

Zhu Shunshui's Refusal of Imperial Appointment and His Title of a *Zhengjun* of Ming

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1. Between His Deep Love for Ming and His Refusal of Imperial Appointment

Zhu Shunshui (1600–1682) was born as Zhiyu (and later given the courtesy name Luyu) in Yuyao, Zhejiang. Shunshui was his pseudonym. After the Ming Dynasty collapsed, he assumed the duty of restoring the Ming court and worked abroad for a long time. He visited Japan repeatedly to “ask for support” and finally settled in Japan in 1659. According to a historical document, after the “shift of ruling power from Ming to Qing,” Zhu Shunshui was based mainly in Zhousan, and he spent 15 years moving between Zhousan, Japan and Annam. During that period, he visited Japan seven times and Annam six times. Although we have no means to know all the purposes of his repeated overseas visits, it is supposed that he did so mainly to (1) avoid responding to appointment to an official position by the court (12 times or more), (2) work abroad to give the Ming dynasty the strength to restore itself, (3) visit Japan to request military support for Wanyi to restore the Ming dynasty, and (4) throw himself into the sea to demonstrate his loyalty to the dynasty. By contrast, Ishihara Michihiro drew a route map of Zhu Shunshui's “overseas business” for scholastic readers.¹

Among the purposes of Zhu's overseas trips, “avoiding responding to appointment to an official position by the court” in particular may attract public attention. As explained in *Beizhuanjibu* (碑傳集補), Zhu Shunshui was specially appointed to an official position in Chongzhen 17 (1644) but refused to assume the position. He was again appointed in Hongguang 1 (1645) but did not accept the appointment again. He received an offer of the statuses of *jiangxi tixing anchasi fushi* (江西提刑按察司副使, or Assistant Provincial Surveillance Commissioner for Jiangxi) and *bingbu zhifang qinglisi langzhong* (兵部職方司郎中, or the Director for the Bureau of Operation of the Ministry of War) concurrently, and he was also assigned to supervise troops led by Fang Guoan. However, he again refused that offer.² As a result, the Department of State Affairs issued a notice of denunciation, which mainly maintained that Zhu was “too arrogant to follow the court order and was not sufficiently polite to serve as a vassal.” Zhu commented, “I escaped to a coastal area at night immediately after receiving the notice.”³ Zhu Shunshui himself estimated that he refused position offers from the court 12 times.⁴ It is reasonable to view Zhu, who continued all-out efforts to seek support for “restoration of a

¹ Ishihara Michihiro 石原道博, *Minmatsu Shinsho Nihon-kisshi no Kenkyū* 明末清初日本乞師の研究, Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1945. See p. 195.

² See Volume 35 “Zhu Zhiyu 朱之瑜,” Min Erchang 閔爾昌, *Beizhuanjibu* 碑傳集補 (p. 641, Volume 2 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1981).

³ See “Annan Gongyi Jishi” 安南供役紀事 (p. 31, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1981).

⁴ See “Da Yuan Guangguo Wen Xianshi Yuanyou Luli” 答源光國問先世緣由履歷 (p. 352, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

Chinese empire” after the collapse of the Ming dynasty until his death, as the person who loved the Great Ming most and contributed most immensely to his homeland. In addition, many people who personally knew Zhu recorded his activities in detail. Ando Morinari wrote in “Shunsui Sensei Gyōjitsu” (舜水先生行實; lit. “Record on Master Shunshui’s Acts and Words”): “Mr. Zhu lives here temporarily, but he is always crying seriously while facing his homeland, and he just regrets that no one has revenged his enemies back home, rather than feeling sad to separate from his family. He can rely only on two or three loyal vassals back home and revere only the virtue that the Ming dynasty has accumulated generation by generation.”⁵ After settling in Japan, Zhu also wrote again about the situation he was placed in: “Seriously crying for 17 years has made me so sad and extremely weak. A period of 10 years of vomiting blood has made me much weaker from sadness and changed the color of my face to that of dead leaves.” He finally took every opportunity to blame himself, saying: “I have lived too long impudently. How shameful is it for me?”⁶ While feeling like this, he envisioned that he could witness the collapse of the Qing dynasty during his lifetime, and he thought, even if it would be impossible, he would be happy if the dynasty would collapse even after his death. He then prepared a coffin that could not easily decay so that he himself would be buried back home if Chinese rule was restored. This action left a deep impression on Liang Qichao and invited him into profound thought. Liang wrote: “When compiling ‘Zhu Shunshui Nianpu’ (朱舜水年譜; lit. ‘Chronicle of Zhu Shunshui’), I added some events that occurred after his death, which I believe are indispensable for the chronicle. He was a former loyal vassal of Ming and continued to consider how to expel the Qing rulers. He spent the second half of his lifetime in Japan, where he passed away. He formerly said, ‘I don’t hope that my corpse will be returned to China unless the Qing rulers leave China.’ He built a coffin that could not easily be broken to prepare for his corpse to be transported to China in the future. As a result, the coffin has survived Qing China and is still resting in peace in Japan. If we ask for his corpse to be returned back home, our hope would be fulfilled. In consideration of these matters, I added at the end of the chronicle the emergence and disappearance of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace), the Xinhai Revolution, the abdication of the Qing emperor, and the collapse of the Qing dynasty, believing that the desire of Zhu Shunshui was slightly satisfied.”⁷ We may now say that Zhu Shunshui had made considerable efforts to establish the politics of the Ming dynasty before he settled in Japan, and that he seemed to believe that his efforts were righteous while his similar efforts and work could be the result of a normal choice in life. In line with this logic, we found a document showing that he did not refuse a position offer from the Ming administration. That document is “Shang Jianguo Luwang Xieen Zoushu” (上監國魯王謝恩奏疏; lit. “the Memorial to His Highness the Regent Prince of Lu with Gratitude”) among his last writings.

The document was Shunshui’s reply to “Jianguo Luwang Chiyou” (監國魯王勅諭; lit. “the

⁵ See Imai Kōsai 今井弘濟 and Asaka Kaku 安積覺 “Shunshui Sensei Gyōjitsu” 舜水先生行實 (p. 617, Volume 2 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

⁶ See “Zhongyuan Yangjiu Shulue” 中原陽九述略 (p. 13, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

⁷ See the Appendix of Lian Qichao 梁啟超 “Zhu Shunshui Xiansheng Nianpu” 朱舜水先生年譜 (p. 729, Volume 2 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

Imperial Instruction from the Regent Prince of Lu”).⁸ A historical survey has revealed that the Imperial Instruction was written in the year of Jianguo 9 (the 11th year of Qing rule; 1654) in order for Zhu Yihai (Prince of Lu, who served as the regent of Southern Ming) to summon Zhu to collaborate in carrying out the great duties of restoring the Ming dynasty. Because Shunshui did not look bright, no one imagined that he had received such a letter of imperial appointment. He also did not mention that he was honored to be appointed by the Prince of Lu, and he had few close friends or pupils, so he did not show the imperial letter to anyone during his lifetime. Therefore, the Imperial Instruction was not discovered until he died from illness.⁹ In 1715, Tokugawa Mitsukuni ensured that the Imperial Instruction was contained in *Shunsui Sensei Bunshū* (舜水先生文集; lit. “Works of Master Shunshui”).¹⁰ The Imperial Instruction says: “I am seeking a sage even in my dreams and eagerly waiting for you. I here especially issue an order to appoint you to an official position. Carry out your duties in compliance with my directions, and support me. The project of Ming restoration will naturally benefit your loyalty and writing career.” These words embody the Prince of Lu’s ultimate desire to have Zhu help him to restore the Ming dynasty. Because Zhu was in Japan far from his homeland and had no permanent address, the Imperial Instruction reached him after three years of many troubles in the beginning of 1657 (the 14th year of Qing rule). At that time, Zhu was detained in Annam and hovering between life and death. Therefore, it is imaginable how honored and impressed he was when he read the Imperial Instruction. He wrote: “On the 14th day of the first month this year, a Japanese ship returned with an imperial letter written in the third month of Jianguo 9 about the imperial regent’s desire to appoint me to an official position and have me return. However, wearing ordinary clothes, I avoided stating my intention to follow the imperial order. On a starry night, I first prepared an officer’s costume, and I carefully chose the auspicious day of the 16th to pay respect to the Imperial Instruction while avoiding doing so in public. I placed a desk in my house and read the Imperial Instruction there, and I expressed my gratitude by hitting my head against the desk and vowed to observe his order.”¹¹ The term “*qinci qinzun*” 欽此欽遵 found in this Memorial to the Regent was used by vassals when they reported to the emperor, which is the main gist of the Memorial. The term “*zhiling*” 領旨 denotes observance and fulfillment of orders. Zhu not only accepted the Prince of Lu’s offer but also took a polite, reverential attitude toward the regent.

As mentioned before, after settling in Japan, in response to Tokugawa Mitsukuni’s question, Zhu Shunshui talked about the official position offers he had received. “The total number of

⁸ See “Annan Gongyi Jishi” 安南供役紀事 (pp. 31–33, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

⁹ See Imai Kōsai 今井弘濟 and Asaka Kaku 安積覺 “Shunsui Sensei Gyōjitsu” 舜水先生行實 (p. 624, Volume 2 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

¹⁰ The original copy of the Imperial Instruction was displayed at the First Higher School, Japan (or a library of Tokyo Imperial University according to another argument) in 1912. At 3 pm on September 2, 2013 (Japan Time), I discovered the original copy that had been left forgotten for 100 years, in collaboration with other members of the Commission for Investigating Historical Sources Concerning Shu Shunshui Once Owned by the Mito Tokugawa Family. For details, see the newspaper article “Imperial Letter to Zhu Shunshui Discovered: Described as a “First-class Material” at the Tokugawa Museum Collection Report Meeting” (in the *Ibaraki Shimbun* on September 7, 2013).

¹¹ See “Shang Jianguo Luwang Xieen Zoushu” 上監國魯王謝恩奏疏 quoted in “Annan Gongyi Jishi” 安南供役紀事 (pp. 31–32, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

position offers and nominations I have so far received is 12, excluding a recommendation by Qi Wei, and I refused all the offers. In those times, society was in a chaotic situation, and law and order were ignored. People neither knew each other nor communicated with each other. In addition, I tried hard to hide everything and prohibited my family members and pupils from having even one character in my writings known by outside people. I just called myself a *shengyuan* (生員, or imperial examination candidate). Because the Regent Prince of Lu stayed in Zhusan temporarily later, I had some opportunities to see him. On such occasions, you have to keep records as a general rule, but if I had betrayed the Prince of Lu, he couldn't have freed me as a criminal. Therefore, taking into consideration such circumstances, I called myself a *gongsheng* (貢生, or imperial examination candidate) for the time being, still hiding my original intention. That's why I have been appointed to one position after another, some very high-ranked and others lower-ranked, in a messy manner."¹² Nevertheless, written materials prove that he refused position offers 11 times. Liang Qichao chronicled Zhu Shunshui's refusals of position offers as follows: (1) Zhu was ordered by the administration to serve as *jiangji-tongzhi* (監紀同知, or Vice Magistrate), in the 10th month of Chongzhen 16 (1643) and refused to follow the order. (2) In Chongzhen 17 (1644), when the capital of Southern Ming was established, Fang Guoan, the military commander of the Jiangnan area, nominated Zhu for a special appointment by an imperial edict, but Zhu refused the appointment. (3) In the first month of Hongguang 1 (1645), Zhu received an imperial appointment again but refused it. (4) In the fourth month of the same year, Zhu was ordered to assume the positions of *jiangxi tixing anchasi fushi* (江西提刑按察司副使, or Assistant Provincial Surveillance Commissioner for Jiangxi) and *bingbu zhifang qinglisi langzhong* (兵部職方司郎中, or the Director for the Bureau of Operation of the Ministry of War) concurrently and to supervise Zhendongbo (鎮東伯, or the Duke of Defending the East) and troops led by Fang Guoan, but Zhu refused to follow the order. (5) In the ___ month of Jianguo 2 (1647), Huang Binqing, the defense commander for Zhousan, appointed Zhu as the District Magistrate of Changguo County, but Zhu refused the appointment. (6) In the tenth month of the same year, Zhu was ordered to serve as an investigating censor responsible for managing state farms but refused to follow the order. (7) At the same time, Zhu was requested to serve as *junqian zanhua* (軍前贊画, or Military Front Consultant) but refused the request. (8) In the first month of Jianguo 5 (1650), Liu Shixun, the military commander for the Annamese Sea, nominated Zhu to the position of *jianji tuiguan* (監紀推官, or Assistant Surveillance Commissioner), but Zhu refused to assume the position. (9) Soon after that, Zhu Yongyou, Deputy Minister of Personnel, nominated Zhu Shunshui to the positions of *bingke jishizhong* (兵科給事中, or Supervising Secretary of the Office of Scrutiny of War) and *like jishizhong* (吏科給事中, or Supervising Secretary of the Office of Scrutiny for Personnel), but Zhu Shunshui refused to assume the positions. (10) Soon after that, Wu Zhongluan, Minister of Rites, tried to appoint Zhu Shunshui to a certain position at the Hanlin Academy, but Zhu refused the position offer. (11) In the third month of the same year, Wang Yi, a district investigating censor, attempted to ensure that Zhu would earn the title of *xiaolian* (孝廉, or Filial and Incorrupt), but

¹² See "Da Yuan Guangguo Wen Xianshi Yuanyou Luli" 答源光國問先世緣由履歷 (p. 352, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

Zhu immediately wrote a letter of refusal to the Prince of Lu.¹³ It seems that Liang Qichao was unable to identify Zhu's missing 12th refusal of a position offer because of his own busyness. Then, what does so-called Zhu Shunshui's 12th refusal of a position offer indicate?

The dialogue found in the Imperial Instruction from the Regent Prince of Lu may give us some suggestions about the answer to the above question. The regent gave the instruction as a special appointment with the serious intention to request the sage to work with him. There are few other examples of imperial instructions that honestly and politely declared the intention of the Prince of Lu as the regent. "Those who show the principles for saints and sages naturally must devote themselves to restoring the declined dynasty and fulfill their mission. If they leave the declined dynasty without hesitation, who could be responsible for the country?" The imperial regent added: "I am seeking a sage even in my dreams and eagerly waiting for you. I here especially issue an order to appoint you to an official position. Carry out your duties in compliance with my directions, and support me. The project of Ming restoration will naturally benefit your fidelity to your own principles and writing career. You should not stay abroad without worry. You should avoid doing so."¹⁴ In the Memorial to the Regent Prince of Lu with Gratitude, the reply to the Imperial Instruction, Zhu Shunshui demonstrated his loyalty to the Prince of Lu and his desire to devote himself for the sake of the imperial regent and restore the Ming dynasty. "I have no fidelity and no ability to write dignified text, but I can fulfill your dream of being helped by a sage. I have never been behind any other people in doglike or horse-like honesty and loyalty to the master and the aspiration to fulfill the mission for restoration." Zhu added: "I am planning to prepare to embark on a journey in a hurry and visit Siam on the 21st to fulfill my aspiration while moving around. Since Siam is far southwest, I really fear that Your Highness may believe I would be acting only for my own interests against the imperial intention, without examining my all-out efforts in detail. Therefore, I am just not ready to act immediately while feeling respect for you, with your letter in my hands." These words suggest that Zhu Shunshui was still not contented about immediately devoting himself to repaying the regent's sincerity. However, if Zhu "calmly waited for the arrival of summer, visited Japan first, and then left Japan for Xiamen again," the concept of "making a detour along this route" is beyond our understanding. This may derive from his thought that "I may seem to the general public to be mad." He gave no specific explanations about such public opinion but "My pain is difficult to articulate." In addition, at that time Zhu was suffering *Annan gongyi* (安南供役, or imprisonment in Annam), where he forced Annamese people to carry out troublesome duties of addressing his refusal to be subject to the local king. Zhu clearly understood that his refusal to be subject to the Annamese king would protect the dignity of the Ming dynasty and lead to his death for a cause. Meanwhile, the reply to the Imperial Instruction expressed Zhu's last wish to leave the Prince of Lu. "If I die from an unexpected act, I cannot report to the Hongwu Emperor and Your Highness. I will be responsible even after my own death."¹⁵ We can imagine

¹³ See Lian Qichao 梁啓超 "Zhu Shunshui Xiansheng Nianpu" 朱舜水先生年譜 (pp. 652, 654, 656 and 659, Volume 2 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

¹⁴ See "Jianguo Luwan Chiyu" 監國魯王勅諭 (p. 34, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

¹⁵ See "Shang Jianguo Luwang Xieen Zoushu" 上監國魯王謝恩奏疏 quoted in "Annan Gongyi Jishi" 安南供役紀事 (p. 32, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

that, if the Prince of Lu had received the reply while having no information about Zhu, the imperial regent would not have known that Zhu deserved to be called a patriot. However, another letter sent by Zhu to the Prince of Lu three months after the last letter—“Shang Jianguo Luwang Shangzouwen” (上監國魯王上奏文; lit. “Report to His Highness the Regent Prince of Lu”)—says that Zhu “would not be loyal,” and “If Your Highness does not want to throw me away abroad, please order the vassal bringing the imperial instruction to request the Annamese to hand me over, so they will not be brave to detain me again.” If this signal for aid from Zhu had inspired the Prince of Lu to send an imperial letter to the Annamese king, the regent would have been still so powerful that his intention would have the authority to save Zhu from sufferings. It is reasonable that, in a fierce situation where a state is losing its vigor and collapsing, a lord and a vassal protect each other especially when the situation is unpredictable for both sides. However, the long list of Zhu’s refusals of official position offers, inserted at the beginning of the reply to the Imperial Instruction, gave a sign of a certain end where the desires of both sides to protect each other would be achieved. We paid attention to the fact that one refusal of a position offer mentioned in the reply to the Imperial Instruction corresponded with the incident of his *caobiaokenci* (草表懇辭), where Shu Yongyou, Wang Yi, and Zhang Kentang nominated Zhu Shunshui as a candidate for the title of *xiaolian* (孝廉, or Filial and Incorrupt) under the name of the Prince of Lu.¹⁶ Moreover, Zhu Shunshui prostrated himself and prayed for the Prince of Lu’s withdrawal of the order because of his avoidance of unreasonableness and family problems, as clearly represented by his writing: “I have mourned for three years but have not yet held a funeral, and I’m always concerned about my aged mother. Seven years have passed since I promised to marry a woman, but I have not yet married her and doubt that she will go into the curtain.”¹⁷ We paid further attention to the fact that Zhu Shunshui escaped from the trouble in Annam and arrived first in Japan, instead of Xiamen. It would have been more reasonable for him to arrive in Zhousan, where the Prince of Lu stayed, rather than Xiamen, after leaving Annam. This is because Zhu clearly knew that imperial instructions would be issued from Zhousan.¹⁸ What made him believe so? A pupil of Zhu mentioned the answer on his behalf: “The master intended to return home and was secretly examining the power of forces who aimed to restore the Ming dynasty. However, he faced severe difficulties many times and exhausted funds and tools. Then, the master sent a letter to the Prince of Lu to report his current condition. In the summer of the following year, he arrived in Japan. He wished to reach Xiamen from Japan by order of the Prince of Lu probably because he intended to decide what to do by himself according to the situation. At that time, his homeland was divided, and a war had occurred. Even if he wished to go directly from Annam, the roads were difficult to go through. Therefore, he tried to travel by sea, though Zhousan had already fallen, and the master’s friends who led troops with loyalty in mind, including Shu Yongyou and Wu

¹⁶ See “Shang Jianguo Luwang Xieen Zoushu” 上監國魯王謝恩奏疏 quoted in “Annan Gongyi Jishi” 安南供役紀事 (p. 31, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

¹⁷ See “Shang Jianguo Luwang Ci Xiaolian Zoushu” 上監國魯王辭孝廉奏疏 (pp. 36–37, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

¹⁸ See Imai Kōsai 今井弘濟 and Asaka Kaku 安積覺 “Shunsui Sensei Gyōjitsu” 舜水先生行實 (p. 615, Volume 2 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

Zhongluan, had already died in conformity with their loyalty to the dynasty. Hearing about it, the master was forced into difficulty in deciding on the next destination. However, he hoped to observe the situation in detail and thoroughly forecast the progress of things, so he stayed in the coastal area, where he experienced danger again and was little likely to survive. He thus fully realized that the current rulers could not be attacked, that national land could not be recovered, and that defeated military officers could not regain their vigor. If he was in an inland area, he would be forced to follow the customs of the Qing dynasty. If he did not resist the Qing dynasty by breaking his crown, tearing his costume, and shaving his hair, all he could do is fulfill his aspiration by throwing himself into the sea. In the next year, he arrived in Japan again.”¹⁹ This may be possibly an answer to the puzzle of “My pain is difficult to articulate.” However, he reached Xiamen just to “decide what to do by himself according to the situation”—a purpose determined from a “Seeing is believing” perspective—, but Zhu expressed his loyalty to the Prince of Lu, though the loyalty was not so strong as expected from his reply to the Imperial Instruction. A more accurate account can be found in the honest and sincere words Zhu gave to one of his pupils after he settled in Japan: “The Prince of Lu doesn’t know about my three-time refusals of official position offers. I just acted carefully and called myself an *engongsheng* (恩貢生, or imperial examination candidate) without showing off my academic knowledge. If the imperial regent had known more details, the Imperial Instructions would have treated me more politely, not in the current way. However, if the imperial regent had known more details, I would have surely died in Zhousan, instead of reaching Japan and spending days in the current way. If so, good luck and bad luck are all in a relationship of cause and effect with each other. Imperial letters of special appointment are historically important documents, and the appointed *jinshi* (進士, or successful imperial examination applicants) should act in an extremely sincere way. If society were in a normal situation, the imperial regent would know everything. However, the serious disturbance has placed a barrier in front of him. That’s why he knows nothing.”²⁰ The two characters of “倚伏” (*yi fu*) were quoted from Confucius’ words “Bad luck exists in good luck, while good luck is hidden in bad luck.” By quoting this phrase, Zhu Shunshui meant that fortunately the Prince of Lu knew little about Zhu at that time, and that, if not so, Zhu also “died together with Zhousan” and those martyrs for the Ming dynasty, which he could not have escaped from easily. This word of Zhu, representing his hidden joy of hiding his status, prevents us from trusting him and concluding that he really received the special appointment of the Prince of Lu. His feeling about his own 12 refusals of official position offers, which he never talked about clearly, probably resulted from an extension of his apparent acceptance and implicit refusal of offers from the Prince of Lu. Although Zhu Shunshui himself did not clearly explain, his remarks given after the 11th refusal suggest that he actually had already given an implicit answer to the imperial regent: “In the third month of Jianguo 9 (1654), I respectfully received the Imperial Instruction and looked up to it.”²¹ This sentence implies that Zhu was able to just

¹⁹ See Imai Kōsai 今井弘濟 and Asaka Kaku 安積覺 “Shunsui Sensei Gyōjitsu” 舜水先生行實 (pp. 616–617, Volume 2 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

²⁰ See “Da Andong Shouyue Wen Batiao” 答安東守約問八條 (p. 370, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

²¹ See “Da Yuan Guangguo Wen Xianshi Yuanyou Luli” 答源光國問先世緣由履歷 (p. 352, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

respectfully looked up to the Imperial Instruction given by the Prince of Lu. However, careful attention is required here. Zhu Shunshui's ignorance of the significance of the Imperial Instruction was never a reason for his refusal of the position offer. This is proved by the subsequent facts. Zhu rather took advantage of his status as a *zhengjun* (徵君) of Ming, which he acquired based on the three special appointments he had received (or more precisely the four special appointments, including the Imperial Instruction from the Regent Prince of Lu). The inscription on the back of the Monument to Mr. Zhu Shunshui, a *Zhengjun* of Ming, written by Asaka Tanpaku, says: "*Zhengjun* . . . did not chat with other people in vain, and regretted that national enemies still remained in his homeland, crying and gnashing his teeth. He did not lose his vigor even in his advanced age. He was always wearing a Ming-style outfit and crown and carrying the Prince of Lu's instruction."²²

Then, what made him "respectfully receive appointments to official positions but refuse them" while deeply loving the Ming dynasty and avoid participating in the administrative system of Ming while saying "I respect virtue accumulated by the Ming court generation by generation"? Zhu Shunshui's contradictory acts and words may possibly imply his persistent love for the Ming court, and they are beyond common-sense interpretation.

2. Analysis on the Reasons for His Refusal of Imperial Appointment

Answering a question from Japanese scholar Ando Seian, Zhu Shunshui said that if he accepted the Ming court's appointment to an official position: "As a person aiming for fame, I would have immediately assumed the position of a fourth-grade officer, concurrently served as an administrative officer, been entrusted with a troop of 480,000 soldiers, been appointed as a commander in chief or the Father of the Nation, and hosted one guest after another. I would have enjoyed great fame. Why did I make all-out efforts to refuse them?" Zhu Shunshui eventually decided not to choose a path toward administrative career development. He "refused" those appointments, instead of "avoiding respectfully receiving the appointment letters." He gave a simple answer: "I judged that I couldn't carry out administrative duties, so I refused the appointments. You should understand that my attitude can be neither compared with those of people who isolate themselves from society nor viewed as the same as those of Hang Confucianists, who closed the door to the wider society and aimed for fame just by enhancing their knowledge."²³ I believe that, however, a more detailed examination of why Zhu "did not assume official positions" would find three reasons: 1) he in reality had neither motivation to preserve his own vigor nor ability to restore his own declined power, 2) he disagreed with the politics of the late Ming dynasty, and 3) he no longer had trust in the academic school advocated by the Ming dynasty. These three reasons sometimes mixed and intertwined with each other and had impacts on each other. Let's examine the three reasons in more detail.

The first reason sounds slightly superficial, but it reflects the uncontrollable realities he

²² See Asaka Kaku 安積覺 "Ming Gu Zhengjun Wengong Xiansheng Beiyin" 明故徵君文恭先生碑陰 (p. 631, Appendix 1, Volume 2 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

²³ See "Da Andong Shouyue Wen Batiao" 答安東守約問八條 (p. 371, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

confronted. While historical documents describe Zhu Shunshui as honest by nature and reluctant to assimilate into general trends, this seemingly very excellent character might have led him to violate prohibitions and be punished just by slightly moving his hands in the administrative world of the Ming dynasty. Importantly, once his acts and words had not complied with the politics of that time, he would have been blamed for serious mistakes, which would have affected his wife, children and relatives so adversely that he could not have protected them. He foresaw that he might suffer misfortune once assuming an official position. "I first became a Confucianist student in Songjiang-fu, Nanjing. I was a so-called *xiuca* (秀才; a person of distinguished talent). During my younger days, I aspired to rule the people in an enlightened manner and save them from their hardships, and my deeds conformed directly to good manners. Many of my relatives and seniors back home expected me to become an assistant to the emperor. When I was still young, I experienced a gradual decline in public morals and the national policy, so I decisively threw away my desire to pursue an administrative career and acted to look transcendental. I always said to my wife and children: 'If I am the most excellent among the *jins*hi, I will become a prefectural governor and arrest those involved in my first year in office. In my second and third years, peasants will begin reciting the words of virtue, and my superior will be praised, surely leading me to take the blame. According to this view, I will be surely blamed for a great crime, so I will be unable to protect myself and my family. Nevertheless, I cannot hide my true feelings, passionate enthusiasm, and aspiration to save the people. That's why I threw away my desire for promotion.'" ²⁴ Moreover, he believed that, modestly speaking, he would be useless like a "single tree that is useless for supporting a building" even if he participated in politics, assumed an official position, and gave proposals to the almost defeated Ming court. Therefore, when Tokugawa Mitsukuni asked him why he had left his official position, he did not hide his feeling of powerlessness. "I established a household and mastered morals during my younger days, aiming for fame and prosperity. But I saw people of inferior character get angry about the misfortune they suffered and the nation decline and collapse in an instant. I have fortunately received two special position offers. Even if they were just intended to mark the centenary, the special offers were a source of much greater honor than success in the imperial examinations. However, a single tree cannot support a building falling down. A single person cannot save a large river. If you wish to protect your house from fire, you may take a preventive measure, such as bending a chimney. However, you cannot add a pillar to an already collapsed house. I should refuse official position offers despite my feeling of loyalty because I did not originally aim to enhance my knowledge in search of fame." ²⁵ Zhu Shunshui also expressed his view to Oyake Seijun in a similar way: "I have a real aspiration to save the people and the universe, and seriously desire to bring peace to them. I will not dare to demonstrate my honor. I just hope to serve as a single tree that supports a building almost collapsed by someone. If I am near the country, I should be responsible for other people's mistakes, while, if I am far from the

²⁴ See Imai Kōsai 今井弘濟 and Asaka Kaku 安積覺 "Shunsui Sensei Gyōjitsu" 舜水先生行實 (p. 613, Volume 2 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

²⁵ See "Da Yuan Guangguo Wen Xianshi Yuanyou Luli" 答源光國問先世緣由履歷 (pp. 352–353, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

country, I shall let men of virtue write, while mocking them in vain. Therefore, I will never do it even if I have to go through hell.”²⁶ It is clear that he did not want either to endanger his private life for the sake of his official duties or to be blamed in place of other people, even though he should face a false charge that could not be cleared forever.

Needless to say, the second reason is related to the above. However, the conspiracy of people in Dangtu to commit injustices led Zhu Shunshui to go beyond his avoidance, so that he eventually adopted a radical view and took a severe negative attitude toward the politics of late Ming. Ando Seian asked Zhu the following question: “When you were appointed to official positions, you did not assume them. What meaning did your action have to justice?” Zhu answered: “When the Ming court appointed me to official positions, politics was under the control of Ma Shiyong, who was a vicious statesman. At that time, he sent a certain Zhou, one of his followers, to visit my house again and again together with He Shibo [*jinshi* who achieved the top score in the provincial examination in Henan, whose name was Dongping, and who was the father-in-law of Zhu’s daughter], a relative of mine, to convince me in a very polite manner. If I had assumed the position, I would have surely received special treatment. If I had received special treatment, I naturally should have felt gratitude for the favor and repay the court for it. If I worked with Ma Shiyong, I also would have become a vicious statesman. If I had acted selflessly, I would have been blamed for obstructing justice while forgetting the favor I was granted and defeating the lord by myself. All matters should have been recognized by men of virtue as universal crimes. Therefore, I refused offers despite concern about the fortune of my family.”²⁷ Careful persons may find that, although in the context of the first reason, Zhu was still considering the problem of refusing official position offers from the perspective of private interests, as expressed in the phrase “unable to protect myself and my family”; in the context of the second reason, he understood that, if he unavoidably assumed the position offer, it would build up his negative public reputation, and he would use all his powers of persuasion without hesitation because his words were not words of acceptance while even ignoring concern about protecting himself and his family. However, behind his honest character described as “Following the guidance of men of virtue, instead of enjoying the favor of vicious persons,” is his revealing insight about the persistent symptom the court was suffering. He supposed that the southward movement of the Qing forces would cause the Zhongyuan area to be devastated, resulting in the Chinese dynasty being defeated by the aliens. However, if the “cores of trees” were not spoiled, Qing people were too strong for the Ming vassals to defeat them at one stroke at any cost. He found the reasons for the collapse of Ming in the dynasty itself, saying, “All things collapse naturally, and then people destroy them.” He believed that this logic was the truth and the real “reason for barbarians’ conquer of China.” “China is facing difficulty in blocking attacks by enemies. If a national shame is left to future generations, it will be really the favor granted by the enemies and what Chinese *shi dafu* (士大夫; scholar-officials) obtained by themselves. The proverb says, ‘All trees rot, leaving wood borers behind.’ Wood borers can grow even without never-rotting trees. Yang Hao favored the enemies and betrayed his country. We have no time to

²⁶ See “Da Xiaozhai Shengshun Shu” 答小宅生順書 (p. 311, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

²⁷ See “Da Andong Shouyue Wen Batiao” 答安東守約問八條 (p. 371, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

give a lengthy explanation about the past event. For example, in the final year of the Chongzhen era, crimes committed by higher-ranked officials forced the general public into sufferings, so all people hope that the dynasty would collapse together with themselves on that day. Therefore, people inside and outside the country addressed incoming rebels and fought against enemies while being misled by the rumors and evil creeds they spread and demonstrating an unexpected level of vigor. It was supposed that, once the country collapsed, the situation would get just out of control. Otherwise, how could people reach this place going beyond the unpopulated national border while obeying the order to hide halberds and follow arrows, with no solid fortresses and no loyal vassals in 24 counties in the Hebei area? Briefly, the largest fault lies with *shi dafu*. The general public have no wisdom and express their anger in vain, and they try to earn profits that they have not yet earned without considering their lifelong misfortune or misfortune for generations. We cannot blame them for that.”²⁸ These things mean that the Qing court was able to replace the Ming court quickly and to take advantage of the corruption of the Ming administration and its resulting estrangement from the general public. “They succeeded in stealing China as our homeland because they took advantage of the estrangement between the Ming court and the general public to expand the scope of their power. Therefore, Ming officials escaped here and there, and the Qing court succeeded in stealing the country without fighting.”²⁹ When Oyake Seijun asked Zhu Shunshui why China had been defeated rapidly, Zhu also answered that it was because the country had lost its people. “Once an abnormality occurs, the country collapses immediately” entirely because “public officers do not know what enlightened rule is and exploit the people by imposing heavy taxes on them.” In such a situation, even if the Great Ming was fully armed and had many “birds, guns and people of culture,” as well as “firearms,” the strong military power could be capitalized on by the thieves, once the “general public were estranged from the court.”³⁰

However, the third reason, which we will discuss here, may be the most profound reason for Zhu's refusals of official position offers. He early became interested in academic problems in the Ming court, and he believed that the cause of the symptoms the Ming dynasty was suffering lay in the administration-advocated academic school, which could not be separated from politics at all, and had had very important impacts on how the politics would progress. “Public officials were eager for private interests, declining the fortune of the long-established country. Why cannot we believe that academic mentality has destructive effects? Therefore, only novel lessons from the Four Books and Five Classics can amaze the general public, and only distorted lessons can suit the current trends. These things are not justice for sages. People are originally disinterested in controlling themselves, managing the household, ruling the country, and bringing peace to society. They gave annotations only on appended sheets of paper. During the Jiajing, Longqing and Wanli eras, the administration gathered students to offer them classes and established libraries and

²⁸ See “Yilu Zhi You” 致虜之由, *Zhongyuan Yangjiu Shulue* 中原陽九述略 (p. 1, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

²⁹ See “Mielu Zhi Ce” 滅虜之策, *Zhongyuan Yangjiu Shulue* 中原陽九述略 (pp. 11–12, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

³⁰ See Chapter 3 of “Da Xiaozhai Shengshun Shu Shujiushou” 答小宅生順書十九首 (p. 314, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

formed various separate schools, which taught each other. The principle of sacredness and wisdom being embodied in one person is not realized, and people are busy with battles between earth and heaven and between water and fire. Higher-ranked people tried to have their virtue eclipse their intuition, while lower-ranked people were wearing uselessly high crowns and multiple shirts with broad sleeves. People who are similar to but different from You Meng became subjects for laughter by clapping their hands.”³¹ When he came to know such negative impacts and to know Japanese people, Zhu Shunshui became deeply impressed. “One day, Mr. Zhu told me, ‘The chaos of China dates back to the era of the Tianqi Emperor (1621–1627).’ At that time, a party of scientists and a party of literary scholars competed for ruling power, speaking ill of each other. During the subsequent years of panic, thieves became rebels and northern barbarians obtained high-ranked positions. Vicious statesmen raised this entire situation into the source of complete chaos.”³² Zhu believed just in Confucianist principles, which seemed to him to be the principles of sages and the true sutra for all academic endeavors. However, since the Ming court-led academic school was not compliant with the practical spirit of Chinese academic disciplines and the practical essence of Confucianism, Zhu Shunshui as an admirer of practical studies believed that it would be difficult for him to fulfill his aspiration and contribute to new knowledge in such an academic atmosphere. As seen below, after settling in Japan, he recognized that he himself finally found the foundation for promoting the Confucianist academic principles. “Despite its small area, Japan has an established set of laws, people with spirit, and a land bordered with coastal lines. I have not heard that Japanese people had introduced Confucius’ lessons before. Therefore, Japanese people respect civility but do not yet know the essence of civility, and they respect honor but do not yet comply with the basics of honor. Once someone teaches them the Confucianist principles, all the people will become an Emperor Yao or Shun and deserve to be granted with a higher rank. Korea is not the only overseas country that can introduce the lessons of ‘Eight Prohibitions.’”³³ Zhu Shunshui had unlimited expectations for Tokugawa Mitsukuni, who embodied the Confucianist principles in a naïve way. “The people of your country pay due attention to reading books and respecting civility. Your desire to promote the academic principles of sages is surely very insightful and is beyond the expectation of outside parties,” Zhu continued: “I’m just concerned about your nation’s inability to love the academic principles of sages. If they can love the academic principles of sages and become an Emperor Yao or Shun, why should I feel concerned about the inferiority of their literary works to those in China? Several-year efforts to instill the Confucianist principles into Japanese people would produce good effects, and the continuation of such efforts for 10 years would reach remarkable success. Why don’t you try to make such efforts? Why are you envious of people across the sea in vain like a person enviously looking at fish in deep water? This story is never a fantasy like Buddhist ones.”³⁴ Zhu also added: “The principles of sages have been

³¹ See Chapter 3 of “Da Andong Shouyue Shu Sanshishou” 答安東守約書三十首 (p. 174, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

³² See Hitomi Chikudō 人見竹洞, “Shunsui Bokudan” 舜水墨談 (p. 249, *Zhu Shunshui Ji Buyi* 朱舜水集補遺, Taipei Xuesheng Shuju, 1992).

³³ See “Shengxian Zan Wushou” 聖像贊五首 (p. 560, Volume 2 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

³⁴ See “Da Xiaozhai Shengshun Wen Liushiyitiao” 答小宅生順問六十一條 (pp. 411–412, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

neglected since the death of the Duke of Zhou not because there are no sages but because there are no sage-like emperors. No principles of sages would be pursued without sage-like emperors. . . During my childhood, I enjoyed reading the Rites of Zhou and was eager to meet the people of those times. Unfortunately, a serious accident forced me to travel east on board a small raft, ending up worshipping an image of the Duke of Zhou here in Japan. . . Placing importance on poetry and calligraphy and loving discussing civility, music, poetry, and calligraphy, the people of Japan are pursuing the principles of the Duke of Zhou. If they can master and clarify the principles, why does the politics of Japan have limitations?"³⁵ This is an example of Zhu Shunshui's expression of the deepest meaning of his "profound expectation for your country (Japan)." ³⁶

3. On His Use of the "Zhengjun of Ming" Title

As mentioned above, Zhu Shunshui was "appointed to official positions 12 times but refused to assume those positions," but he immensely valued his title of a *zhengjun* or *zhengshi* of Ming, which indicated that he had been appointed by the court to official positions, and he never allowed anyone to neglect that title until his death. For him, the title of a *zhengjun* was a kind of symbol of excellence protected by the barriers of nobleness and authority. In each stage of Zhu Shunshui's life, especially during the entire period of his work abroad, these titles demonstrated unrivaled and unreplaceable effects. My thorough examination has found the following explicit and implicit reasons for the effects, which I believe deserve the attention of scholars, in particular.

First of all, in the pre-modern sphere of Hua-Yi distinction, the title of *zhengjun* embodied nobleness and authority that could go beyond national borders to some extent. Even if the power of the Ming court declined and the country faced danger, the power and authority of the Chinese world still had a considerable influence on nearby countries based on its 1,100-year history. While this aspect represented the unintended, noble attitudes of Chinese people, the surrounding countries expressed their noble acceptance and respect for the power and authority. This was also the reason why Zhu Shunshui sought the Prince of Lu's imperial instructions amid his hardship in Annam. Even if the local king was stubborn, the clear, reasonable principles could help him to persuade the king to agree with him. Zhu Shunshui's telling writings on Annam explain this point. "The collapse of China has recently caused a chaotic situation on the earth, the rebellion of enemies, and the destruction of national land. Although foreign people do not have to die for a national cause, they cannot find a refuge. Hearing of it, Duke Wen said, 'Annam and Korea are countries that know civility.' Therefore, I escaped to this place. While Jiang Ziya and Boyi waited for the opportunity to regain ruling power while near the eastern sea and the northern sea respectively, this is not a fantasy. If your country can offer favorable benefits to a foreign national, that would be the end. People with various backgrounds visit me

³⁵ See "Zhougong Xian Zan" 周公像贊 (p. 557, Volume 2 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

³⁶ See "Da Xiaozhai Shengshun Wen Liushiyitiao" 答小宅生順問六十一條 (p. 411, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

here, but not all of them have asked me good questions possibly because they do not know with what intention I am prisoned here. . . I hope that such things will not occur again.”³⁷ When an Annamese official asked him what he would argue when the Annamese king appointed Confucianist sages to official positions, Zhu Shunshui gave an answer that demonstrated authority and standards. “The Annamese king can own Tonkin as a whole only if the imperial regent appoints the king to do so. Even if China restored all its titles, the king is merely a local duke in an alien country that is not under the imperial court’s influence. Why can you view an appointment by the king equivalent to an imperial appointment?” While nodding, the Annamese official said “Yes” eight or nine times consecutively.³⁸

Next, once alien people understood the authority and value embodied by the title of *zhengjun*, it would not only benefit the holder of the title but also allow him to return from the brink of death. Zhu’s answer to the Annamese official’s question was actually based on his own experience. Annamese people were easily persuaded by his reasoning because they had a certain level of knowledge about Zhu’s status. However, Annamese people really understood him before they came to know his status, and they actually wanted to kill him in response to his resistance to their orders. In such a crucial moment, he thought of taking advantage of his special status. Although he was already prepared to be decapitated, he was later reminded of this fact based on his own experience. While he was still revered as a “man of dignity” at that time, the following story sheds light on his request to the local people for support after his death and shows his more important desire to survive. Zhu secretly said to a doctor based in Li: “I am a *zhengjun* of the Ming dynasty. This is a ritual or ceremony that has not been performed for 180 years after the dynasty’s founding. It is natural that you do not know what the title of *zhengjun* means. However, although I was appointed by the court to official positions twice in the years of Chongzhen 17 and Hongguang 1, I did not assume those positions. . . For 13 years since I left my homeland, [. .] no one has known me personally. If I have to die today, I have some words to say here. After my death, [. .] I know you will not respect my corpse. But, if you are willing to bury my corpse, I hope that my grave will have the inscription of ‘Grave of a Mr. Zhu, a *zhengjun* of Ming.’”³⁹ While Zhu was unable to be as self-possessed and calm as usual when he was almost being decapitated, that made Annamese people easily notice the abnormality of the situation where he was placed. His abnormal action helped him obtain the ideal opportunity to demonstrate his special status in public. “Today, a man named Li Yaopu visited me, and I said to him, ‘No one could believe in the existence of such a mad man (indicating Zhu himself).’ Li stated: ‘I have not yet known that man. Once I see him, I will recognize him. There are surely reasons why he is called a mad man.’ . . . This man called me again and asked, ‘What is *zhengjun*?’ and added ‘I don’t know your language, so seek paper and a brush and write the term.’ I immediately wrote the term, and said: ‘In the year of Chongzhen 17, I was appointed by the court to an official position, but refused the offer. In the year of Hongguang 1, I was again appointed by the court to an official position but did not assume the position. . .

³⁷ See “Annan Gongyi Jishi” 安南供役紀事 (pp. 26–27, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

³⁸ See “Annan Gongyi Jishi” 安南供役紀事 (p. 16, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

³⁹ See “Annan Gongyi Jishi” 安南供役紀事 (p. 19, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

The local king is suddenly getting angry without understanding that my refusal to demonstrate respect is an action of civility. What words could I add further? I will accept to be killed or detained, but I just hope to refuse an offer of a position. I received a letter from the Prince of Lu in the first month of this year, and I also received another imperial edict. I won't give no more redundant words.”⁴⁰ The details of this description may help us spell out why Zhu could escape from the danger of being decapitated. In the Annamese Zhongyuan, which was included in the territory of Ming, Zhu and the local people were able to communicate by writing, but they were unable to understand each other by speech. However, as mentioned in Zhu's diary, he was answered by the doctor based in Li, who dealt with the situation after Zhu left the area and also served as his interpreter. The existence of this doctor-cum-interpreter played a very important role in verifying the status of Zhu, who was reaching Annam. Zhu said, “Because visitors aged 15 or above from the administrative world have always strictly observed the rules of etiquette and expressed their respect to the local king and high-ranked officials, my action was limited to refusal to kneel to the king.”⁴¹ When the king heard about this fact, he said to the Li doctor: “This is a man of excellence. How has he obtained such an outstanding talent and such vast academic knowledge?”⁴² The dialogue made the king completely change his attitude toward Zhu. This miracle was also highlighted in an unexpected way in Zhu's reply to the Prince of Lu. “I have already lost those who I knew personally. On the eight day of the first month, I visited the place where the Annamese king stayed, [. . .] and met him. I gave him a name card stating ‘*Qinfeng chishu tezhaio engongsheng dunshou bai*’ (欽奉敕書特召恩貢生頓首拜; lit. ‘An *engongsheng* who has been specially appointed by the imperial court’). I explained that I had been specially appointed by the imperial court to official positions many times and had become a *zhengjun* in my country. ‘Therefore,’ I said: ‘I'm different from ordinary officials, so why could I kneel to a foreign king, disgracing my country? That's why my refusal to make an obeisance to the king is my expression of civility.’”⁴³ Because this is a post-factum report, his loyalty to the Ming court may be exaggerated, and his own noble social status is highlighted by taking advantage of the opportunity. He did not feel sorry for his past refusal of the imperial appointment, and seems to have felt a hidden delight about it.

Thirdly, the hidden value of the *zhengjun* title helped Zhu Shunshui consider the local administration of the countries he visited as an exile. As widely known, after he lost his hope of restoring the Ming dynasty, he settled in Japan in 1659 and died from illness in Edo 23 years later. His settlement in Japan can be seen as an exception from the Tokugawa shogunate's official history up to that time, expressed as “Forty years have already passed since the shogunate began to prohibit Chinese people from freely staying in the country.”⁴⁴ However, concerning the value of Zhu's overseas experience, he seems to have placed importance on his title and academic knowledge while in Annam. In Japan, he placed higher importance on his title and academic

⁴⁰ See “Annan Gongyi Jishi” 安南供役紀事 (pp. 19–20, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

⁴¹ See “Annan Gongyi Jishi” 安南供役紀事 (p. 22, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

⁴² See “Annan Gongyi Jishi” 安南供役紀事 (p. 28, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

⁴³ See “Shang Jianguo Luwang Xieen Zoushu” 上監國魯王謝恩奏疏 quoted in “Annan Gongyi Jishi” 安南供役紀事 (p. 16, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

⁴⁴ See “Yu Sunnan Yuren Shu” 與孫男毓仁書 (p. 48, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

knowledge than in Annam, as well as his refusal of imperial appointments and expelling national enemies. Among these factors, his “refusal of imperial appointments” represented his negative attitude toward the politics of late Ming, while his desire to “expel national enemies” expressed his contempt for the Qing civilization. “Shang Changqi Zhenxun Jie” (上長崎鎮巡揭; lit. “Memorial to the Magistrate of Nagasaki”), which Zhu Shunshui wrote before settling in Japan, seems to correspond, intentionally or not, with his overly higher priority on the two factors in Japan. “In the tenth month of the year of *xinmao* (辛卯), Zhu respectfully reports that our country is seeing a degenerate society where people with malicious intent earn profits and the national administration is spoiled, resulting in hostility growing among the general public and the country being conquered by barbarians. This situation has made me bury my face in my hands and lose reason, and appointment of administrative officers looks like the collection of wastes. My grandfather, father and elder brother took imperial examinations and were appointed by the court to official positions through generations. However, I will not assume an official position because I do not want to look like a fox or pig wearing a pigtail or to work as a prisoner of my enemy. But I won’t kill myself. While I have been counted among excellent talents in Ming and appointed to official positions three times, I have rejected those offers because I do not want to receive a salary from the court in a severely destroyed society where the desirable principles of men of virtue have disappeared.”⁴⁵ This text means that he did not feel politically close to the late Ming court and did not feel culturally close to the Qing court. If he did not feel politically close to the late Ming dynasty, his act of rejecting imperial appointments can be viewed as reasonable. If he did not feel culturally close to the Qing court, it is natural that he was unable to serve his enemy. Meanwhile, while he did not painstakingly accommodate himself to Japanese people who exaggerated their dream of Japan as the center of East Asia, and their recognition of China’s transformation to a barbarian state, his position separated from both Ming and Qing not only confirmed his convincing assertion that he had no way to return but also helped clear up Japanese people’s political and cultural concern about and wariness of accepting an alien into Japan. With regard to the issue of national enemy, he took every available opportunity to exaggerate his experience of rejecting imperial appointments, but that was not because he did not take into consideration this issue. The profound questions Japanese people asked him repeatedly and uniformly were vastly beyond the understanding of the general public. Those questions were intended to ask him whether he could have continued to protect his loyalty to the “Ming-style costume and crown” during the period of his exile if the ruling power of China had not been transferred from Ming to Qing. Those questions were also aimed at asking him whether Zhu could have exaggerated his title while in Japan if Tokugawa Mitsukuni had not expressed his deep respect for Boyi and Shuqi, who are believed to have said, “We will not eat millet from Zhou,” and treated Zhu himself with similar respect. What was important was not the answers to those questions themselves but whether or not explicit or implicit arrangements between Zhu Shunshui and Mito clan vassals had been already established. A report says: “On the 17th day of the fourth month of Tenna 2, Zhu Shunshui passed away at his residence in Komagome, Edo. He was 83. He was buried at the foot of Mt.

⁴⁵ See “Shang Changqi Zhenxun Jie” 上長崎鎮巡揭 (p. 37, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

Zuiryū, Ōta-gō, Kuji County, Hitachi Province. Lord Tokugawa Mitsukuni commended the Chinese scholar for his achievements and virtue and expressed his commendation by giving him a posthumous name of Bunkyo (文恭) and engraving “A *zhengjun* of Ming” on the Chinese man’s grave.”⁴⁶ Zhu himself stated: “Confucius formerly said that great principles were practiced in the optimal period in each of the three ancient eras. I used to give a deep sigh every time I read this writing, and I said, ‘How can I interact friendly with other people?’ But I cannot do so by any means. I was not so fortunate that I could encounter noble friends in early-modern China, but I can do so easily in Japan. Although I cannot interact in a friendly manner with ordinary people in Japan, I can do so easily with the lord here.”⁴⁷ The third quotation is from a eulogy for Zhu: “*Zhengjun* Zhu Shunshui, a loyal vassal of the Ming dynasty, settled in Japan, secretly waiting for a desirable opportunity. He never changed his aspiration to restore Ming.”⁴⁸ These three quotations have their own meanings. The first one means that Zhu’s insistence on his title enabled him to acquire an immortal personality between China and Japan and restore the dignity of his homeland. The second one indicates that the reaction to his title of people inside and outside Ming and the assessment of the authority represented by his title helped prove the value of the Confucianist principles of politics by sages, and it put those principles into practice only in Japan. The third one signifies that, while Zhu “did never change his aspiration to restore Ming,” his intention to expel the Qing court and “not to return home unless China is restored”⁴⁹ caused major changes in the structure of East Asia later and served as a foreshadow of the subsequent events. The last one deserves special attention.

An essay titled “Yangjiu Shulue” (陽九述略; lit. “A Brief Account of Calamity” by Zhou Zuoren mentions that a person of the late Qing period got handwritten copies of “Zhongyuan Yangjiu Shulue” (中原陽九述略; lit. “A Brief Account of the Central Plain’s Calamity”) and “Annan Gongyi Jishi” (安南供役紀事; lit. “Chronological Records of Imprisonment in Annam”) from the *Works of Zhu Shunshui* and printed and bound the copies in one volume in a large envelope affixed with an oval vermillion seal. This book was used to propagate the cause of revolution.⁵⁰ Liang Qichao also stated: “His (Zhu’s) resistance to Manchuria did not decline even in his advanced age. His writing titled “A Brief Account of the Central Plain’s Calamity” comprises such chapters as ‘Reasons for barbarians’ conquer of China,’ ‘Sufferings brought by the barbarians,’ and ‘Strategy for defeating the barbarians,’ and it has a writing of ‘*Ming guchen Zhu Zhiyuqixue qisang jinshu*’ (明孤臣朱之瑜泣血稽顙謹述; lit. “Ming vassal Zhu Zhiyu in solitude wrote this work while shedding tears of blood and touching his forehead to the floor”) at its end. In addition,

⁴⁶ See Asaka Kaku 安積覺 “Ming Gu Zhengjun Wengong Xiansheng Beiyin” 明故徵君文恭先生碑陰 (p. 631, Volume 2 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

⁴⁷ See “Yuandan He Yuan Guangguo Shu Bashou” 元旦賀源光國書八首 (p. 113, Volume 1 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

⁴⁸ See Daigakunokami Fujiwara Nobuatsu 大學頭藤原信篤 “Shunsui Sensei Gazōsan” 舜水先生画像贊 (p. 744, Volume 2 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

⁴⁹ See Imai Kōsai 今井弘濟 and Asaka Kaku 安積覺 “Shunsui Sensei Gyōjitsu” 舜水先生行實 (p. 619, Volume 2 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

⁵⁰ See p. 42 of Lin Junhong 林俊宏, *Zhu Shunshui zai Riben de Huodong ji Qi Gongxian Yanliu* 朱舜水在日本的活動及其貢獻研究 (Taipei: Showwe Information Co., Ltd., 2004).

his Works include many writings about his resistance to Qing, which strongly inspired young people in the late Qing period and have had massive impacts on political changes for these 20 years.”⁵¹ Meanwhile, Japanese people just before the Donghak Peasant Revolution felt happy when they witnessed the impacts of Zhu’s writings. Munakata Kotarō, a Japanese senior intelligence agent, pointed out: “I arrived in China in the early winter of Meiji 17 (1884) and found many resistance people. But resistance has now reached its peak. Formerly, most armed rebels conducted their activities without cause, but all armed rebels today fight for the cause of restoring the rituals of Ming. According to their explanation about why they fight for that cause, the slogan of ‘restoration of the Ming dynasty’ is the most powerful to agitate and attract people.”⁵² Munakata took advantage of this rebellion and even issued a written declaration to loudly encourage Chinese people to defeat the Qing dynasty representing Japan during the Donghak Peasant Revolution. “The Qing court is originally a barbarian clan outside the Great Wall, so they are not so virtuous that you have to follow their orders. In addition, they have not accomplished any achievements in China, and they just took advantage of the decline of the Ming dynasty to violently rob people of their property. They pretended to limit the period for their rule and tricked the general public, in order to conquer the country. Warlords at that time were unable to fight against them, ending up just with resentment and anger against them. I believe that the people can defeat Heaven, but the current situation has resulted from heaven’s determination to defeat the people at its intended time. . . The people of your country and our nation originally belonged to the same race, share culture and morals, and have a friendship of mutual prosperity. Both peoples won’t surrender to the enemy. I fervently hope that you will accept our sincerity, dispel suspicion, and confirm that people and Heaven agree with you, and promote your cause in the Zhongyuan area while following social trends and uniting with strong pupils, and that the revolutionary army will expel the Qing court off the national border and encourage true men of excellence to initiate major businesses. I also hope that you will make necessary political improvements, save the people from their sufferings, and restore your past excellent dynasty by throwing away useless laws and following the political teachings of Confucius and Mencius. The Japanese people have long hoped so. Fortunately, you have agreed with us, so we will collect supporters for your cause at home. Therefore, we will provide you with food and weapons on ships and go to help you at our intended time. You should not miss this opportunity. You will not have such a favorable opportunity again. As ancient people said, if you do not receive a divine blessing, the vengeance of Heaven will come down on you. You should take action as soon as possible. The founder of the Ming dynasty would not mock you.”⁵³ This encouragement to restore the Ming dynasty has many elements shared with Zhu Shunshui’s statement seeking supporters in Japan after the power transfer from Ming to Qing.

⁵¹ See p. 96 of Liang Qichao 梁啟超, *Zhongguo Jin Sanbainian Xueshushi* 中國近三百年學術史 (Beijing: The Eastern Publishing Co., Ltd., 1996)

⁵² See “Fu: Chūgoku Taisei no Keikō” 附：中國大勢之傾向 in *Munakata Kotarō Nikki* 宗方小太郎日記 (p. 129, “Zhong-Ri Zhanzheng (6)” 中日戰爭 (6), Qi Qizhang 戚其章 et al. eds. *Zhongguo Jindaishi Zhiliao Congkan Xubian* 中國近代史資料叢刊續編 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1993).

⁵³ See Munakata Kotarō 宗方小太郎 “Kaicheng Zhonggao Shibasheng Haojie” 開誠忠告十八省豪傑” (in Chinese) in *Nisshin Sensō Jikki* 日清戰爭実記 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, August 1894–January 1896).

The encouragement also has few differences from Sun Yat-sen's declaration for revolution for defeating Manchuria, aimed at expelling the northern barbarians and restoring the Chinese dynasty. The view of Gotō Shinpei requires readers to make more thorough considerations. Gotō said: "Zhu Shunshui as a *zhengjun* of Ming was a supreme treasure who was nominated for official positions. He devoted all-out efforts to his cause and pursued his academic aspiration for principles for imperial rule. However, he was not allowed to do so in his homeland, so he deeply loved his homeland and left his academic achievements in Japan. We should feel sorry for Zhu as a Ming patriot, but we should feel celebrate Zhu Zhiyu (Shunshui). . . Zhu did not accept Qing as his country to firmly protect his cause, just as Lu Zhonglian did not accept Qin as his country. Zhu finally crossed the sea, coming to know Tokugawa Mitsukuni personally and becoming immortal together with the monument [dedicated to Kusunoki Masashige] at Minatogawa-jinja Shrine. Compared with Japanese royalist patriotism, his pure and loyal patriot spirit he left has been enhanced and fostered in silence while being officially suppressed though mixed with Japanese patriot spirit for some two hundred years. His spirit has been finally incorporated into the proposals of modern Japanese patriots and has immensely contributed to restoring imperial rule in Japan. As a result, our country is enjoying its current prosperity. We have learned really valuable lessons from Zhu Shunshui. . . I know that we were commended for the reasons for our acceptance of him, but I believe it can be said that the reasons why Zhu entrusted his aspiration to us are clear. If we wish to achieve ambitious goals, we should accept excellent people. That is the case with Zhu Shunshui's settlement in Japan. I hope that we will further rely on Zhu Shunshui and make our national history consistent by maintaining our loyalty to him. . . If we were able to inform Zhu in his grave of our current prosperity, he would express his delight so strongly that he couldn't notice that the supports of his *geta* clogs are broken." Gotō also expressed his apology to him, as we expect, saying, "If we had informed him of the dangerous situation that his country is currently in after the disturbances of war, would he breathe a deep sigh of sorrow?"⁵⁴ In this sense, the controversy aroused in the early 20th century between the Chinese and Japanese academic worlds over whether or not the "*zhengjun* of Ming" had been already naturalized clearly had another implication.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ See Gotō Shinpei 後藤新平 "Zhu Shunshui Quanji Xu" 朱舜水全集序 (pp. 796–797, Volume 2 of *Zhu Shunshui Ji* 朱舜水集).

⁵⁵ See Li Dazhao 李大钊 "Dongying Renshi Guanyu Shunshui Shiji zhi Zhengsong" 東瀛人士关于舜水事迹之争讼 in "Zhu Sheng Jian Ying Lou Ji Cong" 筑声剑影楼纪丛 (the original published in the monthly *Yanzhi* 言治 in the second term of the first year, May 1, 1913; republished on pp. 24–27, Volume 1 of *Li Dazhao Quanji* 李大钊全集, Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2006). Also see Han Dongyu 韓東育 "Guanyu Zhu Shunshui 'Ribei Guihua' Wenti de Zaisikao" 关于朱舜水 "日本归化"问题的再思考 in Xu Xingqing 徐興慶 ed. *Zhu Shunshui yu Jinshi Riben Ruxue de Fazhan* 朱舜水與近世日本儒學的發展 (Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 2012).