Some Reflections on the First Muslim Visitor to Japan

James Harry Morris

Japanese relations with Islam and Muslims have a much longer history than is commonly assumed. Most scholarship on Japanese-Middle East and Japanese-Muslim relations has focused on the modern period. Nevertheless, there is evidence that Persian visitors came to Japan as early as 736CE (Tenpyō hachi nen 天平8年). It has been postulated that some of these Persians were Syriac Christians, Zoroastrians, or Manichaeans, however, the historical sources do not provide details of their religious affiliation and therefore no definitive conclusions in regards to their religions can be made. This research note explores the visit and biography of a man who came to Japan some five and a half centuries later than these first Persian visitors, a man whom Hosaka Shuji notes was the first recorded Muslim visitor to Japan. This figure, known as Sādōulūdīng 撒都魯丁 in Chinese and Sadorotei in Japanese, came to Japan as part of an envoy sent by Khubilai Khan (1215-1294CE), the first ruler of the Yuán 元 dynasty (1271-1368CE), in 1275CE. Herein Sādōulūdīng’s biography and the significance of his visit to Japan will be explored.

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Who was Sādōulūding? The Primary Sources

Chinese sources tell us little about Sādōulūding. The *Yuán Shǐ* 元史 notes that following the defeat of the Mongol forces in the attempted invasion of Japan in the winter of 1274, an envoy carrying a letter was sent in the second month of the following year consisting of Dù Shìzhōng 杜世忠, official from the Ministry of Rites; Hé Wěnzhù 何文著, official from the Ministry of War; and Sādōulūding, chief planning consultant. However, after its dispatch the Yuán authorities failed to receive a report, and five years later, in 1280CE the members of the envoy were killed. The *Xīn Yuán Shǐ* 新元史, composed in the twentieth century by Kē Shàomín 柯劭忞 (1850-1933) as an attempt to correct numerous errors present in the *Yuán Shǐ*, provides a slightly different account. It notes that in the second month of 1275, an envoy consisting of an official from the Ministry of Rites, Dù Shìzhōng; an official from the Ministry of War, Hé Wěnzhù, the chief planning consultant, Sādōulūding; a Korean bureaucrat, Xū Zàn 徐贊; and some 30 staff members went to Japan in possession of a letter requesting friendly relations with the country. The envoy landed in the fourth month at Murotsu 室津 in Nagato 長門 Province (present day Yamaguchi Prefecture), and were transported to Daizaifu 太宰府 in Chikuzen 築前 Province (present-day Fukuoka Prefecture). In the eighth month, the governor of Daizaifu escorted the group to Kamakura. Then in the ninth month, envoy members Dù Shìzhōng, Hé Wěnzhù, Sādōulūding, Xū Zàn, and record keeper (scribe) Dǒng Wèi 董畏 were beheaded by Hōjō Tokumune 北條時宗 (1251-1284CE) at Tatsu no Kuchi 龍口. The *Yuán Shǐ* and *Xīn Yuán Shǐ* agree on several key points, which allow us to garner some details about Sādōulūding, namely his name, position, and execution. Both texts also note that the envoys were in possession of a letter. Sādōulūding’s position is described in both texts as *jìyì guān* 計議官 (J. Keigikan), an official in charge of arrangements or planning. The texts differ on the dating of the executions of Sādōulūding and the other envoy members; the *Yuán Shǐ* records the year 1280CE, meaning that Sādōulūding would have been in Japan for five years, whilst the *Xīn Yuán Shǐ* records the ninth month of 1275, meaning that he would have only spent five months in the country. The *Xīn Yuán Shǐ* is more accurate in this regard, as shall be illustrated below through comparison to Japanese primary sources and modern scholarship. The *Xīn Yuán Shǐ* also records the movements of the envoy in Japan from landing in Nagato to their execution at Tatsu no Kuchi, which if accurate
illustrates that Sādōulūding sojourned for approximately four months in Daizaifu.

Japanese sources provide further details on Sādōulūding. Verifying the account given in the Xin Yuán Shi, the Kamakura Nendaiki Uragaki 鎌倉年代記裏書, completed in 1332, notes that the envoy landed at Murotsu Bay, Nagato Province, on the fifteenth day of the fourth month of 1275CE. In the eighth month, five envoy members were summoned to go to the Kantō 関東 region, and on the seventh of the ninth month they were beheaded at Tatsu no Kuchi. The five were:

1. The 34-year-old, Mongolian, official of the Ministry of Rites, Dù Shìzhōng.
2. The 38-year-old, Chinese, official of the Ministry of War, Hé Wénzhe 何文著.
3. The 32-year-old, chéng shì láng 承仕郎 (J. shōjirō/jōjirō), Uyghur, Muslim servant, Dūlūding 都魯丁.
4. The 32-year-old, scribe from the country of Xūnwèi 薰畏, Guo 果/果. 
5. The 33-year-old, Korean, translator Jiāng Xü 將徐.

The text then records preparations for a future invasion by Yuán forces. On several occasions the Kamakura Nendaiki Uragaki provides different names and details to the Chinese sources. Sādōulūding’s name is incorrectly rendered as Dūlūding. According to the text, Sādōulūding was 32 at the time of his execution; he held the rank chéng shì láng, was a fuifuī 回々/回回 (C. huíhuí), and a fuifuī yōnin 回々用人 (C. huíhuí yòngrén). The term chéng shì 承仕 (J. shōji/jōji) refers to a person who oversees equipment such as carpeting and folding doors during ceremonies and rituals, and dresses in the style of a monk or priest. The addition of the term láng 郎 (J. rō) used in various terms to indicate different kinds of bureaucratic rank likely indicates that Sādōulūding was the official in charge the aforementioned ceremonial equipment overseeing. This does not necessarily conflict with the position of jìyì guān listed in Chinese sources, although it does provide greater specificity as to the sort of planning that Sādōulūding may have been involved in. The fact that the writers describe Sādōulūding as a chéng shì láng, a role which was undertaken by people in priestly or monkish attire (J. Sōgyō no mono 僧形の者), likely points to the exoticism with which this visitor was viewed and the ways in which he was demarked by his differing behaviour and appearance in comparison to other envoy members. The
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term may also suggest that Sādōulūding wore religious clothing or attire which evoked the image of religiosity for the Japanese authors. The further role of yōnin 用人 (C. yòngrén) likely indicates that he was a servant or assistant of some description.23

The text uses the descriptor fuifui on two occasions to refer to Sādōulūding, firstly as a prenominal description of the figure, and secondly in the term fuifui yōnin.24 The term fuifui can refer to members of the Huízú 回族 (J. Kaizoku) ethnic group; those who reside in the Níngxià 宁夏 region of China; Islam; or certain countries in Central Asia.25 Scholars have argued that Sādōulūding was a Uyghur26 or an Arab,27 but I would caution against indiscriminately labelling him as such. There are links between the term fuifui (C. huíhuì) and the genesis of the terms Huìjiào 回教 (J. Kaikyō, E. Islam) and Huígǔ 回鹘 (J. Kaikotsu), which refers to the Uyghur ethnic group.28 However, according to Lo Jung-pang, though the term referred predominantly to Muslims it also acted as a general term for the peoples of Central Asia.29 Moreover, as Xu Xin notes, the term once referred to all western Asian, Middle Eastern, and European peoples, and with the use of various prefixes and suffixes the three Abrahamic traditions.30 To further complicate this issue, the Yuán Shi uses the term in various senses. The term is regularly used in a way that clearly does not refer to Uyghurs, for instance when it is used in lists of different nationalities in which descriptors for Uyghurs such as Huígǔ,31 Wèiwù 畏兀 (E. Qocho) and Wèiwùer 畏吾兒 (E. Qocho) also appear as separate entities.32 On other occasions, the term adopts a general meaning used alongside the races of Mongols (C. Ménggǔ 蒙古) and Han Chinese (C. Hànrén 漢人)34 to describe a third racial category present in Yuán society. At other times, geographic specificity is offered through the application of locational prefixes allowing the term to denote specific huíhuì groups.35 Such usage illustrates that the term is not necessarily synonymous with the term Uyghur, but moreover that it may be used as a general descriptor for non-Mongol and non-Han sections of Yuán society. Moreover, if we accept the argument that the country of Xūnwèi used in reference to Guō in the Kamakura Nendaiki Uragaki is a reference to Uyghur territories, as Tsuji Zennosuke, P. Y. Saeki and Kuwata Tadachika assert,36 then we must also assume that the term fuifui refers to a different identity, as is the case when terms related to Uyghurs and the term huíhuì are used in close proximity in the Yuán Shì. Michael Dillon notes that contemporaneous accounts almost always refer to Central Asians as Muslims by using the term huíhuì and related vocabulary.37 Similarly, the
Ben Cao Gang Mu Dictionary notes that the term usually refers to Muslims, but may also bear a geographical connotation referring to areas of northwestern China and Central Asia.\textsuperscript{38} Given all of this, it appears that references to huíhuí in the Yuán Shi identify said people primarily as Muslims with possible connotations of being Central Asian, Western Asian or Uyghur. As such, I would argue that whilst the term fuifui denotes that Sādōulūding was likely a Muslim, it cannot be used to identify his race beyond a general suggestion that he was likely from Central Asia, Western Asia, or Uyghur territory. Moreover, if we accept the postulation that Xūnwèi is a reference to Uyghur territory, it is unlikely that Sādōulūding was a Uyghur as we would then expect the same terminology to be used. Since the text does not contextually refer to the religious affiliations of other envoy members, it might be possible that the term fuifui is to be understood primarily as an ethnic or racial category, however, as the descriptor is used twice (once to describe his personage and once to describe his role) it would seem likely that at least one iteration refers to his religious identity since repetition of his ethnicity or race in such close proximity would be unnecessary. Nevertheless, it is also apparent that contemporaneously religious identities were often treated as ethnic or racial categories, since the distinctions between ethnicity, race, and religious identity familiar to us in the modern world had not yet been developed.\textsuperscript{39} In other words, the term Muslim (J. fuifui) was not only a religious categorization but an ethnic and racial one.

The Kamakura Nendaiki Uragaki contains material absent in other documents. It records different names and roles for the envoy members. However, it also agrees with the Xin Yuán Shi in terms of the order and timing of events. Whilst the Kamakura Nendaiki Uragaki appears to be the most detailed historical source, it is the Dai Nihonshi大日本史 (written from the seventeenth to the early twentieth Century) that appears to be the most accurate, since it was composed with reference to numerous local, national, Chinese, and Japanese records. There are two passages concerning Sādōulūding in the Dai Nihonshi. The first appears in volume 201, and notes that an envoy from Yuán China consisting of Dù Shìzhōng, Hé Wénzhù, Sādōulūding, and others landed in Murotsu, Nagato in 1275.\textsuperscript{40} The envoy was sent to Kamakura at the command of Hōjō Tokimune 北条時宗 (1251-1284CE), where all its members were beheaded.\textsuperscript{41} The second reference appears in the 243rd volume, in which further details pertaining to the envoy are conveyed. It notes that in the fourth month of 1275, an official from the Ministry of Rites, Dù Shizhōng; an official from the Ministry of War, Hé Wénzhù, and their chief planning consultant, Chèdōulūding
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撤都魯丁（a misprint or alternative rendering of Sādōulūding），brought a letter from Yuán China seeking to establish good relations.\(^42\) It continues to record that in the eighth month, Dù Shizhōng, Hé Wénzhù, Chèdōulūding, and two others were sent to Kamakura, and finally in the ninth month they were executed by Hōjō Tokimune.\(^43\) The Dai Nihonshi therefore allows us to corroborate details given in other sources, namely that Sādōulūding was a jiīyī guān, that the group landed in Murotsu carrying a letter, that the group was sent to Kamakura in the eighth month, and were executed in the ninth month.

There are other potentially useful primary sources which may be used to explore the figure of Sādōulūding. The Hōjō Kudaiki 北条九代記 (1676CE) radically differs from other sources arguing that the envoy was not executed, but sent back to China.\(^44\) Yet it does not refer to Sādōulūding by name.\(^45\) The Zenrin Kokuhōki 善隣国宝記 (1470CE) provides a similar account, but in agreement with the Yuán Shī notes that the envoy was executed in 1280CE.\(^46\) Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657CE) and Hayashi Gahō’s 林鵞峰 (1618-1688) Honchō Tsugan 本朝通鑑 (1670CE) records many of the same details as other documents including the landing in Murōtsu, sojourning in Daizaifu, movement to Kantō, and execution of five envoy members at Tatsu no Kuchi by Hōjō Tokimune.\(^47\)

Comparing the details given in all the foregoing sources, there are several key points that we are able to ascertain about Sādōulūding. The Yuán Shī, Xin Yuán Shī and Dai Nihonshi all refer to him as holding the position of jiīyī guān, an official in charge of planning, arrangements, or consultation, and due to the agreement between these sources we can assume that this description is historically accurate. The Kamakura Nendaiki Uragaki describes him as a chéng shì láng (J. shōjirō/jōjirō) and fuifui yonin, which as noted does not necessarily conflict with accounts which describe him as a jiīyī guān, but may suggest that he was of lower rank than described in the Yuán Shī, Xin Yuán Shī and Dai Nihonshi. The account of the Kamakura Nendaiki Uragaki may also point to the religious nature with which Sādōulūding was viewed, since the role of chéng shì láng was undertaken by those who wore monkish attire. The account moreover suggests that he was a Muslim through its use of the descriptor fuifui. A second point that finds agreement across multiple sources (the Xin Yuán Shī, Kamakura Nendaiki Uragaki, Dai Nihonshi, and Honchō Tsugan) is that the envoy landed at Murotsu in Nagato Province. It also seems likely that the envoy spent some time in Daizaifu since this is mentioned in the Xin Yuán Shī, Hōjō Kudaiki,
Honchō Tsugan, and Zenrin Kokuhōki. The envoy was sent to Kamakura in the eighth month and executed in the ninth month at Tatsu no Kuchi (as attested to by the Xin Yuán Shī, Kamakura Nendaiki Uragaki, Dai Nihonshi and Honchō Tsugan). Most sources also agree that the envoy was carrying a letter.

To summarize, Sādōul몬딩, an official in charge of planning or arrangements, arrived in Japan as part of a letter bearing envoy at Murotsu in Nagato Province in early 1275CE. After briefly sojourning in Daizaifu he was sent with other envoy members (between three and five persons) to Kamakura in the eighth month of 1275CE, and was subsequently executed in the ninth month at Tatsu no Kuchi. Since he is described as a fuifui in the Kamakura Nendaiki Uragaki it is possible to suggest that he was a Muslim.

Sādōulمونding’s Name

The descriptor fuifui likely indicates that Sādōulمونding was a Muslim, but this is not conclusive evidence due to the term’s multiple potential meanings and its appearance in only one of the primary sources. Sādōulمونding’s name allows us to garner details about his personage and religious identity. Sādōulمونding is the Chinese rendering of the name Sadr al-Dīn. The name, which translates as “person at the forefront or head of their faith,” points to Muslim parentage. Several figures in the Yuán Shī have names which include the element al-Dīn (C. Lüding 魯丁), including two figures named Fakhr al-Din (C. Fāhélुding 法合魯丁 and Fāhlu 몬ding 法忽鲁丁), the astronomer Jamal al-Din (C. Zhāmlुding 扎馬魯丁), and another Sādōulمونding 撒都魯丁 who was executed in China alongside others in 1290 or 1291. Other possible renderings of the element al-Dīn also existed in contemporaneous China including Žerdų 兒丁, Lāđing 刺丁 and others. Đing 丁 has since become a common Islamic surname. Those who adopted the name settled in Shandong 山東 and Guangxi廣西, whilst some of those who adopted the name were originally from the north-western part of China. In the Yuán period, many people with the name al-Dīn were Persian or of Persian ancestry (although it must be noted that some were Turks). Indeed, the aforementioned Jamal al-Din and his son Fakhr al-Din were Persians. This makes sense since al-Dīn is a name of Persian origin, and Şadr al-Dīn was a popular name in contemporaneous Persia. As such I would suggest that there is a strong possibility that the Sādōulمونding (Şadr al-Dīn) who visited Japan was a Persian or of Persian ancestry, although Arabian ancestry or an ancestry linked to north-western
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China are also possibilities. Moreover, the figure’s name clearly distinguishes him as a Muslim.

**The Importance of Sādōulūding’s Visit**

Sādōulūding’s visit to Japan is little more than an interesting historical episode, but the events in which he was involved and his death did not lack influence. In his classical study, Nakaba Yamada argues that with the executions “the government of Japan assumed a state of complete hostility to Kublai’s empire,” making the second Mongol invasion of Japan in 1281CE an inevitability. The primary sources also attest to this result with the *Yuán Shì*, for instance, noting that the commanders of the first invasion Xīndū 忻都 and Hong Dagu 洪茶丘 (C. Hóng Cháqiū) held meetings regarding Japan in the wake of the executions. Shortly thereafter the Chinese commander from the first invasion, Fàn Wénhŭ 范文虎, was invited to discuss the invasion of Japan, and then began recruiting soldiers for that purpose.

In other words, the execution of the envoys was a major contributing factor in the second Mongol invasion of Japan in 1281CE. The executions also had influence on the work of contemporaneous thinkers. One of the earliest sources to refer to the executions, a letter written in 1275CE by the Buddhist monk and founder of Nichiren Buddhism (J. Nichirenshū 日蓮宗), Nichiren 日蓮(1222-1282CE), uses the execution of the envoys as a theological tool. Nichiren notes that it is pitiful that whilst the innocent envoys were executed, those who are the real enemies of the country (Buddhists of other schools of thought) are allowed to live. The executions of the envoys therefore appear to have had direct political results and were repurposed for Nichiren’s theological purposes. It is only the fact that Mongol ambassadors were executed that influenced Japanese and Mongol-Chinese responses, not the specific people who were killed.

As far as can be ascertained Sādōulūding is the first Muslim to have ever set foot on Japanese soil. This fact is little known, and most histories of Islam in Japan begin with the establishment of Ottoman-Japanese relations in the late nineteenth century. The fact that a Muslim visited Japan centuries earlier than is commonly assumed and well before members of the other Abrahamic faiths illustrates the need to reassess commonly accepted historiographical chronologies. This research note seeks to provide one starting point for such a reassessment. Sādōulūding’s visit is also potentially important for Japanese and non-Japanese Muslims in Japan who through a knowledge of Sādōulūding are able to claim a history in the country which predates the presence of Christianity and matches the length of
Nichiren Buddhism. Perhaps most importantly, Sādōulūding’s visit must be used alongside other historical sources to demonstrate that foreigners, both Muslim and non-Muslim, have contributed to Japanese history. This is becoming increasingly important as many in Japan double down on political policies and academic and popular discourses which view the country as contemporarily and historically closed. In summation, while Sādōulūding’s role in Japanese history was limited, the envoy of which he was a member had real political effects. Furthermore, knowledge of his visit is potentially important for challenging contemporary political discourses, for the identity formation of Japanese and non-Japanese Muslims, and as a starting point for questioning commonly accepted Japanese and global historiographical chronologies.

Endnotes


2. The Japanese imperial history, the Shoku Nihongi (completed in 797CE,) records the presence of Persians (Hashibito/Perushajín 波斯人) in Japan in 736CE. First, it notes in the eighth month of 736CE that after returning from China, vice-envoy Nakatomi no Nashiro 中臣名代 (?-745CE) led a group of three Chinese and one Persian to have an audience with Emperor Shōmu (Shōmu Tennō 聖武天皇, 701-756CE). Naoki Kōjirō 直木孝次郎 et al. (J. Hoka 他), trans. *Shoku Nihongi 続日本紀*, Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1988), 39. In the original text:

八月庚午。入唐副使從五位上中臣朝臣名代等率唐人三人波斯人一人拜朝。

Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美 and Kokushi Daikei Henshūkai 國史大系編修会, ed., *Shoku Nihongi: Zenpen 続日本紀:前編* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1979), 141. The text then records that in the 11th month, Nakatomi no Nashiro and others were given promotions in rank in an audience with the Emperor. During the same meeting, the Chinese Kōho Tōchō 皇甫東朝 and Persian Rimitsuei 李密翳 were presented with ranks according to their social status. Naoki et al., trans. *Shoku Nihongi*, Vol. 2, 40. In the original text:

十一月戊寅。天皇臨朝。詔授入唐副使從五位上中臣朝臣名代等率唐人三人波斯人一人拜朝。

天人皇甫東朝。波斯人李密翳等授位有差。


9. *Yuán Shi* 元史, *Lièzhuan dì jiùshíwǔ wàí yì yì* 列傳第九十五 外夷一, Paragraph 37. The text reads:

十一年三月，命鳳州經略使忻都、高麗軍民總管洪茶丘，以千料舟、拔都魯輕疾舟、汲水小舟各三百，共九百艘，載士卒一萬五千，期以七月征日本。冬十月，入其國，敗之。而官軍不整，又矢盡，惟虜掠四境而歸。十二年二月，遣禮部侍郎杜世忠、兵部侍郎何文著、計議官撒都魯丁往使，復致書，亦不報。十四年，日本遣商人持金來易銅
錢，許之。十七年二月，日本殺國使杜世忠等。征東元帥忻都、洪茶丘請自率兵往討，廷議姑少緩之。五月，召範文虎，議征日本。八月，詔募征日本士卒。


11. Xīn Yuán Shī 新元史, Juān èrbāi wūshí lièzhuàn dì yībāi sīshi qí 卷二百五十列傳第一百四十七, Paragraph 20. The text reads:

十二年二月，帝復使禮部侍郎杜世忠、兵部郎中何文著、計議官撒都魯丁齋璽書通好於日本，高麗人郎將徐贊及捎工上佐等三十人導行。

四月，杜世忠等至長門室津，既而移築前太宰府。八月，太宰府護送世忠等至金兼倉。九月，北條時宗斬杜世忠、何文著、撒都魯丁及書狀官董畏、高麗人徐贊於龍口，梟其首。

Refer also to the short account given earlier in the text in which Sādōulǔdīng is referred to by the name Chēlǔdōubbǐ 撒魯都不: Xīn Yuán Shī 新元史, Juān jiù běnjì dì jiǔ 卷九本紀第九, Paragraph 29 and 36. It states:

庚戌，禮部侍郎杜世忠、兵部郎中何文著、計議官撒魯都不等使日本國…九月甲戌，杜世忠等為日本人所殺。


12. Xīn Yuán Shī 新元史, Juān èrbāi wūshí lièzhuàn dì yībāi sīshi qí 卷二百五十列傳第一百四十七, Paragraph 20. Yamada suggests that the envoy's movement to Daizaifu was the result of being compelled to go there following the authorities' refusal to grant permission to land at Murotsu: Yamada, Ghenkō: The Mongol Invasion of Japan, 149.


14. Ibid.

15. Takeuchi Rīzō 竹内理三, ed., Kamakura Nendaiki, Buke Nendaiki, Kamakura Dainikki 鎌倉年代記; 武家年代記; 鎌倉大日記 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1979), 32. The full passage relating to Sādōulǔdīng in the Kamakura Nendaiki Uragaki reads:

今年建治元四月十四日、大元使着長門国室津浦、八月、件牒使五人被召下関東、九月七日、於滝口刎首、一、中須大夫禮部侍郎杜世忠、年卅四、大元人、作詩云、出門妻子贈寒衣、問我西行幾日歸、來時儻佩黃金印、莫見蘇秦不下機、二、奉訓大夫兵部郎中何文著、年卅八、唐人、作頌云、四大元無主、五蘊悉皆空、両国生霊若〔苦歟〕、今日斬秋風、三、承仕郎回々都魯丁、年卅二、回々用人、四、書狀官薰畏国人杲〔果〕、年卅二、五、高麗訳語郎将徐、年卅三、作詩云、朝廷宰相五更寒、々甲將軍夜過関、十六高僧由末（マ
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17. This figure, the issues of his existence, and his country of origin are discussed in: James Harry Morris, “The Case for Christian Missionary Activity in Japan prior to the 16th Century, Part II: Evidence of the Earliest Encounter with Abrahamic Religions in Japan – Religious Encounters in Yuan-Kamakura Relations,” Oriens Christianus 100 (forthcoming), 143-177.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
23. If the text had been written later this term would likely denote that he held the rank below a retainer.
29. Lo Jung-pang with Bruce A. Elleman, China as a Sea Power, 1127-1368: A Preliminary Survey of the Maritime Expansion and Naval Exploits of the Chinese People During the Southern Song and Yuan Periods (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2012), 263.
31. Yuăn Shí 元史, Běnjì dì yì tài zǔ 本紀第一 太祖, Paragraph 9. It states: 汪罕走河西、回鶻、回回三國，奔契丹。
32. Yuan Shi 元史, Běnjì dì liù shízhǔ sān 本紀第六 世祖三, Paragraph 32. It states:

照諸路女直、契丹、漢人為達魯花赤者，回回、畏兀、乃蠻、唐兀人仍舊。

Yuan Shi 元史, Běnjì dì shíshān shízhǔ shì 本紀第十三 世祖十, Paragraph 9. It states:

定擬軍官格例，以河西、回回、畏吾兒等依各官品充萬戶府達魯花赤，同蒙古人，女直、契丹同漢人。


34. Yuan Shi 元史, Běnjì dì shí shízhǔ qī 本紀第十 世祖七, Paragraph 15. It states:

壬子，囊加帶括兩淮造回回砲新附軍匠六百，及蒙古、回回、漢人、新附人能造砲者，俱至京師。

35. Yuan Shi 元史, Běnjì dì shíyī shízhǔ bā 本紀第十一 世祖八, Paragraph 17. It states:

五月癸卯，禁西北邊回回諸人越境為商。


建治元年，元又使杜世忠何文著撒都魯丁等，造長門室津。時宗命收杜世忠等，致之鎌倉，悉斬之。(關東評定傳。)

41. Tokugawa, Tokugawa, and Tokugawa, eds., Dai Nihonshi, Dai nijūichi satsu, Kan 195-206, Restuden, Chapter 201.
42. Tokugawa Mitsukuni 徳川光圀, Tokugawa Tsunaeda 徳川綱條, and Tokugawa Harumori 徳川治保, eds., Dai Nihonshi 大日本史, Dai nijūgo satsu 第25冊, Kan 236-243 巻236-243, Restuden 列伝 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Hanshichi, 1900), Chapter 243. It states: 後宇多帝建治元年四月,先是,蒙古改國號元,至此使禮部侍郎杜世忠、兵部侍郎何文著、計議官撒都魯丁,持國書來求通好。(關東評定傳。杜世忠等官據元史。○考元史,改國號元,實龜山帝文永八年。然水路遙邈,未知其事。至是因使人者來,始聞之也。故前此概書蒙古,此後書元。) 八月,押送杜世忠、何文著、撤都魯丁等五人於鎌倉。九月,鎌倉執權相模守北條時宗收斬之。(關東評定傳、保曆間記。）
43. Tokugawa, Tokugawa, and Tokugawa, eds., Dai Nihonshi, Dai nijūgo satsu, Kan 236-243, Restuden, Chapter 243.
44. Waseda Daigaku Henshūbu 早稲田大學編輯部, ed., Tsūzoku Nihon Zenshi 通俗日本全史, Vol. 4, Genpei Seisuiki (Ge); Hōjō Kudaiki 源平盛衰記 (下); 北條九代記 (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1912), 171-172. It reads: ...かゝる所に蒙古の使杜世忠等又日本に来朝す、高麗人も同じく来れり、太宰府に船を駐め、船中にある物ども、悉く注録し、許多人等をは太宰府に押留め、杜世忠等等三人を鎌倉へぞ、遺しをる、洛中へは入れられず、すぐに関東に差下す、路次の間厳しく守護して、ひとへに囚人の如くなり、夜を日に継ぎて鎌倉に着くといへども、蒙古の牒状に返簡すべきに及ばずとて、その儘追返し、大元に帰らしむ...
45. Waseda Daigaku Henshūbu, ed., Tsūzoku Nihon Zenshi, Vol. 4, Genpei Seisuiki (Ge); Hōjō Kudaiki, 171-172.
47. Hayashi Razan 林羅山 and Hayashi Gahō 林鵞峰, eds., Honchō Tsugan 本朝通鑑, Dai 10 第十 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1920), 2265-2266. It reads: 蒙古使杜世忠、何文著、撒都魯丁等来于長門國室津、而到太宰府。...八月...太宰少肖藤資能依時宗命、護送蒙古使杜世忠等五人到鎌倉。一說曰、是年正月十八日蒙古人二人、高麗人一人、明州人一人、已上四人、自鎮西送之、皆不入洛中、自山崎經岡屋醍醐、赴關東、七月二十一日蒙古人又送關東、路次如前度。九月戊辰朔甲戌、北条時宗為絕蒙古使、捕杜世忠、何文著、撒都魯丁、及其二人、刎首於鎌倉龍口...
50. Referred to in: Yuán Shì 元史, Běnjì dì sān xiànzhōng 本紀第三 憲宗, Paragraph 3.

51. Referred to in: Yuán Shì 元史, Běnjì dì èrshí chéng zōngsàn 本紀第二十 成宗三, Paragraph 40; Yuán Shì 元史, Běnjì dì èrshíyī chéng zōng sì 本紀第二十一 成宗四, Paragraph 7 and 9; Yuán Shì 元史, Běnjì dì èrshí’èr wūzhōng yì 本紀第二十二 武宗一, Paragraph 9 and 10; Yuán Shì 元史, Zhì dì sīshíshān shí huò èr 志第四十三 食貨二, Paragraph 82; Yuán Shì 元史, Lièzhuàn dì lìshíshān 列傳第六十三, Paragraph 3.

52. Referred to in: Yuán Shì 元史, Zhì dì yī tiānwén yī 志第一 天文一, Paragraph 26; Yuán Shì 元史, Zhì dì sì lì yī 志第四 歷一, Paragraph 3.

53. Yuán Shì 元史, Běnjì dì shì’èr shìzhū jiǔ 本紀第十二 世祖九, Paragraph 9. The text reads:
辛酉，誅耿仁、撒都魯丁及阿合馬第四子忻都。


55. Ibid., 15.


60. Yuán Shì 元史, Lièzhuàn dì jiǔshíwǔ wài yī yī 列傳第九十五 外夷一, Paragraph 37.

61. Ibid.


64. I would term such discourses and policies as Gendai no Sakoku Shugi 現代の鎖国主義 (E. the modern closed country doctrine).