

Seigaku tōzen to chūgoku jijō: 'zassho' sakki

[The Eastern Spread of Western Learning and Conditions in China: Notes on "Various Books"] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1979), pp. 230-66.

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PART 11

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26. Satsuma, Ming China, and the Invasion of Korea

From the extant historical materials, we can at best generally trace the relationship between Satsuma and Ming China. On Hideyoshi's military expeditions to Korea, and particularly the movements of the Satsuma army at that time, these traces 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]).^a I first examined the copy of this text held in the Naikaku Bunko 内閣文庫 (originally held in the Asakusa Bunko 浅草文庫). I later learned that it was included in the Shimazu shiryō shū 島津史料集 [Collection of Historical Documents on Shimazu] (Tokyo: Jinbutsu ōraisha, 1966-7, section 2: "Sengoku shiryō sōsho" 戦国史料叢書 [Collection of Historical Materials of the Warring States Era], part 6) and printed with annotations based on the manuscripts held in the collection of Shimazu Hisamitsu 島津久光.

In an introduction to the Sei-Kan roku provided by Hayashi Shunsai 林春斎, we learn that Shimazu Hisamitsu, grandfather of Shimazu Hisatoshi, the compiler of this work, joined in the Korean Expedition in the army of Shimazu Yoshihiro 島津義弘: "How could the veracity of this work, the truth of this chronicle, ever be compared to common street chatter!" In other words, Sei-Kan roku should be regarded as historical material with a high degree of reliability, and it contains much information concerning the relationship between Satsuma and Ming China.

Does this then mean that the events recorded in the Sei-Kan roku (and, for that matter, Tokunō Michiaki's 得能通昭 Seihan yashi 西藩野史 [Unofficial History of the Western Domains] (Hōreki 10 [1760])), such as Shimabara Kiueemon's 島原喜右衛門 escorting of two

large vessels, the repatriation of Mao Guoke 茅国科 who had been taken as a hostage during the the Korean Expedition and brought back to Japan, and Shimabara's audience with Ming Emperor Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1573-1620) and the extravagant banquet held in his honor in Beijing, are all true? I have attempted to find confirmation in the Ming shilu 明實錄 [Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty], but was unable to locate any record of Shenzong's holding an audience for Shimabara. Yet, in the Liangchao pingrang lu 兩朝平攘錄 [The Record of Level Land over Two Eras] by Zhuge Yuansheng 諸葛元声 (preface dated Wanli 34 [1606]), we read:

On [Wanli] 28/4/18 a Japanese vessel carrying Mao Guoke arrived from Changguo in Ningbo. By imperial command it was soon sent home. It bore aloft a large banner on which was written: "Pacify the barbarians and sing triumphantly." The king of Japan sent one letter to Xing Jinglue 邢經略 and another to the Fujian Governor Jin Xueceng 金學曾. With each he included a present of [Japanese] weaponry, horses' armor, and a golden helmet. They were placed in a box together. On board ship was one Japanese commander, fifty to sixty Japanese soldiers, and an additional twenty to thirty persons outside imperial command from Zhangzhou and elsewhere who were repatriated. On that day a wind from Jiushan blew and burst into Dinghaiguan that night. The area was terrified and doors were shut. Brigade Commander Lu was sent to investigate and went to see the Zhejiang provincial military commander. A military officer wanted to kill the Japanese to acquire [military] merit, but he was not allowed to do so. Ultimately, a banquet was held with entertainment. The provincial military commander ordered that they be rewarded with silver medals, woven caps, and oxen and lambs... The provincial military commander dispatched people to go to the Meihuasuo 梅花所 in Fujian. Together with Jin Shengwu 金省吾, they set sail from their home village. In the eighth lunar month they were able to set off and departed for home.

As we see here, the escort party for Mao Guoke passed through Dinghai from Ningbo en route to Meihuasuo in Fujian. From there they retraced their steps to Japan. Thus, they were received not by Emperor Shenzong but by the Zhejiang provincial military commander. Perhaps the report of their traveling as far as Beijing and being received by the emperor was an embellishment passed along by Shimabara Kiueemon.

When the army of Shimazu Yoshihiro and that of Ming General Mao Guoqi 茅国器 confronted one another, a woman from Yoshihiro's camp appeared with a letter. She was captured by a patrol and brought before General Mao. The letter was from Guo Guoan 郭国安. Mao then had it sent on to Counselor Shi Shiyong 史世用. The Sei-Kan roku records:

[Shi] Shiyong was overjoyed and said: "Guo Guoan is a Chinese. When I once sailed to Japan, I met with Guoan at a place called Bōnotsu in Satsuma domain and had an intimate conversation. Now, he is happily in Yoshihiro's camp. Our troops think that Guoan is a spy, and they are more than willing to destroy the Japanese camp." However, because of the details of what Guoan had said, Shiyong wrote up a letter and relied on a Korean merchant to deliver it to Guoan. Soon thereafter, Guoan himself replied in writing. His general point was that he was now in Korea, in the camp of Shimazu Yoshihiro. [Emphasis Masuda's]

Shi Shiyong reported that he had conspired with Guo Guoan in the Satsuma army and had wanted to destroy that army, but in the Sei-Kan roku Guo ultimately helped Satsuma with military strategy and won a great victory.

The point that a woman had arrived at the military camp of General Mao Guoqi with Guo Guoan's letter from the Shimazu camp is recorded as well in the Wubei zhi 武備志 [Treatise on Military Preparedness, preface dated Tianqi 1 (1621), by Mao Yuanyi 茅元儀]^b and the Liangchao pingrang lu. The Sei-Kan roku (and the Seihan yashi which is thought to have been based upon it) cite passages from the Wubei zhi and the Liangchao pingrang lu, and it appears to have been written on the basis of these two works. For example, in a section entitled "Chaoxian kao" 朝鮮考 [A Study of Korea] in juan 239 of the Wubei zhi, we find: "A mounted patrol caught a woman coming from the Japanese camp. She produced a letter from her pocket... [Mao] Guoqi helped as Zhuge Xiu 諸葛綸 explained: 'It's from Guo Guoan.' He spoke with Counselor Shi Shiyong. Shiyong was overjoyed and said: 'Guo Guoan is a Chinese. We were in Japan together once, and together pledged meritorious deeds on behalf of the [Ming] dynasty. Now he is here and they say he is a spy.'" The Liangchao pingrang lu is more abbreviated than this, but contains a similar report. The Sei-Kan roku took this over in its entirety.

As concerns Guo Guoan (Lixin 理心), in volume 13 of the Seihan yashi (preface dated to the Hōreki era [1751-64]) we find the following:

Lixin was a man of Fenyang during the Ming era. He used

the styles Guoan and Guangyu 光禹 . He went to the capital to sit for the civil service examinations. He arrived late and returned home. There was a boat set to sail for Japan, and Guangyu, wanting to see Japan, boarded it. It arrived and docked in the Satsuma capital in Bunroku 2 [1593].^c He was at that time 23 years of age [by East Asian count]. Lord Yoshihisa 義久 detained him and compelled him to remain in Satsuma. He then took Fenyang as his family name and was given Lixin as his given name. To handle correspondence, he and a priest from the Daiji Temple accompanied the troops. Lixin's descendent was named Funyō [Fenyang] Shigeuemon 汾陽 茂右衛門 .

After the Korean Expedition, Guo Guoan and his descendents seem to have become naturalized men and women of Satsuma. Guo and one Xu Yihou 許儀後 who (from Tenshō 19 [1591]) had also been in the employ of Yoshihisa in Satsuma--he was said to have been seized together with his ships in Guangdong--became liaisons who jointly submitted a document (effected in Wanli 20 [1592]) which secretly reported to China on Hideyoshi's sending of troops to Korea. This matter can be seen in an appendix, entitled "Jinbao Wa jing" 近報倭警 [Recently Reported Japanese (Bandit) Alarms], in the Ming work, Quan-Zhe bingzhi kao 全浙兵制考 [A Study of the Military Institutions throughout Zhejiang Province] (see below).

As noted above, the Sei-Kan roku notes that Counselor Shi Shiyong of the Ming armed forces said: "When we once sailed to Japan, I met with Guoan at a place called Bōnotsu in Satsuma domain." The Liangchao pingrang lu (under "Ribei" 日本 [Japan], part 2, in juan 5) adds a note: "He hailed from Wujin. With an introduction from the Fujian provincial military commander, in [Jiajing] 26 [1547] he went to the home of Xing Jinglue [in the Sei-Kan roku, this read: "Commander Xing Jie 刑阶"]. During the third month, he left and returned to the camp of Mao" Guoqi. He does indeed appear to have been a man originally active in the Fujian area, and he thus seems in this period to have made a trip to Satsuma.

We have already noted something of relations between Satsuma and the Fujian region when we looked at the case of Zhou Cuizhi 周崔芝 , and we find in the Seihan yashi (volume 13) the following record:

In the spring of Bunroku 3 [1594]^d the Taikō [i.e., Hideyoshi] ordered Lord Ryūhaku 龍伯 [i.e., Yoshihiro's father, Yoshihisa, who had not left for the front because of his advanced age] to send a letter to Fujian, conveying wishes for peace. Earlier, Konishi [Yukinaga]'s 小西行長 emissary, Naitō Hida no kami 内藤飛彈守 , had gone to China and had not

yet returned. They did not know if peace was a reality. Thus, they tried to convey from Satsuma to Fujian a token of gratitude. You Ming 右命 of the Fujian local censorate and Xu Yu 許豫, censor-in-chief, replied in a letter relating that they would give relief to troops and the people. They then sent another letter with the same intent. Lord Ryūhaku presented the two letters [to Hideyoshi].

Another note was inserted at this point: "Note: The two letters to Lord Ryūhaku remain extant today." At the time of the first military expedition to Korea, when Hideyoshi tested the Ming side concerning peace talks so as to save the situation, he ordered Shimazu Yoshihisa to convey a document to the Fujian officialdom. He may have done this because of the relationship that Shimazu had established with Fujian.

Another person who had established a link between Satsuma and Ming China over the Korean Expedition was Son Jirō 孫次郎; he served in the war effort as an interpreter for the Ming forces. In the Sei-Kan roku, it is reported that Son was born Zhang Mao 張昂 in Nanjing: "However, at age fifteen he lost his mother, and he feared poisoning by his stepmother. He ran away to Japan and was cared for by the local people in a place called Tamimoto in Ei county, Satsuma domain. And so he passed the years. In Tenshō 16 [1588] he heard a report of his stepmother's death and returned to Nanjing. Yet, inasmuch as he had spent so much time in Japan, he was called upon to act as an interpreter."

According to the Sei-Kan roku, Terasawa Shima no kami 寺沢志摩守 of the Satsuma army heard from Son Jirō criticism from the Ming commanders of the great defeat visited by the Ming forces on Yoshihiro at Sach'on. At that time, Son Jirō conveyed an evaluation of Mao Guoqi's battle defeat in five areas. The means by which Zhang Mao--Son Jirō--who was said to have come from Nanjing, came to Satsuma and was cared for by local people is not recorded, but the fact that he joined the Ming military forces as an interpreter in situations involving negotiations between the two armies appears to be much like Guo Guoan's joining the Satsuma armed forces to help in document communications. We cannot overlook the roles they played behind the scenes in negotiations between the two sides at the time of the Korean Expedition.

We have already noted [see SJS 6.2 (April 1994), p. 35-- JAF]^e that in the Chouhai tubian 籌海圖編 [Illustrated Text on Coastal Defenses], Chen Dong 陳東, a wakō leader, is referred to as "a per-

sonal scribe of the younger brother of the lord of Satsuma domain." This seems to have been considered a false report in Japan.

In volume eight of his Ishō Nihon den 異称日本伝 [Treatises on Japan under Different Titles] (author's preface dated Genroku 1 [1688]), Matsushita Kenrin 松下見林 [Seihō 西峰] transcribed the Hu gong Zongxian jiao Xu Hai benmo 胡公宗憲剿徐海本末 [The Full Account of Hu Zongxian's Destruction of Xu Hai] by Mao Kun 茅坤, which is included in juan 57 of Jiao Hong's 焦竑 (1541-1620) Guochao xianzheng lu 国朝献徵录 [Dynastic Biographies (ca. 1616)]. In it we find the sentence: "Chen Dong was a former military scribe for the younger brother of the king (wang 王) of Satsuma." To this is added the note: "There was no king of Satsuma, but rather a lord (bao 守 [Japanese, kami])... The name of the younger brother of the lord of Satsuma remains unclear."

In volume 282 of his Ya shi 野史 [Unofficial History] (author's introduction dated Kaei 4 [1851]⁹), entitled "Gaikoku den (Min jō)" 外国伝明上 [Chronicles of Foreign Lands, the Ming, Part 1], Iida Tadahiko 飯田忠彦 [1799-1860] quotes from precisely the same spot in the Guochao xianzheng lu to say that Chen "Dong was a former military scribe for the younger brother of the king of Satsuma." The text then notes: "Investigation reveals no such person yet to be described in any Japanese work."

The expression, "king of Satsuma," is unclear and probably was the result of a false report, but depending on how we approach the question, it may not have been completely without basis. Perhaps it refers to Shimazu Yoshihiro, younger brother of Shimazu Yoshihisa. Perhaps it was someone like Yoshihiro. In a section entitled "On the Invasion of Chen [Dong] and the Japanese Bandits" of the "Jinbao Wa jing"--namely, warnings about the wakō (in this instance, a reference to Hideyoshi's expedition to Korea)--which is included in Hou Jigao's 侯繼高 Quan-Zhe bingzhi kao (printed in the Wanli reign of the Ming dynasty), we again find: "The kanpaku 関白 [Hideyoshi] knew his intentions somewhat [the text earlier noted that the lord of Satsuma revered the Ming dynasty] and ordered the younger brother of the lord of Satsuma, Takekura 武庫 [Yoshihiro], to take troops under his command."

The "Jinbao Wa jing" reports for Wanli 19 [1591] (Tenshō 19) that Xu Yihou and Guo Guoan, both then resident in Satsuma, together asked Zhu Junwang 朱均旺 who was returning home aboard a Chinese vessel to convey a report to China (no specific address is given; it just says Qingtai 清台). It reached China in the second month of Wanli 20 (Bunroku 1). The timing is a bit off here, for it was from the Jiajing 30s and 40s [1551-71] that the "Japanese pirates" were at

their strongest and most threatening, namely twenty or more years prior to this event. According to the Shimazu shi keifu ryaku 島津氏系譜略 [A Brief Genealogy of the Shimazu Family] (by Shimazu Narioki 島津齊興), Yoshihiro was born in Tenmon 4 (1535), and thus he was already in his twenties in Jiajing 34-35 (1555-56) when, according to the Chouhai tubian, Chen Dong invaded at the head of troops from Hizen, Chikuzen, Bungo, Izumi, Hakata, and Kii. Thus, equating "the younger brother of the lord of Satsuma" with Yoshihiro falls within the scope of possibilities. However, it falls within the realm of reasonable inference.

Claiming to be "the younger brother of the king of Satsuma" probably carried distinctive authority among the pirates who maintained ties with the wakō. Thus Xu Hai asked Chen Dong to take his place and work as a scribe. It says of Xu Hai in Mao Kun's Hu gong Zongxian jiao Xu Hai benmo: "He took large amounts of Chinese goods and gold that he had plundered, bribed the younger brother of the king, and deceptively asked that [Chen] Dong be employed as a scribe."^h The text mentions "deceptively," and thus accepts the point that it was a scheme by Xu Hai to deceive Chen Dong, but in any event he was trying to gain favor with "the younger brother of the king of Satsuma."

When the Ishō Nihon den cited the above reference to "deceptively asked that [Chen] Dong be employed as a scribe," it changed the text to: 許請東付罪書記. In the Ming edition of the Guochao xianzheng lu, however, we read: 許請東代署書記. The Ishō Nihon den took the expression 代署 as 付罪. Inasmuch as the characters are similar in appearance, perhaps they were incorrectly transcribed in the initial drafting stage of the text (?), for Matsushita Kenrin's explanation of the latter phrase, which he took to be an error, makes no sense.

The Ishō Nihon den is a broad collection of accounts concerning Japan found in Chinese and Korean documents (in 127 sections) from antiquity forward. It took over 30 years to compile (according to the Sentetsu sōdan zokuhen 先哲叢談統編 [Collection of Biographical Notes on Wise Men of the Past, Continuation] of Tōjō Nobuyasu 東条信耕 [Kindai 琴台, 1795-1878], vol. 3)ⁱ and is an extraordinarily useful work, but there are errors of this sort in it. In the area of punctuation, too, there are unreliable points. In an entry for "Jinyao" 津要 [Harbor Strategies] drawn from "Ribei kao" 日本考 [Study of Japan] (part 2) in the Wubei zhi, we find the sentence: "Trade using silver, gold, and copper coins relied on the jingji 經紀 by the name of Nakayori 乃隔依理." He misplaced [Japanese reading] punctua-

tion in the latter half of this phrase, because he misunderstood the meaning of the term jingji (broker, agent). Kita Shingen 北慎言 (Seiro 静廬) noted this point in his Baien nikki 梅園日記 [Plum Orchard Diary] (Kōka 2 [1845]^j). At present I do not have the original edition of the Ishō Nihon den (I have seen it), and I am basing what I write on the misreadings of this passage that appear in both the Shiseki shūran 史籍集覽 [Collection of Historical Documents, rev. ed., 1900-03]^k and the Kōgaku sōsho 皇學叢書 [Collection of Imperial Learning] of Mozume Takami 物集高見.¹

I should note in passing that there is a note beside the characters "Xu Hai" 徐海 in the margin of Hu gong Zongxian jiao Xu Hai benmo, which appears in the Kōgaku sōsho. It reads: "The two prefectures of Cangzhou and Xuzhou in Zhejiang province." Not to know who the famous Xu Hai, a leader of wakō on a par with Wang Zhi 王直, was and to mistake his name for a toponym is a major error.

Mao Kun's Hu gong Zongxian jiao Xu Hai benmo, taken from the Ishō Nihon den, is an important document for wakō studies. It describes in detail how Governor-General Hu Zongxian plotted, maneuvered, and eventually crushed the powerful pirate chiefs led by such men as Wang Zhi, Xu Hai, Chen Dong, and Ye Ma 葉麻 who were intimately tied to the wakō. As we find in the Ming shi 明史 [History of the Ming Dynasty] ("Wenyuan zhuan" 文苑傳 [Biographies of Literary Men, juan 287], Mao Kun (Humen 鹿門) "enjoyed speaking of military matters... When the wakō issue was pressing, he was invited to Hu Zongxian's staff, and together they made military preparations." He thus helped Hu Zongxian devise strategies to deal with the wakō. Although his essay describing the circumstances surrounding the defeat of these pirates does not lack portions particularly lauding Hu Zongxian, it never deviates far from the actual circumstances. His work is mentioned under part 6 of the "biographical materials" heading of the "History Section" of the Siku chuanshu zongmu tiyao 四庫全書總目提要 [Outline of the Catalog of the Complete Libraries of the Four Treasuries].

The aforementioned "Jinbao Wa jing," included as an appendix in the Quan-Zhe bingzhi kao, is a report on Hideyoshi's military expedition to Korea. Before the main text begins there is a section on Satsuma and the Chinese residents there at the time, including material seen scarcely anywhere else. As Xu Yihou states:

In the xinwei year [Longqing 5, Genki 2, 1571], my ship was passing through Guangdong and was captured. Fortunately, the lord of Satsuma in Japan liked to use unorthodox methods and thus saved our lives. Every time it was [Chinese] villainous sorts who drew the wakō into wreaking

havoc with our great [Ming] state. They took prisoners of merchants and fishermen and turned around and sold their wares. It is all very sad. In the yiyou year (Tenshō 13 [1585]), I [Xu Yihou] and the others fearfully reported to the lord of Satsuma on the murders of Chen Hewu 陳和吾, Qian Shaofeng 錢少峰, and some ten or more others, that their wives and children were dead, and that the remaining bandits had gone off to Cambodia, Siam, Luzon, and elsewhere. A small number of pirate vessels awaited them there. In the dinghai year (Tenshō 15 [1587]), Hideyoshi brought down Satsuma, Hizen, and Higo, and the pirate ships stealthily set out to sea. I accompanied the lord of Satsuma to an audience [with Hideyoshi]. He risked death in an appeal with Hideyoshi, and as a result the order to have [the pirates] executed was rescinded. There were still two pirate leaders who had not been captured. From that time forward till the present day, there has been peace on the high seas.

...Those Chinese who lived for a long period of time in Japan all belonged to bands of pirates. Not one of them, I believe, ever dared speak the truth [about Hideyoshi's expedition]. Furthermore, all villagers who operated shops were not well versed in national affairs, and not one of them either ever spoke the truth about this.

This citation reveals that even in the Hideyoshi era there seem to have been, in addition to Xu Yihou and Guo Guoan, a fair number of Chinese residents in Satsuma. Furthermore, these Chinese apparently served as guides for the wakō and frequented the Chinese coast. Inasmuch as Xu Yihou claimed that he was taken prisoner from his ship in 1571, the year of Wanli 19 (1591) when the secret report was written and sent corresponds to twenty years later. He lived in Satsuma for these twenty years and observed a wide variety of circumstances in Japan during this period; also reports on conditions in Japan, relying on information from Chinese ship captains who had been there, were sent back from time to time to China. This report by Xu Yihou on the military expedition of Hideyoshi appears to have reached the central government, for we find a memorial dated Wanli 22 from He Qiaoyuan 何喬遠, director in the Ministry of Personnel, in the Ming shi (juan 320, "biographies," no. 208, "Gaikoku" 外国 [Foreign Lands] 1) which reads: "In Wanli 19 a Chinese taken prisoner by the name of Xu Yi[h]ou wrote [a report] which reached home."

27. Zheng Chenggong and Guoxingye (Kokusen'ya, Koxinga)

The facts described in both the Sei-Kan roku and the Seihan yashi of Shimabara Kiuemon's repatriating Mao Guoke to China, traveling through Fujian province as far as Beijing, and then being received in an audience by Emperor Shenzong are open to doubt; nothing of the sort is reported in Chinese documents. As noted above, he did travel as far as Meihuasuo in Fujian, as pointed out in the Liangchao pingrang lu, and the rest would appear to be an exaggeration developed as the story circulated. An investigation of the Ming shilu reveals no evidence of his traveling to Beijing and having an audience with Shenzong. All of which is to say that I have yet to any evidence such as that which is reported in the Sei-Kan roku and the Seihan yashi. If we are to corroborate this material with Chinese documents, we need to examine such works as the Ming shi, the Ming shi jishi benmo 明史紀事本末 [Records of the Ming in Full (80 juan)] by Gu Yingtai 谷應泰 [d. 1689], the Ming shi gao 明史稿 [Draft History of the Ming Dynasty (310 juan)] by Wang Hongxu 王鴻緒 [1645-1723], the Ming tongjian 明通鑑 [Comprehensive Mirror of the Ming Dynasty] by Xia Xie 夏竦, and the Ming ji 明紀 [Records of the Ming Dynasty (60 juan)] by Chen Hao 陳鶴 and Chen Kejia 陳克家.^m I was, however, unable to locate any references to these events and finally I examined the Ming Shenzong shilu 明神宗實錄 [Veritable Records of the Reign of Shenzong of the Ming Dynasty] (published in Taiwan by the Institute of Historical Linguistics, Academia Sinica), but it, too, revealed nothing of this sort.

I would like mention once again something which may help explain all of this. In juan 348 of the Ming Shenzong shilu (dated the sixth month of Wanli 28 [1600]), there is a report from Zhejiang Governor Liu Yuanlin 劉元霖, given as a memorial from the "Ministry of War," which contains the following:

A lookout caught sight of a foreign vessel. There were several official Chinese and foreigners aboard. Upon investigation it was learned that Company Commander Mao Guokeⁿ 毛國科 had been sent to the Japanese military camp by Brigade Commander Mao Guoqi to operate as a spy. The present ruler [Tokugawa] Ieyasu [has ordered] Japanese to send him back by ship. Also, last year they bound and sent home men taken prisoner and a bandit leader [probably the leader of a group supporting the wakō] named Ji [Li] Zhou 季[李]州, altogether eleven men. Thus, [Mao Guo]ke was handed over and punished [together with the other eleven?].

The text then goes on as follows:

It was decided that the Fujian governor would also carry out an investigation, and finally the civilians and soldiers taken prisoner were to be taken back under protection to the respective original places from whence they had come, and they would be guaranteed by the local village leaders.

This memorial from the "Ministry of War" was composed in the bureaucratic language of the time, and there are passages within it quite difficult to decipher, but the general thrust can be gleaned from the above citations. The phrase "sent to the Japanese military camp...to operate as a spy," according to the Liangchao pingrang lu and the Wubei zhi, meant that Mao Guoke among others carried a warning proclamation into the Japanese military camp to encourage peace talks. Just then the Ming army suddenly attacked the Japanese, and Mao Guoke and his associates evacuated with the Japanese forces and were taken back to Japan.

In the account given in the aforementioned Ming Shenzong shilu, there is nothing mentioned about the treatment accorded the Japanese who escorted Mao Guoke back home. We have only that the "Ministry of War" memorialized a report from the governor of Zhejiang and that the "Ministry of War" memorialized concerning instructions to the governor of Fujian. Perhaps on the basis of these, the accounts in the Liangchao pingrang lu and the Wubei zhi--namely, that he was escorted as far as Meihuasuo in Fujian--should now be regarded as fact.

I would like now to add something to a point raised earlier. In Chinese historical texts that discuss the Korean Expedition--the Ming shilu, the Ming shi, the Ming shi jishi benmo, the Ming shi gao, the Ming tongjian, and the Ming ji (it is discussed as well in the Liangchao pingrang lu)--they write the name "Shimazu" 島津 [lords] of Satsuma as it would have been pronounced in Chinese with the three characters 石曼子 .

The Japanese army was divided along three routes or fronts. The eastern route force was based in Ulsan and was dubbed "Kiyomasa" 清正, and the western route force was based in Songnim and was dubbed "Yukinaga" 行長 . [The surnames] Katō 加藤 and Konishi 小西 [of the generals after whom these armed forces were named] were not used. However, the middle route force was based in Sach'ŏn and was dubbed Shimazu 石曼子 . This method of naming [by using the surname Shimazu] was not in conformity with [using the given names] Kiyomasa and Yukinaga.

The Ming shi (juan 320), for example, notes the following under "Waiguo zhuan 1" (Chaoxian) 外国伝朝鮮 [Treatises on Foreign Lands 1

(Korea)]: "At that time the Japanese were divided into three. The eastern route force was called Kiyomasa and was based in Ulsan. The western route force was called Yukinaga and based in Songnim and Yekyo; it built ramparts over a distance of several li. The middle route force was called Shimazu and based in Sach'on." The Liangchao pingrang lu also gives "Shimazu" 石曼子 and "Shimazu Yoshihiro" 石曼子 義弘 .

It would seem, then, that from prior to the Korean Expedition the Shimazu family was generally known in China at the time as "Shimazu" [namely, by the pronunciation of the name, rather than the correct characters], while at the time of the Korean Expedition the name of Kiyomasa and Yukinaga first became known. In any event, it is odd to read [the given names] "Kiyomasa" and "Yukinaga" next to [the surname] "Shimazu" 石曼子 .

Among the works I have examined, only Mao Yuanyi's Wubei zhi (juan 239, "Siyi" 四夷 [Four Barbarians] 17: "Chaoxian kao" follows the consistent pattern of "Kiyomasa," "Yukinaga," and "Yoshihiro." The Liangchao pingrang lu has both 島津 and 石曼子 for Shimazu, probably because it is an edited collection of historical documents. Particularly sharp is the following entry in the Ming Shenzong shilu (juan 329, entry for the twelfth month of Wanli 26 [1598]): "The Japanese commanders exhausted their strength in coming to the aid of Yukinaga in the west. Regional Commander Chen Lin 陳璘 went to the head of his officers and men, rallied the rank-and-file troops, and fought vigorously. He shot to death the great Japanese general Shimazu 石曼子 and took a number of his commanders alive." Inasmuch as he placed "the great Japanese general Shimazu" next to "Kiyomasa" and "Yukinaga," as commanders, respectively, of the eastern, western, and central route forces, "Shimazu" would point to Shimazu Yoshihiro. The portion of text cited here is the record of a report from Xing Jie, the Chinese commander of the expeditionary force. The Ming shilu similarly copies the reports from various bureaus and the expeditionary forces; it is not particularly discerning as a source (for example, it sometimes gives for Mao Guoqi the characters 毛國器 and sometimes the characters 茅國器). Although it is called the shilu or "veritable records," its accounts are just an accumulation of raw material, and it certainly would be dangerous to accept it uncritically as fact.

The Ming shilu in circulation is based entirely on immense manuscript works, and thus it did not undergo a thorough and detailed examination of all the material recorded in it so as to present a unified work. Furthermore, in the process of transcribing material, mistakes and omissions cropped up. There is now being published in

Taiwan (Academia Sinica, Institute of Historical Linguistics, 1967) a Ming Shenzong shilu jiaokan ji 明神宗實錄校勘記 [The Veritable Records of the Shenzong Reign of Ming Dynasty, Checked for Errors] (six stringbound volumes) which examines the manuscripts used in the 596 juan of the text for errors, and it turns out that there were quite a few differences in characters in the manuscript editions.

Zheng Zhilong 鄭芝龍 was based in Fujian at the end of the Ming dynasty, supported the Longwu 隆武 Emperor as the descendant of the Ming imperial house, resisted the invasion of the powerful Qing military, and sought military support from the Japanese. I have already devoted a fair number of pages to him, to investigations of the account given in the Riben qishi ji 日本乞師紀 [Record of Requesting Help from Japan] in which Zheng and his general, Zhou Cuizhi, requested military assistance from the king of Satsuma 薩斯瑪, to the relationship between Zhou Cuizhi and Satsuma, and to the relationship between the Ming and Satsuma going back to the time of Hideyoshi's Korean Expedition. If we might return to this for a moment, I would like to add a bit on Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功.

While Zheng Zhilong was in Hirado, he sired a child of mixed ethnicity, Zheng Chenggong, with a Japanese woman, and thus the child was half Japanese. Chenggong continued to support the Ming pretender even after Zhilong surrendered to the Manchu armies. Supporting the Ming to the bitter end, he took refuge in Taiwan and refused to submit, a man brimming with a sense of loyalty, the basis of the Japanese martial ethos. This was a quality much praised by Japanese scholars and literary men in the later Tokugawa era. Chikamatsu Monzaemon's 近松門左衛門 [1653-1724] play, Kokusen'ya kassen 国性爺合戦 [The Battles of Koxinga], attracted extraordinary popularity, and Watōnai 和藤内, Zheng Chenggong['s childhood name in the play], was widely extolled by townsmen of that time.

In the Bunsei reign period [1818-30], a three-volume work, Taiwan Teishi kiji 台灣鄭氏紀事 [Chronicle of the Zheng Family of Taiwan] (1828) was compiled by historian Kawaguchi Chōju 川口長孺 on the orders of the daimyo of Mito domain. Conscientiously citing many historical texts, he examined in concrete detail the anti-Manchu movement of the Zheng family and wrote his work in the annalistic format in literary Chinese. Also, on the order of the daimyo of Hirado, the Confucian official Asakawa Zen'an 朝川善庵 (Kanae 鼎 [1781-1849]) wrote Tei shōgun Seikō den 鄭將軍成功伝 [Biography of General Zheng Chenggong] (Kaei 3 [1850]) in literary Chinese. This work was originally written as an inscription; at its very end, we read: "It was ordered that the biography Kanae had composed be en-

graved on stone at Senrihama so as to preserve it as an ancient relic." As it turned out, the text became too long for the stone being carved, and later the Confucian official Hayama Takayuki 葉山高行 (Gaiken 鑑軒) was instructed to compose a text (1852), inscribe it in on stone, and fix the stele at Senri (near Kawachi bay where Zheng Chenggong had been born). The inscription is included in the Dai Nihon shōgyō shi 大日本商業史 [History of Commerce in the Great Japan] (1892)^o by Suganuma Teifū 菅沼貞風, a native of Hirado, and in the Hirado bōeki shi 平戸貿易史 [History of Trade in Hirado], appended to the former. In his work, Kaigai iden 海外異伝 [Strange Stories from Overseas], Saitō Seiken 齋藤正謙 (Setsudō 拙堂) dealt with three men active in overseas affairs: Yamada Nagamasa 山田長政 [d. 1633], Hamada Yahee 浜田弥兵衛, and Zheng Chenggong. As Saitō noted:

Zheng Damu 鄭大木 [Chenggong] indignantly took the lead in performing heroic deeds. He summoned the declining sun from the place where it sets, and isolated without any support he faced the rising enemy. He would not submit despite countless frustrations for he had the ways of our General Kusunoki Masashige 楠正成 [1294-1336]. For several decades his descendants continued to serve the proper ruler in a corner [of the realm], again just like Mr. Kusunoki. Perhaps he was impregnated with our eastern essence.

We see here the reason that men of that time praised Zheng Chenggong.

According to Kitani Hōgin 木谷逢吟 ("Kaisetsu" 解説 [explanatory note] to Kokusen'ya kassen, in vol. 3 of Dai Chikamatsu zenshū 大近松全集 [Complete Works of the Great Chikamatsu], Tokyo: Dai Chikamatsu zenshū kankōkai, 1922-25), Chikamatsu's play Kokusen'ya kassen "was based on rare accounts of which we find no comparable examples in the history of drama. The play opened in the eleventh month of Shōtoku 5 [1715] and lasted through its final show in the second month of Kyōhō 2 [1717]. Over a three-year period [1715-17], it lasted a lengthy seventeen months [Kyōhō 1 had an intercalary first month] and played every day to packed houses. Similar cases are extremely rare indeed."

Zheng Chenggong acquired the name "Guoxingye" (Kokusen'ya, Koxinga, Coxinga), because the Longwu emperor of the [itinerant] Ming gave him the Ming imperial name or "national name" (guoxing 国姓) of Zhu 朱; he was also known as Zhu Chenggong. In Chikamatsu's usage guoxing became 国性, but historical evidence indicates that 国姓 is correct. The last character "ye" 爺 (ya) carries an honorific meaning in China, and it is attached to given names.

The Kokusen'ya play was staged a second time in the first month of Kyōhō 5 [1720] (three years after the initial performance closed),

a third time in the fifth month of Kyōhō 16 [1731], a fourth time in the seventh month of Kan'en 3 [1750], and then repeatedly after that and always with great success, according to Kitani. It thus exerted a wide influence in many areas, for "jōruri [ballad dramas] and kabuki were, needless to say, adapted in novelizations, storybooks, novels, nō chants, and paintings, as well as various kinds of toys, dolls, candies, and clothing." Zheng Chenggong as "Koxinga" gained overwhelming popularity among the urban dwellers of Japan.

With the extraordinary popularity of Kokusen'ya kassen, Chikamatsu wrote Kokusen'ya gojitsu kassen 国性爺後日合戦 [The Later Battles of Koxinga] in 1717 and Tōsen banashi ima Kokusen'ya 唐船断今国性爺 [Koxinga and the Story of the Chinese Vessels] in 1722. Also, Kitani notes that Ki no Kaion 紀海音 [1663-1742] wrote Keisei Kokusen'ya 傾城国性爺 [Koxinga, the Demi-Monde Version],^P and Nishiki Bunryū 錦文流 wrote Kokusen'ya tegara nikki 国仙野手柄日記 [Diary of the Exploits of Koxinga], a playbook in the bunyabushi 文弥節 [style of chanting jōruri music].

These are all texts of plays, but many novelizations and storybooks concerned with Koxinga were also published. Kitani raises, among others, Kiseki's 其蹟 [1667-1736] Kokusen'ya Minchō taiheiki 国性爺明朝太平記 [Koxinga's Chronicle of Peace in the Ming] and Kokusen'ya gozen gundan 国性爺御前軍談 [Koxinga's Military Tales], Hachimojiya Jishō's 八文字屋自笑 Fūryū Keiseiya gundan^Q 風流傾城爺群談, Ishida Gyokusan's 石田玉山 Kokusen'ya chūgi den 国性爺忠義伝 [Koxinga's Biography of Loyalty and Righteousness], and Bokutei Yukimaru's 墨亭雪丸 Kokusen'ya kassen 国性爺合戦.

Furthermore, quoting from the Nansui man'yū shūi 南水漫遊拾遺 [Gleanings from Travels along the Southern Waterways], Kitani argues that the "Rōmon" 楼門 [Tower Gate] scene [in Act III] of Kokusen'ya kassen was translated into Chinese by a Nakasaki interpreter by the name of Shū Bunjizaemon 周文二左衛門. He cites one passage at the very beginning: "The story goes that an official came several times to Tangshan. He wanted to attack the Manchu ruler and revive the greatness of the Ming dynasty. So, he summoned righteous men of valor. One night Watōnai, accompanying an elderly woman, went to the lion's castle in which resided Gan Hui 甘輝 of the Wuchang Army."

The text of Kokusen'ya kassen in 90 folio leaves, seven lines to a page, of Takemoto Chikugo no jō 竹本筑後掾 [another name for the important puppet play chanter Takemoto Gidayū 竹本義太夫 I], held in the Tōyō Bunko Library, was published in photocopy form by Nihon koten bungaku kankōkai 日本古典文学刊行会 in 1972 with an explanatory pamphlet by Tsutsumi Seiji 堤精二 appended. He notes, in addition to those works mentioned by Kitani, a large number of works with

plots involving Koxinga. The novel Ima Watōnai Tōdosen 今和藤内唐上船 [The Chinese Vessels of Watōnai] and the popular picture book edition of Kokusen'ya kassen こく情や合戦 [The Battles of Koxinga] were published with the artwork of Shimai Kiyomitsu 島居清満, the kibyōshi 黄表紙 Kokusen'ya hanjō 石千尾繁昌 [The Prosperity of Koxinga] (Tenmei 2 [1782]) was written by Iba Kashō 伊庭可笑, and the popular illustrated edition Kokusen'ya Nippon banashi 国姓爺倭談 [The Japanese Story of Koxinga] (Bunka 12 [1815]) by Tōzaian Nanboku 東西庵南北, among others.

On Zheng Zhilong we have a detailed account right up to his surrender in "Zheng Zhilong shoufu" 鄭芝龍受撫 [Zheng Zhilong Pacified], in juan 76 of Ming shi jishi benmo (preface dated 1658) by Gu Yingtai of the early Qing. There is as well a rather detailed record in Huacun kanxing daizhe's 花村看行侍者 Tan wang 談往 [Tales of Travels] (1 juan), under a section entitled "Feihuang shimo" 飛黃始末 [A Full Report on Feihuang]. The Tan wang is a work of the late Ming to early Qing, for at the very end of its description of Zheng Zhilong, it recounts: "After a short time, he submitted to the dynasty and repaired to Shengjing [the Manchu capital]." The Tan wang discusses 27 anecdotes generally from the Chongzhen period [1628-44] of events in the lives of descendants of the Ming. It is listed in the table of contents of the history section of the Siku quanshu tiyao 四庫全書提要 with an explanatory note and is now included in [volume 14 of] the reference work, Shuo ling 說鈴 [by Wu Zhenfang 吳震方, 1705, reprint 1868]. In the Tan wang, Zhilong is called Feihuang 飛黃, and in the Zheng Chenggong zhuan 鄭成功伝 [Biography of Zheng Chenggong] (to be discussed below) his style is given as Feihuang, but in the Wujing kaizong 武經開宗 [Origins of the Military Classics] and the Ka-i hentai 華夷姿態 [The Transformation from Civilized [China] to Barbarian [Manchu]], it is given as Feihong 飛虹. The Taiwan waiji [see below] and the Xiaotian jizhuan 小腆紀伝 [Biographies of (an Era of) Small Prosperity] both give Feihuang 飛黃.

The Wujing kaizong is a work of the late Ming, claiming to be "compiled by Huang Xianchen 黃獻臣 of Futian" and with a preface dated the fourth month of Chongzhen 9 [1636].^r It was reprinted in Japan in seven stringbound volumes with Japanese reading punctuation in Kanbun 1 [1661]. It would seem that this work was published before Zheng Zhilong surrendered to the Qing forces, when he was still fighting for military glory in the Nanhai area. The book is a "military classic" explaining military tactics and strategies as well as giving illustrations of weaponry and battle arrays. In it we find a volume entitled "Gujin mingjiang" 古今名將 [Famous Commanders Past

and Present] which offers capsule biographies of celebrated military leaders from the Zhou, Spring and Autumn, and Warring States periods through the late Ming. At the end of the Ming section, Zheng Zhilong is mentioned. There it states that his style was Feihong and that during the Chongzhen era "he repeatedly called on the generals-in-chief and regional commanders of three provinces, carried out the affairs of the area commander, and was appointed commander of the Nan-Ao region." It goes on to state: "He trained troops for ten years and did not use up a single grain of public rice." This refers to the era in which he was most active militarily in Nanhai. However, later Zheng Zhilong surrendered to the Manchus when they invaded Fujian, and this is recounted in the section "Erchen zhuan" 貳臣伝 [Biographies of Those Who Served Two Authorities] in juan 63 of the Xiaotian jizhuan and in the section "Nichen zhuan" 逆臣伝 [Biographies of Rebellious Officials] in juan 80 of the Qing shi liezhuan 清史列伝 [Biographies in Qing History].

One three-volume work on the life of Zheng Chenggong is Taiwan Teishi kiji (Bunsei 11 [1828]) by Kawaguchi Chōju of Mito domain. It is an annalistic account in Kanbun for which Kawaguchi widely investigated related Chinese documents from the Ming and Qing eras as well as documents left in Japan, checked them for accuracy, and then compiled the work. It begins in Keichō 17 (Wanli 40 [1612]) as Zheng Zhilong and someone by the name of Zuguan 祖官 came for an audience with the bakufu (at Sunbu [in present-day Shizuoka]), and it ends in Genroku 13 (Kangxi 39 [1700]) when on the edict of the Qing ruler Zheng Chenggong and his son Jing 經 (who died in Taiwan) are returned for their funerals at their familial home in Nan'an, Fujian province.

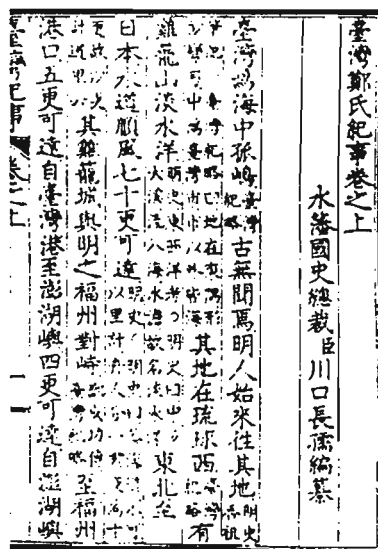
At the end of his work, Chōju notes:

The affairs [discussed herein] are based on an assortment of writings and have been checked for their veracity. Literary texts add complexities and literary adornments, and I have imposed order on this. Although I deal primarily with the Zheng family, I also touch on matters concerning the late Ming dynasty. Over the course of some 80 years of time, there was order and chaos, flourishing and decline, rise and fall, and thus when the mandate of heaven and the minds of men set on a course of action, this may be seen in general terms.

This statement enables us to see the main principles of compilation of the work. Kawaguchi's book is discussed in juan 13 of Xie Guozhen's 謝國楨 book, 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; revised edition, Shanghai: Guji chubanshe,

1981), and I think it should be cited as a document worthy of special attention in the study of the Zhengs, compiled in Edo-period Japan.

At the beginning of the Taiwan Teishi kiji, he gives an explanation of Taiwan, citing several works, and then at the very start of the annals section of the work, he cites from such Japanese writings as Butoku taisei ki 武徳大成記 [Compilation on the Martial Arts], Koku shi 國史 [National History], and Butoku hennen shūsei 武徳編年集成 [Annalistic Compendium on the Martial Arts]. He then notes: "In Keichō 17 [1612], Zheng Zhilong and Zuguan of the Ming had an audience with the bakufu at Sunbu. The shogunate politely asked him questions about the affairs in foreign lands. Zhilong presented a gift of medicines." This account is not to be found in any Chinese source on the subject. He then goes on to cite the Zheng Chenggong zhuan to say "Zhilong had the style of Feihuang" and to cite the Wujing kaizong and the Ka-i hentai to say that "later he was called General Feihong." His father's name was Shaozu 紹祖, and he served as storehouse commissioner for Cai Shanji 蔡善繼 (Ye Shanji 葉善繼, according to the Zheng Chenggong zhuan), the prefect of Quanzhou (Fujian), and Zhilong was his eldest son. "At birth he was very good looking," states the text, citing the Zheng Chenggong zhuan and the Tan wang, "and after he had matured a bit, his bravery and skill far surpassed others of his generation, modeling himself on men of the time, perhaps Qi Jiguang 戚繼光. He had extraordinary literary skills and knew everything there was about music and dance." After a falling out with his father, Shaozu forgave and went after him, while Zhilong departed to find an ocean-going vessel. At the appointed



From the Japanese edition of the Taiwan Teishi kiji

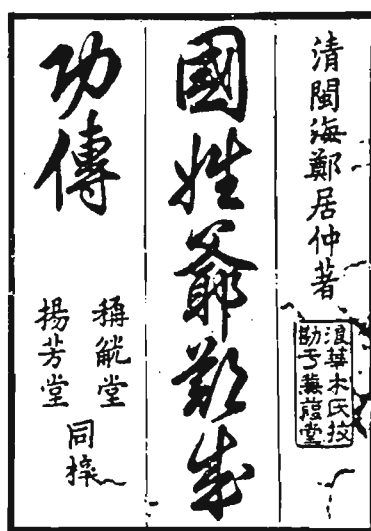
time of its departure, the ship raised its sail, and he pleaded with a wealthy merchant who permitted him on board, and so he eventually made his way to Japan. At the time he was eighteen years of age, he was in Hirado (Bizen), using the name Hirado Rōikkan 平戸老一官. Later, he made frequent trips to Japan aboard merchant vessels. So, the text relates, citing the Tan wang, the Zheng Chenggong zhuan, the Nanjuku shū 南塾集 [Collection of the Southern Academy], the Ka-i hentai, the Ryūkyū shiryaku 琉球志略 [Brief Gazetteer of Ryūkyū], the Nagasaki yawa sō 長崎夜話草 [Nagasaki Evening Chats], and other texts.

In an entry under Keichō 7 [1602] (dated to Tianqi 1 [1621]), we read that "before this occurred bandits arose in the Nanhai," and their leader was one Yan Zhenxiang 顏振泉 (the Zheng Chenggong zhuan gives his name as Yan Siqi 顏思齊). Zhenxiang was known as the "Japanese leader" (Nihon kōra 日本甲螺; kōra was apparently corrupted to kashira meaning "leader"), and had occupied some terrain on Taiwan at the head of a group of rural Japanese. They split up the area with a gang of thieves into ten strongholds to hold onto the land. Zhilong together with his younger brother Zhihu 芝虎 joined Zhenxiang's party. They plundered four cargo vessels from Thailand, and Zhilong's wealth was the greatest of the ten. Eventually, Zhenxiang died, and at the persuasion of the other bandits Zhilong became chief and traveled the seas. The text draws this information from the Tan wang, the Zheng Chenggong zhuan, the Ming shi jishi benmo, and other works. Booty from looting and pillaging gradually led to great wealth, and the Ming forces could not fight them off. A pacification order was issued. Because Zhilong had once been in Cai Shanji's debt, Cai encouraged him to surrender, which ultimately Zhilong agreed to do, according to the Zheng Chenggong zhuan and the Ming shi jishi benmo.

In another entry under Keichō 7 (dated Chongzhen 3 [1630]), we read: "While Zhilong was initially in Hirado, he married a woman, née Tagawa 田川 of a samurai family. She gave birth to Chenggong and a younger brother Shichizaemon 七左衛門." This material is drawn from the Zheng Chenggong zhuan and the Tagawa Shichizaemon sojō 田川七左衛門訴狀 [The Petition of Tagawa Shichiuemon]. The Taiwan Teishi kiji goes on to discuss the activities of Zheng Zhilong, but the birth of Zheng Chenggong digresses from the accounts of the text. I would like now to look at the Zheng Chenggong zhuan, so frequently cited by the Taiwan Teishi kiji, because this work had been one of the most influential historical sources on Zheng Chenggong in both China and Japan.

Fujiwara Ietaka's 藤原家孝 collection of random pieces, Ochiguri monogatari 落栗物語 [The Story of Fallen Chestnuts], originally circulated in manuscript form (Bunsei 6 [1823], published by Asō Tomotoshi 麻生知俊). It was later included in the first volume of Kokusho kankōkai's 国書刊行会 Hyakka zuihitsu 百家随筆 [The Random Pieces of 100 Authors] (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1917-18, 3 stringbound volumes). Although it is unclear just when it was written, it contains material on Tokugawa Iemitsu's 徳川家光 going to the capital in the Kan'ei period [1624-44] and on the chanting of Buddhist sutras at Ninnaji 仁和寺 in the spring of An'ei 9 [1780]. Because it is a collection of transcribed observations from this period, it probably was written in the late An'ei period or the early Tenmei or Kansei periods. It largely records material within aristocratic circles, but therein one finds a section covering comparative historical facts concerning Zheng Chenggong. It is doubtful that what it says in this context was based on anything, but a close look at the content of what it relates leads us to the conclusion that it essentially took material from the Zheng Chenggong zhuan and translated it into Japanese.

In addition to scattered reports transmitted from Nagasaki, knowledge among Japanese about Zheng Chenggong at the time--what sort of man he was, as well as changes in the times or circumstances--was, as can be seen in the Ochiguri monogatari, principally drawn from the Zheng Chenggong zhuan. In the second month of An'ei 3 (1774), the Zheng Chenggong zhuan was reprinted with Japanese reading punctuation in Japan (Osaka), and the author of the Ochiguri monogatari probably saw the reprinted text.



Japanese reprint edition of the Zheng Chenggong zhuan

One text known to recount the vestiges of Zheng Chenggong was the Cixing shimo 賜姓始末 [Full Account of the Imperial Gift of a Surname] in one juan by Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲. Also, the Taiwan waiji 台灣外記 [Account of Taiwan] (preface dated Kangxi 43 [1704], 30 juan) by Jiang Risheng 江日昇 (Dongxu 東旭),^s written in the style of a serialized novel, describes the rise and fall of the Zheng family over a 63-year period from the birth of Zheng Zhilong through the surrender of Zheng Keshuang 鄭克塽: "People from Fujian recounted in great detail what transpired in Fujian, sufficient to pick and choose from for the history of the country" (from the preface by Chen Zheyong 陳折永).^t

In Japan, however, people became familiar with this information primarily from the Japanese reprint edition of Zheng Chenggong zhuan. The text in two stringbound volumes was punctuated and introduced into Japan by Kimura Kōkyō 木村孔恭 (Kenkadō 兼葭堂) of Osaka, and he published it based on the original edition which came into his possession.^u Even now this reprinted edition can be found occasionally on the book lists of used book stores, and I have a copy of it myself. After it was reprinted, all subsequent Japanese biographies of Zheng Chenggong seem to have been based upon it. The Taiwan Teishi kiji also has much that derives from it. Before it appeared, one work published in Japan that discussed Zheng Chenggong in some detail was the Min-Shin tō ki 明清閩記 [Chronicle of the Battles between Ming and Qing] (with a preface dated Kanbun 1 [1661] by Ukai Nobuyuki 鵜飼信之). Based on reports conveyed to Nagasaki, it appears to be largely rooted in fact, but is written in novel form full of hyperbole. It was, though, published while Zheng Chenggong was alive, in the very year that he first occupied Taiwan. (The Min-Shin tō ki will be discussed in the next chapter). Also, a general outline of Zheng Chenggong is conveyed in the Nakasaka yawa sō (Kyōhō 5 [1720]) by Nishikawa Joken 西川如見 [1648-1724, who was from Nagasaki, under the title, "Takasago no koto narabete Kokusen'ya monogatari" 塔伽沙谷之事并国姓爺物語] [On Taiwan and the Story of Koxinga]. It recounts much that is in the Min-Shin tō ki.

The original text that Kimura Kenkadō used for his reprint edition is now held in the Naikaku Bunko. After his death the text became part of his former library which the shogunate acquired from his descendants. In the book, in addition to the library seal of his collection ("Kenkadō zōsho in" 兼葭堂藏書印), we now find the following library seals: "Asakusa bunko," "Shōheizaka gakumonjo" 昌平坂學問所, and "Nihon seifu tosho" 日本政府図書. The reprint edition omitted the original preface (dated the second month of Kangxi 41 [1702]) by the author Zheng Yizou 鄭亦鄒 (Juzhong 居仲 [jinshi of 1706]) and

included only a preface by a Japanese (Kinryū Dōjin 金龍道人) and postface (Akutagawa Kan 芥川燦). Thus, the background of this particular text is unclear in the reprinted edition. In his Wan Ming shiji kao, Xie Guozhen mentions this work, but, having not seen the original, he based himself on the Japanese reprint edition and just transcribed the preface to that edition by Kinryū Dōjin.

According to author Zheng Yizou's own preface, the Zheng Chenggong zhuan was originally appended to the Mingji suizhi lu 明季逐志錄 [Record of a Fulfilled Will in the Late Ming]. The folds in the pages of the book carry the title "Mingji suizhi lu" and in rather small characters below it we find "Daoshang fuzhuan" 島上附伝 [Appended Account of the Island]. "Daoshang" undoubtedly referred to the island of Taiwan. According to the preface, the Mingji suizhi lu was put together from the following works: Mingji bianwu 明季弁誤 [Distinguishing Errors about the Late Ming] (4 juan), Jiang Min shilue 江閩事略 [Brief Account of Jiangsu and Fujian] (6 juan), Ming yu xingguo lu 明余行國錄 [Account of the Itinerant Ming] (16 juan), and Ming yimin lu 明遺民錄 [Account of Ming Remnants] (1 juan). To these the Zheng Chenggong zhuan was added, it would appear, as an appendix.

Inasmuch as the Mingji suizhi lu appears on the Qing Council of State's "list of books banned and to be destroyed," it probably did not circulate extensively. Thus, in Xie Guozhen's Wan Ming shiji kao, the original is not even registered. In his Qingdai jinshu zhijian lu 清代禁書知見錄 [Record of Works Known to Have Been Banned in the Qing Period] (Shanghai reprint: Commercial Press, 1957), Sun Yaoqing 孫耀卿 lists the Mingji suizhi lu in 2 juan (part of the full text); and because he claims it to be an "old manuscript," we know that he must not have seen the original.

Xie Guozhen mentions the Mingji suizhi lu in his Wan Ming shiji kao and notes: "It is a short introduction appended to the Daoshang fuzhuan, held in the Naikaku Bunko in Japan." Apparently, the Mingji suizhi lu is scarcely available even in China. In an explanatory note, Mr. Xie writes of the author Zheng Yizou: "Detailed facts about him are not known." Yet, an explanatory note in juan 13 of the Zheng Chenggong zhuan draws on the Dongyue rulin houzhuan 東越儒林後伝 [Later Confucian Biographies from Fujian] (1 juan) by Chen Shouqi 陳壽祺 [1771-1834] to point out that "Zheng Yizou was from Haicheng, Zhangzhou and was a juren of Shunzhi 13 [1656]." Indifferent to bureaucratic advancement, he returned home to find rest. He acquired a thatched hut in the foothills of the white clouds and created the Nanbing Wenshe 南屏文社 [Literary Society of Retirement in the South]." There is some sort of contradiction here [between Xie's and Zheng's accounts]. The text goes on further to note: "Those who

studied there came from as far away as Japan. Ki[mura] Kōkyō of Naniwa [Osaka], Japan, proofread the text for errors." This seems to indicate that those who studied at Zheng's Nanbing Wenshe brought the text to Japan, and thus Kimura Kenkadō obtained it. But what really happened? Having not seen the Dongyue rulin houzhuan, I cannot judge whether the phrase, "those who studied there came from as far away as Japan," was part of the entry in the Dongyue rulin houzhuan or a portion added by Mr. Xie himself.^V

The author refers to his preface as a "Corroborative Introduction" (Zhengxin xu 徵信序). In it he notes: "It has been nearly 60 years from the fall of the Ming dynasty till today. People have departed and the wind has died down. Even with conscientious men of wisdom and attentive men of talent, we cannot be completely free of errors." However, while "I could not walk the length and breadth of Kyūshū and see the whole terrain,...I looked where the traces led and did not forget to investigate in detail. Men of great moral character and wisdom from far away who are concerned with the same matters as I have kindly written me letters. My knowledge remains incomplete." For corroborative purposes--in other words, to establish the veracity of events from the time of the fall of the Ming dynasty--he gathered historical materials with painstaking care: "I shall later return to this and order it all by categories." It would seem that the accounts given in this work have a high degree of credibility.

28. The Min-Shin tō ki

I have already touched on one Japanese work, written in a mixture of Chinese characters and Japanese kana, detailing the activities of Zheng Chenggong; it is the Min-Shin tō ki (preface dated 1661, 10 volumes, with numerous charts and maps) which appeared early. It was written some 113 years before Kenkadō's reprint of the Zheng Chenggong zhuan appeared. Because it was composed in a dramatic style, in the form of a novel of military affairs, it necessarily contains colorful adornments to its descriptions. However, many texts cite its accounts as a historical source. This can be seen even in studies of more recent vintage, from the Taiwan Teishi kiji on. In that year of 1661, Zheng Chenggong seized Taiwan from the occupying Dutch forces and made it his consummate base of operations. However, at the very end of volume ten of the Min-Shin tō ki, we read that Zheng Chenggong attacked the outpost held by the Dutch (Anpingcheng) and brought about their surrender soon thereafter. Thus, we can see that this book was written on the basis of the most recent

reports and information available at the time.

More concretely, at the end of the preface by Ukai Nobuyuki (Sekisai 石齋 [1615-64]), which appears at the beginning of the text, we find that it was written in "the first ten days of the eleventh month of Kanbun 1 [1661]." That Zheng Chenggong died in Taiwan at age 39, namely in the fifth month of the next year, Kangxi 1 [1662], is consistent with accounts from the Zheng Chenggong zhuan, the Taiwan Teishi kiji, the Taiwan waiji, and the Xiaotian jinian 小腆紀年 [Chronicles of an Era of Small Propserity] (as well as the Xiaotian jizhuan). Among these works, the Taiwan waiji and the Xiaotian jinian both supply the date as the eighth day of the fifth month. In this instance, it would appear that the Xiaotian jinian was based on the Taiwan waiji; at other points in the Xiaotian jinian, the compiler notes that accounts from the Taiwan waiji are more reliable than those of the Mingji nanlue 明季南略 [Southern Strategies of the Late Ming].^w

It was said that Zheng Chenggong died of illness, but there are many hypotheses about the cause of his death. In many books we find that he caught cold on the first day of the fifth month, sat cross-legged on the floor to suppress it, argued with his subordinates, and mounted a platform to observe vessels come from the Pescadores Islands; he then suddenly died on the eighth day of the month. Any number of theories seem to have been circulating as to its cause. Perhaps, while reading the Taizu zuxun 太祖祖訓 [Ancestral Admonitions from (Ming) Taizu] (the Longwu Emperor was said to have contributed a preface to this work), he said "with what dignity may we look upon our former emperor [Longwu] who is beneath the earth," tore at his head (or covered his face) with both hands, and died in a fit of anger (as told in such texts as the Taiwan waiji and the Xiaotian jinian). Perhaps, he became insane, bit off his fingers, and died (as told in such texts as Lin Shidui's 林時對 Hezha congkan 荷牆叢談 [Collected Stories of Hezha] (Taipei: Taiwan wenxian congkan, 1962, no. 62) and the Qing shi gao 清史稿 [Draft History of the Qing Dynasty]). Perhaps, he contracted malaria and died (as told in such works as Irizawa Tatsukichi 人沢達吉 Unsō zuihitsu 雲莊隨筆 [Random Notes from a Villa in the Clouds; Tokyo: Ōhata shoten, 1931] and Inagaki Magohee's 稻垣孫兵衛 [Kigai 其外], Tei Seikō 鄭成功 [Zheng Chenggong; Taipei: Taiwan keisei shinpōsha, 1929]).

In his work, "Zheng Chenggong de siyin kao" 鄭成功的死因考 [A Study of the Cause of Zheng Chenggong's Death] (included in Zheng Chenggong danchen jinian teji 鄭成功誕辰紀念特輯 [Special Issue Commemorating the Birth of Zheng Chenggong], in Wenxian zhuankan 文獻專刊

1.3 [1950]), Li Tengyue 李騰嶽, a medical doctor (perhaps his degree was from a Japanese institution inasmuch as he cites numerous Japanese writings) of the "Taiwan Documents Committee," introduced these various theories, widely referred to many types of historical works (58 in all), and added a study of his own. He concluded that "the onset of his [i.e., Zheng's] illness came from a cold he had caught, which appears to have been a kind of sickness accompanied by a sudden rise in temperature" related, Li argues, to the poor climate of Taiwan.

In additional remarks, Dr. Li cites many historical writings to analyze in medical terms Zheng Chenggong's nature and disposition. He claims that Zheng was of bilious temperament in terms of the Greek theories of humors and of type O blood; according to the views on mental illness of [the German psychiatrist] Ernst Kretschmer [1888-1964], he was a cruel ruler and egotist; in body type and temperament of a similarly mentally ill person, he was close to depressive insanity. This perspective should probably be taken into account when considering Zheng Chenggong, the man, who was reputed to be strict in military discipline and morals and executed transgressors without mercy.

From the date of Ukai Sekisai's preface to the text, Kanbun 1 [1661], we know that the Min-Shin tō ki was written about one-half year before the sudden death of Zheng Chenggong. The year that it was printed, perhaps 1661 or perhaps the next year, however, is not given at the end of the text where it only reads: "Printed by Tanaka Shōhee 田中庄兵衛." This was the case for the edition of the text which I have seen in the Naikaku Bunko (a first printing or near first printing; the form of the Chinese characters in the book's title are different from later editions; the Naikaku Bunko has a text of a later printing as well). I have a copy of a later printing in my library; except for the fact that it lacks the phrase "Printed by Tanaka Shōhee," it is entirely the same as the first printing with no date given. We do, though, know that the printer of the Min-Shin tō ki, "Tanaka Shōhee," was a Kyoto bookstore, because on the final page of the Tsūzoku Kokusen'ya chūgi den 通俗国姓爺忠義伝 [Popular Biography of the Loyal and Righteous Koxinga] (19 ken, in katakana, with illustrations), we find: "Tanaka Shōhee Bookstore, woodblocks prepared by Nakamura Shinshichi 中村進七," and next to "Tanaka Shōhee" are the characters for "at the edge of the Gojō Bridge in Rakuyō [Kyoto]."

The actual body of the Min-Shin tō ki begins as follows: in the first year of the dynasty [1368], the meritorious official Liu Ji 劉基

(Bowen 伯溫) who had helped the first emperor of the Ming, Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 , to found the great Ming dynasty observed the heavens and predicted the rise of the great Ming, and after the passage of 280 years, he predicted the rise of the Qing dynasty with a reign title of Shunzhi. The story then unfolds, generally following historical facts, as Li Zicheng 李自成 brings down the Ming and the Qing invades. The text describes the battles fought at a number of points within the country between the invading Qing armies and the forces supporting descendants of the Ming dynastic house. The story then proceeds primarily to depict the sudden rise of Zheng Zhilong and Zheng Chenggong and the battles in which they engaged. Finally, as touched upon earlier, Chenggong, finding his position in China proper untenable, plans to seize Taiwan and he attacks the Dutch military there.

The principle reason the author of this work wrote his book was to try to convey an image of Zheng Chenggong as a hero who supported the Ming to the bitter end and resisted the invading Qing. He even referred to the forces of Zheng Chenggong as the "official army" (kangun 官軍). As a work that closely followed the historical facts of Zheng Chenggong's career, it seems to have been based on detailed historical reports of the day.

Let us now take a look at Ukai Sekisai's preface to get at how this book was composed.

Through an introduction, Maezono Sōbu 前園曾武 of Nagasaki in Hishū, came to visit my humble cottage. He said to me: "Recently, the Great Ming has lost its virtue, the integrity of the national terrain has been severely harmed, and the gods of the soil and grain are ?¹ The northern barbarians have taken advantage of the troubles to take grand control over the country. Their state is called Da Qing, and they have changed to the reign title Shunzhi... Zheng Zhilong from Quanzhou once took refuge for several years in Matsuura, Hishū, Japan. People called him Hirado Ikkan 平戸一官 . He then returned home but could not bear to sit and watch his homeland be overthrown... Sounding the tocsin of righteousness, he raised a force of men and repeatedly reported his military victories. Unfortunately, he fell into the hands of the barbarians' court and did not fulfill his heart's desire. How terribly sad! Hirado's son was Chenggong... He deeply resented his father's unhappy fate... He thereupon personally led a band of men to attack cities and plunder terrain,...and tried to bring down Ying-tianfu [Nanjing], but he failed and retreated... His

heart's desire, though, had not yet been broken. He retreated an inch to advance a foot in an effort to attain his long-cherished wish. He was truly a heroic man. My [i.e., Maezono's] father was surnamed Xu 徐 and came from Quanzhou in the Ming. He came to our country [Japan], and I was born in Nagasaki. My father died when I was seven years of age. My relatives now live in our old village, and every year a merchant vessel comes to Nagasaki. Among the family papers [they brought] were reports of the bandits' upheavals in China. According to merchants' stories, furthermore, they took down copious notes which filled several volumes. Others then edited them into a complete account. They spoke with Mr. Kurokawa 黒川 and Mr. Tsumagi 妻木, the local pacification officials [the Nagasaki Administrators]. They went as far away as the capital [Kyoto] to speak with Lord Makino 牧野 of Sado domain. I would like this volume to spread throughout the realm.

"However, the writing in this volume is vulgar and unsophisticated. The language is abstruse, and the meaning will not be conveyed. Thus, I request your [Ukai] editorial comments to make this a straightforward piece of work. Please do not turn me down without looking at it."

Having received this request from Maezono, Ukai Sekisai replied:

Books that recount the disorders in Ming China include Jingguo xionglue 經國雄略 [Grand Plan for Managing the State (by Zheng Dayu 鄭大猷, 9 juan, 1645], Huang Ming jishi benmo 皇明紀事本末 [Full Account of the August Ming Dynasty], and Mingchao xiao shi 明朝小史 [Short History of the Ming Dynasty (by Lü Bi 呂弼, 18 juan)]. I have heard that they have even come to Japan. However, these works have been taken into government offices and are not available to be read. I happily await their importation soon by [Chinese] merchants. Once we can refer to them and select material from them, then we shall not err on matters of date, person, or place, nor shall we get words and events out of order.

He seemed to be speaking in a rather hesitating manner at the time. Maezono fully understood, but since he had come from far away, he could not wait for these documents indefinitely. He noted:

I forcefully requested them over and over again, and after several days my request was granted. I have made a selection of about half of the draft; and corroborated it with the Zhongxing weilue 中興偉略 [Great Plan for Revival (edited by Feng Menglong 馮夢龍, 1 stringbound volume)]² to pick out

the reading material and use examples as items for explanation.

Sekisai then went on to say:

He also added the "Yudi beikao" 輿地備考 [Geographical Reference], the "Huang Ming dixi" 皇明帝系 [Imperial Lineage of the August Ming Dynasty], the "Zhuge Kongming bazhen tu" 諸葛孔明八陣圖 [Zhuge Liang's Eight Tactical Dispositions of Troops], the "Zheng Chenggong zhen tu" 鄭成功陣圖 [Zheng Chenggong's Troop Dispositions], the "Nanbei zhi tu" 南北直(隸)圖 [Diagrams of North and South], and the "Duojiashagu dao tu" 多伽沙古島圖 [Map of Takasago Island (Taiwan)]. Altogether there were eleven juan which he named the Min Shin tōki.

As this citation indicates, the Min Shin tōki came together in the following manner. Maezono, son of a man from Quanzhou (Fujian province)--within the Zheng family's range of activities--and born in Nagasaki, received certain historical documents concerning Zheng Chenggong from relatives who lived in his family's hometown in China and from Chinese ships that sailed to the port of Nagasaki. He then compiled them and brought them to Ukai Sekisai's home in Kyoto to have them selected and edited with the aim of publication. This explanation, of course, holds only if Sekisai's preface is trustworthy.

In the edition of this work that I have seen, held in the Naika-ku Bunko, the "Zheng Chenggong zhen tu", the "Nanbei zhi tu", and the "Duojiashagu dao tu" are missing, while a work entitled "Fujian sheng Zheng Zhilong xitu" 福建省鄭芝龍系圖 [Chart of the Lineage of Zheng Zhilong of Fujian Province] is included. Thus, this edition was not a complete first edition of the text. Although the text that I own is a later edition, it is the same as the original edition. However, the diagrams and charts section is quite different and seems to have been added at a subsequent date. It begins with the "Yudi beikao" and this is followed by a "Tianwen chandu tu" 天文緯度圖 [Astronomical Chart] which contain two two-sided global maps. The North and South Poles are indicated on it, and the equator and meridian lines have been added; also, latitude and longitude lines have been drawn in, so that it is arranged as a world map. This map is followed by a "Tianxia zongtu" 天下總圖 [Map of the Entire Realm] which forms a complete map of China. This in turn is followed by separate maps of the various provinces of China: "Bei Zhili tu" 北直隸圖 [Map of Northern Zhili], "Nan Zhili tu" 南直隸圖 [Map of Southern Zhili], "Shanxi sheng tu" 山西省圖 [Map of Shanxi Province], "Shandong sheng tu" 山東省圖 [Map of Shandong Province], "Henan sheng tu" 河南省圖 [Map

of Henan Province], "Shaanxi sheng tu" 陝西省圖 [Map of Shaanxi Province], "Zhejiang sheng tu" 浙江省圖 [Map of Zhejiang Province], "Jiangxi sheng tu" 江西省圖 [Map of Jiangxi Province], "Huguang sheng tu" 湖廣省圖 [Map of the Huguang Provinces], "Sichuan sheng tu" 四川省圖 [Map of Sichuan Province], "Fujian sheng tu" 福建省圖 [Map of Fujian Province], "Guangdong sheng tu" 廣東省圖 [Map of Guangdong Province], "Guangxi sheng tu" 廣西省圖 [Map of Guangxi Province], "Yunnan sheng tu" 雲南省圖 [Map of Yunnan Province], and "Guizhou tu" 貴州圖 [Map of Guizhou]. There is also a "Jiu bian tu" 九邊圖 [Map of the Nine Peripheral Areas], namely a map of the regions surrounding China. Next is a "Xuanji yuheng tu" 璇璣玉衡圖 [Chart of xuanji and yuheng], a chart of the "armillary sphere," said to have been used for astronomical observation in antiquity. This is followed by a "Xia Yu zhisui tu" 夏禹治水圖 [Chart of (King) Yu of the Xia Bringing the Waters under Control]; next is a "Shengchao diwang kao" 聖朝(明)帝王考 [Study of the Rulers of the August (Ming) Dynasty] which briefly traces the emperors of the Ming dynasty; this is followed by the "Zhuge Liang bazhen tu" 諸葛亮八陣圖 [Zhuge Liang's Eight Tactical Dispositions of Troops], a chart of Zhuge's battlefield preparations. Then we find two topographical maps, "Beijing cheng" 北京城 [The City of Beijing] and "Nanjing cheng" 南京城 [The City of Nanjing], a map of the Fujian coastline, and a "Dayuan cheng tu" 大宛城圖 [Map of Taiwan].

These were all at the time designed to clarify material concerning China for the general reading public and to provide preparatory knowledge. The maps were placed in the first juan before the main text of the work.

I am unaware of any detailed study of Maezono Sōbu himself. He does not appear in Nagasaki senmin den 長崎先民伝 [Biographies of Former Men of Nagasaki]. Whether this was his real name remains in doubt. The characters for his given name Sōbu are strange. Yet, in Nishimura Joken's Nagasaki yawa sō, we read: "The fact that Koxinga was an military commander of incomparable ingenuity is amply demonstrated in the Min Shin tōki by a Nagasaki man." This would seem to indicate that he was not a fictional personage.

According to a brief biography of Ukai Nobuyuki (Sekisai) found in the Sentetsu sōdan zokuhen by Tōjō Nobuyasu (Kindai), he was born in the Kanda district of Edo in Genna 1 [1615], and after reaching age twenty he traveled to study in Kyoto. He received training at the Naba Academy, and he boarded there for several years. He later opened his own private academy in Aburanokōji where he taught, and he became known for his historical studies. At age 32 [Japanese style],

he served Aoyama Daizennosuke 青山大膳亮, the lord of Amagasaki. Fifteen years after moving there, in Manji 3 [1660] when he was 46 years of age, he gave up his stipend and returned to Kyoto. There he acquired a reputation the equal of Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇斎 and Mōri Jōsai 毛利貞斎. In Kanbun 4 [1664], he passed away at age 50 at his thatched cottage in Horikawa.

After rejecting a stipend and settling in Kyoto, Sekisai, in response to a request from a bookstore, revised and punctuated old Chinese volumes for Japanese reprinting. These were greatly welcomed by the public, and, as noted in the Sentetsu sōdan zokuhen, he was able to live off the fees he charged for these services. The text mentions Sekisai's punctuation of Kanbun works, but does not reveal how many such volumes he worked on. Many of these works, though, were multi-volume. The Kindai meika chojutsu mokuroku 近代名家著述目録 [List of Writings by Well-Known Modern Authors] (Bunka 8 [1811])^x by Tsutsumi Asakaze 堤潮風 gives the following works among those he supplied with Japanese reading punctuation (supplemented by information from Kinsei Kangakusha denki chosaku dai jiten 近世漢學者伝記著作大事典 [Great Encyclopedia of Biography and Writings of Kangakusha of the Early Modern Era]^y by Seki Giichirō 関儀一郎 and Seki Yoshinao 関義直): Zhuzi yulei daquan 朱子語類大全 [Complete Text of the Recorded Conversations of Master Zhu] (140 juan), Wubei zhi (100 juan), Han wen 韓文 [Writings of Han Yu] (40 juan), Liu wen 柳文 [Writings of Liu Zongyuan] (36 juan), Du shi jizhu 杜詩集註 [The Poems of Du Fu with Collected Commentaries] (24 juan), Huainan honglie jie 淮南鴻烈解 [Explanation of the Huainanzi] (21 juan) [by Gao You 高誘 of the Later Han], Sishu daquan 四書大全 [The Four Books in Their Completeness (i.e., with commentaries)] (23 juan) [compiled in the Yongle reign of the Ming], Wanxing tongpu 萬姓統譜 [Collected Genealogies of Manifold People] (140 juan) [by Ling Dizhi 凌迪知], Lishi gangjian pu 歷史綱鑑補 [Commentary to the Ordered Mirror in History] (40 juan), Bohu tong 白虎通 [Comprehensive Meanings from the White Tiger Hall] (four juan) [by Ban Gu 班固 of the Later Han], and Fengsu tongyi 風俗通義 [Comprehensive Understanding of (Ancient) Institutions] (4 juan) [by Ying Shao 應劭]. From this list it would appear that Sekisai introduced numerous Chinese works to Japan with Japanese reading punctuation. His accomplishment in making them available in Japan was truly immense.

Sekisai got to know well Chen Yuanyun 陳元贊 (1596-1671), who made his way to Japan at the end of the Ming dynasty. As Imazeki Tenpō 今関天彭 (1884-1970) has noted, we "can see connections to Chen Yuanyun" in the works punctuated by Sekisai.³ What exactly this "connection" was--the books selected for punctuation or the method of

fixing punctuation--is not made clear. After Sekisai's death, at the request of his son, Chen Yuanyun wrote Sekisai's inscriptional epitaph. Today, it is said, this stele still exists on the hillside behind the Enkōji Temple in Kyoto.⁴

We have already noted that the story of Zheng Zhilong's efforts to obtain Japanese military assistance to resist the attacks of the Manchu armies can be found in the Ka-i hentai. In that same text, we find letters from Zheng Chenggong, son of Zheng Zhilong, to the shogun, and from Chenggong's son, Zheng Jing (Jinshe 錦舍), to the Nagasaki Administrator. However, letters from members of the Zheng family seeking military assistance from Japan as well as collected reports on the movements of the Zhengs are organized and recorded in Teishi enpeigan ra fuku fūsetsu 鄭氏援兵願等附風說 [Requests of the Zhengs for Military Assistance with Appended Reports] which fill three volumes (212-214) of the Tsūkō ichiran 通航一覽 [Survey of Foreign Relations (Hayashi Fukusai 林復齋, 1800-59)] (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1913). These reports draw on such works as the Taiwan Teishi kiji and the Zheng Chenggong zhuan, and use the insertion of "reference" notes here and there to correct errors or point up uncertain point in these works.

From the Meiji period forward, there have been a large number of biographies and studies of Zheng Chenggong in Japan as well. These would include from the Meiji period: Higashi Seijun 東正純 [Takusha] 河濱 Tei Enpei jiryaku 鄭延平事略 [Account of Zheng, (Prince of) Yanping]² (in Kanbun); Maruyama Masahiko 丸山正彦, Tei Seikō [Zheng Chenggong]; and Miyazaki Raijō 宮崎来城, Tei Seikō; also, Tatemori Kō (Shūkai) 館森鴻 袖海, Tei Seikō den 鄭成功伝 [Biography of Zheng Chenggong] from the Taishō period; and Inagaki Magohee, Tei Seikō [mentioned above]. Furthermore, after Japan seized control over Taiwan from China as a consequence of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, many times the name of Zheng Chenggong came up in the books and journals that examined or introduced the land regulations concerning Taiwan and its history.

Although unlike works of this sort, I would like to take special note of the Tei Seikō den by Hiseki 匪石. Hiseki [i.e., "firm of character"--JAF] was the penname of a Chinese who lived in Japan during the Meiji era. However, Zhang Taigu's 張泰谷 Biming yinde 筆名引得 [Index of Pennames] (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1971) gives two names, Wang Shuming 汪叔明 and Chen Shiyi 陳世宜, for those who used the penname Hiseki [or Feishi, in Chinese]. We cannot be sure which of them it was, but the book itself was published in 1904 by the "Shinkoku ryūgakusei kaikan" 清国留学生会館 [Chinese Overseas Hall] in

Tokyo, and Feng Ziyou 馮自由 mentions it in the "references" to his "Kaiguo qian haineiwai geming shubao yilan" 開國前海內外革命書報一覽 [A Survey of Revolutionary Writings at Home and Abroad Prior to the Founding of the Republic] (included in volume three of his Geming yishi 革命逸史 [Unofficial History of the Revolution] (Taipei reprint: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1965).

This was a work that supported the overseas students who called for an anti-Manchu revolution at the end of the Qing dynasty, were sympathetic to Zheng Chenggong's unyielding spirit of resistance, and advocated nationalism. They were saying that Zheng Chenggong was not an international hero, but a Chinese hero: "Rather than glorify world heroes, it is best to praise Chinese heroes!" We find here the fervent anti-Manchu nationalism of that time.

I would like to take special note of one further point with respect to this book. The work itself claims: "The author's reference materials were taken largely from Japanese writings." Perhaps this was a result of the author's not having been able to consult many Chinese historical writings while he was a student in Japan, and because the historical sources with respect to Zheng Chenggong by Japanese which had been sufficient to stimulate and arouse them at the time of Zheng's activities stimulated the Chinese when they read them. The author lists seventeen items of "reference materials," and among them are Maruyama Masahiko's Tei Seikō, Miyazaki Raijō's Tei Seikō, Kawaguchi Chōju's Taiwan Teishi kiji, and Inō Yoshinori 伊能嘉矩, Taiwan shi 台灣誌 [Chronicle of the Culture of Taiwan] (n.p., 1902), altogether fourteen of them by Japanese. Only three works listed were Chinese: Yu Yonghe 郁永和, Yi Tei jishi 偽鄭記事 [Accounts of the False Zheng]; Shenbao 申報 Newspaper Office, ed., Taiwan waiji; and Huang Cheng 黃澄, Qi Min lu 泣閩錄 [Fujian Chronicle of Tears].

These volumes were emotionally charged biographies of Zheng Chenggong written by overseas Chinese students amid the winds of anti-Manchu revolution. Although research on these writings remains incomplete, they were biographical accounts of Zheng Chenggong who was chosen with the aim of furthering the revolutionary cause, and they praised his spirit. They formed a distinctive genre of writings. In particular, we should note from the perspective of the history of Sino-Japanese cultural interactions the fact that they were composed principally on the basis of Japanese historical writings.

Recent Japanese studies of Zheng Chenggong that I have seen include: Inagaki Magohee, Tei Seikō; and Ishihara Michihiro 石原道博, Tei Seikō (Tokyo: Sanshōdō, 1942). These are detailed works that

treat Zheng Chenggong from a variety of angles and make use of numerous historical materials. The former, possibly because it was written in Taiwan, contains many illustrations, and concerning the battles over Taiwan, it makes use both of Chinese historical sources as well as foreign materials, in particular Ludwig Riess's Geschichte der Insel Formosa (translated into Japanese as Taiwan tō shi 台灣島史 by Yoshikuni Tōkichi 吉国藤吉).^{aa} The latter also brings together many historical works and provides a list of references numbering more than 50 which is divided into Japanese, Korean, Chinese, and Western works. For Chinese publications on this topic, there is: Yu Zongxin 余宗信, ed., Ming Yanping wang Taiwan haiguo ji 明延平王台灣海國紀 [Record of Maritime Taiwan under the Prince of Yanping of the Ming] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937, in the series "Shidi xiao congshu" 史地小叢書 [Small Series on History and Geography]).^{ab} This last work is written in the form of a detailed chronology.

Taiwan was Zeng Chenggong's final base of operations, and it appears that the number of people studying him increased dramatically especially after the Guomindang moved its government there. In 1950 the journal Wenxian zhuan (1.3) ran a "special issue commemorating the birth of Zheng Chenggong," which carried a number of articles on him. The first piece was an introductory piece [described above] by Li Tengyue, "Zheng Chenggong de siyin kao" [A Study of the Cause of Zheng Chenggong's Death]. In addition, "Cixing Chenggong shiji ji Ming Zheng yidai youguan shishi nianbiao" 賜姓成功事蹟及明鄭一代有關史

實年表 [Evidence of the Imperial Gift of a Surname to Chenggong and a Chronology of Historical Facts Relating to the Zhengs in the Ming Dynasty], edited by Lin Xiongxiang 林熊祥 and Chen Shiqing 陳世慶, offers a detailed chronology that puts together events surrounding the Zheng family and related historical facts. Among the studies are "Zheng Chenggong zheng Tai shulue" 鄭成功征台述略 [Short Account of Zheng Chenggong's Attack on Taiwan] by Mao Yibo 毛一波 and "Zheng shi shixi ji renwu kao" 鄭氏世系及人物考 [A Genealogy of the Zhengs and a Study of Their Character] by Liao Hanchen 廖漢臣. There is also a "Zheng Chenggong yanjiu cankaoshu mulu" 鄭成功研究參考書目錄 [Bibliography of Studies and Reference Works on Zheng Chenggong] by Lai Xiangyun 賴翔雲, which divides such work into Chinese, Japanese, and Western languages and gives the names of works as well as their authors or editors. However, for dates of publication it uses the Western calendar for Western books, and for Chinese and Japanese books, it lists "Qing publication," "Republican-period publication," "Meiji publication," "Taishō publication," and "Shōwa publication." Roughly 200 book titles are given, but they seem arranged in a somewhat haphazard manner.

Huang Dianquan's 黃典權 Zheng Chenggong shishi yanjiu 鄭成功史事研究 [A Study of the Historical Facts about Zheng Chenggong] (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1975, in series "Renren wenku" 人人文庫) is a pamphlet, but it contains a considerable number of related photographic plates with notes at the beginning of the text. Ding Lujin's 丁履進 Yanping shijia 延平世家 [Family Genealogy of (the Prince of) Yanping] (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1973) is best described as a historical novel, divided into 26 chapters. It covers four generations of the rise and fall of the Zheng family, and keeps fairly close to the historical record.

Wu Fa's 吳法 Taiwan lishi zhaji 台灣歷史札記 [Detailed Account of Taiwan's History] (Hong Kong: Qishi niandai zazhishe, 1976) cites works concerning Zheng Zhilong and Zheng Chenggong, when they were in Taiwan, and frequently offers observations from its own perspective. Particularly worthy of note here is a reference to a Dutch account of 1675, 't Verwaer loasde Formosa [Neglected Taiwan], by Frederic Coyett, the Dutch governor of Taiwan. He notes that Zheng Chenggong had under his command two companies of "black soldiers," many of who had been brought along to Taiwan as former Dutch slaves. Many Chinese texts reveal that Zheng Chenggong had units under his command of "steel men," namely troops outfitted with iron armor, but the fact that he had "black units" is scarcely to be seen elsewhere--perhaps there were Malays among them.

Among works on Taiwan and Zheng Chenggong presently being compiled, one detailed account that cites numerous historical sources on the Dutch and Spanish attacks on Taiwan and on Zheng Chenggong's recovery of the island is the Taiwan sheng tongzhi 台灣省通志 [Comprehensive Gazetteer of Taiwan], edited by Zhang Bingnan 張炳楠 and Li Ruhe 李如和 (Taipei: Taiwan sheng wenxian weiyuanhui, 1970), juan 9, "Geming zhi" 革命志 [Treatise on the Change of Regimes] and "Quke pian" 驅荷篇 [On Being Rid of a Burden]. Detailed discussion of the history of the anti-Qing resistance by Zheng Chenggong and his descendants can be found in the same work, Taiwan sheng tongzhi, juan 9, "Geming zhi" and "Ju-Qing pian" 拒清篇 [On Resisting the Qing].

The Zheng shi shiliao 鄭氏史料 [Historical Materials on the Zheng Family] (Taipei: Bank of Taiwan, 1962-63) is made up of three volumes [13 juan], but it is comprised of selections from materials concerning the Zhengs taken from the Ming-Qing shiliao 明清史料 [Historical Materials on the Ming and Qing] (Taipei: Institute of Historical Linguistics, Academia Sinica; originally government archives; Taipei reprint: Weixin shuju, 1972). It is effectively a base work on the Zheng family.

Notes

a. In Fujita Tokutarō 藤田徳太郎, ed., Shiryō shūsei: Yoshino Muromachi jidai gaikan 資料集成:吉野室町時代外観 [Collection of Historical Materials: An Overview of the Yoshino Muromachi Period] (Tokyo, 1935).

b. By Mao Yuanyi 茅元儀, preface dated 1621. See SJS 6.2 (April 1994), p. 31.

c. Masuda has "Eiroku 2" (1559) here, but this is clearly a misprint for Bunroku 2. The Chinese translators, You Qimin 由其民 and Zhou Qiqian 周啓乾 also caught this error: Xixue dongjin yu Zhong-Ri wenhua jiaoliu 西学東漸与中日文化交流 [The Eastern Spread of Western Learning and Sino-Japanese Cultural Interactions] (Tianjin: Tianjin Academy of Social Sciences, 1991), p. 165. Masuda also gives 録 as the character for "roku"; it should be 禄.

d. Masuda makes the same apparent error here as pointed out in note b, confusing Bunroku for Eiroku. See also You and Zhou, p. 165.

e. By Hu Zongxian 胡宗憲, preface dated Jiajing 41 (1562).

f. The Harvard-Yenching Library has a copy of this work: (Osaka: Eibunken kankō, 1693).

g. The University of California at Berkeley has two reprint editions of this, both in 291 ken: (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1904-5), 30 volumes; and (Tokyo: Nihon zuihitsu taisei kankōkai, 1929-30), 6 volumes. The latter can also be found at the Harvard-Yenching Library.

h. See Guochao xianzheng lu, 57:48. Citation given in the Chinese translation of Masuda's book, p. 167.

i. There is a copy of this work in the Harvard-Yenching Library: (Tokyo: Kitashima Shigebee, 1884).

j. There are at least three editions of this work, all in the Harvard-Yenching Library: (Edo: Mankyūdō Hokurindō, 1845), 5 string-bound volumes; Hyakka setsurin 百家説林 [Writings of 100 Authors] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1905-7); and Nihon zuihitsu zenshū 日本随

筆全集 [Collected Japanese Random Notes] (Tokyo: Kokumin tosho, 1927-30).

k. Edited by Kondō Heijō 近藤重蔵 (Tokyo: Kondō kappanjo, 1900-03), 10 volumes.

l. (Tokyo: Kōbunko kankōkai, 1927-31), 12 volumes. A copy may be found in the Harvard-Yenching Library.

m. Regarding these four texts, the Harvard-Yenching Library has the following editions: Gu Yingtai, Ming shi jishi benmo (Guangya shuju, 1887; Shanghai reprint: Shangwu qianyin, 1934; Taipei reprint: Taiwan shangwu, 1983); Wang Hongxu, Ming shi gao (1723; Taipei reprint: Wenhai chubanshe, 1963); Xia Xie, Ming tongjian (Beijing reprints: Zhonghua shuju, 1950, 1983), 8 volumes; Chen Hao and Chen Kejia, Ming ji (Jiangsu shuju, 1871; Shanghai reprint: Zhonghua qianyinben, 1930).

n. The character used for the surname in this instance, 毛, is pronounced the same as the one ordinarily used, 茅.

o. (Tokyo reprints: Iwanami shoten, 1940, 1943).

p. The characters Keisei 傾城 (lit. 'courtesan') in this and many other titles were a way of placing a story on the "demi-monde." See Donald Keene, The Battles of Coxinga (London: Taylor's Foreign Press, 1951), pp. 80, 201. There is information on the Min-Shin tōki in this work by Keene, pp. 76-80.

q. As Donald Keene (p. 176) notes, this title is untranslatable because of several internal puns.

r. 10 juan. A copy of this work can be found at the Harvard-Yenching Library, dated 1636. A Japanese edition can also be found there: Bukyō kaisō, ed. Yamanaka Shōan 山中倡庵 (Kyoto: Nakano Ichizaemon, 1661), 14 ken.

s. 30 juan (1833 edition); 10 juan, ed. Fang Hao 方豪 (Taipei reprint: Bank of Taiwan, 1960). Both can be found at the Harvard-Yenching Library.

t. The Chinese translators of Masuda's book, having access to the original source under discussion, note that in their edition it

is the preface by Jiang Risheng that makes this reference and that there is no preface by Chen Zheyong.

u. For more on this work, see SJS V.1 (October 1992), pp. 68, 70. A copy of the Japanese edition, Tei Seikō den (Osaka, 1856), 2 volumes, can also be found in the Harvard-Yenching Library.

v. As You Qimin and Zhou Qiqian note in the Chinese translation of this work (p. 180), Xie Guozhen only wrote that "those who studied there came from far away." "Japan" is not mentioned. See the 1981 revised edition (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe), p. 474.

w. By Ji Luqi 計六奇 (18 juan), four editions of this work can be found in the Harvard-Yenching Library: (Beijing: Liulichang bansong jushi, 1671); (Shanghai reprint: Commercial Press, 1936), 3 string-bound volumes; (Taipei reprints: Wenhai chubanshe, 1969?, 2 volumes; Bank of Taiwan, 1963, 3 volumes).

1. The meaning of the character given here, 屈, is unclear, but it may be a misprint for a similarly drawn character, 屈 'in danger' or 'humiliated.'

2. This book was reprinted and published in Japan in Shōhō 3 [1646], namely some fifteen years earlier. It will be discussed below.

x. An edition of this work published in Edo by the Bankyūdō and dated Tenpō 7 (1836) can be found in the Harvard-Yenching Library.

y. (Tokyo: Ida shoten, 1943); (Kawasaki reprint: Rinkyūkaku shoten, 1966). Both of these editions can be found in the Harvard-Yenching Library.

3. "Nihon ryūgū no Minmatsu shoshi" 日本流寓の明末諸士 [Various Late-Ming Scholars Who Wandered to Japan], in Kindai Shina no gakuhei 近代支那の学芸 [Letters and Science in Modern China] (Tokyo: Min'yūsha, 1931).

4. Komatsubara Tō 小松原涛, Chin Genpin no kenkyū 陳元贊の研究 [Studies on Chen Yuanyun] (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1962).

z. An 1885 edition of this work can be found in the Harvard-Yenching Library.

aa. Although I have been unable to locate the German original of this text, there is a Chinese translation which appears in Taiwan jingji shi (Taiwan: Bank of Taiwan, 1956).

ab. There is also: (Taibei reprint: Taiwan shangwu, 1955).