

Sino-Japanese Relations in the Edo Period

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Part Nine. Foreigners in the Government's Employ during the Kyôhô Era¹

Doctors. Professor Umetani Noboru 梅溪昇 of Ôsaka University has written well known works on foreigners who worked for the Japanese government in the Meiji period. I have profitted by his counsel and so named this chapter accordingly.² We may include among the foreigners in the employ of the Japanese government such men as Shen Xie'an 沈燮庵 and Sun Fuzhai 孫輔齋 who were discussed in an earlier section of this volume.

In addition to ordering transport to Japan of books, flora, and fauna, Shôgun Yoshimune also commanded that certain individuals be brought to Japan. One such category of men was doctors. There were precedents for the coming of doctors from China. As far back as 1627 (Kan'ei 4), Chen Mingde 陳明德, a doctor from Jinhua 金華 prefecture in Zhejiang province, was permitted to reside in Nagasaki; there he took the Japanese name Egawa Nyûtoku 穎川入徳 and became a local physician. Later, on the fourth day of the eighth lunar month of Genroku 16 (1703), Lu Wenzhai 陸文齋, a doctor from Hangzhou prefecture in Zhejiang, came to Japan; he returned home on the 24th day of the eleventh lunar month of the same year. There had been an order issued the previous year [1702] to bring a doctor from China, and thus Zhang Dalai 張大來, shipmaster of vessel number seventy-seven, travelled with him, but Lu had no intention of remaining long-term in Japan, and when the same vessel set sail for home he was aboard it. During his stay in Nagasaki, he had occasion to carry out a debate and discussion before the then Nagasaki Magistrates Nagai Sanuki no kami 永井讃岐守 and Bessho

*Unless otherwise noted, all notes are the translator's.

¹ *Edo jidai no Nit-Chû hiwa* 江戸時代の日中秘話 (Tokyo: Tôhō shoten, 1980), pp. 184-205. The expression used in the original for "foreigners in the government's employ" (*oyatoi gaijin* おやとい外人) is used here with a bit of a pun intended, as Ôba himself will hint at himself momentarily. Ordinarily that term is reserved for the Meiji era when the Japanese government employed a great number of Westerners to help in the modernization of Japan in numerous areas. Ôba is using the term for a portion of the earlier Edo period, and he will, of course, be referring to Chinese—not Westerners—employed in Japan at that time.

² For example, see Umetani Noboru, *Oyatoi gaikokujin* おやとい外国人 (Foreigners in the Government's Employ) (Tokyo: Kajima kenkyûjo shuppankai, 1968). See also *Oyatoi gaijin: Nihon no wakiyakutachi* おやとい外人：日本の脇役たち (Foreigners in the Government's Employ: Support Roles for Japan) (Tokyo: Nihon keizai shinbunsha, 1965).

Harima no kami 別所播磨守. At that time, the man who demonstrated his great skill at interpreting was Gao Xuandai 高玄岱 —namely, Fukami Shin'emon Gentai 深見新右衛門玄岱.

In Yoshimune's reign, the first time the order went out for "a good doctor to be brought" to Japan was in Kyôhō 3 [1718]. This order was received by two Chinese shipmasters, Li Shengxian 李勝先 and Zhong Shengyu 鐘聖玉. Zhong was discussed in an earlier installment of this work as a case involving freight shipment in the first year of the Shôtoku reign [1711]. Both Li and Zhong enjoyed fine reputations among those with ties to the Japanese in Nagasaki, and both had been awarded an additional trading license just at the time that adjustments were made in the numbers of licenses in Kyôhō 2. As I mentioned earlier, when lawsuits over trading licenses arising in China were settled, only the persons named on these licenses were allowed by the Qing officialdom to make the trip to Japan, placing those not named in a bind. As a result, through administrative guidance, the Chinese organized commercial groups which borrowed and transferred trading licenses. The shipmasters hesitated and did not respond to this guidance rapidly. Li Shengxian, known at this time by the name Li Dacheng 李大成, took the initiative and passed his own license to Wang Junyi 王君貽. Because of the way in which he negotiated the arrangements, he became known as a righteous man among the shipmasters who came to Japan. When they returned home in Kyôhō 3, they had been charged to bring a good doctor to Japan. In 1719 (Kyôhō 4) when Li Shengxian arrived in Nagasaki with vessel number twelve, he was accompanied by Dr. Wu Dainan 吳戴南 of Suzhou. Wu was 56 years of age [Chinese-style], and he became ill in the fifth lunar month of the year before dying on the twelfth day of the sixth month at the Sôrenkyo 桑連居 in Fukusaiji 福濟寺. He thus was of little utility in Japan.

Following in chronological order of the vessels coming to Japan, Zhu Laizhang 朱來章 arrived in Kyôhō 6 [1721]. I would like to reserve discussion of Zhu until later. Vessel number seventeen for Kyôhō 7 [1722] belonging to Guo Xiangtong 郭亨統 bore a doctor by the name of Chen Xingde 陳行德. However, Guo had brought Dr. Chen along for his personal use, not for official employment, and so the latter returned aboard the same vessel. It would seem that, because he had not contracted or promised before the event, even though he had brought a doctor with him, it was for naught.

Zhou Qilai. The next Chinese doctor to make the trip was Zhou Qilai 周岐來 in Kyôhō 10 [1725]. Zhou was a 56-year-old man from Chongming 崇明 county, Suzhou prefecture who, together with the two druggists Fan Fangyi 樊方宜 and Zhou Weixian 周維先 and their servant Mao Tianlu 毛天祿, arrived in Japan aboard vessel number fourteen, belonging to Fei Zanhou 費贊侯, on the fourteenth day of the sixth lunar month. Readers may remember something of the background to this vessel; as related in an earlier chapter, it was this ship that brought Sun Fuzhai 孫輔齋 to Japan.

In Li Shengxian's report on vessel number twelve for Kyôhō 4, we find mention of Zhou Qilai: "In the second month of this year, Zhong Shengyu concluded an agreement with a doctor named Zhou who lived in the Yangjiyuan 養濟院 in Suzhou, and it is expected that he will soon bring him by ship to Japan." Seeing this in his report, one is tempted to think that this man was none other than Zhou Qilai, but the aforementioned Fei Zanhou noted in his own report [four years later] that he accepted the charge of Kyôhō 8

[1723] “to bring a Chinese doctor who was both learned and good at medicine.” It seems as if Yoshimune reissued his order. These four men left the Chinese Compound on the eleventh day of the seventh month and resided at the home of the senior interpreter, Yanagiya Jizaemon 柳屋治左衛門; and there they remained until returning to China on the eleventh day of the fifth month of Kyôhō 12 [1727]. This was known as *machitaku aosetsukerareru* 町宅仰せつけられる (permission to reside in a private residence [i.e., outside the Chinese Compound]). Accordingly, Dr. Zhou carried out medical examinations on the ordinary populace. At this time Sun Fuzhai had also been allowed to reside at the Yanagiya residence on the pretext that he was helping to prepare the medicines. Thus, it appears that when Fukami Kudayû 深見久大夫 came to ask questions about difficult terms in the *Da Qing huidian* 大清會典, he did it at the Yanagiya residence.

Zhou Qilai (posthumous name, Nan 南) had the style Shenzhai 慎齋. Among his accomplishments is the following. He lent his aid to the publication of a pediatric medical text from the Ming bearing the title *Youke zhezhong* 幼科折衷 (Differing Views on Pediatrics). This text was the work of Qin Changyu 秦昌遇 of the Ming, and it was held in the collection of Yuge Kiyotane 弓削清胤, a Confucian scholar from Kumamoto domain. In reply to an inquiry from this domain, he noted that the work was useful and was not being printed in China. In the winter of Kyôhō 10 he penned a bibliographic note entitled “Zhezhong yuanliu” 折衷源流 (Origins of the [Youke] zhezhong), and in the fourth month of Kyôhō 11 [1726] he wrote a preface. Kumamoto domain then added these two pieces to the text and published the work in the seventh month of Kyôhō 11. Thereafter, in the eighth month of that year he, together with Zhu Laizhang, wrote the *Zhou Zhu fuyan* 周朱復言 (The Zhou-Zhu Exchange), as described in an earlier portion of this work.

Zhou’s younger brother, Zhou Qixing 周岐興, came to Japan aboard vessel number ten, belonging to Lu Nanpo 陸南坡, in Kyôhō 11, and he was permitted to reside at the Yanagiya residence on the pretext that he was assisting in the preparation of drugs.

Sailing for Home and the Return Voyage to China. Zhou Qilai’s return trip to China which set sail on the eleventh day of the fifth lunar month of Kyôhō 12 [1727] seems to have been aboard vessel number forty-one of Kyôhō 11 which was then departing for home. A check of the *Tôsen shinkô kaitô roku* 唐船進港回棹録 (Record of the Coming to Port and Departing for Home of Chinese Vessels) reveals that on this day both vessels number forty-one and forty-two set sail. It noted that the shipmaster of vessel number forty-one was Fei Zanhou, that it was this ship that brought Zhou Qixing to Japan, and that it had been given a license for 1728. Thus, our supposition about vessel number forty-one is sound. Furthermore, Zhou Qixing came to Japan aboard vessel number twenty in Kyôhō 13 [1728] using this trading license and returned home on the 30th day of the fourth month of Kyôhō 14 [1729]; he came again aboard vessel number twenty-two in Kyôhō 17 [1732], this time as assistant shipmaster with a license in the name of Sun Fuzhai, and returned home on the thirteenth day of the fourth month of Kyôhō 19 [1734].

For his part, Zhou Qilai did travel again to Japan. Proof for this can be found in the preface to the *Nagasaki senmin den* 長崎先民傳 (Biographies of Former Men of Nagasaki) by Ro Ki 盧驥, which I touched on in an earlier section of this work

concerning Shen Xie'an 沈燮庵. During Zhou's first period of residence in Japan, he developed a friendship with the interpreter Ro Sôsetsu 盧艸拙. Ro's son Ro Ki studied with Zhou. After returning to China, Zhou wrote a letter to Ro, and it was included in the *Nagasaki meishô zue* 長崎名勝圖繪 (Illustrated Guide to Nagasaki). The preface to the *Nagasaki senmin den* reads: "In the year 1733, fourth month, fifteenth day, Zhou Nan, style Shenzhai, from the former state of Wu 吳, wrote to the Shakuryokurô 借綠樓 [a library] in Nagasaki"; and the letter is dated the fourth month of Kyôhō 18 [1733]. In the text of the letter we read: "I again visited [Naga]saki in the winter of the *xinhai* 辛亥 year [1731]." He thus was resident there from the winter of Kyôhō 16 [1731]. During this period of time, he also wrote a preface to a work entitled *Taiboku kôko shû* 太墨鴻壺集 (Collection from the Vast Gourd of Large Inkstones) printed by Ogawa Hikokurô 小川彦九郎 of Edo. This booklet contains a total of seventeen leaves; Matsui Gentai 松井元泰, proprietor of the Kobaien³ 古梅園 in Nara, produced large inkstones each weighing twenty *kin* 斤 [roughly 26.4 pounds]. He showed the drawings on the back of these inkstones to some Chinese residents in Nagasaki and requested poems to accompany them. A number of Chinese sent in poems which were inscribed on the inkstones together with the drawing of a plum. Gentai then presented them with inkstones, and he received letters of thanks. He compiled and published these in the above mentioned volume. The printing took place in the spring of Kyôhō 19 [1734], although Zhou Qilai's preface is dated the spring of 1733 which is when it must have been written. No materials have as yet been brought to light concerning his other activities in Japan.

Zhao Songyang. Shipmaster Gao Lingwen 高令聞 of Nanjing vessel number twenty-six entered port on the ninth day of the first lunar month of Kyôhō 21 [1736] and was carrying a Chinese doctor by the name of Zhao Songyang 趙淞陽 from Kunshan 昆山 county, Suzhou prefecture. At the time, Dr. Zhao was 63 years old, and together with Gao Fuhuang 高輔皇, Wu Sulai 吳宿來, and his servant Xu'an 徐安, the four men resided with Kawama Yaheiji 河間八平次. Zhao Songyang (posthumous name, Han 漢) bore the style Cijue 賜爵. A poem of his appears in the aforementioned *Taiboku kôko shû*; his seal read *yi zi Songyang* 一字松陽, indicating that he also apparently used the character *song* 松. He also used the pen names Yufeng 玉峯 and Xingpu 杏圃. Because he was permitted to live in a private residence, he definitely conducted medical examinations. In volume sixteen of the *Hakusai shomoku* 舶載書目 (List of Books Brought as Cargo), held in the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency, are listings of texts "brought [to Japan] by the Chinese doctor, [Zhao] Songyang." There are 21 works in all, virtually all of them medical texts. The *Nagasaki jitsuroku taisei* 長崎實錄大成 (Compendium of the Veritable Records of Nagasaki) notes that Zhao returned to China on the 28th day of the eighth month of Kyôhō 14 [1729]. There were two ships that left port on that day, Xiamen vessel number four and Ningbo vessel number five; inasmuch as the shipmaster of number four vessel was Gao Lingwen, he was probably aboard it. It would appear that, like Zhou Qilai, it became a general rule that the shipmaster that brought a doctor to Japan remained with him from the time that he came back to Japan through his return to China.

³ An extremely famous calligraphy supply store that still exists in Nara.

We now go back a bit in time to discuss the arrival in Japan of Zhu Laizhang who came aboard Guangdong vessel number twenty-one, entering port on the sixteenth day of the seventh month of Kyôhō 6 [1721], a vessel whose shipmaster was Wu Kexiu 吳克修.

Zhu Laizhang. Zhu was a doctor from Tingzhou 汀州 prefecture in Fujian. Accompanied by three servants—Shen Shiyi 沈士義, Derong 德榮, and Aqing 阿慶—they resided at the residence of Sakaki Tôjiemon 彭城藤治右衛門. There he performed medical examinations on anyone from the general populace that wished it. On the twentieth day of the twelfth month of Kyôhō 8, he entered the Chinese Compound; the next day, he boarded Ningbo vessel number twenty-six in the year of the tiger—under shipmaster Zheng Dadian 鄭大典—to return home. Because Wu Dainan who had come to Japan in Kyôhō 4 died soon thereafter and engaged in little activity, even though Zhu Laizhang had been to Japan before, his medical treatment of patients in a private residence marked his first time there engaged in veritable medical work. It was for that reason that he was highly esteemed. For his accomplishments, a temporary Ningbo vessel license was awarded to his nephew Zhu Yunguang 朱允光 as a prize, and this Zhu Yunguang had already returned to China on the 21st day of the seventh month of that year aboard vessel number twenty-four, under shipmaster Zhou Yuanji 周元吉.

The license given to Zhu Yunguang allowed him to come to Japan in the *jiachen* 甲辰 year or the following year of Kyôhō 9 [1724]. However, he arrived late, on the fifth day of the second month aboard vessel number six for Kyôhō 10. According to his own affidavit, “Zhu Laizhang resided here for a long period of time some years ago, and he received a great deal of praise. In order to express his gratitude, this time he and his two older brothers, Zhu Peizhang 朱佩章 and Zhu Zizhang 朱字章, have come aboard the same ship.” According to the *Shinpaikata kiroku* 信牌方記錄 (Records of the Office of Trading Licenses), Zhu Peizhang was 64, Zhu Zizhang 53, and Zhu Laizhang 47. In addition, Zhu Peizhang’s son Zhu Yunchuan 朱允傳, their relative Zhu Shuangyu 朱雙玉, and the servants Derong, Aren 阿任, Agui 阿貴, Xinggui 興貴, and Ayuan 阿元 were all together—a total of some sixteen people were permitted to take up residence at the home of Kanbai Sanjûrô 官梅三十郎. Shipmaster Zhu Yunguang was the son of Zhu Zizhang. Through the combined efforts of these relatives, we can see well the contours of how they engaged in trade with Japan.

During this second period of residence in Japan, Zhu Laizhang wrote the *Zhou Zhu fuyan* described earlier. Also, during this period, he replied to queries from Kurimoto Zuiken 栗本瑞見, and these are recorded in a text known as the *Shu Raishô chicken* 周來章治驗 (Zhu Laizhang’s Investigations). A manuscript copy of this work can be found in the Naikaku Bunko 内閣文庫.

In addition, on his second voyage to Japan, Zhu Laizhang presented to the shōgun five items: the *Yueshu* 樂書 (Text on Music), a single work in six cases; a mounted poem in a box; a scroll mapping the Yangzi River; a pair of coral branches in a box; and two silver gray, pelt-covered palanquin cushions. He also came with a cargo of 76 texts for sale. The complete list of works can be found in volume fifteen of the *Hakuzai shomoku*. These included works such as the *Yuanxiang liaoma ji* 元亨療馬集 (Elementary Collection on Treating Horses) and the *Zheben yima shu* 折本醫馬書 (Folding Book on Medical Care for Horses) which were texts on medical care for horses that Li Yixian 李亦

賢 had contracted to bring to Japan for the shōgun two years earlier. There were also two sets of the *Da Qing huidian* and a copy of the *Shiwu sheng tongzhi* 十五省通志 (Complete Gazetteer of the Fifteen Provinces). These works for which there was a high demand in Japan at that time were all complete. It would appear that Zhou Laizhang had made the most of his earlier living experience in Japan. Zhou returned to China on the thirteenth day of the fifth month of Kyōhō 11 [1726] aboard Guangdong vessel number three in the year of the horse. The shipmaster was Li Yixian's representative, Li Yibao 李亦保, which, taken into consideration along with the links to earlier texts on equine medicine, would lead one to believe that the two men had a business relationship.

Zhu Zizhang. Zhu Zizhang was also a doctor. Fascicle 216 of the *Tsūkō ichiran* 通航一覽 (Overview of Maritime Relations) quotes from a letter in the *Wa-Kan kibun* 和漢寄文 (Japanese-Chinese Translation Terms) in which questions and answers were exchanged between Imaōji Chikaaki 今大路親顯, Kurimoto Zuiken, and Zhu Zizhang. Also, among holdings of the Kenkensai Bunko 乾々齋文庫 are two works: *Shu Jishō dō Ujita Un'an* 朱子章答宇多田雲庵 (Zhu Zizhang Replies to Ujita Un'an) and *Shu Jishō mondō* 朱子章問答 (Questions and Answers of Zhu Zizhang). Un'an was a doctor from Kishū who was permitted to query Zhu. Also, the first fascicle of the *Toseki sasoroku* 屠赤瑣瑣錄 (Detailed Account of Smallpox) recounts the story that Zhu relayed his method of treating smallpox to Mano Shun'an 間野春庵 and Yanagi Jotaku 柳如澤. In the *Nagasaki meisshō zue*, there is a poem of his entitled "Xinchun ruixue ouzuo" 新春瑞雪偶作 (Written by chance at the time of a seasonable snow of the new spring), and the same poem can be found alongside a picture of a Qing-era Chinese found in the *Nagasaki miyage* 長崎土産 (Souvenirs of Nagasaki), a work that was widely available in the Kōka era (1844-48). Zhu became ill and died while in Japan on the second day of the third month of Kyōhō 11.

Zhu Peizhang. Zhu Peizhang (posthumous name, Shou 綬) also had the style Duanhu 端笏, according to the *Yuan Ming Qing shuhua renming lu* 元明清書畫人名錄 (Listings of Names of Calligraphers and Artists of the Yuan, Ming, and Qing Periods). In an earlier section of this work, I described in detail the *Shinchō tanji* 清朝探事 (Inquiries about China) and the *Shikoki no kata mondōsho* 仕置方問答書 (Questions and Answers Concerning Governance) which included his answers to questions put by Shōgun Yoshimune. He may also be considered a hired foreigner of the Kyōhō era.

Among the works concerning Nagasaki cited in fascicle 216 of the *Tsūkō ichiran*, Zhu Peizhang is described as a Confucian scholar and treated together with Zhu Zizhang and Zhu Laizhang as doctors. On this point, the *Yūtoku in jikki furoku* 有徳院實紀附錄 (Appendix to the Veritable Records of Yoshimune), fascicle 11, puts it well: "We have heard that [he was] formerly a military official." A rare work concerned with Zhu Peizhang can be found in the Iwase Bunko 岩瀬文庫, in the Nishio 西尾 Municipal Library, Aichi prefecture. This work bears the title *Ouji* 偶記 (Accidental Note), and I have myself seen it. It carries an author's preface dated Kangxi 51 (1712, Shōtoku 2 in Japan), and, while discussing his father-in-law Li Zhifeng 李之鳳 who carried on business by boat in the Guangdong area and engaged in military work together with his stepfather, a Mr. Xue 薛, it notes that from his early days he traveled across ten provinces of China

making observations; and he notes information about culture and institutions. Discussion of his many and varied experiences which can be gleaned here indicate a rich knowledge gained by him during his travels, and we can understand why he was the sort of person selected to reply to queries of the sort that appear in *Shinchô tanji*. Two of his poems grace the pages of the *Nagasaki meishô zue*.

It would appear then that there is reliable evidence that Zhu Peizhang did have military experience and that he did reply to Yoshimune's inquiries, for Yoshimune issued an order: "Bring to us a Chinese military official who is accomplished at equestrian archery in China." This order was promulgated before the eleventh month of Kyôhō 10. Acknowledging this order, Zhu Peizhang tendered a petition requesting in this connection a trading license. The gist of his request was that, inasmuch as it was terribly inconvenient to transport such an individual aboard someone else's vessel, this was not his intention; he sought the trading license for his son, Zhu Yinchuan. His wish was granted, and one temporary license was awarded to Zhu Yunchuan. In the second month of Kyôhō 11, Zhu Peizhang tendered a second petition: since he had someone in mind to meet the request who lived in the Guangdong area, he was hoping for a Guangdong vessel license; this too was granted. On the eighteenth day of the second month, he set sail on vessel number nineteen for the previous year, under shipmaster Chen Bowei 陳伯威, for home. Trading licenses at this time were for the year of the horse, and it thus allowed them to enter port that year, Kyôhō 11 [1726], the year of the horse. This was extraordinarily good treatment.

Experts at Equestrian Archery and a Horse Doctor. On the 28th day of the eleventh lunar month of Kyôhō 11, Zhu Peizhang arrived in Nagasaki aboard vessel number thirty-three under shipmaster Zhu Yunchuan and assistant shipmaster Li Yibao. Zhu was indeed aboard the ship, but the promised equestrian archers, he explained, would be coming on a subsequent ship. He was not permitted to engage in trade, and finally the by the sixth month of following year when these men had still not arrived, an order sending Zhu home was issued. Zhu was thus forced to leave Nagasaki on the thirteenth day of the sixth month.

Just over a week later on the 21st of the month, the equestrian archers Chen Cairuo 陳采若 and Shen Dacheng 沈大成 and the horse doctor Liu Jingxian 劉經先 arrived in port. They had literally passed each other at sea. This story can be found in the *Tsûkô ichiran*, but what happened to these three new visitors to Japan, and how is it that they missed Zhu? Aside from the fact that they returned to China in Kyôhō 16 [1731], none of this was known. However, fortunately I learned of the existence of a source which explains the circumstances appertaining at that time. This is a text entitled "Kisha narabi ni ba'i Tôjin Chin Saijaku Ryû Keisen Shin Taisei torai no shidai" 騎射并馬醫唐人陳采若・劉經先・沈大成渡來の次第 (Circumstances of the coming to Japan of the Chinese, Chen Cairuo, Liu Jingxian, and Shen Dacheng, equestrian archers and horse doctor) which appears in a manuscript entitled *Tôba norikata hoi* 唐馬乘方補遺 (Supplement on Chinese Horse Riding) held in the Naikaku Bunko. The story runs as follows.

Zhu Peizhang attempted to bring with him in the same vessel [to Japan] a man learned in riding and raising horses by the name of Shen Dacheng. However, because it was forbidden to leave the country with someone capable in the martial arts, numerous rumors began to circulate, and they postponed their departure. Zhu Peizhang set off first by himself, and Shen Dacheng agreed to leave on a subsequent vessel. The latter became further and further delayed, and Zhu Peizhang was "ordered [by the Japanese authorities] to return home alone." His younger brother Zhu Laizhang worried about him. Shen Dacheng was not the only man knowledgeable in bow and horse; indeed, there were men even more talented than he. He selected Chen Cairuo and escorted him together with the equine doctor Liu Jingxian on vessel number twenty in the year of the sheep under shipmaster Zhong Qintian 鍾觀天. The two men came [to Japan] on this ship. Zhu Peizhang wrote letters to a man by the name of Chen Liangxuan 陳良選 in which he requested the transport of Shen Dacheng to Japan, and these letters were so numerous that Chen Liangxuan could not remain silent. However, because of the numerous rumors surrounding him, Chen remained in hiding to people aboard ship and even to Zhu Laizhang. Changing his own name to Chen Dacheng 陳大成, he sailed [to Japan] as assistant shipmaster for vessel number twenty-one.

Chen Cairuo and Shen Dacheng. At the time, Chen Cairuo was 35 years of age [Chinese style] from Hangzhou, Zhejiang. By his own account, he had studied archery and equestrianism from age nine and served as a company commander (*qianzong* 千總) in the central brigade in Xi'an, Shaanxi; he taught the bow and the horse there and when his term of service was completed, he returned to his home in Hangzhou. Shen Dacheng was 32 years of age from Ningbo, Zhejiang. He studied archery and horsemanship from age twenty and served in such military posts as squad leader (*bazong* 把總) and company commander. In the year prior to his arrival in Japan, he had completed his term of service and returned to his hometown. Liu Jingxian was 34 years of age, from Suzhou, Jiangnan. For three generations since his grandfather, his family had been professional horse doctors. These stories derive in all three cases from testimony of the men themselves. They were compiled into a document and reported to the Nagasaki Magistrate on the 27th day of the sixth month. Chen Cairuo had brought with him, among other things, a variety of arrows. On the 29th, the Magistrate ordered the interpreters from Sakaki Tōjiemon on down to take care of them, and thus on the tenth day of the seventh month the three Chinese together with three servants—Yu Tiancheng 俞天成, Guo Dawei 郭大爲, and Li Yaqing 李亞慶—were allowed to live in the Finance Office building at Sakurababa 櫻馬場 in Nagasaki. They were permitted to pay visits to temples and to go sightseeing in the city. In the seventh month of Kyōhō 12, Tomita Matazaemon 富田又左衛門 paid a visit from Edo, and from the twelfth day of the eighth month Tomita asked them all manner of questions at their residence.

The record of Tomita Matazaemon's questions and the answers to them can be found in a document entitled *Taigo ki roku* 對語驥錄 (Questions and Answers concerning Horses) which is held in the Naikaku Bunko; it is the original to which Chen Cairuo's signature and seal are affixed. Also in the Naikaku Bunko are manuscript copies of other question-answer texts, such as *Tōba norikata kikigaki* 唐馬乘方聞書 (Notes on How to Ride a Chinese Horse), *Tōba norikata hoi*, and *Ba sho* 馬書 (On Horses). They are all accounts of questions and answers covering a wide variety of topics, such as how

to judge the quality of horses, how to rear a horse, how to treat horses medically, and how to train at equestrian archery. The *Tôjin monsho* 唐人問書 (Queries to Chinese) which is included in the fourth collection of Nagasawa Kikuya's 長澤規矩也 *Tôwa jisho ruishû* 唐話字書類集 (Categorized Collection of Dictionaries of Chinese)⁴ has within it explanatory notes on Chinese equestrian terminology, such as terms for the horse's body and those for the saddle.

The materials covered in these questions and answers differed from past Japanese equestrianism. The visit of these three men to Japan necessitated careful attention to changes and improvements that were necessary. These manuscripts, however, did not circulate but were kept secret and thus had little impact. An interesting research project for future consideration would be to compare their influence to that of Hans Jungen Koijsen, a Dutch teacher of equestrianism in Japan, who conveyed [through Tomita] Dutch equestrian methods.

In any event, Chen Cairuo, Shen Dacheng, and Liu Jingxian all came to Japan on the order of Yoshimune and conveyed their knowledge of the bow and equine arts and equine medicine. Thus, they too many be included among hired foreigners of the Kyôhō reign period.

The Arrival of Chinese Monks. Although they do not fall under the heading of foreign employees, among the Chinese who came to Japan at this time, Buddhist monks form a group that is difficult to overlook.

There are numerous cases of Chinese monks who sailed to Japan in the Edo period and simply took up residence there. First, the temple known as Kôfukuji 興福寺 (popularly known as Nankinji 南京寺) was erected in Nagasaki in 1620 (Genna 6), followed by Fukusaiji (popularly known as Shôshûji 漳州寺) in 1628 (Kan'ei 5) and Sûfukuji 崇福寺 (popularly known as Fukushûji 福州寺) in 1629 (Kan'ei 6). Together these were known as the Three Fuku Temples. They provided memorial services and funerals for the overseas Chinese, and the Chinese monks lived at them. The arrival of Yinyuan Longqi 隱元隆琦 in Nagasaki in response to an invitation on the fifth day of the seventh lunar month of Jôh 3 (1654) was of epochal import. The Manpukuji 萬福寺 of Ôbaku 黄檗 Mountain was established in Kanbun 2 (1662), and the Ôbaku sect was thus founded. Thereafter, the number of monks who came to Japan upon the invitation to serve as chief priest at Manpukuji or one of the Three Fuku Temples in Nagasaki as well as other Chinese monks was immense, and their cultural influence was huge. If we may call the period from Muromachi to early Edo one of Rinzaï culture, then Edo may be called Ôbaku culture. I am limiting myself here, though, to the Kyôhō era.

In Kyôhō 2 (1717) an invitation went out for the chief priest of Sûfukuji, and on the seventh day of the eighth month of Kyôhō 4 Daoben Juting 道本荳亭 arrived aboard vessel number twenty-seven under shipmasters He Dingfu 何定扶 and Qiu Yongtai 丘永泰. Following this, on the nineteenth day of the seventh month of Kyôhō 6, shipmaster Yi Xinyi 伊心宜 brought to Japan the monk Gaotang Jingchang 呆堂淨昶 at the invitation of Kôfukuji; on the seventh day of the first month of Kyôhō 7, He Dingfu, again at the invitation of Sûfukuji, brought the monks Huimu Jirun 卉木際潤 and Dacheng Jicheng 大

⁴ Ed. Kôten kenkyûkai 古典研究会 (Tokyo: Kyûko shoin, 1973).

成際脛; on the eleventh day of the seventh month of the same year, shipmaster Wu Ziming 吳子明 brought Daowei Qiyao 道微其儼 to serve as priest of the Fukusaiji; and on the fifteen day of the seventh month of Kyôhô 8, vessel number seventeen under shipmaster Li Shurao 李淑若 arrived in port with Zhu'an Wanzong 竺庵萬宗, a priest invited by Kôfukuji. All of the Three Fuku Temples of Nagasaki invited Chinese monks to serve as their chief priests. This gives one a sense of a fully open mood. Perhaps behind this was the influence of the Yoshimune era.

Failure at Inviting Zhongqi. Around Kyôhô 9 [1724], Yoshimune ordered that, as was the case for the succession to head priest at the Manpukuji at Ôbaku Mountain in Uji, patterned after the Chinese succession, they should select persons in the direct lineage of Yinyuan and his eldest son who were proficient both in morality and learning, invite them to the three Nagasaki temples, and then have them fill empty positions at Manpukuji. In Kyôhô 11, letters concerning such an invitation were sent from Zhu'an and the earlier arrival Gaotang to Huangbo 黃檗 Mountain in Fuzhou and to Fuyan 福嚴 Temple and Lingyin 靈隱 Temple in Hangzhou. Copies of this letter were made by the Three Fuku Temples in Nagasaki. The letter that went to Huangbo in Fuzhou was entrusted to shipmaster Ke Wanzang 柯萬藏 of vessel number one who left for home on the eleventh day of the fifth month, and the letters for the two temples in Hangzhou were entrusted to shipmaster Yi Xinyi of vessel number two. In the following year, Kyôhô 12, a reply arrived from the monk Zhongqi 仲祺 of Wanfu 萬福 Temple in Fuzhou. The shogunate was sufficiently interested in gaining a positive reply to this invitation that it made preparations by issuing 100 *kanme* [872 pounds] of silver to the Manpukuji.

In Kyôhô 14, though, the report reached Japan that in the previous year Zhongqi and other monks had been seized by the authorities at Putuoshan 普陀山, Ke Wanzang had been imprisoned, and other priests had been returned to their temples. In Kyôhô 15, a shipmaster by the name of Zheng Hengming 鄭恒鳴 conveyed the news that Zhongqi had only recently passed away. Then, in Kyôhô 16 Wei Hongdan 魏弘丹 conveyed the information that, because permission for Zhongqi to make the trip to Japan had been granted, he was taking care of the priest in his own home. Separately, Zheng Hengming again brought news that Zhongqi's death was, in fact, an accurate report. After consultations, the shogunate punished Ke Wanzang and Wei Hongdan for implementing a deceptive plan by banning them from ever coming to Japan. This entire story circulated in this fashion, according to the *Nagasaki shi* 長崎志 (Gazetteer of Nagasaki).

On the Japanese side, the matter of the invitation to Zhongqi remained altogether vague as it disappeared, but according to sources on the Chinese side the situation can be understood much more clearly.

News of the Accension of the Yongzheng Emperor. Nanjing vessel number nineteen in the year of the tiger, Kyôhô 7 (1722), under shipmaster Li Changmou 李昌謀, arrived in port on the 22nd day of the twelfth lunar month. This vessel announced in Japan for the first time that on the thirteenth day of the eleventh month the Kangxi 康熙 Emperor had died and had been succeeded, following Kangxi's will, by his fourth son, Prince Yong 雍, as the Yongzheng 雍正 Emperor. This vessel had departed from Ningbo on the fifth day of the twelfth month, and news of the emperor's death had only just

reached Ningbo at that point. Yongzheng died in 1735 (Kyôhō 20) and the Qianlong 乾隆 Emperor acceded to the throne. Thus, for the most part, the Kyôhō era and the Yongzheng period were contemporaneous.

For the Yongzheng era, we have the rare and detailed source known as the *Yongzheng zhupi yuzhi* 雍正硃批諭旨 (Vermillion Seal Edicts of the Yongzheng Emperor). As a Chinese source on Sino-Japanese relations, too, this valuable resource should be cited. Principal in this connection are the memorials of Li Wei 李衛 [1687?-1738] who was Zhejiang governor-general at the time. While serving at this post, it should be remembered that he bore responsibility for remaining vigilant with respect to Japan, namely defense against pirates from Japan. Li Wei wrote a number of memorials—seven in all—concerning Japan, dated: the eighth day of the eighth month, the seventeenth day of the tenth month, the third day of the eleventh month, and eleventh day of the twelfth month for Yongzheng 6 (1728, Kyôhō 13); the twentieth day of the ninth month of Yongzheng 7 (1729, Kyôhō 14); the tenth day of the third month of Yongzheng 8 (1730, Kyôhō 15); and the nineteenth day of the sixth month of Yongzheng 9 (1731, Kyôhō 16). Professors Yano Jin'ichi 矢野仁一, Saeki Tomi 佐伯富, and Yamawaki Teiji 山脇悌二 have all used these memorials of Li Wei to discuss Sino-Japanese relations, and all of their work has been subtle and detailed. If I were to add anything, though, it would be the interesting point thus far not mentioned that one can see as time passed that Li Wei's memorials gradually come to grasp with ever greater acuity the heart of the problem.

Delivery of Chinese Horses. According to Qing law, there was a strict regulation that runs as follows: "Those who leave the country to sell horses, oxen, iron implements [that which has not yet been made into weaponry], copper coins, silk goods, pongee, or silk thread or who go overseas to do so shall receive 100 lashes... Those who leave the country or go overseas with weapons shall be strangled." Were this regulation strictly enforced, there would have been no trade with Japan. While activities which gained one a profit dealing with enemies of the Qing were not allowed, within the realm of seeking profit commercial activities were recognized. In particular, they seem to have been lenient after the "expand to the sea" (*zhanhai* 埋海) order. Horses and weaponry, however, were not allowed.

Yoshimune was at essence a military man who was, of course, deeply interested in the ways of the bow and the horse. In the sixth month of Kyôhō 3, he ordered the delivery to Japan of Chinese saddles and two Chinese horses. The Chinese saddles were undertaken by shipmaster Lin Dawen 林大文 of vessel number sixteen in the year of the bird, and in the tenth month of the year, he brought them to Japan on vessel number twenty-seven. The problem, though, was the horses. Yi Taoji 伊韜吉, shipmaster of vessel number thirty-one, assumed this task, and on the 30th day of the second month of the following year, Kyôhō 4, he set sail for home with a temporary license for the year of the pig, indicating that he would be back soon on another vessel within the year. Rumors spread that Yi Taoji would be delivering horses, but he was unable to come through; furthermore, because of a military conflict between the Qing and the Western Tatars, there was an insufficiency of horses which caused a delay and ultimately made it impossible for Yi to come to Japan himself. His younger brother Yi Fujiu 伊孚九 took his brother's license, transported the horses to Japan, and unloaded them in the dark of night when

Chinese in the Tōjin yashiki 唐人屋敷 (Chinese Compound) could not see what he was doing.

Yi Fujiu. Yi Fujiu (posthumous name, Hai 海) also used such styles as Shenye 莘野, Huichuan 匯川, and Yetang 也堂. He was a fine literatus-painter, and his landscapes were much liked and prized by Japanese. I discussed earlier how he brought the *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun hoi* 七經孟子考文補遺 (Textual Study of the Seven Classics and Mencius, with Supplement) to China. While Yi Fujiu was an appropriate person about whom to discuss such literary matters, it was in fact he who first transported the forbidden Chinese horses to Japan in his brother's stead.

Although details of his biography remain unknown—and this may not be the right place to mention them—let me just mention some sources concerning his travels to Japan which can be ascertained. He first journeyed to Japan on vessel number two in Kyōhō 5, departing from Shanghai and loading the horses at Danshan 丹山; because of a typhoon, he was shipwrecked at Hashima 羽島 in Satsuma, before arriving in Nagasaki with a tugboat on the eleventh day of the second month. Obtaining a trading license for the next year, the year of the ox, he set sail for home on the 21st day of the twelfth month. The following year, though, Yi Fujiu did not make the trip. His older brother Yi Jingxin 伊敬心 came on the eighteenth day of the twelfth month; Yi Jingxin also arrived in Nagasaki aboard vessel number four in Kyōhō 10 and aboard vessel number twenty-eight in Kyōhō 11. In Kyōhō 11, Yi Fujiu accompanied him, requested a trading license for the year of the bird, and was granted it. With this license he entered port on the 26th day of the seventh month on vessel number twenty-three for Kyōhō 15 and set sail for home with a license for the year of the ox on the 29th day of the eighth month of the following year. He also came to Nagasaki aboard vessel number seven on the fifth day of the third month of Kyōhō 18, returning home on the ninth day of the twelfth month of the following year with a license for the year of the horse. Although it remains unclear if he came to Japan in the year of the horse—Genbun 3 [1738]—there is a manuscript in eight folios bearing the provisional title “I Fukyū kakiage senpin meibo” 伊孚九書上船品名簿 (Register of names of merchandise prepared by Yi Fujiu) and dated the eighth month of Enkyō 4 (1747) which is held in the Watanabe Bunko 渡邊文庫 at the Nagasaki Municipal Library. It includes 81 names of crew members and bears Yi's signature and seal at the end. Thus, in addition to recognizing the fact that he entered the port of Nagasaki as shipmaster of vessel number three in the year of the ox, Enkyō 2 [1745], in Enkyō 4 he had reached the age of 50—he was born in Kangxi 37 (Genroku 11: 1698), and his first trip to Japan was at age 23.

Li Wei's Memorials. We now return to Li Wei. When he memorialized on the eighth day of the eighth month of Yongzheng 6 [1728], he had been informed of all manner of hearsay.⁵

First, in the form of a story about a man surnamed Yu 余 from Suzhou, he heard a number of stories concerning Japan, that the shōgun had welcomed a man from China, had him teach them in the use of bows, arrows, and the cane shield, and purchased Chinese

⁵ What follows are summaries of Wei's memorials, occasionally accompanied by analysis.

helmets and armor. Although Wang Yingru 王應如, a man from Fuzhou was not at all well trained in astronomy and war strategy, said he was [in Japan] at first to secure a profit, after teaching battle arrays for over a year he was executed. A retired company commander whose name was unknown, was from Guangdong, and had long hair was earning several thousand pieces of gold each year, built an armada of over 200 ships, and was teaching them [the Japanese] naval techniques. Although the merchants Zhong Qintian and Shen Shunchang 沈順昌 had long engaged in trade [with Japan], Zhong brought to Japan a military officer (a *wuju* 武舉, or *juren* in the military examinations) by the name of Zhang Canruo 張燦若 who taught bowmanship and earned several thousand *ryō* of silver each year; Shen brought a veterinarian by the name of Song 宋 from Suzhou, and he saw to the medical needs of horses there. A merchant by the name of Fei Zanhou had encouraged a retired official from Shaoxing who lectured the Japanese on the law, but his knowledge of the subject was less than thorough and he was sent home. At the time Zhong, Shen, and Fei were all involved in trade every year with Japan and were returning home with copper. Zhang Canruo's real name was Henghui 恒暉 and he lived in Hangzhou; he was the number five *wuju* of Yongzheng [1723], but he was by nature a crafty swindler and over a year after having gone abroad he still had not returned. His father, Zhang Binru 張彬如, had done military service and was originally an instructor in bowmanship. To send someone to check up on him would require too much trouble. His path was a dubious one, and after the fact it would be difficult to trace.

That Zhong Qintian had already brought Zhang Canruo to Japan can be generally verified. The other information largely concerned military matters, and Li Wei seems to have been nervous. Also, from the facts surrounding the case, described in an earlier chapter, of Sun Fuzhai's coming to Japan aboard Fei Zanhou's vessel and his offering counsel for a Japanese translation of the *Da Qing huidian*, we can see a somewhat garbled form of the story of Sun Fuzhai receiving a trading license and returning to Japan with Sun Shilong 孫仕隆.

Yu Xiaoxing and Zhu Laizhang. His next memorial was dated the seventeenth day of the tenth month, and his investigations had considerably progressed. First of all, the merchant named Yu in his earlier memorial was, he could now say with surety, Yu Xiaoxing 俞孝行. There are, however, no Japanese historical materials bearing the name Yu Xiaoxing. Other than Yu Meiji 俞枚吉, there are no shipmasters surnamed Yu who traveled to Japan; perhaps Yu Xiaoxing was a style or alias for Yu Meiji.

As for the memorial of the seventeenth day of the tenth month, Li Wei had discovered an important personage from whom he had acquired intelligence. The man was Zhu Laizhang. On the pretext that Zhu Laizhang was a doctor, Li claimed that he wanted Zhu to examine him and summoned him to his office. In an amicable manner, he repeatedly explained to him about the great principle beneath right and wrong and the advantages and disadvantages of laws. As a result, Zhu was deeply moved and revealed to him the actual state of affairs. He thus went on to explain about the Nagasaki Administrator and the [geographical] location of Japan, the capital [Kyoto] in Yamashiro 山城 prefecture, the Chinese Compound which he called the Tuku 土庫, and that because he cured the Nagasaki Administrator's illness, he was able to live outside the Chinese Compound and was given a trading license on his departure from Japan. "After

being engaged in trade [with Japan] for a number of years, my family eventually became well off.” On his departure for home, he was asked through the interpreter to return with a teacher of bowmanship; he was also, as detailed in the previous chapter, asked to bring yellow peonies and three purple sandalwood trees, each two feet tall, and he returned with one peony. When the flower bloomed, it turned out to be purple and the foreigner [namely, the Nagasaki Administrator] was highly displeased and sent the ship home with its cargo intact. He had proof of this from customs records and coming and going at port. He had thus incurred immense losses, returning empty-handed. He would not be traveling again to Japan, and he would trade with the small amount of cargo he had on another vessel, and was barely eking out a living. We can see that he completely hid the story of his older brother Zhu Peizhang accepting the contract for a teacher of equestrian archery and a horse doctor and Shen Dacheng and the others not arriving in time before Zhu Peizhang returned home remained, while he cooked up the tale of the peony to smooth things over. Li Wei gave Zhu Laizhang 500 taels and Yu Xiaoxing, whom he furtively summoned from Suzhou, 200 taels. He purchased some of the foodstuffs “the foreigner” liked and saw to it that it was transported to Japan and further news elaborated in detail. Also, he ordered Zhu Laizhang to do an examination of those resident in the Toku.

As for Zhu Laizhang, a memorial dated the eleventh day of the twelfth month of Yongzheng 6 recounts that he later gave testimony to the effect that he transported 500 texts from China, a fact consistent with what we have already described. Once they had returned to China, Zhu Laizhang and Yu Xiaoxing depicted the situation in Japan, and in a memorial of the twentieth day of the ninth month of Yongzheng 9 Li Wei explains that he met with Zhu in his own home on the sixth of that very month and received his report; Yu returned to Zhejiang on the twelfth day of the eighth month. Thus, on Li Wei’s orders, the two men traveled to Japan some time after the third day of the first month of Kyôhō 13 and before the sixth day of the ninth month of Kyôhō 14.

What Number Vessel Was a Spy Ship? At the time of the promulgation of the New Shôtoku Laws, because Yu Meiji was not in Nagasaki and did not receive a trading license, he came to Japan as a passenger on vessel number thirty in Kyôhō 2, received a new license at that time, and came again on vessel number twenty-nine in Kyôhō 4; on his return this time, he received a license for the year of the rat, Kyôhō 5. For some reason, however, Fei Huaixiang 費懷湘 served as his agent and arrived in Nagasaki aboard vessel number one the next year, Kyôhō 6. At this time, though, the shipmasters of eight vessels had been prohibited from further trade and perforce had to relinquish their trading licenses. Fei Huaixiang was one of them, and Yu Meiji lost the license. He came to Japan once again, as a guest of shipmaster Shen Mingyuan 沈茗園 on vessel number thirty-three in Kyôhō 7, and petitioned for another trading license; the previous effort of Fei’s on his behalf had turned into a mess and ultimately a failure, and thus Yu Meiji was awarded a license because he was deemed blameless in that instance. This license was entrusted to his nephew Chen Zongyuan 陳宗遠 who was thus enabled to make the trip to Japan. That year many vessels were shipwrecked, and Chen too was never heard from again. Having again lost his license to trade, Yu Meiji came to Japan in Kyôhō 11 as a passenger on board vessel number eight and presented the authorities with ginseng seedlings among other gifts; he was awarded as a prize a one-time trading license from Siam. He used this

license and entered the port of Nagasaki aboard vessel number two on the seventeenth day of the second month of Kyôhō 14, sailing for home on the 21st day of the seventh month.

In the *Tôsen shinkô kaitô roku* there is a note concerning this vessel that reads: "Zhu Shuangyu was given a one-time Xiamen trading license within the stated amount for the year of the dog." This indicates that a license in the name of Zhu Shuangyu was given to someone on board this vessel. Zhu Shuangyu was, as we have seen, a relative of Zhu Laizhang. Thus, it is safe to assume that Zhu Laizhang was on board and that the time frame was within that earlier stipulated. They left port on the 21st day of the seventh month, and, because it was an ordinary crossing, Yu Meiji—namely, Yu Xiaoxing—was able to reach Zhejiang on twelfth day of the eighth month. Thus, one may resolve that the Siamese vessel number two for Kyôhō 14 was a spy ship seeking information on Japan sent by Li Wei. In the damages due to the failure of the surrogate shipmaster and the shipwreck, Yu Meiji incurred great losses, and one portion of this was repaid by Li Wei, and the possibility that the vessel might be taken for a spy ship was surely concealed. Nonetheless, one must say that Zhu Laizhang, who received a license in the name of Zhu Shuangyu and returned home, was a highly adept man. Zhu Laizhang was unable at this time to leave the Chinese Compound and practice medicine. That was because, as Li Wei reported it, the Japanese held him in deep distrust. Possibly it was because of the earlier affair involving Zhu Peizhang. Li Wei, though, did not know this. It should be noted that Zhu Laizhang did report that he had gained intelligence from the priest Quanyan 全巖, a man from Fujian, when he visited a Chinese temple in Nagasaki, to the effect that Satsuma was keenly observing Taiwan at present. We can see that vigilance in the face of the *wakô* was extremely important.

Gradually More Accurate Intelligence. In his memorial of the third day of the eleventh month of Yongzheng 6, Li Wei reported that he had gotten wind of a plan whereby Ke Wanzang, entrusted by the Fujian merchant Wei Deqing 魏德卿, sought the aid of a monk and attempted to make the trip to Japan in stealth; Ke, the monk Bifeng 璧峰, and seven others were caught by Wang Guocai 王國材, Li Chengji 李成基, and others on the eighteenth day of the tenth month. Ke had been entrusted with a letter addressed to Huangbo in Fuzhou on the eleventh day of the fifth month of Kyôhō 11, and there was a response the following year. He came to Japan aboard vessel number thirty-one in Kyôhō 12, entered port on the eighteenth day of the ninth month, and returned having received a one-time Siamese licence on the twentieth day of the third month of the next year. It would thus seem that he came aboard vessel number thirty-one, conveyed the return letter, and brought along a priest on board, hence specially receiving a license. He then attempted to use this license and leave port and was apprehended on the eighteenth day of the tenth month—the number of days all correspond.

Furthermore, Li Wei's memorial of the third day of the eleventh month relayed the information that Zhong Qintian was in Japan ("Dongyang" 東洋) having not as yet returned home and that Li had feelers out in various ports. Holding Zhang Canruo's father Binru to blame, he had a letter written to the father, and he reported on an investigation of conditions in Japan; he also conveyed that his death sentence be set aside. By the same token, he selected a number of merchants who were exceptional men and

from fine families and named them to be directors of commerce, thereby proposing a means of overseeing them.

The situation described in his memorial of the eleventh day of the twelfth month of Yongzheng 6 came even closer to reality. Acknowledging that Zhong Qintian had brought Zhang Henghui (Chen Cairuo) to Japan and that Fei Zanhui had brought Zhou Qilai to Japan, he reported that Zhou Qilai had responded to an examination, that in Japan they sought information about China ("Tianchao" 天朝) and the latest news, and that everyone had books there. In addition, Zheng Dashan 鄭大山 reported that Zheng Dawei 鄭大威 had transported an elephant and elephant trainer to Japan. One of the animals was still living, he claimed, in Nagasaki. He further explained that, according to the testimony of Zhong Qintian and others, Yang Danzhai 楊澹齋, in the company of the two *xiucai* 秀才 ("cultivated talent") Sun Taiyuan 孫太源 and Shen Dengwei 沈登偉, were lecturing in Japan on the *Da Qing huidian* and the laws of China and had not yet returned to Zhejiang, and the Fujian merchant Chen Liangxuan had transported to Japan Shen Dacheng—in fact, someone surnamed Yang 楊—who was there teaching battle arrays.

We can see that Chen Liangxuan was an interesting fellow. Taking the name Chen Dacheng, he had, as assistant shipmaster for vessel number twenty-one in Kyôhō 12, sent Shen Dacheng to Japan and returned home. This ship had entered the port of Nagasaki on the fourth day of the second month of Kyôhō 13, Li Wei's memorial was dated the eleventh day of the twelfth month of the year, and it reported that he still had not returned. The name change seems to have been successful, and he was not caught in Li Wei's net. This case can be seen also when we discuss Guo Hengtong below.

A New Policy. In this memorial, Li Wei seems to have gained a fair understanding of the problem at hand. The transporting of a large elephant from Annam and the like were to satisfy the tastes of the "foreigners" (i.e., the Japanese). When the merchant vessels were set to return home, they were picked out and ordered to bring men illegally. If they did not comply, they would be sent home with their cargoes intact. Coveting the profit to be gained from this licensed trading with Japan, these Chinese merchants complied. Were they brought under strict control, all trade would cease in future. By selecting Li Junze and seven others from Fujian and Zhejiang and making them directors of commerce, he divided them by provinces and brought control over all trade with Japan. Once he got them to supervise one another, the arbitrary transport of illegal items should have come to an end. After consulting with the Jiangnan area Governors Fan Shiyi 范時繹 (d. 1741) and Yin-jishi 尹繼善 (1696-1771), he gathered together the merchants who traveled overseas, had them select eight older, trustworthy, upright merchants, and appointed them directors of commerce. This is what we in the contemporary scholarly world call a system of commercial directors. The directors of commerce examined the cargo to be transported overseas by merchants, and in cases where someone had attempted to transport illegal persons or cargo, they were to report the matter to the government. If they were neglectful, they were considered complicit. The directors were thus to oversee one other mutually.

A representative for the directors was called a *zongshangtou* 總商頭, and Li Junze was the first so named. His name appears in Li Wei's memorial of the tenth day of

the third month of Yongzheng 8, which reports as follows. Zheng Hengming, whom Li Junze had sent to Japan, returned carrying a letter for Li which the Nagasaki Administrator had passed along via an interpreter. He forgave the fact that deceitful Chinese merchants had transported illegal items, persons, and priests from China, and noted that this view had been conveyed to China where the deceitful merchants had been apprehended. He wanted to express his thanks to the beneficence of the Chinese emperor who, in spite of this, had not heaped blame upon Japan. Professor Yano Jin'ichi argued that this story was made up by Li Junze and Zheng Hengming, but it seems to me that one aspect of the story is undeniable. As we saw in the case of the priest Zhongqi who was invited to Manpukuji, in Kyôhō 15 (Yongzheng 8) Zheng Hengming reported on the death of Zhongqi, and contrary to Wei Hongdan's recounting that Zhongqi was alive and well in Kyôhō 16, Zheng reiterated his belief that Zhongqi had, indeed, passed away. Thus, the government finally called off its plans to invite this priest, and the matter came to an end as Ke Wanzong and Zheng Hengming were seen to have been tricked by deceitful merchants. The fact that nothing of this case appears in the *Nagasaki shi* is curious. Until some sort of corresponding materials concerning Li Junze and Zheng Hengming are found on the Japanese side, this problem should remain open—neither confirmed nor denied. We do find in the *Tôsen shinkô kaitô roku* mention of the fact that Zheng Hengming arrived in port with a trading license in the name of Zheng Dadian aboard vessel number seven in Kyôhō 14. There is a possibility that Zheng Dadian, Zheng Dawei, and Zheng Dashan were all brothers, and perhaps Zheng Hengming was a relative of theirs. If that were the case, then the relationship between Li Junze and Zheng is a problem worthy of attention.

Effectiveness of Control. In a memorial of Yongzheng 8, Li Wei touches on the fact that the Japanese were looking for several texts, including the *Taiping shenghui fang* 太平聖惠方 (Wise Prescriptions for Prosperity)⁶ and the *Gu shi gougu quanshu* 顧氏勾股全書 (Complete Texts of Right-Angle Triangles of Mr. Gu). Because these works had been submitted to Governor-General Li Wei by the directors of commerce, if there were no written instructions or comments, he reported that, even if the Chinese merchants transported them secretly to Japan, he would not confiscate them. The Yongzheng Emperor indicated his permission to act in this manner, and in a memorial of the fifth day of the fourth month, Li Wei reported that he had summoned Li Junze, took precautionary measures, and let him know that, if medicinal prescriptions and similar documents did not pass his personal scrutiny, he would not allow their ships to depart. The number of texts newly transported to Japan (namely, texts that had not been transported before) was 195 for Kyôhō 10 (Yongzheng 3), 306 for Kyôhō 11 (Yongzheng 4), 170 for Kyôhō 12 (Yongzheng 5), 58 for Kyôhō 13 (Yongzheng 6), 6 for Kyôhō 14 (Yongzheng 7), 14 for Kyôhō 15 (Yongzheng 8), and 84 for Kyôhō 16 (Yongzheng 9). Comparing the movement of texts in these years, we can see the dramatic decline in numbers for the three years—Yongzheng 6, 7, and 8—that coincide with Li Wei's memorials concerning Japan.

⁶ A Chinese text dating to the Song dynasty.

In his memorial of the nineteenth day of the sixth month of Yongzheng 9, Li Wei noted that Zhang Hengming, Chen Cairuo, Liu Jingxian, Sun Taiyuan, and Shen Dengwei had returned to China on the fourth day of the fifth month, had been apprehended by Liu Jinzhong 柳貂忠, the brigade commander of Zhapu, and interrogated by Li himself. They had all obeyed Li's order to return home. It became clear that Sun Taiyuan was just a merchant who had accompanied Shen Dengwei. This, of course, corresponded to Sun Fuzhai and Shen Xie'an. Li Wei did not brand the three men Sun Taiyuan, Shen Dengwei, and Liu Jingxian "deceitful"; he handed them over to local officials from their original domiciles and forbid them permanently from overseas travel on the assurance of the directors of commerce. It was for this reason that Shen Xie'an, despite having a license that enabled him to make the trip to Japan that year, did not travel to Japan. Sun Fuzhai was, needless to say, unable to travel abroad, but he was a shrewd man, and the two shipmasters Chen Jinshi 陳金石 and Zhou Qixing, working as his proxies, entered the port of Nagasaki with his license aboard vessel number twenty-two in Kyôhō 17.

Was the permanent ban on overseas travel ever rescinded? After Li Wei was transferred in Kyôhō 18 (Yongzheng 11) to serve as governor-general of Zhili, perhaps it may have been loosened. In Kyôhō 21 the two men did make the trip to Japan, as we have noted.

The foreigners hired by the Japanese government in the Kyôhō era and the Chinese merchants employed by the shōgun found they had been doused with cold water.