikan* and the even more prominent position of magistrate. This clearly illustrates that their rule was not only over the sea but extended from coastal harbors of historical note such as Hibi, Saga no seki, Usuki, Tsukumi, Hayami, and Kitsuki.

We have now seen that beyond their geographic locales, these corsairs acquired a mastery of international trade routes and escorted tributary ships to foreign lands. In the case of the Kibe and the Watanabe they even adopted Christianity, a foreign religion at the time. It is difficult to accept their role as mere corsairs acting under orders once we understand that in their daily lives they had to rely on their own

commercial initiatives and economic associations. In the case of the Kibe, Christian communities were a major part of their network, but the Wakabayashi relied more on their mercantile efforts. We have seen how Shigeoki, after his victories against the Mōri armies at sea, returned to his daily livelihood as a trader in maritime goods. Having analyzed the types of networks and activities they did participate in it is misleading to consider these littoral clans as simply warriors and subordinates within any modern concept of a military structure. Although they were maritime warriors, it is far more accurate to consider them corsairs: their raiding and pillaging of other territories was more simply a necessary element of benefitting from the land revenues and rights bestowed upon them by the Ōtomo family in their position as a Kyushu daimyo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akutagawa Tatsuo, and Fukugawa Kazunori, eds. *Saigoku bushidan kankei shiryōshū*, vol. 2, *Kibe monjo*. Tokyo: Bunken shuppan, 1992.

———, eds. *Saigoku bushidan kankei shiryōshū*, vol. 4, *Kibe monjō*. Tokyo: Bunken shuppan, 1992.

———, eds. *Saigoku bushidan kankei shiryōshū*, vol. 15, *Watanabe monjo*, Tokyo: Bunken shuppan, 1996.

———, eds. *Saigoku bushidan kankei shiryōshū*, vol. 16, *Watanabe monjo*. Tokyo: Bunken shuppan, 1996.

———, eds. *Saigoku bushidan kankei shiryōshū*, vol. 4, *Tomiku monjo*. Tokyo: Bunken shuppan, 1996.

Amino Yoshihiko. *Nihon chūsei no hinōgyōnin to Tennō*. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1984.

———. *Akutō to kaizoku*. Tokyo: Hōsei daigaku shuppankyoku, 1995.

De Guzman, Luis. *Historia de las missiones que han hecho los religiosos de la Compañia de Iesus, para predicar el Sancto evangelio en la India Oriental, y en los reynos de la China y Japon*. Alcala: Gracian, 1601.

Fujita Tatsuo. *Hideyoshi to kaizoku daimyō*. Tokyo: Chūō kōron shinsha, 2012.

Fukugawa Kazunori. "Bungo Ōtomo-shi to teppō ni tsuite." *Nihon rekishi* 353 (1977), 76-86.

Hattori Hideo. *Tosushi shishi: Chūsei-kinsei hen*. http.//hd.handle.net/2324/17856, 2008.

Hayashiya Tatsusaburō. *Hyōgo Kita no seki irifune naichō*. Tokyo: Chūō kōron shuppan, 1981.

Hibi chōshi. *Ōita-ken Hayami Hibi-chō*, vol. 2. Ōita: Ōita-ken Hayami-gun Hibi-chō, 1986.

———. *Ōita-ken Tsukumi Hibi-chō*, vol. 2.

Hokazono Toyochika. *Sengokuki zaichi shakai no kenkyū*. Tokyo: Kokura shobō, 2003.

Kage Toshio. *Sengoku daimyō no gaikō to toshi ryūtsū: Bungo Ōtomo-shi to*

Higashi Ajia sekai. Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 2006.

Kageura Tsutomu. *Kōno-shi no kenkyū*. Matsuyama: Seki kabu gaisha, 2007.

Matsuda Kiichi. *Nanban shiryō no kenkyū*. Tokyo: Wakauchi shuppan, 1967.

Nagoya Daigaku Bungakubu kokushi kenkyūkai. *Chūsei Imonoshi shiryō*. Tokyo: Fuji seihan, 1982.

Nishio Kazumi. *Sengokuki no kenryoku to konin*. Tokyo: Seibundō, 2005.

Ōita-ken shiryō, vol. 10. Ōita: Meibundō, 1955.

Ōita-ken shiryō, vol. 12. Ōita: Meibundō, 1955.

Ōita-ken shiryō, vol. 26. Ōita: Meibundō, 1955.

Ōita-ken shiryō, vol. 35. Ōita: Meibundō, 1955.

Ōita kenkyū iinkai. *Hibi chōshi*, vol. 2. Oita-ken, 1986.

Ōita kenritsu senketsu shiryōkan. *Ōtomo suigun: Umi kara mita Bungo*. Ōita-shi: Ōita kenritsu senketsu shiryōkan, 2003.

Saeki Kōji. "Kaizoku ron." In *Ajia no naka no Nihonshi*, vol. 3: *Kaijō no michi*, edited by Arano Yasunori, Ishii Masatoshi, and Murai Shōsuke. Tokyo: Sanyōsha, 1992.

Saga shishi, vol. 2. Saga: Saga shishi hensan iinkai, 1977-1982.

Sakurai Eiji. "Sanzoku, kaizoku to seki no kigen." In *Chūsei o kangaeru: Shokunin to geinō*, edited by Amino Yoshihiko. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1994.

Shapinsky, Peter D. "Predators, Protectors, and Purveyors: Pirates and Commerce in Late Medieval Japan." *Monumenta Nipponica* 64:2 (Autumn 2009), 273-313.

Takita Manabu. *Ōtomo hennen shiryō*, vol. 16. Ōita-shi, 1965.

———. *Ōtomo hennen shiryō*, vol. 26. Ōita-shi, 1965.

Tanaka Takeo, trans. and ed. *Kaitō shokokuki*. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1991.

Udagawa Takehisa. *Sengoku suigun no kōbō*. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2002.

Wakabayashi monjo.

Yamauchi Yuzuru. *Setouchi no kaizoku*. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2005.