

Seigaku tōzen to Chūgoku jijō: 'zassho sakki'

西学東漸と中国事情:「雑書, 札記」

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PART 7

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20. Ōshio Heihachirō and Legends from the Taiping Rebellion

I have thus far offered short analyses of the various novelizations that took their material from the Taiping revolution, published in Japan during the late Edo period. I should like at this point in the discussion to insert one major work of dramatic fiction which adopted not the style of a novel by that of historical exegesis, a work undertaken in the Taishō era, for it offers an aspect that adds color the history of Sino-Japanese relations.

I have in my collection of books a pamphlet of over 40 pages, entitled Nankin hishi 南京秘史 [Secret History of Nanjing]. This work bears the subtitle: "Iwayuru Chōhatsuzoku no shinsō" 所謂長髮賊の真相 [The True Facts about the "Long-Haired Bandits"]. Needless to say, "Long-Haired Bandits" refers to Taiping rebels themselves, and the imprint indicates that it was published in 1944 by "Dai Ajia kensetsusha" 大亜細亜建設社 [Greater East Asian Construction Company].

According to the pamphlet's preface, this edition is a reprint of a work by Mr. Iguchi Toraji 井口寅次, owner of the Shidansō 史談荘, and had appeared the previous year in the journal Dai Ajia 大亜細亜. In addition, it was published together with "Ōshio Heihachirō ron" 大塩平八郎論 [On Ōshio Heihachirō] by Maki Tsuneharu 牧常春, which also appeared in the same magazine in 1944. It is similar in content to an essay, entitled "Ōshio Heihachirō" (Chūō shidan 中央史壇, 1921)<sup>1</sup> by Ishizaki Tōgoku 石崎東国 which I had read earlier. He essentially summarized that work, changing the sentences somewhat, making it less rigid, and simplifying the cited passages analyzed in the work.

Toward the end of the Meiji period, historian Kōda Shigetomo 幸

田成友 (1873-1954, general editor of Ōsaka shi shi 大阪市史 (A History of the City of Osaka) had published a detailed study of Ōshio Heihachirō (1793-1837) and the rebellion he led, based on important historical sources (though he does not give each and every title of the documents used): Ōshio Heihachirō (Tō-A dō shobō, 1909; later revised and published in 1942 by Sōgensha). Also, Mori Ōgai 森鷗外 obtained a manuscript on Mino paper (handwritten, 27 pages) entitled Ōsaka Ōshio Heihachirō bankiroku 大阪大塩平八郎万記録 [Accounts of Ōshio Heihachirō of Ōsaka] which is primarily a collection of stories and historical documents and, filling in the blanks with the "historical facts" based on Kōda's research, Mori wrote his fictional biography, Ōshio Heihachirō, in the early Taishō years. He also included as an appendix a chronological biography.<sup>2a</sup>

A section entitled "The Truth" in Nankin hishi accepts as "true" the material in the aforementioned Ishizaki's "Ōshio Heihachirō." By the same token, it denies as "falacious" the writings on this subject by Kōda and Mori. The essence of this "Truth" is that Ōshio Heihachirō and his adopted son Kakunosuke 格之助 fled Ōsaka after the uprising, escaped to Amakusa, and from there proceeded to Nagasaki where they became acquainted with one Zhou Yunshan 周雲山, a leader of the "Society of God-Worshippers," a group opposed to the Qing dynasty, who had also taken refuge in Nagasaki. Zhou Yunshan was later to become Feng Yunshan 馮雲山 (the Southern King), one of the leaders of the Taiping Rebellion, and with him they all traveled to Fujian, China. They then replaced Zhu Jiutao 朱九濤, leader of the Society of God-Worshippers, and were ceded the leadership. Heihachirō installed Kakunosuke as leader of the Society and remained himself in the background, but eventually came to take a commanding role in the revolutionary activities of the Taipings. Kakunosuke was, according to this record of the events, none other than Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全.

As historical materials upon which this account is based, the text cites suspicious stelae, hearsay accounts verbatim, random quotations from writings concerned with the Taipings that had come from China, and the like. The argument is advanced in an audacious manner based on wild speculation, and it concludes by noting that the material can be "believed."

This, however, might lead one to believe that admirers of Ōshio revered his character, supported his motives in rising in rebellion, and expressed their profound compassion and overwhelming sentiments of anguish at his frustration. The Ōshio rebellion is depicted in the following manner:

Chūsai 中齋 [Ōshio] opposed the tyranny of the shogunate [for taking no measures to help the people of Osaka who were

suffering in a famine] and raised the banner of resistance. Believing that he would martyr himself for the impoverished people, he seems much like a socialist, though his ideas were actually not like those of modern socialism. As a result of Wang [Yangming's] 王陽明 teachings, he did believe in equality based on the notion that all people are the same... Thus, Chūsai's rising is not without points of resonance with socialism.

So argued Inoue Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎 in an analysis of Ōshio's thought on the basis of the latter's Senshindō sakki 洗心洞答記 [Notes from the Cavern of a Cleansed Mind].<sup>3b</sup>

In an appendix to his Ōshio Heihachirō, Mori Ōgai similarly noted that "Heihachirō's thought was a still unawakened socialism." Clearly such a rebellious motivation behind Ōshio's uprising shared a great deal with the causes of the Taiping Rebellion. Perhaps, argues Mori, they may have sought to revive Ōshio's thought and deeds in the Taiping revolutionary movement on the mainland. He sought to present a great drama by praising the "heroic enterprise" of Ōshio's extremely weak rebellion which was crushingly defeated in a single day and by seeing it cross the sea to be realized in China.

While Ōshio did in fact rise in rebellion on behalf of the poor, starving people and oppose, plunder, and set fire to offices of the resourceless officialdom and to the homes of the merciless wealthy, his was an army of "protest" (kōgi 抗議) against the officialdom and the affluent on behalf of "helping the people" (kyūmin 救民), and it was not a "revolution" aimed at replacing the core power in the structure of political control. We know this from the placards of the movement which read: "We are not rising out of a desire to seize the realm for ourselves." By contrast, Hong Xiuquan did rise in rebellion out of a desire to seize the reigns of government; he planned and carried out a nationalistic political revolution to overturn the perceived enemy in the political structure of Qing control, organized a peasant army (at first made up of coal miners), fought in many places against the armies of the Qing dynasty, and established his own regime which lasted altogether for fifteen years. The main purposes of these two uprisings were thoroughly different from their inception.

Oyabe Zen'ichirō 小谷部全一郎 authored a book entitled Chinggis Han wa Minamoto no Yoshitsune nari 成吉思汗八源義経也 [Chinggis Khan was Minamoto no Yoshitsune] (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1924-25). The story that Yoshitsune's (1159-89) suicide at Kinugawa was a deception and that he actually fled to Ezo and from there to the continent has long found expression in writing, but Oyabe in one fell swoop resuscitated Yoshitsune as Chinggis Khan. Adopting a

similar motif, a plot of a heroic transformation is constructed whereby Ōshio Heihachirō too is revived on the mainland, turned into a hero who sweeps over and subdues some fifteen or sixteen provinces of China, and whose adopted son Kakunosuke attains the position of the "Heavenly King." Authors of such fictional treatments concocted their historical dramas with conceptions at a different dimension. I have written about this phenomenon in a short essay entitled "Henshin no rekishi dorama" 変身の歴史ドラマ [Disguised Historical Dramas], and let me now say a few things of a more concrete nature about it.

The Ōshios, father and son, were defeated on the nineteenth day of the second lunar month of Tenpō 8 [1837], and they attempted to escape toward Yamatoji, but seeing the strict watch surrounding them, they turned and went in the direction of Kawachi, finding their way back to Ōsaka during the evening of the 24th. There they took refuge in the home of one Gorōbei 五郎兵衛 of the Miyoshiya 美吉屋 storehouse in Aburakakemachi. Gorōbei was a wholesaler of toweling (including calicos and blue-dyed objects). For many years, he had frequently visited the Ōshio family and owed them a debt for his financial circumstances. However, the Ōshios had now suddenly shown up dressed as monks and asking a great favor of him, to shelter them in a small back room at the rear of his house. They were later discovered, and on the 27th of the fourth lunar month of 1837, the local constabulary attacked the Miyoshiya storehouse. Ōshio committed suicide by setting fire to the room in which he was holed up, and Kakunosuke was also discovered as a charred corpse (there were stories as well that he was stabbed to death by his father). This is how Kōda tells the tale in his Ōshio Heihachirō. Inoue Tetsujirō and Mori Ōgai describe the end of the Ōshios in the same manner.

One can easily imagine that, at the time, the Ōshio incident was a great shock in the city of Osaka, and it would seem that a wide variety of manuscripts appeared that chronicled (and added tidbits of hearsay to) the incident. Kōda cites scarcely a single document, while Ishizaki's Ōshio Heihachirō den 大塩平八郎伝 [Biography of Ōshio Heihachirō] (Tokyo: Taitōkaku 大鐙閣, 1920) is a painstaking work which cites numerous texts (and throws in some rumors) and memoranda; it is written as a meticulous "chronological biography." The very end of this work carries a passage entitled "Sensei fushi jifun setsu" 先生父子自焚説 [The Theory that Ōshio and His Son Burned Themselves to Death]:

The deafening roar of gunfire could already be heard indoors. A fire then broke out in the room. When they saw the fire, people were terribly confused and did not know

what to do. They tried to put the fire out, but in searching through it they discovered the corpses of two persons. Upon investigation they turned out to be Buddhist monks. Their bodies were scorched from head to foot, and their countenances were undetectable. The two corpses lay prostrate. There were roundtrip tickets in their pockets, which read: Monks Raimon 雷門 and Kan'ei 観永 of the Tenryūji 天龍寺. Ōshio was using the name Raimon, and his son Shōshi 尚志 [an earlier name of Kakunosuke's] was using the name Kan'ei. And, so father and son left this world together as martyrs. However, some people did not believe this story. It was said that they escaped and were living in Tsukushi [Kyūshū]; others said they had traveled to China.

Ishizaki's theory of Ōshio as leader of the Taiping Rebellion may have developed from this point, but in his Ōshio Heihachirō den there is not one mention of the Taipings.

Although I have done no special study of the Ōshio uprising, manuscripts have occasionally caught my eye, and I have three in my possession at present. One such work is a small-sized volume on Mino half-pages entitled Naniwa Ōshio sōdō ki 浪花大塩馬場動記 [Account of the Ōshio Rebellion in Ōsaka]. In the afterward, the author writes: "Composed in the first ten days of October of Tenpō 13" [1842]. In content, it is essentially a collection of historical documents, including placards from the time Ōshio rose in rebellion, the battle arrays from his sorties, the names of neighborhoods afflicted in fires, various personal descriptions and personnel records given at the time, and the roadside prohibition and edict boards set up by the shogunal authorities.

Another of these manuscripts is a work in one stringbound volume on Mino paper and carries the title Naniwa ashi 浪花 蘆 [Reed of Ōsaka] on its cover. On its first page, though, it reads Ōshio gyakubō jikki io 大塩逆謀実記序 [Introduction to an Account of the Rebellion of Ōshio] by Yamada Seirin (Seizai) 山田成倫 (醒斎), dated "Tenpō 11 [1840], winter, eleventh lunar month," and at the end it carries the title, Ōshio sōran kiki gaki 大塩馬場乱 明書 [Notes on the Ōshio Rebellion]. According to the preface of this work, a man by the name of Ogura Naofusa 小倉正房 "collected information about the rebel Ōshio at the time and put them into a volume." From the date of the preface, this took place roughly in the third year following the rebellion.

The third of these manuscripts is comprised of three stringbound volumes on Mino paper. It bears no title, but on its first page a long preface is included, "by Hakuryū 白龍, at a temporary residence in Ōsaka, early autumn, Tenpō 8 [1837]." It says that the

Ōshio rebellion took place in the second month of the year and that Ōshio and his son committed suicide on the 27th day of the third month; inasmuch as this preface was written in the seventh month, the work would have been compiled within only four or five months following the rebellion itself. It reads at one point: "Having traveled around, I am now in Osaka. I took down information detailing [the rebellion] from start to finish while temporarily residing there, and compared it with [known] facts. There are ten volumes in all which I have called Tenpō ran ki 天保乱記 [Account of the Uprising of the Tenpō Period]."

According to this account by Hakuryū, the text in my possession is "comprised of various people's works and information taken down verbatim in discussions with older people." This would indicate that he corroborated his data with other historical documents. Yet, the manuscript I have seems to be merely excerpts from an original text and not something separate from it. Furthermore, it is highly doubtful whether, as indicated in the preface, Hakuryū was actually a traveler who took up temporary residence in Osaka.

Kōda, whose work we cited above, noted that Ōshio and his son took refuge in the Miyoshiya, set fire to the place, thus committing suicide, and their charred remains were subsequently discovered. In his Tenpō ran ki, Hakuryū claims:

Heihachirō died, his body entirely consumed by the flames and his visage and abdomen by no means distinct. In his pocket there was a roundtrip ticket, and inasmuch as it was not burned up in the conflagration, it was removed. It turned out to be a ticket from Tenryūji. Heihachirō was using the name Raimon, and Kakunosuke was using the name Kan'ei. Both men had the appearance of having taken the tonsure.

In the Ōshio gyakubō jikki (namely, the Ōshio sōran kikiqaki), the same account, though in rather less detail, is related:

Heihachirō had collapsed on his face, and thus a roundtrip ticket in was removed from his pocket, undestroyed in the blaze. The ticket commenced from a Buddhist temple named Tenryūji and was dated for Tenpō 7 [1836], the previous year. He had taken the name Raimon, and Kakunosuke had the name Kan'ei. Both men appeared to have taken the tonsure.

Kōda too recounts how Heihachirō at first visited the Miyoshiya and goes on to say: "The two men were dressed as Buddhist monks wearing a short sword in their dark gray cotton raincoats." The accounts are also consistent on the point that Heihachirō and Kakunosuke took the tonsure once they had returned to Osaka. Though not written down in Kōda's Ōshio Heihachirō, perhaps because the author

did not want to use material deemed merely hearsay, the information about the roundtrip ticket emanating from Tenryūji found in the pocket of Heihachirō's corpse and mention of the [Buddhist] pseudonyms of "Raimon" and "Kan'ei" were novel ideas used to dramatic effect by having the main characters transform themselves. From this data, the author of Nankin hishi notes that just at that time the two visiting priests, Raimon and Kan'ei, had come to rest at the home of Gorōbei: "They decided that [the monks were] Ōshio and his son, set fire to the place and killed the two monks. They then crucified the charred corpses whose faces were indistinguishable and thus quelled the uprising." This is taken directly from what Ishizaki had already written.

Ōshio rose in rebellion on the nineteenth day of the second lunar month of 1837, and Gorōbei Miyoshiya's where he was hiding was attacked and he committed suicide on the 27th day of the third month (according to Mori Ōgai's chronological biography of him). For over a month after the rebellion, the whereabouts of its leader were completely unknown. In a section entitled "Districts Hit by Arson" in the aforementioned Naniwa Ōshio sōdō ki, 47 machi (districts) and one village in Tenma are mentioned, 47 machi in Kamimachi, and 24 in Kitasenba, for a total of 118 machi. The number of homes destroyed by the fires is given as 3611, the number of ovens or hearths as 12,490, the number of vacant rental homes as 1168, the number of sheds as 223, and the number of storage facilities as 415. Because the leader of a rebellion that produced such an immense conflagration went unapprehended for over a month, his whereabouts remaining unknown, the shogunate's representative in Osaka Castle and the urban administrator were extremely irritated and initiated a frantic and earnest search. In the process, a wide variety of rumors and hearsay were naturally picked up.

Many and sundry inquiries and rumors that cropped up in the course of the search are recounted in Tenpō ran ki. These include: (a) when it was reported that he was holed up in Maya mountain, the search headed there, or he may have gone by boat to Takeshima, a deserted island in the Japan Sea between Okishima and Korea, and then continued from there to Korea; (b) he may have used Christian witchcraft, confined himself indoors deep in the remote mountains and solitary valleys, and there lived off the air; (c) he may have committed suicide and had an ally bury his corpse quietly, and then a new grave was dug for him amid the hills and fields where there were no landlords; (d) perhaps the authorities sent people to search for him in distant lands; (e) when they heard that, although there had long been some sort of evil man on Mount Kōya, those who entered

the mountain never reappeared there, they sent spies there to search for him there; and (f) ever since the days of Ōtōmiya, the 24 villages of the Totsukawa deep in the Yoshino Mountains have been a place of refuge (even now) for fleeing criminals, and thus these villages were a natural place for them to send men to apprehend him.

This sort of gossip was accepted as is in Ishizaki's Ōshio Heihachirō den.

The Ōshio incident became increasingly shrouded in mystery. Not only did this effectively reveal to the shogunate how completely incompetent the office of the Osaka Administrator was; they [stories] spread throughout the city as far as the suburban areas. Rootless and disorganized like the sound of the wind and the cry of the cranes, they attempted to regroup at Kōsan and then attacked Tenma. The people were insecure in their livelihoods, the city was surrounded and as if without any government. The longer the Ōshio rebellion continued, the more concern was cast on the authority of the Administrator's Office. Eventually they learned that suspicious persons were residing at the home of the dyer Gorōbei, who had had frequent access to Ōshio's home, in Awaza. They resolutely decided that [these persons] were Ōshio and his son, and claiming quickly to be capturing them, set fire to the place in which they had been hiding and burned to death two itinerant monks from Tenryūji, Raimon and Eikan (Kan'ei ?). Ōshio and his son were by then completely burned, their bodies subsequently taken and crucified, with a placard hanging at the scene describing their crimes, and the incident came to an end. However, not one person believed this story. It was generally believed that Ōshio just had to be alive. One rumor that he was said to have boarded an American vessel and sailed to Ogasawara Island simply would not die, but in the midst of all this Ōshio fled to Amakusa in Hizen, and from there he boarded a commercial vessel bound for Nagasaki and took refuge in China.

As for the story that Ōshio went to Europe, Ishizaki cites the gravestone inscription of Akishino Teruashi 秋篠 昭足 (written by Akishino's son-in-law) which was erected in the tenth month of Meiji 23 [1890] at Tenryūji to the east of Osaka Castle. It reads in part:

The venerable old man, known posthumously as Terusada, ...assumed the name of Mr. Akishino. He lived in Osaka. In the spring of Tenpō 8 [1837], Ōshio Heihachirō rose in rebellion. Related to Ōshio through marriage, the venerable

old man had long before joined in the plot. They were defeated, and Ōshio, his son, and twelve followers fled to Kawachi where they hid in a cave. Seven of them committed suicide. They then escaped by sea to Amakusa in Hizen. They remained there for over a year and then made their way by ship to China. After a long period of time, Ōshio and his son further hid their traces by making their way to Europe. The venerable old man returned to Nagasaki with three followers and there became a doctor, plying his trade between Amakusa and Shimabara...

Ishizaki also presents notes compiled by Akishino's widow (his last daughter apparently lived until about 1897) who denied that the veracity of Ōshio's trip to Europe.

In the search for Ōshio and the others, two monks were burned to death at the home of the calico-maker Gorōbei, and the matter was settled. Using this opportunity, Ōshio, his son, Akishino, and others fled for safety to Kyūshū. Father [i.e., Akishino] took refuge in the home of a relative, a village headman in Amakusa by the name of Nagaoka Kōnosuke 長岡行之助. He also became intimate with a Chinese merchant by the name of Zhou 周 who lived in the Sūfuku Temple in Nagasaki. When he [Zhou] returned home, Ōshio and the others accompanied him to China and went to Huangpo [J. Ōbaku] Mountain. He stayed there for several years and then returned home soon, but the circumstances surrounding that are unknown. It was said that Ōshio and his son did not wish to return to Japan. Thus, the three of us could not return to Nagasaki, because at that time Ōshio was said to have gone to Europe.

Ishizaki goes on from this point to note: "For a period of time, Mr. Ōshio's trip to Europe enjoyed some currency, but in fact he never went to Europe and remained on Chinese soil." Ishizaki argues that the Sūfuku Temple was empty and, with the destruction of the Ming dynasty, the Ōbaku monk Chōnen 超然 came there from Nagasaki, and through the good offices of the monks at the Sūfuku Temple, Ōshio and his son continued on to Huangpo Mountain in Fujian.

I would like next to examine if the rumor of Ōshio and son fleeing overseas was limited to the Osaka area or not.

In his Yūgei en zuihitsu 遊芸園隨筆 [Stray Notes in the Garden of Polite Accomplishments] (included in Hyakka setsurin 百家説林 [Views of Various Thinkers], supplemental volume, Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1906), Kawaji Toshiakira 川路聖謨 (1801-68) claims that he learned of the Ōshio Rebellion on the 24th day of the second month from the head of Confucian Academy, but he was not

particular surprised by "how extensive the matter was." When he was in attendance at the castle on the 26th (Kawaji was then a kanjō ginmiyaku 勘定吟味役, a lower-ranking shogunal official), a courier came from Osaka to Edo and described the disposition of troops engaged to quell the uprising. Although the senior counsellors had already withdrawn, Kawaji had heard rumors from Yabe Suruga no kami 矢部駿河守 (then Kanjō bugyō 勘定奉行 or financial administrator, former Nishimachi administrator in Osaka): that Osaka had fallen, then Hori Iga no kami 堀伊賀守 (the Nishimachi administrator) had fled to Kyoto, and that Atobe Yamashiro no kami 跡部山城守 (Higashimachi administrator) had been hit by a cannon shell and had had his head blown to bits.

Kawaji noted: "Heihachirō was a masterless samurai who proceeded to commit suicide in broad daylight, as it soon became clear to him that his position was untenable." He compared it to how in times of peace people tied up their hawks and, because of a lack of military discipline at such times, people from ordinary homes would become frightened by the sounds of water fowl. A few lines later, though, he wrote: "News arrived to the effect that Heihachirō died on the 27th and that day together with his son Kakunosuke committed suicide by being burned to death in the home of Gorōbei of the Miyoshiya in Aburakakemachi, Osaka. Their faces were burned beyond recognition." He frankly admitted here his doubts, inasmuch the faces of the charred corpses were not at all clear.

In a letter to Egawa Tarōzaemon 江川太郎左衛門 (1801-55), Watanabe Kazan 渡辺崋山 (1793-1841) wrote as follows:

Item. Rumors in Bōshū 房州 have been circulating among the local people in the villages, when they go out fishing and hunting. For example, I have heard a story that Ōshio departed on an American vessel by sea. Although these are not very curious tales, a student by the name of Watanabe Kōhei 渡辺公平 [then a student in the Shōdō 聖堂 Academy] traveled to this area to hear these rumors; the painter Kano Sōtoku 狩野宗行 reported the same stories; and the doctor Satō Motokura 佐藤元晦 passed them on as well. Thus, although I believe there are such stories and although I find it difficult to overlook or quickly detect them, we do note yet understand them fully. Have you heard any such [stories]? I would like to ascertain if there is any truth to them.<sup>5</sup>

Although the date of "tenth month, 29th day" is entered on this letter, no year is recorded for it. If the American ship mentioned in the body of the letter was the Morrison, that would make it an event of the sixth month of Tenpō 8 [1837] (see Gaikō shi kō 外交志).

禾高, 2 volumes, Tokyo: Gaimushō, 1884). Ōshio's suicide took place in the third month of the year, and rumors of this sort were still current in and around the sixth month. Furthermore, while Kazan referred to the fact that "these are not very curious tales," one can still see that the idea of Ōshio's boarding the American vessel seemed incredulous to him. The mysteries surrounding Ōshio spread throughout Japan.

Perhaps Kazan may have had a particular interest in Ōshio. In 1834, the Tahara domain of Mikawa hired Ōkura Nagatsune 大蔵 永常 (1768-1856) as the director of industry to reform domainal finances. It was Kazan who had recommended Nagatsune in recognition of his scholarship. Nagatsune had lived in Ōsaka for a considerable period of time and seemed to have gotten to know Ōshio well. In his biography of Ōshio, Ishizaki notes: "Ōkura Nagatsune was an old friend of [Ōshio] sensei." In his biography of Nagatsune, Hayakawa Kōtarō 早川 孝太郎 includes a long letter from Ōshio addressed to Nagatsune, describing in great detail his state of affairs and mental attitudes following retirement; he also cites another letter, dated the seventh month probably of Tenpō 8 [1837], from Nagatsune in Tahara to a Mr. Ishii 石井 of Tanaka 田中 domain, which states in part: "I've received a letter from Ōshio..." and "my wife has gone to Ōshio's home, for she knows him well."<sup>6</sup> From this evidence, Hayakawa argues that Nagatsune's wife (who was from Osaka) was probably related to Ōshio. This relationship between Nagatsune and Ōshio seems to have enabled Kazan to learn a considerable amount of information about Ōshio through Nagatsune.

In his Naniwa sōjō kiji 浪花騷擾記事 [Account of the Riot in Osaka], Fujita Tōko 藤田 東湖 paints a lively picture of the Ōshio rebellion.<sup>7</sup> According to it, Fujita wrote down precisely what he heard from Saitō Yakurō 齋藤 弥九郎, privately a fencer in Egawa's school and a shop employee: Possibly because Nirayama representative Egawa Tarōzaemon was responsible for coastal defense, he "wanted above all else to embark on a maritime voyage, to go to Ōshima and Hachijōjima, and it was not at all easy to keep him confined indoors"; so, he sent Saitō to Osaka to check on Heihachirō's movements and investigate the Kinai area, in an effort either to arrest or kill Ōshio.<sup>8</sup>

Honda Tamesuke 本多 為助, who had long been on close personal terms with Ōshio, at the time of the uprising participated with the advance police force from Tamatsukuriguchi in quelling it and frankly recounted events from the fighting: "At this time, while the castle warden and urban administrator pleaded openly to Edo, they temporized and in fact were in conflict." He spoke with Yakurō, who had a letter of recommendation from Egawa, and recounted the coward-

ice of the administrator and the shrinking hesitation of the vanguard troops. These admissions would lead one to accept the account as highly reliable.

Yakurō, though, claims that he returned without having met Heihachirō, and when he came to Edo, news of the deaths of Ōshio and his son had already arrived from Osaka. Tōko concludes: "Although there was no doubt that in appearance the burnt body was that of Heihachirō, the townsmen who hid him were not so sure and we cannot say for sure that it was Heihachirō. Yakurō seems to have had his doubts, too."

Maki Tsuneharu's "Ōshio Heihachirō ron" (which is appended to the Nankin hishi) takes an extremely witty view of the notion that Ōshio and son escaped from Osaka:

As the means most suitable to his escape from Osaka, Ōshio set a huge fire within the city. Naturally, as soon as the fire erupted, everyone in Osaka scrambled to escape with their property and goods in the vessels large and small that floated on the waterways accessible from all directions in the city... Ōshio observed the situation, boarded a boat previously outfitted, and passed through the Inland Sea from the mouth of the Yasu River. The local officials, as was their practice, imagined by virtue of their office that they would rapidly search in earnest through the hilly areas primarily of Yamato and Kishū. While smiling self-satisfied, they seem to have seen that he had made good his escape to Nagasaki.

Maki imagined that, if Ōshio did escape from Osaka and make his way to China, this manner and route of escape were conceivable.

## 21. Various and Sundry Images of Hong Xiuquan

On the matter of Ōshio's alleged meeting with Zhou Yunshan (later, Feng Yunshan) in Nagasaki and their trip together to China, Ishizaki Tōgoku notes: "The problem here is the identity of Mr. Zhou, said to be a Chinese merchant, with whom Ōshio and his son embarked on their journey. In the various works we have examined, I recall a work by Ōkura Nagatsune, entitled Kiyō ki 崎陽記, which mentions this." It is not clear what work this Kiyō ki refers to. I, for one, have never heard of such a work by Nagatsune, and after a brief examination of his writings, no work by this title comes to the fore. Nonetheless, Ishizaki quotes from it as follows:

Recently, a talented young Cantonese by the name of Zhou

Yunshan came to Nagasaki. He is well-versed in both Dutch medical science and studies of the Yijing 易經 [Classic of Changes]. I gained considerably through a meeting with him, and if he were to wish to remain permanently on Japanese soil, I would make such a recommendation to the feudal lords. Last year Yunshan formed something called the Triads. He was arrested while spreading his [religious] message locally [in China] and by dressing up as a merchant escaped certain death. He now says that he has collected his books to take long-term refuge in Japan.

Ishizaki next turns to the frequent religious rebellions and riots in south China at that time, and he mentions the uprisings of the White Lotus and Tianli 天理 sects before looking at the uprising the Triad rebels. He notes that the Triads, on suspicion of having plundered and pillaged while carrying on their evangelical work, met with repression by officials. Their leaders were executed, and others dispersed in every direction. One of those leader, Zhou Yunshan, beat a hasty retreat to Japan, he claims. And, with the dismemberment of the Triads, its remnant followers came together in the Society of God-Worshippers, which had already existed for some time, and gave it renewed strength. The Triads regarded heaven as father, the earth as mother, and the four seas as brothers; Ishizaki argues that they now moved another step forward by reverencing "God." This Society of God-Worshippers was an organization founded, he notes, by a Cantonese named Zhu Jiutao 朱九濤 in the early years of the Daoguang reign period, about the same time as the Triads formed.

Ishizaki then goes on to relate a fascinating story he learned from a man named Wang Wentai 王文泰 (allegedly a Japanese), an "expert on Gunagdong," when he visited China. He prefaces the story by noting that "it is based on points that are legendary."

One day three soothsayers visited the "Society of God-Worshippers." One was Hong Xiuquan, another was Feng Yunshan, and the third was known only as the "great man from the Eastern Sea." In other words, he was the teacher of Hong and Feng. Since Feng was a refugee from the "Triads," he was of course acquainted with Mr. Zhu [Jiutao], and he introduced the two men. I long lived in the enchanted land on the Eastern Sea, and having mastered the religion of the Triads, I returned home, and this man was none other than our teacher, the "great man from the Eastern Sea." In questions and answers with the "great man from the Eastern Sea," the latter won acclaim and thus came to gain control over the "Society of God-Worshippers" as its religious leader.

At this point, Zhu Jiutao queries the "great man from the Eastern Sea" over a period of three days, first about Daoism, then from Chan Buddhism, and on to practices aimed at achieving immortality, and finally from matters of kings and usurpers to the realm to God (the original text marks this as Christianity).

As a result, the "great man from the Eastern Sea" refuted the arguments about practical affairs one by one, and Mr. Zhu surrendered. The "Society of God-Worshippers" was ceded to the "great man from the Eastern Sea." Mr. Zhu ultimately went back and disappeared in Langshan [namely, the original base of the Society of God-Worshippers].

Ishizaki noted at the time that, if the "great man from the Eastern Sea" was, at the time of this story, a Japanese, he was certainly an interesting guy, whoever he was. He then goes on to explain the story in his own distinctive manner as follows. When he first heard the story from a friend ten years earlier, he had thought that it was some sort of fictional account (though he claimed never to have seen such a novelistic treatment), but the basis of the story of this now deceased friend "was unfortunately much debated." Whether based on fact or fiction,

We only have conversational fragments from which we can reconstruct the gist of the story... Be that as it may, without being too bold, I believe that the 'great man from the Eastern Sea' was our own 'Ōshio sensei' and that Feng Taoshan 馮濤山 was the name adopted by Zhou Yunshan with whom he traveled from Nagasaki. As a result of this, some now say that Hong Xiuquan was Ōshio Kakunosuke. [emphasis Masuda's]

By "bold" he seems to have had in mind wild speculation.

The "Society of God-Worshippers" has legendary aspects to it. Chinese historians have inquired into the background of this Hong Xiuquan, who it is said to have trained there. Hong was from Huaxian in Guangdong province, born in the seventeenth year of the Jiaqing reign [1812]. Early in his life, though, both of his parents died and he was left an orphan, traveling here and there to carry on his studies. He was a highly gifted young man, imposing physically, and talented, and he made a living through divination. Feng Yunshan, who hailed from the same area as Hong, launched the "Society of God-Worshippers" and used his native talents to become a religious leader. When he was a child, he was separated from his parents and studied here and there. Thus, it was said that he was born deep in the mountains of Huaxian, but no one really knew if this was so.

This line of argument is that since scarcely anyone, it would seem, knew Hong Xiuquan or anything of his background, it may be justifiable to assume that Ōshio Kakunosuke furtively assumed his identity.

The portion of the text above that describes Hong Xiuquan is taken over almost entirely from "Zei ming ji" 賊名記 [Record of Bandit Names] in the "Fuji" 附記 [Supplementary Records] of the Pingding Yuefei jilue 平定奧匪紀略 [Brief Record of the Quelling of the Rebels of Guangdong and Guangxi] by Du Wenlan 杜文瀾.<sup>9c</sup> In this work, we read as follows:

The leader of the rebels, Hong Xiuquan, came originally from Huaxian, Guangdong, and was born in Jiaqing 17 [1812]. His body<sup>10</sup> was chubby and he was somewhat literate. His father's name was Guoyou 國游; and both he [Guoyou] and [Hong's] mother both died when Hong was young. Xiuquan was a drinker and gambler [Ishizaki called him "highly gifted and imposing physically"]. He made a living by telling fortunes. Earlier, a devious man from Guangdong by the name of Zhu Jiutao had been preaching on behalf of the "Society of God-Worshippers." Xiuquan and his fellow local Feng Yunshan followed him [Zhu] as their teacher.<sup>11</sup> Later, Xiuquan became the religious leader.

The Yuefei jilue was a Qing dynastic account and thus, of course, treated the "rebel" Hong Xiuquan and his clique as "rebellious bandits." At the time, though, Hong Xiuquan was an unknown rebel leader with no rank who had suddenly emerged from a mountain village of Guangdong (Hong had failed the first stage of the civil service examinations several times). Other than those close to him, it would seem, his background was not at all widely known. The Qing military had certainly sent out spies and tried to gain information from captives, but only got rumors and stories which were many and conflicting.

The Yuefei jilue was compiled by Du Wenlan from Xiushui, Zhejiang, when he was the Hubei salt distribution commissioner, on the orders of Huguang Governor-General Guanwen 官文 (1798-1871, a bannerman, style Xiufeng 秀峰). He used as source material the reports based on memorials to the throne from a punitive force of the Qing army. This force, however, suffered many defeats; not only did it find it extremely difficult to garner information of the various groups of the rebel army, but it often embellished and fabricated material to its advantage.

Ishizaki's ideas are based on the accounts given in the Yuefei jilue, as he simply conveyed the data from it and regarded Hong Xiuquan's background as unknown. Research in recent years has sig-

nificantly clarified much about the family line, relations, youth, young adulthood, and other aspect of Hong's life.

Before Hong Ren'gan 洪仁玕, Xiuquan's paternal cousin (nine years his junior), who from youth had been particularly close to Xiuquan and would later become the most powerful leader in the Taiping movement, joined the rebels at Nanjing, he was taken under the wing a Swedish missionary by the name of Theodore Hamberg (Han Shan-wen 韓山文) who was preaching in the Guangdong region. Hamberg later wrote a work in English on the basis of what Hong Ren'gan said to him in conversations and the notes Hong passed to him: The Visions of Hung-Siu-tshuen, and Origin of the Kwang-si Insurrection. This was later translated into Chinese by Jian Youwen (Jen Yu-wen 簡又文) as Taiping Tianguo qiyi ji 太平天國起義記 [Record of the Taiping Uprising].<sup>12</sup> Thereafter, Hong Xiuquan's family relations and the character of the man himself as well as the early activities of the movement (with Feng Yunshan) became much better understood. The Taiping Tianguo qiyi ji was published in 1935, and it appeared together that year with a reprint of the 1854 English original (Beijing: Yanjing daxue tushuguan). Furthermore, Aoki Tomitarō 青木富太郎 translated it into Japanese under the title Kō Shūzen no gensō 洪秀全の幻想 [The Visions of Hong Xiuquan] (1941); he used both the original published in Hong Kong and Jian's Chinese translation as a basis for his own edition.

The term Aoki used was "visions" which appeared in the Chinese edition as "strange visions." Let me now say a few words about the nature of Hong's divine possession. When in 1837 Hong Xiuquan failed the local civil service examinations for the third time, he suddenly became ill (some say over the shock of failing the examinations). He rented a sedan chair, returned to his home town, and lay sick in bed, unconscious for 40 days. During this period he fell into an extraordinary delirium. In it he ascended to heaven and received a revelation from an old man with golden hair and a black coat; he fought with devils and exterminated evil demons; and he received the mandate of heaven and became king. He blurted out all manner of things to his father and elder brothers, so it was assumed that they were in the possession of devils. They summoned a faith healer to rid him of the devils, and they also called a doctor to try and heal him, but with no effect.

After about 40 days, his delirium abruptly cleared up, and he returned to his normal self. Later, he had occasion to read Quanshi liangyan 勸世良言 [Good Words to Admonish the Age], which he had long owned, a work distributed by a man by the name of Liang Fa 梁發榮, who had worked among the missionaries on the streets of Guang-

zhou. He discovered in it many things that fit well with his experiences in the extraordinary spiritual world of his great illness some years earlier. Finally, he converted to Christianity and began to spread the gospel among the people. His many "visions" from his experiences while under the influence of intense delirium are described in Hamberg's work.

Toward the end of 1935, Jian Youwen visited Hong Xiuquan's home village of Guanlubu 官禄埔 in Huaxian, was shown the clan genealogy of the Hong (one of the branch families thereof), and subsequently published a report on the many historical materials he examined there: "You Hong Xiuquan guxiang so dedao de Taiping tianguo xin shiliao" 游洪秀全故乡所得到的太平天国新史料 [New Historical Sources on the Taipings Discovered on a Visit to Hong Xiuquan's Native Place] (Yijing 逸經 2 [1936]), replete with the numerous photographs he had taken at the time. Luo Xianglin 羅香林 too made an investigative trip to Hong Xiuquan's native village in the spring of 1936 and wrote up a report primarily concerning Hong's family line: "Taiping tianguo Hong Tianwang jiashi kao" 太平天国洪天王家世攷 [A Study of the Lineage of the Taiping Heavenly King Hong] (Guangzhou xuebao 廣州學報 1.2 [1937]).

From these reports, there is no evidence of his having taken another surname as one would expect from the rumors (and Qing military information) mentioned above. As for the origins of Hong's family, their ancestors (details can be found in Jian's study) were Hakkas who moved from Jiaying department (now, Meixian), Guangdong province, to reclaim remote terrain in a village in the mountains, living off agriculture and rearing cattle.

Much has been written on the basis of these historical materials about Hong Xiuquan's origins in a variety of books by specialists on the Taiping Rebellion: Guo Tingyi 郭廷以, Taiping tianguo shishi rizhi 太平天国史事日誌 [Daily Historical Record the Taiping Rebellion], 2 volumes (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1946); Luo Ergang 羅爾綱, Taiping tianguo shigao 太平天国史稿 [Draft History of the Taiping Rebellion], revised and enlarged edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957); and Jian Youwen, Hong Xiuquan zaiji 洪秀全載記 [Historical Record of Hong Xiuquan], revised and enlarged edition (Hong Kong: Jianshi mengjin shuju, 1967), among others. In particular, the first chapter, entitled "Tianwang Hong Xiuquan zhi chushen" 天王洪秀全之出身 [The Origins of Heavenly King Hong Xiuquan] (running a total of 43 pages) of volume one of Jian Youwen's magnum opus Taiping tianguo quanshi 太平天国全史 [Complete History of the Taiping Rebellion] (Hong Kong: Jianshi mengjin shuju, 1962), a work in three volumes and 2318 pages, provides a detailed examination of a broad range of sources; Jian again went to Hong's

native place and adds notes gleaned from his descendents and local oldtimers. It is the most detailed study.

Let me now turn to several features of Hong's life. He was born in 1814; his father was named Jingyang 鏡楊, his grandfather Guoyou 國游, his elder brother Renfa 仁發, and his next elder brother Renda 仁達. At age seventeen he worked as a village school teacher, and on three successive occasions he traveled to the provincial capital to sit for the xiucai examinations; each time he failed. Around this time he received a religious tract, entitled Quanshi liangyan from a Christian missionary in the streets of Guangzhou. This work is now no longer extant in China, but an edition of the Guangzhou printing held in the Harvard University Library was reissued by the Taiwan publisher Xuesheng shuju in 1965; the new edition includes as well a long explanatory text by Deng Siyu 鄧嗣禹 with the title "Quanshi liangyan yu Taiping tianguo geming zhi guanxi" 勸世良言与太平天国革命之關係 [The Relationship between Good Words to Admonish the Age and the Taiping Revolution]. Later, under the influence of this work, Hong became a Christian. Together with his friend and fellow native Feng Yunshan (who apparently did not undergo baptism), he founded the Society of God-Worshippers and began their proselytizing activities. This work was one sort of missionary tract written by a Cantonese by the name of Liang Fa (or Liang Afa 梁阿發) who received baptism at a branch of the London Missionary Society set up in Guangzhou by the British missionary Robert Morrison, and there Liang had helped Morrison in his work spreading the gospel.

A number of Japanese works on Chinese and Qing history, written in the early and mid-Meiji era on the basis of Qing court documents, frequently use the Yuefei jilue as a principal source. For example, in volume 8 of the Shinchō shiryaku 清朝史略 [Brief History of the Qing Dynasty] (Kōfu: Naitō Tsutauemon, 1881, 12 volumes) by Satō Sozai 佐藤楚材 (Bokuzan 牧山, 1801-91), we find the following:

Xiuquan's native place was Huaxian, Guangping [sic. Guangdong]. When he was forty or more years of age, he had long hair, wasp-like eyes [sic.], a broad visage, and a chubby body, and he was somewhat literate. His father's name was Guoyou; and both he [Guoyou] and [Hong's] mother both died when Xiuquan was young. Xiuquan was a drinker and a gambler. He traveled along [China's] waterways, telling fortunes to support himself...<sup>13</sup> Earlier, a devious man by the name of Zhu Jiutao had been preaching the Christianity of the "Society of God-Worshippers," which was also known as the Three Dots Society.<sup>14</sup> Xiuquan and his fellow local Feng

Yunshan followed him [Zhu] as their teacher. Soon thereafter, Xiuquan became the religious leader. This information is taken directly from the Yuefei jilüe.

In volume 2b of a work entitled Saikin Shina shi 最近支那史 [Recent Chinese History] (1898, four stringbound volumes), co-authored by Ishimura Teiichi 石村貞一 and Kōno Michiyuki 河野通之, we read:

Xiuquan was from Huaxian, Guangdong. He was somewhat literate and made a living by telling fortunes. Earlier, a devious man by the name of Zhu Jiutao had been preaching on behalf of the "Society of God-Worshippers." Xiuquan and his fellow local Feng Yunshan went there and took him [Zhu] as their teacher. Using their skills, they traveled to Guangxi and lived in Penghua Mountain.

This material also comes directly from the Yuefei jilüe.

It would be accurate to call Sone Toshitora's 曾根俊虎 Shinkoku kinsei ran shi 清国近世乱誌. [Account of the Uprising of Recent Times in China] (242 pages, printed from movable type, with Western binding, Tokyo: Nisshūsha, 1879) the first history of the Taiping Rebellion written by a Japanese (revised by Soejima Taneomi 副島種臣). In his introductory remarks, we read:

This book has a few small points that differ from works published at the time in our country, such as Shinshi ranyō 清史綱要 [A Overview of the History of the Qing] and Gen Min Shin shiryaku 元明清史略 [Brief History of the Yuan, Ming, and Qing]. As recorded in the preface to this work, I have written this on the basis not solely of Chinese books, but have read widely in foreign accounts and traveled to see the actual places.

However, when it comes to the question of Hong Xiuquan's origins, Sone largely follows the Yuefei jilüe account:

This man [Hong Xiuquan] was large in stature, cutting a gallant figure, imposing physically and broadly learned. He was born in Jiaqing 17 [1812] in Huaxian, Guangdong, and early in life lost his parents. Being poor and finding it difficult to acquire an education, he drifted from place to place, and over the course of time made contact with like-minded men. From time to time, he traveled along [China's] waterways, telling fortunes to support himself. Earlier, there was a devious man by the name of Zhu Jiutao had been preaching a religion that worshipped God. Xiuquan and his fellow local Feng Yunshan followed him [Zhu] as their teacher. After Jiutao's death, his followers all called upon Xiuquan to become their religious leader.

I am not entirely sure whether Ishizaki used these early and mid-Meiji period Japanese writings on Chinese and Qing history or whether he directly took his material from Du Wenlan's Yuefei jilue, but as we noted in a quotation above, following his discussion of Hong Xiuquan, he added:

As noted above, Hong Xiuquan, the founder of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was born in Huaxian, Guangdong. As no one knew anything of his background, he and Feng Yunshan wandered aimlessly, reading fortunes, wearing their hair in an oddly long fashion. The year of his birth, Jiaqing 17, corresponds to Bunka 9 [1812] in Japan, making him just 26 [East Asian style--JAF] at the time of Ōshio's uprising. That makes him the same age as Kakunosuke. Just because they were the same age does not, of course, make them the same person, but there certainly were not many men wandering about Guangdong with long hair, reading fortunes. When you put together the stories to the effect that a refugee from the "Triads" [Zhou Yunshan] came from an enchanted land in the Eastern Sea with his teacher, then the time and person-ages certainly do fit Ōshio and his son [emphasis Masuda's]. This is really a piece of wild speculation.

While Hong Xiuquan was said to have been a man from Huaxian, Guangdong in Chinese works, Ishizaki denies this by asserting that Hong was none other than Ōshio Kakunosuke. He goes on to say: "In fact, to avoid the Opium War, the three men [Ōshio, father and son, and Zhou Yunshan] made their way by reading fortunes from the Fujian region and drifted ashore at Guangdong. Perhaps it is a fact that they took control over the 'Society of God-Worshippers.'" Furthermore, on the subject of the Society of God-Worshippers, he adds the following, idiosyncratic explanation:

The Society of God-Worshippers is based in Daoism to which it adds Christianity. It is extremely superficial. With this foundation, Zhou Yunshan admired Ōshio sensei. Although Ōshio sensei revered the teachings of Wang Yang-ming, he was a man of great self-discipline, well-versed in Daoism, Zen, and particularly Christianity. Thus, in questions concerning religious principles, he clearly surpassed Zhu Jiutao, but because of this he had no desire to be the religious leader of the Society of God-Worshippers. His approach to religious instruction in such a case as this in which the times and human feelings were so thoroughly different could have been Daoism or perhaps classicism or perhaps religion. When sensei saw this, doubtless he then allowed Hong Xiuquan (or Kakunosuke) and the talented Zhou

(or Feng Yunshan) to proselytize in the Society of God-Worshippers entirely with Christianity and so pass on his religious beliefs [emphasis Masuda's].

We know from a memorial sent from the Qing military in the field at the time that Zhu Jiutao was a Triad leader. However, since the natures of the Triads and the Society of God-Worshippers which was Christian were different, it would have been extremely strange for Zhu Jiutao who allegedly founded the Triads [?] to have reorganized the Society of God-Worshippers. This is thus probably just a story of the time. After the fall of the Ming dynasty, the Triad organization was a secret anti-Qing (anti-government) society in south China that came together on the basis of a nationalistic ideology to "revive the Ming." Although Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 (Koxinga) was said to have been a proponent of it,<sup>15</sup> it was originally a secret society with branch organizations in various locales (each with its own leader and often with different names). One can find a wide assortment of theories about it in the historical sources, but I cannot fathom on which basis Ishizaki put forward the idea that the Triads were formed in the early Daoguang reign of the Qing period by Zhu Jiutao. We know much of the inner workings of the Triads, because Tao Chengzhang 陶成章, a friend and fellow local of Lu Xun 魯迅 as well as an activist who lead the Guangfuhui or Restoration Society, a late-Qing revolutionary organization, was connected to the Triads at that time. Just after the 1911 Revolution, though, he was assassinated in a power struggle with a member of the group.

There are a number of theories about the origins of the Triads (after Zheng Chenggong's death, perhaps beginning in the Kangxi reign, perhaps during the Yongzheng reign), but one of the most thoroughly researched works based in the sources (including Chinese documents held in the British Museum in London) is Xiao Yishan 蕭一山, Tiandihui qiyuan kao 天地會起源考 [A Study of the Origins of the Triads] (vol. 1).<sup>16</sup> Although no firm time period has been established for its formation, most scholars generally agree on the Kangxi or Yongzheng era. While it emerged as an anti-Qing group, it had many local leaders of various branch organizations, and some seem to have become bandit groups. At the time that the Taipings rose in rebellion, many were allied with the Triads on the point of opposition to the Qing dynasty, but the latter were frequently weak organizationally and were thus bought off by the Qing military. Luo Ergang's study, Taiping tianguo yu Tiandihui guanxi kao 太平天國與天地會關係考 [An Examination of the Relationship between the Taipings and the Triads] (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1955)<sup>17</sup> gives

numerous examples, on the basis of considerable research, of relations between the two groups at various sites.

As concerns Zhu Jiutao, I know of two studies: Xie Xingyao 謝興堯, "Lao Wanshan yu Zhu Jiutao kao" 老萬山與朱九濤考 [A Study of Lao Wanshan and Zhu Jiutao] (in Taiping tianguo congshu shisan zhong 太平天國叢書十三種 [Thirteen Works in a Collection on the Taipings]);<sup>18</sup> and Luo Ergang, "Zhu Jiutao kao" 朱九濤考 [A Study of Zhu Jiutao] (in Taiping tianguo shi jizai dingmiu ji 太平天國史記載訂謬集 [Collection of Critical Essays on the History of the Taiping Rebellion], Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1955). The latter relies on the account given in the Yuefei jilue, arguing that Hong Xiuquan and Zhu Jiutao were, respectively, leaders of the Society of God-Worshippers and the Triads and had no ties; and it explains in concrete terms the basis of why the Yuefei jilue erroneously records that Hong took Zhu as his teacher. The main point here is that a report to the Qing court from a military force on the scene about a deposition from a Taiping prisoner of war to the effect that Zhu was called the "Taiping King." In his study, Luo examines a number of such reports on the basis of a meticulous methodology. He convincingly shows that Zhu Jiutao was a pseudonym used by Qiu Changdao 邱昌道. Furthermore, in the first year of the Xianfeng reign (1851), the core of Zhu Jiutao's organization was wiped out in Hunan, and the Qing court sent an army to take him prisoner. Various reports confirm that in Xianfeng 5 (1855) Zhu Jiutao was captured at Chenzhou in Hunan.

In Japanese studies of Chinese history written in the early Meiji period, we find works that identify Hong Xiuquan, quite apart from the Yuefei jilue, as the follower of one Hong Deyuan 洪德元 (not Zhu Jiutao) who became a religious leader. In volume four of his Shinshi ran'yō (Tokyo: Bessho heishichi, 1887, six volumes), Masuda Mitsugu 増田貢 (Gakuyō 岳陽, fl. 1877) notes: "

Hong Xiuquan was a man of Huaxian, Guangdong. When he was forty or more years of age, he could copy out writing and he was somewhat literate. His surname is unknown. He had earlier joined a religious association [earlier referred to as the Tiandinghui 添丁會]; its leader named as Hong Deyuan]. When Deyuan passed away, he assumed the surname Hong and replaced [Deyuan] as religious leader. In addition, he added Christianity and called himself the younger brother of Jesus and the younger, second son of the Heavenly Father Jehovah.

In his Man-Shin shiryaku 滿清史略 [Brief History of the Manchu Qing dynasty] (1880, two volumes) as well, Masuda recounted basical-

ly the same facts about Hong Xiuquan.

In volumes five of the Gen Min Shin shiryaku (1877, 5 volumes), compiled by Ishimura Teiichi, we read:

Hong Xiuquan was a man of Huaxian, Guangdong. When he was forty or more years of age, he had long hair, wasp-like eyes [sic.], a broad visage, and a fat body, and he was somewhat literate. His surname is unknown. He had earlier joined a religious association [the Tiandinghui]. When [Hong] Deyuan [earlier mentioned as the head of this association] passed away, he assumed the surname Hong and replaced [Deyuan] as leader of the group. In addition, he added Christianity and called himself the younger brother of Jesus and the younger, second son of the Heavenly Father Jehovah.

These two works have essentially the same text here. They differ from the aforementioned Shinchō shiryaku and Saikin Shina shi which are thought to have been based on the Yuefei jilue in that Hong Xiuquan, taking over from Hong Deyuan and not from Zhu Jiutao, inherits even the surname Hong and become leader of the religious group. Moreover, in these texts we find mention of neither the Triads nor the Society of God-Worshippers, but the Tiandinghui, although Tiandinghui is thought to be a local provincialism for the Triads.

As for the succession of leadership from Hong Deyuan to Hong Xiuquan, described in both of these texts, as well as the descriptive passages before and after, this is touched on only briefly as a rumor in an appendix to the Yuefei jilue, although it appears to derive from a different source.

It seems as though the base text upon which these works were composed was the Dunbi suiwen lu 盾鼻隨聞錄 (Random Notes of a Defended Nose) by Shuyuan Tuisou 樗園退叟. "Shuyuan Tuisou" was the pseudonym of Han Kun 汗堃 who worked as a scribe in the Qing military camp engaged in battle with the Taipings. His introductory remarks begin: "Following the encampment, I assisted in drafting documents, as we swiftly rode through five provinces..." This text, the Dunbi suiwen lu, was among those transcribed in manuscript and brought back to Japan by Takasugi Shinsaku 高杉晋作, Nakamura Kuranosuke 中村元之助, and the others aboard the Senzaimaru which visited Shanghai in Bunkū 2 [1862]. It was about this time that the text first began circulating in Japan. There is an 1864 manuscript edition in two stringbound volumes of this work listed in the Iwase bunko tosho mokuroku 岩瀬文庫圖書目録 [List of Books in the Iwase Collection]--the Iwase Collection can be found in Nishio city, Aichi prefecture. It initially became known in the manuscript edition, and it seems to have been printed with Japanese

reading punctuation around the time of the Meiji Restoration (no date of publication is given) in three stringbound volumes. We turn to a discussion of this work next.

## Notes

1. Later reprinted in Kokushijō gimon no jinbutsu, chūshin ka gyakushin ka jitsuzai ka densetsu ka 国史上疑問の人物、忠臣か逆臣か實在か傳説か [Mysterious Figures in Japanese History: Loyal Retainers? Rebellious Servants? Really Existed? Rumors?], ed. Kokushi kōshūkai 国史講習會 (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1926).

2. In Ōgai zenshū 鷗外全集 [Collected Works of (Mori) Ōgai], (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1973), volume 15, pp. 1-79.

a. Discussion of the Ōsaka Ōshio Heihachirō bankiroku appears in Ōgai's appendix, 15:59-60; the chronological biography appears on pp. 62-69. Ōgai account of Heihachirō was first published in 1914.

3. Inoue Tetsujirō, Nihon Yōmeigakuha no tetsugaku 日本陽明学派の哲学 [The Philosophy of the Wang Yangming School in Japan] (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1900). Reprinted by Fuzanbō in 1903 and 1913.

b. The Senshindō sakki is a work in three volumes. An 1833 edition is held in the collection of Harvard-Yenching Library. I have located subsequent reprints of 1910, 1913, and, most recently, 1978 by Chūō kōron sha.

4. For example, under the entry for Tenpō 8/7/19 in Bakin nikki shō 馬琴日記鈔 [Selections from the Diary of (Takizawa) Bakin], ed. Aeba Kōson 饗庭篁村 (Tokyo: Bunkaidō shoten, 1911), where it reads "the incident involving Ōshio is said to be under careful scrutiny in Edo," Haga Yaichi (1867-1927) 芳賀矢一 adds a detailed explanation: "Although there are numerous facts that can be related concerning this case, we already have a number of accounts, including Ōsaka ikki roku 大阪一揆録 [Account of the Osaka Uprising], Tenpō nikki 天保日記 [Tenpō Diary], Jitsujī dan 実事譚 [Story of the Truth], and Seiten hekireki 青天霹靂 [A Bolt from the Blue]... In addition, [the evidence] has been most carefully investigated and corroborated in a fine work recently published, Ōshio Heihachirō, by Kōda Shigetomo."

5. Egawa Tan'an zenshū 江川坦庵全集 [Collected Works of Egawa Tan'an (Tarōzaemon)], ed. Tobayama Kan 戸羽山瀚 (Tokyo reprint:

Gannandō shoten, 1972), 2 volumes. The duplicates of Kazan's letters can be found as well in Kazan zenshū 華山全集 [Collected Works of (Watanabe) Kazan], ed. Suzuki Kiyofushi 鈴木清節 (Tokyo: Kazan sōsho shuppankai, 1941).

6. Hayakawa Kōtarō, Ōkura Nagatsune (Tokyo: Yamaoka shoten, 1943).

7. Fujita Tōko, Naniwa sōdō kiji, in Tōko zenshū 東湖全集 [Collected Works of (Fujita) Tōko], ed. Kikuchi Kenjirō 菊池謙二郎 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1909), pp. 641-50.

8. In Furumi Kazuo 古見一夫, Egawa Tarōzaemon (Tokyo: Kokumin bungaku sha, 1930), we read: "When stories to the effect that remnants of those who had assisted Ōshio Heihachirō in Osaka had filtered into the domain of Kai, which was terrain under his control, he [i.e., Egawa] together with shop employee Saitō Iyakurō dressed in the garb impersonating a sword dealer and personally made a round of inspection."

9. In eighteen juan, with four juan of "Supplementary Records," woodblock printed in Tongzhi 9 [1870]. Later, the title was changed to Pingding Yuekou jilüe 平定剿寇紀略 [Brief Record of the Quelling of the Bandits of Guangdong and Guangxi], the language of the contents was somewhat edited, and it was reprinted in Guangxu 1 [1875].

c. Harvard-Yenching Library has an edition dated Tongzhi 10 (1871) in eight stringbound volumes, eighteen juan and four additional juan. It also has a Taipei reprint by Wenhai chubanshe of 1967.

10. The Yuekou jilüe has an expression here meaning "form."

11. The Yuekou jilüe uses a slightly different expression here and elsewhere.

12. Hamberg: (Hong Kong: China Mail, 1854); also published serially in the North China Herald. The Chinese translation by Jian Yuwen appears in Jian, Taiping tianguo zaji 太平天國雜記 [Various Accounts of the Taipings] (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935).

13. In the passage represented here by the elipses, the author inserted wording drawn from the Dunbi suiwen lu, as will be discussed in the next section.

14. The Three Dots Society or Sandianhui 三点会 was affiliated with the Triads.

15. See Tao Chengzhang 陶成章, "Jiaohui yuanliu kao" 教会源流考 [A Study of the Origins of (Triad) Religious Society], in Luo Ergang 羅爾綱, Tiandihui wenxian lu 天地會文獻錄 [Studies of Documents on the Triads] (Shanghai: Zhengzhong shuju, 1943).

16. In Jindai mimi shehui shiliao 近代秘密社会史料 [Historical Materials on Modern Secret Societies], ed. Xiao Yishan (Beiping: Guoli Beiping yanjiuyuan zongbian shichu chubanke, 1935), vol. 1.

17. Also included in his Taiping tianguo shishi kao 太平天国史事考 [A Study of the History of the Taiping Rebellion] (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1955; 1979 reprint).

18. Beiping: n.p., 1938; Taipei reprint: Wenhai chubanshe, 1968.