

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 9

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24. Details Concerning the Riben qishi ji [Record of Requesting Help from Japan]

As we noted in an earlier section of this work, the very beginning of the Riben qishi ji 日本乞師紀 recounts how Zhou Cuizhi 周崔芝 made contact with the King of Satsuma 撒斯瑪王 and requested assistance and how the (Tokugawa) shōgun promised to send troops to help. This name, Zhou Cuizhi, appears in other texts as Zhou Hezhi 周鶴芝: "biography" 37, juan 24 of the Nan tian hen 南天痕 [Traces of Heaven in the South] (postface dated Tongzhi reign, printed in Guangxu 2 [1876]) by Lingxue zuanxiu 凌雪纂修 [Compiler Lingxue]^a; and "biography" 49, juan 53 of the Nanjiang yishi 南疆逸史 [Forgotten History of the Southern Reaches] (Shanghai reprint based on a manuscript held in the Shanghai Library) by Wen Ruilin 溫睿臨.^b Inasmuch as the latter appears to be an expanded and revised version of the former, it should not be surprising that they contain the same material. The Xiaotian jinian fukao 小腆紀年附攷 [Chronicles of (an Era of) Small Prosperity, with Appended Annotations] (20 juan, preface dated Xianfeng 11 [1861]) and Xiaotian jizhuan 小腆紀年傳 [Biographies of (an Era of) Small Prosperity] (65 juan), both by Xu Zi 徐鼎, also have "Zhou Hezhi," but an "annotation" in the latter carries the following note: "Upon investigation, it was learned that the character cui 崔 is an error for the character he, which is popularly abbreviated as cui. Despite this, the Riben qishi ji still has Cuizhi.

Let us look at a passage in the Riben qishi ji that concerns Cuizhi and the request for Japanese assistance:

Zhou Cuizhi (style, Jiujing 九京) came from Ronghua, Fujian. When he was young, he was unable to read. He left

home and became a pirate on the seas. He was very able in speech and followed the orders of his fellows. He had been to Japan and was known for being an excellent shot. He forged a father-son bond with the King of Satsuma... In the spring of the yiyō year [1645], Emperor Siwen 思文 (Longwu 隆武) made him Naval Commissioner-in-Chief [he had previously become the company commander of Huanghuaguan 黃華 關], and as the assistant to Huang Bingqing 黃斌卿 set sail for Zhoushan [Island].

The text then goes on to describe the matter of military assistance:

That winter Cuizhi sent another man to Satsuma to appeal about the sad chaos in China and to request the sending of a brigade of troops... Indignant, the shōgun promised to dispatch in the fourth month of the next year 30,000 troops; they would provide their own compliment of warships, military supplies, and weaponry; and would thus offered to the Chinese for several year's use this large fighting force.

Whether or not this last passage is true, when we ponder generally when this man Cuizhi lived and when he went to Japan to request military assistance, we must first look to the mention of either fall or winter of the yiyō year, as recorded in the Riben qishi ji. According to the compiler and annotator of the Xiaotian jinian fukao (1957 edition from Zhonghua shuju), yiyō is 1645, the second year of the Shōhō 正保 reign in Japan.

Two letters requesting military assistance which Cuizhi allegedly brought to Japan are now included in the Ka-i hentai 華夷變態 [The Transformation from Civilized [China] to Barbarian [Manchu]]. As pointed out long ago by Kondō Shigezō 近藤重蔵, one of them can also be found in the Zoku zenrin kokuhō ki 続善隣國宝記 [Valuable National Records of Our Good Neighbor, Continued] and the Zoku zenrin kokuhō gaiki 続善隣國宝外記 [Valuable National Records of Our Good Neighbor, Further Accounts, Continued]; it is also in the Shiseki shūran 史籍集覽 [Collection of Historical Documents, rev. ed., 1900-03] and Zoku gunsho ruiju 続群書類從 [Collection of Writings Classified, Continued].^c For neither of these letters do we know the name of the addressee, but the date is written at the very end: "twelfth day, twelfth [lunar] month, Longwu 1." This corresponds to Shōhō 2 [1645] in Japan, the yiyō year, and thus is consistent with the date given in both the Riben qishi ji and the Nanjiang yishi. Furthermore, the letter that appears in the Ka-i hentai and these other texts carries the phrases: "The reign name was changed to Longwu... [Cui] Zhi was ordered to serve under the Barbarian-pacifying General, and Zhi was given the post of advance naval commander."

This information also matches precisely with the Riben gishi ji and the Nanjiang yishi. The Barbarian-pacifying General refers to Huang Binqing; Huang had been given investiture by the Longwu Emperor as the Barbarian-pacifying Count.

According to the Ka-i hentai, at the very end of the letter, it states that the person who brought Cuizhi's letter was "specially delegated Assistant Commander Lin Gao 林高" (the Zoku zenrin kokuhō ki and Zoku zenrin kokuhō gaiki both state: "specially delegated Assistant Commander Gao Qi 高齊"). In the Chinese texts, Riben gishi ji and Nanjiang yishi, however, the name of the bearer of the letter is not given. They do state: "In the fourth month of the next year, [the shōgun] promised to send 30,000 troops,...and he awaited the arrival of an envoy from China. Cuizhi was elated... Counselor Lin Yuewu 林岳舞 was appointed as emissary to go east [i.e., to Japan] on eleventh day of the fourth month. As Yuewu was about to set sail, [Huang] Binqing called it off." It remains unclear if Assistant Commander Lin Gao (or Gao Qi), who had allegedly carried the letter requesting help as Cuizhi's envoy in the second year of the Shōhō reign, was the same person as Lin Yuewu, who had tried to go to Japan to request military help in the fourth month of the following year, or another person. The names are different, and it would seem they were different men.

Although the name "Lin Gao" cannot be found in the Chinese sources, the name "Lin Yuewu" can and in other works as well. In the biographies section of the Nanjiang yishi (zhuan 53), he is given as a military commander in the biography of Zhou Hezhi. However, it also says that he was a friend of Cuizhi and assistant commander, and that when Zheng Zhilong 鄭芝龍 tried to surrender to the government's armed forces, Lin Yuewu gave eight reasons why it was unacceptable to do so. The Xiaotian jinian notes that when Zhou Cuizhi recaptured a harbor entrance in the first lunar month of the dinghai year (1674), he had staff officer Lin Yuewu and Regional Commander Zhao Mu 趙牧 guard it.

Let us look now at the contents of the letters from Cuizhi. Although full of florid language and phrasing, their essence was a "request for assistance." One letter "asks to borrow 3000 troops," while the other "requests 3000 soldiers." Both sought an expedition of 3000 men. The letter that "requests 3000 soldiers" goes on as follows: "The enemy [i.e., the Qing military] has superior capability in the use of bows and arrows. Because [Cui] Zhi's forces are so poorly outfitted for armor, they are unable to sustain a battle and [thus] incur many injuries. I believe that Japanese armor is the

envy of the entire world and that they defend against bows and arrows like gold or stone... I earnestly desire that [Cui] Zhi be allowed to trade for 200 suits [of such armor] at a fair exchange." In short, what Cuizhi sought from Japan was 3000 soldiers and 200 suits of armor. However, in neither the Riben qishi ji nor the Nanjiang yishi do we find such precise figures for military personnel and weaponry.

The letters that Cuizhi's mission carried seeking assistance were brought to Nagasaki. After they are mentioned in the Ka-i hentai, the text goes on to comment: "The two letters from the aforementioned Cuizhi were brought to Nagasaki by Lin Gao. They were then forwarded to Edo, so that the senior councillors would be able to examine them. Shunsai 春蓑 [Hayashi Shunshō 林春勝, 1618-80] read it before the shōgun [Iemitsu]." Perhaps, as stated in both the Riben qishi ji and the Nanjiang yishi, only after they first went to Satsuma, did they then present their letters to the Nagasaki Administrator, which was the official route to the Edo shogunate, but this does not accord with Japanese records, and perhaps the Riben qishi ji and the Nanjiang yishi based their accounts simply on hearsay.

According to the Ka-i hentai, the envoy Lin Gao stayed in Nagasaki, while the letters were transmitted to the shogunate. Matsudaira Izu no kami Nobutsuna 松平伊豆守信綱 and Ii Kamonnosuke Naotaka 井伊掃部頭直孝 examined their contents, and through the Nagasaki Administrator, informed Lin Gao that "this was not a matter to be promptly brought to the attention" of the shōgun and they "were to convey to Lin Gao that he was to return home with alacrity." The document informing Lin Gao of this at the time bears the name of Hayashi Shunsai written in his own hand, and it is now included in the Ka-i hentai.

The following year, [1646], Cuizhi was about to send Lin Yuewu to Japan as an emissary to invite the Japanese army, but, as noted in the Riben qishi ji, he was stopped by Huang Binqing just at the moment of departure. Once again the next year, the Riben qishi ji records: "In the third month of 1647, Cuizhi recaptured the two walled towns of Haikou and Zhendong [both in Fuqing county, Fujian]. His adopted son, Lin Gao 林皋, was sent to accompany the Prince of Peace and Prosperity (Anchang wang 安昌王) on a mission to request assistance from Japan.¹ He returned without success." The next year again, 1648, Feng Jingdi 馮京第 persuaded Huang Binqing to send his young brother, Huang Xiaoqing 黃孝卿, and Feng to Nagasaki, but the "king" (in fact, it was the Nagasaki Administrator) did not permit him to come ashore and proceed.

If we are then to reorganize the above accounts of requests for military assistance from Japan, as recorded in the Riben qishi ji, we find the following situation:

1. In the winter of 1645, Zhou Cuizhi sent someone to Satsuma, who appealed on behalf of the "sad chaos" in China, and requested the sending of "a brigade" of troops.

2. The following year, 1646, Lin Yuewu was about to be sent off as emissary to Japan to invite a Japanese army to China, but at the last moment he was stopped by Huang Bingqing.

3. In the third month of the next year, 1647, Cuizhi had his adopted son, Lin Gao, accompany the Prince of Peace and Prosperity to Japan to request military assistance, but they returned empty-handed.

4. The following year, 1648, Feng Jingdi and Huang Xiaoqing traveled to Nagasaki to seek help, but were not allowed to come on shore. Xiaoqing spent a goodly amount of time at local brothels; he thus lost all credibility, and his reinforcements were not forthcoming. He did, though, receive 100,000 Hongwu 洪武 cash for military provisions.

5. In the winter of 1649, a Buddhist monk by the name of Zhanwei 湛微 returned from Japan. He told Ruan Jin 阮進 that if he made presents of Buddhist scriptures from Putuo Shan monastery and sought Japanese assistance, he would be successful. Ruan Jin, accordingly, sent his own younger brother, Ruan Mei 阮美, a naval officer, as emissary to Nagasaki.² However, since Zhanwei, who accompanied them on the trip, had referred to himself in Japan as the "saint of the golden lion," he had been seen as a Catholic infiltrator and had been arrested. In fact, though, he was just a Buddhist priest and was exiled from Japan. When Ruan Mei learned that he had been misled, he loaded the texts back on his ship and returned home.

These are the five instances of Chinese requests for military assistance from Japan that are recorded in the Riben qishi ji. It is doubtful that they can be factually verified, for much of the evidence is unconfirmed hearsay collected after the fact. For example, the following, cited earlier, is of dubious quality: "Indignant, the shōgun promised to dispatch in the fourth month of the next year 30,000 troops; they would provide their own compliment of warships, military supplies, and weaponry; and would thus offer to the Chinese for several year's use this large fighting force." Similarly, what follows seems simply to be an exaggerated manner of expression: "He had the roads, bridges, post stations, and inns over the route from Nagasaki to Edo--some 3000 or more ri long--repaired, and thus awaited the arrival of the emissary from China."

When we look at the evidence from the Japanese side, the Ka-i

hentai, we learn that on the basis of reports from Nagasaki, orders were issued from the shogunate to the Nagasaki Administrator to conduct negotiations in Nagasaki and resolve the matter there. In other words, it is virtually impossible that they would have so courteously welcomed an envoy from the losers requesting assistance, by repairing the roads and bridges and reoutfitting the post stations and inns. In fact, we find in the Ka-i hentai a severe indictment of the language used in the letters from Cuizhi, which both displays the Japanese sense of dignity and censures the rudeness of the language used. Thus, in the final analysis, it is highly doubtful that the what we have seen recorded in the Riben qishi ji actually transpired.

The Riben qishi ji has [traditionally] been attributed to Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 who served the Prince of Lu 魯 in eastern Zhejiang, and thus the assistance sought concerned matters primarily under the control of the Prince of Lu. The [author of the] text could not help, one would assume, but be ignorant of the help sought by the Longwu court in Fujian to the south. Although such data is not to be found in the Riben qishi ji, a letter requesting help was sent to Japan by Zheng Zhilong, a follower of Longwu, and it is included in the Ka-i hentai. For the 13th day of the eighth lunar month of Longwu 2 [1646], we find the following entry in that text: "The Longwu Emperor's emissary, Huang Zhengming 黃徵明, crossed the sea and sought assistance from Japan. There were several letters from Zheng Zhilong. Two letters were for the Shōhō Emperor of Japan, and three more were for the shōgun, with three to the King of Nagasaki. All were accompanied by gifts." The contents of these letters are not recorded, but the Ka-i hentai carries an explanation. It says of Huang Zhengming:

He was captured at sea by the Tatars [the Manchus] and was unable to come to Japan. Thus, on a small vessel, as his own emissary, [Zheng] Zhilong arrived in Nagasaki with his letters and gifts as well as the letters of [Huang] Zhengming. In the tenth month of that year, a report was issued from Nagasaki to Edo, and a senior councillor informed [the shōgun] of its content. My late father [Hayashi Shunshō] read it before the shōgun.

The shogunal authorities deliberated over these letters, as the text notes:

Deliberations ensued for several days. The two dainagon 大納言 from Owari and Kii came to Edo, and Shunsai read the aforementioned letters out loud. Abe Tsushima no kami 阿部對馬守, who was on monthly duty, took possession of

the letters. With all of his daily paperwork, he held onto them closely and had no cause to show them to anyone. He was ultimately unable to copy them, but because he attended daily meetings, he relayed their content to my father who recorded it himself, as follows.

What follows is the general contents of these letters. The main points therein are:

- * In the tenth month of the third year of the Shōhō reign, two letters were sent to the Shōkyō 正京 Emperor from the great general and pacifier of barbarians, Marquis Zheng Zhilong. One letter had appended an imperial edict from the Longwu Emperor... It sought the loan of a powerful military force. Although mention of 5000 troops had already been made,³ inasmuch as the enemy was formidable, they needed more. A gift was included together with the edict.
- * In an enclosure to the Shōkyō Emperor from the same person, an imperial edict commanded Huang Zhengming to offer up the letter and request the loan of a powerful military force...
- * In the three letters to the shōgun from the same person, two letters concerned primarily the matter of borrowing troops and the rough seas encountered by the emissary's vessel. The third letter concerned Zheng Zhilong's wife and children; they requested ten girls and ten slaves from Japan. It mentioned that one young son [perhaps indicating Zheng Chenggong's 鄭成功 younger brother, Shichizaemon 七左衛門] missed his mother and wanted to call her to China... [Zhi]long's son [Chenggong, Koxinga] had served the Great Ming for sixteen years; he had married a woman who had given birth to [Zhilong's] grandchild. Accordingly, the King of China [Longwu] kindly honored him by naming him an imperial son-in-law and enfeoffing him as the Earl of Loyalty and Filiality. He led over 100,000 people. The mother honored the son and was thus enfeoffed along with her husband...
- * [Of the] three letters passed to the King of Nagasaki from this same person, two concerned the request for military aid. The third concerned his wife and children, effectively the same manner of expression as treated in the letters, mentioned above, to the shōgun...
- * In the letter from Huang Zhengming, emissary of the King of China [Tōō 唐王], to the Shōkyō Emperor, only the request for military assistance is mentioned...

As for the terms of address used in Zheng Zhilong's letter, conveyed by emissary Huang Zhengming--"Zhengjing huangdi" 正京皇帝

[Shōkyō Emperor], "Shang jiangjun" 上將軍 [shōgun], and "Changqi wang" 長崎王 [King of Nagasaki]--an investigation was carried out in Japan to determine whom they referred to. Also, each and every term employed in the letters for the "Shōkyō Emperor" and the "shōgun" was meticulously scrutinized, and the detailed items that underwent scrutiny are included in a section entitled "Difficult Questions" in the Ka-i hentai. The texts reports that with this list of scrutinized items in hand, "the shōgun ordered the lord of the Funai 府内 Castle in Bungo, Hine Oribemasa 日根織部正, together with Naitō Shōhei 内藤庄兵衛 to go to Nagasaki as the shōgun's representatives. They met with emissary Huang Zhengming and conveyed the shōgun's decision on this matter. The emissary was ordered to return home. However, if he [the Chinese envoy] had more to say on the issue, then the Japanese representatives were to take it down and report on the matter to Edo." Just before this in the text we read: "Perhaps military assistance would be sent on this occasion. After several days of deliberations, it was generally decided that it would not." Thus, it had already been generally decided that military assistance would not be dispatched, and this they seem to have tried to pass on to the emissary by "convey[ing] the shōgun's wishes on this matter." In fact, however, we know that it had not been so decided; "if he [the Chinese envoy] had more to say on the issue," then they were to take it down and report to the authorities in Edo. In other words, we can see the readiness, depending on circumstances, to respond positively to a request for military assistance. This point is substantiated by the Kan'ei shōsetsu 寛永小説 [Account of the Kan'ei Years] and the "Tomita ke bunsho" 富田家文書 [Tomita Family Documents], cited earlier [see SJS VI.1, pp. 31-34].

Although the sending of Huang Zhengming to Japan does not appear in the Riben gishi ji, we do find it in other Chinese historical materials. In volume 8 of the Siwen daji 思文大紀 [Great Record of the Siwen Emperor],^d an account of the events surrounding the Longwu court based in Fujian, there is the following note: "Bandit-pacifying Marquis Zheng Zhilong put forward a plan to revive [China] by acquiring Japanese military assistance. The emperor [Longwu] permitted him to proceed. Huang Zhengming was made the primary emissary, and carrying on the color of [Ming] garments he ascended to the rank of shu 樞? [the text is missing a character here] and set off on his mission in great splendor."

Can we say, then, that Zheng Zhilong's proposal, accepted by Longwu, to send Huang Zhengming to Japan does not appear in the Riben gishi ji? While Huang's mission remained in Nagasaki, awaiting a

definitive response from the bakufu, reports were conveyed to Nagasaki that Fuzhou had fallen and the Longwu Emperor had sought refuge elsewhere; at this, the request for military assistance was abandoned. The Ka-i hentai has the following to say on this matter:

On the seventeenth day of the tenth month, a letter, dated the fourth day of the tenth month, arrived from Nagasaki. It said that, in the latter part of the eighth month, the Tatars had invaded Fujian and destroyed Shanheguan 山賀關 [perhaps the text meant Xianxiaguan 仙霞關]. The men of the Great Ming were inadequate to the task, and they surrendered... Because the letter on this matter had arrived, there was no need to send Oribemasa and Shōzaemon 庄左衛門 [Shōhei?--JAF] to Nagasaki. Yamazaki Gonhachirō 山崎権八郎 [the Nagasaki Administrator] learned through an interpreter that Fuzhou had already fallen and that the reinforcements were no longer necessary. Emissary Zhengming was informed that his gifts would not be accepted [under the circumstances] and that he was to return home.

We noted earlier with respect to Feng Jingdi that, although there were numerous documents about the case surrounding him in China, nothing is to be found in Japan. Chinese materials indicate that, in the final analysis, it was the permission of the influential Huang Binqing of Zhoushan that enabled Feng and Huang Xiaoqing to sail for Japan. Let me note here, though, that Huang Binqing's name appears in the Ka-i hentai by chance.

The content of his letter is not given, but the writing on its cover alone was copied into the text. The very first line reads: "An auspicious morning in late summer, jichou year, in the reign of Longwu, restorer of the Great Ming." Next, on what must have been the middle of the cover, is the place for a seal [FP] and below it written horizontally: "The great benefactor of the world." The next two lines read as follows: "A letter of Huang Binqing, imperially ordered master of suppression of the barbarians, presented by Shi Qi 石器, his assistant regional commander." A note is appended by way of explanation: "One character was forgotten." It would seem that an assistant regional commander by the name of Shi Qi [the third character of his name has been lost--JAF] delivered a letter from his superior, Huang Binqing. However, no mention is made of the letter's content nor is an explanation given of its general intent, unlike other letters that appear in the Ka-i hentai. Perhaps, it was not passed along to the bakufu as an official letter.

What is indicated as the jichou year of the Longwu reign (1649)

was already after Longwu's base in Fuzhou had fallen and he had fled. The Ka-i hentai adds the note: "The jichou year of the Longwu reign is dubious," and then continues: "In the dinghai year [1647], the Ming emperor changed reign titles from Longwu to Yongli 永曆. Therefore, Huang Bingqing failed to use the Yongli reign title but continued to use the Longwu title."

The jichou year of the Longwu reign corresponds to the second year of the Keian reign in Japan. According to the Riben qishi ji, Feng Jingdi and Huang Xiaoqing, with the permission of Huang Bingqing, arrived in Nagasaki to seek military assistance in the previous year, the wuzi year [1648], which corresponds to the first year of the Keian reign. If this appeared on the face of the letter carried by Feng and Huang, it was off by a year. Perhaps Huang Bingqing sent another emissary by the name of Shi in the year following the arrival of Feng Jingdi and Huang Xiaoqing, or perhaps Mr. Shi sought help entirely on his own and simply used Huang Bingqing's name. We just do not know for sure.

In any event, we should make note of the fact that, although Feng Jingdi's name fails to appear in any Japanese historical records, the name of Huang Bingqing, who it is thought ordered him to make the trip to Japan, does appear in the Japanese historical record, albeit faintly.

The Riben qishi ji notes of Feng Jingdi that he went to Japan as an envoy seeking military assistance, failed to achieve his goal, and returned home. Feng himself, however, left an account of his search for help from Japan in Fuhai ji 浮海記 [Record of a Trip across the Sea]. Mention is made of "Feng Jingdi's Fuhai ji" together with the Riben qishi ji and similar works as historical records that "detailed events concerning [the Prince of] Lu, Administrator of the Realm" in the "prefatory remarks" to the Nanjiang yishi. Among the materials listed in the "prefatory remarks" to the Nan tian hen, too, that "detailed events concerning [the Prince of] Lu, Administrator of the Realm," we again find, together with the Riben qishi ji, mention of "Feng Jingdi's Fuhai ji."

In his Wan Ming shiji kao 晚明史籍考 [An Examination of the Historical Records of the Late Ming] (Beiping: Guoli Beiping tushuguan, 1932, 20 juan), Xie Guozhen 謝國楨 looked at over 1000 historical works concerning the late-Ming period, and for the principal ones among them he transcribed the prefaces and postfaces from the originals, adding his own exhaustive investigation and explanations. As a guide to historical material necessary for research in this area, there is much in it to aide our work. In juan 12, Xie men-

tioned the Fuhai ji, noting only: "It is a work by Feng Jingdi (Jizhong 賈仲) from Ciyu of the Ming era. At the time of the Prince of Lu, Administrator of the Realm, Jizhong was right attendant censor for military affairs. He had once sought military assistance from Japan. His writings include Fuhai ji. He died with the fall of Zhoushan." There is no introduction to the contents of the Fuhai ji and no examination of it. Possibly Professor Xie did not see the text himself.

There is included in volumes 98-100 of the Siming congshu 四明叢書 [Collection of the Siming Mountains] (ed. Zhang Shouyong 張壽庸, 1934) a work entitled Feng shilang ishū 馮侍郎遺書 [Posthumous Writings of Attendant Censor Feng] (eight juan with three juan of appendices), but the Fuhai ji is not in it. Just the title of this work remains now, and it seems to be a phantom work at that. If, indeed, a work entitled Fuhai ji penned by Feng himself has been passed down to our time intact, then we might learn more about the truth (?) of his mission requesting aid, but at present that would be mere speculation.

I have seen a work with the title Fuhai ji (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1971) which is a photolithographic edition of an old manuscript (supposedly in the former collection of Wang Lipei 王禮培 of Hunan). It is also appended to the photolithographic edition of an old manuscript by Qian Bingdeng 錢秉登, Suozhi lu 所知錄 [A Record of What Is Known]. The original manuscript of this Fuhai ji bears as its author's name Zhang Linbai 張麟白, while Feng Jingdi's name appears nowhere. The copier of this manuscript added an appendix to the work, which notes: "This work was written and given its title by Zheng Linbai. Zhang Linbai did not investigate the various ministers of Lu, but he examined the case of the request for help from Japan and learned what Xu Fuyuan 徐孚遠 had done. He has disguised his name to pass in the world." An explanatory note by Li Zongtong 李宗侗 from Gaoyang in the first juan continues in this vein: "Zhang used an alias, and in fact it was Xu Fuyuan who went to Japan to request assistance," but no analysis or corroboration is provided. As for Xu Fuyuan, there is a brief mention of him in the Ming shi 明史 [History of the Ming Dynasty] (within the biography of Chen Zilong 陳子龍, no. 165 in "liejuan" 列傳 [biographies], juan 277), but in Xiaotian jizhuan (juan 41, "liezhuan" no. 34) there is a rather detailed biography of him. The trip to Japan in search of military assistance, though, is absent from it. Perhaps it was some sort of misunderstanding on the part of the manuscript copier, perhaps simply confusion.

The work looks at men like Huang Binqing, Zhou Cuizhi, and Wu

Zhongluan 吳鍾巒 who were based on Zhoushan Island, and gives brief biographies of such figures as Zheng Zhilong, Zheng Hongkui 鄭鴻逵, and Zheng Chenggong, and examines their mutual relations. At the end, the Prince of Lu employs Zhanwei to convey an oral message and sends Ruan Mei off to Japan as assistant emissary loaded down with Buddhist texts to seek help. The story is the same as that recorded in the latter half of the Riben qishi ji.

Although Feng Jingdi's name appears nowhere in this text, there may be reason to believe it was his work. In it, the Prince of Lu initially does not give his permission, but then wishes that Ruan Jin's plan be put into action:

With one powerful minister as principal emissary [Feng Jingdi?], he made his [Ruan Jin's] younger brother, the naval commander Ruan Mei, assistant [emissary]. The multitudes pressed for the Great Earl Wu Zhongluan to go, [too]. Master Wu was old, and [the emissaries] were selected from the lesser lords. Had it not been I, it was decided to have been impossible. I put on the garb of a rank 2 official, was given the official long gown and sash, feted at a banquet by the Prince, and then sent off...

After this point in the text, the ship sails toward Nagasaki and when it docks there, the author notes: "Ruan Mei's ship arrived. In gauging the strength of the wind and waves, he said that they had not been particularly bad. Thus, I knew why the Buddhist texts had been loaded onto my ship." Later, again, the first person singular as author of the Fuhai ji appears in the texts several times: "On this day, I called for an interpreter to board the ship," and "he wanted me to come ashore to greet me."

In the section on "Zhou Hezhi" in the Nanjiang yishi, we find the corresponding reference to Ruan Mei as the assistant emissary and Feng Jingdi as the principal emissary on this mission. However, in the Fuhai ji, Ruan Mei and Zhanwei travel together, and when Zhanwei is discovered as having called himself the saint of the golden lion, he is thought to be a Christian from the West and exiled; the story follows just what appears in the Riben qishi ji. However, the account of Feng Jingdi traveling to Nagasaki with Huang Xiaoqing, as is found in the Riben qishi ji, is nowhere to be found in Fuhai ji.

The Siwen daji, cited above, is a chronicle from the era of Longwu (the Siwen emperor) who was based in Fujian province. There is also the Lu chungiu 魯春秋 [Rise and Fall of Lu; number of juan unknown, in the Shiyuan congshu 通園叢書 (Yiyuan Collection)],^e which chronicles the political history surrounding the Prince of Lu

(who was not an "emperor" but "Administrator of the Realm"), the last Ming descendant, based in eastern Zhejiang and a rival of Longwu. In an entry for Yongli 5 (1651, corresponding to Keian 4), the Lu chungiu carries the following: "In the seventh lunar month that fall, they requested provisions from Japan. The king [to whom this refers is uncertain] permitted the rapid transport by sea of several thousand shi 石 of food provisions." This is then followed by the an explanation:

Earlier, in the dinghai year [1647], the Prince of Peace and Prosperity received orders from the Administrator of the Realm to seek help from Japan... He had reached the island of Nagasaki [the characters given are 長吉, but this may be a transcription error--JAF], and an island interpreter reported [this matter] to shōgun Minamoto 源 [Tokugawa]... First-degree graduate Ling Shihong 凌士弘 and first-degree graduate Feng Jingdi traveled on with a letter from State Minister Zhang Kentang 張肯堂 and a letter in blood [indicating a desperate request] from Huang Bingqing, master of suppression of the barbarians. By chance, four Christian vessels lost their wind, were shipwrecked, and came on shore. Thereupon, shōgun Minamoto raised an army and fought them off. He comforted them [the Chinese] in the request for military provisions. The request for foodstuffs was the third trip of the Administrator of the Realm.

This citation makes it clear that no troops were forthcoming, but in their place military provisions were sent, and that this request for supplies of autumn 1651 was the third of the Administrator of the Realm (the Prince of Lu). Although unable to obtain the requested military assistance, they were aided with military supplies, and this would seem to indicate that in fact their primary aim was troops, which this voyage was the third attempt to secure.

In the Riben qishi ji it states that Cuizhi sent his adopted son, Lin Gao 林皋, to Japan to accompany the Prince of Peace and Prosperity in the dinghai year, and Huang Bingqing dispatched Feng Jingdi and Huang Xiaoqing in the wuzi year. The Lu chungiu records these events occurring one year later. This may be an example of conflicting records or discrepancies in accounts among those items taken to be fundamental in the historical materials. Perhaps it was due to a report transcribed well after the fact. Thus, relying solely on a certain quantity of historical narratives is, in fact, no more than groping speculation. We have no alternative, though, save lining up what appear to be the vestiges of historical facts.

What I should like next to consider appears in the entry for

Yongli 3, the yichou year (Keian 2 [1649]), in the Lu chungiu: "In winter, the eleventh month, Chamberlain Yu Tunan 余因南 was sent to Japan to establish friendly relations." The fact that Yu Tunan came to Japan for this reason cannot be found in any of the Japanese historical records I have perused. But perhaps this was one example of increasingly frequent numbers of vessels coming to Japan on friendly terms (and possibly seeking aid).

25. Satsuma, Japanese Pirates, and Ming China

Zhou Cuizhi (perhaps Zhou Hezhi) arrived in Japan, and, as described in the Riben qishi ji and other Chinese texts, "forged a father-son bond with the King of Satsuma." This may have been no more than Cuizhi's own self-promotion or perhaps a narrative of interesting exaggerations by rumor-mongers. We should not overlook the fact that the relationship between Satsuma and Cuizhi or someone like Cuizhi, namely a Chinese pirate-trader of that time, may be based on wildly inaccurate or baseless stories. Let me dig a bit further into this question now.

According to the biography in Wen Ruilin's Nanjiang yishi, when Cuizhi was "nearly 40 years of age," he "saw that the realm was on the verge of chaos and became indignant." Seeking to make himself "useful to the imperial court" by bringing an end to all "illicit acts" of the sort carried out till then by pirates, "he was given the post of company commander of Huanghuaguan, and he kept an eye on merchant vessels."

As for the extent of the influence that Cuizhi, a pirate himself at the time, had, we find the following account in juan 7 of the Siwen daji: "Zhang Kentang reported to the Longwu Emperor that Cuizhi was an able seaman and had over 50 vessels and over 2000 troops at his disposal. To expiate his crimes and achieve victory, he [Cuizhi] asked to be brought under the banner of the minister [Zhang]." This citation would indicate that Cuizhi controlled a large number of ships and was a pirate leader with a large number of troops, but that he had surrendered and joined forces with Zhang Kentang.

If, as the Nanjiang yishi states, when Cuizhi was only 40 years of age, he quit his life as a pirate to become an official, he probably came to Satsuma before then. If, however, as the Riben qishi ji and the Nanjiang yishi note, he sent an emissary to the lord of Satsuma domain and "appealed on behalf of the sad chaos in China, and requested the sending of a brigade of troops" in the winter of the yiyou year [1645], then counting backward from that year he would

have been coming to Satsuma in his thirties or twenties, during the Genna or Kan'ei periods. In China, since Longwu ascended the throne in Fuzhou in the yiyou year, this would correspond to the late Wanli or Chongzhen reign periods.

At this time wakō 倭寇 (C., wokou) [lit., Japanese pirates, though most were not Japanese at this time--JAF] activity was on the decline, but they had left a trail, it would seem, in their aftermath. According to Chen Mouheng's 陳懋恒 Mindai wokou kaolue 明代倭寇考略 [A Summary of Japanese Pirates in the Ming Period] (Beiping: Hafuo-Yanjing xueshe, 1934),^f in Genna 2 (1616) pirates attacked Fujian (citing the Fujian tongzhi 福建通志 [Comprehensive Gazetteer of Fujian]), and again in Genna 4 (1618) they attacked Jieyang in Guangdong (citing the Guangdong tongzhi 廣東通志 [Comprehensive Gazetteer of Guangdong]). Needless to say, the wakō were a mixed group of Japanese pirate bands and Chinese coastal pirate groups. The Chinese pirates--principal among them being such men as Wang Zhi 王直, Xu Hai 徐海, and Chen Dong 陳東--continually plundered sites along the coast and played havoc with the local people's lives. The government worked diligently to bring them under control, but the pirate bands fought the government armies and had sufficient power not to be outdone. Zheng Zhilong, who supported the Longwu Emperor of the Southern Ming and held effective power to control the Longwu court, had originally been a pirate, and Cuizhi was his mighty general with whom they had supported Longwu.

From this perspective, it becomes perfectly plausible that Cuizhi came to Japan at the time effectively in the role of one of these aftermaths. As for his relationship with Satsuma, we learn from a work by Zheng Shungong 鄭舜功, Riben yijian 日本一鑑 [A Mirror of Japan],^g that Satsuma was a base of operations for the wakō.

The Riben yijian in four stringbound volumes (photolithographic edition from an old manuscript, 1939; in my copy of the text there is no place of publication or publisher noted) was the work of Zheng Shungong who came to Japan as an envoy of the Ming over the period generally of Jiajing 34-36 (1555-57); his objective was to propose to the Japanese authorities a way of controlling the wakō. He then wrote the work on the basis of a large number of historical documents and personal investigations. It is a guide to Japan in many areas, and there are a variety of maps inserted in the text. Noteworthy in particular is the narrative concerning his own views about the wakō based on personal observations. In a sub-section entitled "Fengtu" 風土 [Topography] in juan four in the section, "Qionghu huahai" 窮河話

海 [Investigating the Rivers and Discussing the Seas], he notes:

Many of the ordinary people of Satsuma are merchants, and a large number are bandits [namely, wakō]. In the bingchen year of the Jiajing reign [1556], a local bandit by the name of Kamon 掃部 threatened and attacked Xu Hai [a pirate who acted as a guide for wakō; see below]. For the past 20 years, the area of Takasu 高洲 [in another section, "Beilu" 被虜 (Captives) in juan 6, there is a note indicating that the two characters 高洲 are to be read "Takasu" 太倭 貝 in Japanese] has been a place for drifters and vagrants to lay low. Over this period of time, some 100 local families there have taken as many as 200 to 300 of our [Chinese] people prisoners, and they have become Japanese slaves. They are coastal people from Fuzhou, Xinghua, Quanzhou, and Zhangzhou.

Dubious as the accuracy of these numbers may be, inasmuch as they are recorded here it would seem that already from the late Ashikaga period many people from the Fujian area had been taken captive by wakō and were living in Satsuma. Even if they had no contact at all with wakō, it would appear that there were Fujianese who came and went at Satsuma, either in connection with the many fellow provincials already resident or with their descendants. Both the Riben qishi ji and the Nanjiang yishi record that Cuizhi was a man from Fujian. Perhaps the fact that the pirate Cuizhi "came and went" at Satsuma was related in some way to the tail end of wakō activity.

In addition, they generally followed a pattern of behavior in which they were engaged at the time in trade (largely secret trade), while using that as cover for the piratical plunder and theft committing against the cargo on others' ships. Thus, at times they assumed the guise of traders, remaining pirates nonetheless.

About Zheng Shungong, the author of the Riben yijian, we find the following mention in the Jiajing dongnan pingwa tonglu 嘉靖東南平倭通錄 [Comprehensive Account of the Suppression of the Japanese Bandits in the Southeast during the Jiajing Period]: "At first, the Japanese monk Seiju 清授 arrived in Ningbo to accompany Zheng Shunchen who was to be sent [to Japan] by Minister Yang Yi 楊宜." This text, the Jiajing dongnan pingwa tonglu, was printed in 1932 from a manuscript held in the "Guoxue tushuguan" 國學圖書館 [Library of National Learning] in Nanjing. In fact, as Liu Yizheng 柳詒徵 points out in his postface to the photolithographic edition, it is the same as the entry, "Riben" 日本 [Japan], under "Bingbu" 兵部 [Board of War] 33, in juan 169 of the Guochao dianhui 國朝典彙 [Institutes of the Dynasty] (preface dated Tianqi 4 [1624]) by Xu

xueju 徐學聚 .h

While the Guochao dianhui follows chronologically from "Hongwu 2 [1369]" through the Yongle, Xuande, Zhengtong, Chenghua, Hongzhi, and Jiajing reigns, however, the Jiajing dongnan pingwa tonglu begins abruptly with "Jiajing 31 [1552]" after a brief prefatory note about the initial Jiajing years. In other words, it was a chronicle of an era in which the harm caused by wakō had become particularly severe, and it ends with "Longqing 2 [1568]" (as does the Guochao dianhui). A Ming-era edition of the Guochao dianhui is held in the Naikaku Bunko (I was able to copy the section entitled "Japan" therein), but it has recently been reprinted in Taiwan by Xuesheng shuju 學生書局 (Student Bookstore) in four stringbound volumes.

Emissary Zheng Shunchen, who was sent to Japan by Minister Yang Yi, appears in both the Jiajing dongnan pingwa tonglu and the Guochao dianhui. He is probably the same person as Zheng Shungong, author of the Riben yijian. The following entry on Zheng Shungong can be found in the Ming History (under "Waiguo" 外國 [Foreign Countries] 3, juan 322):

Zheng Shungong, who had been sent on a mission [to Japan] by Yang Yi, went overseas to spy on [the foreigners]. He departed and reached Bungo island. The king of the island again sent the monk Seiju as emissary who came by boat; he acknowledged their guilt, saying: "As for the recent infringements, in every case dishonest Chinese merchants have secretly taken locals from the islands. [Ōtomo] Yoshishige 大友義鎮 [1530-87] knows nothing of this."

Additionally, the Riben guo zhi 日本国志 [Treatise on Japan] (preface dated Guangxu 23 [1897]) of Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲, (a Qing diplomat stationed in Japan in the early-Meiji period) has the following to say about Zheng Shungong in juan 5, "Lin jiao zhi" 隣交志 [Treatise on Contacts with Neighbors] (2):

In the first year of the Kōji reign period [1555, corresponding to Jiajing 34], Governor-general Yang Yi of the Ming dispatched Zheng Shungong who proceeded to Hirado in Hizen (?). He was able to meet with Ōtomo Yoshishige, and reprovingly said: "We have had friendly ties for many years. Why are [your people now] causing havoc to our shores and taking our people prisoner? Stop behaving in this manner at once." Yoshishige passed along this information to Shōgun [Ashikaga] Yoshiteru 義輝. [The shōgun] ordered his lords to a meeting.

Huang Zunxian does not precisely indicate what source he based this information on, but materials on the Japanese side (that is, those I

have seen) generally agree. I would like to discuss one text, "Yoshū Nojima-shi shin tai-Minkoku ki" 預州能島氏侵大明国記 [Chronicle of the Invasion of the Great Ming by Mr. Nojima of Yoshū], in volume 5 of Kasai Shigesuke's 香西成資 Nankai chiran ki 南海治乱記 [Chronicle of War and Peace in the Southern Seas] (postface dated Kanbun 3 [1663],ⁱ included in Shiseki shūran [1882-83]), where there is an entry, "Tei Shun kō" 鄭舜侯 [Marquis Zheng Shun(gong)], which reads as follows:

After the collapse of Ōuchi Yoshitaka's 大内義隆 rebellion, Ōtomo Yoshishige pacified the domains of Buzen and Chikuzen. Just at that time, there was sent to the state of Japan from the Great Ming an imperial letter, which read: "China and Japan have carried on licensed trade for a long time now. Recently, these good ties have declined, and all invitations have been severed. Furthermore, with every passing year Japanese pirate ships increasingly have come and assaulted the coast of the Great Ming. It is my hope that you will be able to bring a stop to these acts of piracy and restore peace and security to the people. For that reason I have written this letter, and it will certainly be beneficial when our old friendship is restored to harmony."

The emissary from the Great Ming, a man by the name of Marquis Zheng Shun, arrived at the port of Hakata. Because Ōtomo Yoshishige of Bungo controlled the western provinces at that time, he was seen as the King of Japan, and the imperial letter was delivered to him. He described his feelings, saying: "The so-called King of Japan is, in fact, the master of the royal domains [namely, the emperor]. I hold control over the western provinces and only protect them as a pillar, for I am not the king. In Japan at present the eminent lords of various states are in a state of war, and they do not uphold the morality of a king's rule. There is thus no need to report this to the court. In addition, every day we ceaselessly make war preparations to protect our holdings, continue our internecine strife, and have no time to dispatch troops to other domains. [The piracy] is only the work of bandits on islands. An order from the court will make no difference." The emissary heard this and returned.⁴

How the coming of emissary Zheng Shungong was dealt with by Japan seems to have been conveyed accurately or nearly so in the aforementioned Nankai chiran ki. Seen as a whole, the Riben yijian

appears to confirm what was pointed out earlier in the Ming History, that Zheng "went overseas to spy on foreign conditions." What it chronicles in this connection contains points in great detail not to be found elsewhere, but the conflict over the suppression of wakō was not concretely recorded.

What the Riben yijian has to say in connection with Satsuma is based on the conclusion that Zheng Shungong came to Japan at the time, and investigated and "spied" on the wakō issue from many angles. Although we cannot now affirm this completely, I do think it possible to say that there are a fair number of facts to that effect.

At the time, Satsuma and China (in the southeast) retained contacts, and Satsuma's "Bōnotsu" 坊津 in the southwest corner of Kyushu was flourishing as a strategic harbor in the Ming-Japanese trade. In juan 231 of his work, Wubei zhi 武備志 [Treatise on Military Preparedness] (preface dated Tianqi 1 [1621]), Mao Yuanyi 茅元儀 included a subsection entitled "Jinyao" 津要 [Harbor Strategies] in Riben kao 日本考 [Study of Japan] 2 under "Si yi" 四夷 [Four Foreign Peoples]. Mao has the following to say about Japan's "Strategic Ports":

The country has three harbors, and each is a place where merchant vessels congregate, ports⁵ opening out onto the high seas for traffic. They are along the western coast: Bōnotsu (belonging to Satsuma), Hakatanotsu 花旭塔津 (belonging to Chikuzen), and Anotsu 洞津 (belonging to Ise). Bōnotsu is considered the main route, as foreign vessels must come and go through there. Hakatanotsu is the central port,...and Anotsu is the last port.

From the foregoing, it appears that at the time Bōnotsu in Satsuma was seen as the "main route" for those traveling from (southeast) China to Japan. Ships came first there and then continued on to Hakatanotsu or Anotsu. Since there was as well the route from Ningbo (in Zhejiang) or Zhoushan through the Gotō 五島 Islands and then on toward Hakatanotsu, to call Bōnotsu the "main route" would seem to indicate that he was speaking of cases involving travel to Japan primarily from Zhejiang and Fujian in the southeast or the Guangxi-Guangdong region. At that time, many traveled via the Ryūkyū Islands to Satsuma, and thus the Ryūkyūs served generally as a relay or intermediary between Satsuma and the Ming dynasty.

Earlier than the Wubei zhi, however, there is a text known as the Riben rukou tu 日本入寇圖 [Diagram of the Japanese Invaders] in Zheng Ruoceng's 鄭若曾 Riben tuan zuan 日本團纂 [On Bands of Japanese] (with a preface dated Jiajing 40 [1561]; it is included in

Zheng Kaiyang zazhu 鄭開陽雜著 [Miscellaneous Writings of Zheng Kaiyang (Ruoceng)]. In a section in this work entitled "Satsuma," the following explanation is given: "The wakō came along the main route to Fujian and Guangdong." Under "Gotō," it says: "The wakō came along the main route to Zhili, Zhejiang, and Shandong." In the section entitled "Tsushima," we read: "The wakō came along the main route to Korea and Liaodong." From these and other various "main routes"-- "from there they entered Quanzhou and Zhangzhou," "from there they entered Fuzhou and Xinghua," "from there they entered Ningbo," "from there they entered the Qiantang River area," "from there they entered the Yangzi River area," and the like--the points along the Chinese coast that were invaded are indicated. The three strategic harbors just given in the Wubei zhi are removed from wakō activity and seem more closely connected to general trade and intercourse.

津要
國有三津皆商船所聚通海之江也西海道有坊
津所屬花旭塔津所屬洞津所屬三津惟
坊津爲總路客船往返必由花旭塔津爲中津地
方廣闊人煙稠集中國海商無不聚此地有松林
方長十里名十里松土名法哥無機乃廟先也有
一街名大唐街唐人留彼相傳今盡爲倭也
爲求津地方又遠與山城相近貨物或備或缺惟
中津無不有貿易用銀金銅錢悉經紀名曰乃廟

From the Wubei zhi (copy held in the Naikaku bunko)

Until Kan'ei 12 (1635) when the Tokugawa shogunate, wanting to maintain control in foreign intercourse, limited Chinese vessels entering ports to that of Nagasaki, Bōnotsu flourished for a time as a center of Ming trade. The curious products from overseas that were gathered here are the subject of Kawashima Genjirō's 川島元次郎 chapter, "Tōsen ni karamaru Bōnotsu no seisui" 唐船に絡まる坊津の盛衰 [The Rise and Fall of Bōnotsu, Entangled among Chinese Vessels] in his work, Nankoku shiwa 南国史話 [Historical Tales from the Southern Lands] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1926). He visited Bōnotsu, investigated it, and added his own study.

Kawashima recorded that he visited Shimabara Eiji 島原英治, a descendant of Shimabara Kamonnosuke 島原掃部助, a trading family from Bōnotsu in the distant past, and examined an old document in his collection. It was an official shogunal license to trade with the Ryūkyū Islands given to "Shimabara Kamonnosuke, captain of the Ten-jinmaru" 天神丸, signed by Shimazu Yoshihisa 島津義久, dated 9th day, eleventh month, Tenshō 12 [1584]. A scholar of such matters--he was the author of such works as Tokugawa shoki no kaigai bōekika 徳川初期の海外貿易家 [Overseas Traders in the Early Tokugawa Period] and Shuinsen bōeki shi 朱印船貿易史 [A History of Trade by Licensed Vessels]^k--he wrote that the "Tokugawa shogunate pioneered in the licensing of merchant vessels from overseas." In particular, it was essential that these shogunal licenses have clearly written on them the name of the vessel and of the captain.

This ship's captain, Shimabara Kamonnosuke, was widely known as Kiueemon 喜右衛門, and he successfully operated a shipping enterprise; from this we know that he sent vessels in the direction of the Ryūkyūs. He apparently did well on the basis of his actual shipping trade, but in Keichō 5 [1600], he sailed to China and proceeded to Beijing. He had been ordered by the Shimazu family to repatriate to China the Ming General Mao Guoke 茅国科, who had been brought back to Japan as a hostage by Shimazu Yoshihiro 島津義弘 during the invasion of Korea [under Hideyoshi a few years earlier]. He departed from Bōnotsu with a hundred or more men under his command, placed Mao Guoke on board, and proceeded first to Fuzhou, and from there they were escorted as far as Beijing. The Ming emperor Shenzong [r. 1573-1620] granted Kiueemon an audience and threw a sumptuous banquet for him. The foregoing is based on Kawashima's research; in fact, it can be found in Shimazu Hisatoshi's 島津久通 Sei-Kan roku 征韓録 [Account of the Expedition against Korea] (Kanbun 11 [1671])¹ and Tokunō Michiaki's 得能通昭 Seihan yashi 西藩野史 [Unofficial History of the Western Domains] (Hōreki 10 [1760]?).

The matter of repatriating prisoner Mao Guoke can also be found in the Nanpo bunshū 南浦文集 [Literary Collection of Nanpo] (printed in Keian 2 [1649]).⁶ "Nanpo" was the style of a monk by the name of Bunshi 文之 who was respectfully treated by Satsuma domainal lords--Shimazu Yoshihisa, Yoshihiro, and Iehisa 家久--in the Keichō and Genna reigns. He held a post responsible for diplomatic correspondence.

Among works that contain records about Nanpo, although it cannot be considered a study of him, is the Nanpo Bunshi ōshō 南浦文之和稿 [Nanpo, Monk Bunshi] (Seikidō, 1919) by Mori Keizō 森慶造 (Taikyō 大狂). Among the pieces collected in the Nanpo bunshū are all manner

of official documents written on behalf of the Satsuma lord. These include: "Letter Presented to the Emissary of the Great Ming," "To Merchants of the Great Ming," "To Hyōk Oja 変吾子," "Letter to the Provincial Military Commander of Fujian in the Great Ming," "Letter to a Barbarian Chief," "Reply to a Barbarian Chief," "Reply to a Ship's Captain of the Southern Barbarians," "Letter to a Ship's Captain from the State of Luzon," "Reply to the State of Annam," "Reply to the King of the Ryūkyūs," "Reply to the Official of the Ryūkyūs," and "Reply to the King of Zhongshan." A look at these documents reveals the state of commercial interactions and trade between Satsuma at the time and China, the Ryūkyūs, and the states to the south. We also learn that they earnestly hoped for continued flourishing trade with these lands.

The Ming General Mao Guoke (Weibin 渭濱), who (according to Kawashima) was taken prisoner by the Satsuma army during the invasion of Korea, also appears in the Nanpo bunshū. Using the subsequent return of Mao to Ming China as a pretext, a document was drawn up that planned for the revival of trade relations between the Ming and Satsuma.

In a document, "Pedigree of the Line of Yoshihiro," included in the first volume of Nanpo bunshū, there is mention of Yoshihiro's and his son's description of the fighting that had transpired with the Ming armies in Korea:

The military commanders of the Great Ming sent an army of several million troops to attack [the Satsuma army's base] in Saju. Yoshihiro and his son fielded several tens of thousands who did not fight but surrendered. For this reason, he lifted up his belt and charged forward into the millions of troops. In a brief period of time, the [Ming] army crushed them... Then, Counselor-in-Chief Long Ya 龍涯 sought peace talks with our military forces... Finally, responding to his request, the Great Ming General Mao Weibin was made a hostage, and he was placed on board ship and returned with them to Japan.

In another section of this volume, entitled "Funeral Eulogy for Those Lost in the War," there is the following note: "The Great Ming general, his arrows spent and his bowstring broken, ultimately surrendered to us. We took this General Mao Guoke as hostage, together boarded ships, and returned home." As for the later repatriation of Mao Guoke, we find the following in the "Letter Presented to the Emissary of the Great Ming" (this text opens with: "Respectfully submitted by Fujiwara Iehisa, lord of Satsuma domain in the land of Japan, to the

emissary of the Great Ming..."):

Earlier, the Chinese named Mao Guoke was resident in Korea and Japan for three or four years. We demonstrated extreme respect for the [Ming] imperial court. We dispatched a vessel and sent along official Kiuemon to repatriate [Mao] to the land of China. We have yet to investigate whether or not [Mao] Guoke is in good health, but to this day someone has been assigned to watch out in this matter.

Among the documents which speak of Chinese vessels coming to Satsuma and the flourishing trade they brought, these describe the depth of the relationship between the Ming and Satsuma. Kawashima informs us that the person referred to herein as "official Kiuemon" was Shimabara Kamonnosuke. Kawashima does not clearly indicate what the historical sources are for his assertions that Mao Guoke, prisoner of war from the Korean campaign, was repatriated to China, but he was probably basing himself in Nanpo bunshū, Sei-Kan roku, and Seihan yashi.

Might not the "Kamon," who appears in the entry on Satsuma in the aforementioned "Qionghe huahai" from the Riben yijian--"In the bingchen year of the Jiajing reign [1556], a local bandit by the name of Kamon threatened and attacked Xu Hai"--point to "Shimabara Kamonnosuke (Kiuemon) or perhaps the author linked the two names. Although I cannot point precisely to historical documentation, this does in any event provide corroborative evidence that such a powerful overseas trader from Satsuma existed at the time. It also seems to bear some relationship to my own excavations, mentioned earlier, about Cuizhi's coming to Japan and "forging a father-son bond with the King of Satsuma."

One further work about the ties between Satsuma and the wakō should not be overlooked. There is a section entitled "Kouzong fenhe shimo tupu" 寇踪分合始末圖譜 [Complete Illustrated Treatise Analyzing the Vestiges of the Pirates] in juan 8 of the Chouhai tubian 籌海圖編 [Illustrated Text on Coast Defenses] (preface dated Jiajing 41 [1562]) by Hu Zongxian 胡宗憲. In it we find an explanation of Chen Dong 陳東, who is known as a leader of wakō, along with Wang Zhi and Xu Hai: "He was the head of the personal scribes of the younger brother of the lord of Satsuma domain and had many men of Satsuma under his command." Whether this is true or false, this entry in the Chouhai tubian, a Chinese document, does also describe an extremely close bond between Satsuma and the wakō.

Notes

a. (Fukkoshu, 1910), 6 volumes; (Taipei reprint: Bank of Taiwan, 1960), 26 juan.

b. (Shanghai reprint: Zhonghua shuju, 1957); (Taipei reprint: Bank of Taiwan, 1962, Taiwan wenxian congkan 132), 1830 edition in six stringbound volumes; (Tokyo reprint: Daiyasu kabushiki gaisha, 1967, in a volume entitled Ban-Min shiryō sōsho 晚明史料叢書 [Collection of Documents on the Late Ming]).

c. Zoku zenrin kokuhō ki and Zoku zenrin kokuhō gaiki are both included in Fujita Tokutarō 藤田徳太郎, ed., Shiryō shūsei: Yoshino Muromachi jidai gaikan 資料集成: 吉野室町時代概観 [Collection of Historical Materials: An Overview of the Yoshino Muromachi Period] (Tokyo, 1935); Shiseki shūran (rev. ed.) was edited by Kondō Heijō (Tokyo: Kondō kappanjo, 1900-03), 10 volumes; and Zoku gunsho ruijū (Tokyo: Keizai zasshi sha, 1893-1902), 19 volumes.

1. There is a two-year discrepancy here with the Ka-i hentai. Is this Lin Gao 林皐 the same as the aforementioned Lin Gao 林高? The two characters of the given names are pronounced in the first tone and are used, on occasion, interchangeably.

2. In the biography of Zhou Hezhi, number 49, juan 53 in the Nanjiang yishi, it is Feng Jingdi who was sent at this time to Japan, with Ruan Mei as assistant envoy.

3. It would appear from this that after requesting 3000 men, he sought an additional 5000, but the letter is no longer extant.

d. By Guan Ming 關明 (Taipei reprint: Bank of Taiwan, 1961), 8 juan.

e. Compiled by Zhang Junheng 張鈞衡 (1916), 192 stringbound volumes.

f. (Beijing reprint: Renmin chubanshe, 1957).

g. (1939 edition), 5 volumes.

h. Xu Xueju, Jiajing dongnan pingwo tonglu (Nanjing: Jiangsu

shengli guoxue tushuguan, 1932); Guochao dianhui (Taibei reprint: Xuesheng shuju, 1965), 4 volumes.

i. (Tokyo: Kyōikusha, 1981).

4. The text gives the term sanshi 三使 for what had been translated here as "emissary." In the Riben yijian, Zheng Shungong referred to himself as tianshi 天使 (J., tenshi), and san may be a mistranscription for ten.

5. The text gives the character jiang 江 (river), though this is probably an error for kou 口 (mouth, port).

j. By Zheng Ruoceng (Nanjing reprint: Jiangshu shengli guoxue tushuguan, 1932), 11 juan.

k. Tokugawa shoki no kaigai bōekika (Ōsaka: Asahi shinbun gōshi gaisha, 1916); and Shuinsen bōeki shi (Kyoto: Naigai shuppan, 1921).

l. In Fujita Tokutarō, ed., Shiryō shusei: Yoshino Muromachi jidai gaikan (Tokyo, 1935).

6. The copy of this work in my possession is a fine copy of the Keian edition and bears the library imprint of "Watanabe Chiaki" 渡辺千秋. It is also included in the Satsu-han sōsho 薩藩叢書 [Collection on Satsuma Domain] (1906, 2 stringbound volumes).