

Sino-Japanese Relations in the Edo Period¹

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Part Eight. The Travels of Elephants

The Delivery of Elephant Cubs. On the third day of the sixth lunar month of the thirteenth year of the Kyôhō reign (1728), the year of the monkey, Number Nineteen Vessel of that year, a Chinese ship, entered port carrying as freight a pair of elephants, one male and one female. The shipmaster was Zheng Dawei 鄭大威, and the port of embarkation was known at the time as Guangnan 廣南, a port near the present-day city of Haiphong in Vietnam; it was thus called Number Nineteen Guangnan Vessel in the year of the monkey. As I shall describe later, Zheng Dawei was a member of the Zheng group in the Vietnam area which was active in the Japan trade. Zheng Dawei did not have a *shinpai* 信牌 or trading license. It was well known that the policy was such that without a *shinpai* one could not engage in trade. But he clearly had absolute self-confidence. The basis for this was the elephants. That is, he was not carrying the elephants to Japan purely on guesswork that someone would want them, but on the basis of an order placed by Shōgun Yoshimune. In other words, they were *ôgoyômono* 御用物, items provided to the shōgun in response to an official order.

The genesis of this story was a promise made two years earlier in the twelfth month of Kyôhō 11 by Wu Ziming 吳子明, shipmaster of Tonkin Vessel Number Thirty-Eight in the year of the horse, to transport the elephants to Japan. On the 29th day of the fourth month of Kyôhō 12, Wu returned home. The reply given at the time that Wu Ziming accepted this order can be found in the *Wa-Kan kibun* 和漢寄文 (Japanese-Chinese Translation Terms), and it is cited in the *Tsūkō ichiran* 通航一覽 (Overview of Maritime Relations). A look at this text gives us a general overview of the situation.

You have been asking me if it is possible to transport elephant cubs [to Japan], but this beast comes from Siam and does not exist in any of the provinces of China [lit, Tôzan 唐山]. If you order that this animal be brought here, I will assume the task of transportation.

To be sure, there were no elephants in the provinces of China. This was one item beyond the capacity of a shipmaster to secure unless he hailed from the Southeast Asian

*Unless otherwise noted, all notes are the translator's.

¹ *Edo jidai no Nit-Chû hiwa* 江戸時代の日中秘話 (Tokyo: Tôhō shoten, 1980), pp. 160-83.

region, such as the port of Tonkin. Wu Ziming offered all sorts of explanations about elephants and added conditions of sale concerning the transport of elephants. We can conjecture what Yoshimune asked when he saw these explanations.

Yoshimune's Questions. When we note that Wu's claim that a white elephant was not an everyday sight and thus he was bringing with him an ashen-haired elephant, it would seem that Yoshimune wanted a white one. Yoshimune's questions appear to have been concrete: What does one feed an elephant? Was an elephant cub about as big as five oxen and an adult elephant as big as ten? Does one conduct an elephant by sticking a hook into its body? If the elephant's skin is rent, will the wound clear up at night when the stars come out? Will you be bringing an elephant familiar with people? Ask in Siam if the elephant can be separated from its trainer, and if necessary will you be bringing as well someone to handle the elephant? Inasmuch as it will be difficult to transport an elephant on a Japanese ship over such a long distance, will there be a problem bringing it over land? Might this be an issue in bringing it from Nagasaki to Edo?

Wu Ziming demonstrated his business acumen without the least restraint. He let the shōgun know that he wished the following. Since he could not transport an elephant on a small ship, he would have to build two new large-scale ships. That would cost over 10,000 taels of silver, with incidental costs of traveling to and from Siam coming to over 20,000 taels of silver. He would thus like to have seven trading licenses for the port of Siam, advance payment of 10,000 taels of silver (100 *kanme* of Japanese silver [=872 pounds]), and an additional four trading licenses for Siam. In other words, he wanted an advance contract. This transaction appears in the *Tōsen shinkō kaitō roku* 唐船進港回棹錄 (Record of the Coming to Port and Departing for Home of Chinese Vessels), and inasmuch as we see there that he was given one trading license for Siam good for one year, measures seem to have been taken. We do not know if the requested silver was forthcoming. However, perhaps the fact that Zheng Dawei's vessel bearing the elephants entered port without a trading license and was given a license to return home was based on a promise of such a trading license if he in fact did bring the requested items to Japan.

An Account of Observations at Nagasaki. The pair of elephants that Zheng Dawei's ship brought to port on the thirteenth day of the sixth month was comprised of a seven-year old male and a five-year old female, and they were accompanied by a trainer from Guangnan. On the nineteenth, they drew the ship up close to land at Ōhato 大波戸, set out large planks of wood from the land, brought the elephants down from the ship, and placed them in an empty room in the front section of the Chinese Compound. On the first day of the seventh month, a report was dispatched to Edo. The information in it is fascinating as the observations of a man of the Edo period who was seeing an elephant for the first time. We must assume that the information reached Shōgun Yoshimune's ears.²

Male elephant, 7 years of age.

* Length 1 *jō*; height 5 *shaku*, 5 *sun*; girth 1 *jō*, 1 *shaku*, 5 *sun*.

² In the listing that follows, 1 *jō* 丈 = 10 *shaku* 尺 = 100 *sun* 寸 = 1000 *bu* 分 = 3.3 yards; 1 *ken* 間 = 6 feet; 1 *shō* 升 = 1.92 quarts

* Length of feet 2 *shaku*, 2 *sun*; girth 1 *shaku*, 5 *sun*; no excess flesh around outside, like a cedar log.

* Eyes 1 *sun*, 5 *bu*; ears 1 *shaku*, 3 *sun*, like the wings of a bat, also resembling a butterfly.

* Mouth hidden beneath the nose [i.e., trunk], never visible.

* Teeth [i.e., tusks] 1 *shaku*, 4 *sun*; girth at the base 1 *shaku*, 6 *sun* around.

* Length of trunk 3 *shaku*, 5 *sun*; 1 *shaku*, 6 *sun* at the base and 6 *sun* at the tip around; it has two holes, and to its side are three talon-shaped items which flutter and operate freely; it gulps down water through the trunk and pours it into its mouth. When its skin itches, it rolls up a suitable piece of wood with its trunk to scratch it. It also sucks up water with its trunk to wash its entire body

* Tail 2 *shaku*, 7 or 8 *sun*, like a Japanese ox it is thicker in the front.

* Hair is amber-colored and rough; its texture and that of its body is like that of a hog; its cry is wild resembling that of a cow.

Female elephant, 5 years of age.

* Length 8 *shaku*, size and shape similar to the male elephant.

However, I have heard it said that a large elephant may be 12-15 *ken* in length.

* It consumes 3 loads of grass, 7 or 8 *shô* of soy beans, and 7 *shô* of water each day.

However, its favorite dishes are banana plant leaves, roots, and steamed rice dumplings (*manjû* 饅頭) without the sweet bean interior; it strongly dislikes mice and ants.

* The male elephant trainer is a man of 45 or 46 years of age [East Asian style]. Unlike ordinary Chinese, he is an official who does not have his hair braided into a queue; he wears red gauze clothing with yellowish green gloss twill fabric. He uses a 2-*shaku* hook as a halter which is attached to the elephant to lead it.

* The female elephant trainer is a man of 32 years of age who wears the same style of clothing. The two men sat astride the elephants as they were moved from the ship to the office [in Nagasaki].

* It innately loves young children. On a visit to a village in this foreign land, it bore 3 or 4 children on the depression on its back. It takes them to places where there is tea and returns before dusk. Consequently, although parents and children do not see each other, there is no reason for worry while they are riding the elephants.

* By nature it is honest and docile. It understands well. This time in the ship, the trainer told it that it would be able to drink some alcohol when they arrived in Japan. Upon arrival, the trainer forgot and did not offer the elephant any alcohol. The animal would not drink [water], and everybody thought this strange. And, then, the trainer remembered the alcohol and gave it to the elephant who drank it up promptly.

* They say that an elephant can become pregnant at age twelve and can live for 600 or 700 years. Because they enjoy immeasurable bliss in India, no matter what the Chinese trainer says, she faithfully complies. Should he tell the elephant to bow toward an official, she kneels down on her front legs; should he tell her to "go to sleep," she will lie down on her side.

* They can lead it around by a hook, and even if it were to start bleeding, it would recover with the light of the stars. However, it does walk along the road rather rapidly. At a place known as Hirobaba 廣馬場 in Nagasaki, it was threatened and started running at a clip more speedy than a horse. All in all, because it is familiar with people, it does not do wild things. It is usually very well behaved. We brought along an item

known as an harquebus which can be fired while riding on the elephant. If you order it, I will send this to Edo.

After coming on land on the nineteenth, they apparently tried out numerous things for a ten-day period. Its legs were like cedar tree trunks, its ears resembled the wings of bats or butterflies; it bent its front legs to bow before the official. They claimed as well that the elephant walked through the streets of Nagasaki and that they had to reinforce the bridges with numerous additional pillars. Not just Japanese, for it would have been strange indeed if one Chinese in a hundred had ever seen an elephant. The two elephant trainers were 45-year-old Dam Sou 潭敷 and 42-year-old Dam Mien 潭綿. As they were Vietnamese, Li Yangming 李陽明 from Zhangchou and Chen Ayin 陳阿印 from Guangdong served as their translators.

Forwarding of a Directive en Route. As an official of the Imperial Household, Nagasaki Administrator Watanabe Izumo no kami 渡部出雲守 took charge, and under the system of mobilization the two interpreters-in-training accompanying the elephants, Go Tôjirô 吳藤次郎 and Go Kiemon 五喜右衛門, were attached to the Chinese interpreters. The formal explanation offered by the Chinese was sent forward as a report after being translated by Senior Interpreter Sakaki Tôjiemon 彭城藤治右衛門. In this report, we read: "Neither of the elephants became sick." In spite of this, on the eleventh day of the ninth month, the female elephant developed a boil on its tongue and died.

In the next year, Kyôhô 14 (1729), the surviving elephant was to be brought from Nagasaki to Edo, and in the second month of the year Paymaster Inô Shimotsuke no kami 稻生下野守 issued instructions for all manner of preparations, starting with feed for the animal, to the inns along the route.

While the elephant is walking along the road, a large crowd of people behaving boisterously might hurt the elephant, and thus at no time are there to be crowds of people acting in a boisterous manner.

Beginning with this note about prevention of injury to the elephant, he went on to demand preparation for the animal's food--namely, bamboo leaves, greenery, straw, and "steamed buns without sweet bean paste"; preparation of clean water for the elephant to drink in places where there was no fresh water, because it could only drink fresh water; preparation of sufficient numbers of people so that they would be able to ford speedy rivers without difficulty; preparation of sufficient straw for the elephant when it went to sleep, and large, formidable stables because inns at which they would stay along the road would only have ordinary stables; vessels and barns had to be prepared to accomodate the elephant which was about seven *shaku* tall, one *jô* and one *shaku* long, and about four *shaku* wide. Having issued these instructions, a placard was to be put up which read: "Note: You may come to look at this animal." It was to indicate that it would be all right for people to come and observe the elephant.

The elephant resided for a time in the wards of Kyoto, and thus the directive concerning it was a bit more detailed. Further instructions were issued to the following effect: Although it was all right for the animal to be observed, quiet should prevail; children should be behind it, and if they approach the elephant, they must not be

boisterous; things must not be strewn in the road along which it would travel; it was fine to observe it at cross streets, but not to come out into the road it was taking, it was fine to observe from a second storey; do not hang down shop curtains; take all strangely shaped shop signs inside; be careful lest it become angry upon seeing an ox or horse or hearing a voice; prepare ladders and fire prevention equipment at the ward gates; in an emergency, do not do anything to cause inconvenience; while the elephant is staying with us, the temples within a radius of three *chô* 町 [roughly 360 yards] must cease all religious memorial music; within a radius of five *chô* [roughly 600 yards], the big drum and the wood clappers at temples are not to be used at the time of bell ringing; while the elephant is in Kyoto, should fire break out within the range of Horikawa 堀川 to the west, Kawara 河原 to the east, Sanjôdôri 三條通 to the south, and Kuramaguchi 鞍馬口 to the north, from the wards with locally sponsored fire brigades, in addition to the regular fire fighters, mobilize 80 men in front of the main gate to Jôkein 淨華院 (Jôke Temple) where the elephant was residing; and if it is nighttime, men holding lanterns will be needed in addition to the 80.

Elephant March. The procession set off from Nagasaki on the thirteenth day of the third lunar month. They passed through Shimonoseki on the 22nd and stopped in Hyôgo on the eighteenth of the fourth month and in Ozaki on the nineteenth of that month. On the twentieth they went through Ôsaka and reached Fushimi on the 25th. The next day, they entered Kyoto. The preparations made in many villages en route were extraordinary, and it appears that records from the time remain extant in village level documents. One such would be documents held by the Okamoto 岡本 family, village elders in Ozaki domain, which were introduced by Yamashita Yukiko 山下幸子 in the journal *Chiiki shi kenkyû* 地域史研究 (Studies in Local History).³ They demonstrate that a number of village officials within the domain were sent to western Japan to observe the overall situation and then were to report what they had seen and heard. The elephant trainer and other attendants upon the animal, of course, followed the leadership en route of two men, Oheda Hachizaemon 小触田八左衛門 and Fukui Yûsuke 福井雄助, who were subordinates to Nagasaki Intendant Takagi Sakuemon 高木作右衛門. Treatment of all these supervisors was a serious concern at the villages en route, and the directive that went out calling for locals to be ready with feed in the amount of 100 piculs of grass for the elephant had the proviso that it be *itabukazura* いたぶ葛 or *himekusa* ひめ草. I do not know what these are. The people were thus required to take on and investigate these sorts of things in advance.

Five or six *chô* 丁 [roughly 600-700 meters] in front of where the elephant walked were village officials and town organizations.⁴ They saw to it that all horses and oxen were removed from sight, that observers along the way were withdrawn, and that the road was secure. The village council, the unit commanders in the wards, and the representatives of the peasants brought up the rear of the elephant. There are documents as well which describe who stands where for the "zô tôri sôrô gyôretsu" 象通り候行列 (procession accompanying the elephant's passing through).

³ *Chiiki shi kenkyû* 2.2.

⁴ A *chô* (丁 or 町) is equivalent to 119 yards.

Among the village documents recently discovered in the town of Yodo 淀 in Kyoto prefecture, there are records depicting the elephant's appearance. Upon reaching Kyoto the elephant entered a shed set up on the grounds of the Jôkein which today lies to the north of the Hirokôji 広小路 campus of Ritsumeikan University. The temple's more formal name was Shôjôkein 清浄華院, and it was affiliated with the Pure Land Sect. Here it stayed for a short while so that it might be seen by retired emperor Nakamido 中御門, the former Emperor Reigen 霊元 (1654-1732, r. 1663-87).

Guangnan White Elephant, Rank 4b. There was, however, one problem. One needed status to meet with the emperor. It was the practice in the feudal era that those without rank or official position were unable to have audiences with an emperor or retired emperor. What was to be done? Simply put, it was decided that the elephant should have a rank. Conferring ranks was the prerogative of the emperor, not something of concern to elephants. Thus, this elephant had a 4b rank conferred upon it, and he was dubbed the "Guangnan white elephant, rank 4b." In the presentation of a rank, a document known as a court-rank diploma was issued. Why in the world was such a thing promulgated? It is a fascinating story, but in any event the rank of 4b is an exceedingly high rank, higher than the daimyôs around in the region. Rank 5 and above was reserved for courtiers who were permitted to attend at the imperial court, although the elephant did not visit the palace.

On the 28th day of the fourth month, he was taken to court and shown to the emperor first. He then proceeded to visit the retired emperor. On those occasions, it bent down on its front legs in paying its respects, drank several ladles full of wine, and then promptly consumed over 100 buns with red bean paste and 100 mandarin oranges. It apparently ate the mandarin oranges after peeling them with its trunk. It then crushed under foot four or five feet worth of fresh bamboo, and taking it in its trunk scratched itself and swept away the flies.

The aristocrats who took part in this event--among them Imadegawa Dainagon Kimiaki 今出川大納言公詮, Takatsuji Chûnagon Fusanaga 高辻中納言総長, and Gojô Saishô Tamenori 五条宰相為範--were greatly pleased that the emperor had made a personal inspection and that he was greatly satisfied, and they quickly repaired to compose various genres of poetry. The following poem has been passed down as the work of the emperor on this occasion:

To have this opportunity to be able to see this extraordinary beast from a foreign land at the imperial palace today makes me very happy.

This was by no means a well-crafted poem. The aristocrats there seem to have been left with lasting impressions of the elephants tusks and his trunk. For example, Imadegawa Dainagon wrote the following piece of poetry:

This stalwart, strange beast has been presented to the imperial domain [i.e., Japan]. It surpasses the horse and ox when traversing hill and dale.

Fastening fire to its tail and thrust into the Wu encampment would have made the warriors of Wu retreat. Its abdomen balanced would float with the vessels of Wei.

Its pointed tusks can be seen on the left and the right as if it were angry, its long trunk coils up and uncoils as it moves along freely.

By nature shy, it can ably bow down. The trainer directs it only with a hook on a pole.⁵

This poem appears first in a poetry collection known as the *Eizô shi* 詠象詩 (Poems in Admiration of Elephants) which concerned the elephant published in a woodblock printing that year, 1729, by the Niyûsai 二酉齋 Book Shop in Kyoto. This collection brings together eighteen pieces of poetry and prose with an additional section containing twenty more. This work of fifteen leaves also has appended to it after the main section an appendix on training elephants by Okuda Shikyô 奥田士亨 (Sankaku 三角, 1702-83). Following poems by seven aristocrats, there is a poem by Itô Tôgai 伊藤東涯 (Nagatsugu 長胤), and then by Sankaku's work on training elephants it reads: "Kyôshi kogi shoin ni shosu" 京師古義書院に書す (Written at the Academy of Ancient Meanings in Kyoto). This would lead one to believe that Sankaku was a disciple of the Kogidô 古義堂 [Tôgai's academy].

All About Elephants. According to Sankaku's essay (written in Kanbun), we read: "Throughout the wards of Kyoto and those near the capital, there were drawings and clay dolls in the form of the elephant, and these were sold as well as toys in quantities so large that it could not be recorded. There were men who became wealthy as a result." This indicates that people made drawings and earthen doll replicas of the elephant and sold them. I believe that the *Eizô shi* was put together as a seasonal work, and in no way different from the shrewd world of publishing today, a work known as the *Zô shi* 象志 (Treatise on Elephants) came out in the sixth lunar month (midsummer) of that year in the "Number Fourteen Dragon Collection of Kyôhō." This work is all about elephants. It begins with a diagram for training an elephant and then describes the experiences of this elephant's travel to Japan. It proceeds with the descriptions of the elephant's body shape, its liver, the tusks on the sides of its trunk, how they accomplished sexual union and gave birth to offspring, its flesh, its ivory, and its skin; that a woman's hair can be likened to a large elephant,⁶ that elephants feared mice and also feared fire, that elephants detested the barking of dogs, that elephants liked wine, and what their behavioral habits were. Finally, it describes Bodhisattva Puxian 普賢 and how the Japanese [monk] Renbô 蓮防⁷ took in the image of Puxian riding a white elephant. It was jointly published by: Namikawa Jinzaburô 並川甚三郎 and Kimura Ichirôbee 木村市郎兵衛 of Bukkôji sagaru-chô 佛光寺下ル町, Horikawa-dôri 堀川通 in Kyoto; Uemura Tôzaburô 植村藤三郎 of Jûkendana 十軒店, Sanchôme 三丁目, Honseki-chô 本石町 in Edo; and Yasui Kahee 安井嘉兵衛 of Awaji-chô kado 淡路町角, Shinsaibashisuji 心齋橋筋 in Ôsaka. The copy I own bears the stamp: "The work of the Chizen'in 智善院, lesser temple on the grounds of the Hon-ji 本--寺 of Kyoto."⁸

Furthermore, there is a colophon which notes: "Tribute of the elephant [to the shôgun], altogether one stringbound volume written in *hiragana*, soon to be published." In fact, in the fifth month of the year this very bookstore published *Zô no mitsugi* 象のみ

⁵ It is not clear what the "vessels of Wei" refers to.

⁶ Implying that men can be enticed by women's beauty.

⁷ The characters given in the text are those above; the correct ones for this name should be: 蓮坊.

⁸ The "--" indicates a single character that is unclear in the original text.

つぎ (Tribute of the Elephant). The edition in my collection carries a stamp reading: "The work of Nakamura Heigo 中村平五 of Kyoto." Just under the title at the beginning of this work, the text reads: "In order that this volume be easy for children to understand, the words are written simply, without florid language of any kind." Thus, it would appear to be a publication for young boys and girls. The elephant came to Kyoto at the end of the fourth lunar month, and this work was published the next month--extremely quick work. I once wrote a piece for the *Mainichi shinbun* 毎日新聞 (evening edition, March 1, 1973) in which I compared pandas and elephants, and I found it interesting that there was a similar boom back then. Stuffed panda toys flooded the Japanese toy market, a book entitled *Panda no subete* パンダのすべて (All about Pandas) was published, and the weekly magazines printed pieces regularly about whether or not the panda would give birth. Might we say that human nature has not changed, or might we say that the commercial spirit has not changed.

In Edo. Having attained court rank and stature, the elephant then moved to the east. On the 25th day of the fifth month, it arrived in Edo and entered the Hama 浜 Palace; on the 27th Yoshimune emerged at the entranceway for vehicles to the grand rotunda and viewed the elephant who had been led there from the Sakurada 櫻田 Gate. Viewing of the elephant was permitted to officials at the level of those allowed to sit in the shōgun's palace, masters of court ceremony, and samurai of rank six and above. It returned via the Sukiyabashi 数寄屋橋 Gate and the palace women and maids were able to see it. Inspectors Honda Yahachirō and others below him were assigned to be Imperial Household officials for the elephant, and it was fed at the Hama Palace. The miscanthus reeds, straw, and bamboo leaves were all purchased for a set price as feed, and presented by the villages of Hongyōtokumura 本行徳村, Matsudochō 松戸町, and Koganechō 小金町.

On the eleventh and twelfth of the sixth month of Kyōhō 15, the elephant was taken to the Yamazato 山里 fortification in the western enceinte, and on the last day of that month it was announced that because the shōgun had finished with the elephant, it was to be given to someone who wanted it, and thus it was entrusted to the care of one Gensuke 源助, a farmer in the village of Nakano 中野. In volume 76 of the *Tsūkō ichiran*, there is a citation from the *Jōkan zatsuroku* 承寛襍録 (Various Records from the Jō to the Kanpō Eras [1652-1744]) concerning recognition of the sale of elephant oil and white ox oil at the Yodo Bridge of the Naitō 内藤 Inn to Heiemon 平右衛門 of Oshitate 押立 village, Gensuke of Nakano village, and Yahee 彌兵衛 of Kashiwagi 柏木 village. It notes that these items were useful for smallpox, measles, carbuncles, and particularly problematic tumors. Furthermore, in 1741, the first year of the Kanpō reign, it was moved to Nakano village in Yotsuya, and Gensuke built a small hut in which to feed it and in which to show it to others. However, on the fourth day of the sixth month of the following year, the elephant began to act violently. It completely tore out the pillars of the hut and pulled out the post driven into the ground about eight feet to which his foot was shackled. It yanked out a large nettle tree with its trunk and destroyed the embankment to a dry moat. On the eleventh day of the twelfth month of that year, it passed away due to illness. It was 21 years of age by Japanese count.

According to Takashima Haruo's 高島春雄 work, *Dôbutsu torai monogatari* 動物渡来物語 (The Story of the Coming of Animals [to Japan]),⁹ its skin was confiscated by the shogunate; its skull, tusks, and the skin of its trunk were given to Gensuke; the Kobaien 古梅園 [a famous calligraphy supply shop] in Nara received the skin because, it said, it could be used to make glue for producing ink.

The Coming of Animals. According to the work just cited, there was an elephant that lived in Japan that had arrived in Wakasa 若狹 domain in 1408, the fifteenth year of the Kaei reign period. Furthermore, a Nanban 南蠻 ("southern barbarian") vessel which arrived in Wakasa on the 22nd day of the sixth month of that year presented then Shôgun Ashikaga Yoshimochi 足利義持 with one black elephant, one mountain horse, two pair of peacocks, and two pair of parrots. This black elephant was presented by Yoshimochi to Korea at a time when he wanted to obtain a copy of the Tripitaka, and this is said to have been the first elephant to travel to Korea. Next, in the seventh month of Tenshō 2 or 1574, a vessel from Ming China brought an elephant and a tiger to Hakata; the following year of 1575 another Chinese vessel presented Ôtomo Yoshishige 大友義楨 with an elephant, a tiger, and a peacock, among other things, at the bay of Usuki 臼杵 in Bungo 豊後; in 1602, Keichō 2, a tiger and a peacock together with an elephant were presented to Tokugawa Ieyasu from Giao-chi 交趾 [i.e., Vietnam]. Thus, the elephant of the Kyōhō era was the sixth arrival of such in Japan. The seventh arrival of an elephant took place on the 28th day of the sixth lunar month of Bunka 10 (1813) when a Dutch ship brought one as a gift for the shōgun. However, at the conclusion of a meeting of the Council of Elders, and it was declined as "of no use at this time." The seventh time then took place in the fourth month of Bunkyū 3 (1863) when the American ship Seaton¹⁰ brought one to Yokohama; it was open for viewing at Nishiryōgoku 西兩國 in Edo, and two years later was put on show in Ōsaka as well. There are woodblock color prints of the elephant of the Bunkyū era, and I have seen drawings of the elephant from the Bunka era as well, but the depictions of the Kyōhō elephant are extremely rare.

In addition to elephants, other curious animals such as camels and orangutans came to Japan from time to time and were subjects of public discussion. Although the objective was not attained, there is a case given in the *Tō tsūji kaisho nichiroku* 唐通事會所日録 (Daily Accounts from the Hall of the Chinese Interpreters) of an order for an orangutan made for the Mito family. By contrast, a Dutch vessel that came to port in Kansei 12 (1800) was carrying an orangutan and a *shierikatto*¹¹ "in the hope that they would be purchased for the shōgun." The shōgun's family, however, did not purchase them, according to this account. It seems that Tokugawa Mitsukuni 徳川光圀 (1628-1700) liked animals. There is as well an account in the *Tō tsūji kaisho nichiroku* telling of a number of vessels from Jakarta and Patani, namely from Southeast Asia, that came to port in the eighth month of Kanbun 7 (1667), and that in compliance with an order from the lord of Mito they were carrying three monkeys and three musk cats to be delivered.

⁹ (Tokyo: Gakufū shoin, 1965).

¹⁰ I am not sure if this is the correct name. It is written シタン in Japanese. Comments are welcome from readers.

¹¹ The term given in *katakana* is a kind of squirrel from Sarawak.

Breeds of dogs not found in Japan were brought there and became quite fashionable at times. In Kyôhō 11 an order for a dog assumed by Shi Yiting 施翼亭, the owner of a Nanjing vessel, read to the effect that because two of the four dogs brought to Japan by Huang Zheqing 黃哲卿 earlier had been fine, he should bring five or ten of this breed of dog. There were "Chinese dogs" (*karainu* 唐犬) and they had become all the rage in Japan.¹² Various names had become associated with them as well, such as *Karainu-pitai* 唐犬額 and *Karainu-gonbee* 唐犬權兵衛.

A Small Bird. A small fowl--that is, a small bird--should have involved a simple business transaction inasmuch as it was small. The cargo brought on Chinese vessels was judged by its contents. For example, according to the *Tô tsûji kaisho nichiroku* for the twentieth day of the third month of Hōei 6 (1709), Nanjing vessel number twenty-seven was carrying one parakeet, Ningbo vessel number thirty was carrying one Siberian meadow bunting, and Nanjing vessel number thirty-one was carrying one canary. The account notes that the canary was shown to the two Nagasaki Administrators Komakine Masakata 駒木根政方 and Bessho Tsuneharu 別所常治 (at the time, three men were assigned to the position of Nagasaki Administrator, one on duty in Edo and two in Nagasaki, and they alternated). There are also accounts of the administrator observing Chinese feeding cranes and herons. Stories emerge as well of whether the birds are for official business or not, and when they are purchased it is assumed that they would be presented by the administrator to the higher authorities. In another record dated the tenth day of the ninth month of the following year, Hōei 7, on the orders of the Nagasaki Intendant Takagi Sakuemon, a Chinese shipmaster en route home was on his next journey to Japan to bring with him one nightingale and one Korean magpie. Since this was seen as a bird on special order, it came from the shōgun Xiamen vessel number eight in the year of the sheep arrived in port in the sixth month of An'ei 4 (1775), and it was carrying as cargo four pair of wrens, six pair of mynah birds, and one pair of doves. Similarly, aboard a Nanjing *yongmao* 永茂 vessel that was shipwrecked at Shimoda at Izu on the 29th day of the twelfth month of Bunka 12 (1815) were 42 pair of *jinkôchô* 沈香鳥 (lit., "aloes bird" [but the exact meaning remains unclear]), five pair of Chinese love-birds, and seventeen pair of wrens. The list of cargo items of the aforementioned Xiamen vessel is recorded in the *Keiho gûhitsu* 瓊浦偶筆 (Occasional Notes at the Beautiful Seacoast) by Hirasawa Genkai 平沢元愷, and the cargo list of the Nanjing *yongmao* vessel's cargo list can be found in the *Seihaku hitsuwa* 清舶筆話 (Notes on Cargo), recorded by Asakawa Zen'an 朝川善庵 (1781-1849). At this time, the Shimoda intendant was Egawa Tarôzaemon Tannan 江川太郎左衛門坦庵. The cargo lists of vessels that came into port at Nagasaki without incident were, as a matter of course, presented to the office of the Nagasaki Administrator and at the Nagasaki Hall. Aside from those occasions when they were copied out by men resident in Nagasaki, such as Hirasawa Genkai, there was no time to store them away year after year, and they were accordingly discarded, none remaining extant today. In cases in which Chinese vessels caught in a typhoon or other serious accident and were shipwrecked on Japanese shores aside from Nagasaki, they

¹² In modern Japanese, "karainu" frequently refers to the chow breed, though it is unclear if that was what was meant earlier.

were scrupulously searched for Christian material or to see if they were secret trading vessels; also in rare cases local records may have preserved and passed down these lists of cargo. Thus, the records of Chinese vessels that were shipwrecked on Japanese shores are extremely valuable from every conceivable angle. I have collected a certain number of such materials and would like to publish them as collections.

The two ships just mentioned are, in this sense, examples of real cases randomly selected. Both carried small birds to Japan as cargo; in particular, the fact that the Nanjing *yongmao* vessel had 42 pair of *jinkôchô* probably means that its objective was commercial. Small fowl seemed to have a tendency to die. Indeed, one bird the Administrator was set to see died before he was able to do so. There also seems to have been a problem with how to feed them. This all sounds thoroughly understandable in light of the order issued as a note by Nagasaki Intendant Takagi Sakuemon who was in charge of items ordered by the shôgun, dated the 25th day of the ninth month of Hôei 7 (1710), to the Chinese interpreters for them to query the Chinese about where one could obtain *nishikitobi*¹³ 錦鷄, wrens, grey thrushes, peacocks, and parrots.

Elephants and Pandas. Among the books in my library is one manuscript formerly in the collection of the Tayasu 田安 household: *Shochô kaikata: Tô kômô wataridori no bu* 諸鳥飼方：唐紅毛渡鳥之部 (How to Feed Various Species of Birds: Section on Birds Imported from China and Holland). In it 99 species of birds, starting with the crane, are listed, and it includes such data as the characteristics of each species and when it came to Japan. Among them are migratory birds and birds native to Korea and the Ryûkyû Kingdom, and the eras recorded for their arrival in Japan are Meiwa (1764-72), An'ei (1772-81), and Tenmei (1781-89). These are not necessarily accurate datings, but paradoxically it is from roughly this time that interest in raising small birds became widespread among the public at large, reflecting an increased need of this sort

Caring for rare animals, particularly those from foreign lands, belongs to the category of luxury or extravagance. One finds it in antiquity in the extravagant lives of kings and emperors. In imperial tombs of the Shang dynasty, elephants were buried together with the elephant trainers; Han emperors raised tigers at the Shanglinyuan 上林苑, a park within Chang'an. Raising rare beasts was one manifestation of the power of despotic monarchs. The case of Yoshimune fits this model precisely. From this perspective, the existence of zoos for citizens in the modern world may be seen as a kind of liberation of these rare animals from monopolization by autocratic rulers and aristocrats. This is true whether or not the instances of pandas nowadays and elephants in the Kyôhô reign may resemble one another.

Yet, the coming to Japan of elephants in the Kyôhô period and the travels of the male elephant before the very eyes of ordinary folk from Nagasaki to Edo did afford the people a certain enjoyment. In a verse by a poet of the time from Kyoto, Horinouchi Senkaku 堀内仙鶴, he sings of elephants: "Beside Mount Fuji it is like a snail being

¹³ Its identity remains unclear, though it may have been named for the beauty of its flight; perhaps it is related to the similarly named *kinkei* 錦鳥 or golden pheasant.

pulled." This makes us unconsciously feel the easygoing quality of the Sino-Japanese exchange in animals during the Kyôhô era.

The Importation of Plants. Were I to write about animals and not mention plants would be rather onesided. However, lacking any knowledge of botany, I find myself at a loss to write anything at all. All I can do at this point is to relate stories I have acquired.

Shirai Mitsutarô's 白井光太郎 work *Shokubutsu torai kô* 植物渡來考 (A Study of the Importation of Plants [to Japan])¹⁴ is not limited to the Edo period but brings together material on this subject from high antiquity forward. It was published in 1929 and reissued in 1975. He arranges the flora by their Japanese names according to the syllabary alphabet, and under each entry he also gives its Chinese name, other Japanese names, and on occasion the English name. An explanation of each plant's history of passage to Japan is given, and numerous sources have been consulted beginning with the *Kojiki* 古事記 (Record of Ancient Matters) and the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicle of Japan). In addition, the author's research extends broadly to materials concerning Nagasaki--such as the *Nagasaki bunkenroku* 長崎聞見録 (Account of Travels in Nagasaki)¹⁵ and *Nagasaki yawa sô* 長崎夜話草 (Drafts of Evening Chats in Nagasaki)--and the writings of Edo-period authors such as Inô Jakusui 稻生若水 (1655-1715), Matsuoka Gentatsu 松岡玄達, and Aoki Kon'yô 青木昆陽 (1698-1769), among others.

The study of medicinal herbs--centering on pharmacology--which covered botany and zoology had been developing from early times originally in China, and it entered Japan at an early date because it was a form of practical learning concerned with human life. Works dealing with medicinal herbs were kept in large numbers together with medical texts even in the Momijiyama Bunko, the shogunal library. Although orders were in fact placed for new books to be brought from China, this area of scholarship was not especially well developed in China of the Ming and Qing eras. Thus, there were really only a few works that were transported to Japan. Rather, as can be seen in the *Wa-Kan sansai zue* 和漢三才圖繪 (Sino-Japanese Tripartite Picture Assembly) and the *Yamato honzô* 大和本草 (Japanese Materia Medica), there was a distinctive development in Japan's own study of flora.¹⁶ Also, it should be noted that new species of plants for medicinal use that came from the mainland were cultivated and studied in medicinal-herb gardens in many daimyô domains starting with Shôgun Yoshimune's Koishikawa 小石川 garden.

¹⁴ (Tokyo: Oka shoten, 1929).

¹⁵ A work in five fascicles, a kind of gazetteer of Nagasaki describing its many sights and sounds, by Hirokawa Kai 廣川獬, published in 1799.

¹⁶ The *Wa-Kan sansai zue* is an encyclopedia in 105 fascicles and 81 stringbound volumes compiled by Terajima Ryôan 寺島良安. It is essentially a Sino-Japanese version of the *Sancai tuihui* 三才圖會 (Tripartite Picture Assembly) of Wang Qi 王圻 (1565-1614). The *Yamato honzô* is a work in sixteen fascicles with an additional five fascicles appended, compiled by Kaibara Ekken 貝原益軒 in 1709. It introduces numerous flora, fauna, and minerals in a Sino-Japanese form based on the *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 (Materia Medica) of Li Shizhen 李時珍 (1518-93).

The Work of Identifying Japanese Plants. At the time that the study of medicinal herbs in Japan was progressing, probably the most difficult problem was the work of deciding which plants by their Chinese names corresponded to which plants in Japan.

Irrespective of foreign language, it was painstakingly difficult work to transpose into Japanese the foreign language terms for animals, plants, household furniture, utensils, and the like. When I was studying in Cambridge, I used to walk along the road with an illustrated picture book of small birds, and when the picture in the book matched the bird I was seeing, I would guess at its name. I still have memories of feeling awkward when I unexpectedly bumped into Professor Altine, a specialist in Indian archeology, who laughed and said: "Ah, still at it, eh?" Without a doubt he had done precisely the same thing at the time of his first visit to India. It is completely useless to search out the names of birds and flowers and having learned their names in their own setting to remain ignorant of their names in Japanese. Hence, picture books of birds and fish for foreign countries are necessities. It would be strange, indeed, if scholars of foreign literatures did not request of their libraries that they purchase works of this sort. The work of discerning which Japanese species of life corresponds to which in the Chinese language is an essential task, and this area of scholarship is known in Japanese as *dôtei* 同定.

Nanjing vessel number fourteen arrived in port carrying Dr. Chen Zhenxian 陳振先 on the sixteenth day of the sixth intercalary month of Kyôhō 6 (1721). The shipmaster was Shen Mingyuan 沈茗園, and Yoshimune had conveyed to him the request "to bring along a good doctor" when he received his trading license in 1718 (Kyôhō 3). I shall discuss the coming to Japan of this doctor in the next chapter of this book. Chen Zhenxian had knowledge of medicinal herbs, and he searched the mountains and fields around Nagasaki for them. As a result, he compiled a report in which he catalogued some 162 species, each with annotations concerning its efficacy. The work is known as the *Cai yue lu* 採藥錄 (Account of Collecting Herbs). For his work, Dr. Chen was given 100 catties of copper.

The Zhou Zhu fuyan. A noted work in this area of *dôtei* was one compiled by Zhou Qilai 周岐來 and Zhu Laizhang 朱來章 which circulated under the title *Zhou Zhu fuyan* 周朱復言 (The Zhou-Zhu Exchange) or *Xiangbao fuyan* 享保復言 (The Kyôhō Exchange).

Zhou Qilai came to Japan aboard Nanjing vessel number fourteen, under ship master Fei Zanhou 費贊侯, on the eighteenth day of the sixth lunar month of Kyôhō 10 (1725). Zhu Laizhang arrived on Ningbo vessel number six on the fifth day of the second month of the same year. They fulfilled Yoshimune's orders by supplying the Chinese names for 145 species of fish and shellfish, 34 species of plants, and thirteen species of birds and beasts. They presented their report to the shōgun on the nineteenth day of the eighth month of Kyôhō 11. I shall only mention the *Zhou Zhu fuyan* here and reserve the next chapter of the work for a discussion of who these two gentlemen were.

Following this examination of the medicinal herbs that grew in the region, a supplement was added with materials on imported herbs. This addition was titled *Hakusai yakubutsu roku* 舶載藥物錄 (Account of Medicines Transported to Japan), and it is held in the Iwase Bunko 岩瀬文庫 in Nishio City, Aichi Prefecture. It is a manuscript in 54

folios, and, according to a colophon, in Kôka 3 (1846) Yamamoto Yôshitsu 山本榕室 made a copy of the manuscript in the possession of Noda Seika 野田青葭 of Nagasaki. The original--dated the fifth month of Bunsei 3 (1820)--was prepared, probably for submission to the Nagasaki Administrator, by Morita Jinbee 森田甚兵衛, who was in charge of weighing and measuring medicinal herbs, and five other inspectors of medicinal herbs, and it concerned categories of Chinese and "red-haired" [namely, Dutch] herbs and sundries imported to Japan. The Chinese section is comprised of 338 species, beginning with "yinyanghuo" 淫羊藿 (an aphrodisiac [in Chinese herbal medicine]), while those brought aboard the "red-haired" or Dutch vessels numbers 86. One by one the text also mentions the year in which each item was brought to Japan. For example,

* Coffee

First brought [to Japan] for sale in Bunka 1 [1804], the year of the rat. However, it had been brought in small amounts in earlier years for their own use.

Various kitchen sundries are also included, and thus one finds Chinese-style paper and ivory as well. Although this is an extremely valuable record, unfortunately the accounts for prior to Kyôhō 20, as noted by the appraisers at the end of the original text, are missing, and thus we have nothing for prior to that year. This brings down the value of the text, though we nevertheless have no choice but to deal with what remains extant

Plants for Enjoyment. The importation of plants followed the same pattern as the importation of elephants and small birds. Those plants were limited to those that could be appreciated or enjoyed. These were horticulture plants. From flowers and trees, varieties of flora were easier to import to Japan than animals. Aside from whether they took root in Japanese soil and grew, they were fairly simple cargo. Perhaps for this reason, the *Tô tsûji kaisho nichiroku* has so few records of flowering plants. Mito Rôkô 水戸老公 (Tokugawa Mitsukuni) also put in orders for plants. In the aforementioned items ordered in Kanbun 7, three of each of the following were imported: "Sugar bamboo --namely, sugar cane; longan fruit; and *richii*--namely, lichee [*lizhi*]." It is highly doubtful that in frigid Mito the fruits of Southeast Asia would have been able to take root.

In one rare instance, mention of a flowering plant appears in the records of the Nagasaki Commercial Hall for the seventeenth day of the fourth month of Hôei 5 [1708]. The number three vessel for that year transported to Japan one peony, and the number twenty vessel brought three plum trees. The record indicates that these were purchased by the Tateyama 立山 office--namely, Administrator Nagai Sanuki no kami 永井讃岐守--and a price was fixed for them. Clearly, more Chinese flowering plants than just these were imported to Japan.

There is an interesting story concerning peonies in the entry under Li Wei 李衛 [1687?-1738] in the *Yongzheng zhupi yuzhi* 雍正硃批諭旨 (Vermillion Edicts of the Yongzheng Emperor). While serving as the governor of Zhejiang, Li Wei had occasion to examine Zhu Laizhang. As Zhu recounted it, the Nagasaki Administrator had ordered the importation of a peony with yellow flowers, and he complied. When the flowers bloomed, however, they were purple and the Administrator was highly displeased. He forbade all commercial transactions and ordered the ship to return home with its cargo intact. Zhu

himself as a result suffered great financial losses. The reason for Zhu's losses, though, were different, as the peony story turns out to have been idle chatter. The fact that he offered this excuse and that it was accepted is substantive proof that such flowers were indeed being imported to Japan and even their colors were being ordered.

From the *Tsuta shô*. On the issue of importing flowering plants to Japan, there is no better method than consulting Edo period horticultural works, starting with the *Zôho tsuta shô* 増補地錦抄 (Selections on Ivy, Expanded). In particular, there is a section entitled "Kusaki ikoku yori watarikitaru nenki" 草木異國ヨリ渡リ來ル年記 (Annual records of plants and trees brought [to Japan] from foreign lands) in the third fascicle of the *Tsuta shô furoku* 地錦抄附録 (Appendices to Selections on Ivy). Its introduction begins with: "It is unknown when all the many flowers and plants came to Japan from China. The following are those that arrived from the years of the Shôhō reign period forward." For plants and trees that were imported from the Shôhō period (1644-47), the text then gives:

A madder, a Chinese plum tree (now known as late-year plum), a Ryûkyû azalea, a small evergreen, a coir palm, a *mankamanju* (now known as a *kintôsô* [cluster-amaryllis]), a windmill, a rose, a Kirishima azalea (from Kyûshû) and rhododendron, an *anjaberu* (now known as a variety of carnation, and distinct from various other kinds of carnations, this is a large flower with a large blossom, which later was taken to Holland).

Chrysanthemums, five varieties

Drunken Princess Yang, Love, Jade peony, Goose down, and Taibo. All five varieties of chrysanthemum came together.¹⁷

The text next moves to the Kanbun reign period (1661-72) and gives the following items that were imported to Japan from China:

A Fusang plant (from Ryûkyû; apprehensive of the winter's cold, it will wither; it was discontinued and reimported again in Kyôhō 8), a black ship azalea, a gillyflower, a Chinese azalea, a clematis, a large Kirishima azalea, a carnation.¹⁸

This is then followed by the flora transported to Japan in the Enpō period (1673-80):

¹⁷ Establishing the precise English names for these flora is as difficult, if not more so, that the Sino-Japanese *dôtei* described above. I shall thus give the Japanese entries for this and the several other entries that follow; any suggestions for improvements would be much appreciated.

散丹花 (珊瑚花, 三段花とも)・南京梅 (今云臘梅)・琉球躑躅・茶蘭・稷欄竹・摩訶曼珠 (今云金燈草)・風車・玫瑰・らうき・霧島つつじ薩州・蓮玉・あんじやべる (今云おらんだせきちくの類)・おらんだ石竹とは各別の物, 花大りにて花形おおよくなり, おらんだは後に渡る
菊五種

醉楊妃・御愛・玉牡丹・鵝毛・太白・此の五種の菊一度に来るよし

¹⁸

扶桑花 (佛桑花とも, 琉球より来る。寒氣をおそれる冬枯る。中絶して又享保八年に来る)・黒船つつじ・あらせいたう・唐つつじ・てつせん・大きり嶋・おらんだ石竹

A Chinese pawlonia (now known as a scarlett pawlonia), a wandering lily (from Tsushima), a jade orchid (now known as a large lotus), a genista, a perennial lily (from Satsuma), a “Korean umbrella” lily ([a perennial lily] from Tsushima), a Chinese camellia, a Korean camellia, a holly camellia, a variety of garden balsam (imported during the Shôhō era, it was then discontinued and recontinued during the Kyôhō era).¹⁹

For the Tenna (1681-83) and Jôkyô eras (1684-87):

The flowering plantain, an amaranthus, a “rock orchid” [some sort of perennial], a cypress vine, a thorny nandin, a *rungensô* (now called a *kôryû*), a “Mandala flower” (now known as the Korean morning glory).²⁰

For the Genroku era (1688-1703):

An “Indian lotus” [actual identity unclear], a Chinese bladder nut, a Chinese mahogany, a taro²¹ (*yukimochisô* 雪持草).²²

For the Hôei (1704-10) and Shôtoku periods (1711-15):

The peanut, *sangosai*, *ryûsenka*, *shokassai* [the last three remain unidentified in English].²³

For the year of the Kyôhō period (1716-35):

A passiflora caerulea (in Nagasaki, it is called the *tegaron* creeper; it was imported in Kyôhō 8), a Chinese pomegranate (imported in Kyôhō 9), an acer trifidum, a sugar cane.²⁴

The Clematis. I lack the ability to substantiate whether all of the above is in fact true. For this I need to borrow the knowledge of an expert. Professor Tsukamoto Yôtarô

19

唐桐（今云緋桐）・わたりゆり（對島）・玉蘭花（今云大山蓮花）・えにすた・袂百合草（薩陽）・朝鮮笠ゆり（對島）・唐椿・朝鮮椿・柊椿・小倉仙翁花（正保に來り中絶して又享保はじめに來る）

20

美人蕉・千日紅・岩石蘭・るかう・柊南天・るんげんさう（今云かうりう草）・曼陀羅花（今云朝鮮朝がほ）

²¹ This is an educated guess. “Yukimochi” is the reading for both 雪持 and 雪餅, the former meaning “covered with snow [or figuratively so]” and the latter related to the taro. Either the tree in question is bright white in color (as if covered by snow) and its name still unknown or it is a slight mistranscription for the taro.

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天竺蓮花・木槵子・椿樹（今云きやんちん）・雪持草

23

落花生・珊瑚菜・立泉花・諸葛菜

24

時計草（長崎にてがろんかづらという。享保八年に來る）・南京柘榴（享保九年に來る）・唐楓・甘蔗

塚本洋太郎 is an expert in the field of the physiology of floriculture. As we learn from his work, *Hana to bijutsu no rekishi* 花と美術の歴史 (A History of Flowers and Fine Arts),²⁵ while tracing the floral designs that appear in works of art and the flowers themselves, one aspect of Japanese culture is elucidated. Tsukamoto's niece, Ms. Kashiwasako Machiko 柏迫満智子, is a fine scholar who once attended my lectures at university. He has a section on the clematis in his book; he begins with the entry in the *Tsuta shô* which was introduced earlier and then proceeds as follows.

The clematis was said to have been imported into Japan in the Kanbun reign period. Clematis designs on the clothing of portraits of beautiful women can be found during the Kanbun era, and clematis arabesque designs were used as well on padded silk garments and *nô* costumes made in the seventeenth century. The paintings on sliding doors by Kano Sanraku 狩野山楽 and his disciples that were done at the time of the founding of Myôshinji 妙心寺 and Tenkyûin 天球院 (Kan'ei 8 or 1631), the sliding door art work in a small temple on the grounds of the Chion'in 知恩院 and the Ryôshôin 良正院, and the ceilings of the Nishi Honganji 西本願寺 and the Goose Room of the Shiroshoin 白書院 all have clematis designs in the architectural ornamentation of the Kan'ei era. Thus, they clearly predate the Kanbun period.

The conclusion is not in doubt. Clearly, it did not first come to Japan during the Kanbun era. What then was the account in the *Tsuta shô* based on? Was it just a coincidence that there are clematis designs on the paintings of beautiful women in the Kanbun era? Although it was not first imported during the Kanbun era, it was imported at that time, and perhaps the clematis imported earlier was looked upon in a different light given different circumstances and then became highly popular. It thus becomes clear that it was not first imported in the Kanbun era, but it was transported to Japan at this time and did become fashionable, so much so that it was used as a kimono design.

The circumstances pertaining to clematis seem to approximate those of other plants as well. Noda Seika's work, *Shûhin kô* 拾品考 (A Study of Gathered Items), among others is an important document on the imported flora of the late Edo period.

The Export of Flora. Finally, I would like to touch on the subject of plants exported from Japan. Materials concerning exported plants are even fewer. What we know is based solely on the *Tôban kamotsu chô* 唐蛮貨物帳 (Register of Chinese and Barbarian Cargo) in the Naikaku Bunko 内閣文庫.²⁶ After the Chinese and Dutch vessels had completed their annual trading, the Chinese and Dutch interpreters prepared a general listing, ship by ship, for submission to the Nagasaki Administrator of the cargo transported to Japan aboard Chinese and Dutch vessels and the produce loaded onto the vessels for their return journeys. The cargo imported to Japan was placed on a list known as the "Tôsen kamotsu aratamechô" 唐船貨物改帳 (Account of cargo on Chinese ships), and that loaded for export to China was called "Tôsen kihan kamotsu kaiwatashichô" 唐船歸帆荷物買渡帳 (Account of cargo purchased for the return voyage on Chinese vessels). The *Tôban kamotsu chô* contains thirteen stringbound volumes. Arranged by year, it is comprised of the account books sent from the Nagasaki

²⁵ (Tokyo: Kawade shobô shinsha, 1970).

²⁶ (Tokyo: Naikaku Bunko photolithographic edition, 1970).

Administrator to Edo. It covers a portion of the period from 1709 (Hôei 6) though 1714 (Shôtoku 4). The only year for which it covers all the vessels is 1711 (Shôtoku 1). We looked at this example in an earlier chapter.

When we examine the "Tôsen kihan kamotsu kaiwatashichô" within it, we can see which plants and trees the Chinese ships loaded for transport home. For example, next to number four Ningbo vessel which was setting sail for home on the 29th day of the tenth month of 1711 there is the following notation:

* Flora: pine, camellia, azalea, in fourteen tubs.
Each tub is valued at 8.3 *monme*,²⁷
worth 116.2 *monme* of silver in all.

Following this, for the last day of the tenth month of the same year, Ningbo vessel number five had nineteen tubs of plants (pines and camellias); for the third day of the eleventh month, Ningbo vessel number thirty had 25 tubs (pines and camellias); for the eighteenth day of the twelfth month, Taiwan vessel number thirty-one had 23 tubs only of camellias; for the nineteenth day of the twelfth month, Hainan vessel number thirty-eight had nineteen tubs only of camellias and Ningbo vessel number thirty-seven had three tubs of camellias; Taiwan vessel number forty, set to depart on the 29th day of the twelfth month, had 40 tubs of camellias and azaleas; for the same day, Ningbo vessel number forty-two had nine tubs of camellias; and also for that very day, Taiwan vessel number twenty-seven had loaded 32 tubs of camellias and azaleas. Guangdong vessel number forty-four was also set to sail that day, and it had taken on a heavy cargo of 120 tubs of pines, camellias, and azaleas. On the final day of the year, three ships set sail for home: Nanjing vessel number thirty-four had 37 tubs of camellias; Jakarta vessel number fifty-two had 35 tubs of camellias; and a Guangdong vessel was shipwrecked on Hirado terrain, and because the ship had sustained damage, it was made an "extra" vessel for that year. It too was holding only camellias, 38 tubs, meaning that all the vessels that set out that final day of the year was carrying only camellias. All of the thirteen ships laden with plants carried camellias; four ships also had pines, and four ships had azaleas.

Records of the Chinese ships returning with plants have been thus far found only in this section of the *Tôban kamotsu chô*. We've concentrated on Shôtoku 1, and perhaps there was a particular demand that year. Under the entry for the seventeenth day of the third lunar month of Shôtoku 2 in the *Tô tsûji kaisho nichiroku*, we can see that an order went out to the effect that when they read and compared the accounts of departing vessels before the Administrator, in the case of plants sometimes the plant's designation was indicated and sometime not and that they were thus to bring unity to the entry of plant designations on the records. This order seems to correspond precisely to the time of the reorganization of the accounts of ships departing for home at the end of the previous year. Had it been an ordinary year's load, they would surely have followed the prescribed form. Thus, there must have been an unusual situation. Yet, one most certainly cannot say that at no other time were plants exported.

According to Asai Keitarô's 浅井敬太郎 essay, "Tsubaki o shiru, tsubaki kai e no tebiki" ツバキを知る、ツバキ界への手びき (Knowing camellias, a guide to the

²⁷ One *monme* is equal to 3.75 grams.

world of camellias),²⁸ the British East India Company was established at Xiamen in 1676; James Cuninghame came to Xiamen, and he himself sent specimens of pressed camellia leaves to James Petiver in London. In 1702 Petiver introduced a drawing of the camellia in *Philosophical Transactions*, and this was the first appearance of the camellia in the West. Shôtoku 1 was precisely ten years later. This may have been due to the fact that what the Guangnan vessel and the Jakarta vessel, among others, was carrying was subsequently loaded onto Western ships at its home port. If this was the case, then we have here the history of Chinese-Japanese-European interactions. It is rather vexing that there is no way to clear this all up.

²⁸ In *Tsubaki, hana to bunka* 椿、花と文化 (Camellias: Flowers and Culture) (Tokyo: Seibundô shinkôsha, 1969).