

THROUGH THEIR NEIGHBORS' EYES: INTERACTIONS AND RELATIONS
BETWEEN KOREA, JAPAN AND CHINA DURING THE MING-QING
TRANSITION

by

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A THESIS

Presented to the Department of History
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

March 2017

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

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Title: Through Their Neighbors' Eyes: Interactions and Relations between Korea, Japan and China during the Ming-Qing Transition

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Degree awarded March 2017

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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Master of Arts

Department of History

March 2017

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In the period from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century, East Asia witnessed changes in the Chinese tribute system, the downfall of the Ming Dynasty, the Manchu invasion of Korea, the establishment of the Tokugawa bakufu in Japan, and the prosperity of the High Qing era. This extraordinary period disrupted the existing China-centered diplomatic system; however, at the same time, a fertile ground was created for new perceptions of the respective immediate neighbor for each individual state. In the struggle to achieve or maintain domestic and external stability, intellectuals, officials, and even commoners reflected on ways to express their individual and communal narratives that contributed to their nation's history. This thesis explores Sino-Korean and Sino-Japanese cultural and diplomatic interactions from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century based on primary sources with a special focus on diplomatic envoys' travel reports.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Literature Review

This thesis explores the cultural, diplomatic and ideological interactions within East Asia from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century with a focus on three topics: the China-centered tributary system, the conceptualization of gender, and piracy issues. The goal of this thesis is to trace and compare the interactions and relations between Ming-Qing China and its major neighboring states Japan and Korea.

The connections between China, Korea and Japan have always been an intriguing topic for historians studying Asia. A considerable number of studies have been conducted on the history of the individual empires and dynasties, their interactions, and interrelations. In the following paragraphs, scholars and works that inspired and contributed to the rethinking and reinterpretation of East Asian relations starting in the sixteenth century portrayed in this thesis will focus on three categories: Sino-Korean studies, Sino-Japanese studies, and East Asian studies.

1.1.1 Sino-Korean Studies

Major topics in the field of Sino-Korean studies that relate to the focus of this thesis include the Sino-centric tribute system, the dynastic transition of the Ming to the Qing, travel essays of Korean envoys, the concept of “Chonchu Samyong” 尊周思明 (Revering the Zhou and Longing for the Ming), associations between Korean and Chinese literati, and the Neo-Confucian Silhak School.

Primary Korean documents, known as the *Yonhaengnok* 燕行錄 (*Travel Reports of Korean Envoys*), serve as the basis for much of the knowledge and understanding of Korean and Chinese relations. Chen Shangsheng 陳尚勝 can be considered as the pioneer

of studies on these primary documents. He pointed out the value of *Yŏnhaengnok* and suggested the use of these Korean diplomatic records as supplementary material for studies of Ming and Qing China. *Chaoxian wangchao duihuaguan de yanbian* 朝鮮王朝對華觀的演變 (*Changes of the Choson Empire's Attitude towards China*)¹ is Chen's major contribution to Sino-Korean studies. It was published in 1999 before studies of the *Yŏnhaengnok* attracted much attention. This work provides fundamental and instructional ideas for the study of both Sino-Korean relations and Sino-centric diplomatic and maritime and is frequently referenced in current Sino-Korea studies.

The Chinese historian Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光 also made a vital contribution to this field by providing a more cultural perspective for the research of the *Yŏnhaengnok*. In his essay collection titled *Xiangxiang yiyu: du lichao chaoxian hanwen yanxing wenxian zhali* 想象異域—讀李朝朝鮮漢文燕行文獻札記 (*Imaging A Foreign Land: Reading Journals of Classic Chinese Documents in Choson Korea*),² Ge summarizes and discusses some interesting texts included in the *Yŏnhaengnok* and other related documents. With a special interest in and focus on intellectual and cultural history, Ge examined the Korean perception of Ming and Qing China through Korean envoys' observations and associations with their Chinese fellows. He suggested understanding and reconstructing this period of Chinese history through the eyes of neighboring states.³ The cultural approach and new perspective that Ge promoted foreshadowed a boom of research on Korean texts written in classical Chinese. Influenced by Ge's methodology, for this thesis I selected a considerable number of *Yŏnhaengnok* books by authors who

¹ Chen Shangsheng 陳尚勝, *Chaoxian wangchao duihuaguan de yanbian* 朝鮮王朝對華觀的演變 *Changes of the Korean Perception of China* (Jinan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 1999).

² Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光, *Xiangxiang yiyu: du lichao chaoxian hanwen yanxing wenxian zhali* 想象異域—讀李朝朝鮮漢文燕行文獻札記 *Imaging A Foreign Land: Reading Journals of Classic Chinese Documents in Joseon Korea* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014).

³ It was first proposed in his earlier work *Zhaizhongguo – chongjian youguan zhongguo de lishi lunshu* 宅茲中國—重建有關中國的歷史論述 *Living in China: Discourse about a Reconstruction of Chinese History* (Beijing: zhonghua shuju, 2011).

wrote during the Ming-Qing transition to conduct a close reading of those documents, particularly texts referring to women.

Another topic that Ge's work sheds light on is the dynastic transition from the Ming to the Qing. The period encompassing the downfall of the Ming and the subsequent establishment of the Manchu Qing regime in China was also one of the most important periods of transition in Korean history. Sun Weiguo 孫衛國's study *Daming qihao yu xiaozhonghua yishi: chaoxian wangchao zunzhou siming wenti yanjiu* 大明旗號與小中華意識—朝鮮王朝尊周思明問題研究(1637-1800) (*"Great Ming" and "Little China" – Studies of the Choson Period Trend of Revering the Zhou and Longing for the Ming (1637-1800)*)⁴ is a significant work in the field of Sino-Korean studies. Compared with Ge's reading of journals, Sun's discussions are built on a broad collection of Chinese, Korean and Japanese primary sources. This book analyzes in depth the intellectual concept of "Revering the Zhou and Longing for the Ming" during the Joseon period and shows how this thinking influenced the tributary relationship between Qing China and Joseon Korea. The book also investigates Korea's complex emotional relationship with Qing China. Sun argues that despite the prevalent loyalty for Ming China among the Joseon ruling class, the more important sentiment is the deep-rooted antagonism towards the Manchu people, who were considered barbaric, as well as the resulting proclamation of Joseon Korea as a "little China" (So Chunghwa 小中華) by the Koreans themselves. This self-chosen role inspired Joseon intellectuals to take responsibility to protect and carry on Han Chinese culture, which betrayed the construction of a Joseon identity apart from China's cultural influence.

Fuma Susumu 夫馬進's study *Chaoxian yanxingshi yu chaoxian tongxinshi* 朝鮮燕行使與朝鮮通信使 (*Choson Envoys to China and Choson Envoys to Japan*)⁵ is a

⁴ Sun Weiguo 孫衛國, *Daming qihao yu xiaozhonghua yishi: chaoxian wangchao zunzhou siming wenti yanjiu* 大明旗號與小中華意識—朝鮮王朝尊周思明問題研究(1637-1800) "Great Ming" and "Little China" – Studies of the Joseon Period Trend of Revering the Zhou and Longing for the Ming (1637-1800) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2007).

⁵ Fuma Susumu 夫馬進, *Chaoxian yanxingshi yu chaoxian tongxinshi* 朝鮮燕行使與朝鮮通信使 Joseon Envoys to China and Joseon Envoys to Japan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010).

imperative work when studying Sino-Korean history. Fuma uses *Yŏnhaengnok* as the primary material for his work and credits the *Yŏnhaengnok* for their comprehensiveness. Fuma claims that the *Yŏnhaengnok* are not only of great general interest but also recorded details and events that cannot be found in Chinese sources. Despite the fact that Fuma's book covers the same topic and relies on the same primary documents that Sun Weiguo and Ge Zhaoguang used, each of their works focuses on distinct problems and employs a respective unique methodology. Sun's work addresses the question of how Joseon intellectuals applied the concept "Revering the Zhou and Longing for the Ming", referring to documents including but not limited to the *Yŏnhaengnok*, and is more a study of Korean history rather than just a study of *Yŏnhaengnok* reports. Ge's book demonstrates Korean envoys' observations of China during their tribute trips to the continent and explains how their accounts can be used for the study of Chinese history. Although Fuma's volume includes aspects that Sun and Ge have discussed in their studies, he has a broader goal. Fuma points out that the selection of specific information that the envoys had considered worthy to be recorded and the choosing of journals from the envoys' dense daily records that had to be presented to the emperor is an interesting and meaningful process that deserves further research. This essential idea of Fuma's approach guided the process of primary material preparation and collection for my thesis.

Young Kyun Oh studies the Sino-Korean cultural interaction with a special focus on print history and book culture. His recent publication *Engraving Virtue: The Print History of a Premodern Moral Primer*⁶ traces the numerous editorial changes of a Joseon Korean moral primer -- the *Samgang haengsil-to* 三綱行實圖 (*Illustrated Guide to the Three Relations*). In his discussion of the major changes made to different editions of the *Samgang haengsil-to*, Oh also analyzes aspects of the sociopolitical discourse of Joseon society that lie behind these changes and the influences that social and political

⁶ Young Yyun Oh, *Engraving Virtue: The Print History of a Premodern Moral Primer* (Boston: Brill, 2013).

environments exert on a text. Oh's study sheds light on the reason behind those changes and the methods of comparing editorial variations. Although for my thesis I could not examine different editions of the primary sources, comparisons between detailed aspects such as the titles of Qing emperors recorded in the *Lichao shilu* 李朝實錄 (*Veritable Records of Choson*) are included in the following chapters.

Studies of pre-modern Korea by western historians are still limited considering the difficulty of accessing and translating available materials. Besides the contributions made by comprehensive and concise survey projects and the translation of volumes by Korean and Chinese scholars, several western scholars have explored interesting and complex subfields in Korean studies. For example, the chapter of Sino-Korean tributary relations under the Ming in *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 8: The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644, Part 2*⁷ by Donald Clark gives an overview of the Ming-Korean relations and interactions from 1352 to 1636, focusing mainly on the early and middle periods of the Ming dynasty. Clark explored the Sino-Korean relations back to the collapse of the Yuan and the founding of the Ming dynasty when the Korean peninsula was under the control of the Koryo – the dynasty before the Joseon. Koryo's failure to balance and stabilize its relationship with the Mongols and with Ming China, together with the pressure of internal rebellions and the external pirate crisis, led to the dynastic transition from Koryo to Joseon in Korea. Moreover, Clark also explores the Ming-Korea-Jurchen triangle in his chapter. Although this relationship is beyond the scope of discussion in this thesis, Clark's discussion helped to build an understanding of later changes in Sino-Korean relations.

Clark believes Korean interests in the tributary relationship during the earlier period of the Ming-Joseon relations were security and autonomy. The founding of Joseon had been legitimated by the Ming soon after the first king Taejo sent a petition for official

⁷ Donald Clark, "Sino-Korean tributary relations under the Ming," in Willard Peterson ed., *The Cambridge History of China: Volume 8: The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644, Part 2* (New York, 1998), pp. 272-300.

Ming recognition; however, the Ming-Joseon relationship had not normalized until the abdication of Taejo and the death of the Hongwu emperor. According to Clark, who discusses the tribute articles and routes of Korean tribute missions to Ming China, the Koreans' commercial interests benefited and their cultural influence increased as a result of those missions. In addition, Clark also addressed the repercussions on the relationship between the two countries caused by various events. He pointed out that Ming China sometimes sent eunuchs as envoys to Korea and mentioned a few cases of their inappropriate behavior. Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea is another important topic in Clark's account of Ming-Korean relations.

*Time, Temporality, and Imperial Transition: East Asia from Ming to Qing*⁸ edited by Lynn Struve is a collection of six essays on various issues considering the dynastic transition from the Ming to the Qing. Among these essays, JaHyun Kim Haboush's work *Contesting Chinese Time, Nationalizing Temporal Space: Temporal Inscription in Late Choson Korea* portrays the Sino-Korean relations during the Ming-Qing dynastic transition. Haboush suggests that Han Chinese culture had an enduring influence on Korea based politics and social life on their observation of the Ming calendar under Qing rule.

Adam Bohnet studies cultural and social history of Joseon Korea and foreign affairs, networks of trade and cultural exchange in early modern East Asia. His recent research concentrates on foreigners and foreign lineages in late Joseon Korea. In his study of Ming loyalism and foreign lineages in late Joseon Korea⁹, he explores the response of Joseon to three foreign communities: the Jurchen from the Tumen Valley, Ming Chinese migrants, and the Japanese who surrendered to Joseon during the Imjin War (1592-1598). Bohnet works on both official and non-governmental records of

⁸ Lynn Struves, *Time, Temporality, and Imperial Transition: East Asian from Ming to Qing*. (Honolulu: Association for Asian Studies and University of Hawaii Press, 2005).

⁹ Adam Bohnet, "Ruling Ideology and Marginal Subjects: Ming Loyalism and Foreign Lineages in Late Joseon Korea," *Journal of Early Modern History*, volume 15, issue 6 (2011), pp. 477-505.

migrants, and his study focuses on the changes of Joseon Korea's policy on the distinction between Ming Chinese lineages and other foreign lineages from the early seventeenth to the late eighteenth centuries.

Second country perspectives and second language-based documents are increasingly attracting attention among Chinese historians, and several Sino-Korean studies based on *Yŏnhaengnok* have been published in recent years. Among them, Yang Yulei 楊雨蕾's study *Yanxing yu zhongchao wenhua guanxi* 燕行與中朝文化關係 (*Yŏnhaeng and Sino-Korean Culture*) is an impressive one. This volume not only presents extensive primary materials but also pays considerable attention to extant research. Nevertheless, even with these fresh materials, the arguments and analyses in this book are not striking or enlightening. Most of Yang's theoretical understandings and discussions of the Chinese tribute system follow previous scholars from John K. Fairbank to James Hevia, which might be considered obsolete today. Moreover, some of the case studies are quite superficial. Yet overall, the abundant primary sources provided in Yang's work shed light on documents that have been overlooked. The primary materials presented in Yang's study focus more on the tributary system and political institutions while my thesis examines Korean envoys' travel essays from a more social and ideological perspective.

1.1.2 Sino-Japanese Studies

Major topics in the field of Sino-Japanese studies that relate to the subject of this thesis include the tributary trade system, Sakugen Shūryō 策彦周良's tribute missions, piracy issues of coastal China, the seclusion of Japan, and China and Japan's perception of one another.

The publishing of Ronald Toby's *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu*¹⁰ is widely considered as a landmark

¹⁰ Ronald Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

work in the field of pre-modern Japanese studies. In this book, Toby provides a new perspective in the study of Japanese diplomatic history and Japan's interactions with its neighboring states, chiefly China and Korea. Toby sides against the traditional concentration on isolationism, contending that separating Japan's external interactions, whether diplomatic or commercial, from its inner ideological or economical developments is not a comprehensive way to understand Japan in the Tokugawa era. By collecting and analyzing evidence including diplomatic correspondence, protocols and intelligence activities, Toby argues that the Tokugawa bakufu adopted a foreign policy that was designed to legitimize the shogunate's authority within the state and establish Tokugawa Japan's centrality in East Asia. It is in fact a reversal of the Sino-centric world order and a deviation from the Confucian worldview. Toby's cogent argument offers insightful instruction for studies on pre-modern Japan and also Sino-Japanese relations in recent decades. The section on Japan in this thesis follows the guidance by Toby but takes a Sino-centric stance. Although the seclusion of Japan is understood as a response to the internal and external issues facing the country, this thesis focuses more on external matters and seeks to answer questions about how Japan gained new and detailed information about the world especially China under seclusion, and how Japan constructed its perception of China on the basis of information available at the time. I take the self-determined diplomatic system of Tokugawa Japan into account and discuss Japan and China's mutual understanding as well as their respective worldviews.

*Tools of Culture: Japan's Cultural, Intellectual, Medical and Technological Contacts in East Asia, 1000-1500s*¹¹ is a collection of conference papers on pre-modern Japan's interactions with other East Asian states, mainly China and Korea. The focus is especially on unofficial contacts beyond the confines of diplomatic and tributary relations. This volume consists of three parts: "Inscriptions and Interaction," "Arts and Aesthetics"

¹¹ Andrew Goble, Kenneth Robinson, Haruko Wakabayashi ed., *Tools of Culture: Japan's Cultural, Intellectual, Medical and Technological Contacts in East Asia, 1000-1500s*. (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 2009).

and “Prescribing and Prescriptions.” Part one answers the question of how to understand the use of classical Chinese in both diplomatic and private accounts. Writing in Classical Chinese served as a vehicle for international interaction in pre-modern East Asia.

Although the Japanese language had developed into a mature system, Classical Chinese still played a vital role in Japan’s foreign diplomacy due to the fact that all the information and news that the Chinese merchants brought from China were written in Chinese and needed to be translated. Moreover, writing poetry in Chinese was not only a prevalent fashion among the educated elite in Japan and Korea, it remained a favorable skill in official state interactions and commercial activities.

Most Chinese and Japanese historians take a textual approach, navigating a broad variety of primary sources in both Classical Chinese and Japanese. Zhu Lili 朱莉麗’s study *Xingguan zhongguo: riben shijie yanzhong de mingdai shehui* 行觀中國: 日本使節眼中的明代社會 (*Ming China in the Eyes of Japanese Envoys*)¹² based on Sakugen Shūryō 策彦周良’s travel journal 初渡集, *Shotoshū (First Tribute Mission to China)*. In this book, Zhu presents Sakugen’s observations on transportation, tributary routes, urban markets, architecture, and ritual activities. Sakugen actively engaged in conversations with his Chinese counterparts and Chinese literati and participated in several sightseeing trips accompanied by local officials. He gives detailed accounts of Chinese society and the tributary system and portrays a vivid picture of late Ming China, including intricate relations between the central authority and the local governments, the prosperity of urban life, and various local religions. Sakugen’s identity as a Japanese envoy gives his records a unique perspective. Although various travel accounts by different authors in different time periods have been known to both Chinese and Japanese specialists, previous research focused more on conventional topics including rough and turbulent sailing routes, the failure of the tributary system and the diminishing of the central authority in

¹² Zhu Lili 朱莉麗, *Xingguan zhongguo: riben shijie yanzhong de mingdai shehui* 行觀中國: 日本使節眼中的明代社會 *Ming China in the Eyes of Japanese Envoys*. (Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 2013).

the late Ming. Zhu's study collects valuable texts about social aspects of the Ming. Those materials help substantially when examining Sakugen's understanding of Chinese customs and religion.

As for the issues related to piracy and smuggling in the coastal area of Ming China and their impact on the Sino-Japanese relationship, *Elusive Pirates, Pervasive Smugglers: Violence and Clandestine Trade in the Great China Seas*¹³ edited by Robert Antony offers valuable insights. This volume is a collection of papers covering a wide range of historical and contemporary issues concerning piracy, smuggling, and maritime security around the northeast and Southeast Asian region. Chapters in this book discuss a broad range of topics from the impact of governmental restrictions on maritime trade to military and commercial pirate networks. Given that primary sources about pirates and smugglers are generally hard to find, this volume makes a respectable contribution by piecing together valuable documents and local cases; a considerable amount of primary material is presented with detailed illustrations and notes.

My thesis explores the consistency and interruptions in the interaction between China and the neighboring states of Japan and Korea. Although all the topics are examined in a historiographical way, theories of interstate relations and diplomacy are taken into consideration as well. David Kang's research offers a new approach to study interstate relations in pre-modern East Asia. As a specialist in politics and international relations, Kang's *East Asia Before the West: Five Centuries of Trade and Tribute*¹⁴ is more an experiment of international relation theory rather than a historical research work of pre-modern East Asia. Kang's book seeks to answer the questions of how East Asia maintained long periods of stability and how international relations and foreign diplomacy functioned in pre-modern East Asia. Kang argues that Confucianism, as well

¹³ Robert Antony (ed.), *Elusive Pirates, Pervasive Smugglers: Violence and Clandestine Trade in the Great China Seas*. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010).

¹⁴ David Kang, *East Asia Before the West: Five Centuries of Trade and Tribute*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).

as government protocols and institutions derived from it, were embraced by the most important Sinicized states, which were bound by the China-centered tributary system and evolved into a Confucian network of societies. Challenging the prevalent international relations theory that focuses on equality in foreign countries, Kang's theory introduces a distinct perspective to especially understand political dependencies in pre-modern East Asia; however, from a historiographical perspective his discussion on the Sino-centric tributary system is by no means complete.

1.2 Research Method

This thesis explores East Asia from 1500 to 1800, involving succeeding regimes and dynasties. Since China is the main subject in the discussion in my thesis, time and significant events, if not given in Arabic numbers, are marked according to Chinese chronology. Pinyin romanization is generally used where appropriate. Korean and Japanese names and titles are retained. I use the current Korean transcription for Korean names and titles, except for in those bibliographic records, where the previous transcription has become convention (e.g. Choson is now spelled Joseon, except for when I quote translations that use Choson). I refer to the Joseon rulers and territory as 'king' and 'kingdom' respectively, although several kings have received the title 'emperor' posthumously after Korea became an empire in 1897.

Dense primary materials ranging from travel reports, *Yonhaengnok* 燕行錄 to sources describing the '*Transformation from Civilized Chinese to Barbarians*' (*Kai Hentai* 華夷變態) are used in this thesis. By selecting, organizing, interpreting and re-interpreting a variety of rare records, my thesis aims to construct a picture of East Asia with China at its center, the interactions with Japan and Korea from 1600 to 1800. Moreover, this thesis explores the potential factors behind the shift of Joseon Korea's attitude towards China and the reversal of Japan's *ka-yi* 華夷 (civilized Chinese versus

barbarians) definition of what it means to be civilized or barbarian in their understanding of China.

My thesis is prepared and conducted with an archival approach. Topic related primary materials were widely collected and examined. Texts that have not been translated into western languages or have not yet been researched in western scholarship have been used for this thesis. The most frequently referenced materials will be introduced in the following paragraphs.

1.3 Primary Sources

1.3.1 Korean Travel Accounts by Diplomatic Envoys: *Yŏnhaengnok*

Envoys sent by the Korean Joseon Kingdom on tribute trips to China were all required to report their travel experiences to the king. Their routes and daily events all needed to be recorded in detail in day-by-day journals. Besides carrying official diplomatic documents, envoys were also expected to report other interesting events, occurrences, and people they met during the trip in their accounts of travel observations, which enabled the king, who could not leave Joseon and travel to China himself, to get a more comprehensive understanding of Chinese society. Moreover, some envoys or special members in the diplomatic corps recorded what they heard and saw on the trip in their private diaries as well. These records were organized into volumes with the general title “*Yŏnhaengnok* 燕行錄” (Records of Travels to China) and sent to the king.

Yŏnhaengnok are significant in terms of quantity, time span and continuity. Given the aspects of a Korean author writing about his journey to China in Classical Chinese and the variety of contents and unique perspectives, *Yŏnhaengnok* are valuable material, attracting growing attention in the study of late imperial China and Joseon Korea.

Yŏnhaengnok, in a broad sense, are a collection of documents written by Joseon Korean envoys who traveled to China continuously from the fourteenth century to the

nineteenth century. According to the South Korean scholar Im Kijung 林基中, the editor of the most comprehensive collection of *Yŏnhaengnok* to date, approximately 500 accounts are currently available. *Yŏnhaengnok* can be further divided into two categories: non-diplomatic China related accounts and diplomatic China related accounts. The former include books titled *Piaohailu* 漂海錄 *Journal of Floating on the Sea* and *Chengchalu* 乘槎錄 *Journal of a Journey by Boat*, while the majority of titles of the latter category are simply called *Yŏnhaengnok* (or *Chaotianlu* 朝天錄). *Yŏnhaengnok*, in the narrow sense, is a genre of diplomatic documents recorded by Joseon envoys who visited Ming and Qing China for various purposes. According to the Chinese scholar Qi Yongxiang 漆永祥, whether a book can be defined as a *Yŏnhaengnok* or not is determined by two conditions: 1) the author must be an envoy or a member of the diplomatic corps sent by the Korean king to China; 2) the author visited China or the Chinese territory near the border region of China and Joseon. The author of *Yŏnhaengnok* must meet both these conditions simultaneously.¹⁵ Meeting just one of them would make that author's book only an *Yŏnhaengnok* in a broad sense. Knowing the differences between *Yŏnhaengnok* categories is of great significance because it helps to locate useful material more quickly and to avoid the accidental use of deceptive or confusing pieces.

These documents sometimes are also divided into three groups by timeframe and title. Generally, traveling records written in the Ming dynasty are titled *Eolgulilnok* 朝天錄 or *XX Eolgulilnok* (XX is the year of traveling recorded in the Chinese stems-and-branches system), while most Qing volumes include *Yŏnhaengnok*, or *XX Yŏnhaengnok* in their titles. The third group does not fit into a specific category. These reports and have other names than “yŏnhaengnok” or “eolgulilnok,” *Rehe riji* 熱河日記 by Pak Ji-won 樸趾源 which are named after the places the authors travelled to; *Xizhenglu* 西征錄 by Huang Chung-yun 黃中允 which is named after the routes the author traveled; and

¹⁵ Qi Yongxiang 漆永祥, “Guanyu Yanxinglu Jieding ji Shouru Fanwei zhi Wojian 關於“燕行錄”界定及收錄範圍之我見,” *Guji zhengli yanjiu xuekan* 古籍整理研究學刊 9(2010), p. 61.

Dongchalul 東槎錄 by Lee Jung-goo 李廷龜 which uses the word “cha 槎” to make the title more poetic.¹⁶

The number of extant *Yŏnhaengnok* is large. A representative collection is the *Yŏnhaengnok chŏnjip* 燕行錄全集 (*Collection of Yŏnhaengnok*)¹⁷ edited by Im Kijung from Dongguk University, which includes 363 works (380 books are included, but twelve of them are actually not *Yŏnhaengnok*¹⁸). Considering the large volume of available *Yŏnhaengnok*, setting the criteria for selection is the very first step and is also a crucial process. In this thesis, two criteria are applied. The first one is chronology. *Yŏnhaengnok* used in this thesis were roughly written between the Wanli reign (1572-1620) of the Ming and the Qianlong reign (1735-1796) of the Qing; a few works written in the high Qing era are also presented when discussing specific issues. The second criterion is the identity of the authors. Authors who had higher literary achievements and frequent interactions with the Chinese were preferred. The authors of *Yŏnhaengnok* used in this thesis are the Korean envoys Heo Gyun 許筠, Heo Bong 許篈, Hwang Chung-yun 黃中允, Hwang Yŏ-il 黃汝一, Lee Jung-goo 李廷龜, Choe Tok-jung 崔德中, Yu Ŏn-sul 俞彥述, Hong Tae-yong 洪大容, Sin Chŏng 申晟, Kim Seok-ju 金錫胄, Pak Ji-won 樸趾源, Yi Ŭi-hyŏn 李宜顯, Yi Ŭi-hyŏn 李宜顯, Yi Ap 李押, Chŏng T'ae-hwa 鄭太和, and Han Deok-hu 韓德厚.¹⁹

1.3.2 Documents by Japanese Authors

The discussion of chapter three is largely derived from a close reading of the Japanese documents *Shotoshū* (初渡集 *First Tribute Mission to China*)²⁰, *Saitoshū* (再渡

¹⁶ *Cha* 槎 means a raft or a trip by raft. It appears a lot in the titles of travel records and literary anthologies.

¹⁷ Im Kijung ed., *Yŏnhaengnok chŏnjip* 燕行錄全集 *Collection of Yŏnhaengnok*. (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992).

¹⁸ Yang Yulei 楊雨蕾, *Yanxing yu zhongchao wenhua guanxi* 燕行與中朝文化關係 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe 上海辭書出版社, 2011), p. 42.

¹⁹ See appendix

²⁰ Sakugen Shūryō, *Shotoshū*, *Dai Nihon Bukkyō Zensho Vol.4*. (Tokyo: Bussho Kankokai, 1912).

集 *Second Tribute Mission to China*)²¹, and various Japan-related Chinese volumes. *Shotoshū* 初渡集 and *Saitoshū* 再渡集 are similar to *Yōnhaengnok* except they are private accounts rather than official diplomatic accounts. Sakugen Shūryō 策彦周良 (1501-1579), the author of these two volumes, was a prominent member of Tenryūji and the abbot of Shōfukuji. He was well educated in Zen Buddhism and in the Chinese Classics and thus had a good understanding of the Chinese language and Chinese culture. He was twice appointed to crucial positions on Japanese mission trips to Ming China. *Shotoshū* 初渡集 (*First Tribute Mission to China*) and *Saitoshū* 再渡集 (*Second Tribute Mission to China*), which are discussed in chapter three, are accounts of Sakugen's travel experiences during two tribute trips to Ming China; the first trip was from 1538 to 1541, and the second was from 1547 to 1549. These diary-style books are punctuated by travelogues describing Ming China's tributary system as well as the landscape of economic prosperity and tribulation. Sakugen was first sent to Ming China by the Ouchi clan as the vice envoy right after the Ningbo incident in 1538, which marked a significant point in the history of Sino-Japanese tributary relations. Sakugen's detailed records describe a variety of information, from geographic descriptions and the tributary system to commercial activities and traditional customs. On one hand, these records provide a new method to explore Ming society, detailing everything from court rituals to the daily lives of commoners through a foreign perspective and, on the other hand, they help to reconstruct a comprehensive picture of Japanese envoys' understanding of Ming China.

In terms of the Qing dynasty, primary materials like *Kai Hentai* 華夷變態 (*Transformation of Civilized Chinese into Barbarians*) and *Tosen Fūsetsugaki* 唐船風説書 (*Collection of Tradeship Gossip*) are of great significance in the study of Sino-Japanese interactions. In 1603, Japan had already been under the control of Tokugawa Bakufu for two centuries. Tokugawa Japan implemented a series of seclusion policies

²¹ Sakugen Shūryō, *Saitoshū*, *Dai Nihon Bukkyō Zensho Vol.4*. (Tokyo: Bussho Kankokai, 1912).

(*sakoku* 鎖國) in order to diminish the external impact on Japanese society, maintain domestic stability, and establish the bakufu's central authority. Although the Tokugawa Shogunate's seclusion policies had been initiated in 1633 and accomplished their objectives by 1640, maritime commercial activities were not completely restricted; Chinese merchants and ships filled with continental goods were a common sight in Nagasaki during the post-1640 period. Along with Chinese goods, these trading ships also brought information and news, which was called "tradeship gossip" (*tosen fūsetsugaki*), from the continent. Most of this gossip was collected by Confucian scholars Hayashi Shunsai 林春勝 and Hayashi Razan 林羅山 in a dense volume entitled *Tosen Fūsetsugaki* 唐船風說書 (*Collection of Tradeship Gossip*).

Earlier Chinese documents on Japan and Sino-Japanese interactions, even when overall introductory and superficial, are also discussed in this thesis. Although the first monographs on Japan were very short, they marked the flourishing interest in Japan and the Japanese people. Various volumes such as *Riben Tuzuan* 日本圖纂 (*Atlas of Japan*) and *Riben Yilan* 日本一鑑 (*A Glance of Japan*) have been edited and printed since the mid-Ming period. By putting together detailed records from these books, a general picture of how the Ming Chinese understood Japanese geography and society in the course of the Sengoku era (1467-1603)²² can be drawn. Moreover, these private accounts related stories that the official records would not disclose and shed light on issues that may have been long misunderstood or neglected by previous studies.

1.3.3 Other Related Documents

Primary materials such as bureaucratic documents, biographies, individual monographs, and personal journals are also frequently used in my thesis.

²² The Sengoku period is a period of social and political upheaval. It lasted from 1467 and was finally ended by the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1603.

1.4 Goals and Introduction

This thesis is a comparative study of Sino-Japanese and Sino-Korean relationships and the interactions of Korean and Japanese envoys with their Chinese hosts. Major issues discussed in this thesis include Japan and Korea's different roles throughout their diplomatic and commercial interactions with China, the differences between the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean understanding of each other from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, and the causal reasons behind the changes in their perceptions. Almost all the extant research on pre-modern East Asia focuses on either single-state case studies or bilateral case studies, such as studies of Chinese-Manchu relations or Sino-Japanese interactions. Little research has been conducted in the attempt to discern broad patterns, similarities, and differences between Sino-Korean and Sino-Japanese interactions, derived from travel accounts.

In the aforementioned studies on pre-modern East Asia, primary sources referring to topics focusing on women were seldom mentioned. This thesis aims to introduce documents related to women from the *Yŏnhaengnok* in order to demonstrate the variety of topics that should be considered in *Yŏnhaengnok* studies. A wide range of Chinese women, from courtesans to military leaders, are investigated here. Unlike the traditional perception of women in pre-modern China, who are characterized by a lack of education, social status and the freedom to pursue public activities, Joseon envoys' records portray a totally different picture of Chinese women in the context of the chaos of the dynastic transition. Korean envoys tended to interpret the role of various groups of Chinese women they encountered from a more political perspective, even though this practice deviated to some extent from the long practiced Confucian doctrines that excluded women from political discussions. On one hand, they habitually applied the filter of 'Longing for the Ming', when they observed Ming social conditions. On the other hand, they deliberately interpreted their observations in a way that might serve Korea's domestic political interests.

For this thesis, the process of how the Sino-Korean and Sino-Japanese relations and interactions changed is the most important concern and therefore I try to consider the complexity of factors that might have had an impact on the Sino-Korean and Sino-Japanese relation and interactions. The extraordinary period of the Ming-Qing dynastic transition placed the existing China-centered diplomatic system in enormous danger. At the same time, the transition created a fertile ground for the reconstruction of their respective worldviews and the perception of each individual state. My thesis aims to offer an overview of the changes in the interstate relations in East Asia from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.

My thesis's exploration on the Korean-Chinese connections focus on two topics, both of which are derived from a close reading of texts selected from Korean documents written in Chinese, especially *Yŏnhaengnok*. The first topic is the repeated shift between Sinophilia and Sinophobia in Joseon. The second topic is Korean envoys' views on customs in the Ming and Qing dynasties. The section on the Sino-Japanese connection is arranged chronologically and relates stories from the middle and late Ming to the high Qing era. A considerable amount of primary documents is also examined in this section.

This thesis has five chapters. The first chapter reviews influential research on the frontier in the field of Sino-Korean and Sino-Japanese studies, as well as studies of cultural exchange and foreign affairs in East Asia, including research by Western and Asian scholars. This chapter briefly introduces the argument based on extant research and the methodology of my thesis. Primary sources referenced in my thesis are also illustrated in this chapter.

Chapters two and three focus on discussions of Sino-Korean relations. Chapter two interprets the Korean envoys' portrayal of China during the crisis of the dynastic transition with a focus on women and gender. Women from a variety of social backgrounds, ranging from courtesans to military heroines, are described and analyzed based on the records of Korean envoys. An investigation into the narratives and contents

of these diplomatic travel essays reveals the Korean concept of “Longing for the Ming” and the great interest in the prosperity of the High Qing era displayed by the envoys from Joseon.

Chapter three continues the examination of Korean emotions towards the Ming, exploring several Korean envoys’ wavering between Sinophilia and Sinophobia. I follow the guidance of Sun and look into the idea of “Chonchu Samyong” – ‘Revering the Zhou and Longing for the Ming’. Compared to Sun’s study, the focus here is more on the formation and evolution of this concept. The Ming loyalists in Korea gradually took control of the ruling class. At the same time, they advocated the Ming engagement in expelling the Japanese from Joseon Korea after their invasion. Soon after the Ming dynasty fell under the control of the Manchu, the concept of “Revering the Zhou and Longing for the Ming” was promoted throughout Joseon to encourage the Korean people to preserve Ming culture. Their sense to see themselves as the cultural protector of Chinese traditions went so far that they considered themselves as the Ming dynasty’s legitimate successors and the true center of Chinese civilization. Later, the prosperity of the High Qing era and the rise of the Silhak School in Korea justified this self-entitlement and established a more Korea-centered worldview.

Chapter four demonstrates the variation of China and Japan’s mutual understanding and their respective worldviews. Chapter four traces Sakugen’s trip to Ming China during the Sengoku era. The detailed records of Japanese tribute missions’ travel routes, local reception, postal system, and diplomatic rituals, and the envoys’ leisure activities helps to portray the tributary relation between Ming China and Sengoku Japan. I then expand the discussion of the Sino-Japanese relationship to the Tokugawa era. Both China and Japan enacted restrictions on maritime trade to create a stable environment for managing domestic business. The Tokugawa Bakufu established a self-determined diplomacy after a failure in seeking to regain access to the China-centered tribute system. This unique diplomacy and the following seclusion policies brought Japan

into seclusion. Chinese merchants arriving at Nagasaki became the only source of news and information from China. Under this circumstance, the mutual understanding and perception between China and Japan changed through time.

In the last chapter, I summarize the argument and demonstrate in my conclusion the compatibility of the factors that influenced Sino-Korea relations with those of Sino-Japanese interactions throughout the Ming-Qing dynastic transition.

CHAPTER II

MING AND QING CHINA THROUGH THE EYES OF JOSEON ENVOYS

Capturing a wide variety of information and detailed unique perspectives about journeys to China in journals written in Classical Chinese, *Yŏnhaengnok* are considered valuable historical material, inspiring the study of late imperial China and Joseon Korea. Most of the existing research on the *Yŏnhaengnok* focuses on Sino-Korean relations, including cultural and commercial communication as well as literature, while the topics of women and gender relations have been mostly neglected. Despite the considerable amount of records involving observations about Chinese women in the Korean envoys' travel essays, studies centering on women are rare. Therefore, making women the subject of this sheds light on topics that have so far been neglected in research on the *Yŏnhaengnok*.

Although there is substantial research on women in late imperial China, most studies are based on Chinese documents portraying and analyzing women and questions of gender from a Chinese perspective. Thus, it is my contention that Korean diplomatic records are vital to this study and will enrich the understanding of women during the dynastic transition from the Ming to the Qing. Moreover, these records help to understand Korean authors' motivations when portraying Chinese women; Koreans' thoughts and opinions about China during this transition period; and how Koreans' ideas of their powerful neighbor were shaped. This chapter will discuss four categories of Chinese women mentioned in Korean envoys' records, including women as carriers of Ming memories, heroines and victims during wartime, as well as street performers, and educated and artistic women.

2.1 Women as Carriers of Fading Memories

While public memory of the Ming dynasty gradually faded away, in the early Qing, women who dressed in Ming style became the carriers of the memories of the once prosperous but now defunct dynasty in the eyes of Korean envoys. In the first year of the Shunzhi reign (1644), Han Chinese men were forced to use Manchu-style clothes and hairstyles by the order of Prince Dorgon²³. As a result, while Han women still dressed as their Ming ancestors did, men donned Manchu-style apparel due to the pressure of the imperial policy. Actors on stage were the only men allowed to dress in traditional Ming clothes. During the Qianlong reign, a Korean official named Yu On-sul 俞彦述 traveled to the capital Beijing, and noticed that: “while men, no matter Chinese or Manchus and Mongols wear the same clothes and use the same language, Chinese women still kept dressing in the clothes of the previous dynasty.”²⁴ According to Yu, Han Chinese men did not feel comfortable in their new clothing and even felt ashamed about “dressing like barbaric people.”²⁵ Their self-deprecation was expressed in their sentiment that “only women in our generation do not obey the Qing orders;” in Yu’s view, this statement reflected the Han people’s identification with the Ming and their yearning for the previous dynasty. Yu’s interpretation of this observation indicates that Korean envoys not only cherished the traditions of the Ming dynasty but also sympathized with the Han men for having to compromise their ethnic identity due to Qing policy. On the other hand, during the Qing women were allowed to continue wearing Ming-style clothes. Chinese women’s Ming-style clothes were the most visible remnants of Ming culture and were seen as a clear expression of their individual identification with Han tradition and

²³ Qingshilu 清實錄 *Veritable Records of the Qing*. Vol. 5. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985) “順治元年五月庚寅條：投誠官吏軍民皆著薙發，衣冠悉遵本朝制度。”

²⁴ Yu Ŏn-sul 俞彦述, *Yanjingzaji* 燕京雜識 *Random Records of Yanjing*. In Im Kijung, *Yŏnhaengnok chŏnjip*, vol. 39 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p. 283. “男子則言語衣服，滿漢元無分別，女子則尚服中華舊制，故當初彼中有‘男順女不順夕之語’”

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 294. “不好不好，此是韃子打扮”，“我輩獨女人不順”，“可見其有思漢之心。”

evidence of their yearning for Ming traditions. In the perspective of Korean envoys, the Chinese women thus were keeping the memory of the previous dynasty alive. In the early Qing, the envoys assumed that the Chinese men held the same idea, while in fact most Han Chinese had lost almost all emotional ties to the Ming dynasty and obeyed the Qing code issued during the late Kangxi reign almost without resistance or emotional nostalgia.

A considerable amount of records mentioning women dressed in Ming style clothes can be found in other envoys' books. During Choe Tok-jung 崔德中's stay in Beijing in 1712, he witnessed women in Ming clothes and recorded his encounters in detail: "Some women dress in pleated petticoats (*zheshang* 折裳) and a black formal robe called *tangyi* 唐衣, wearing flower-shaped jewelry in their hair. Sometimes these women ride donkeys, wearing a black veil covering their face. Chinese women still keep the dress code of the Ming dynasty. It is quite lovely."²⁶ Interestingly enough, there is another record which appeared as an introduction to one of Lee Jung-goo 李廷龜's poems, and which shares a high degree of similarity with the first source. Lee wrote: "Record keeper²⁷ Zhang sent me a message one day and told me about the interesting experience he had. The other day, he met a group of dressed-up women riding on donkeys. He felt they were quite attractive. But Zhang could not see their faces because these women were all wearing a veil. Zhang clapped his hands and sighed with regrets that he hadn't paid them to roll up their veils and show their faces. The following day, I also met several of such women on the street. Some of the women's veils were blown up by the wind; some rolled up the veil themselves to observe passers-by (so I was able to see their faces). Although they were not stunningly beautiful, it was enjoyable to watch them. It reminded me of Zhang's

²⁶ Choe Tok-jung 崔德中, *Yonhaengnok*. In Selection of *Yonhaengnok* 燕行錄選集 (Seoul: Sungkyunkwan University AEAS Press, 1962), p. 392. "女子或著褶裳, 穿黑唐衣, 頭飾花珠, 且垂面黑紗, 乘驢而行者, 間有之。女子則猶帶明衣制矣。可愛。"

²⁷ Shuzhuangguan 書狀官 is the title of an important member of the Joseon diplomatic corps, who ranked below the leading envoy and the associate leading envoy. He was responsible for recording what they saw and heard on the trip and reporting to the king. Supposedly there was a volume of *Yonhaengnok* written by Liu. However, it has not been included in any collection.

earlier words, and I could not help laughing. So I wrote this poem and shared my feeling with Zhang.”²⁸ Comparing the two records, we can assume that these two groups of women had the same or a similar social identity.

Even though the exact social identity of those women remains obscure, a further analysis of Lee’s record uncovered valuable information, which may help us to better reconstruct the image of Han Chinese women in this transition period based on the Korean travelers’ records, and to interpret those Korean envoys’ view of Chinese women on a deeper level. First, Zhang mentioned the group of women he met in a message to Lee, while Lee recorded the encounters with the women in detail and even composed a poem in honor of this occasion and in order to share his feelings with Zhang. The exchange between the two Koreans indicates that such a group of women were not a common sight on the street. It was also a confirmation of the Korean envoys’ own emotional affinity with the Ming. Though Zhang and Lee used different words, both of them portrayed the women as charming and well dressed. We may conclude that those women were distinct from ordinary women walking on the street. It is reasonable to speculate that the women’s work was related to the entertainment industry and that they may have worked as courtesans or singing girls because Zhang even thought about paying the women to reveal their faces.

Due to the information retrieved from Choe’s record, we may come up with two possible explanations for the women’s dress: First, they may have always dressed in that fashion during both the late Ming and early Qing periods because of their social identities. Second, the late Ming group dressed in formal clothes, while the early Qing group wore the clothes of the previous dynasty as a costume due to their work in the

²⁸ Lee Jung-goo 李廷龜, *Bingchen chaotianlu* 丙辰朝天錄 *Travel Essays of a Journey to China in the Bingchen Year*, Im Kijung, *Yonhaengnok chŏnjip* Vol. 11 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p. 147. “張書狀一日來話，話間戲曰，途中遇騎驢盛粧之鉞，客懷頗覺眼明，而皆蒙面紗，不得相見。若給錢使之捲紗則好矣云，相與拍手。翌日路上遇數三過去，或風吹捲紗，或自捲看人。雖非殊色，亦足眼明。仍思書狀之語，不覺獨笑。遂扣占二絕，戲奉書狀”。

entertainment industry. The analysis suggests that Choe's record may be biased because these women probably dressed in their costumes without putting much thought to the fact that they were Ming dynasty-style clothes. When analyzing the wording in Yu's and Choe's records, this longing for the Ming stands out. When Yu described women dressed in Ming clothes, he used the word "*zhonghua* 中華" (Chinese), referring to the Ming dynasty, indicating his belief that the Ming dynasty still represented the only legitimate political authority and reflecting his contempt for the Qing government and Manchu customs. Choe's description of the specific group of women as "lovely" shows his aesthetic preference rooted in his nostalgia for the Ming. These emotions then could be considered the basis of their understanding of Chinese women as the carriers of memories of the Ming.

Joseon records indicate that appearance and dress were the major point of focus for envoys observing Chinese women. Their interpretation of Chinese women as the carriers of Ming memories belied a generally accepted idea that at that time women had little social and political influence, allowing them to dress in the previous dynasty's clothes without provoking the Qing. Moreover, this interpretation reveals Korean perceptions of the Ming-Qing dynastic transition.

For Koreans, the time between the late Ming and early Qing was also a transition period, during which they denied the legitimacy of the Qing as the heirs of Ming power and increasingly presented themselves as the orthodox keepers of the Ming tradition and the only true heirs of Chinese culture. Interestingly the emotion of 'Longing for the Ming and Despising the Qing' can also be discerned in the changing of the titles of diplomatic documents from *Eolgulil* 朝天, which means "pilgrimage to China," to *Yŏnhaeng* 燕行, which simply means "a journey to China." Some late volumes even use titles revealing an unwillingness to travel on a tribute trip to the Qing, such as *Hamyuinmok* 含忍錄 (*Records of Tolerance*), which indicates that the author felt going on a tribute trip to Qing China was shameful.

2.2 Women as Victims and Heroines in Turbulent Times

Ming Chinese women suffered during the fall of the Ming and the Qing takeover of China in the 1600s. While many were victims, others became well-known heroines. The wives left behind by soldiers were the most obvious female victims of the Jurchen invasion. Lee Jung-goo, in his *Zhengfuci* 征婦詞 (*Poem on Soldiers' Wives*), portrayed an unfortunate woman who lived a miserable life missing her husband, man “recruited to a garrison on the border at the age of twenty and never returned after the war in Shenhe.”²⁹ Detailed information on dates and events provided in his description proves that Lee’s poem was based on a true account rather than on one of the common poems about soldiers’ wives, which always have been a favorite topic during turbulent times.³⁰

The turbulence caused by the dynastic war came to an end after the Qing conquest of China was completed. However, instability resulting from the complex relationship between the Manchus and the Han still existed until the high Qing era, and Chinese women were often kidnapped by soldiers. Records from the Kangxi reign about a woman named Ji Wenlan 季文蘭 by Joseon envoys shed light on the prevalent phenomenon of banner soldiers in the service of the Qing kidnapping vulnerable Han women. In the 19th year of the Kangxi reign (1680), Sin Chǒng 申晟 traveled to Beijing as an associate envoy. In his travel report, Sin first recorded a poem by a kidnapped woman named Ji:

Shuzhang Mu (Mu Linru 睦林儒) found a poem on the wall of Hazelnut House 榛子店 (*zhenzidian*) in Fengrun 豐潤. He told me: “the poem read: ‘Hair without any accessories makes me miss the makeup of old days. The

²⁹ Lee Jung-goo 李廷龜, *Genshen chaotianlu* 庚申朝天錄 *Travel Essays of a Journey to China in the Genshen Year*, In Im Kijung, *Yǒnhaengnok chǒnjip* Vol. 11 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p. 174. 《燕行錄全集》, “白髻荆釵不整鬢, 紅顏憔悴淚痕斑。郎君二十從征戍, 去歲深河戰未還”。

³⁰ Although the date of Lee’s report provided in *Yǒnhaengnok chǒnjip* is the 23rd year of the Wanli reign (1595) and Shenhe as a geographically significant location may have seen intense war, I believe “the war in Shenhe” mentioned here is the last phase of the Battle of Sarhu, which happened in the winter of 1619. There are two pieces of evidence to support my viewpoint. First, Lee mentioned the funeral of Emperor Shenzong, which postponed his return trip, in his travel report. It proves the year provided in *Yǒnhaengnok chǒnjip* is a mistake. Second, according to the *Lichao shilu* 李朝實錄 *Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty*, Lee went back to Joseon on November 21st, 1620.

beautiful southern-style dress now has been changed for tattered wartime clothes. My parents' life and death remain unknown; it is painful to be sent to Shenyang 沈陽 in the warm spring breeze'. The poem is followed by a short passage: 'I was the wife of Yu Shangqing 虞尚卿, a graduate of the first degree in Jiangzhou 江州. My husband was killed, and I was kidnapped. I was then bought by a bannerman³¹ surnamed Wang and wrote this poem in tears on January 1st of the *wuwu* 戊午 year³². I hope kind people who see it have mercy on me and would like to help me. I do not care whether I might be scorned or insulted by some readers. What a miserable life! I am twenty-one now. My father Ji is a graduate of the first degree; my mother was surnamed Chen; my brother named Guo is a prefecture graduate of the first degree. Written by Ji Wenlan 季文蘭.'” I felt pretty sorry for her and said: “It was a work of a talented and well-educated woman. China is in turbulence; the Chinese are suffering. Such an intelligent woman was forcibly sent to a Manchu and her talents could not overcome the fate of being buried in a foreign land. Eternal resentments is not the privilege of Cai Wenji 蔡文姬³³.” I thus composed a poem to memorize Ji's story: “The poem on the wall is written with tears. All I dream about here at the end of the world is what is west to the cloud in the sky of Chu. The spring breeze brings up countless sorrowful memories. I am trying to play the pipa, but even the music turns so sad.”³⁴

³¹ Zhangjing 章京 is a general title for a banner official in the early Qing.

³² The 17th year of the Kangxi reign (1678).

³³ Cai Wenji was a talented poet and musician who lived in the Eastern Han Dynasty. Her husband died shortly after their marriage. She was captured by the Xiongnu and was forced to marry the Xiongnu chanyu Liu Bao.

³⁴ Sin Chōng 申晟, *Yōnhaengnok*, In Im Kijung, *Yōnhaengnok chōnjip* Vol. 22 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p. 480. “書狀睦君則於豐潤榛子店壁上，見一詩，向餘說道，其詩曰：‘椎鬟空憐昔日妝，微裙換盡越羅裳。爺娘生死知何處，痛殺春風上瀋陽。’其下又書曰：‘奴江州虞尚卿秀才妻也，夫被戮，奴被擄，今為王章京所買，戊午正月念一日灑涕揮壁書此。唯望天下有心人見此憐而見拯，奴亦不自慚其鄙謗也。吁嗟，傷哉，傷哉。奴年二十有一，父季某，秀才，母陳氏，兄名國，府學秀才，季文蘭書。’余聞而悲之曰：‘此是閨秀中能詩者所為也。海內喪亂，生民罹毒，閩中蘭蕙之質亦未免淪沒異域。千古怨恨，不獨蔡文姬一人而已。’為賦一絕，以詠其事：壁上新詩掩淚題，天涯歸夢楚雲西。春風無限傷心事，欲奏琵琶音轉淒”。

Envoy Kim Seok-ju 金锡胄 followed Sin to Beijing in the 21st year of the Kangxi reign (1682). He portrayed a vivid image of Ji by adding touching details in his poems and a short description: “I let down my hair and took off my makeup. A few sounds of the *hujia* 胡笳³⁵ have already made me cry. Who can be even more powerful than Sir Cao, welcoming (Cai) Wenji to Luoyang 洛陽.” Kim and his fellow traveler also asked the host lady about Ji’s story: “Associate Envoy Ryu called over the host lady and asked her about Ji’s story. The lady said, a banner official named Wang³⁶ from Shenyang had paid seventy pieces of silver to buy this woman five or six years ago. They stayed here for a while. Even though she suffered immensely and drowned in deep sorrow, her appearance was still charming. She cleared the wall and wrote that poem on it. When her right hand felt tired, she changed to use the left hand, writing eagerly and quickly.”³⁷ Kim’s detailed depiction of Ji Wenlan expressed his sympathy for her misfortune and appreciation for her talents. According to Sin and Kim’s records, Ji left her poem in the 17th year of the Kangxi reign (1678) and was bought by the banner officer in about the 15th year of the Kangxi reign. During this time, Emperor Kangxi gradually gained control in the war with Wu Sangui 吳三桂 and moved the battle southward to Hunan. The revolt of the three feudatories irritated the relationship between the Manchus and the Han population and made the kidnapping of Han women possible, especially in the Yangzi River region.

From the original text of Kim’s piece, we can see that some words and comments in Ji’s poem were already missing at that time. In the 59th year of the Kangxi reign

³⁵ *Hujia* 胡笳 is a wind instrument made from reed popular among northern ethnic groups, like the Mongolians and the Uighurs.

³⁶ As for the banner officer Wang, there are two possibilities for his identity: 1) Wang was a Han Chinese serving in a Han banner or even a Manchu banner³⁶; or 2) Wang was a Manchu whose family had changed their Manchu-style surname (probably Wanyan 完顏) to the Han-style surname Wang. Wang’s ethnic identity remains vague.

³⁷ Kim Seok-ju 金锡胄, *Daojiaolu* 擣椒录 *Record of Daojiao*, In Im Kijung, *Yonhaengnok chŏnjip* Vol. 24 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), pp. 69-70. “琯約雲鬢罷舊妝，胡笳幾拍淚盈裳。誰能更有曹公力，迎取文姬入洛陽。副使柳公招主媼問之，媼俱言五六年前瀋陽王章京用白金七十買此女，過此，悲楚黯慘之中，姿態尚嬌豔動人，掃壁垂淚書此。右手稍倦，則以左手執筆疾書云。已改尖靴女直妝，誰將蓮襪掩蘿裳。唯應夜月鳴環珮，魂夢依依到吉陽”。

(1720), Envoy Yi Ŭi-hyŏn 李宜顯 went to Hazelnut House and found that Ji's poem and comment were missing due to the repair of the wall. Ji's story had been forgotten by the local Han Chinese. On Yi's second trip to Beijing in the 10th year of the Yongzheng reign (1732), his fellow Han Deok-hu 韓德厚 again recorded Ji's story, but interestingly made little changes: "In the early Qing, a woman named Ji Wenlan from a gentry family in Jiangxi had an extremely charming appearance and impressive literary talent. She was kidnapped by the Manchus and left a poem on the wall of Hazelnut House when passing through."³⁸ It is certain that Han had not seen Ji's original text on the wall. Did he learn about Wang's Manchu identity from local people or previous envoys? Did he make it up himself due to his negative opinion of the Manchus? Little information can be found to support either of these assumptions. However, a later record sheds light on the trajectory of these Korean envoys' changing views of Ji's story. In the 42nd year of the Qianlong reign (1777), Yi Ap 李押 passed by Hazelnut House and described Ji's poem as her "mourning for the Ming emperor."³⁹ Yi's connecting Ji's suffering to the downfall of the Ming shows that Joseon officials still had a strong emotional bond to the Ming in the high Qing era.

The military heroine Qin Liangyu 秦良玉 and her military corps best illustrate women's resistance when facing the dynastic crisis. Qin is the only woman in Chinese history who was included in biographies of military and civil officials as a heroine rather than in the section of biographies of exemplary women in the Ming Dynasty's official history. The biography of Qin in the *Official History of the Ming Dynasty* 明史 reads: "(Qin) Liangyu was smart and brave. She was good at riding and archery and could also write elegant poetry. However, she was extremely strict with her subordinates. Every

³⁸ Han Deok-hu 韓德厚, *Chengzhigong yanxingrili* 承旨公燕行日錄 *Travel Daily of a Journey to China*, In Im Kijung, *Yŏnhaengnok chŏnjip* Vol. 50 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p. 52. "清初江右女子季文蘭士族也，顏貌絕麗，又能韻詩，為胡人所擄，過此店題一怨詩於壁上".

³⁹ Yi Ap 李押, *Yanxing jishi* 燕行記事 *Yanxing Records*. In Im Kijung, *Yŏnhaengnok chŏnjip* Vol. 52 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p. 394. "此店古有江南女人季文蘭壁上所題詩，即悼念皇明，有慷慨語云，而今已泯滅無跡，欲尋不得，只誦天下有心人見此之句而為之興感".

time she gave an order, the whole corps became serious and quiet. The name of her corps was White Stick Soldiers, whose fame has spread far and wide.”⁴⁰ Although a considerable number of writings and even plays are based on Qin, the image of Qin has been apotheosized. Thus, the information we find in the *Yŏnhaengnok* of Joseon envoy Huang Chung-yun 黃中允, who met Qin and her corps in person, are of great value for the study of Qin Liangyu as a representative and renowned heroine during this turbulent transition period between Ming and Qing.

”I met Qin (Liangyu) on the day I traveled to Caozhuang. She looks big and strong. Her cap, boots, girdle all followed a man’s style of military attire. Qin was able to read and write and was familiar with books on the art of war. She was about thirty-five or –six years old and could handle two swords that weighed more than eighty *jin* 斤. The troops were blowing horns and beating drums. It was quite spectacular. Qin’s husband had died and her minor son was sixteen years old, leading the troops with his mother and elder sisters and brothers. Among Qin’s troops were more than forty female soldiers; they were equipped with military caps and uniforms, wearing black boots and red clothes. They were agile on horseback and as robust and vigorous as male soldiers. Weapons and appliances were transported in carriages. Qin first recruited seven thousand well-trained soldiers in Sichuan and led her troops to fight against the invaders in the north. The Ming court later supported and strengthened Qin’s troops, and appointed her son as a military officer leading guerrilla warfare.”⁴¹

⁴⁰ *Official History of the Ming Dynasty*. Vol. 270 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju: 2000), p. 582. “良玉為人饒膽智，善騎射，兼通詞翰，儀度嫺雅。而馭下嚴峻，每行軍發令，戎伍肅然。所部號白桿兵，為遠近所憚”。

⁴¹ Hwang Chung-yun 黃中允, *Xizhengri lu* 西征日錄 *Diary of the Western March*. In Im Kijung, *Yŏnhaengnok chŏnjip* Vol. 16 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p. 43. “是日行至曹莊，遇馬門秦氏。體甚肥大，網巾、靴子、袍帶一依男子。能文墨，熟兵書。馬上用八十斤雙劍，年可三十五六許。吹角打鼓乘輜而氣勢頗壯。厥夫馬姓雲已死，厥子年十六，其母姊兄弟並領各隊。凡女兵四十餘名，著戰笠，穿戰服，黑靴紅衣，跨馬馳突，不啻男子驍健者。凡戰陣器械俱以車運。其初自四川募精兵七千往征遼賊，蓋其自奮，非朝廷命也。朝廷壯之，官其子游擊雲”。

From the image of Qin and her troops portrayed by Hwang, we can see that not only Qin but also her daughters were skillful and determined fighters. Besides these female leaders, there were also many female soldiers in Qin's corps. Lee described them as well organized and dressed in special uniforms, which made them distinct among Qin's troops. In a short paragraph, Hwang provided only two detailed descriptions of attire: one is the clothing worn by Qin Liangyu, and the other was attire of the forty-or-so women in the troops. Their outfits were different from that of the rest. Owing to this special attire of the forty-or-so women, it is reasonable to speculate that these women possessed unique military skills and enjoyed a high position in Qin's corps. We cannot tell whether they were trained by Qin from the beginning or developed their skills and determination to combat invaders by themselves and were then recruited by Qin. Nevertheless, Hwang's record helps to uncover the possibility that a great number of heroic female military figures existed during the late Ming.

Lee Jung-goo also mentioned Qin Liangyu in his *Genjia Yonhaengnok*: "The female military leader Qin from Sichuan recruited three thousands soldiers to resist the invasion from the north...(I) heard that Qin could control a five hundred-*jin*-heavy broadsword"⁴² In addition, hearing about Qin recruiting soldiers and planning to go northward for the battle against the Manchus, Lee composed a poem to express his admiration of Qin's courage and his shame of not being able to fight against the invaders himself or contribute anything as a literatus.⁴³ Unlike Hwang's piece, this text is built on information Lee heard from others, rather than his own observations. Because the source of his information cannot be identified, discussion of his records must concentrate on the

⁴² Lee Jung-goo, 李廷龜, *Genshen chaotianlu* 庚申朝天錄 *Travel Essays of a Journey to China in the Genshen Year*. In *Yonhaengnok chŏnjip* Vol. 11 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p. 48. "四川女將宣撫使司掌印女官秦氏, 上本自募領手下兵三千, 赴遼討賊.....聞秦氏能使五百斤大刀".

⁴³ Lee Jung-goo 李廷龜, *Genshen chaotianlu* 庚申朝天錄 *Travel Essays of a Journey to China in the Genshen Year*. In Im Kijung, *Yonhaengnok chŏnjip* Vol. 11 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p. 181. "聞奴賊又犯潘陽東路二首: 聞說女郎猶赴陣, 自慙 (慚) 窮海一書生." The "nuzei 奴賊" (barbaric thieves) in the title should be referring to the Late Jin rather than Japan since this book of Lee recorded his stay in China during 1619 and 1620, while the Ming support for Joseon against Japan happened during the 20th year (1592) and the 25th year (1597) of the Wanli reign. I thus use "Houjin" in my translation of Li's poem.

emotion revealed by his words, rather than details about Qin's background or capability. Lee's record about Qin revealed his strong support for the Ming during the Manchus' invasion. His use of the term *nuzei* 奴賊 meaning "barbarian thieves" reveals the image of the Manchus as uncivilized barbarians and expresses his disdain for them.

2.3 Women as "Mobile Lonely Islands"

Another significant impact of the turbulences during the dynastic transition was reflected in the organization of households. During this period, the functional role of women within the household changed significantly. Women from the lower class and declining families had to go out or even travel around to make a living or support their families, which greatly increased their spatial mobility. This was further enhanced by the development of the country's market and economic prosperity. In the records of Joseon envoys, this phenomenon was demonstrated by groups of women they saw on the road or became acquainted with: street performers, singing girls and courtesans.

Hwang Yö-il 黃汝一 in his travel essays recorded his experience of watching the acrobatics of a skilled and agile female street performer when he traveled to China in the 26th year of the Wanli reign (1598):

"A woman in her twenties dressed in blue asked me: "Sir, do you want to watch my riding performance?" I told her to do it. The performer started at the end of the road where she whipped the horse to run. Then she stepped onto the left stirrup and kept standing in that pose for quite a while. She then changed to the right stirrup and did the same. Suddenly, she stood upside down on the stirrups. Her legs pointed right up into the sky, straight as a tree. All of a sudden, she rolled over and lay across the saddle like a corpse. After that, she quickly settled herself down on the saddle and then cocked her right leg (with the stirrup) while raising her left leg (without the stirrup) when the horse was galloping forward in

a fast pace. She did not let her body touch the horse [just lay across the saddle]. After a while, she jumped back on the saddle and then repeated this movement three times. After that, (the performer) held a four or five year old child and (prepared for) riding with the child. When the horse was positioned, the performer made the child stand on the right stirrup while she herself stood on the left stirrup herself. She grasped the child's collar while the child put one hand on his headband to keep it from falling down and used the other hand to hold onto the sleeve of the performer while the horse was running in full gallop. (This looked) like fairies riding a crane in the sky. After quite a while, the performer held the child and let it sit back on the saddle. Her hair and accessories were not disheveled even a little bit, and her face was calm all the time. Together with the horse, she was just like a fairy; the speed in which she changed her poses was so fast that the audience was entirely surprised by it. How excellent this woman's skill was!"⁴⁴

The detailed account reveals the admiration of the envoy for the unique riding capability of the performer. The unrestrained amazement while encountering her dignity and self-assured manner during the performance speaks from his description of an acrobatic act he had hardly associated with a Chinese woman. Much more common in Korean envoys' poems were descriptions of female performers in theatrical settings during indoor entertainment in theaters and high-class restaurants. Heo Gyun once composed a poem to express his loneliness as a stranger in a foreign land: "Let's take pity on all travelers to a foreign land, celebrating tonight under the side of the sky opposite of our hometown. Northern town courtesans⁴⁵ are playing the zither (*se* 瑟, an ancient Chinese string

⁴⁴ Hwang Yō-il 黄汝一, *Yinchalu* 银槎录 Record of Yinchalu. In Im Kijung, *Yōnhaengnok chōnjip* Vol. 8 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p. 69. "俄又青衣女子二十余岁者,问宰相看吾驰技否?即令为之。优于路头鞭马快走,从马左镫竦身凝立良久,闪过马右镫立如左。忽又倒立镫上,两足向天如植。忽又翻身横载鞍上如僵尸,倏复据鞍定坐,再次翘右足,镫上举左足,空中而驰。俄而一跃登鞍,三次如故。抱四五岁儿同骑,及放马之际,优立儿右镫,自立左镫上,以手执儿衣领,儿亦以一手按额巾使不脱,一手执女襟裾,同时齐驰,望如飞仙骑快鹤。良久,优抱儿坐鞍,如神千百转幻而钗鬟不乱,渠无变色,而马亦相得其恍惚捷疾之状,使人骇视耸观。女子之呈技如此".

⁴⁵ Actually, we cannot tell whether the word "ji 姬" used here simply refers to singing girls or courtesans.

instrument); eastern guests are accompanying them with songs. Singing poems to appreciate a beautiful scenery, for whom is the moonlight shining?”⁴⁶

Courtesans are another important group of women in this period. The commercialization of the private courtesan industry occurred in late Ming China. Hundreds and thousands of courtesans could easily be found in a metropolis and also in rural towns. Although official courtesans were banned by the Ming court after the Xuande reign (1426-1435), they did not disappear and instead became officials’ domestic courtesans.⁴⁷ Both private and official courtesans, who had high spatial mobility, had the opportunity to associate with Chinese officials and even Joseon envoys.

The popularization of private courtesans can also be evidenced from Heo Gyun’s records: “Haizhou 海州 is a prosperous town. Splendid buildings are shining with a beautiful red color. Carriages loaded with cargo and businessmen from Wu 吳 (the Yangzi River Delta region) are everywhere. Beauties from Zhao with fancy makeup are strolling through the streets.”⁴⁸ This poem shows the affluence of Haizhou and the prosperity of its commercial economy. However, the more significant point in this account is to understand the word “Zhaonü 趙女.” In ancient Chinese literature, “Zhaonü 趙女” was used to describe three types of women: beauties, piteous women, and courtesans. Considering the background information provided in this poem, the *Zhaonü* portrayed here should be the last group – courtesans. Heo Gyun’s poem portrayed a general image of private courtesans in a thriving courtesan industry, while his elder brother Heo Bong 許筠 recalled his experience of once inviting a famous courtesan to his

⁴⁶ Heo Gyun 許筠, *Dingyou chaotianlu* 丁酉朝天錄 *Travel Essays of a Journey to China in the Dingyou Year*. In Im Kijung, *Yonhaengnok chŏnjip* Vol. 13 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p. 226. “应怜万里客，天畔庆今宵。北里姬弹瑟，东邻客按歌。吟诗酬胜景，月色为谁多”。

⁴⁷ Xie Zhaozhe 谢肇淛, *Wuzazu* 五雜俎 *Collection of Five Random Things*, (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian Press 上海書店出版社, 2001), p. 157. “今时娼妓满布天下，其大都会之地，动以千百计。其他偏州僻邑，往往有之。……而京师教坊官收其税钱，谓之脂粉钱。……唐、宋皆以官妓佐酒，国初犹然。至宣德初始有禁，而缙绅家居者，不论也。故虽绝迹公庭，而常充物里”。

⁴⁸ Heo Gyun 許筠, *Dingyou chaotianlu* 丁酉朝天錄 *Travel Essays of a Journey to China in the Dingyou Year*. In Im Kijung, *Yonhaengnok chŏnjip* Vol. 13 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p. 229. “海州稱巨鎮，華屋耀朱麗。輦貨吳商萃，調粧趙女迎”。

residence to perform music: “When I was back (home) but still stayed awake, Youshan 由善 came to visit me. (I) heard (from Youshan that) there was a courtesan from Ningyuan 寧遠 here, who was good at playing musical instruments. Thus (I) invited her over to perform and kept listening to her music for hours. When I prepared to sleep, I heard the crowing of the roosters announcing the new morning.”⁴⁹ The record, along with its tone, reveals that the private courtesan was a topic of conversations between literati or officials; it was common for a literatus or officials to invite a private courtesan to his residence.

Aside from private courtesans, domestic courtesans kept within officials’ residences frequently appeared in Joseon envoys’ records. In Heo Gyun’s record of Envoy Xiong’s arrival at Zhenjiang, we read: “All officials were organized in the suburban area to welcome the presents from the emperor. On the way back to the city, female onlookers almost filled the town. Ruren 汝仁, who stood on my left, saw official courtesans kept within our residence mingled in the crowd. Ruren counted them and told me that about twelve of them had previously been invited to my room. I thus made a poem teasing myself: twelve beauties stand on the southern footpath, looking back and smiling like a spring breeze.”⁵⁰ From this record, we can see that the mobility of these official courtesans was quite high and that Joseon envoys had easy access to this group of women.

Furthermore, certain Joseon envoys were closely associated with courtesans. Ryu Yeogag 柳汝恪, who is mentioned several times in Lee Jung-goo’s records by his other name Shou’er 守而, is a typical case. Although no records by him are included in the *Yonhaengnok chŏnjip* or other *Yonhaengnok* collections, Ryu’s identity as an envoy,

⁴⁹ Heo Bong 許筭, *Chaotianji* 朝天記. In Im Kijung, *Yonhaengnok chŏnjip* Vol. 6 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p. 80. “余歸未寐之際，由善來訪，聞寧遠妓來都事處者，善彈琴，請而來聽之，良久乃罷，能寢聞雞鳴”。

⁵⁰ Heo Gyun 許筠, *Yiyouxixingji* 己酉西行紀 *Travel Essays of a Journey to China in the Yiyou Year*. In Im Kijung, *Yonhaengnok chŏnjip* Vol. 13 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p. 239. “初七日，熊使至鎮江，兩行率諸宦，行郊外迎敕禮。回入城，士女觀者溢郭。汝仁在余左，見道上女業中，府娼悉在，羅跪以見。汝仁數之，曾來余房者，几十二人。余作詩自嘲，落句曰：十二金釵南陌上，一時回首笑春風”。

rather than a friend of Lee, is well documented. According to the *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty* 李朝實錄, Ryu went to China as the official record keeper (*shuzhuangguan* 書狀官) of the diplomatic corps led by Lee Jung-goo in 1620 to repair the relationship between Joseon and Ming China, which had suffered alienation through the misinformation that Joseon had surrendered to Nurhaci.⁵¹

The first courtesan mentioned in Lee Jung-goo's accounts was a woman named Shen Sheng 申生 from Dingzhou 定州, who had previously been involved in a relationship with Shou'er but was later abandoned by him. She came and cried about it to Li. "She performed a woeful song, which I thought was excellent. I sent it to Shou'er to comfort her. 'All my sorrow can be expressed by playing this *qin*. Who can explain a man's sudden cold change of heart?'"⁵² The second courtesan mentioned was "a woman named Feng Biyu 馮碧玉, who had a pretty and delicate appearance. One day, Biyu brought out a toast during a banquet. Shou'er was quite attracted to her. I saw that and made a poem to tease him: 'Shou'er was so romantic and was drunk among all the beauties.'" Following this entry is an inscription on Feng Biyu's fan by Lee Jung-goo: "Biyu stopped drinking, smiled and looked around with her bright eyes."⁵³ These accounts demonstrate Ryu's wide and close association with courtesans.⁵⁴ In addition, these two stories also reveal Lee's intimate relationship with the two women. When the desperate courtesan lost Ryu's love, she came to Lee for help. From the second case, we can see that Feng

⁵¹ Zhang Dexin 張德信, "Before and after Joseon envoys came to Beijing – based on Lee Jung-goo's *Genshen chaotianlu* 朝鮮辯誣陳奏上使赴明前後——以李廷龜<庚申朝天錄>為中心," *Dalian University Journal* 大連大學學報 2007(2), p. 13.

⁵² Lee Jung-goo 李廷龜, *Genshen chaotianlu* 庚申朝天錄 *Travel Essays of a Journey to China in the Genshen Year*. In Im Kijung, *Yonhaengnok chŏnjip* Vol. 11 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p. 163. "定州妓申生, 柳守而之舊畜也。今來, 守而不招見, 來訴于我。彈琴作怨曲, 戲作一絕, 送守而解之。千般哀怨一張琴, 誰解郎君鐵石心。倘許黃金買詞賦, 不須彈作白頭吟".

⁵³ Lee Jung-goo 李廷龜, *Genshen chaotianlu* 庚申朝天錄 *Travel Essays of a Journey to China in the Genshen Year*. In Im Kijung, *Yonhaengnok chŏnjip* Vol. 11 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p. 182. "有馮碧玉者眉目妍秀。是日, 席上勸酒, 守而頗愛之, 戲而賦之: 分司御史太風情, 紅粉業中醉眼明。向使碧郎長勸酒, 未應煩喚紫雲名。<碧郎求詩題扇> 停下杯淺笑轉星眸, 風韻還同女伴遊。堪笑東韓月沙老, 題詩留作錦纏頭".

⁵⁴ We cannot tell whether Shen Sheng and Feng Biyu were private courtesans or official courtesans.

Biyu and Lee were close enough for the latter to compose an inscription on the former's fan.

2.4 Talented and Educated Women

Korean female poets were notable among Chinese literati. Their works were included in poetry collections in the category of “talented female poets” or “Korean poets.” There are four poems included in *Mingshizong* 明詩綜 *Collection of Ming Poems*: one piece by a Ms. Cheng, one piece by Yu Ruzhou's 俞汝舟 wife, two by Zhao Ai's 趙璦 concubine Ms. Li, and five by Heo Nanseolheon 許蘭雪軒.⁵⁵ Five poems were included in the *Collection of Poems of All Dynasties* (列朝詩集 *Liechao shiji*): eleven pieces by Ms. Li, three pieces by Ms. Cheng, nineteen pieces by Heo Nanseolheon, and one piece by Ms. De.⁵⁶ Among them, Heo Nanseolheon 許蘭雪軒 (1563-1589), who came from a prominent family,⁵⁷ was the most influential one. She enjoyed high popularity and acclaimed reputation among both male and female Chinese readers. The number of her poems collected in the *Liechao shiji* surpassed not only those by Korean female poets, but also her male peers. She even ranked second most prolific writer among all Korean poets in the *Mingshizong*. According to the records of Heo Nanseolheon's 許蘭雪軒 younger brother Heo Gyun 許筠, when he traveled to China, several Han literati asked him for Nanseolheon's anthology: “Mr. Xu told me (Heo Gyun): ‘Sir Liu wants to read Nanseolheon's anthology, I would like to have my own copy as well, if possible.’ At that time, I only got one copy with me. So I let Mr. Xu bring it to Sir Liu. As for the one Mr. Xu requested, I promised to send it to him when I would return to Beijing. Tian Yang 田

⁵⁵ Work by Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊. It includes more than 3400 poets' works from the Ming dynasty. Among them are 132 poems by 91 Joseon poets.

⁵⁶ Work by Qin Qianyi 錢謙益. It includes more than 1600 poets' works from the Ming dynasty. Among them are 170 poems by 42 Joseon poets.

⁵⁷ Nanseolheon's father Heo Yeop was an influential scholar. Both of her brothers were envoys sent to China.

楊 once asked me for my sister's anthology too. We also scheduled a meeting in Beijing.”⁵⁸

Liu Rushi, a renowned Chinese poetess, once commented that Heo Nanseolheon's works were “graceful and elegant; popular and widespread.”⁵⁹ Liu with her experience as a courtesan and later as the concubine of Qian Qianyi was not a typical educated Chinese woman. Though it may not seem reliable evidence to support the conclusion that Heo Nanseolheon's works were popular among educated Chinese women, the accessibility and popularity of her works among educated Chinese women is documented. Heo Nanseolheon as a gentry poetess enjoyed a high reputation within Korea and even attracted admiration in China.

Another case I would like to show here is the talented courtesan and poet, Yin Qing 尹晴:

“Qing was a courtesan in Longwan 龍灣. Yin was her surname. I stayed in Longwan for about ten years total. (Thus) the number of courtesans I got acquainted with during banquets is way more than one or two. But Qing was distinct from others. She only came for Wufeng. As emissaries, we were stranded there for a long time, feeling bored and lonely. Qing often came to chat with us in the daytime and was always made to laugh or cry by Wufeng. However, this did not last long. Qing suddenly did not come any more for no obvious reason. One day Wufeng sent me a letter from Xuancheng. (After reading the letter) I knew that Qing and Wufeng had been in love with each

⁵⁸ Heo Gyun 許筠, *Dingyou chaotianlu* 丁酉朝天錄 *Travel Essays of a Journey to China in the Dingyou Year*. In Im Kijung, *Yonhaengnok chŏnjip* Vol. 13 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p. 244. “徐相公曰：蘭雪詩集，劉公亦欲得之，俺亦請一件也。余只餘一卷出給之，令致于使。其一件該給徐者，約於京。田楊亦請之，俱以京為期”。

⁵⁹ 柳如是曰：“許妹氏詩散華落藻，膾炙人心，……然吾觀其游仙曲“不過邀取小茅君，便是人間一万年”曹唐之詞也，楊柳枝詞“不解迎人解送人”裴說之詞也，……豈中華篇什流傳鷄林，彼中以為瑯函秘冊，非人世所經見，遂欲掩而有之耶？此邦文士搜奇獵異，陡見出于外夷女子，驚喜贊嘆，不復核其從來，……承夫子之命讎校香奩諸什，偶有管窺輒加槩記，今所撰錄亦據朝鮮詩選，存其什之二三，其中字句窺竊，觸類而求之，固未可悉數也。觀者詳之而已。It has been shown that the plagiarized pieces pointed out by Liu Rushi were not written by Xu, thus only the first sentence is adopted here.

other. Several days later, I received Qing's poetry anthology. I read her comments and sang her poems. (I felt that) Qing had been in love with Wufeng for a long time, while Wufeng also missed Qing a lot... Wufeng and I are as close as brothers, while Qing was a sweet companion in the old days, how can I not write anything for Qing's work now? Therefore, I write these two lines.

Maybe one day Wufeng and I can drink together and have Qing sing them.”⁶⁰

This passage is an inscription Lee Jung-goo wrote for Yin Qing's anthology. It is found in Lee's *Dongchalu*, which is also included in *Yŏnhaengnok chŏnjip*. Because it is presented in the *Yŏnhaengnok chŏnjip*, readers at first glance may assume it tells a story about the affair between a Joseon envoy and a Chinese courtesan. However, as mentioned in the beginning, the *Yŏnhaengnok chŏnjip* contains some China-related but non-diplomatic works, whose contents are far broader than trips to China. The *Dongchalu* is one of them. Even though its author was an experienced envoy who visited China four times, the main characters in this piece in fact are all Joseon Koreans and the story took place in Korea as well. That is why it is of great importance to make a clear distinction between *Yŏnhaengnok* in as travel records of journeys to China and as general travel records that also contain encounters within Korea. The reason of the text appearing in the *Dongchalu* is probably that Lee and Wufeng⁶¹ were friends and both had been to China as envoys or had stayed in Longwan for a long time due to their responsibilities as envoys, which provided them the opportunity to know Yin Qing. There were other

⁶⁰ Lee Jung-goo 李廷龜, *Dongchaji* 東槎記 *Records of Sailing on a Eastern Boat*. In Im Kijung, *Yŏnhaengnok chŏnjip* Vol. 13 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p.239. ”晴，龍灣娼，尹其姓也。余客于龍灣前後十年，酒席花筵知名識面者蓋非一二，而晴娘獨以五峯故來……詔使久滯于茲，客館孤寂，晴常趁日來話，話間啼笑皆五峯也。居無何，晴忽不來。一日，峯翁在宣城以書抵余，知晴已作峯前雲雨也。又未幾，晴之詩卷至矣。讀其文，詠其詩。晴之守情于峯蓋久矣，而峯之戀舊于晴亦勤矣……況吾與峯翁為兄弟，而晴娘又是舊伴，烏可無一言於茲卷耶。遂為詞二闕，他日與峯翁對酒俾晴歌之”。

⁶¹ Wufeng is the pen name of Li Haomin, who traveled to China as an envoy in the year 37 of the Wanli reign (1609). He also wrote a volume of *Yŏnhaengnok*, which is collected in the vol.8 of *Yŏnhaengnok chŏnjip*. 《五峯集》Vol. 1, p. 331: <題尹晴詩卷>: 迎春堂上中宵月。驚怪荷花落枕邊。此是新晴好消息。秋波激灑玉屏前。丁酉冬間僮繡衣。朔風雖苦敢來遲。東門月下重相見。悲喜參差上翠眉。可憐戊戌中秋夕。獨夜江城月滿臺。驚起三更笙鶴韻。花顏如夢洞房來。燕山庚子憶回程。晴自瀛來逆我行。悵悵龍淵舟上見。雲垂玉筍不言情。十一年中夢不明。幾回相別幾回迎。到得銀河清淺日。人間涕淚始應晴。

Joseon envoys' comments on Yin Qing and her book that showing their appreciation for her talents. For instance, Yin Qing's anthology was cherished by Heo Gyun as precious as a "priceless jade protected by Lin Xiangru," we read: "I always read and play poems from Yin Qing's anthology. When I do that, I feel as if meeting with my old friends... I was like Lin Xiangru holding the priceless jade, threatening to kill himself and breaking the jade..."⁶²

Besides these examples of Joseon envoys' appreciation of talented Korean women, Ji Wenlan, who was discussed earlier, can also serve to show Joseon envoys' appreciation of talented Chinese women. Ji's long survival in Korean literati's memories and literary works is not only because she was the lucky one who left a poem on a wall, which enabled Koreans to know her, but also results from her educated background and the talents displayed by her beautiful but wistful poem. We may further speculate that conversations between Chinese and Korean literati sometimes involved women's writings. Talented Chinese female poets and their works were possible topics of Korean envoys' conversations with Chinese literati. Pak Ji-won 樸趾源 once criticized Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 and listed the fate of Liu Rushi as one of his reasons: "Qian ended up with an awful reputation, and could never get rid of the predicate 'extravagant'... He should feel guilt towards his wife, Liu Rushi. After Qian's death, Hedong (Liu) was left behind alone at a young age. Evil young men in Qian's family envied Liu, and tried to insult her. Liu could not stand it, and killed herself."⁶³ This record indicates that Liu was talked about in conversations that centered on Qian Qianyi. When Yi Deokmu 李德懋 commented on the unfair comments about Heo Nanseolheon, he stated: "Nanseol was harshly criticized by Liu Rushi, who was encouraged by Qian Qianyi. It is truly a sad

⁶² Heo Gyun 許筠, *Xingsuofubaogao* 惺所覆韻藁 *Record of Xingsufu* Vol. 20, p. 21. "尹晴詩卷，故在展玩之，如見故人。欲註而還諸左右，渠守之，如蘭生(蘭相如)奉璧，誓以頭碎，方睨柱而立，奈何".

⁶³ Pak Ji-won 樸趾源, *Rehe riji* 熱河日記 *Rehe Diary*, 燕巖集 *Yanyanji* Vol. 15, p. 322b. "其名節掃地。終不免浪子之號.....中愧其妻河東君柳如是。受之既老死。河東君尚少。諸惡少嫉受之。欲污柳。柳自殺".

ending for her.”⁶⁴ This record indicates that not only Korean but also Chinese women’s writings were included in the conversation. It is possible that further comparisons between these two groups had been included in other written records.

⁶⁴ Fuma Susumu 夫馬進, *Chaoxian qishu – guanyu hongdarong ganjingtong huiyoulu he ganjingbitan zhi ruoganwenti* 朝鮮奇書——關於洪大容<乾淨衎會友錄>、<乾淨筆譚>之若干問題 *An amazing book from Joseon – A few questions about Hong Tae-yong’s Ganjingtong huiyoulu and Ganjingbitan, Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu tongxun* 中國文哲研究通訊, 2013, p. 125. “其诗为钱受之柳如是指摘瑕类，无所不至，亦薄命也”。

CHAPTER III

JOSEON BETWEEN SINOPHILIA AND SINOPHOBIA

Korea wavered between Sinophilia and Sinophobia during the dynastic transition from the Ming to the Qing. The Joseon Koreans' perception of China was complex and inconsistent. Before the late Ming, even though Joseon Korea had been established based on the political and ideological model of the Ming, Koreans had a clear understanding of the difference between the idealized China presented in literature and its reality.

However, Hideyoshi's invasion of Joseon Korea and the vital role the Ming played in driving the Japanese out of the Korean peninsula blurred the gap between the idealized and more realistic concepts of China, rendering the Ming as an irreplaceable and unsurpassable model.

The image of Ming China as an ideal model did not last long due to the downfall of the Ming, but the attachment to the concept of "Chonchu Samyong" (Revering the Zhou, Longing for the Ming) continued to be promoted by the Joseon court and Korean Confucian scholars. It was so prevalent and enduring that it was even present when the Qing dynasty ruled China. Even though the Qing defeated the Ming and conquered China, they were considered barbarians, and their rule was thought of as only a temporary control. As such, the idealized China was no identical with the geographical location but instead was represented by the Joseon dynasty in Korea, which regarded itself as the legitimate successor and protector of Han civilization. It was not until the High Qing era that the Joseon changed its perception of the Qing from barbarians to civilized people. Nevertheless, the Qing never successfully became the legitimate representatives of Chinese culture in the eyes of the Joseon Koreans; instead, the Confucian Silhak School rose in Joseon during the High Qing era, proposing a renewed, more Korea-centered

worldview. This chapter explores how the Korean attitude towards Ming China changed over time and the factors that contributed to those changes.

3.1 In Favor of Restoring Trust in China

The Joseon perception of China wavered from Sinophilia to Sinophobia several times between the sixteenth century and the eighteenth century. The Korean attitude towards Ming China was most of the time positive and the dominant emotion for the Ming had been admiration and gratitude. This changed as time went on and became more complex.

This complexity was explained by envoy Hong Tae-yong 洪大容 during a noteworthy conversation with a Chinese literatus during his trip to Qing China. Surprised that his Chinese fellows had little knowledge about Ming China's support for the restoration of the Joseon dynasty, he thus explained it to them and recorded this conversation in his *Ganjeongdong Written Conversations* (乾淨衙筆談 *Ganjeongdongpidam*): "During the Wanli years, Japan invaded Joseon, sweeping across the whole Korean peninsula. The Wanli Emperor of the Ming ordered his soldiers to fight the Japanese and exhaust the Ming Empire's wealth in a seven-year war against the barbaric intruders, driving them out of our land. Since then, people have been leading a merry life on this abundant land for hundreds of years. It was the gift and the blessing of the Wanli Emperor. The turmoil during the latest years of the Wanli reign was very possibly caused by this war. Therefore, we believe that our state is the one that should be blamed for the downfall of the Ming and should have been mourning the loss of the Ming, even until today."⁶⁵ Hong gave Ming China credit for protecting the Joseon dynasty

⁶⁵ Hong, Tae-yong 洪大容, *Ganjingtong Bitan* 乾淨衙筆談 *Ganjingtong Written Conversations*. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2010, p. 40. "余曰：“我國於前明有再造之恩，兄輩曾聞之否？”皆曰：“何故？”余曰：“萬曆年間，倭賊大入東國，八道糜爛。神宗皇帝動天下之兵，費天下之財，七年然後定；到今二百年，生民之樂利，皆神皇之賜也。且末年流賊之變，未必不由於此，故我國以為由我而亡，沒世哀慕，至於今不已。”

against Hideyoshi's ambitious invasion and blamed Joseon for the fall of the Ming. Nevertheless, many Chinese under Qing rule apparently failed to grasp the significance of Ming China's assistance to Joseon Korea and thus had a hard time understanding their Korean fellows' deep gratitude toward the fallen Ming.

Envoy Pak Ji-won 樸趾源 also once expressed feelings similar to Hong in his travel journal. He wrote: "Japan once invaded our land and destroyed the country. Thanks to the Chinese forces and the silver that the Wanli Emperor sent to Joseon, our three capitals were restored; our land was back under our control; our lost country survived; our people were spared from barbaric dress customs. It was a remarkable favor the Ming did for us and on which our whole country relied." ⁶⁶

This "favor of restoration" was not a random phrase that dropped from Hong's and Pak's pens; it was commonly mentioned in Joseon literati works, especially in the travel essays about their tributary trips to Ming China. Many Korean literati claimed that their country's life or death depended on the Ming and even referred to the relationship between the Joseon and the Ming as one like between child and parent. ⁶⁷

However, this gratitude for the Ming's assistance did not ensure a blind admiration. Even though he was a Ming loyalist, Hong Tae-yong still held a critical view of Ming China. During the same conversation in which he praised Ming China's remarkable role in the restoration of the Joseon dynasty, Hong did not hesitate to point out the political mistakes made by Ming China and directly attributed the downfall of the Ming dynasty to their eunuchs' massive corruption. ⁶⁸ As Hong pointed out, the later phase of the Ming suffered under the shadow of issues related to failed economic

⁶⁶ Pak Ji-won 樸趾源, *Rehe Diary* 熱河日記 *Rehe Riji* Vol. 3, Shanghai: Shanghai shudian 上海書店, 1997, p. 187. "昔倭人覆我疆域, 我神宗皇帝提天下之師東援之, 竭帑銀以供師旅, 復我三都, 還我八路, 我祖宗無國而有國, 我百姓得免雕題卉服之俗, 恩在肌髓, 萬事永賴, 皆吾上國之恩也。"

⁶⁷ Kim Sang-hon 金尚憲, *Chaotianlu* 朝天錄 *Travel Essays of a Journey to China*. In Im Kijung, *Yonhaengnok chŏnjip* Vol. 13 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), pp. 331-338: "皇朝視小邦如子, 小邦事皇朝如父母", "神宗皇帝降敕嘉獎, 竟發大兵掃蕩倭氛, 再造屬國。"

⁶⁸ Hong, Tae-yong 洪大容, *Ganjingtong Bitan* 乾淨衙筆談 *Ganjingtong Written Conversations*. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuabanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2010, p. 40. "前朝末年太監用事, 流賊闖發。煤山殉社, 天寶為之, 謂之何哉?"

measures related to the influence of the eunuchs, which impacted the relationship between the Ming and Korea. Unlike Korean envoys to Ming China, Ming envoys to Joseon Korea consisted mainly of eunuchs. They were sometimes overbearing and offensive and caused problems for the Sino-Korean relations. Records about the inappropriate behavior of the eunuchs can be found in the official documents of the Joseon dynasty. Ming eunuch Shen Kuisheng visited Korea in 1398. “Sheng repeatedly insulted his Korean hosts, alternately demanding and refusing hospitality, refusing to speak Korean, and humiliating senior officials. At one point, he even got drunk and brandished a knife at a dinner in the presence of the king.”⁶⁹ In another example, Eunuch Haishou 海壽, who was also the first envoy Ming China dispatched to Korea, had been sent to Korea by the Ming in 1409. He and his entourage spent only 13 days travelling across the Yalu River, which was half of the time a tribute mission normally took. When they arrived at Yizhou, Haishou was furious for no apparent reason and did not stop venting until local Korean officials were punished with the whip. When asked about the reason why the delegation had rushed to Joseon in such a hurry, the eunuch could not give an explanation. When the Joseon King heard about this incident, he responded: “I have served the emperor of Ming China respectfully with my heart and soul. Although the eunuch envoy sent by the Ming behaved rudely and inappropriately, I did not dare to criticize it.”⁷⁰ Others also commented on the poor behavior of the eunuchs: “The Ming eunuch Huang Yen who visited Korea six times between 1403 and 1411, came to be thoroughly disliked for his overbearing manner and the way he raided temples for Buddhist artifacts in the name of the emperor. Huang Yen was also notorious as a collector of young girls for the imperial harem.”⁷¹ There is no doubt that the Joseon court

⁶⁹ Donald Clark, *The Cambridge History of China, Ming Dynasty, Part 2*, Chapter 5. (London: Cambridge Press, 1998), p. 283.

⁷⁰ *Jeson Wangjo Sillok* Vol. 18. (Seoul: Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, 1973), p. 517. “內使海壽以十三日渡鴨綠江，至義州，無故發怒，褫牧使樸矩衣，縛判官吳傅，欲笞之而止。其行甚速，竟不言其所以來之故。”上曰：“予恭侍天子，只殫一心。奉使中官，雖甚不肖，予不敢言者，豈為中官哉！”，“天子不遣朝官，乃命宦寺，其來也，或貪或暴，恣行無禮。”

⁷¹ Donald Clark, *The Cambridge History of China, Ming Dynasty, Part 2*, Chapter 5. (London: Cambridge Press, 1998),

held a grudge against the Ming for sending eunuchs rather than officials as diplomatic representatives. What was worse is that the eunuchs acted like barbaric people and were always considered as the opposite of what it meant to be Han Chinese.

Ming China's choice of diplomatic personnel, together with the unacceptable behavior of the eunuch envoys, made the Sino-Korean tributary relations awkward. Moreover, the regime's selections also had a considerable negative impact on the Joseon perception of China and drew a solid line between the concept of an ideal China and the Ming as its representatives. The Joseon envoys who went on tributary trips to Ming China before the sixteenth century contributed to this negative image even more when recording their observations of the "real China."

More criticism of Ming China existed in the *Yonhaengnok* texts, attacking the Ming government's heavy taxation and rigid conscription practice, especially before Hideyoshi's invasion of Joseon Korea (1592-1598) and Joseon intellectuals began to idolize Ming China and repeatedly expressed their gratitude for the Ming's protection of their country from the Japanese invasion. The Korean envoy Heo Bong 許筭 was once astonished by the Ming's heavy land taxation and the labor conscription which he observed on his tributary trip in 1574.⁷² According to his record, the land tax was calculated by every one hundred *mu* 畝⁷³. In abundant years, seven or eight *taels* 兩⁷⁴ of silver had to be paid for the tax; in years with a bad harvest, two or three *taels* of silver still needed to be paid. However, the yield of a hundred *mu* could not even meet the tax requirement of the local governors, and as a result, the land tax exhausted and irritated both commoners and local officials. In addition to the heavy land taxation, there were many different types of labor conscription that burdened the Ming commoners. People

p. 284.

⁷² Heo Bong 許筭, *Heguchaotianji* 荷谷朝天記. In Im Kijung, *Yonhaengnok chônjip* Vol. 7 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p. 70. "一頃為百畝，凡耕一頃者，歲中最豐則納銀七八兩，不稔則二三兩。此外又有雜役，色目繁多，貧者至典子賣女以償之。……，一頃之出，不足應縣官之所需，故民胥怨咨焉。"

⁷³ 1 *mu* = 666.667 square meters

⁷⁴ 1 *tael* = 50 grams

living in poverty had no choice but to pledge their sons for labor service or sell their daughters. However, the *Yŏnhaengnok* written after the Japanese invasion were filled with compliments of the Ming by various Korean envoys.

Although the *Yŏnhaengnok* written after the Japanese invasion and before the downfall of the Ming were full of admiration and appreciations, it is vital to understand that these accounts by no means reflect all observations made by Korean envoys. As Susumu Fuma suggests, Korean envoys kept separate travel journals. In their personal accounts, they portrayed a more accurate picture of their observations, while in the official accounts for the king, they tended to embellish the Ming in order to consolidate the ideological foundation of the Joseon dynasty that was largely derived from the Ming model. Even though personal accounts of Korean envoys are not examined in this thesis, the difference of personal journals and official reports of tribute missions should be understood.

Korean's changing attitude towards the Ming indicates that Ming China's decision to help Korea fight the Japanese invasion marked a critical point in the development of Sino-Korean relations with the Ming Dynasty. The support of the Wanli Emperor was long remembered by the Joseon. Because of Korean envoys' personal experience and observations during their tributary trips to the Ming as well as the negative reputation of Ming eunuchs, it was not until the Ming rescued Korea from the national crisis caused by Hidetoshi's invasion that the idealization of China became identified with the Ming. This reverence for the Ming helps to identify the root of the concept "Revering the Zhou, Longing for the Ming."

3.2 Neo-Confucianism and the Concept of "Revering the Zhou, Longing for the Ming"

After the Qing conquered the Ming dynasty, in Korea the concept of "Revering the Zhou, Longing for the Ming" and Neo-Confucianism became widely accepted.

Chonchu Samyong 尊周思明 literally means “Revering the Zhou and longing for the Ming.” This concept emerged during the dynastic transition from the Ming to the Qing, and the distinctive change in Korea’s attitude towards the Ming and Qing contributed to the rise of this concept. As a loyal admirer of Chinese civilization and a major partner in the Chinese tributary system, Joseon Korea considered the Ming as its model and was voluntarily diplomatically and ideologically submissive. As for the establishment of the Qing as China’s rulers, Joseon Koreans considered them as uncivilized and saw the Qing state as ruled by despicable northern barbarians. The reason for the preference of the Ming was that the Joseon had been under the influence of Confucianism for a long time and embraced the Sinocentric world order, called the “*hua-yi*” world order. “*Hua*” here stands for Han China and Han Chinese culture, while “*yi*” includes any non-Han territory and its respective civilization. The Manchus were thought of as part of “*yi*,” and therefore Joseon had an immediate distaste for them and denied their political legitimacy.

The concept of “Revering the Zhou, Longing for the Ming” was demonstrated in various aspects of Joseon society. Confucian temples and altars were built by the court, and the Ming loyalists used them as places to express their reverence and admiration for the Ming. Despite the fact that the Qing reign era names were used in official documents, Ming titles such as ‘Chongzhen’ were still commonly used in non-diplomatic works and conversations. Moreover, Joseon literati were mostly Confucian scholars and served both as symbols of and vehicles for ideological change. Books about the history of the Ming dynasty and the Joseon kingdom’s relationship with Ming China were compiled and published by Confucian literati to express their gratitude toward the Ming. Ideas expressed in these volumes were later assembled and used to legitimize Joseon Korea’s protection and carrying on of Han Chinese culture. This led to Joseon naming itself “little China” (So Chunghwa 小中華) in order to distinguish themselves from the Manchu-Qing rulers, whom Korea did not accept as a legitimate part of Chinese civilization.

The preface of the *Rehe Dairy* (熱河日記 *Rihe riji*) reveals the gentry's perception of the Joseon position during the downfall of the Ming and the Qing conquest. The author Pak Ji-won 樸趾源 considered the Yalu River, which now forms the border between North Korea and China, as not only a geographic boundary but also the physical boundary between *hua* and *yi*, a world order defined by the adoption of Confucianism. As far as Pak was concerned, Joseon was the only land within East Asia that inherited Han culture and subscribed to the Confucian order. Even though Joseon Korea was too weak to resist the Qing and drive them out of the mainland, it continued to revere the Ming order and to preserve the Ming spirit.⁷⁵ The emotions related to “Revering the Zhou, Longing for the Ming” were not limited to the court and the ruling class but were prevalent among the common people. When the Manchu leader Abahai invaded Joseon in 1636, forcing it to surrender to the Qing, commoners felt like Ming traitors and sighed over their court's inability to avoid this disaster. In grief and disappointment, some people refused to use the official calendar imposed by the Qing, while others read and wrote poetry to express their admiration and longing for Ming China. Yet, others committed suicide right after hearing the news about the Joseon surrender to the Qing, which they saw as a loss of Confucian values. This behavior of Joseon literati and general commoners can be seen as evidence that Ming loyalism and the concept of “Revering the Zhou, Longing for the Ming” was countrywide, powerful, and prevalent. The concept was officially adopted by the Joseon court and applied in Korean daily life. This countrywide phenomenon can be explained through a careful examination of the political and historical foundation of the Joseon kingdom.

Joseon Korea's concept of “Revering the Zhou, Longing for the Ming” reflects its historical roots. Under the Chinese tributary system, Confucianism and other Chinese

⁷⁵ Pak Ji-won 樸趾源, *Rehe Riji* 熱河日記 *Rehe Dairy* Vol. 1, Shanghai: Shanghai shudian 上海書店, 1997, p. 1. “江以外清人也，天下皆奉清正朔，故不敢稱崇禎也。……清人入主中國，而先王之制度變而為胡。環東土數千里畫江而為國，獨守先王之制度，是明明室猶存于鴨水之東也。雖力不足以攘除夷狄，肅清中原，以光復先王之舊，然皆能尊崇禎以存中國也。”

concepts were adopted by East Asian states under the influence of China, especially Korea and Japan. Impressed by the prosperity of China and driven by admiration for Chinese civilization, Joseon Korea followed Ming China's political and ideological model. While Buddhism was discouraged, neo-Confucian values and doctrines were encouraged in subtle and overt ways and the philosophy was adopted as the state ideology. Confucian ideology factually transformed the Joseon regime into a Confucian state; Confucian scholars, especially those who served as officials, became extremely influential at court, indicating the rise of the class of *sarim* 士林, Confucian scholars. Critical suggestions for the reinterpretation of the Yuan and Ming Confucianism and adaptations of new philosophical trends based in the specific context of Korean society were promoted in scholars' public talks and personal anthologies. These contributions were continuously made by officials to perfect the application of Neo-Confucian theories to Joseon society, even after the downfall of the Ming dynasty.

Joseon embracement of the Confucian world order in Asia and reverence for Ming China brought both states into conflict with the Qing, even beyond the issues surrounding military supremacy. In the eyes of Joseon, it was the Manchu who had destroyed the Confucian world order. The concept of "Revering the Zhou, Longing for the Ming" was influential and enduring in Korea because the Ming were lost, and the Qing were not entitled to represent authentic Han culture and civilization. The downfall of the Ming broke the ideological connection between China and Joseon Korea. This development destabilized Korea, panic extended from the court to the commoners, and Sinophilia changed to Sinophobia. In order to overcome this crisis, the Joseon court and Confucian scholars built up a perfect and inviolable image of Ming China and even encouraged Joseon to label itself as "little China." However, even though the Joseon submitted to the Qing politically and diplomatically, envoys recorded disparaging observations of the Qing, and Joseon literati belittled the Qing as a barbaric court.

3.3 Joseon as Protector of Han Civilization

The “*hua-yi*” worldview of Joseon and the threats from the Manchu invasion of the Korean peninsula eliminated the long-standing admiration for China. It was replaced by a strong feeling of Sinophobia in Joseon, especially among intellectuals. Because China under Manchu control was no longer considered the center of Han civilization, the image of China was again separated from its reality, and Joseon made itself into the protector of Han civilization. Having built their state on the political and ideological model of the Ming, Joseon scholars and officials had no doubts about the legitimacy of their claim to represent Han civilization and the moral order of the Zhou court of ancient China.

Joseon Korea always considered the Manchu as barbaric and inferior. Their different life-style and their steppe origin made the Manchu inferior to Joseon in the eyes of Joseon scholars and excluded the Manchu from being authentic players in Chinese civilization. According to a private Korean account, Manchu settlers who lived on the Joseon border sent tributary goods to the Joseon court every winter. Even though what their gifts to the Korean king were only small pieces of mink fur, the Joseon court still sent cotton clothes in return,⁷⁶ which added to the perception of Manchus being inferior suppliers of tribute goods.

Even after their submission to the Manchus, the Joseon attitude towards them did not change. When Hong Taiji became the emperor of China in 1636, the Joseon king did not send envoys to the Manchu court and refused to meet the Manchu envoys sent by Hong Taiji. This decision brought thousands of Manchu soldiers to Joseon, forcing them to recognize the legitimacy of Hong Taiji as the Emperor of China. Nevertheless, even after this crisis, complaints were made by envoys sent by Nurhaci about being treated

⁷⁶ Sun, Weiguo 孫衛國. *Daming Qihao yu Xiaozhonghua Yishi – Chaoxian Wangchao Zunzhousiming Wenti Yanjiu (1637-1800)* 大明旗號與小中華意識—朝鮮王朝尊周思明問題研究(1637-1800) “Great Ming” and “Little China” – Studies of Joseon Period Trend of Revering the Zhou and Longing for the Ming(1637-1800). (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2007), p. 88

with a lack of respect in Joseon. One Manchu envoy accused: “When Korean envoys came to us from the south, our court sent them precious goods in return; when we went to Joseon, they treated just like servants.”⁷⁷ After signing the treaty of alliance between the Manchu and Joseon in 1637, Manchu soldiers did not leave immediately but brutally swept through the Korean Peninsula for more than two months. Many Koreans were kidnapped and sold in Shenyang 沈陽. The relatives of the kidnapped, who followed the captives to Shenyang and tried to redeem their family members, were publically humiliated. Those painful memories, together with the sudden reversal of the tributary relationship between the Manchu and Joseon, bred large resentments against the Manchu and the determination to take revenge and restore Chinese civilization.

Efforts to protect Han Chinese civilization and carry on the Ming legacy went so far as to include a northern conquest campaign (北伐 *pukpol*), during King Hyojong 孝宗 reign (1649-1659) to force out the Manchu regime and restore Chinese civilization. The campaign did not come to fruition, This resentment against the Qing, which emerged long before King Hyojong came to the throne, is revealed in his poems composed during his stay in Shenyang as a captive.⁷⁸ For Korean literati, memories of King Hyojong’s northern conquest remained emotionally stirring throughout the century. The compilation of the *Collection of Revering the Zhou* (尊周彙編 *Zunzhou huibian*) in 1796 included a story about planning the northern conquest. One of the compilers even explicitly expressed his regrets for the Qing conquest and Joseon’s inability to be officially named and recognized as the legitimate successor of Han China.

The aggressive attitude towards the Qing is also reflected in Korean envoys’ conversations with Chinese literati during their tributary trips to China. Korean envoys

⁷⁷ *Jeson Wangjo Sillok* Vol. 22. (Seoul: Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, 1973), p. 567

⁷⁸ Sun, Weiguo 孫衛國. *Daming Qihao yu Xiaozhonghua Yishi – Chaoxian Wangchao Zunzhousiming Wenti Yanjiu (1637-1800)* 大明旗號與小中華意識—朝鮮王朝尊周思明問題研究(1637-1800) “Great Ming” and “Little China” – Studies of Joseon Period Trend of Revering the Zhou and Longing for the Ming(1637-1800). (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2007), pp. 91-92 : “怨尤何敢及天人，自恥無謀到死濱；此日不堪燕質泣，何時重觀漢儀新。心懸鳳闕頻驚夢，齒切龍庭厭見春；為岩廊樞密地，昔年髻婦尚冠巾。……我願長驅百萬兵，秋風雄鎮九連城；指揮蹴踏天驕子，歌舞歸來白玉京。”

enjoyed asking inflammatory questions about sensitive topics. According to the envoys' travel essays clothing and hairstyles were the most common among these touchy topics. The Joseon envoy Hong Tae-yong made quite a lot of comments about Qing attire and hairstyle when talking with Chinese literati. Hong once compared the hairstyles of the Joseon Koreans and the Qing Chinese: "When I came to China, I saw the vast territory and abundant resources. Everything here is pleasant and wonderful except the depressing hairstyle. We Korean people live in a small country across the sea and have narrow minds. Although our life is sad, we are happy that we were not forced to change our hairstyle."⁷⁹ During the Qianlong reign, the Chinese scholar Pan Tingyun 潘庭筠 noticed that Hong "wore a square hat, dressed in a robe with loose sleeves." He praised Hong's outfit, and Hong responded that this "classic and elegant" clothing that Pan commended were carried down from Ming China.⁸⁰

As for commoners, Yi Deokmu 李德懋 recorded some interesting reactions: "We envoys were wearing black hats and clothes with a round collar, giving a salute near the east side of the main gate. Onlookers were pointing at us and laughing, saying: 'they look like performing a play.'⁸¹ In fact, during the first few decades of the Qing the Han Chinese did yearn for the previous dynasty and Ming clothing. In the sixth year of the Shunzhi reign (1649), Envoy Chōng T'ae-hwa 鄭太和 traveled to China and recorded that a high-ranking official named Cao burst into tears when he saw Chong's Ming-style clothes and hat. As for ordinary people, a similar reaction is noted in the observation made by Grand Prince Inpyeong 麟坪大君 李滄 on his trip to the Shanhai Pass 山海關: "People on the street saw our (envoys') clothes. Some sighed about our traditional Han

⁷⁹ Hong, Tae-yong 洪大容, *Ganjingtong Bitan* 乾淨衙筆談 *Ganjingtong Written Conversations*. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuabnshe 上海古籍出版社, 2010, p. 12 : "余入中國，地方之大，風物之盛，事事可喜，件件精好；獨剃頭之法令人抑塞。吾輩居在海望小邦，坐井觀天，其生靡樂，其事可哀，惟保存頭髮為大快樂事。"

⁸⁰ Ge Zhaoguang 葛趙光, *Daming yiguan jinhezai* 大明衣冠今何在 *Where is the Ming Attire*. Shixue yuekan 史學月刊 10(2005):p. 42. "以方冠，著廣袖常衣"，"我們衣服皆是明朝遺制".

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 44. "使者烏帽團領，行四拜于大門之稍東邊，觀者皆指點而笑，曰，場戲一樣。場戲者，演戲之人皆著古衣冠故也".

Chinese attire and even shed tears. Their emotions were so strong that they made us feel sad for their suffering.”⁸²

The Ming surrender to the Manchu was also frequently mentioned during Korean envoys' conversations with Chinese officials and scholars. One interesting observation of these talks is the Koreans' attitude towards different conversation partners. Hong Tae-yong, for example, distinguished between Chinese scholars and officials when he addressed them. When talking with Chinese scholars, Hong tended to take the initiative to ask and criticize the Chinese failure to restore the Ming and protect the Chinese tradition. When having a conversation with Chinese customs officials, Hong appeared more taciturn. The customs official claimed that the Qing assisted the Ming in settling rebellions and actually restored the Chinese civilization, an act which could be seen as similar to Yao's abdication to Shun.⁸³ Unlike conversations with Chinese scholars, this brief talk ended with Hong's reserved silence.⁸⁴ The reason behind it might be the different relationship Hong had with Chinese scholars and officials. As an envoy sent by the Joseon dynasty, he was required to fulfill his diplomatic responsibility before conducting personal interactions and was not supposed to show his admiration for the Ming nor criticize the attire and hairstyle of the Qing. As for the Chinese scholars, Hong felt closely associated with them and could talk freely about political and diplomatic implications. An additional reason for Hong's silence might be that he considered the comparison of the Ming Qing transition with the power transfer from Yao to Shun, the revered heroes of Chinese antiquity, as pure blasphemy.

⁸² Ibid., p. 42. “尚書曹姓漢人押宴，見吾冠帶，凝淚滿眶”，“市肆行人見使者著，有感於漢朝衣冠，至有垂淚，其情感甚戚，相對慘憐。”

⁸³ A ruler yields his throne to a worthier candidate. The legend of Yao's abdication to his meritorious minister Shun, and the parallel legend of Shun's abdication in favor of Yu is one of the most well known legacies of the warring states period.

⁸⁴ Hong Tae-yong 洪大容, *Yonhaengnok chŏnjip* Vol. 42 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1992), p. 207: “希問國王何姓，余對以實。希曰：‘在先有姓金、姓王，今何姓李？’余曰：‘新羅姓金，高麗姓王，本國姓李。’希曰：‘然則高麗革世而為朝鮮乎？’余曰：‘然。’希曰：‘何以革世？’余曰：‘君獨不聞湯武事乎？’希大笑曰：‘專對之才也！’因曰：‘本朝為前明滅大賊，天與人歸，無異於堯舜禪讓，貴國亦知之乎？’”

More telling of the Korean envoys' attitude is the narrative of their accounts, especially the similarity with which they portrayed their Chinese fellows' awkward silence in response to their harsh and inappropriate questions. However, Chinese literati did not always remain silent and often confronted the questioner, but those responses were not recorded by Korean envoys, especially in the travel essays that were reported directly to the Joseon king. This kind of selective record keeping revealed the Koreans envoys' intention to portray Chinese scholars under the Qing as a group of powerless and pathetic Ming loyalists. At the same time, it tied the ideal concept of the Ming even tighter to Joseon and facilitated their identification as the successor and protector of Han Chinese civilization.

3.4 The Silhak School and a New Perception of the Qing

Years after the Manchu entered the Shanhai Pass and gained control of most of China, the Qing dynasty was established, and China prospered under its regime. Meanwhile, a shift in the diplomatic policy towards Joseon occurred during this period. Korean captives in Shenyang, including Prince Sohyeon, were sent back to Korea soon after the Shunzhi Emperor entered the capital of the Ming. Tributary trips were considered the major form of interaction between the Qing and the Joseon dynasty and thus played an important role in Qing China's plan to smooth over the Qing-Korean relationship. Korean envoys used to come to China four times every year on a general tributary mission. Those four trips were combined into one in winter in consideration of the long and exhausting journey from Korea to Beijing. As for the amount of tributary goods, most categories were repeatedly reduced by half several times in order to demonstrate the Qing emperor's concern and sympathy for the burden on the Korean people. Moreover, the Qing placed strict restrictions on their envoys sent to Korea to avoid unnecessary financial burdens for the Joseon government and inappropriate

behavior by their envoys, which tainted the perception of the Qing and had the potential to cause further conflicts between the two states. In addition to these restrictions placed on envoys, the Korean envoys enjoyed a high-level reception by the Qing. They experienced the Qing court's rich largesse during their tributary missions. Moreover, a high-level of freedom was granted to the Korean envoys and members of their tributary delegation. The activities of Koreans were no longer limited to their residence; they were allowed to freely visit any place at any time as they desired, providing them with more opportunities to observe Chinese society and communicate with Chinese literati.

While the Qing was seeking a more magnanimous approach to solve the existing conflicts with the Joseon dynasty, Korean neo-Confucianism reached its pinnacle, guiding both state policies and societal norms. The Silhak School came to the stage during these circumstances. "Sil" means practical and "hak" stands for studies. The school was founded in response to disconnections between neo-Confucianism and the internal changes occurring in the Joseon state between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The emergence and development of the Silhak School marked a crucial point in the Qing-Korean relationship. Silhak proponents not only advocated a revolution to reform the rigid social structure that had formed under neo-Confucianism but also urged a redefinition of the identity of Qing China especially after the Kangxi Emperor came to power. Compared to the descriptions of Han Chinese in previous Korean records, the Qing officials were portrayed differently after Kangxi's ascension to the throne, particularly in the works of Silhak scholars. They were no longer Ming loyalists but were obedient to the Qing court and respected the legitimacy of Manchu rule. The concept of "Revering the Zhou, Longing for the Ming" was no longer popular.⁸⁵ Moreover, Silhak scholars accused the Joseon dynasty as being barbarian⁸⁶ in order to reform the *hua-yi*

⁸⁵ Pak Ji-won 樸趾源, *Rehe Riji* 熱河日記 *Rehe Diary* Vol. 4, Shanghai: Shanghai shudian 上海書店, 1997, p 217: "中州之人士, 康熙以前皆皇明之遺黎也。康熙以後即清室之臣庶也, 固將盡節本朝, 遵奉法制。若造次談論, 輸情外藩, 是固當世之亂臣賊子也。.....每歎燕趙之市未見悲歌之士。"

⁸⁶ Hong, Tae-yong 洪大容, *Ganjingtong Bitan* 乾淨衙筆談 *Ganjingtong Written Conversations*. Shanghai: Shanghai

worldview and to support an internal reform in Joseon. They argued for getting rid of the animosity towards the Qing and for taking advantage of the economic prosperity in Qing China, as well as embracing the opportunity to learn about new ideas and technologies.

A close reading of official Korean documents can help us understand why Silhak scholars' ideas gained substantial influence in Joseon. In these accounts, the Qing emperors were portrayed in a new light, indicating the changing attitude towards Qing China. Earlier official accounts described the Kangxi Emperor as "leading a luxurious and dissipated life; being addicted to hunting games."⁸⁷ As for the Qianlong and Jiaqing emperors, the narrative of later documents obviously shifted. One Korean envoy recorded the following observation of the Qianlong Emperor in his travel essays: "Although the emperor is in his seventies, he is still healthy and energetic. Every February the emperor stays in the Summer Palace; every March he climbs Mount Pan. When summer begins, the emperor visits Rehe; when it comes to the end of fall and the beginning of winter, the emperor meets the Mongolian leaders for a hunt north to the Great Wall."⁸⁸ In later records, the Jiaqing Emperor was portrayed as 'dignified and lenient'.⁸⁹

In addition to the now positive narrative, different choices of terminology also revealed the changing perception of Qing China and its emperors in Joseon. Joseon Korea adopted different titles when referring to the emperors of the Qing. The Kangxi and the Yongzheng Emperors were called "qingzhu 清主," 'leader of the Qing' or "huwang 胡皇," 'emperor of the barbarians'. Those insulting titles no longer existed after Yongzheng's reign. "Huangdi 皇帝" meaning "emperor," was respectfully used when referring to the Qianlong Emperor and Jiaqing Emperor.

guji chuabnshe 上海古籍出版社, 2010, p. 67."我東之為夷，地界然矣，亦何諱哉！素夷狄行乎夷狄，為聖為賢，固大有事，在吾何嫌乎！我東之效中國，忘其為夷已久矣。雖然比中國而方之，其分自在也。惟其沾沾自喜，局於小知者，驟聞此等語類，多排然包羞，不欲以甘心焉，則乃東俗之偏也。"

⁸⁷ *Jeson Wangjo Sillok* Vol. 14. (Seoul: Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, 1973), p. 430: "清主自從南方平定以來，驕淫日甚，以遊戲為事。"

⁸⁸ *Jeson Wangjo Sillok* Vol. 14. (Seoul: Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, 1973), p. 194. "皇帝雖在臺齡，精力康旺，每歲正月幸圓明園，三月幸盤山，初夏幸熱河。秋冬之交，會蒙古諸番王，獵于口外之地。"

⁸⁹ *Jeson Wangjo Sillok* Vol. 2. (Seoul: Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, 1973), p. 130. "姿容端重，稟性寬厚，故天下人心屬望已久之。"

The term chosen to describe the passing of Qing emperors serves as another illuminating example. The death of the Yongzheng Emperor was recorded in the *Lichao shilu* 李朝實錄 (*Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty*) using the term “*cu* 殂”, which was usually used to describe the death of a commoner, while the specific term that matched the death of an emperor was “*hong* 薨”. This subtle but meaningful difference in word choices showed the Koreans’ negative perception of the Qing emperor and the despise for the Qing beyond topics of diplomacy and political concerns. However, decades after the death of the Yongzheng Emperor, the Joseon reaction to the death of the Jiaqing Emperor interestingly provides evidence supporting my contention that Joseon eradicated their bias towards Qing China and adjusted their self-perception in the relationship with the Manchus. Unlike the apathetic response to the Yongzheng Emperor’s death, the whole country was stirred by the sad news when the Jiaqing Emperor passed away. The Joseon king and the queen even expressed their gratitude for the kindnesses they had received from the Qing and their grief for losing such a kind emperor. Considering that the Jiaqing Emperor’s achievements were always in the shadow of those of his predecessors,’ the high regard expressed by the Korean king is unexpected.

These changes can be related to the reformed worldview by the Silhak scholars. The altered *hua-yi* worldview accepted the Joseon identity as barbaric and suggested that these barbarians could be educated through the influence of Chinese civilization by importing knowledge and technologies. This reconceptualization of what it meant to be barbaric or civilized redefined the Qing as a sinicized state and advocated that Joseon should learn from the Qing. On the other hand, it proposed redefining the previous submissive relationship with Qing China and promoted a more independent worldview of Joseon.

This redefined *hua-yi* worldview of the Joseon suggested by the Silhak scholars caused controversy among literati still holding the Ming in high esteem. Nevertheless,

debates on the legitimacy of the Qing did not impact their new image but helped Joseon to embrace an alternative understanding of the Qing while taking advantage of the dynasty's changes as an example and an instrument to promote internal reform.

CHAPTER IV

INTERACTION AND UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN DURING THE SENGOKU ERA (1467- 1603)

After the analysis of China's relationship with Joseon Korea, I now want to address the relationship between China and Japan. The Sengoku period – from the Onin War in 1467 to the establishment of the Tokugawa bakufu in 1603 in Japan – was roughly the middle to the last period of the Ming dynasty in China and was important for the relations between Japan and China. Records of interactions between China and Japan can be traced back to the Han Dynasty (20-200 CE). The Chinese had long taken an interest in their neighboring islands; records and studies on Japanese history, geography, traditions and customs had been found in official historical records back to the Three Kingdoms (220-280 CE).⁹⁰ Nevertheless, these early documents were all introductory and perfunctory, and it was not until the mid-Ming that the Chinese had developed systematic studies of Japan and its people.

The publishing of the *Riben Kaolue* 日本考畧 (*Brief Research on Japan*), the first monograph on Japan, marked the Chinese's flourishing interest in Japan and its people. Various volumes such as *Riben Kao* 日本考 (*Research about Japan*) by Li Yangong 李言恭 and Hao Jie 郝傑, *Riben Tuzuan* 日本圖纂 (*Atlas of Japan*) by Zheng Ruozeng 鄭若曾, and *Riben Yilan* 日本一鑑 (*Japan at a Glance*) by Zheng Shungong 鄭舜功 were edited and printed in the mid-Ming. Among them, *Riben Yilan* 日本一鑑 in particular is significant because it was the first work based on an author's personal journey to Japan.

⁹⁰ There have been 15 monographs on Japan and the Japanese discovered in the official historical records of the successive dynasties of the Three Kingdoms.

Zheng Shungong 鄭舜功 was sent to Japan twice by the governor of Zhejiang province to conduct anti-piracy negotiations. Although appointed by an official, Zheng describes himself as a commoner and a merchant from Xin'an County in his book. This emphasis on his identity as a private citizen together with the emergence of other projects conducted by private groups suggest there was an increasing interest in Japan within Chinese society, more specifically in the coastal provinces of Zhejiang and Fujian. It indicates that China's growing interest in Japan was a phenomenon of both the high and low classes of society. Studies of China and its people by Japanese authors were mainly based on records of merchants, traveling monks, and envoys of tribute missions. Compared to China's understandings of Japan, the Japanese had a much more comprehensive understanding of China. Among the tribute mission reports, Sakugen Shūryō's two diaries titled *Shotoshū* 初渡集 (*First Tribute Mission to China*) and *Saitoshū* 再渡集 (*Second Tribute Mission to China*) are of great importance, not only because of his detailed records but also because they were written during the era of the tribute missions. This chapter will focus on examining these two renowned volumes and selected works by Ming authors in order to help construct a comprehensive picture of the Chinese-Japanese relations and their understandings of each other during the Sengoku era.

4.1 The Tally Trade System

Tally trade was the tribute trade between Muromachi Japan and Ming China that started in 1404 when Yoshimitsu was crowned as "King of Japan" by Ming Emperor Yongle and ended when the port office (*shibosi* 市舶司) in Zhejiang was shut down in 1547. This trade system operated with tallies, which were issued by the Ming court to Japanese envoys and merchants as certificates of their legality, allowing them to distinguish themselves from pirates during examination by Chinese officials and enabling

them to conduct tribute missions and commercial activities in China. Tallies issued in China had the characters “*Riben* 日本” on them and were separated into two pieces. While the Chinese officials held the half with “*ben* 本”, licensed Japanese envoys and merchants kept the “*ri* 日” half. Port officials would check all tallies before issuing a harbor entry permit for any ship.

Under the tally system, Japanese envoys sent tributary goods to the Ming court and in return were given precious gifts, which had market prices much higher than the price of the goods they offered to the Ming. Besides this official tributary exchange, Japanese merchants profited greatly from private commercial activities due to their exemption from high tariffs and the tremendous price differences. This trade system came into existence during Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu’s reign. After coming to power, Yoshimitsu sent envoys to the Ming in the years 1374 and 1380, but neither received a positive response from the Ming court. When he sent another tribute mission to the Ming in 1401, the Ming court in return sent Envoy Zhao Juren 趙居任 in 1404, who brought a hundred tallies to Japan. Regulations regarding the limitation of tribute size and a disarmament requirement were announced together with the granting of tallies and the official seal at the envoys’ arrival, which marked the beginning of the tally trade between Muromachi Japan and Ming China. However, the tally trade did not last long. After the death of Yoshimitsu, his successor Yoshimochi decided to make a shift in his father’s foreign policy. He cut down the tributary relation with the Ming and ended the tally trade in 1411. Later, in 1433, the next Shogun Yoshimori returned to Yoshimitsu’s practice and made several attempts to regain the permission for the tally trade from the Ming.

The tally trade after Yoshimori was no longer controlled by the shogun, and the competition over control of this system led to strained relations with the Chinese. Daimyo and merchants were gaining enormous power through their influence on policy making. Among them, the powerful Ouchi and Hosokawa clans competed with each other for the control of the tribute trade with the Ming. Conflicts between the Ouchi and Hosokawa

escalated day-by-day and later extended to the continent. In 1523, delegations from the Ouchi and Hosokawa clans arrived in Ningbo and fiercely fought to be the legitimate representatives of Japan, which was recorded as the “Ningbo Incident.” Japanese envoys and also quite a few Ming officials and commoners were involved in the fighting and were killed. The Ming court was shocked and offended by this turmoil. Diplomatic relations between Muromachi Japan and Ming China again became deadlocked. It was not until 1538, more than a decade after the Ningbo Incident, that Sakugen Shūryō 策彦周良(1501-1579) was sent to Ming China by the Ouchi clan as the vice envoy, signaling the continuation of diplomacy.

4.2 Sakugen’s Tribute Missions to Ming China

Japanese tribute missions to China can be traced back to the Tang dynasty. Missions and envoys were continuously sent to the Tang by Japan. Even after the downfall of the Tang, cultural interactions did not suspend but largely relied on Zen Buddhist monks who sailed to the continent. When it comes to the Ming dynasty, twenty missions were sent by Japan to China from 1401 to 1547. Each of those missions was led by a Zen Buddhist monk from one of five great temples in Kyoto.⁹¹ Zen Buddhist monks were chosen to lead tribute missions because of their knowledge of Chinese culture and their personal connections in China.

Sakugen Shūryō had previously been a prominent member and abbot of Tenryūji monastery. Sakugen thus was well educated in Zen Buddhism and the Chinese classics and thus had a good understanding of China and Chinese culture. His accomplishments helped him to be twice appointed to crucial positions in Japanese missions to Ming China. Sakugen sailed to Ming China on two separate occasions: the first time from 1538 to 1541 and the second time from 1547 to 1549. During these periods, he travelled

⁹¹ These five temples were Nanzen-ji, Tenryū-ji, Shōkoku-ji, Kennin-ji, Tōfuku-ji and Manju-ji. They were also called Kyoto Gozan.

between Ningbo and Beijing and made close observations of Chinese society. As mentioned above he later composed two diary-style books titled *Shotoshū* 初渡集 (*First Tribute Mission to China*) and *Saitoshū* 再渡集 (*Second Tribute Mission to China*), which were based on his travel experiences in China. Sakugen's detailed records included information ranging from geography and the tributary system to commercial activities and traditional customs. These records on one hand provide a foreigner's perspective of Ming society, from court rituals to daily lives of commoners and, on the other hand, help to reconstruct a picture of the Japanese envoys' understanding of Ming China.

Sailing from Japan to China was a cumbersome journey. In the first journey, Sakugen's crew arrived at a Ming island after two months of sailing. "Sailors stopped a boat and brought three Chinese fishermen to the Japanese vessels."⁹² Through written conversations, the Japanese realized "they were in Wenzhou, and it would take five to ten days to reach Ningbo."⁹³ Before arriving in Ningbo, the crew first stopped at Changguo and then Dinghai, where they were disarmed and questioned by Ming officials from Hangzhou, the capital city of Zhejiang Province. The examination process of the crew was complicated. Sakugen waited seven months in Ningbo before his crew could start their mission to the capital. The ships took the Grand Canal as their major route to Beijing. Because part of the canal was out of service, both land and waterway transports were used on their trip.

When he stayed in Changguo and Dinghai waiting for the entrance permit from the Ming officials, Sakugen briefly wrote down who he met and what he saw. In Dinghai, he observed "more than four hundreds boats sailing toward the port"⁹⁴ and "three hundreds fishing boats berthing at the wharf, which were probably boats used to sell fish in Ningbo,"⁹⁵ while in Changguo, only a few boats could be seen. This contrast reflected the

⁹² Sakugen Shūryō, *Shotoshū*, *Dai Nihon Bukkyō Zensho Vol.4*, (Tokyo: Bussho Kankokai, 1912), p. 140.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.140

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.150.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.153.

Ming strategy of turning Changguo from a prosperous port city into a military front harbor, especially since the turmoil that had been caused by a Japanese mission in Ningbo.

Both *Shotoshū* 初渡集 and *Saitoshū* 再渡集 include detailed records about how postal stations connected two courier routes together, how foreign envoys transferred between these two routes on their way to Beijing, how long they stayed in each postal station, and how much replenishment of supplies they received from the local governments. As the starting point of the Grand Canal, Hangzhou had a significant role in their tribute trip, and envoys' travel accounts were often filled with a lot of description of the city. However, according to the *Shotoshū* 初渡集, the mission crew never got the chance to enter the city. In the winter of 1539, Sakugen wrote a letter to the provincial censor complaining about not being allowed into the city, a prohibition that had not been encountered by previous missions. Later, on their way back to Ningbo from Beijing, Sakugen again was quite disappointed about the unfortunate limitations imposed by the Chinese authorities. "During our days back in Japan, we heard about the scenic beauty of Hangzhou. We remembered it and hoped to experience it in person during our mission. Now we asked for an entry permit as planned but were turned down unexpectedly."⁹⁶

Sakugen did not include an explanation for this unusual rejection, but a comparison with other primary sources suggests a reason. According to the *Hangzhouzhi* 杭州志 (*Gazetteer of Hangzhou*), everyone no matter whether commoners or officials, who was on route to Hangzhou entered the city by waterways rather than taking a route outside of the city as Sakugen's crew had done. The previous envoy's records mention the Qiantang River and the Wulin Postal Station, both in Hangzhou.⁹⁷ Also, in Sakugen's own diaries of his second mission ten years later, he wrote: "The night we arrived at the Wulin Postal

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 211.

⁹⁷ Lili Zhu 朱莉丽, *Xingguan zhongguo – riben shijie yanzhong de mingdai shehui* 行觀中國 – 日本使節眼中的明代社會 *Observing China – Ming Society through the Eyes of Japanese Envoys* (Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 2013), p. 73.

station, two local officials paid us a visit with a great number of gifts.”⁹⁸ Days later, Sakugen moved to the Wushan Postal Station and remained there until the next month. During his stay in Hangzhou, he even went sightseeing to the West Lake and the Baochu Pagoda.⁹⁹ Moreover, when Sakugen’s crew first arrived in Ningbo before going to Hangzhou, they had not been allowed to leave their residences. Sakugen wrote a note and argued:

“We have been sailing for months before arriving here. Even after we arrived, we are still constrained to the residential area just like patients [in a hospital ward]. How can we recover from the exhaustion of the long journey if we are not allowed to go sightseeing around the city?”¹⁰⁰

Based on this information, it is safe to say that the special treatment Sakugen’s crew received in Ningbo and Hangzhou can be attributed to the aftermath of the Ningbo Incident; the huge turmoil it had caused had put a strain on the Sino-Japanese relations. It was quite reasonable for the local officials to be on guard upon the arrival of the first mission after the Ningbo Incident.

Besides the restrictions of envoys’ activities and travel routes, there were more examples in Sakugen’s diaries showing the Ming officials’ vigilance of this special tribute crew. The envoys and their entourage were thoroughly examined almost every time they entered a new city. The examination processes had become much more complicated and time-consuming. Moreover, Japanese envoys’ interactions with Chinese commoners were severely restricted. Sakugen once gave a stack of papers to a worker who helped the crew carry the tribute goods; later, there was a report that the worker was caught and punished with imprisonment because he had accepted the gift.

⁹⁸ Sakugen Shūryō, *Saitoshū, Dai Nihon Bukkyō Zensho Vol.4.* (Tokyo: Bussho Kankokai, 1912), p. 350.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p.165.

4.3 Japan's Understanding of China and the Chinese

When Sakugen and his delegation continued to travel towards Beijing, transfers between land routes and waterways became more frequent. The large number of tribute goods they carried made these transfers more difficult and required additional hired labor. Sakugen's records constructed a general image of the system of postal stations, which were responsible for transferring goods and providing accommodation for envoys, in the Ming and also revealed some long-existing problems. According to *Shotoshū* 初渡集 and *Saitoshū* 再渡集, Ming postal stations were generally not large, but they were equipped with basic resources. Some even had a jail cell to keep prisoners. Staff working at postal stations consisted of lower-level officials and workers, and most of the officials were peasants who had never received systematic administrative training and had little experience in dealing with foreign mission groups. Thus, when unexpected problems occurred, they always reacted slowly and were unable to develop efficient solutions. Sakugen recorded several travel delays resulting from a lack of workers and food supply. The reasons for these shortages ranged from late arrivals due to bad weather or missing officials. One short note sent to the Japanese envoys relates what happened on their way back to Ningbo:

“Days ago, Director Zhou had asked the postal station to prepare five *sheng* 升 food for each envoy, two *sheng* 升 for each follower upon their arrival, and the same amount before their departure. But now, all staff in the postal station have disappeared, even workers can not be found. The postal station official Director Zhou they had spoken to before was also gone.”¹⁰¹

This incident sheds light on the inefficiency of both the postal and supply systems. Ming postal stations were supported and operated by local households. Peasant families were required to provide food and labor in order to keep the postal stations operating. Since the

¹⁰¹ Lili Zhu 朱莉丽, *Xingguan zhongguo – riben shijie yanzhong de mingdai shehui* 行觀中國 – 日本使節眼中的明代社會 *Observing China – Ming Society through the Eyes of Japanese Envoys* (Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 2013), p. 80.

mid-Ming, corruption had taken root in the government. Within the postal system, officials sometimes utilized workers for their personal use, which tremendously increased the burden on peasant households, forcing many workers to flee. To change this situation and also to maintain the system, the Ming government had to allow households to fulfill their labor obligation by offering money. Officials then would use the money to hire temporary workers when there was a need. Sakugen's unfavorable experience to some extent showed this change and the problems that came along with this new system. As for the supply system, more evidence can be seen from Sakugen's previous experience in Ningbo:

“Rice was red and not fresh, alcohol was thin and muddy, vinegar and sauce were mixed with water. If kept overnight, they would have been too sour to swallow. People thus did not feel comfortable consuming it. Some (of us) fell ill; some were dying; everyone was suffering. Since the seventh day of last month, food has not been properly prepared; our kitchen has been almost empty. Although (we) urged and reminded the officials every day and night, nothing has been solved so far.”¹⁰²

Japanese tribute envoys and staff were supported by the Ming court from the day of their arrival in Ningbo. All food, supplies, and labor they needed had to be provided by local officials. Sakugen's unsatisfying experience in Ningbo, although possibly exaggerated, reflected the corruption within the supply system of the Ming government.

4.4 Sakugen's Leisure Observations and Associations

Even though the Japanese travelers' activities were restricted after their arrival, Sakugen's long stay in Ningbo enabled him to explore the city. He painted an interesting picture of the commercial port cities and wealthy Jiangnan area. The *Shotoshū* 初渡集

¹⁰² Sakugen Shūryō, *Shotoshū*, *Dai Nihon Bukkyō Zensho Vol.4*. (Tokyo: Bussho Kankokai, 1912), p. 179.

contains plenty of detailed records of his observations of urban life in Ningbo. Sakugen showed special interest in architectural structures, such as city gates, stone bridges, official residences, and various temples; interesting objects that attracted his attention were the memorial arches (*paifang* 牌坊), which were rarely seen in Japan. This traditional Chinese arch-style gate enjoyed huge popularity in China, especially during the Ming and Qing. It was generally built at the entrance of the town in order to announce someone's charitable deeds or academic accomplishments, serving to commemorate renowned local dignitaries. On Sakugen's way back to Ningbo, he noticed "hundreds of gates in the middle of the road." Different *paifangs* had different Chinese characters on their plaques, but they all indicated good results from the civil service examination.¹⁰³ This prevalence of *paifang* in Ningbo, on one hand, reveals the great significance that the government attached to the examination system and society's positive response to it. On the other hand, it evidences the prosperity of the education industry in the Jiangnan area because Jiangnan-based officials occupied the crucial seats in the Ming court.

Besides being able to travel and observe aspects of Chinese society, Japanese envoys also became associated with local literati. Quite a few renowned Ningbo-based literati and artists such as Xie Guojing 謝國經 are mentioned in Sakugen's diaries. According to the *Shotoshū* 初渡集, the general way for Japanese envoys to enter the circle of the literati was through an introducer – either Japanese or Chinese, who was part of a network that could connect the two groups. It was through this custom that Sakugen got to know Luo Banghan 駱邦瀚. Mutual admiration between the Japanese envoys and Chinese scholars served as another bridge, linking one group to the other. In 1539, four *xiucai* 秀才¹⁰⁴ came to visit Sakugen in his residence. When asked for the reason for this visit, they said: "We have heard about your literary talent and elegant manners for a long time and always hoped for an opportunity to meet you."¹⁰⁵ Sakugen himself also paid

¹⁰³ Sakugen Shūryō, *Shotoshū, Dai Nihon Bukkyō Zensho Vol.4*, (Tokyo: Bussho Kankokai, 1912), p. 167, 168.

¹⁰⁴ The title of people who passed the civil service examination at the county level

¹⁰⁵ Sakugen Shūryō, *Shotosu, Dai Nihon Bukkyō Zensho Vol.4*, (Tokyo: Bussho Kankokai, 1912), p. 172.

visits to Chinese scholars in person to show his respect and admiration. One perfect example was Ke Yuchuang 柯雨窗; the two men soon developed a close friendship and frequently exchanged letters after Sakugen's self-introduction to Ke.

Although Sakugen and other Japanese envoys have been quite actively involved in educated circles, their association did not seem as rich or sophisticated as those of their Korean counterparts. On most occasions Japanese envoys and Chinese literati invited each other for dinner or drinks, composing poems and exchanging gifts like paintings and books. As recorded in Korean *Yŏnhaengnok*, conversations over Confucian ideas, social issues or central policies were frequently held between Korean envoys and Chinese scholars. This difference was probably caused by a lack of communication due to language problems or various restrictions on the Japanese, but more possibly resulted from Sakugen's identity as a Zen Buddhism monk.

From Sakugen's records of urban Ningbo, we can see that besides his enthusiasm for practical aspects such as architecture, city organization, and commercial activities, he also showed great interest in various religious activities and observations. One piece of evidence is Sankugen's reaction to the popularity of Daoism in Ming society, which involved all social levels from the Ming court to the commoners. He and his fellows not only witnessed but also participated in Daoist ceremonies. The first time Sakugen recorded his encounter with Daoism was in 1539, when he was waiting for the entry permission in Dinghai:

“Nine Daoists showed up and hung portraits around the hall. The eldest priest among them was facing south and praying; others stood beside him playing instruments. After this process, the prayer text was thrown into a burner. Both the chief envoy and I signed our names at the end of the text.”¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Sakugen Shūryō, *Shotosu, Dai Nihon Bukkyō Zensho Vol.4*, (Tokyo: Bussho Kankokai, 1912), p.182.

It is possible that this kind of involvement with Daoism was just a show of respect, made by following the local custom. However, an even closer interaction with Daoists happened during Sakugen's second trip to Ming China. After finishing the tribute mission in Beijing, Sakugen's crew passed by a Daoist temple on their return journey. Ming officials who accompanied the crew got out of the tribute boat and went to pray. Sakugen and several envoys followed and even offered incense and donations. Later, Daoists in that temple were invited to the boat and were treated to tea and snacks.¹⁰⁷ It is safe to suggest Sakugen and his fellows not only tolerated Daoist activities but showed an active interest in them. Altogether, the aforementioned examples shed light on the Japanese envoys' perceptions and understandings of China and Chinese culture. Unlike the Koreans who had a strong admiration for Chinese culture, especially Confucian ideas, the Japanese in fact treated China as a foreign land from where economic gains could be made through tribute relations.

4.5 China's Understanding of Japan and the Japanese

The interruption of the tally trade, together with the strict Ming policy against private trade, made it almost impossible to continue normal trading activities between Japanese and Chinese. It predictably created an ideal climate for piracy and smuggling. Violent turmoil and conflict swept the east coast of Ming China, which threw the Ming court into panic. Due to the huge profits made possible by the gifts given by China to Japan in return, as well as the additional private trade conducted during the tribute missions, the Japanese tended to expand the size of the missions and multiply the amount of tribute goods in order to make yet more profit. According to the *Veritable Records of the Ming*, tribute goods increased tremendously during the mid 1500s. For instance, only 4,300 *jin*¹⁰⁸ copper and 22,000 *jin* sulfur were presented to the Ming in 1433, while the amount

¹⁰⁷ Sakugen Shūryō, *Saitosu, Dai Nihon Bukkyō Zensho Vol.4*, (Tokyo: Bussho Kankokai, 1912), p. 374.

¹⁰⁸ *Jin*, or catty, is a traditional Chinese weight unit. 1 *jin* = ca. 600g.

reached an incredible 152,000 *jin* and 346,400 *jin* respectively in 1453. The Ming court was apparently aware of this and decided to take action. In 1485, an announcement was made to Japan: “Recently the import of tribute goods was excessive. The proper amount should not exceed the highest amount allowed in the Xuande reign period (1425-1435).” In response to this, an envoy commented: “If the emperor is dissatisfied with the frequent tribute activities and unconcerned with Japan’s consistent efforts to prevent piracy, our King may be discouraged and could discontinue the tribute relations. If one day pirates invade the Ming coast again, then who should be held responsible?”¹⁰⁹ This tough response shows Japan’s stance on this tribute problem and the importance they attached to the Sino-Japanese tribute relations. The different attitudes of Japan and China were in fact not only rooted in economic conflict but also in the distinct demands from this tribute relation. In the Ming court’s perspective, their tribute relation with Japan was a way to show kindness to a submissive foreign country rather than a prerequisite to legally conduct commercial activities. On the other hand, the Japanese envoy’s response indicates the severity of the piracy problem in the coastal area of Ming China. Japan’s attempt to take advantage of this situation forced the Ming court into negotiations. For the Ming, this dual threat from Japan made both the government and society anxious.

The following Korean War launched in 1592 by Hideyoshi also caused significant trouble for the Ming court. Although Ming China eventually defeated the Japanese and announced the legitimacy of its power over Korea, the relationship between Ming China and Joseon Korea initially became estranged by this incident. Additionally, their military dedication to the Korean War spared the Ming court no time to crack down on the growing power of the Jurchen in the northeast, who later renamed themselves as Manchus and overthrew the Ming, founding the Qing dynasty. The Ming court had never imagined such trouble would be caused by the Japanese, to whom they barely paid

¹⁰⁹ Kimiya Yasuhiko 木宮泰彦, *Zhongri jiaotong shi* 中日交通史 *History of Sino-Japan Communication*, (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1980), p. 576.

attention to beyond the tributary relation. Ming China's understanding of Japan and the Japanese primarily relied on official historical records and random geographic documents. The piracy crisis and the cost of the Korean War uncovered Japan's crucial role in Ming foreign policy and inspired a rapidly growing interest in Japan among the local gentry and merchants. The desire - whether rooted in political strategies or economic demands, to understand and conduct research on Japan created opportunities for some Ming Chinese to directly associate and interact with the Japanese, visitors who in return contributed to their knowledge of Japan and furthered efforts to develop their studies. The middle and late Ming thus witnessed flourishing publishing activities for monographs on Japan. A general picture of Japanese geography and society in the course of the Sengoku era could be portrayed by putting together detailed records from such sources as *Riben Kaolue* 日本考 (written after the Ningbo Incident), *Riben Yilan* 日本一鑑 (published in 1565), and *Riben Kao* 日本考 (completed after the Korean War).

One important and basic approach for the Ming to learn about Japan and the Japanese was learning from people who had previously traveled to Japan. Envoys sent by the Ming court were the major source of information. Most of the studies were based on diplomatic records and envoys' personal experiences. These kind of works shared a similar character – a special attention on language and geography, including plenty of Japanese words annotated with Chinese pronunciation and maps of sailing routes, geographic features and provincial organizations.

The *Riben Yilan* 日本一鑑 contains a whole volume illustrating the geography of Japan. Because the author, Zheng Shungong 鄭舜功 crossed the country, mountains, rivers, cities and counties were all detailed in his records. The *Riben Kao* 日本考 had one entire chapter dedicated to basic Japanese words, which could be referenced as a dictionary. Although various aspects of Japanese society such as customs, literature and art were well portrayed in these books, geography and language still dominated the works. The reason was probably the demand for forming a strategic plan against rampant

piracy. In the preface to the reprinted version of the *Riben Kao* 日本考, the official who organized this project stated: “Our province (Zhejiang) faces the Eastern Sea, neighboring all the barbarian islands. Among them, the Japanese are vicious and violent barbarians associated with piracy.”¹¹⁰ There is no denying that a considerable number of Chinese merchants were able to travel across the straits and even remained in Japan legally or illegally. Yet, records of these people were rare and vague at best. Among other extant materials, especially local historical documents, stories of groups of people who were captured and brought back to Japan by pirates can be found. Interestingly enough, these adventurous stories without exception all ended up with a successful return. The legendary story of Ju Xiang 鞠祥, recorded in *The History of the Ming Dynasty*, served as a good example of people kidnapped by pirates. Ju Xiang, at the age of fourteen, joined his father Ju Liang to fight against the invasion of pirates. At first the results turned out badly for the Jus; Ju Xiang was caught and forcibly taken to Japan while his father was killed during the conflict. However, Ju Xiang did not end endure miserable life. On the contrary, he was appreciated by a local daimyo and later was twice appointed as the interpreter for tribute missions to the Ming. The second time Ju Xiang came back to Ming China, he was allowed to settle in his hometown and to be the successor to his father’s official position. People who had been in Japan for several years like Ju Xiang facilitated an easy access for Chinese commoners to learn about Japan and Japanese culture.

4.6 Mutual Concepts about the Sino-Japanese Relations

Although the Ming Chinese started to gain a better understanding of the Japanese, there still remained strong xenophobic sentiments against them in society. Both officials and commoners considered the Japanese as barbarians and pirates. As a matter of fact, the common image of Japanese as pirates was not totally true. Many pirates who invaded the

¹¹⁰ Ren, Mengqiang 仁夢強, Li, Li 李莉. *Mingdai Jiben Shiliao Congkan Linguojuan* 明代基本史料叢刊鄰國卷. Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2005.

Ming coast or caused trouble for the Ming court were not Japanese, but Chinese. Moreover, the most dangerous and violent pirates such as Wang Zhi 王直 were actually Chinese merchants who had their own armed forces and were tightly connected to both renowned Japanese daimyos and Ming port officials. Groups of Chinese pirates grew increasingly large and influential and were even noted in official historical documents; however, it was always the Japanese pirates who were blamed and despised by the Ming Chinese, particularly by the officials. Sakugen once had an interesting conversation with a port official in Dinghai, which revealed the Japanese response to this bias. In the course of their conversation, Sakugen expressed his confusion about why the Japanese envoys were called “eastern barbarians” (*yiren* 夷人) by the Ming Chinese, while their ancestors had enjoyed equal status with the Chinese as is shown in the phrase “from the Eastern Emperor to the Western Emperor” used in previous Japanese diplomatic letters to the Sui Emperor Yang.¹¹¹ While all envoys used diplomatic language for formal occasions in the presence of Chinese officials, Sakugen’s remark in a personal conversation showed the Japanese envoys’ negative feelings towards China’s condescending attitude that brought Japan into a submissive position in Sino-Japanese relations during the Ming as well as the disappointment about the shift of Japanese foreign policies. A strong nostalgic sentiment and the expectation for an equal stance with China can be sensed from this diplomatic letter exchanged hundreds of years ago. The Japanese envoys reacted similarly to a rearrangement of the tribute ceremonial dinner, which had generally been hosted by the chief eunuch of the port office. However, when the chief eunuch was in Beijing at the time of the banquet, the job of hosting fell to some lower-level officials. The Japanese envoys were displeased and interpreted this rearrangement in a diplomatic account: “Even though our country is small and located in a remote area, we came all the way

¹¹¹ Sakugen Shūryō, *Shotosu, Dai Nihon Bukkyō Zensho Vol.4*, (Tokyo: Bussho Kankokai, 1912), p.153.

along respectfully by the order of the king. If we are not treated properly, should we consider this as a humiliation of our king?”¹¹²

It is interesting to see how different Japanese and Koreans perceived their relationship with China. Though both were in a position of submission to and involved in tribute relations with the Ming, their expectations from and reactions to this kind of relationship with the Ming was quite different. That the Korean envoys stuck with to the Ming government can be seen as their search for a long-term protection, both politically and culturally, while the Japanese cultural connection to the Ming was distant and removed. The Japanese envoys did not seem to have close associations with Chinese officials or scholars, except for Sakugen, who as the abbot of a large Zen monastery was highly educated in the Chinese Classics and had a great interest in Chinese poetry and art. But even for Sakugen, his association with Chinese literati was superficial. It is possible that there were conversations on these topics that were not recorded by the Japanese envoys. However, this recording preference to some extent shows their limited appreciation for Chinese culture, probably caused by the hostile reception they received, and reveals the pragmatic purpose of Japanese tribute missions. Moreover, when comparing Sakugen’s comments about the popularity of Daoism to critical comments from Korean envoys, it is apparent that the Japanese felt like observing outsiders. They only participated respectfully in this unfamiliar experience, but hardly left any qualitative judgment. Differing from the Koreans, the Japanese were ideologically distant to China. They tended to consider their tribute to the Ming as a way to legitimize their commercial interactions with Chinese merchants and secure their business interests in Ming China.

¹¹² Ibid, p.200.

CHAPTER V

SINO-JAPANESE INTERACTION THROUGH THE TOKUGAWA ERA

The relationship between China and Japan became increasingly complicated in the Tokugawa era, which involved increased restrictions on trade, isolationist policies, and problems with piracy.

Japan and China both enacted certain maritime trade restrictions to prevent external interactions and trade at the beginning of the Tokugawa bakufu (1603-1867), especially during the course of dynastic transition from the Ming to the Qing. Ming China, in its early decades, enacted a series of maritime trade prohibition bans (*haijin* 海禁), eliminating private maritime shipping, which led to a long period of isolation from the outside world. It enabled the Ming emperors to focus on dealing with China's inner turmoil and, later, on the invasion of the Manchus in the northeast without interruptions from maritime strife along the east coast, while Tokugawa Japan decades later announced a series of seclusion policies (*sakoku* 鎖國) to reduce external intrusions in order to maintain the newly-found domestic stability in place since the Onin War and to reinforce the Tokugawa central authority.

Although *sakoku* policies were enacted by the Tokugawa bakufu in 1640, commercial activities were not completely restricted but were limited to the port of Nagasaki, Kyushu. Many leading scholars in this field such as Ronald Toby have long been aware of the previous misinterpretation of Japan's policies to mean total seclusion during this period. He provides examples of the enormous amount of Japanese copper exports¹¹³ and the continuous silk trade via Ryukyu, even during the Qing conquest of

¹¹³ Ronald Toby. *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu*.

China, as proof of some openness.¹¹⁴ A similar phenomenon occurred in Ming China. Despite the suspension of tribute missions and official trade during the years of the maritime trade prohibition, local merchant communities secretly allied with political powers that benefited from maritime trade and with commoners whose lives relied on conducting small-scale business with incoming “barbarians,” especially the Japanese. Nearly half of the population of China’s east coast provinces was involved in maritime commercial activities. This coastal trade later developed into a large scale enterprise, indicating the flourishing of private trade. Private trade gradually replaced official tribute trade, becoming the mainstream of Sino-Japanese maritime commercial interactions, which greatly influenced the connection between China and Japan.

To further explore this relationship between the two states, this chapter will focus on shifts between the maritime trade prohibitions *haijin* and *kaihai* policies in the 1500s, especially after the Ningbo Incident of 1523, piracy issues, the *sakoku* policy of the Tokugawa bakufu, and the reconstruction of the association of the concepts “civilized” and “barbaric.”

5.1 Haijin and Kaihai

Haijin 海禁, maritime trade prohibition, was a long-standing policy of Ming China. In 1372 the Hongwu Emperor (1368-1398) issued an edict prohibiting people along the east coast from taking part in foreign commercial activities,¹¹⁵ marking the beginning of maritime trade prohibition. Regardless of Zhenghe’s extraordinary contribution to opening Ming China to interactions with other states, the overall diplomatic policy and strategy were conserved. This tendency was obvious in the Ming government’s dealings with foreign maritime interactions, especially non-governmental activities in the three

(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), preface xvii: “average copper exports in the last quarter of the seventeenth century exceeded five million pounds annually, with a peak export in 1698 of over 13,000,000 pounds.”

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 9.

¹¹⁵ *Mingshilu* 明實錄 Taizu Vol. 70. (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2015), p. 133.

important provinces Fujian 福建, Zhejiang 浙江, and Guangdong 廣東. Along the east coast, the implementation of the maritime trade prohibition was rigorous. According to the *Mingshilu* 明實錄 (*Veritable Records of the Ming*), people who owned sea vessels were all required to transform their ships, which were only allowed to have a flat bow. These ships were not able to sail on the ocean. In addition, all ships were strictly controlled by local officials in order to prevent them from sailing out in secrecy.¹¹⁶

However, the Ming court's maritime trade prohibition policy was not consistent; it was lifted several times for various diplomatic strategies. The lifting of the prohibition was called "open seas" (*kaihai* 开海) and coincided with the discontinuity of the tally trade.

Japan's internal instability expanded to the Chinese territory through the conflicts between two tributary delegations sent to the Ming by two competing daimyo clans. As discussed in the previous chapter, the tally trade between Japan and Ming China was legitimized by tallies issued by the Ming court and sent to Japan, and was monitored by the bakufu. However, the Onin war put Japan in turmoil, impairing the power of the Ashikaga bakufu. The control of the tally trade became uncertain and suffered from the competition for dominance between the Ouchi clan and the Hosokawa clan. In 1523 both daimyo clans sent their own tributary delegation to China without a valid tally from the Ming court, and the two groups' fight for legitimacy caused continuing troubles. Tensions also worsened by the Ningbo Port Office officials' misbehavior and unfair reception of the two tributary delegations. Hundreds of innocent people were killed during the brutal fight between the two clans; houses and local offices were burned and robbed. This incident severely disrupted the local order of Ningbo and the neighboring area as well as aroused turmoil within the central authority in the capital, which directly led to the abolishment of the Port Office. The Port Office was reestablished and then

¹¹⁶ *Mingshilu* 明實錄 Chengzu Vol. 27. (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2015), p. 201. "原有海船者，悉改为平头船，所在有司，防其出入". Ocean going vessels normally have a pointed bow, which enables them to sail in on the ocean, while ships with a flat bow are designed to sail in inner waters.

abolished again in 1560 and 1565 respectively, due to a series of pirate and smuggler invasions.

A series of openings and closings marked Japan and China's relationship, which affected private trade, merchants, and smugglers alike. Restrictions on the amount of goods and ships that were allowed in each tributary mission made the tally trade an unsatisfying substitute for normal trade and created the ideal climate for the flourishing of piracy and smuggling. However, in 1567, the port of Yuegang 月港 in Fujian was opened, allowing merchants in Fujian to conduct maritime trade; it was called "Longqing Opening" (隆慶開關 *longqing kaiguan*). Nevertheless, commercial activities with Japan were still strictly forbidden. Yuegang became the major smuggling port and a strategic frontier; as Zhu Wan explained, its opening and closing indicated the shifts between maritime trade prohibition and maritime trade opening (*kaihai* 开海) policies. The Longqing Opening was seen as a watershed event in the history of the maritime trade prohibition and piracy issues. Afterwards, government-controlled foreign trade fell into the hands of merchants; official commercial activities shifted to private channels; and maritime trade between Japan and China peaked. However, this flourishing period did not last long. The maritime trade prohibition was reinstated in 1592 in the wake of Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea. However, right after the defeat of Japan in Korea, the maritime trade prohibition was lifted again.

5.2 Japanese Pirates

After the Ningbo Incident, the tally trade between Japan and China was officially suspended but commercial interactions did not disappear. Instead, they went underground. The interruption of traditional official trade, together with the absence of the Port Office, forced Japanese and Chinese merchants to seek solutions in order to protect their business interests. Moreover, as the *haijin* policy got stricter, the price of

various trade goods rose substantially. As a result, a growing number of ship owners was enticed to trade with pirates at the risk of their lives. Under this scenario, smugglers soon became intermediaries and played a crucial role in bridging the two communities across the East China Sea. Without any prohibitions to do so, local merchants in both coastal areas of China and Japan immediately joined pirates and smugglers, leading to the emergence of a new hybrid community that soon rose to power and continuously caused tremendous disturbances in later Sino-Japanese relations.

The twenty-sixth year of the Jiajing Reign (1547) witnessed a large invasion of pirates and smugglers in China. Hundreds of ships stayed in the harbors of Ningbo and Taizhou 台州, and thousands of pirates and smugglers landed and swept through village after village. Though recorded as Japanese pirates (*wokou/wako* 倭寇) in the official reports, it was actually instigated by wealthy Chinese merchants and local officials, who were also the owners of the invading ships. Due to the secret nature of trade within the community of merchants, pirates and smugglers usually conducted business by using proxy numbers rather than real goods. In this way, “middle-men” merchants were able to gain profits without worrying about the actual shipping and storage of goods, which were kept at a primary seller’s location. However, this trading method was easily disrupted by a late payment, leading to a massive invasion of pirates and smugglers seeking revenge. Large and small incidents of this kind were quite prevalent at that time.

As a byproduct of this phenomenon, the word *wokou/wako* was not only used to describe Japanese pirates but also vaguely referred to a combination of pirates (both Japanese and Chinese), smugglers, and even local Chinese merchants. The label of *wokou/wako* was attached to the waves of piratic attacks that swept the southeast coastal area of Ming China in the 1550s and 1560s. The interpretation of *wokou/wako* as Japanese pirates and invaders was continuously made in official reports and casual conversations. The reason behind this discriminatory usage can be traced back to the China-centered worldview based on the foundation of Confucian ideology. It reinforced

the idea of the superiority of Chinese civilization, collectively declaring non-Han people of any ethnicity or neighboring foreigners as uncivilized barbarians.

Although earlier scholars of this time period, especially Chinese scholars, tend to directly relate *wokou/wako* events to Japanese pirates, plenty of evidence has shown that the Chinese played a crucial role in the *wokou/wako* community. Most of the so-called *wokou/wako* invasions were in fact organized by Chinese sailors or caused by conflicts between Chinese merchants and Japanese pirates. As this mixed international criminal community continuously appeared in the following decades, a more direct definition – “piratic merchants”- as some recent research has suggested, will be used in this paper for this complicated hybrid community.

Two years after the pirate invasion, Zhu Wan 朱纨, the grand governor of Zhejiang Province, made several requests to the Ming court asking for severe penalties for those involved in piracy and illegal trade. Finally, in 1549 major participants were beheaded without prior authorization from the court. This unanticipated and ruthless move put Zhu Wan into the spotlight and on a dangerous track against the interests of wealthy local merchants. As a result, his anti-piracy and smuggling campaign generated huge criticism against Zhu Wan, and he was dismissed from his position and later committed suicide. Without the prohibitions installed by Zhu Wan, the Japanese pirates and local merchants collaborated even more closely; illegal smuggling businesses used strategic offshore islands as their bases and grew wildly out of control. Wang Zhi 王直, Xu Hai 徐海, and other well-known piratic merchant figures became prominent. The year 1556 witnessed another large-scale attack by pirates and smugglers on the east coast of Ming China. Three quarters of the southeastern prefectures were invaded. In Zhejiang Province, only the three inland prefectures Chuzhou 處州, Quzhou 衢州, and Jinhua 金華 out of eleven did not report piratic harassment. The security of the neighboring province of Fujian and even the southern capital of Nanjing were threatened. Government representatives were sent to negotiate with the piratic merchants in order to reach a satisfying compromise.

However, the merchants urged for a free trade waterway to the coastal cities of southeast China, while the Ming court maintained a strong attitude against it. Negotiations eventually failed.

5.3 Japan under the *Sakoku* Policy

Sakoku literally means “closed country” or “national isolation.” It was the foreign diplomacy installed by the third Tokugawa shogun Iemitsu (1623-1651), which restricted international activities, especially commercial interactions with western states. Foreigners were prevented from entering Japanese territory, while Japanese were forbidden to interact with foreigners or even leave the country. Unlike the Ming China’s wavering imposition and subsequent lifting of the trade bans in the country, Tokugawa Japan adopted the *Sakoku* policy in a strategically planned and steadily progressing way by adjusting its foreign diplomacy and issuing a series of *Sakoku* edicts from 1633 to 1639.

Immediately after the Tokugawa bakufu came to power, its founder and first shogun Ieyasu (1543-1616) initially expected to normalize the diplomatic relations with China, which had been broken since Hideyoshi’s invasion of Korea. Ieyasu’s intention was to restore the tally trade with the Ming, which had been suspended since 1547, in order to stabilize the authority of the new regime. Despite Ieyasu’s wishes, the plan to regain access to the Chinese tribute system did not come to fruition for several reasons. After frequent attacks on the coastal area of Ming China and the invasion of Joseon Korea, Japanese intentions alone were unable to make any headway in the normalization of Sino-Japanese diplomatic and commercial relations. More importantly, a return to the Chinese tribute system required that Ieyasu, as the representative of Japan, had to demonstrate his submission to the Ming emperor in an official letter, which was usually signed by subordinates of the Ming emperor.¹¹⁷ However, Ieyasu at that time had no

¹¹⁷ Ronald Toby. *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 59.

interest in accepting a subordinate position within the Chinese tribute system or compromising the legitimacy and sovereignty that he had intended to establish in Japan solely to achieve commercial advantages.

Once the Tokugawa established its authority over Japan, its ambition to consolidate legitimacy and sovereignty grew rapidly to a level that the Ming could not tolerate. The Tokugawa thus sought ways to reconstruct Japan's identity within the China-centered world order and to conduct direct trade with China and western states without falling into a subordinate position. The third shogun proposed a self-sufficient and autonomous foreign diplomacy in response to the demands of the Tokugawa bakufu's legitimate and economic interests. Under this circumstance, a series of *Sakoku* edicts were issued by the shogun, creating exclusive status for Tokugawa Japan. Those attempts separated Japan from the long-practiced Chinese tribute system, domestically legitimized the Tokugawa bakufu's rule over Japan, and externally constructed a Japan-dominated diplomatic and commercial system involving mainly Korea and China.

The greatest concern was neither the series of *Sakoku* edicts nor the context of the self-determined diplomacy. It was how they were practiced in Japan's interaction with other states. The major actors in the foreign relations of the early Tokugawa period were its neighbors Korea and China. The Tokugawa bakufu's relationship with Korea was more centered on diplomacy and politics, while its interaction with China concentrated on commercial interests. The threats from China forced Japan to partner with Joseon despite its identity as a loyal subordinate to Ming China. The Joseon's role in the Japan-centered East Asian diplomacy was significant at both the domestic and international levels because the Koreans refused to accept the centrality aimed for by Japan. During the early years of the Tokugawa regime, its relationship with Joseon was used to reinforce the central authority and legitimacy of the Tokugawa bakufu's rule over Japan. When the third shogun Hidetada celebrated his shogunal succession in 1605, Ieyasu planned to invite a Korean envoy as the representative to offer official congratulations

from Joseon to the new shogun. When the Korean envoy finally arrived in Edo, he was required to first present his credentials to Hidetada before meeting with Ieyasu. Nevertheless, even though the Joseon were treated as a peer of Japan, in East Asian diplomacy, Joseon retained a stronger sense of affiliation with Ming China and appreciated its validated position in the Chinese sphere of influence. In fact, the Tokugawa bakufu addressed its intention to have an equal relationship with Ming China and a superior position over Joseon in their diplomatic correspondence. This was evident when, in 1617, Japanese diplomatic letters using the title “emperor” to refer to the Japanese shogun were sent to Joseon. Those letters were immediately rejected, given the fact that the title “emperor” was normally used exclusively for the Ming emperor - the only ruler that Joseon accepted as superior. This rejection did not impair the bakufu’s attempts to export the Japan-centered worldview to the Korean Peninsula. Soon after, the bakufu insisted that royal titles of Ming China should not be used in Korea’s diplomatic correspondence with Japan.

As for the relationship between the Tokugawa bakufu and China, it was merely commercially oriented. Diplomatic interactions and official exchange were cautiously avoided by both sides. Although private commercial activities were permitted in Nagasaki, Chinese merchants arriving in the city were examined by low-level local officials. Compared with Sakugen’s travel experience discussed in a previous chapter, it is obvious that when expecting foreigners Tokugawa Japan adopted the same methods that China had used to treat the Japanese at their own ports of entry. This interesting policy revealed the bakufu’s redefinition of the Sino-centric world order. The sense of self-determination and centrality went so far that the bakufu issued special documents with Japanese reign titles. Chinese merchants who were trading with Japan at that time were required to present these credentials in order to show their recognition of the Japan-centered order of East Asia.

The Tokugawa bakufu's self-determined diplomacy reversed the traditional Confucian definition of "civilized" and "barbaric." In this new East Asian order, the appellation of "*ka*" 華 (civilized) and centrality were associated with Tokugawa Japan, while China fell among the barbarians.

5.4 The Reconstruction of the *Ka-i* Worldview

Although the bakufu initiated Japan's policy of seclusion, it left the port of Nagasaki open as a window to the world. The self-determined diplomacy limited Japan's interaction with foreign states in Nagasaki. The majority of these interactions were for commercial purposes. Chinese merchants thus became an important source for the Tokugawa bakufu to get the latest information about China. According to doctor Zhou Qilai 周歧来, who returned from a trip to Japan, Japanese barbarians were aware of everything that happened in China. A variety of books about the news and stories of China could be found there. When arriving at Nagasaki, Chinese merchants were required to show their credentials before entering the port. The port officials, including interpreters, were in charge of all trade ships that entered the port. Those officials had a list of topics prepared in advance of their conversations with Chinese merchants. Interestingly enough, the first question on the list was not about the travel experience or the organization of the crewmembers but about recent trends in politics and the economy in China. In addition to these informative questions asked during face-to-face interviews, the port officials were also required to keep an eye on daily conversations among the crew members in order to collect as many tales as possible for the bakufu.

The information gathered from Chinese merchants was carefully translated and organized following specific requirements by an official called "*tō tsūji* 唐通事" (expert in Chinese affairs), who was also responsible for reporting them to the bakufu. The reports about foreign news and stories based on information recorded during

conversations with Chinese merchants were called *tosen fūsetsugaki* 唐船風說書, which means the news and information brought to Japan by Chinese trade ships. The word *tosen* refers to the trade ships from China to Japan, while the word *fūsetsu* means rumor. Later, most of the *tosen fūsetsugaki* were collected and assembled into a book called *Transformation from Civilized Chinese to Barbarians* (華夷變態 *Kai Hentai*) by Confucian scholars Hayashi Shunsai 林春勝 and Hayashi Razan 林羅山. *Transformation from Civilized Chinese to Barbarians* is a comprehensive collection of *tosen fūsetsugaki* reports from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century and provided systematic knowledge about China, helping the Japanese to learn about China while their interactions with the outside world were constrained.

In the table of contents of the *Kai Hentai*, the fifteen provinces of the Qing were presented by their geographical names. Each name was followed a special mark: ○ represented the realm of the Ming; ● represented the realm of the Qing; and □ represented politically undefined areas. This clear classification reveals a sophisticated understanding of China's territory even during the dynastic transition: "The Chongzhen Emperor committed suicide, while the Hongguang regime was destroyed by the Manchus. Kings Tang and Lu were constrained in the south, while the northern barbarians swept over the whole country. This was how civilized Chinese regressed into barbarians."¹¹⁸ This preface of *Transformation from Civilized Chinese to Barbarians* (華夷變態 *Kai Hentai*) not only addresses the Japanese sympathy for the fall of the Ming and their discontent with the Manchu invasion of Ming China, but also expresses a critique of the Ming's incapability of preventing the Chinese from becoming the despicable barbarians. Nevertheless, compared to the more prevalent and stronger

¹¹⁸ Hayashi Shunsai 林春齋. *Kai Hentai* 華夷變態. (Tokyo: Bunko, 1958), p. 1. "崇禎登天，弘光陷虜，唐、魯才保南隅，而鞑虜橫行中原，是華變于夷態也。云海渺茫，不詳其始末。如《剿閩小說》、《中興偉略》、《明季遺聞》等，概記而已。朱氏失鹿，當我正保年中，爾來三十年所，福、漳商船，來往長崎，所傳說有達江府者，其中聞于公，件件讀進之，和解之，吾家無不與之。其草案留在反古堆，恐其亡失，故叙其次第，錄為冊子，號《華夷變態》。頃聞吳鄭檄各省，有恢復之舉。其勝敗不可知焉，若夫有為夷變于華之態，則縱異方域，不亦快乎？"

emotions towards the Ming among Joseon Koreans, the Japanese concentrated their attention on their economic advantages.

In terms of the middle and late seventeenth century, the beginning of the High Qing era, subtle shifts in the mutual understanding and diplomatic relations were taking place in East Asia. Both Tokugawa Japan and Joseon Korea had developed their own *hua-yi* concepts and Qing China was always an unavoidable topic in any diplomatic exchange. Despite the unappealing image of the Manchus in the early Qing, the High Qing rapidly dropped its “barbaric” image and built up the new impression of an economically and politically strong and influential state.

The term *dada* 鞞鞞 literally means “ethnic minorities,” referring especially to nomadic tribes in the northern part of China. The Japanese adopted this term when referring to the Manchu people. However, the meaning of *dada* was no longer the same as it had been in the beginning of the Qing; the commonly used meaning of *dada* was discarded in the mid-seventeenth century. A vivid example for a new meaning was presented in a Japanese book titled *Illustrated Explanations of the Peoples of 24 Countries*. It was an encyclopedic illustrated work about foreigners from the eighteenth century by a native of Nagasaki.¹¹⁹ In this volume, “*dada*” were listed together with “Great Ming” and “Great Qing.” Figures of the “Great Ming” were portrayed in a stereotypical way: a man holding a folding fan¹²⁰ or a woman with a round fan. Interestingly enough, the man labeled “Great Qing” appeared in a quite elegant and educated way. Like the Ming figure, he was also holding a folding fan. In addition, a child was shown holding a set of thread-bound books for the man. This scholarly appearance showed that the differences between Han Chinese and Manchu had begun to blur and, by the High Qing, there was no longer a difference in their portrayals. As for the

¹¹⁹ Nishikawa, Joken 西川如見. *Shijuni-koku Jinbuteu Zusetsu* 肆拾貳国人物圖說 *Illustrated Explanations of the Peoples of 24 Countries*. Tokyo: Fuchiumeken, 1720.

¹²⁰ Since the folding fan was a Japanese invention, the illustration may indicate the person had Japanese cultural attributes. It is also possible that the appearance of the folding fan was due to a Japanese understanding of civilized and educated Chinese, considering the author of those illustrations was a Japanese.

representative figure of *dada* – ethnic minority, a graphic of a boorish man who was practicing archery was provided. It clearly indicates a different perception of Qing Chinese and northern nomadic groups, demonstrated by their placement in separate categories and the depiction of differences in outward appearance. This interesting fact shows a common acceptance of the legitimatization of Manchu rule among the Japanese. The underlying reason for this dramatic change may be largely due to the wide adaptation of Han culture.

5.5 The Reconstruction of the *Hua-yi* Concept

As historians have frequently suggested, the successful rule over the majority of the Han population by the Manchu minority largely resulted from the promotion of Neo-Confucianism as the core of the Qing administrative strategy. This climate produced emperors with respectable accomplishments in Chinese literature, such as the Qianlong Emperor. The popularity of Han culture and the prevalence of Han customs led to a decreasing role of Manchu legacy. The Manchu language, for example, gradually lost its position as an official language. The High Qing era witnessed a wide replacement of the Manchu language in governmental administrative paperwork, and most Manchu officials were not able to write memorials to the throne in Manchu. Emperor Qianlong, therefore, tried to stress the importance of adopting the Manchu language in various means. Even the *Qingshilu* 清實錄 (*Veritable Records of the Qing*) was compiled first in Chinese and then translated into Manchu and Mongolian in the late years of the Yongzheng's reign.

Despite the Confucian foundation for the legitimacy and orthodoxy of Qing rule, the complicated multi-cultural and multi-ethnic environment of the Qing cannot be ignored. The process of acculturation was prevalent. Despite the ruthless policy forcing Chinese men to wear the queue and Manchu-style clothes at the beginning of the Qing, Han hairstyle and clothing could be seen among women in Qing China, as discussed in

previous chapters. Ming style clothes were even popular at the Qing court. The Yongzheng and Qianlong emperors frequently dressed in Han style for entertainment and had portraits of themselves painted in various sets of Han attire that fitted perfectly with background settings dominated by the accoutrements of a Chinese scholar's ambience.

The Chinese perspective of world order and foreign diplomacy also changed during this period due to the Manchu government's new approach to interacting with neighbors in East Asia. The Japanese were no longer viewed as barbaric pirates and smugglers but rather in a neutral and even positive way. In the *Huangqing zhigongtu* 皇清职贡图 (*Portraits of Tribute Bearers to the Qing*), a work similar to *Figures from 24 Countries in Pictures*, Korea and Japan were listed together with domestic ethnic groups rather than being categorized as a foreign nation state. Although the contents separate foreign groups from domestic groups, the basic introduction and description describes the regional ethnicities administrated by the Qing central authority. Except for the insulting nickname for Koreans and a brief mention of the piracy crisis in the Ming, the descriptions of Koreans and Japanese were primarily positive.¹²¹ In addition, Wang Peng 汪鹏, in his *Xiuhaijian* 袖海编 (*Book About Confronting the Sea*), portrayed the Japanese as highly educated. Their education level and their knowledge of Han culture and the Chinese Classics equaled that of the Joseon Koreans.¹²²

The reappearance of the China-centered worldview during the High Qing era when the cultivation of Han culture and the implementation of Confucian policies reached their peak indicates that Han culture still played an important role in the diplomatic relationships within East Asia. It is reasonable to suggest that, besides the country's political and economic strength, the adoption of Chinese values and traditions by the

¹²¹ Fu Heng 傅恒, *Huangqing Zhigongtu* 皇清職貢圖 *Portraits of Tribute Bearers to the Qing*. (Shenyang: Liaoshen chubanshe, 1991).

¹²² Wang Peng 汪鹏, *Xiuhaijian* 袖海編 *Book about Confronting the Sea*. (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1994), p. 67. “间有一二束脩自爱者，亦颇能读圣贤，博通经史，学中华所为韵语古作之类，如和泉王家者，颇知宝贵宋元人妙翰，每向客求得其一二件，珍如珎璧。又有松延年、林海卿、柳德夫皆渊雅绝俗，外此如兰京先生集，暨僧昨非集，皆裒然成帙，所为诗颇仿唐音，无宋元浇薄气。又平子行号三思，善行草书，殊近香光一路。”

Qing contributed to the shift in the mutual perception between the Qing and Tokugawa Japan as well as the redefinition of the *ka-i* and *hua-yi* worldviews.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In the previous chapters I examined the cultural, diplomatic and ideological interactions between China and its neighbors Korea and Japan from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Major topics discussed in this thesis include Japan and Korea's different roles and expectations throughout their diplomatic and commercial interactions with China, the differences between the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean understandings of one another, and the causal reasons behind the changes in their perceptions. By examining the China-centered tributary system, the Ming-Qing dynastic transition, distinct observations about women, and the challenges of piracy as reported by diplomatic envoys from Korea and Japan, this thesis traces and compares the interactions and relations between Ming and Qing China and its neighbors Japan and Korea. In the following I will summaries and integrate previous discussions and present a concluding comparative view of the Sino-Japanese and the Sino-Korean relationships throughout the Ming-Qing dynastic transition.

6.1 Summary

Extant research on the history of the relations and interactions between East Asian states seldom mention women or women-related primary sources. My thesis aims to collect and assemble documents reflecting observations about women from the *Yŏnhaengnok*. In these records composed by Joseon envoys, Chinese women's appearance in public are mentioned in various contexts: ordinary women like wives of soldiers, kidnapped women, female military leaders, street performers, singing girls, and courtesans walked on the streets.

Unlike the traditional perception of women in pre-modern China, who are characterized by a lack of education, social status, and the freedom to pursue activities in public, Joseon envoys' records presented in this thesis portray a totally different picture of Chinese women in the context of the chaos of dynastic transition. These records about Chinese women in Korean documents indicate that during the dynastic transition women enjoyed more freedom and had fewer behavioral constraints than conventionally assumed. Nevertheless, this freedom came with substantial danger. In addition, the occupation of courtesans and street performers were never considered "decent" for women living in Ming and Qing China. Most of the women who pursued such occupations had no family to rely on and had no other choice but to earn their own living by unconventional means. Moreover, most women were still in subordinate positions and had too little political influence to ever be considered as a challenge to the government. Qin Liangyu was an exception; Qin and her female troops were tolerated by the central authority and even won the support of public opinion due to the national crisis and turmoil that the Ming faced throughout the dynastic transition. Due to these unique circumstances, she was able to become a military heroine.

Refraining from following the long practiced Confucian doctrines of excluding the topic of women from political discussions, Korean envoys interpreted their observations of various groups of Chinese women they encountered from a more political perspective. They habitually filtered what they saw with a strong nostalgia for the Ming and deliberately interpreted their observations in a way that might serve Korea's domestic political interests. They explained various behaviors of Chinese women such as dressing in Ming-style clothes, fighting against the Manchu troops, or writing poetry about their miserable lives and experiences as the expression of a nostalgic longing for the Ming dynasty and for the restoration of Han Chinese culture.

Their portrayals of Chinese women, together with the discussions of Ming traditions with Chinese literati, indicated the prevalent trend of "Revering the Zhou,

Longing for the Ming” among Korean scholars after the downfall of the Ming. In fact, the desire for restoring the Ming was so strong that the Korean intellectuals even declared themselves to be the legitimate successor and protector of Han culture and Chinese civilization. However, despite these strong feelings, Korean scholars had actually wavered between Sinophilia and Sinophobia. Their initial perception of Ming China was overshadowed by the rude and greedy eunuchs who had been sent as Ming envoys to the Joseon court. Korean admiration for the Ming had not become strong until the Ming drove the Japanese invaders out of the Korean Peninsula, and the early Qing witnessed the emergence of the concept of “Revering the Zhou, Longing for the Ming” in Joseon. Later, the tension between the Koreans and the Qing was eased. Through the efforts of the Silhak scholars, a more Korea-centered worldview emerged, which clamored for a more independent position in East Asia and stepping out of the shadow of China.

As for Sino-Japanese relations and interactions, tracing Sakugen’s trip to Ming China during the Sengoku era helps to portray a picture of the Ming and the tributary relationship between Ming China and Sengoku Japan. Records of Japanese tribute mission travel routes, the local reception of the envoys and their entourage in China, the Chinese postal system, diplomatic rituals, and the envoys’ leisure activities shed light on the details and problems of Ming society through a foreign lens. Furthermore, Sakugen’s appreciation for the Chinese Classics and arts and his attention to Buddhist sites was representative of the general knowledge about China among the educated class of Japan. This knowledge was accumulated through tributary activities until Hideyoshi’s invasion of Korea put an end to the exploration of China by Japanese diplomatic missions.

The early Tokugawa era witnessed a major change in Japanese foreign diplomacy. The restrictions of maritime trade provided fertile ground for piracy and smuggling activities. A failure to normalize the tributary relations with the Ming, together with a concern about the increasingly close and frequent interactions with Westerners prompted the third shogun of the Tokugawa bakufu to issue a series of isolationist edicts. Those

restrictions on maritime trade forced Japan into seclusion, indicating a new determination for autonomous diplomacy. Nevertheless, Japan left the port of Nagasaki open for limited commercial activities and to collect information about the outside world. Chinese merchants arriving at Nagasaki became the only source of news and information from outside Japan; as a result, these merchants then served as agents between China and Japan. Sakugen's travel essays recorded some negative aspects of Ming society, although his general portrayal of the Ming was positive. Japan's perception of the Qing was not as appealing as that of the Ming due to the brutal behavior of the Manchu troops. Later, the prosperity and sinicization of the Qing shifted the mutual perception of Japan and China and generated a new *ka-i/hua-yi* worldview.

6.2 Comparison

When comparing Korean and Japanese envoys' observations and activities during their tributary trip, the differences in their perspectives become obvious. Japanese envoys observed cultural aspects and had little political focus, unlike the Koreans who considered their experiences and observations in China as a pilgrimage to a powerful neighbor with a highly revered cultural tradition. The Japanese paid a lot of attention to the flourishing of urban markets, scenic spots and local religions. Most of their associations with Chinese literati were for entertainment and for appreciating Chinese poetry and arts. Japanese documents about China seem more informative and objective. Travel essays of Japanese envoys' tributary missions recorded exactly what they experienced and what they observed. Travelling from the port to the capital Beijing, Japanese envoys recorded their experiences in China and their observations of interactions with Ming government representatives. They focused on the reception by the local officials, diplomatic rituals, sightseeing, and social networks. As for the records of gossip brought to Japan via trade ships from China, its initial purpose was to gather

information from Chinese merchants for the Tokugawa bakufu. This information served as a means for the Japanese to get to know their neighbor and was used for domestic political and ideological purposes.

In contrast, Korean envoys' records of Chinese women, their conversations with Chinese literati, and the narrative shifts of travel reports from the Ming and the Qing dynasties reveal more serious and sophisticated observations of China and Chinese society. Both written records and the content of conversations and interactions between Korean envoys and Chinese scholars were designed to support the political and ideological trend to perceive China as a model for Joseon. Korean records included more non-diplomatic activities such as the envoys' association with courtesans and conversations with Chinese literati on political issues. Personal opinions and emotions about the downfall of the Ming and the Qing court were well expressed in those texts.

It is also interesting to see how differently Japanese and Koreans perceived their relationship with China and how their perceptions changed throughout time. Though both neighbors had been involved in tribute relations with the Ming court for a long time, their respective expectations for this kind of relationship with the Ming was actually quite distinct. Moreover, the extraordinary period of the Ming-Qing dynastic transition placed the existing Sino-centric diplomatic system under enormous strain but, at the same time, created a fertile ground for the reconstruction of their respective worldviews and their perceptions of one another.

Korean loyal respect for the Ming can be interpreted as the search for long-term diplomatic and economic protection. There is no doubt that the downfall of the Ming and the brutal invasion by the Manchus had caused an ideological and political crisis for Joseon intellectuals. Confucian scholars promoted the concept of "Revering the Zhou, Longing for the Ming" in the expectation that a restoration of Chinese civilization could overcome the chaos. Having based their state on the political and ideological model of the Ming, the Koreans had no doubts about the legitimacy of their role in Chinese

civilization. It enabled them to define themselves as the authentic successors and protectors of Han culture. This ambitious self-entitlement had already prevailed in Korea for a long time and had exerted enduring influence on the society. It was derived from a strong admiration for the Ming court and Chinese civilization. It was not until the High Qing era when the Silhak School suggested a reconsideration of the concept of “Revering the Zhou and Longing for the Ming” and asked for a separation of Joseon from the dominant ideology of its powerful neighbor. Referring to evidence from classical texts, official documents were composed by the Silhak scholars to support a Korea-centered worldview and independent legitimacy for Joseon.

Compared to Joseon, Japan was ideologically distant from the Chinese ideological influence. The Japanese tended to consider their tribute missions to the Ming as a way to stabilize their diplomatic interaction with Ming China in order to secure their own commercial interests and consolidate the central authority in Japan. Their independence from the Sino-centric world was strengthened by the emergence of the self-determined diplomacy of the early Tokugawa era. The new diplomacy and the consequent isolation edicts limited foreign interactions with Japan exclusively to the port of Nagasaki, creating an environment of domestic political stability. This shift in Japan’s foreign diplomacy constructed a Japan-centered worldview, reversing the traditional Chinese definition of who deserved to be included in the world of the civilized, and who had not yet been able to successfully leave the pitiful and inferior state of barbarism.

APPENDIX

Chart of Joseon and Japanese Envoys Mentioned in this Thesis

Name	Life Time	Works	Travel Time	Position	Location
Kim Seok-ju 金錫胄	(1634-1684)	搗椒錄	Kangxi 22 nd (1683)	Chief Envoy 謝恩兼三節年 貢正使	Vol. 24
Pak Ji-won 朴 趾源	(1737-1805)	熱河日記	Qianlong 45 th (1780)	Personal companion ¹²³	Vol. 53, Vol. 54
Sin Chǒng 申 晷	(1628-1687)	燕行錄	Kangxi 19 th (1680)	Vice Envoy 陳慰兼陳奏行 副使	Vol. 22
Ryu Yeogag 柳汝恪	(1589-?)	N/A	Wanli 48 th (1620)	Record Keeper 辨誣陳奏書狀 官	N/A
Yu Ŏn-sul 俞 彥述	(1703-1773)	燕行錄	Qianlong 52 nd (1787)	N/A	Vol. 41
Yi Deokmu 李 德懋	(1741-1793)	入燕記	Qianlong 43 rd (1778)	N/A	Vol. 57
Yi Ŭi-hyŏn 李 宜顯	(1669-17??)	庚子燕行詩, 庚子燕行雜識	Kangxi 59 th (1720)	Chief Envoy 三節年貢正使	Vol. 35
		壬子燕行詩, 壬子燕行雜識	Yongzheng 10 th (1732)	Chief Envoy 謝恩兼進賀行 正使	Vol. 35

¹²³ Pak was a personal companion of the chief envoy (Pak's cousin).

Lee Jung-goo 李廷龜	(1564-1635)	甲辰朝天錄;	Wanli 32 nd (1604)	Chief Envoy 奏請行正使	Vol. 11
		庚申燕行錄, 庚申朝天記事	Wanli 48 th (1620)	Chief Envoy 辯誣行正使	Vol. 11
		庚申朝天錄	Wanli 23 rd (1595)	N/A	Vol. 11
		東槎錄	Wanli 29 th (1601)	N/A	Vol. 11
		戊戌朝天錄	Wanli 26 th (1598)	Vice Envoy 陳 奏辯誣行副使	Vol. 10
		丙辰朝天錄	Wanli 44 th (1615)	N/A	Vol. 11
Yi Ap 李押	(1737-1795)	燕行記事	Qianlong 42 nd (1777)	Vice Envoy 進 賀謝恩陳奏兼 三節年貢行副 使吏曹書判	Vol. 52
麟坪大君	(1622-1658)	燕行詩	Shunzhi 2 nd (1645)	N/A	Vol. 21
		燕行途紀	Shunzhi 13 th (1656)	Chief Envoy 謝恩行正使	Vol. 22
Chǒng T'ae- hwa 鄭太和	(1602-1673)	西行記	Chongzhen 7 th (1634)	N/A	Vol. 19
		陽坡朝天日 錄, 己丑飲冰 錄	Shunzhi 6 th (1649)	Chief Envoy 進賀兼謝恩行 正使	Vol. 19
		壬寅飲冰錄	Kangxi 1 st	Chief Envoy	Vol. 19

			(1662)	進賀兼陳奏行 正使	
Choe Tok-jung 崔德中	(? -1712-?)	燕行錄	Kangxi 51 st (1712)	Vice Envoy 年 貢行副使	Vol. 39
Han Deok-hu 韓德厚	(? -1732-?)	燕行日錄, 承 旨公燕行日 錄,	Yongzheng 10 th (1732)	Record Keeper 謝恩兼進賀行 書狀官	Vol. 49, Vol. 50
Heo Gyun 许 筠	(1569-1618)	己酉西行錄	Wanli 37 th (1609)	N/A	Vol. 13
		丁酉朝天錄	Wanli 25 th (1597)	N/A	Vol. 13
Heo Bong 许 筠	(1551-1588)	朝天記, 荷谷 朝天記	Wanli 7 th (1574)	N/A	Vol. 6, Vol. 7
		朝天錄	Wanli 43 rd (1615)	N/A	Vol. 7
Hong Tae- Yong 洪大容	(1731-1783)	湛軒燕記, 乙 丙燕行錄	Qianlong 30 th (1766)	Personal companion ¹²⁴	Vol. 42 – Vol. 49, Vol. 43
Hwang Yō-il 黃汝一	(1556-?)	銀槎錄, 銀槎 錄詩	Wanli 26 th (1598)	N/A	Vol. 8
Hwang Chung- yun 黃中允	(1577-1648)	西征日錄	Wanli 48 th (1620)	N/A	Vol. 16
Sakugen Shūryō 策彥周 良	(1501-1579)	初渡集	Jiajing 18 th (1539)	Vice Envoy	N/A
		再渡集	Jiajing 26 th	Chief Envoy	N/A

¹²⁴ Hong was a personal companion of the record keeper (Hong's uncle).

			(1547)		
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GLOSSARY

Chonchu Samyong 尊周思明	Yonhaengnok 燕行錄
Piaohailu 漂海錄	Chengchalu 乘槎錄
Huanghualu 皇華錄	So Chunghwa 小中華
Samgang haengsil-to 三綱行實圖	sarim 士林
Eolgulilnok 朝天錄	Rehe riji 熱河日記
Dongchalu 東槎錄	Kai Hentai 華夷變態
Tosen Fūsetsugaki 唐船風說書	Hamyuinmok 含忍錄
Shanghai Pass 山海關	Ganjeongdongpidam 乾淨衙筆談
zheshang 折裳	tangyi 唐衣
zhonghua 中華	Chaotian 朝天
Hanrenlu 含忍錄	Zhengfuci 征婦詞
Ji Wenlan 季文蘭	Yu Shangqing 虞尚卿
Zhenzidian 榛子店	Shenyang 沈陽
Jiangzhou 江州	wuwu 戊午
Cai Wenji 蔡文姬	Luoyang 洛陽
Wu Sangui 吳三桂	Wanyan 完顏
Qin Liangyu 秦良玉	baiganbing 白杆兵
Yinchalu 銀槎錄	se 瑟
ji 姬	Haizhou 海州
Wu 吳	Zhaonü 趙女
Ningyuan 寧遠	Feng Biyu 馮碧玉
Mingshizong 明詩綜	Liechao shiji 列朝詩集
Heo Nanseolheon 許蘭雪軒	Tian Yang 田楊
Longwan 龍灣	Yin Qing 尹晴

Qian Qianyi 錢謙益

ka-yi/hua-yi 華夷

pukpol 北伐

Tingyun 潘庭筠

huwang 胡皇

cu 殂

shibosi 市舶司

ri 日

Zhao Juren 趙居任

sheng 升

Xie Guojing 謝國經

xiucai 秀才

Ju Xiang 鞠祥

yiren 夷人

sakoku 鎖國

Zhejiang 浙江

kaihai 開海

longqing kaiguan 隆慶開關

wokou/wako 倭寇

Xu Hai 徐海

Quzhou 衢州

Zhou Qilai 周歧來

dada 鞞鞞

Haishou 海壽

Shenyang 沈陽

Zunzhou huibian 尊周彙編

qingzhu 清主

huwang 胡皇

hong 薨

Riben 日本

ben 本

Hangzhouzhi 杭州志

paifang 牌坊

Luo Banghan 駱邦瀚

Ke Yuchuang 柯雨窗

Wang Zhi 王直

haijin 海禁

Fujian 福建

Guangdong 廣東

Yuegang 月港

Taizhou 台州

Zhu Wan 朱紈

Chuzhou 處州

Jinhua 金華

tō tsūji 唐通事

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