



JAPANESE PIRACY
IN MING CHINA
DURING THE 16TH CENTURY

by

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50. *The Gazetteer of Kwangtung* (1602 ed.), 69/72a-b. According to *The Gazetteer of Kwangtung* (1822 ed.), Wang served as vice commissioner in 1553 and as surveillance commissioner in 1557, 20/13a, 14b.

51. *MS*, 325/3731-3. The name Huang Ch'ing has not been found in any other literature of the time.

52. J. M. Braga, *op. cit.*, p. 87-88.

53. T'u Tse-min was a native of Han-chou, Szechuan and a 1544 chin-shih. He served as governor from 1566 to 1569. Wu T'ing-hsieh, *op.cit.*

54. Chang Hsieh, *Tung-hsi-yang k'ao*, 7/89.

55. *THCK*, 93/24b-29a.

56. For the topic of the single-whip system, see Liang Fang-chung, *The Single-whip Method of Taxation in China* (Harvard, 1956); also Liang Fang-chung, "Ming-tai i-t'iao-pien fa nien-piao" (The Chronological Development of the Single-Whip of the Ming), *Lingnan Journal*, vol. 12, No. 1, 1952.

57. See the author's biographical article of P'ang in *Ming Biographical History Project*; also *MS*, 227.

The Story of Japan

(As told in Chapter 322 of the *Ming Shih*)



*Japan is the country of Wa-nu of old.*¹ In the first year of the Hsien-heng period of the T'ang dynasty [670-674],² its name was changed to Japan, [so changed] because of its closeness to the eastern sea where the sun rises. The land is surrounded by water except in the northeast where it is bounded by high mountains. It has five imperial domains, seven circuits and three islands—a total of one hundred and fifty prefectures comprising five hundred and eighty-seven counties. Under its domination there are several tens of minor kingdoms: the smaller ones only a hundred *li* in size, and the larger ones not more than five hundred *li*, with (various numbers of) households from the smallest of one thousand to the largest of not more than ten or twenty thousand.

The ruler of the kingdom has been named “Wang” (King) throughout the generations; all ministers are also hereditary. Before the Sung dynasty [960-1279] there had all along been intercourse with the Middle Kingdom and no end of tribute missions, as recorded in detail in previous histories. But when Shih-tsu of the Yüan dynasty several times dispatched his envoy, Chao Liang-pi [1214-1286],³ to extend an invitation to them, they did not come. Shih-tsu, therefore, ordered Hsin-tu and Fan Wen-hu⁴ to lead a maritime force of one hundred thousand strong to subjugate them. Upon reaching Goryusan or Takashima, the expeditionary force was accosted by a hurricane and was totally destroyed. From then on, despite repeated invitations, they never came. To the end of the Yuan period, no intercourse was ever made.

Then the Ming came into power and Kao-huang-ti⁵ was on the throne. After Fang Kuo-chen⁶ and Chang Shih-ch'eng⁷ were succes-

sively either conquered or killed, their influential subordinates went in hiding and often gathered inhabitants of the islands to raid the coastal prefectures and districts of Shantung.⁸ In the third month of the second year of Hung-wu [1369],⁹ the Emperor dispatched a messenger, Yang Tsai, to take a message to their [the islanders'] country and also inquired into the reasons for the incursions. The message read as follows: "If you wish to pay us respects, then come to court; if not, tend your own military matters and protect yourself. But if you are to engage in piracy, I should at once order my generals for your subjugation. O King, you had better consider this!" The King of Japan, Ryokai,¹⁰ did not obey the imperial decree. [He or his people] again raided Shantung, then plundered the coastal people of Wen-chou, T'ai-chou and Ming-chou [in Chekiang] and then invaded the coastal prefectures of Fukien.

In the third month of the third year [1370], the Emperor again dispatched the sub-prefect of Lai-chou,¹¹ Chao Chih, thither to reprimand him. Chao sailed across the sea to Che-mu-yai,¹² therefrom to enter into his territory. The official in charge of the barrier did not let him enter. Chao sent a letter to Ryokai, who received him in audience. Chao thereupon talked about the prestige and goodness of the Middle Kingdom. But the imperial letter [which he presented] took the King to task for his disloyalty.

Ryokai said, "Located in the extreme east as my country is, it has never ceased to admire the Middle Kingdom. The Mongols, who are barbarians like ourselves, however, wanted to turn us into their subjects and our predecessors refused to submit. They, therefore, dispatched their envoy by the surname Chao to beguile us with sweet words. Hardly before he finished the words, a maritime force of one hundred thousand strong was arrayed against our coast. Thanks to Heaven who brought about the thunder and waves, in no time the whole force was entirely annihilated. Now a new Son of Heaven is lording over the Middle Kingdom and the imperial envoy also has Chao as his family name. Is he the Mongol envoy's descendant?¹³ Is he going to beguile us with sweet words and attack us [by surprise]?" Ryokai glanced [at his subordinates] on his left and right and was about to have him [Chao] killed.

Chao Chih, however, remained calm and composedly said, "The Son of Heaven of our Great Ming, so divine and holy in the arts of both peace and war, is never to be equaled by the Mongols. Nor am I a descendant of the Mongol envoy. If you still want to kill me, kill

me then." Daunted, Ryokai stepped down from the hall to bid Chao welcome and treated him with the utmost cordiality. He then dispatched his monk, Sorai, to present a memorial from [the King] to the Emperor in the manner of a vassal to the lord, and also to present some horses and local products as tribute. In addition he returned more than seventy people who had been kidnaped from the prefectures of Ming-chou and T'ai-chou. The [Sorai] mission arrived in the capital in the tenth month of the fourth year [1371]. Appreciating this, T'ai-tsu dined and gave gifts to his messengers. T'ai-tsu thought that since it was their custom to flatter Buddha,¹⁴ they could be taught by means of the teaching of the West.¹⁵ Hence, he decreed that the eight monks, Tsu-ch'an, K'o-ch'in and others, should accompany the envoy back to his country and that Ryokai should be given the Ta-t'ung Calendar,¹⁶ silk pieces with delicate designs and gauze pieces. In the same year, Wen-chou was raided [by the Wo pirates].

In the fifth year [1372], Kan-p'u in the district of Hai-yen was looted. So were the coastal prefectures of Fukien.

In the sixth year [1373] Yü Hsien¹⁷ was made a Regional Commander and was ordered to patrol the seas against Wo piracy. The Wo pirates raided Lai-chou and Teng-chou.

After their arrival [in Japan], Tsu-ch'an and the others preached the [Buddhist] doctrine in that country and were very much respected and trusted by the people. But the King [i.e., Ryokai] was arrogant and disrespectful. He held them in prison for two years. It was in the fifth month of the seventh year [1374] that they returned to the capital. That year, the Wo plundered Chiao-chou.

At that time Ryokai was young. There was a certain Jimyo¹⁸ who was contesting him for the throne. Disorder ensued in the country. In the seventh month of the same year [1374], an influential minister sent a monk Sen Monkei and others¹⁹ over to present a letter to the Imperial Secretariat²⁰ and, as tribute, some horses and local products. Since no memorial was presented, the Emperor ordered [the ministry concerned] not to receive the mission and still gave the messengers gifts and sent them back. Some time later, the governor of one of their islands, Ujihisa,²¹ sent a monk with a memorial to come to present tribute. The Emperor also rejected him on the ground that he had not received any order from the King and that [in the memorial] the dynastic calendar was not used. Still he bestowed gifts on the envoy and ordered the officials of the ministry of Rites to dispatch a communique [to Ujihisa] reprimanding him for the impro-

priety of going beyond his position to present tribute unofficially. Also on account of the frequent incursion, His Majesty ordered the Imperial Secretariat to send a communique reprimanding him [the King].

Thereupon, in the fourth month of the ninth year [1376], [the King] dispatched Monk Kei Teiyo and others²² to present tribute and also to offer apologies. Displeased with the insincerity of the wording in the memorial, the Emperor issued a rescript to admonish [the King]; the envoy was feasted and given gifts according to the regulations.

In the twelfth year (1379), [Japan] came with tribute. In the thirteenth year [1380], it again presented tribute, but the memorial, only a letter addressed to the prime minister from the Barbarian-subduing Generalissimo, Minamoto Yoshimitsu.²³ Again the wording of the letter was arrogant, and hence the tribute was rejected and an envoy was dispatched with an imperial reprimand. In the fourteenth year [1381], [it] again came to present tribute and once again the Emperor rejected it. [His Majesty] ordered the officials of the Ministry of Rites to send a communique reprimanding the King and also his Barbarian-subduing Generalissimo and indicating the intention of punishing them by force.

[Whereupon,] Ryokai addressed to the Emperor, saying, "Your subject [i.e. Ryokai himself] has heard that the Three Supreme Ones first established the imperial authorities and were followed by the Five Emperors.²⁴ Since the Middle Kingdom has its own rulers, why should there be no rulers for the barbarians?! The universe is too immense for a single ruler to lord over; the world is vast enough for the various kingdoms to exist independently. It is because the whole wide world belongs to the whole wide world and it does not belong to a single person.

"Your subject lives in the remote and weak country of Wo. It is a small land with less than sixty cities and [Your subject's] domain is not even three thousand [square *li*] in area and Your subject is contented. Your Majesty is the ruler of the Middle Kingdom, a ruler with ten thousand chariots,²⁵ have several thousand cities and a domain of one million [square] *li*. Still you are discontented and often entertain the thought of subjugating [us]. When Heaven destroys, stars and constellations would change their positions; when earth destroys, dragons and snakes would run all over; when man destroys, Heaven and Earth would be in disarray. In ancient times Yao and Shun were so virtuous that people in the four directions came to pay them

homage.²⁶ When T'ang and Wu governed in a benevolent way, from all directions people came bearing tribute.²⁷

"Your subject has heard that the Celestial Court is planning a military campaign [against us]. Our small nation also has its strategy of warding off the enemy. In the art of peace we have writings by Confucius and Mencius on moral principles. In the art of war we have treatises by Sun Tzu and Wu Ch'i on the strategy of war.²⁸ Your subject has also learned that Your Majesty have already selected your trustworthy generals and have raised the crack troops for the purpose of invading our land. In our marsh lands and on our islands we have already established our defense. How can we kneel on the wayside to offer our nation? Should we obey, there is no certainty for our life; should we disobey, there is no certainty for our death. Let us then meet at Mt. Ho-lan²⁹ and play our betting game. Why should Your subject be afraid? Should Your Majesty win and Your subject lose, the great nation would feel gratified. Provided that Your subject wins and Your Majesty lose, you would feel humiliated by a small country. Since antiquity, making peace has been the best policy and it has been better to stop fighting to avoid the loss of life or to extricate the people from hardship. Hence [we] have dispatched a special envoy to Your Majesty's Court. [We] pray that the great nation will give due consideration to the matter."

Having read the memorial, the Emperor became very indignant. Still considering the lessons of the Mongols, he refrained from the use of force.

In the sixteenth year [1383] the Wo raided Chin-hsiang and P'ing-yang.³⁰

In the nineteenth year [1386] an envoy was sent to come with tribute and he was rejected.

The next year [1387], the Marquis of Chiang-hsia, Chou Te-hsing,³¹ was ordered to go to the four coastal prefectures of Fukien to survey the situation there. If the defense sites for the guard and battalion command post were not located in strategic places, they should be moved. One out of three adults from the households of the commoners was to be conscripted to serve as frontier troops. As a result sixteen forts were built, forty-five police units were added and more than fifteen thousand men were conscripted. Besides, the Duke of Hsin-kuo, T'ang Ho,³² was dispatched to inspect the eastern and western sections of Chekiang in order to reorganize the naval defense system there. Accordingly, fifty-nine forts were built. From the

households of commoners one adult out of four or more was conscripted to serve as frontier troops; altogether there were conscripted more than fifty-eight thousands and seven hundred men to be assigned to all the command posts. Thus the naval defense in that area was greatly improved. In the intercalary sixth month, it was ordered that Fukien should have ready one hundred ships and that Kwangtung should prepare twice as many and that they were to meet in Chekiang to patrol against the Wo. [This order] was not carried out.

Some time before this, Hu Wei-yung³³ had conspired against the throne. He wanted to get help from Japan and hence made an effort to form a close friendship with Lin Hsien³⁴, the Guard Commander of Ningpo. Hu falsely charged Lin with the commission of an offense and had him exiled to Japan, where the latter was told to establish connections with the ruler and ministers of the kingdom. Later, he memorialized the throne recommending reinstatement for Lin Hsien. A messenger was sent to invite him back. Secretly a letter was sent to the King requesting the latter to send troops to his aid. After Lin's return, the King sent Monk Nyōyō to lead more than four hundred troops to come on the pretense that they came with the tribute. Moreover, they were to present a huge candle in the middle of which were stored gunpowder and swords. Upon their arrival, Hu Wei-yung had already failed and so the scheme was of no avail. The Emperor was not aware of the cunning scheme. Several years later, the plot was exposed and Lin Hsien and all the members of his family were executed. And the Emperor was particularly angry at Japan and was determined to sever all relations with it and pay special attention to the naval defense.

When Prince To Yuji³⁵ came to study at the Imperial Academy, the Emperor still treated him very well. In the fifth month of the twenty-fourth year [1391] he specially conferred on the Prince the title of Kuan-cha-shih or Inspector General and kept him in the capital. Later when he wrote down the "Ancestral Instructions,"³⁶ he listed fifteen kingdoms not for conquest and among them was Japan. From then on tribute missions ceased to come and the alarms on the sea-coast also gradually stopped.

When Ch'eng-tsu³⁷ came to the throne, a messenger was dispatched to deliver a proclamation of imperial accession to that kingdom. In the first year of Yung-lo [1403], Senior Transmission Commissioner Chao Chü-jen and Messenger Chang Hung³⁸ along with Monk

Tao-ch'eng were also sent there. When the mission was about to depart, their tribute envoy had already arrived at Ningpo. In a memorial, Li Chih-kang,³⁹ a ministry of Rites official, wrote that according to past experiences, barbarian envoys coming to our land were not allowed to carry weapons privately for sale to our people, that the local authorities should be ordered to examine their ships, and that all those contraband goods should be confiscated and sent to the capital. The Emperor said, "When barbarians of the outside world present us tribute, they have to take great risks to come from afar and also defray great expenses. It is none other than human nature that they would carry goods for sale to help pay the expenses. How can we stop all that by prohibitory regulations? As to their weapons, purchase them at the market price. Don't dampen their good-will toward us."

In the tenth month, their envoy arrived presenting a memorial and tribute from the King, Minamoto Dogi.⁴⁰ The Emperor treated him with the utmost cordiality. He sent an official to accompany the envoy on the return trip and bestowed on Dogi a crown, a robe, a gold seal with a tortoise-shaped knob, brocade, and pieces of fine silk.

In the eleventh month of the following year [1404] [a mission] came to offer congratulations on the investiture of the heir-apparent. At that time, pirates from islands such as Tsushima and Ikki plundered our coastal people. The Emperor therefore told their King to capture them. The King deployed troops to exterminate them, holding in captivity twenty ringleaders. In the eleventh month of the third year [1405], [the latter] were presented to the Court and, besides, tribute was also offered. The Emperor felt even more gratified with all this. He sent P'an Tz'u,⁴¹ the Vice Minister of the Court of State Ceremonial, in the company of Wang Chin, the eunuch, to bestow on the king a crown and a robe decorated with nine ornamental colors,⁴² more than usual amount of cash, money tenders, and brocades. [His Majesty] gave back the captives so that their government might punish them in their own way. When the envoy arrived back to Ningpo, he placed those people in big jars and steamed them to death.

In the first month the following year [1406], Vice Minister Yü Shih-chi⁴³ was dispatched to deliver an imperial message of commendation and also an ample gift. One of their mountains was given the title, the Mount of Longevity, Peace, and Kingdom-tranquilizing and on it was placed the stele with the imperial inscription. In the sixth

month their envoy came to express gratitude for the gift of the crown and robe.

In both the fifth and sixth years [1407, 1408], [they] came to present tribute and also handed over the pirates they had captured. Before his return the envoy requested the gift of two books prepared by Empress Jen-hsiao, one entitled the *Ch'üan-shan-shu* [Exhortations in 20 chüan] and the other entitled *Nei-hsün* [Household Instructions in one chüan].⁴⁴ Thereupon, the Emperor ordered that one hundred copies of each be given to him. In the eleventh month, [they] came to present tribute. In the twelfth month, the crown prince, Minamoto Yoshimochi⁴⁵ sent an envoy to come with the obituary report of his father. Chou Ch'üan, the eunuch, was dispatched to offer sacrifice to the deceased and the posthumous title of "Kung-hsien" was conferred. Besides, funeral presents were given. Moreover, an official was dispatched there to carry an imperial rescript to confer on Yoshimochi the title of King of Japan. At the time alarms on the seacoast were reported. Once again an official was sent to tell Yoshimochi to chastise the pirates.

In the fourth month of the eighth year [1410], Yoshimochi sent an envoy to Court to express his gratitude for all the kindnesses. Some time later, he also presented the captured pirates. For this the Emperor commended him.

In the second month of the following year [1411], Wang Chin was again sent to carry an imperial message to commend the King and to bestow gifts on him, and also to purchase merchandise. The ruler and his ministers planned to prevent Wang from making the return trip.⁴⁶ Wang sneaked aboard a ship and escaped through another route. Thereafter, for quite some time, no tribute came. In that same year [1411?], the Wo raided P'an-shih.⁴⁷

In the fifteenth year [1417], the Wo raided Sung-men,⁴⁸ Chin-hsiang and P'ing-yang. Some people had captured several tens of the Wo pirates and brought them to the capital. The court officials requested their execution. The Emperor said, "To strike awe in them with punishment is not as good as to oblige them with our kindness. Better send them back." He therefore ordered Lü Yüan, a vice bureau-director in the Justice Ministry,⁴⁹ and others to carry a message of reprimand, advising the King to repent for his misdeeds and also to return all those Chinese who had been captured.

In the fourth month of the following year [1418], the King sent an envoy to accompany Lü Yüan and others to come and present trib-

ute. [In the memorial, the King] said, "Because of rampant piracy, the tribute envoy has not been able to come to Court. What the villainous thieves have done Your subject really knows nothing about. [We] pray that Your Majesty would forgive our guilt and permit us to present tribute." Considering the humble wording, the Emperor gave his assent and treated the envoy as before. But the piracy continued.

In the seventeenth year [1419], the Wo ships came upon the Wangchia-shan islands.⁵⁰ The Commissioner-in-Chief, Liu Jung⁵¹, taking charge in person, sped his crack troops to Wang-hai-kuo.⁵² The pirates numbering several thousand men came in twenty ships, sailed to Ma-hsiung Island,⁵³ and then lay siege to Wang-hai-kuo. Liu sprang the trap, engaged them in battle and deployed troops to block their retreat route. When the pirates rushed to Ying-t'ao-yüan (the Cherry Orchard),⁵⁴ Liu Jung threw in all the forces to attack them. Altogether seven hundred and forty-two heads were taken and eight hundred fifty-seven men were captured. Liu Jung was summoned to the capital and was conferred the rank of the Earl of Kwang-ning. Thereafter, the Wo did not dare to have designs on Liao-tung.

In the twentieth year [1422], the Wo raided Hsiang-shan.

In the first month of the seventh year of Hsüan-te [1435],⁵⁵ in view of the fact that although after foreign nations from all directions had come to court, Japan had not come with tribute for some time, the Emperor sent Ch'ai Shan, the eunuch, to Liu-Ch'iu to tell the king there to notify Japan, to whose King an imperial message was also addressed.

In the summer of the following year [1433], King Minamoto Yoshinori⁵⁶ dispatched an envoy to Court. The Emperor returned the courtesy and bestowed on the King white gold, silk pieces, and money. In autumn, [its mission] came again.

In the tenth month of the tenth year [1435], on account of the accession of Ying-tsung,⁵⁷ an envoy was sent with tribute. In the second month of the first year of Cheng-t'ung [1436], on the return of the envoy, [His Majesty] bestowed on the King and his consort a gift of silver currency. In the fourth month, the ministry of Works in a memorial noted that during the reign of Hsüan-te, Japan and other kingdoms had been given certificates and tallies and that now that a new reign was begun, according to precedents, they should be replaced. It was approved.

In the fifth month of the fourth year [1439], forty Wo ships took in

succession two battalion command posts: one at T'ao-chu of T'ai-chou and the other at Ta-sung of Ningpo.⁵⁸ They also captured the guarded command post of Ch'ang-kuo,⁵⁹ killing and plundering recklessly.

In the fifth month of the eighth year [1443], Hai-ning⁶⁰ was raided. As it happened, during the reign period of Hung-hsi⁶¹ [i.e., 1425], a native of Huang-yen, Chou Lai-pao, and a native Lung-yen, Chung P'u-fu,⁶² being distressed by corvee service, turned their back on China and joined the Wo. Whenever the Wo came to raid, they served as guides. Now when they guided the Wo in the raid of Lo-ch'ing,⁶³ they had first come ashore to spy for them. Later when the Wo left, the two men remained in the village begging for food. They were caught, sentenced to the limit of the law and their heads were displayed [as a warning] on the seacoast.

The Wo were cunning by nature. They often carried local products and weapons when they frequented our coast. When the occasion presented itself, they would display their weapons and plunder recklessly. When there was no opportunity, they would spread out their local products and claim to have come to present tribute. Hence the southeastern seacoast suffered.

In the fourth year of Ching-t'ai [1453]⁶⁴ [they] came with tribute. Upon their arrival at Lin-ch'ing⁶⁵, they robbed the inhabitants of their commodities. When a local commander went to them to inquire about the matter, he was almost beaten to death. The authorities requested that they be held and punished. For fear of losing the good will of the peoples from distant lands, His Majesty did not consent.

Before this time, in the beginning years of the Yung-lo period, it was decreed that Japan should come with tribute once every ten years with the stipulation that only two hundred men and two ships were allowed and that they were not to carry weapons. Violation of this decree would be considered a commission of piracy.⁶⁶ They were then given two ships for the purpose of tribute presentation. Later all [their missions] did not conform to the stipulation.

In the first years of Hsüan-te [1426-35], a [new] stipulation was made to the effect that the number of men was not to exceed three hundred and that of ships not to exceed three.⁶⁷ But the Wo people were greedy. Besides tribute goods, they brought in ten times as much private goods as before which, according to the regulations, should be bought at their current price. [On this matter], the officials

of the Ministry of Rites said, "During the Hsüan-te period, the stuff they presented, such as sulphur, sapan-wood, swords, fans and lacquer wares, if paid in cash and paper money according to the market price, or paid in kind in cloth and silks, even though the value was not too much, already brought them great profit. If they are now paid according to the old rate, they should be paid 217,000 cash and also a similar amount in silver. It behooves [us] to reduce their price radically and to give them 34,700 plus taels." This suggestion was approved. The envoy was unhappy and requested that the old rate be observed. It was then decreed to add ten thousand cash. The envoy still considered the sum too small and asked for more goods. It was then decreed to add 1500 bolts of cloths and silks. Finally the envoy left, dispirited.

In the first year of T'ien-shun [1457], due to the fact that the former envoy had offended the Celestial Court and had been graciously forgiven, their King, Minamoto Yoshimasa⁶⁸, wanted to send an envoy to offer an apology, but did not dare to say so directly. He then wrote to the King of Korea bidding the latter to speak on his behalf and so Korea reported the matter. After the Court deliberated on the problem, it was decreed that Korea should double-check the matter and tell [the King of Japan] to pick as envoys mature men with experience and understanding and also that [those envoys] should not behave as recklessly and disorderly as before. After that, no tribute envoy came.

In the summer of the fourth year of Ch'eng-hua [1468]⁶⁹, an envoy was sent to present horses and to express gratitude. He was treated according to the stipulated etiquette. Their three interpreters said that they originally were natives of Ningpo, but that when young, they had been kidnapped by pirates and sold to Japan. Now they requested that they be permitted to offer sacrifices to their ancestral graves during their tour of duty. Permission was granted but they were told not to take the envoy to their homes so that others would be induced to go out to sea.

In the eleventh month, the envoy, Seikei, came to present tribute again.⁷⁰ [His party] wounded people in the market and the authorities requested that [the guilty] be punished. It was decreed that Seikei be notified of the request. Thereupon, Seikei memorialized, saying that the offender[s] should be punished according to the law of his own kingdom and that they be allowed to return to their kingdom to administer justice accordingly. Moreover, he apologized

for the guilt of failing to control [the members of his party]. His Majesty forgave them all. Thereafter, the envoys had no more scruples in their actions.

In the ninth month of the thirteenth year [1477], [they] came to present tribute. They asked for such books as *Fo-tsu-t'ung-chi*. It was decreed that they be given the *Fa-yüan chu-lin*.⁷¹ The envoy then said that it was his King's desire to request extra gifts in addition to the stipulated quota. It was then decreed to bestow fifty-thousand kuan of cash upon the King.⁷²

In the eleventh month of the twentieth year [1484], [they] came to present tribute again.

In the third month of the ninth year of Hung-chih [1496],⁷³ King Minamoto Yoshitaka⁷⁴ sent an envoy. On his return trip, in the city of Chi-ning,⁷⁵ his subordinates killed people with their swords. The authorities requested that [the offenders] be punished. It was decreed that from then on only fifty people were allowed to come to the capital, the remainder should stay on board ship and that precautionary measures should be strictly enforced.

In the winter of the eighteenth year [1505], [they] came with tribute. At that time, Emperor Wu-tsung⁷⁶ had already acceded to the throne. It was decreed that the precedents be followed. [The envoy] was given a gold identification plaque and [new] tallies.

In the winter of the fourth year of Cheng-te [1509], [they] came with tribute. The officials of the Ministry of Rites said that in the first month of the following year when the feast to celebrate the Spring Sacrifice took place, the Korean envoy would be placed in the seventh section on the eastern side of the palace and that since there had been no regulations for Japan, it was requested that it be placed in the seventh section. The recommendation was approved. The same officials also remarked that formerly Japan had used three ships for their tribute goods but they only used one now and hence that the amount of silver and money bestowed should be in proportion to the number of ships. Moreover, [they continued], since [the Mission] did not present a memorial, they prayed that His Majesty should decide whether to issue an imperial rescript. It was decreed that the agencies concerned should write a reply.

In the spring of the fifth year [1510], King Minamoto Yoshizumi⁷⁷ sent his envoy, So Sokyö,⁷⁸ to present tribute. At that time, Liu Chin⁷⁹ was usurping the imperial power and accepted from him [So Sokyö] one thousand taels of gold. [So] was given a robe with the

flying- fish pattern⁸⁰—an unprecedented practice indeed. So Sokyō was originally the son of a Chu family in the district of Yin;⁸¹ his given name was Kao. He learned singing in his boyhood. When a certain Japanese envoy saw him, he liked him very much. Then Chu Kao's uncle, Chu Ch'eng, became indebted to the envoy and so Chu Kao was given as compensation. Now he came as the chief envoy. In Soochow, he and his uncle, Chu Ch'eng, had a reunion. When the story was known, according to law Chu Ch'eng should be punished to death. Liu Chin protected him, explaining that Chu Ch'eng had already confessed, and so he was pardoned.

In the seventh year [1512], Minamoto Yoshizumi again sent him [So] to come with tribute. The provincial authorities in Chekiang memorialized, saying that since the capital area and Shantung were then infected by bandits, they feared that the envoy and his party might run into them and be robbed and that they proposed to keep the tribute goods in the government storehouses in Chekiang but to collect their memorial to be delivered to the capital. After the officials of the Ministry of Rites and those of the Ministry of War jointly deliberated, they recommended that the leading official and officers in the Southern Capital be instructed to feast and gift the mission there and send them back with full compensation for all the local products they had brought in so that the good will of the distant people would not be adversely affected. The recommendation was approved.

In the fifth month of the second year of Chia-ching [1523],⁸² their envoy, Sosetsu,⁸³ arrived in Ningpo. Soon after this, So Sokyō along with Zuisa also came. They quarreled with each other over which of them was the genuine mission. So Sokyō bribed the eunuch, Lai En, who had charge of the Office of Shipping Trade. During the feast, So Sokyō was seated above Sosetsu. Even though So's ships arrived behind the other party's, his ships were examined and released first. Angered, Sosetsu [and his party] fought with them, killed Zuisa, set their ships on fire, and chased So Sokyō up to the city wall of Shao-hsing. So Sokyō hid himself in some quarters and escaped [from harm]. The murderous gang then returned to Ningpo. Wherever they went, they burned and plundered. They held captive Local Commander Yüan Chin and after having snatched some ships, they sailed out to sea. When Regional Commissioner Liu Chin⁸⁴ went after them at sea, he was killed in battle.

Regional Inspector Ou Chu⁸⁵ reported the matter to the throne.

He also said, "According to the statement made by So Sokyō, a certain Tara Yoshioki⁸⁶ of the Western Sea region has long been under the jurisdiction of the Japanese government. According to regulations, they are not allowed to send a tribute mission. Since the tribute route must go through the Western Sea, [it happened that] their Cheng-te tallies were robbed by them. There was nothing they could do and therefore, they came with the tallies issued by the reign of Hung-chih and came via the South Sea route. On their arrival at Ningpo, they accused them [Tara's party] of their falsehood and hence started the quarrel." The matter was referred to the Ministry of Rites. After due deliberations, the ministry recommended, "So Sokyō's words are not to be trusted and he should not be allowed to come to Court. The bloodshed was started by Sosetsu, and a great number of the members of So Sokyō's party were killed. Even though he was guilty of joining the barbarians, yet he was already pardoned by the previous reign and there is no need to investigate. We may instruct So Sokyō to return home and send a message to their King asking him to see whether there still are tallies and to investigate and prosecute the matter himself." After His Majesty had already approved the recommendation, Censor Hsiung Lan⁸⁷ and Supervising Secretary Chang Ch'ung⁸⁸ presented memorials, saying that So Sokyō's crime was too great to be exonerated and that Lai En, Vice Commissioner for Maritime Affairs Chang Ch'in,⁸⁹ Vice Administration Commissioner Chu Ming-yang,⁹⁰ Vice Commissioner Hsü Wan,⁹¹ and Regional Commissioner Chang Hao should also be punished, and that the door should be shut against [Japan], their tribute refused so that the prestige of the Middle Kingdom would be restored and the scheme of the cunning pirates squashed.

When the matter was being deliberated, it happened that the ship which had escaped with Nakabayashi and Magotaro and other members of Sosetsu's party on board was blown by storm to Korea, where the Koreans killed thirty of them and captured two who were then handed over to the government. Supervising Secretary Hsia Yen, thereupon, proposed to send the two captives to Chekiang, there to be investigated in conjunction with Sokyō by the authorities. Therefore Supervising Secretary Liu Mu⁹² and Censor Wang Tao⁹³ were dispatched. By the fourth year, the verdict was reached. So Sokyō, Nakabayashi, and Magotaro were sentenced to death. After long confinement, they all died in prison.

At that time a Liu-ch'iu envoy, Cheng Sheng, was about to return

to his own country, he was instructed to deliver a message to Japan to the effect that Japan should capture and hand over Sosetsu and should return Yüan Chin and other captive coastal inhabitants, otherwise [China] would close [her] ports, sever the tribute relation, and even contemplate a punitive expedition.

In the ninth year [1530], the Liu-ch'iu envoy, Ts'ai Han, came via Japan and through him King Minamoto Yoshiharu⁹⁴ presented a memorial saying that since there had been troubles in his kingdom and fighting had blocked some of the communication routes, the Cheng-te tallies had not reached the eastern capital, that as a result So Sokyö had had to come with the Hung-chih tallies and he prayed that So Sokyö would be pardoned and sent home. He also made the request that he would be given the new tallies and gold seal so that he could present tribute as usual. On examining the memorial the officials of the Ministry of Rites did not find the signature from the given seal. They then memorialized the throne saying that since the Wo were too cunning and treacherous to be trusted, it was necessary to issue a rescript to the king of Liu-ch'iu to deliver a message [to the King of Japan] to the effect that he should observe the previous instructions.

In the seventh month of the eighteenth year [1539], Minamoto Yoshiharu's tribute envoy came to Ningpo and the provincial officials reported that. It was seventeen years since the last one had come. It was decreed that the regional inspector together with the three provincial commissioners see to it that if they were really sincere and submissive, the mission would then be sent and escorted to the Capital as stipulated; that if not, [the mission] should be rejected, and also that the ban should be enforced against illicit intercourse by the inhabitants.⁹⁵

In the second month of the following year [1540], when the envoy, Sekitei⁹⁶ and his party arrived in Peking, they presented the previous request asking for the issue of new Chia-ching tallies, the return of So Sokyö, and those tribute goods retained. After deliberation, the ministry concerned wrote that the tallies should not be issued right away but that the old ones should be handed in in exchange for the new ones, that the tribute schedule should be [once in] ten years with not more than one hundred men and not more than three ships, and that the rest [of the request] should not be complied with. The recommendation was imperially approved.

In the seventh month of the twenty-third year [1554], [they] came

with tribute again. It was not tribute time; moreover, [the mission] did not have a memorial. The officials of the ministry concerned advised that it should not be accepted. It was rejected. The members [of the mission] were interested in trade and so they remained in the coastal waters. Regional Inspector Kao Chieh⁹⁷ requested that the civilian officials and military officers on the coast be punished and that the treacherous and influential people be prohibited from having intercourse with the foreigners. It was decreed that the request be carried out. But the treacherous people of our land, having made ample gains in the trade, often collaborated closely with them and it was impossible to stop all the trading.

In the sixth month of the twenty-sixth year [1547], Regional Inspector Yang Chiu-tse⁹⁸ memorialized, saying, "The prefectures of Ningpo, Shao-hsing, T'ai-chou, and Wen-chou of Chekiang all border on the sea. They adjoin the prefecture of Foochow, Hsing-hua, Chang-chow, and Ch'üan-chow of Fukien. They have piratical troubles. Even though there are fortified guard and battalion command posts and Vice Commissioners for Maritime Affairs and Regional Military Commissioners for the Defense against the Wo, yet since it is never certain when and where piracy appears and disappears, it is difficult for the military people of the two provinces to coordinate their efforts for the defense. It is therefore respectfully requested that the former precedent be followed whereby a high-ranking official with delegated inspecting power be dispatched to have jurisdiction over all those prefectures so that all matters would then be placed under unified control and the government prestige and command would be respected." The recommendation was approved by the Court. Accordingly, Vice Censor-in-Chief Chu Wan was appointed governor of Chekiang and was concurrently to be in charge of the military affairs of the five prefectures of Foochow, Hsing-hua, Chang-chow, Ch'üan-chow, and Chien-ning.

Soon after their King, Minamoto Yoshiharu, sent his envoy Shuryo⁹⁹ and others to come with tribute ahead of scheduled time. The mission had four ships and six hundred men and was moored in outer waters awaiting the scheduled time in the following year. When the provincial officials stopped them, they used the wind as a pretext. In the eleventh month, the matter was reported to the court. On account of their being ahead of the scheduled time and exceeding the stipulated numbers of men and ships, the Emperor decreed that the provincial officials should send them back. In the twelfth month the Wo pirates raided the two prefectures of Ningpo and T'ai-chou and

they killed and plundered recklessly. For that, the officers and officials of the two prefectures were also punished.

In the sixth month of the following year [1548], Shuryo requested permission to present tribute and it was reported by Chu Wan. The Ministry of Rites recommended, "Even though Japan has violated the regulations regarding tribute schedule and the numbers of men and ships, yet the wording in the memorial is respectful and submissive. Moreover, it is not too far away from the scheduled time. Should we categorically refuse them, we cannot help feeling pity for their fatigue from the crossing of the sea; should we try to be tolerant, we need to remember the lesson of Sosetsu and So Sokyō. It behooves us to decree that Chu Wan should follow the precedent of the eighteenth year [1539] whereby only fifty men are sent and escorted to the Capital while the rest remain in the Hostel for Foreign Guests. They should be reasonably comforted and rewarded and then instructed to return to their kingdom. As to the matter of foreign trade and local defense, let Chu Wan take good care of them." It was approved. Chu Wan argued forcefully that fifty men were too few. Accordingly it was decreed that one hundred men be rewarded and the rest not. On this Shuryo explained, saying that the tribute ships were so tall and large that five hundred men were required [to man them], also that since Chinese trading ships always hid themselves on the islands to engage in piracy, they therefore needed an additional ship for protection against the pirates, and that they did not dare to violate the regulations. The Ministry [of Rites] then recommended that their reward be increased somewhat and also that since under the circumstances it would be hard for that kingdom to observe the regulation of limiting the number to one hundred men, it would be necessary to apply the regulation in accordance with the size of the tribute ships. It was approved.

Formerly, Japan had had almost two hundred tallies from the two previous reigns of Hsiao-tsung and Wu-tsung. On previous occasions, when the envoys had requested the issue of new ones, they had been told to hand in the old ones. Now, Shuryo was holding fifteen of the Hung-chih tallies and said that the rest had been stolen by So Sokyō's son, who had not been caught. He also kept fifteen of the Cheng-te tallies as a token of good faith and returned forty tallies. The Ministry [of Rites] proposed that only when all the old ones were returned would the new ones be issued in exchange. [This proposal] was also approved.

At that time, though the King of Japan was sending over tribute,

yet the Wo people of all the islands raided us every year and the treacherous people on the coast often induced them. Chu Wan, therefore, stringently enforced the prohibitory proclamation. As soon as he captured those who had had illicit intercourse [with the Wo], without waiting for order [from the Court], he at once had them executed by using his discretionary power. For this reason, the influential families in Chekiang and Fukien who had played host to the Wo people lost their profit and resented [Chu] Wan. [Chu] Wan also repeatedly memorialized to the court, revealing how some influential families had established intercourse with the Wo. On that account the people of Fukien and Chekiang all hated him, particularly the people of Fukien. The Regional Inspector, Chou Liang, a native of Fukien, presented a memorial to the throne in which he criticized [Chu] Wan and recommended to change the office of Governor to that of Inspector General so as to reduce his power. Chou's partisans who were present at Court exerted their influence and in the end his recommendation was approved. [They] also took away [Chu] Wan's official position and pinned on him the crime of killing [people] without proper authorization. [Chu] Wan committed suicide. After that no governor was appointed for four years.¹⁰⁰ The maritime interdiction was relaxed and troubles became more serious.

According to regulations set by the founding emperors, an office of the Commissioner of Trading Ships was established in Chekiang and was put in charge of a eunuch to be stationed at Ningpo. When foreign ships arrived, [the office] would regulate the prices. Thus, the power of control had always been kept by the ruler. Now when Emperor Shih-tsung withdrew all the eunuchs who had supervised the provincial governments and abolished the Office of Commissioner of Trading Ships, the treacherous people on the coast got their hands on the profit. At first the trading was still handled by merchants. But when the ban on having intercourse with foreigners was strictly enforced, trading was then managed by the families of influential officials. [The latter] owed them [the Wo or the barbarians] much more [than the merchants did]. When pressed hard for the repaying of debts, [they] would intimidate them with threats or would deceive them with sweet talk saying that they would never default on repayment. The Wo, having lost their capital, were not able to return home and therefore harbored great resentment.

Moreover, notorious traitors such as Wang Chih, Hsü Hai, Ch'en Tung, and Ma Yeh had long made their home in their midst. Because

they had not been able to realize their ambition in the home land, they fled to the islands to become the ringleaders. The Wo people placed themselves under their command and they induced them to make raids. Hence, notorious pirates on the high seas adopted Wo apparel and insignia and in separate groupings sailed to the mainland to make raids. There was no one who did not reap enormous profit and consequently troubles caused by the Wo grew worse day by day.

After deliberation by the Court, it was recommended that the office of governor be reinstated. In the seventh month of the thirty-first year [to be exact, on August 28, 1553],¹⁰¹ Assistant Censor-in-Chief Wang Yü was appointed. But the situation was such that it was impossible to put down [sic].

In the beginning of the Ming dynasty, in strategic areas on the coast, guard and battalion command posts were established, and warships were built under the jurisdiction of such officials as regional military commissioners, inspector generals¹⁰² and vice commissioners, and the system of control was thorough. Now, after a long period of peace during which the ships had become dilapidated and the number of troops had become depleted, on occasion of the sounding of the tocsin, fishing junks were recruited for the purpose of patrol and defense; the troops were not well trained at all, and the ships were not solely devoted to the work. Whenever [they] saw pirate ships coming, [they] would run and seek shelter. Moreover, there was no one on the top to give them leadership. As a result, wherever the pirate ships sailed, places were sacked and wrecked.

In the third month of the thirty-second year [1553], Wang Chih sailed with the Wo for a massive invasion. The joint forces of several hundred warships came—so many that the sea was all covered. The coast regions in both the eastern and western parts of Chekiang and the northern and southern banks of the [Yangtze] delta areas—an area of several thousand [square] li—sounded the alarm all at once. The guard command post at Ch'ang-kuo was sacked. In the fourth month T'ai-ts'ang was attacked, Shanghai was taken, Chiang-yin was plundered and Cha-p'u was attacked. In the eighth month, the guard command post of Chin-shan was plundered; Ch'ung-ming, Ch'ang-shu, and Chia-ting were attacked.

In the first month of the thirty-third year [1554], the Wo from T'ai-ts'ang plundered Soochow, attacked Sung-chiang, then crossed over to the northern bank to go close to T'ung-chou and T'ai-hsien. In the fourth month they took Chia-shan, sacked Ch'ung-ming, again

marched close to Soochow, and entered Ch'ung-te. In the sixth month, they went from Wu-chiang to plunder Chia-hsing, then returned to Che-lin where they were quartered. They criss-crossed the area in whatever direction they pleased as if they had entered an uninhabited land. Wang Yü did not seem to be able to do anything.

Sometime later, Wang Yü was transferred to the governorship of Ta-t'ung (in Shansi) and replaced by Li T'ien-ch'ung. It was decreed that War Minister Chang Ching was to have charge of all the military affairs [to deal with the Wo]. Accordingly a great number of reinforcements were requested from all quarters in the empire to help in the task of suppression. At that time the Wo used Ch'uan-sha-wa and Che-lin¹⁰³ as their lairs, from which to plunder in all directions.

In the first month of the following year [1555], the pirates seized ships for the attack on Cha-p'u and Hai-ning. They took Ch'ung-te and then turned to plunder T'ang-ch'i, Hsin-shih, Heng-t'ang and Shuang-lin,¹⁰⁴ and attacked Te-ch'ing. In the fifth month, joining forces with the newly-arrived Wo, they rushed toward Chia-hsing. When they came to Wang-chiang-ching, they were dealt a blow by Chang Ching who beheaded more than nineteen hundred of them, and the remainder fled to Che-lin. The other Wo groups again plundered in Soochow area, spread to Chiang-yin and Wu-hsi, and sailed in and out T'ai-hu (Lake T'ai).

Generally speaking, about thirty percent were genuine Wo (Japanese) and seventy per cent were Wo-followers. When the Wo fought, they forced the people they had captured to advance as vanguard. Their law was strict: they all fought to the death. But the government troops had been weak and cowardly and would readily disperse and run.

The Emperor, therefore, dispatched Vice Minister of Works Chao Wen-hua [to the area] to supervise and inspect military matters. Chao confounded merits and demerits, and the military forces became the more demoralized. Chang Ching and Li T'ien-ch'ung were both arrested and replaced by Chou Ch'ung and Hu Tsung-hsien [in their respective posts]. A month later, Chou Ch'ung was dismissed and replaced by Yang I.

At that time, piracy had already spread in Chiang-nan and Chekiang, and there was no place that had not been overrun. There were more and more newly arrived Wo, and they spread their venom more recklessly. Often they would burn their own ships, go ashore to loot and rob. [A group] started from the Pei-hsin Pass¹⁰⁵ went

westward to plunder Shun-an.¹⁰⁶ They then rushed to She-hsien in the prefecture of Hui-chou, went to Chi-ch'i¹⁰⁷ and Ching-te, passed by Ching-hsien toward Nan-ling¹⁰⁸, arrived at Wu-hu¹⁰⁹ and set fire to the south shore. They fled toward the prefecture of T'ai-p'ing, attacked Chiang-ning-chen,¹¹⁰ and invaded the Southern Capital. One Wo wearing red garments and using yellow umbrellas led the group in the attack on Ta-an-te Gate and also the Chia-kang Gate.¹¹¹ Then they left toward Mo-ling-kuan.¹¹² The group then looted from Li-shui to Li-yang and I-hsing.¹¹³ When they heard that government troops were coming to T'ai-hu, they bypassed Wu-chin and went toward Wu-hsi and stopped over at Hui-shan.¹¹⁴ Then in one day they traveled a distance of more than one hundred and eighty *li* and reached Hu-shu,¹¹⁵ there to be surrounded by government troops. Finally, they were caught up at Yang-lin-ch'iao¹¹⁶ and exterminated. Throughout this episode there were only sixty to seventy persons, yet a distance of several thousand *li* was covered, the casualties totaled almost four thousand killed and wounded, and the raiding lasted for more than eighty days. This took place in the ninth month of the thirty-fourth year [September 16—October 14, 1555].¹¹⁷

When Governor of Ying-t'ien [i.e. Nanking region] Ts'ao Pang-fu reported the above-mentioned victory to the Court, Chao Wen-hua was jealous of his success. Now that the Wo had made T'ao-chai¹¹⁸ their headquarters, Chao deployed a considerable number of troops from Chekiang and Chih-li and placed them under the command of Hu Tsung-hsien and himself. He also made arrangement with Ts'ao Pang-fu to take part in the campaign so that both parties could advance toward the enemy in different specified routes. Chao encamped his forces at Chuan-ch'iao.¹¹⁹ When the Wo made an attack with all their strength, Chao was badly defeated. Chao became disheartened, and the pirates more encouraged.

In the tenth month, the Wo landed in Lo-ch'ing, from where they looted Huang-yen, Hsien-chü, Feng-hua, Yü-yao and Shang-yü. Those who had been killed or kidnaped were beyond count. At Ch'eng-hsien, however, they were annihilated. Numbering less than two hundred, [this group] ventured deep into three prefectures and lasted fifty days before their annihilation.¹²⁰

Before this, one group came from Jih-chao, Shantung, looted the command post of Tung-an,¹²¹ and marched to Huai-an, Kan-yü, Shu-yang and T'ao-yüan. In Ch'ing-ho, stopped by rain, they were exterminated by the officers and troops from Hsu-chow and P'ei-hsien.¹²²

They also numbered not more than several tens of men and yet they wrought havoc for a thousand *li* and killed more than a thousand people. They were fierce indeed!

After his defeat at Chuan-ch'iao, seeing that the Wo were still very powerful and that those Wo who had moved from Che-lin to Chou-p'u¹²³ and those lodging in the old lair of Ch'uan-sha and at Kao-ch'iao of Chia-ting¹²⁴ behaved as before and also that not a single day elapsed without new incursions, Chao Wen-hua requested that he be permitted to return to Court on the ground that piracy had already subsided.

In the second month of the next year [1556], Yang I was dismissed and replaced by Hu Tsung-hsien; Juan O was appointed to be the governor of Chekiang. He recommended that an envoy be dispatched to admonish the King of Japan to suppress the island pirates, to recall the treacherous traders who had had illicit intercourse with the barbarians [i.e. the Japanese] with the promise that they would be permitted to render service to the government to redeem their guilt. When imperial approval was granted, Hu sent over Ningpo licentiates Chiang Chou and Ch'en K'o-yüan.

Now, upon his return, Ch'en K'o-yüan reported the following: He went to Goto of that country where he met Wang Chih and Mao Hai-feng; they said that Japan was having internal strife, that both their King and prime minister [sic] had been dead and all the islands did not control one another, and that it was necessary to send communications to all islands in order to prevent their incursion. They also said that the province of Satsuma had already set sail to invade [China], even though they did not really want to do so. They requested that permission be given [to Japan] to resume tribute and trade relations and that they be allowed to kill the pirates to redeem themselves. Then they kept Chiang Chou there to send communications to all the other islands and escorted Ch'en K'o-yüan back home. All this Hu Tsung-hsien reported to the Court.

The Ministry of War recommended: "Wang Chih and the others were originally our registered subjects. Since they say that they are loyal, they should disarm themselves at once. Yet they have never mentioned this. Instead, they have requested the opening of trade and the privilege of tributary presentation, acting as if they were a vassal state. It is impossible to see through their treacherous designs. It is therefore proper to order the official in chief-command to take action to inspire awe [among the pirates] and keep close watch on

the one hand and on the other hand to issue an order to Wang Chih and the others to the effect that to show their sincerity, they should exterminate the pirate dens on Chou-shan. Once the coastal area has been cleared, the Court would naturally bestow awards on them." The recommendation was approved.¹²⁵

During that time, both regions of Chekiang [i.e., both the eastern and western regions] had been suffering from the Wo. The burning and killing in Tz'u-ch'i was the most tragic; that in Yü-yao was next. In western Chekiang, the area between Che-lin and Cha-p'u¹²⁶ and that between Wu-chen and Tsao-lin were all turned into pirate dens.¹²⁷ Altogether the pirates that had come numbered more than twenty thousand men.

Hu Tsung-hsien was ordered to map out a strategy in the shortest time possible. In the seventh month, Hu memorialized the throne saying that since the return of Ch'en K'o-yüan, Mao Hai-feng, the ringleader, had once defeated the Wo on Chou-shan and again inflicted a defeat on them at Li-piao;¹²⁸ and that [Mao or Wang?] had also sent aides to admonish all the islands to profess loyalty to the government, he now therefore requested that [they] be amply rewarded. The Ministry [of War] re-recommended that Hu be given discretionary power to handle the matter.¹²⁹

At that time, Hsü Hai, Ch'en Tung and Ma Yeh were joining forces in laying siege to T'ung-hsiang.¹³⁰ By means of some scheme, Hu succeeded in alienating them one from another. As a result, Hsü Hai captured Ch'en Tung and Ma Yeh and surrendered. The remainder of their forces were all exterminated at Cha-p'u. Later, Hsü Hai was also attacked at Liang-chuang,¹³¹ Hsü was killed, and his followers were all destroyed. The pirates in Chiang-nan and western Chekiang were then somewhat subdued.

But in the northern bank of the river [Yangtze], those pirates who had attacked Tan-yang and set fire to the grain-transport junks at Kua-chou, in the spring of the following year [1557], again attacked Ju-kao and Hai-men. They pounced upon T'ung-chou, looted Yang-chow and Kao-yu, broke into Pao-ying, and went up to invade the prefectural city of Huai-an.¹³² They then assembled at Miao-wan.¹³³ Only in the following year [1558] were the pirates vanquished.¹³⁴

The Wo in eastern Chekiang who had occupied the Chou-shan islands were also successively attacked by government forces during the same period.

Before this, it happened that when Chiang Chou went to the

islands [i.e., the Japanese islands] to deliver the imperial message, having been detained in Bungo, he sent some monks to islands [*sic*] such as Yamaguchi to deliver the imperial proclamation of suppression. Thereupon the governor of Yamaguchi, Minamoto Yoshinaga, presented to the Court a communique and at the same time sent back those people who had been captured [by pirates]. In the communique, the seal of the King was used. The governor of Bungo, Minamoto Yoshishige, dispatched Monk Toku-yo and others to escort Chiang Chou in the return trip and to present local products plus a memorial begging forgiveness and a request for the issuance of tribute tallies.

Formerly when a certain Cheng Shun-kung, who had been sent by Yang I abroad to gather intelligence, reached the island of Bungo [*sic*], the lord of the island sent Monk Seiju on board to offer apologies saying that all the raids had been perpetuated by treacherous Chinese traders who had secretly recruited the island inhabitants and that Minamoto Yoshishige and others did not know about it at all.

All these then were reported to the Court by Hu in his memorial. Hu also remarked that during the two years of his mission, Chiang Chou had only traveled to the two islands of Bungo and Yamaguchi, that he had either brought back tribute goods without properly sealed memorials and tallies or brought back sealed memorials without the name of the Japanese King as the addresser, and that all these were violations of the Court order. [Then he went on, saying that] since they had come with tribute and returned the captured people, they really indicated their fear of their guilt and earnestness for imperial grace, that it would be best to send back their envoys in a cordial way, ordering them to admonish Minamoto Yoshishige and Minamoto Yoshinaga to tell the Japanese King that only after [the latter] had captured and presented the ringleaders of the raids and the Chinese traitors, would [he] be permitted to present tribute. [Hu's recommendation] was imperially approved.¹³⁵

When Wang Chih dominated the islands, he and his gang (such as Wang Ao, Yeh Tsung-man, Hsieh Ho and Wang Ch'ing-ch'i) each had hired the Japanese to build themselves up as a powerful force. Even though the Court had offered the reward of an earldom and ten thousand taels to get [Wang], yet it had not been able to do so. Now that the government forces were quite well-prepared, the Wo [here it refers to the Japanese], despite their fierceness, were killed in greater numbers. Sometimes not a single person returned to the

islands alive. [They] often harbored resentment against Wang Chih, who began to feel very ill at ease.

Now Hu Tsung-hsien and Wang Chih had hailed from the same district. Hu [brought in and] lodged Wang's mother, wife, and children in Hang-chow. Chiang Chou was then sent to deliver to Wang a letter from his family to invite him home. Learning that his family was safe and sound, Wang was quite moved. [At the same time], Minamoto Yoshishege and others, on account of China's permission to trade, were also elated. They therefore outfitted a large ship and sent his subordinates, Zemmyo and others, a party of more than forty people, to come with Wang Chih to present tribute and trade. Early in the tenth month of the 36th year [1557], they arrived at Ts'en-kang of Chou-shan.¹³⁶

The government officers and officials, thinking that [Wang and his group] were coming for an invasion, alerted their defense. Thereupon, Wang Chih dispatched Wang Ao to see Hu Tsung-hsien. Wang Ao asked Hu, saying, "We have come with good intention. Why are all the troops set for action?" Wang Ao was the same as Mao Hai-feng, Wang Chih's adopted son. Hu Tsung-hsien did his best to put Wang Ao at ease and swore that there was no ulterior motive. Later when Zemmyo and others went to see Regional Vice Commander Lu T'ang in Chou-shan, Lu wanted him to capture Wang Chih to present him [to the government forces]. When this was leaked out, Wang became very suspicious. With all Hu's persuasions Wang Chih was not convinced at all. He said to Hu, "If you really do not deceive me, send Wang Ao out and then I shall go in to see you." Thereupon, Hu Tsung-hsien sent Wang Ao back. Again Wang Chih wanted a high government official as hostage. Hu then sent Commander Hsia Cheng over. Now that Wang Chih considered Hu to be trustworthy, he along with Yeh Tsung-man and Wang Ch'ing-ch'i came over. Greatly elated, Hu Tsung-hsien treated Wang very cordially. He told Wang Chih to see Regional Inspector Wang Pen-ku in Hang-chow. Wang Pen-ku put him in prison. Upon hearing this, Wang Ao and the others became furious, so much so they dismembered Hsia Cheng, burned their ships, went ashore, and occupied Ts'en-kang the defense of which they strengthened.¹³⁷

The next year [1558], a great number of Wo newcomers arrived. Time after time they raided the three prefectures of eastern Chekiang. Those in Ts'en-kang later moved to K'o-mei,¹³⁸ where they made new ships on which they sailed out to the seas. Hu Tsung-hsien

did not give chase. In the eleventh month the pirates set sail southward and moored at Wu-yü in the prefecture of Ch'üan-chow. They looted the districts of T'ung-an, Hui-an, and Nan-an, attacked Fung-chow, broke into Fu-an and Ning-te.¹³⁹ In the fourth month of the following year [1559], they besieged Foochow for a month before they left. Such cities as Fu-ch'ing and Yung-fu were all taken and burned down.¹⁴⁰ They then spread to Hsing-hua and ran wild in Chang-chow. Now, all the troubles had transferred to Fukien, and the area between Ch'ao-chow and Canton in Kwangtung continuously reported their alarm to the Court.

By the fortieth year [1561], the pirates in eastern Chekiang and north of the [Yangtze] River had already been subdued. Soon after this, Hu Tsung-hsien was arrested on account of some alleged charges. In the eleventh month of the following year [1562], the Wo captured the prefectural city of Hsing-hua, recklessly killed and plundered, then moved to the guard command post of P'ing-hai,¹⁴¹ where they remained. Before this time, in their invasion of Chekiang, even though they had captured up to a hundred subprefectural and district cities, guard command posts and battalion command post, the Wo had never taken a prefectural city. Now people far and near were shocked. Immediately such commanding officers as Yü Ta-yu, Ch'i Chi-kuang and Liu Hsien¹⁴² were deployed there to act in unison in their suppression. Those who had attacked other sub-prefectural and district cities were also subdued. Thus, Fukien was also pacified.

Later, among the notorious pirate ringleaders of Kwangtung, Tseng I-pen, Huang Ch'ao-t'ai, and others,¹⁴³ none of them did not induce the Wo (Japanese) to be their allies.

During the period of Lung-ch'ing [1567-1572],¹⁴⁴ [the Wo] took the guard command post of Chieh-shih and the battalion command post of Chia-tzu,¹⁴⁵ then raided the district of Shih-ch'eng in the subprefecture of Hua-chow,¹⁴⁶ captured the battalion command post of Chin-nang and, the guard command post of Shen-tien.¹⁴⁷ Such districts as Wu-ch'uan, Yang-chiang, Mou-ming, Hai-feng, Hsin-ning and Hui-lai also suffered from burning and plundering.¹⁴⁸ They then turned toward the three prefectures of Lei-chow, Ch'iung-chow, and Yai-chow, all of which were also harassed.

In the second year of Wan-li [1574],¹⁴⁹ they raided the four prefectures of Ningpo, Shao-hsing, T'ai-chou, and Wen-chou in eastern Chekiang. They also took the guard command post of T'ung-ku and the battalion command post of Shuang-yü.¹⁵⁰

In the third year [1575] they invaded Tien-pai.¹⁵¹

In the fourth year [1576], they raided Ting-hai.

In the eighth year [1580], they raided Chiu-shan in Chekiang and the islands of P'eng-hu (Pescadores) and Tung-yung in Fukien.

In the tenth year [1582], they raided Wen-chow and again Kwang-tung.

In the sixteenth year [1588], they raided Chekiang.

But at that time in view of the troubles of the Chia-ching period, provincial officials maintained coastal defense in very good shape. When pirates came, [the pirates] often sustained losses. Many raided Kwangtung and those who were recruited by the Tan¹⁵² pirate, Liang Pen-hao were the most violent. Governor-General Ch'en Jui¹⁵³ amassed all the forces for the attack and succeeded in beheading more than sixteen hundred pirates, sinking more than a hundred ships, and even Liang himself was decapitated. For this, the Emperor went to the ancestral shrine to report the victory and offer thanksgiving and attended Court to receive congratulations [from the officials].

Japan has had kings since ancient times. Among the subordinates, the one with the title of Kwampaku is the most respected. At that time, [Oda] Nobunaga,¹⁵⁴ the chief of the province of Yamashiro, was appointed to the post. One day while hunting, Nobunaga saw a man under a tree, who being startled, rose and offended [Nobunaga]. The man was held and interrogated. The man said that he was Taira Hideyoshi,¹⁵⁵ a servant to a Satsuma man. He was strong and agile and was eloquent in speech. Nobunaga liked him and put him in charge of the horses and called him "Kinoshita" or "Man under the tree." In the course of time he was more and more trusted. He made plans for Nobunaga which resulted in the capture of more than twenty provinces. Hence, he himself was appointed as the commanding general of Settsu.¹⁵⁶

When a staff officer by the name of Akechi had offended Nobunaga, Hideyoshi was ordered to lead an expedition against him [*sic*]. Soon afterward, Nobunaga was killed by his subordinate, Akechi.¹⁵⁷ At that time, Hideyoshi had just defeated Akechi's forces. Upon hearing the news, Hideyoshi, together with his lieutenant Yukinaga,¹⁵⁸ led the troops back and, taking advantage of the triumphant morale, killed him [Akechi]. His name became the more awe-inspiring. Later he deposed Nobunaga's three sons, assumed the title of Kwampaku, and took over all of his forces. It was then the fourteenth year of Wan-li [1586].

From then on he continued to build a strong military power and

conquered all the sixty-six provinces. With threats he forced Liu-ch'iu, Luzon, Ch'ien-lo (Siam), and Portugal to present tribute.¹⁵⁹ He turned the castle in which the King resided into a huge mansion, engaged on a large scale in the building of city walls and palaces—with some buildings more than nine stories high—and filled them with women and valuables. He was very stern in the execution of laws. In military campaigns, there was only advance, no retreat; those who violated them, even his own son or son-in-law was put to death. For this reason, wherever he went, he met no equals.

When the reign period was changed to Bunroku,¹⁶⁰ he desired to conquer both China and Korea. He summoned the remnants of Wang Chih's former gang for inquiry and through them he learned that the Chinese were afraid of the Japanese as if they were tigers. He became very arrogant. He ordered the preparation of arms and armors and also that of the ships. He conferred with his subordinates planning to use Koreans as guides for the invasion of China's Peking and to use Chinese as guides for the invasion of such coastal provinces as Chekiang and Fukien. For fear that Liu-ch'iu might leak the secret, he forbade them to come bearing tribute. A certain Ch'en Chia, a native of T'ung-an [Fukien], was a trader in Liu-ch'iu. Afraid that that might jeopardize China, Ch'en discussed the matter with Cheng Ch'ung, the chief aide to the King of Liu-ch'iu. Thereupon, through the envoy who came to present tribute and request an investiture [for a new king], they reported the whole thing. Ch'en Chia also came back to his native district and presented the matter to Governor Chao Ts'an-lu,¹⁶¹ who then reported to the Court. The matter was referred to the Ministry of War, which then sent a message to the King of Korea. The King categorically denied that he would serve as guide [in the conspiracy]; he did not even know that they [the Japanese] also had designs on him.

At first, after having collected troops from all the military units throughout the country and stored up enough provisions for three years, Hideyoshi wanted to lead the invasion of China in person. It happened that his son died. Now he had no brothers. Since he had snatched the wife of the lord of Bungo and made her his concubine some time earlier, he feared that he [the husband] might cause troubles. Moreover, all the provinces harbored resentment toward Hideyoshi for his tyranny. They all said that the move was not to attack China but to attack them. For these reasons, Hideyoshi did not dare go himself.

In the fourth month of the twentieth year (1592), [Hideyoshi] dispatched his generals, Kiyomasa, Yukinaga, and Yoshitomo, and monks Genso and Shuetsu, and others¹⁶² to lead an expeditionary force of several hundred ships to sail across the sea from Tsushima. They captured Kimsan [sic]¹⁶³ and taking advantage of the victory, penetrated deeply into the interior. In the fifth month they crossed the river Rinshin, plundered Kaisong, and took such prefectures as P'ungdok. Korea was utterly demoralized. Kiyomasa and the others therefore pressed hard on the capital. The King of Korea, Yi Yon,¹⁶⁴ abandoned his capital, fled to Pyong-yang, and then to Uiju. Messengers were sent in succession [to the Court] to report the imminent danger. The Japanese entered the capital and held the queen and the heir-apparent and gave chase up to Pyong-yang. They let loose their troops to rape and plunder.

In the seventh month, Regional Vice Commander Tsu Ch'eng-hsun¹⁶⁵ was ordered to go to the rescue. He fought the Japanese outside the city of Pyong-yang and was dealt a severe defeat; Tsu himself barely escaped.

In the eighth month the Court appointed Vice Minister of War Sung Ying-ch'ang¹⁶⁶ to be the Commander-in-Chief together with Chief Military Commissioner Li Ju-sung¹⁶⁷ as the field commander, to lead the expeditionary forces to chastise Japan. At that time Ninghsia was not yet pacified¹⁶⁸ when the Korea matter arose. Minister of War Shih Hsing¹⁶⁹ did not know what to do but to recruit a person [or persons] who had diplomatic skill for a mission to Japan in order to spy on it. A native of Chia-hsing, Shen Wei-ching, came forward to offer his service. As a result Shih Hsing sent Shen, in the capacity of a commander, to serve in Li Ju-sung's headquarters.

The next year, Li Ju-sung won a great victory in Pyong-yang and the four Korean circuits which had been lost were also recovered. Taking advantage of the victory, Li pressed on to Pokyegwan where, after suffering a defeat, he beat a retreat.

Henceforth a debate arose in Court as to whether to invest [Hideyoshi with the title of King] and [resume] tribute relations. The Court went out of the way to support Shen Wei-ching in order to realize the policy of appeasement. The story is told in detail in the account of Korea.¹⁷⁰

After quite some time, Hideyoshi died. Thereupon, all the Japanese set sail back home and the troubles they had caused in Korea were then over. However, in the seven years since the Kwampaku's

invasion of the eastern kingdom [i.e., Korea], several hundred thousand troops had been lost, the revenue of several million taels was wasted, and still the central government and Korea had not been able to come up with a "victory" plan. Only after the death of the Kwampaku did the calamity of war come to an end. The Japanese then all withdrew back to their island dens and our southeast might now rest in peace.

Hideyoshi's line lasted until the second generation. Throughout the rest of the Ming period, the banning regulation on intercourse with the Japanese was strictly enforced. The people in the streets even used *Wo* (Japanese) as a cursing word in their quarrels and some even used it to silence their children.

NOTES

Appendix I

1. The chapter on Japan in the *Ming Shih* has already been translated into English by Ryusaku Tsunoda and L. Carrington Goodrich in their *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories* (South Pasadena, P.D. and Ione Perkins, 1951). The reader will find that our version differs from theirs on a great number of points not only in the text but in the annotated notes.
2. Cf. the action on Japan in the *Hsin Tang Shu* (The New T'ang History).
3. Chao (1214-1285) was a Jurchen by descent. His biography appears in both the *Yüan Shih* (ch. 159) and *Hsin Yüan Shih* (ch. 158).
4. Fan's biography appears in the *Hsin Yüan Shih*, 177. Hsin-tu was a descendant in the fifth generation of a younger brother of Jenghis Khan. In 1224 he was leading a force of 15,000 strong in a small-scale invasion of Japan. He was then Governor-General of Feng-chow. See the *Hsin Yüan Shih*, 250.
5. Kao Huang-ti is the canonized title of the founder, Chu Yüan-chang, who reigned from 1368 to 1398. His temple name is T'ai-tsu.
6. Fang Kuo-chen, a native of Huang-yen, Chekiang, died in 1374. Having been badly defeated by Chu Yüan-chang, he surrendered. His biography is in *MS*, 123.
7. Chang Shih-ch'eng was originally a salt merchant. He became a strong rival of Chu Yüan-chang. He was finally captured and committed suicide by hanging in 1367. His biography is in *MS*, 123.
8. According to the Annals of T'ai-tsu, in the first month of the 2nd. year, i.e., 1369, the Wo pirates raided the coast of Shantung. *MS*, 2.
9. According to the Shih-lu and Kuo-ch'üeh, the dispatch of messengers to Japan and other countries is listed in the 2nd month of the year.
10. Ryokai should read Kairyō, or Prince Kanenaga (1329- or 1330-1380), the military governor of Kyushu.
11. Lai-chou is in Shantung.
12. Che-mu-yai also reads as Hsi-mu-yai in the 1962 edition of the *Ming Shih*.
13. This refers to Chao Liang-pi (1214-1285) who was sent by Kublai Khan to Japan in 1271 and 1273. See note 3.

14. That is the way orthodox Confucians describe people who worshipped Buddha.
15. By "the teachings of West," the Chinese generally meant Buddhism.
16. The Ta-t'ung Calendar is the same as the Shou-shih Calendar which was devised by Kuo Shou-ching (1231-1316) of the Yüan Dynasty. *MS*, 31.
17. It is not clear whether both Hai-yen and Kan-p'u were raided or only Kan-p'u of Hai-yen was raided. Kan-p'u is about 36 *li* to the south of Hai-yen. Tsang Li-ho et al, *Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming ta-t'zu-tien* (from now on *TMTT*), 1181. Yü Hsien, according to the Annals of Tai-tsu, was promoted from a guard commander to the post of regional commander in the 2nd month of the 6th year (1373). But in the next year, a Marquis was made regional commander while Yü was reassigned. Later, Yü was involved in the Hu Wei-yung affairs and was killed. (See note 6, Chapter One.)
18. Jimyo, apparently an error for Jimyo-in, the name of the Northern branch of the imperial family, which was in opposition to the Southern branch supported by Prince Kanenaga.
19. Sen Monkei, not identified.
20. Chung-shu-sheng or Imperial Secretariat, an office retained from the Yüan to have jurisdiction over all the executive agencies; it lasted until 1380.
21. Ujihisa (1328-1387) of the Shimazu family which controlled parts of Kyushu. See Kimiya Yashuhiko, *Nisshi Kotsu Shi* (History of the Relations between Japan and China), vol. 2, p. 278.
22. Kei Teiyo should read Teiyo Bunkei who represented Kanenaga. Cf. Kimiya, *op cit.*, vol. 2, p. 413.
23. Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358-1408) was the 3rd Ashikaga shogun from 1368 to 1394. *Nihon Rekishi Daigidan* (Japanese Historical Dictionary; from now on *NHRS*), vol. 1, p. 102.
24. The Three Supreme Ones and the Five Emperors are the legendary rulers of ancient China.
25. According to the system of the Chou dynasty of ancient China, only the King could have ten thousand chariots, while his vassals had as many as their rank and the size of their domain stipulated.
26. Yao and Shun, according to ancient traditions, were two good rulers and were very much admired by Confucius and Mencius.
27. T'ang and Wu were the respective founders of the Shang and Chou dynasties.
28. Sun refers to Sun Wu, the famous theoretician on war in the 7th century B.C. Wu refers to Wu Ch'i, one of the famous generals of the Warring Kingdom period.

29. Ho-lan-shan is located in Kansu province to the west of the district of Ning-hsia.

30. Chin-hsiang refers to the Chin-hsiang-wei-ch'eng, seventy *li* south of the district of P'ing-yang in the prefecture of Wen-chou in Chekiang. *TMTT*, 546. Cf. Tsunoda's footnote 28.

31. Chou Te-hsing (d. 1392) was a native of Hao-chou in what is Feng-yang, Anhwei, and a fellow townsman of the founder. For his military merits he was given the title of Marquis of Chiang-hsia. His biography is in *MS*, 132; *MJCC*, 332.

32. T'ang Ho (1326-1395) was also a fellow townsman of the founder. He became the Duke of Hsin-kuo in 1378. His biography is in *MS*, 126; *MJCC*, 628.

33. For the Hu Wei-yung affair, see note 6 of Chapter 1 and note 25 of the Bibliographical Essay.

34. In fact the execution of Lin Hsien took place six years after the death of Hu Wei-yung. For more information, see the 1962 edition of the *Ming Shih*, pp. 3694-95.

35. Prince To Yuji has not been identified.

36. This refers to the ancestral instructions as compiled in the *Huang-ming tsu-hsün*, in one chüan. It was first called *Tsu-hsün-lu* or *Tsu-hsün tiao-chang*, but in the intercalary 9th month of the 28th year (1395) the founder revised it and named it *Huang-ming tsu-hsün*. See Ishihara Michihiro, "The Coming into Existence of the Huang-ming tsu-hsün" (Original English title) in *Studies of the Ming Period Presented to the Late Taiji Shimizu*, 1962.

37. Ch'eng-tsu was the temple name of Chu Ti, the 4th son of the founder. By force he deposed his nephew from the throne and became the 3rd emperor himself reigning from 1403 to 1424, Yung-lo being the name of his reign period.

38. Chao Chü-chen (d. 1419) was a native of Li-shui, in modern Kiangsu. He was then Senior Administration Commissioner of Shantung when he was sent to Japan. A short biography appears in *KCHCL*, 67/22. Chang Hung (T. Tsung-hai, H. Chih-an) was a native of Ch'ang-shu, in modern Kiangsu. See *KCHCL*, 21/23.

39. Li Chih-kang (1358-1427) was a native of Sung-chiang, in modern Kiangsu. He was then Minister of Rites. See *MS*, 151; *MJCC*, 195.

40. The same as Minamoto Yoshimitsu, Dogi being his temple name.

41. P'an Tz'u (T. Wen-hsi, H. Yung-an) was a native of P'u-ch'eng, Shensi; a 1404 chin-shih. This was his second trip to Japan. In 1433 he was sent thither again. See *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng*. Wang Chin has not been identified.

42. Those for the emperor were decorated with 12 ornamental colors and hence the 9 ornamental colors implied a prestige only next to that of the emperor. See *MS*, chap. 66 on imperial costumes.

43. Yu Shih-chi was a native of Hsiang-shan, Chekiang. His biography is in *MS*, 149; also *MJCC*, 368.
44. Jen-hsiao was the posthumous title for Empress Hsü, wife of the Yung-lo emperor. Empress Hsü was the eldest daughter of the famous general Hsü Ta and married Chu Ti in 1376 while he was Prince of Yen. *The Household Instructions* was intended as a textbook for her own children and was promulgated by the emperor four months after her death. *The Exhortations* is still partially preserved in the Peiping Library Collection. Her biography is in *MS*, 113.
45. Ashikaga Yoshimochi (1386-1428) was the 4th shogun. He became shogun in 1394, then turned over the shogunate to his son and became a priest. After the death of his son, he attended to administration affairs. *NHRS*, vol. I, p. 102.
46. Yoshimochi was contemplating the break of his vassal relations with China. See Kimiya, *op cit.*, vol. II, p. 305.
47. P'an-shih was on the coast of the prefecture of Wen-chou, Chekiang. See *MS*, 44.
48. Sung-men guard command-post was located east of the district of T'ai-p'ing in the prefecture of T'ai-chou, Chekiang. *MS*, 44, p. 500.
49. Lü Yüan (T. Hsi-yen, H. Fu-an) was a 1439 chin-shih. *TSCC*, 406/370/33B.
50. Wang-chia-shan islands are about 300 *li* from the fort of Chin-chou-wei, according to *Liao-tung-chih*, p. 46. Located roughly $123^{\circ} \times 39^{\circ}$ to 40° .
51. Liu Jung or Liu Chiang (1360-1420) was a native of Su-ch'ien in modern Kiangsu. His biography is in *MS*, 155; *MJCC*, 850.
52. Wang-hai-kuo is to the southeast of what is Chin-hsien in Liao-tung.
53. Ma-hsiung Island is about 90 *li* to the east of Chin-chou-wei. *Liao-tung chih*, p. 45.
54. Ying-t'ao-yüan has not been located, but in the context of Liu Jung's victory, it could not be far from Wang-hai-kuo. A detailed story may be found in the *Ming-shih chi-shih pen-mo*, chap. 55, pp. 587-88.
55. Hsüan-te was the reign period for Hsüan-tsung or Chu Chan-chi (1398-1435), grandson of Chu Ti. He ruled from 1425 to 1435.
56. Ashikaga Yoshinori (1394-1448) was the 6th shogun who ruled from 1428 to 1441. *NHRS*, vol. 1, p. 101.
57. Ying-tsung was the temple name of Chu Ch'i-chen who ruled from 1435-1449 and from 1457 to 1464. The first reign period was called Cheng-t'ung and the second T'ien-shun.

58. T'ao-chu was in the northeast of Lin-hai of T'ai-chou; Ta-sung was on the south-east coast of Ningpo. See *MS*, ch. 44, p. 499-500.

59. Ch'ang-kuo-wei was located in the southwest of the district of Hsiang-shan in the prefecture of Ningpo. Once it had been located on Chou-shan Island. *MS*, ch. 44, p. 500.

60. Hai-ning was within the jurisdiction of the prefecture of Hang-chow, Chekiang, and was slightly to the northeast of the prefecture city.

61. Hung-hsi was the reign period for Emperor Jen-tsung or Chu Kao-chih (1378-1425), who ruled less than a year.

62. Huang-yen was within the prefecture of T'ai-chou, Chekiang, to the southeast of the prefectural city. It bordered on the sea in the east. Lung-yen was under the jurisdiction of the prefecture of Chang-chow, Fukien. See *MS*, ch. 44, 45.

63. Lo-ch'ing was in the northeast of the prefecture of Wen-chou, Chekiang. In the south it bordered on the sea. To its west was the guard command post of P'an-shih. *MS*, 44.

64. Ching-t'ai was the reign period of Chu Ch'i-yu (1428-1457), who succeeded to the throne in 1450 when his brother, Chu Ch'i-chen, had been taken prisoner by the Mongols and ruled until 1457 when a coup d'état for the brother toppled him.

65. Lin-ch'ing was under the jurisdiction of the prefecture of Tung-ch'ang, Shan-tung. It was located on the eastern bank of the Canal, *MS*, 41, p. 446.

66. See Wang I-t'ung, *Official Relations Between China and Japan*.

67. *Ibid.*

68. Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1434-1490) was the 8th shogun who ruled from 1449 to 1473. *NHRS*, vol. 1, p. 101.

69. Ch'eng-hua was the reign period of Chu Chien-shen (1439-1487), who ruled from 1463 to 1487.

70. Apparently this was a mistake, for according to the *MSL* and other sources, Seikei had not left and come back again.

71. *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi*, in 54 chüan, was compiled by Chih-p'an, who lived in the 13th century. *Fa-yüan chu-lin*, in 100 chüan, was compiled by Tao-shih, a 7th century monk. *Ssu-k'u ta-tz'u-tien* p. 422, 605. According to *Ssu-k'u-ch'üan-shu chien-ming mo lu* ch. 14, *Fa-yüan chu-lin* is listed with 120 chüan.

72. One kuan was a string of 1000 cash.

73. Hung-chih was the reign period of Chu Yu-t'ang (1470-1505), who ruled from 1487 to 1505.
74. Ashikaga Yoshitaka or Yoshizumi (1450-1511) was the 11th shogun, who ruled from 1494 to 1508. *NHRS*, vol. I, p. 100.
75. Chi-ning was a subprefecture in Shantung.
76. Wu-tsung was the temple name for Chu Hou-chao (1491-1521), who succeeded to the throne in 1505. His reign period was called Cheng-te beginning in 1506.
77. Same as Yoshitaka.
78. In fact So Sokyō represented the Lord of Hosokawa rather than the shogun. His mission arrived a year before the scheduled time. See Kimiya, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 325, 332.
79. Liu Chin usurped imperial power from the playboy emperor, Wu-tsung, and thus dominated the Court until he was toppled from power in 1510. See *MS*, 304.
80. The flying fish pattern robe was only worn by officials of high-ranking status. See *MS*, 43.
81. Yin-hsien was the same as Ningpo and it was where the prefectural administration was located.
82. Chia-ching was the reign period of Chu Hou-ts'ung (1507-1567), who succeeded to the throne in 1521. His temple name was Shih-tsung.
83. Sōsetsu, in fact, represented the Ouchi family which controlled western Honshu and northern Kyushu. See Kimiya, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-33.
84. Liu Chin (T. Ch'ao-chang) was then Regional Commissioner against the Wo stationed in Ting-hai. *TSCC*, 741/314/47B.
85. Ou Chu (T. Ming-fu) was a native of T'ung-ch'uan, Szechuan, a 1511 chin-shih. *Lan-t'ai fa-chien lu*, 14/5a.
86. Tara Yoshioki was the same as Ouchi Yoshioki (1477-1525), Tara being their ancient name. He restored Yoshitane to the shogunate and was made governor-general. *The Japan Biographical Encyclopedia and Who's Who*, p. 1241.
87. Hsiung Lan (1471-1528; T. T'ien-hsiu) was a native of Nanchang, Kiangsi; a 1511 chin-shih. *MJCC*, 773.
88. Chang Ch'ung (T. Hsi-chih) was a native of T'ung-ch'uan, Szechuan; a 1511 chin-shih. *MS*, 192; *MJCC*, 533.

89. Chang Ch'in (1466-1541; T. Wen-lin, H. Hsieh-an) was a native of Hsin-kan, Kiangsi; a 1502 chin-shih. His biography is in *MS*, 208; *MJCC*, 527.

90. Chu Ming-yang (T. Ying-chow) was a native of P'u-t'ien, Fukien; a 1511 chin-shih. *MJCC*, 145.

91. Hsü Wan (T. Pu-chih) was a native of Tan-t'u, Chekiang; a 1505 chin-shih. *The Gazetteer of Tan-t'u* (K'angshi ed.), 7/26a, 8/17f.

92. Liu Mu (T. Ching-chih) was a native of Lin-fen, Shansi; a 1517 chin-shih. *MJCC*, 856.

93. Wang Tao was a native of Lin-ch'ing, Shantung; a 1520 chin-shih. *Lan-t'ai fa-chien lu*, 14/60a.

94. Ashikaga Yoshiharu (1511-1550) was the 12th shogun, who ruled from 1522 to 1535. *NHRS*, vol. I, p. 101.

95. The 3 provincial commissioners refer to the Regional Military Commissioner, the Administration Commissioner, and the Surveillance Commissioner.

96. Sekitei represented the Ouchi family. Kimiya, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 326.

97. Kao Chieh (T. Erh-chieh) was a native of Yung-ch'ing in modern Hopei. *The Gazetteer of Chekiang* (Kuang-hsü ed.), 117/19b.

98. Yang Chiu-tse was a native of Sian, Shensi; a 1538 chin-shih.

99. Shuryo represented the Ouchi family. Kimiya, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 326.

100. To be exact, we should say a little more than three years, because Chu was permitted to leave the post in the 5th month of the 28th year, and then in the 7th month of the 31st year Wang Yü was appointed to the post.

101. According to T'an Ch'ien, *Kuo-ch'üeh* 60/3818.

102. The office of hsun-shih may be rendered as Inspector General, as in the case of Chu Wan mentioned in Chapter Three. Yet very often censors were assigned the task of inspecting certain matters. In the context here, the former case is referred to.

103. Chuan-sha-wa was then in the district of Shanghai bordering on the sea. According to *The Gazetteer of Chuan-sha* (1936 ed.), the market was about 10 *li* from the sea and about 30 *li* from Shanghai. Che-lin was in the district of Hua-ting, to the south of Shanghai. It should be mentioned here that for the location of the different places, the author has used the geographical treatises in *MS*, the *TMTTT*, *The National Atlas of China* (vol. IV, printed by the National War College in Taipei in 1962), and a good number of gazetteers.

104. T'ang-ch'i was 50 *li* north of Hang-hsien bordering on Te-ch'ing. It was situated astride the Canal: the northern part belonged to Te-ch'ing, the southern part to Hang-hsien. Hsin-shih was 45 *li* northeast of the district of Te-ch'ing. Shuang-lin was in the southeast of Wu-hsing. Heng-t'ang was 13 *li* to the southeast of Soochow. *TMTT*, 1000, 1006, 1330, 1219 respectively.

105. Pei-hsin Pass was 10 *li* from the city of Hang-chow. *The Gazetteer of Hang-chow* (1579 ed.), 34/16a.

106. Shun-an is located $119^{\circ} \times 295^{\circ}$ in Chekiang.

107. She-hsien and Chi-ch'i were in the prefecture of Hui-chou (or in modern Anhwei).

108. Ching-te was in the prefecture of Ning-kuo and is located $118.5^{\circ} \times 30^{\circ} 20'$. Ching-hsien and Nan-ling were also in the same prefecture.

109. Tang-t'u was the seat of T'ai-p'ing prefecture and is located $118.5^{\circ} \times 31^{\circ} 30'$. Wu-hu was to the southeast of the prefectural administration.

110. Chiang-ning-chen was 60 *li* to the southwest of Nanking.

111. According to *MS*, 40/434, on the outer city-wall of Nanking, there were 16 gates. Both Ta-an-te gate and the Chia-kang gate were in the south. Chia-kang does not refer to the one in Chen-chiang as mentioned in Tsunoda's footnote 138.

112. Mo-ling-kuan was 50 *li* south of the city which led to the district of Li-shui. *The Gazetteer of Chiang-ning* (K'anghsi ed.).

113. Li-shui is to the southeast of Nanking; Li-yang is southeast of Li-shui, and I-hsing is to the east of Li-yang.

114. Both Wu-chin and Wu-hsi are on the Canal. Hui-shan, according to *The Gazetteer of Wu-hsi* (1751 ed.), 3/4a, was the same as Chiu-lung-shan, in the west of Wu-hsi.

115. Hu-shu was 25 *li* west of the city of Soochow. *The Gazetteer of Soochow* (1881 ed.), 35/21a.

116. According to *STSL* 425, Yang-lin-ch'iao was mentioned two times. On p. 1a, Li-shui's Yang-lin-ch'iao was mentioned. But according to *The Gazetteer of Soochow* (1748 ed.), 77/42, *MS* was quoted but the name was Yang-chia-ch'iao. It further quoted *CHTP* saying that the Wo were annihilated at Heng-ching, which was located southwest of Soochow. This was confirmed by the entry in *Kuo-ch'üeh*, 61/3858. Obviously, they were not exterminated at Li-Shui's Yang-lin-ch'iao if we trace their movement according to the text.

117. According to *STSL*, the report of the extermination of that band of Wo was placed under the date of jen-ch'en of the 8th month, or Sept. 15, 1555. In other words, the episode ended not in the 9th month but in the 8th month.

118. See note 28, Chapter Four.

119. Chuan-ch'iao was in the east of the district of Hua-ting, the seat of the prefecture of Sung-chiang. See *The Gazetteer of Sung-chiang* (both 1791 and 1817 eds.), maps.

120. All the places were in Chekiang roughly between 28° and 30°.

121. Tung-an-wei should read An-tung-wei. See *MS*, 90 under Shantung. According to *TMTT*, An-tung-wei was 90 *li* south of Jih-chao.

122. All the other places are in modern Kiangsu. T'ao-yüan has been changed to Ssu-yang, and Ch'ing-ho to Huai-yin. They are all located roughly between 33-1/2° and 35°.

123. Chou-p'u was located in the 17th ward of the district of Nan-hui in modern Kiangsu. *The Gazetteer of Sung-chiang* (1817 ed.), 2/3 lb.

124. Kao-ch'iao-chen was 80 *li* southeast of the city. *The Gazetteer of Chia-ting* (1673 ed.), 1/7a.

125. Obviously, the two paragraphs were based on *STSL*, 434/2a-3a, which is dated May 14, 1556.

126. To be exact, Che-lin did not lie within western Chekiang. In fact, it came under the jurisdiction of Hua-t'ing. Che-lin was 72 *li* southeast of the city.

127. Cha-p'u was 30 *li* southeast of the city of P'ing-hu. *The Gazetteer of Chia-hsing* (1879 ed.), 31/6a. Wu-chen was 90 *li* southeast of Wu-hsing (or Kuei-an); Tsao-lin was 8 *li* north of T'ung-hsiang. *TMTT*, 734, 409; also *The Gazetteer of Chia-hsing* (1879 ed.), 4/45b.

128. The same as Li-piao-tsui-shan, about 100 *li* northwest of modern Ting-hai; it was the outer defense line of Li-kang. *The Gazetteer of Ningpo* (1846 ed.; 1957 reprint ed.), 7/28b.

129. Obviously the paragraph was quoted from *STSL* 437/1a-b, dated Aug. 6, 1556.

130. T'ung-hsiang is in western Chekiang, located 120-121° × 30-31°.

131. Liang-chuang is in the district of P'ing-hu. See the maps in *The Gazetteer of P'ing-hu* (1886 ed.).

132. All the places are in modern Kiangsu, located roughly between 32° and 34°.

133. Miao-wan was a market town. In 1731 it was turned into the district of Fu-ning. It is about 120 *li* from the sea. *The Gazetteer of Fu-ning* (1886 ed.), 1/1b-2a.

134. The statement is not accurate, for it was in 1559 that the northern bank of the Yangtze was cleared of pirates. See Ch'en Mou-heng, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

135. The above three paragraphs were quoted almost in verbatim from *STSL* 450/6a-b, dated Sept. 16, 1557. It is not known why Hu was not pleased with Chiang Chou's (and also Ch'en K'o-yüan's) mission but the two were punished.

136. Ts'en-kang was located 45 *li* northwest of Ting-hai. *The Gazetteer of Ningpo* (1846 ed.; 1957 reprint ed.), 7/297.

137. The above three paragraphs were paraphrased from *STSL*, 453/1a-2b, 3a, dated Nov. 26, 1557.

138. K'o-mei is north of the city of Ting-hai.

139. T'ung-an, Hui-an, and Nan-an were all in the prefecture of Ch'üan-chow. Ning-te and Fu-an came under the jurisdiction of Fu-ning chou, which was under the direct control of the Administration Commissioner's office. *MS*, 45/505-506.

140. Fu-ch'ing and Yung-fu were in the prefecture of Foochow. Fu-ch'ing was in the southeast of the prefecture, while Yung-fu was in the southwest. *MS*, 45/503.

141. P'ing-hai-wei was 90 *li* east of the district of P'u-t'ien where the prefectural seat was. *TMTT*, 212-213.

142. For Yü and Ch'i, see Chapter Six. Liu Hsien (T. Tsao-t'ang; d. 1580) was a native of Nan-ch'ang, Kiangsi. He was assigned to Kwangtung as regional commander and played a leading part in the cooperative effort of subduing the Wo. His biography is in *MS*, 212; *MJCC*, 860.

143. Tseng I-pen was a native of Chao-an, Fukien. He was active in the last years of Chia-ching until he was killed in 1569. See Ch'en Mou-heng, *op. cit.*, 138.

144. Lung-ch'ing was the reign period of Chu Tsai-hou (1537-1572), who ruled from 1566 to 1572.

145. The Chieh-shih guard command post was in the southeast of Hai-feng, Kwangtung; the battalion command post was stationed at Chia-tzu-men, also in Hai-feng. *MS*, 45/509.

146. Hua-chow was in western Kwangtung; Shih-ch'eng was to the west of the subprefecture. *MS*, 45/510.

147. Chin-nang battalion command post was north of Hsü-wen in the prefecture of Lei-chow. Shen-tien was in the city of Tien-pai. *MS*, 45/510-511.

148. All were on the coast of Kwangtung.

149. Wan-li was the reign period of Chu I-chun (1563-1620) who succeeded to the throne in 1572.

150. T'ung-ku was the site of modern Ch'ih-ch'i district; Shuang-yü was in the district of Yang-chiang. *TMTT*, 1137; *MS*, 45/508.

151. Tien-pai was in the prefecture of Kao-chow and was situated where Shen-tien-wei was. *MS*, 45/510.

152. The Tan or Tan-chia people refers to those who live on boats or junks in the coastal waters of South China.

153. Ch'en Jui (T. K'ung-lin) was a native of Ch'ang-lo, Fukien and a 1553 chin-shih. In 1581 he was appointed as Viceroy of Liang-kuang. *MJCC*, 595; Wu T'ing-hsieh, *op. cit.*

154. Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), daimyo of Owari, became the most influential figure in all Japan in 1568 when he marched into Kyoto, of which Yamashiro was one of the inner provinces. In 1573 he drove from Kyoto the last Ashikaga Shogun whom he had supported, thus ending the Ashikaga Shogunate. For his story see George Sansom, *A History of Japan*, vol. II.

155. Hideyoshi (1539–1598) used several family names. Because of his lowly origin, after his rise to power, he adopted such names as Taira, Fujiwara, and Toyotomi, the last of which was conferred on him by an emperor. For the story of his life, see Walter Denning, *A New Life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi*. Also see George Sansom, *op. cit.*

156. Settsu was one of the five inner provinces.

157. Both Akechi and Ming-chi, in fact, refer to the same person—Akechi Mitsuhide (1525–1582), a warlord and also a retainer of Nobunaga. The writers of the text seem not sure of the facts and made the mistake of saying that Hideyoshi was sent to fight him. *The Japan Biographical Dictionary*, p. 23.

158. Konishi Yukinaga (d. 1600) was born in Sakai, son of an herb dealer. He was well trusted by Hideyoshi and was appointed Lord of Settsu. *The Japan Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 689–90.

159. This reflected the attitude of the Chinese toward international relations.

160. Bunroku period (1592–1595).

161. Chao Ts'an-lu (T. Tsung-ch'uan, H. Hsin-t'ang) was a native of Yin (Ningpo), Chekiang, and a 1571 chin-shih. His biography is in *MS*, 221; *MJCC*, 763.

162. Kato Kiyomasa (1562–1611), being a relative of Hideyoshi, entered into his service and distinguished himself as one of the seven most famous warriors of that time. He was made Lord of Higo in 1585. *The Japan Biographical Dictionary*, p. 529. Yoshitomo of the So family (1568–1615) was Lord of Tsushima Island. Shuetsu, most probably, was a head priest of the Rinzaï Sect in the Daitokuji Temple in Kyoto. It is wondered whether he was the same one as listed in the *Japan Biographical Dictionary*. Genso or Ganso was a monk in the services of the So family. He was mentioned in Murdoch's *A History of Japan*, vol. II, p. 307, 310, 331.

163. Kimsan should read Pu-san.

164. Yi Yon was also called Sonjo; he ruled Korea from 1567 to 1608.

165. Tsu Ch'eng-hsun, after his first defeat, continued to take part in the military operation against the Japanese. Information about him is scattered in the *MS*. See *MS*, (1962 ed.) p. 2555, 2717, 3805, 3656.

166. Sung Ying-ch'ang (1536-1606) was a native of Jen-ho, Chekiang and a 1565 chin-shih. Some biographical data in *KCHCL*, 57/81; *MJCC*, 185.

167. Li Ju-sung (d. 1598) was the eldest son of Li Ch'eng-liang (1526-1615), a famous military officer of Korean descent. Ju-sung succeeded to his father's hereditary position and was active in China's military campaign in Korea. His biography is in *MS*, 238; *MJCC* 196.

168. The Ning-hsia affair refers to mutiny by the garrison troops in Ning-hsia which broke out in the 2nd month of the 20th year of Wan-li (1592). See *Kuo-ch'üeh*, 76/4667.

169. Shih Hsing (1538-1599) was a native of Tung-ming in modern Hopei and a 1559 chin-shih. Between 1591 and 1597 he served as Minister of War. When his peace policy failed, he was thrown in prison where he died. *MJCC*, 97-98.

170. The story of Korea is in *MS*, 320.