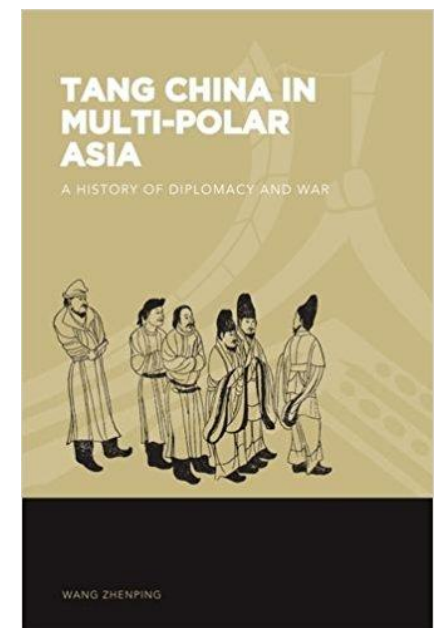
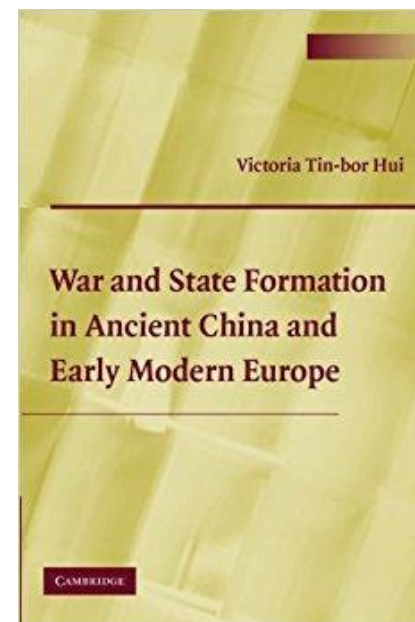
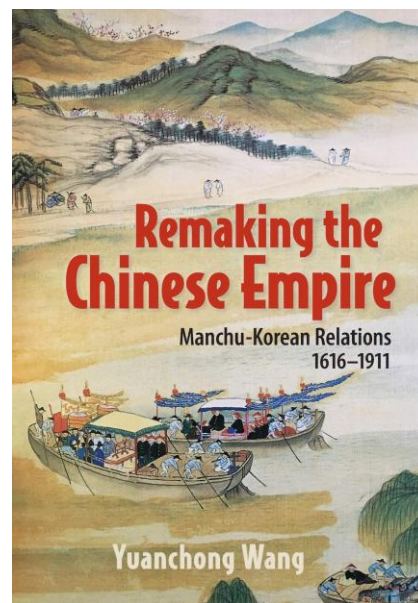
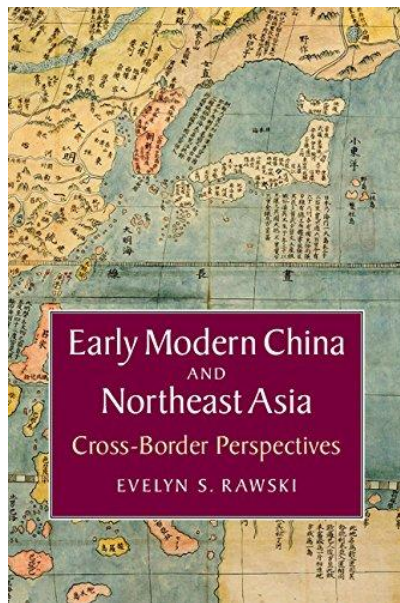
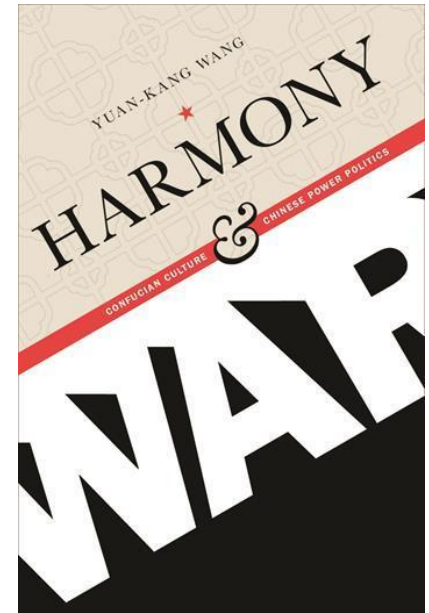
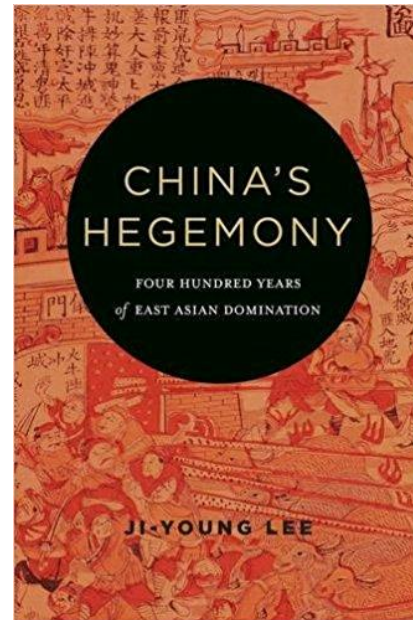
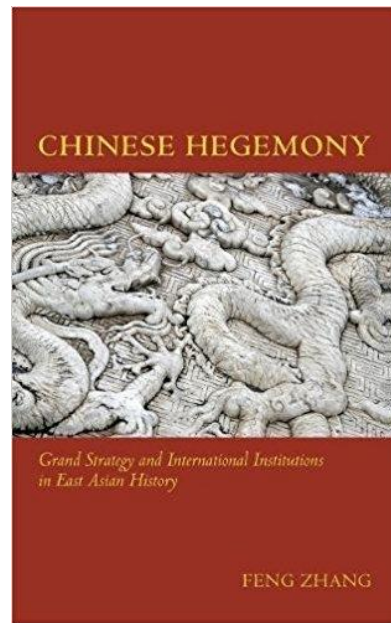
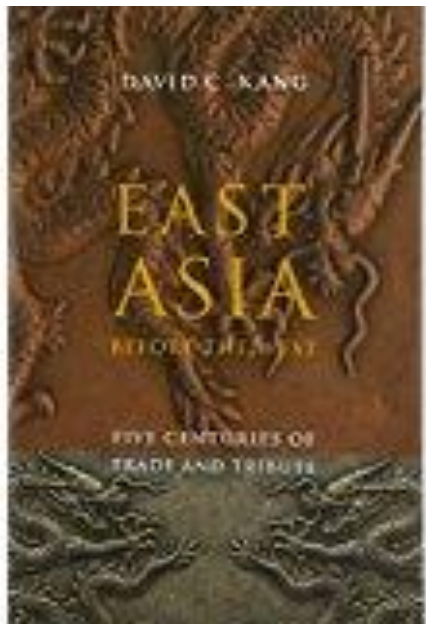


Tribute, Trade and Regional Hierarchy in Pre-Colonial East Asia

Min Shu

Waseda University

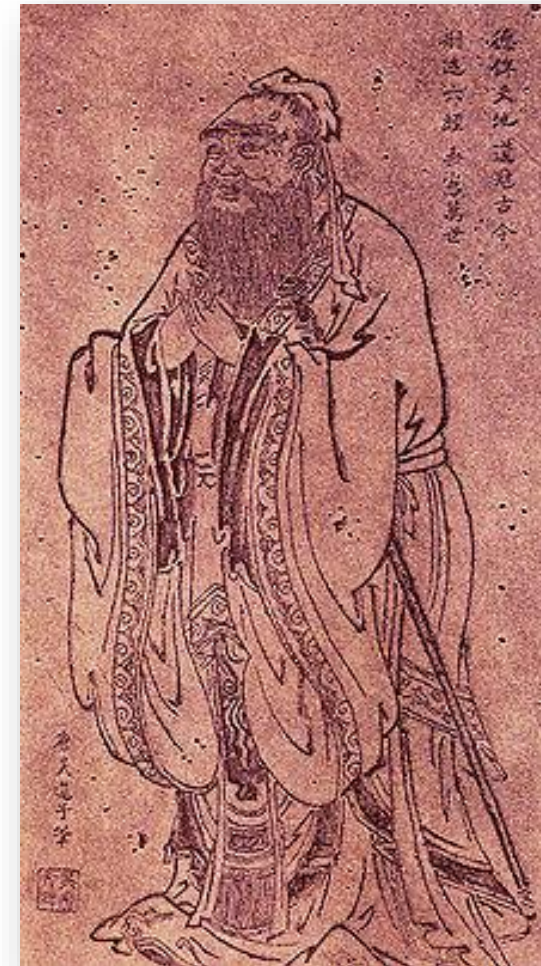


Outline of the Lecture

- Confucianism and its impact on East Asia
- The China-centered tribute system
- Sino-Japanese interaction in the pre-colonial era
- Tribute and Trade between China and Southeast Asia
- Chosŏn and Ryukyu amid the Ming-Qing transition
- The tribute system: historical impact and contemporary relevance

Confucianism and its Impact on East Asia

- Confucius (551–479 BC)
- Confucian teaching
 - Humanism
 - Ethical teaching
 - Hierarchical social order
- The development of Confucianism
 - Classic Confucianism
 - Neo-Confucianism
 - Confucianism in Korea, Japan, Taiwan...

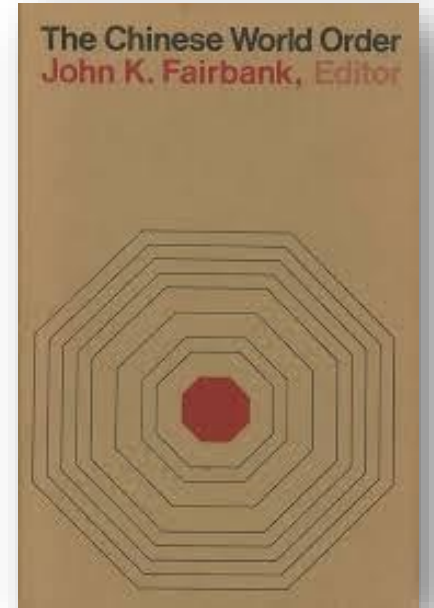


Confucianism and its Impact on East Asia

- The formation of a Confucian world in East Asia
 - China-centered tributary system
 - Active learning and adoption in Korea, Japan and Vietnam
 - Ritual-based diplomatic relationship
- Confucian hierarchy and international relations in traditional East Asia
 - A form of **hierarchical legitimacy** that put simultaneous emphasis on loyal followers and compassionate leaders
 - Peaceful times: vindicating regional hierarchy and ceremonial exchanges between neighboring countries
 - War times: justifying aggressive actions (military campaigns) against disobedient followers or amoral leaders

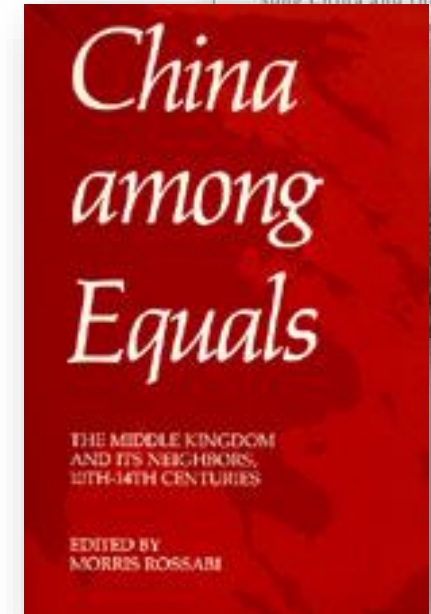
The China-Centered Tribute System

- The foreign relations of premodern China
 - Hierarchical relationship between China and its neighbors
 - China as the Middle Kingdom
 - Confucianism and the moral foundation
 - rule of virtue and the moral authority of the ruler
 - Royal followers + compassionate leader
 - Practical equality between the Chinese and foreign courts
 - The value of tributary items was outweighed by the imperial gifts
 - China rarely interfered the internal affairs of foreign countries



The China-Centered Tribute System

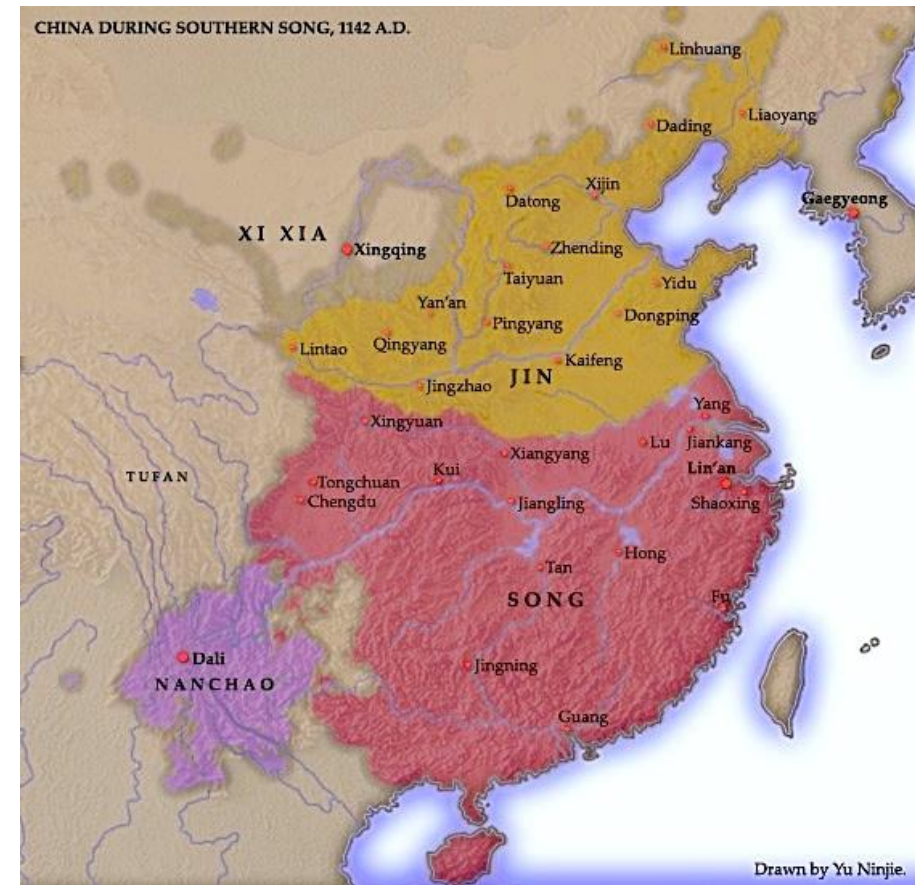
- Tributary missions and diplomatic communication
 - Strict rules regulating the tributary missions
 - The frequency of tributes
 - The status of tributary states
 - The routes of incoming tributary missions
 - Two-way communication through the tribute system
 - Foreign courts sent tributary missions to China
 - China sent imperial tallies to tributary states
 - When it was weak, China also sent tributes to powerful neighbors
 - Tributes was delivered to Xiongnu in the early Han dynasty
 - The Chanyuan Treaty (1005) between Liao and Northern Song
 - Southern Song paid tributes to Jin after the Treaty of Shaoxing (1141)



East Asia in 200 BCE



Jin and Southern Song in 12th century



Sino-Japanese Interaction in the Pre-Colonial Era

- The earliest textual references to Japan appeared in Chinese (*Hou Han Shu*), describing a tributary mission of Wa (倭) to the Han dynasty in 57CE
 - A gold seal was granted by the Han emperor, Guang-wu, showing Wa's involvement in the tributary system
- Wa (Yamato) rulers continued to dispatch tributary missions to the Chinese courts on an irregular basis till the late 5th century
- Wa also established close connection with Paekche, a relationship was probably equal, but appeared hierarchical in *Nihon shoki* (Bk. 17, compiled around 720)



Kensuishi (遣隋使) and *Kentoshi* (遣唐使)

- During the period when China was unified under the Sui and Tang dynasties, Japan sent a number of missions to the Chinese courts, under the names of *Kensuishi* and *Kentoshi*, between 600 and 894
- These missions were tributary for China, but no longer purely tributary for Japan because no investiture had been sought (Nishijima 1985; Wang, 2005; but see Kawakami, 2019)
- Importance channels of learning Buddhism, and Chinese cultural, political and legal systems



The Mongol invasion (1274, 1281)

- The Mongols expanded their influences on the Eurasian continent in the 13th century
 - 1260 Koryo became a vassal of the Mongol Empire
 - 1271 Mongol leader Kublai established the Great Yuan in China
- The Mongol Empire demand of tribute and vassaldom from Japan
 - The Mongol envoys , sent via Koryo, to Japan were denied in 1266, 1267, 1268 and 1269, and were executed in 1275 and 1279



The Mongol Invasion (1274, 1281)

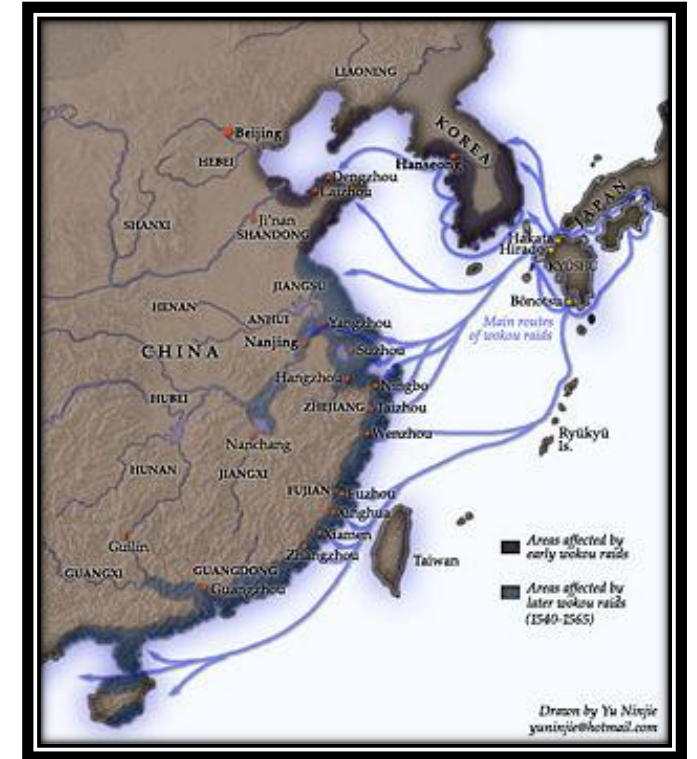
- The subsequent Mongol invasions
 - The first Mongol invasion in 1274 (Battle of Bun'ei, 文永の役)
 - The second Mongol invasion in 1281 (Battle of Koan, 弘安の役)



- For the first time, a large scale of foreign forces came to Japan
- The invasions were unsuccessful due to heavy casualties resulting from *Kamikaze* (divine storm) and advance preparation by Japan

Wokou: Pirates from Japan (and beyond)

- The rise of *Wokou* piracy in East Asia (13th-16th century)
 - Domestic instability in Japan
 - A side-effect of *Haijin* (Ming's ban on maritime trade, 1371-1567)
- China and Korea's diplomacy with Japan and their campaigns against *Wokou*
 - Ming's envoy sent to the Southern Court; Prince Kaneyoshi only agreed to send tribute to Ming in 1371, when his power was threatened domestically
 - Koryo's envoy first sent to the Muromachi bakufu in 1366/67, and then to the shogunal deputy in Kyushu in 1377



Wokou: Pirates from Japan (and beyond)

- Japan re-joined the tribute trade system under Ashigaka shogunate (15-16th century)
 - The investiture of 'King of Japan' in 1402
 - Yoshimitsu's embassy to Korea in 1404 was conducted under the title of 'King of Japan'
- Japan participated in the profitable tally trade (1401-1549)
 - Tally was an attempt to distinguish the official tributary trade from *Wokou* or private trade
- *Wokou* disappeared after Hideyoshi tightened his control in Japan (the 'sword hunt' & 'end of piracy' edicts in 1588)

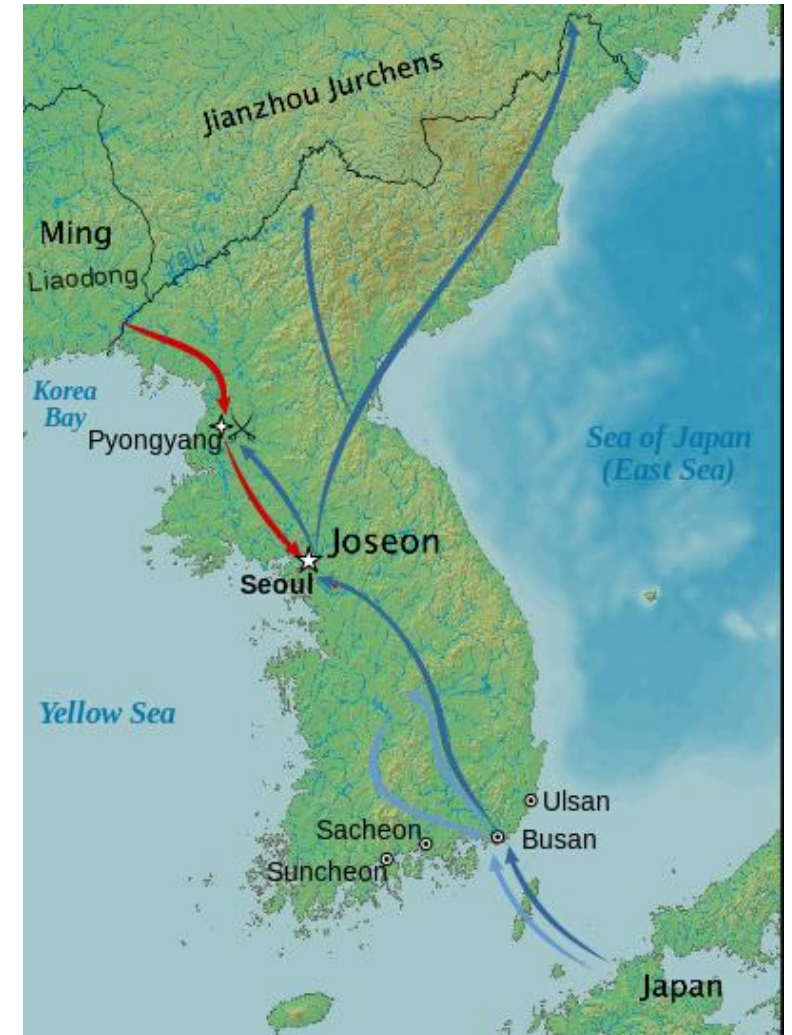


Hideyoshi's Korean invasions of 1592-1598

- The Imjin War: a large-scale military conflict between the three Northeast Asian countries in pre-colonial East Asia
- The background of the first invasion
 - Hideyoshi sent envoy to Korea in 1590/91, demanding a pass way to invade China – refused by the Chosŏn court
- The first invasion of Korea (1592-1593, 文禄の役)
 - Japanese troops dispatched to Korea in 1592
 - Early advancement of Japanese troops was followed by the guerrilla resistance in Korea and Japan's defeat in the Yellow Sea (Admiral Yi Sun-sin)
 - Ming sent troops to assist Chosŏn; Together, they forced Japan into armistice in 1593

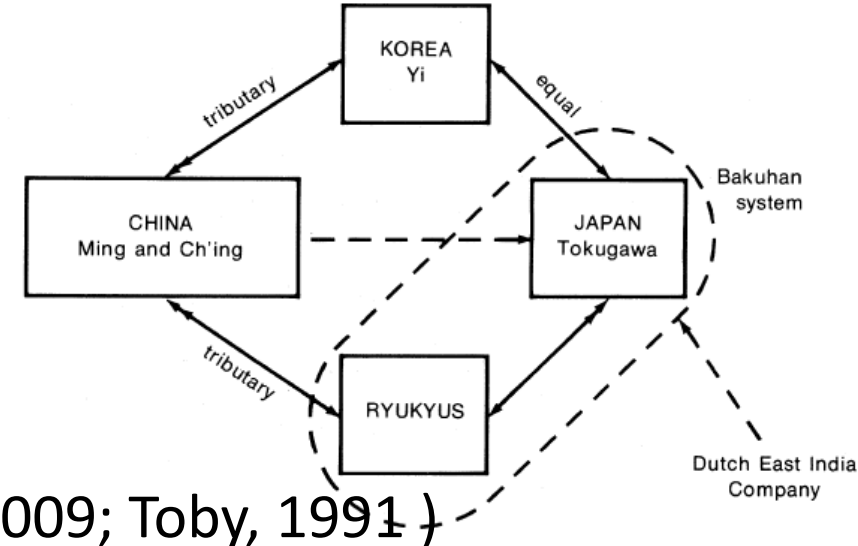
Hideyoshi's Korean invasions of 1592-1598

- Diplomacy between Japan and China
 - Hideyoshi set seven conditions
 - China promised no more than investiture
 - *Chosŏn was mostly absent from negotiation*
 - Hideyoshi's meeting with the Ming envoy in 1596
- The second invasion of Korea (1597-1598, 慶長の役)
 - Japanese forces met strong counter-attacks from Korea and China
 - After Hideyoshi's death in 1598, Japan withdrew from Korea



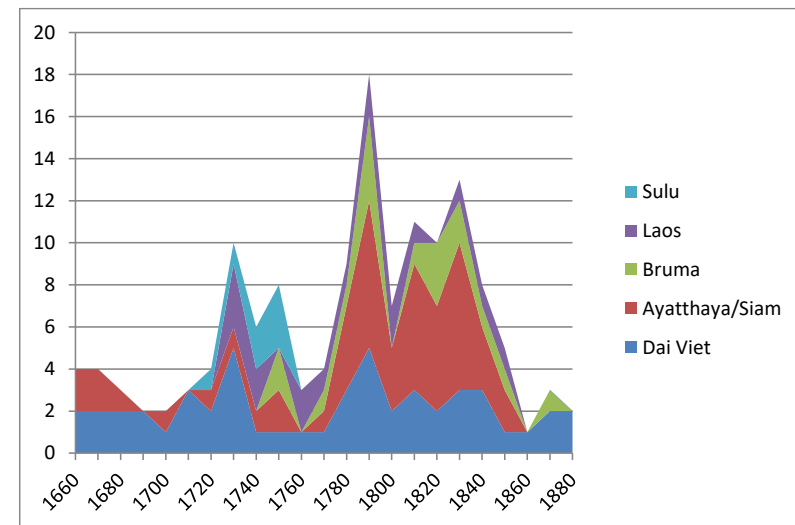
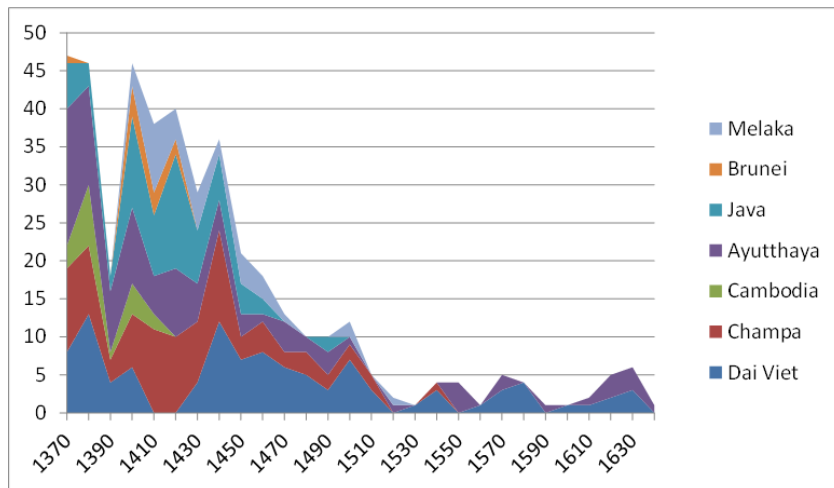
A Separate Japan-Centered East Asian Order

- Tokugawa Bakufu inherited the legacy of Hideyoshi, and enforced a *sakoku* policy (17-19cc)
- *Sakoku*, however, was not complete isolation. A separate Japan-centered East Asian order was established (Suzuki, 2009; Toby, 1991)
 - No formal contact between Japan and China
 - Equal relations between Japan and Korea
 - Unequal tributary relations between Japan and the Ryukyu Kingdom
 - Tsushima and Satsuma were semi-independent diplomatic mediators
- Northeast Asia maintained relative peace for nearly 200 years



Southeast Asia China and in the Pre-Colonial Era

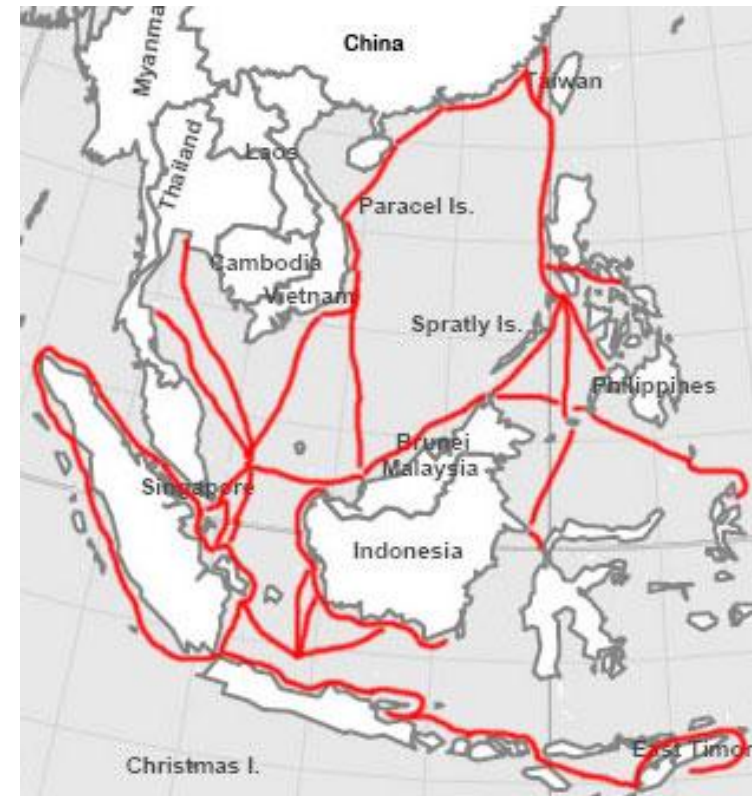
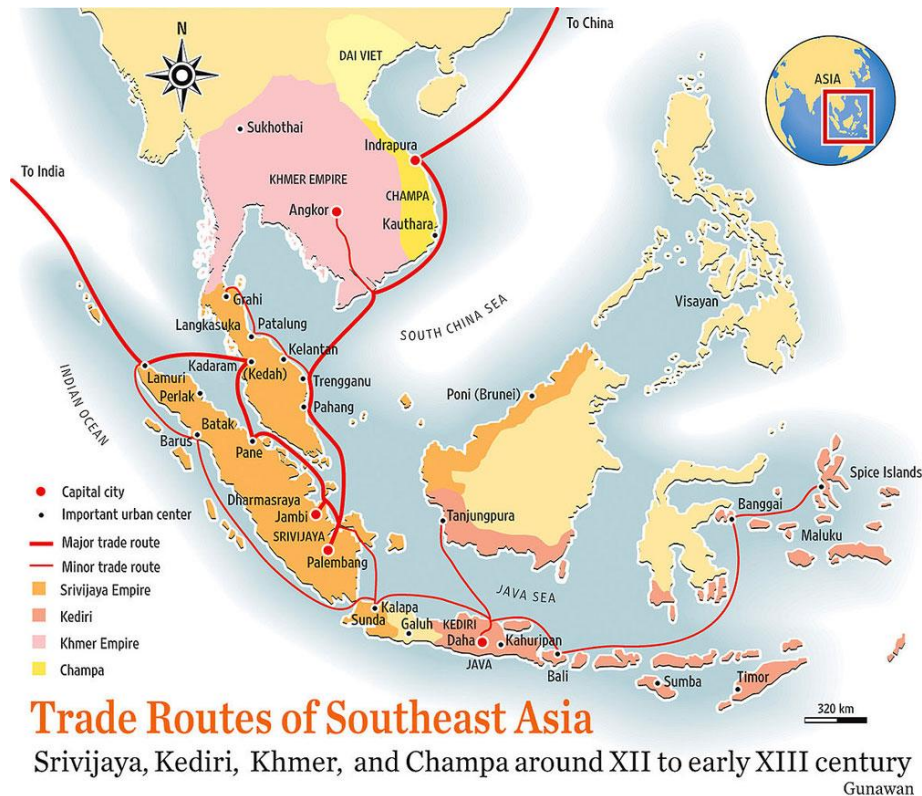
- Southeast Asia was an integral part of the China-centered tribute system between the 3rd and the 19th century
 - The earliest recorded Southeast Asian tributes was sent by the ancient Kingdom of Funan in the 3rd-6th centuries
 - Booming periods of Southeast Asian tributes to China
 - Sui and Tang dynasties (6~10th century)
 - The early Ming and mid-Qing periods



Tribute and Trade between China and Southeast Asia

- Tribute and Trade in the China-centered hierarchical system
 - Tributary trade was the only way to conduct trade with China when private trade was banned; 'a cloak for trade'
 - Trade revenues were essential to the small trading states in Southeast Asia
 - Easy control and monopoly by the tributary courts
 - Tributary trade was Duty-free!
- Three geopolitical areas in Southeast Asia repeatedly benefited from the tributary trade with China
 - Southern Vietnam: Champa → Cochin-China
 - Gulf of Thailand: Ayutthaya → Bangkok (Siam)
 - Strait of Malacca: Srivijaya → Melaka (Malacca)

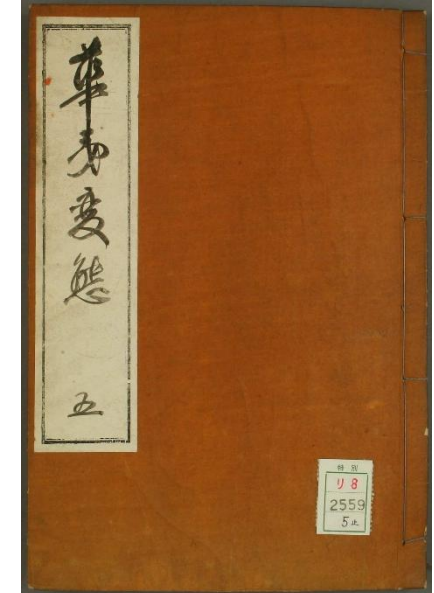
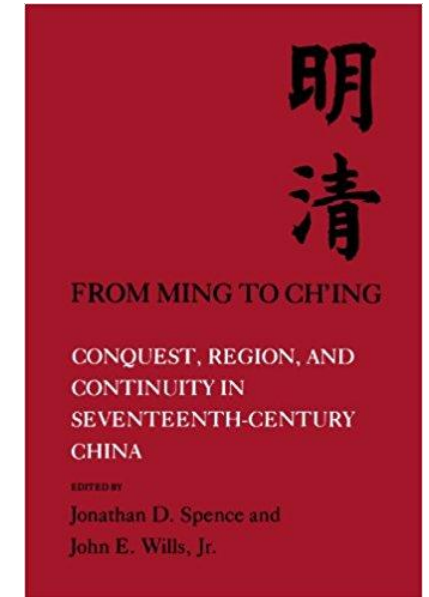
- ‘Peace in the southern ocean (i.e., maritime Southeast Asia) was restored at the time when there was a new Chinese dynasty, deliberately recovering the traditional frontiers of China and, by means of special envoys, announcing its accession overseas in order to revive China’s foreign trade.’ ---- Wolters (2008)



The Asian Spice Trade in Pre-European Era

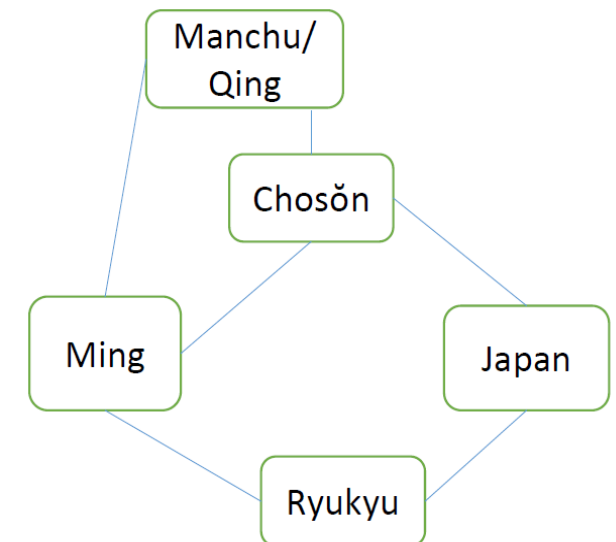
Significance of the Ming-Qing Transition

- The Manchu identity and “new Qing history”
 - The Qing: the last Chinese dynasty or a non-Han ‘colonial’ empire?
- The “Barbarians” at the top of a Confucian order
 - Historical power transition: the rising Qing vs. the declining Ming
 - The non-Confucian Manchus/Qing defeated the Confucian Ming: *Chinese-Barbarian Transformation* (華夷變態)
 - Yet, the Qing championed the Confucian tributary system of East Asia in the 17th ~19th century
- Puzzle: Power transition and Order Preservation
 - Why did power transition in 17th century result in the consolidation of Confucian regional order in East Asia?



Chosŏn and Ryukyu in the late Ming period

- The regional hierarchy in historical East Asia
 - The Ming-dominated tribute system (1368-1644)
 - Chosŏn ranked at the top of the tributary states
 - Ryukyu maintained a very close connection
- The regional hierarchy challenged by Japan
 - Hedeyoshi's invasion of Chosŏn (1592-98)
 - Satsuma's invasion of Ryukyu (1609)
- Chosŏn, Ryukyu and the redefined regional hierarchy
 - The Ming offered military assistance to defend Chosŏn
 - Ryukyu's pretended independence and the Ming's suspicion



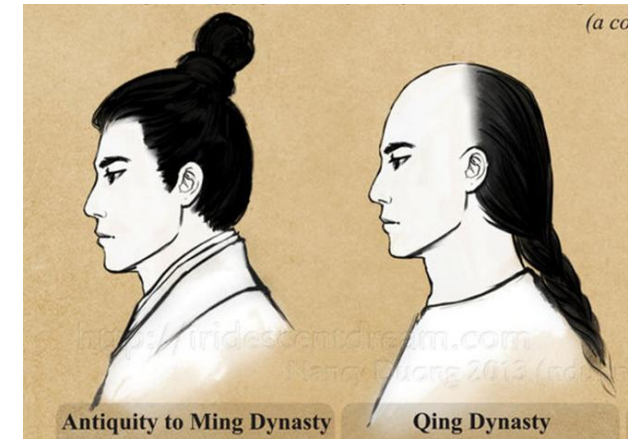
Chosŏn facing the Ming-Qing transition

- King Kwanhae (r. 1608-23)
 - Ming's delayed investiture of King Kwanghae
 - King Kwanghae's pragmatic dealing with the Manchus, esp. during the anti-Manchu campaign in 1619
 - Kwanghae was overthrown amid the accusation of disloyalty
- King Injo (r. 1623-49)
 - King Injo's initial pro-Ming policies
 - However, Chosŏn was defeated by the devastating Manchus campaigns in 1627 and 1637
 - **From nomadic rituals to the Confucian ceremony**
 - Chosŏn submitted to the Manchu/Qing in 1637



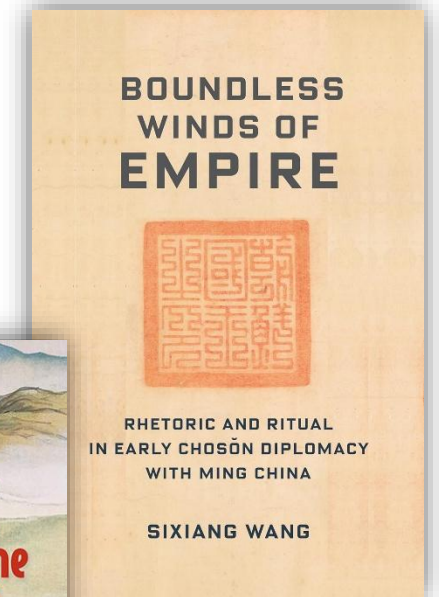
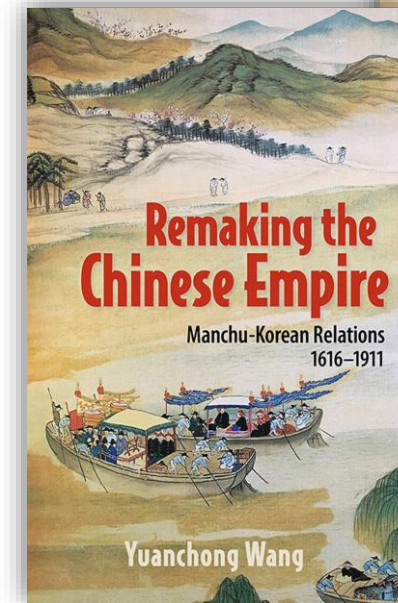
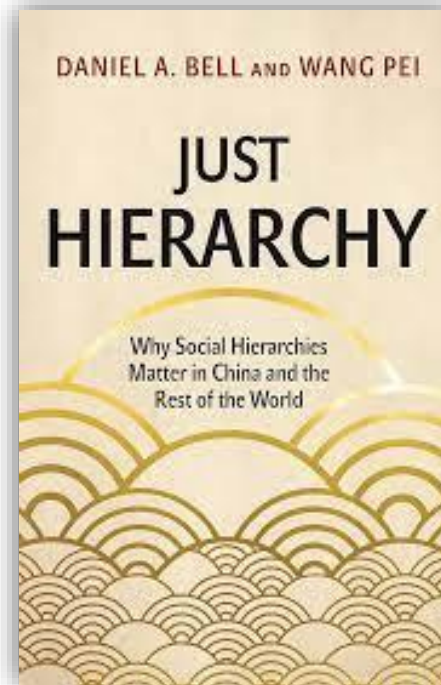
Ryukyu facing the Ming-Qing transition

- Ryukyu's repeated attempts to contact the Southern Ming in 1644-49
- The Qing envoy arrived in 1649 amid concerns over the Manchu queue; **formal investiture offered without condition** in 1663
- During the revolt of the Three Feudatories, Ryukyu suspended the tribute to the Qing (1673-77), and supplying Sulphur to the anti-Qing revolt (1676)
- In 1677, the Ryukyu envoy brought two official letters to China
- Emperor Kangxi praised Ryukyu as a **model of 'unwavering royalty'** (1682)



The Tribute System: Historical Impact and Contemporary Relevance

- Historical impact
 - The Confucian worldview of just hierarchy
 - Hierarchical international relations characterized historical East Asia
 - Tributary trade: a case of asymmetric economic dependence and diplomatic hierarchy



The Tribute System: Historical Impact and Contemporary Relevance

- Contemporary relevance
 - The Sino-Japanese competition for dominance in East Asia and beyond
 - Hierarchy (esp. the postwar dominance of the US) has also characterized contemporary international affairs



- The rise of China raises new questions of power transition