

# Sino-Japanese Relations in the Edo Period<sup>1</sup>

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## *Part Five. Arai Hakuseki, the New Shôtoku Laws, and the Ming Legal Codes*

**The Ordering of Books.** When we examine the books imported from China in the Edo period, we learn all manner of other things connected with them. When beginning a study to clarify when which sort of books were imported and in what quantities, one can see this to a certain extent as one gathers source materials. The most difficult thing to discern, however, is if, in fact, these imported books were really ever read. Since I myself frequently buy books which I never read, perhaps this is a doubt about which I have a particularly strong feeling. Because the books brought from China were from many different disciplines, it is difficult for one person to investigate all of these works over many different fields. I have thus decided to focus first on works in my own area of expertise, the area of legal history.

An examination of the *Tô tsûji kaisho nichiroku* 唐通事會所日録 (Daily Accounts from the Hall of the Chinese Interpreters) shows that the Chinese interpreters were often ordered by the Nagasaki Administrator or his intendant Takagi Sakuemon 高木作右衛門 who was in charge of official procurements for shogunal use to direct the captains of the Chinese vessels entering the Japanese port to bring specific items on their subsequent voyages to Japan. Book can scarcely be found among these orders. On occasion, one finds a general directive, as in that of the last day of the fourth lunar month of Genroku 4 (1691), to “bring books and the like when you return next year.”

It was useless to order a captain in port to bring books irrespective of titles. There were different sorts of merchants among those who did business in Japan; some were quite capable at handling books and others were not adept in this area. Among the points of departure for outgoing vessels, there were better and worse sites for collecting book freight. In the *Zôho ka-i tsûshô kô* 増補華夷通商考 (A Study of Commerce between the Barbarians and the Civilized, Expanded) by the Nagasaki scholar Nishikawa Joken 西川如見, who died at age 77 in 1724 (Kyôhô 9), we find at the very end of his discussion of the geography of the provinces of China notes on the specialties of each province. In the case of the New Shôtoku Laws (Shôtoku shinrei 正徳新令), namely the policy to limit the number of ships which departed from various ports, we can gauge the level of

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

<sup>1</sup> *Edo jidai no Nit-Chû hiwa* 江戸時代の日中秘話 (Tokyo: Tôhō shoten, 1980). pp. 83-115.

need for the products from various sites in China. Among local products books and written materials are noted for "Nanjing province" and Fujian province.

**The Percentage of Vessels Carrying Books.** There are scholars who write that Chinese ships coming to Nagasaki in the Edo period were stuffed with books, but this is no more than a literary expression. There were vessels laden with books placed in numerous crates as one part of their cargo, but for a ship to come to Japan with nothing but books would have been dangerous, inasmuch as they would have been carrying an extremely light cargo and would have sailed too rapidly. Furthermore, and much more to the point, they would have been unable to do sufficient business with books alone.

Let us now take a look at just which vessels among those that sailed to Nagasaki in a specific year carried books among their cargo. We shall do this by looking at the year 1711 (Shôtoku 1). The source material for this is the *Tôban kamotsu chô* 唐蛮貨物帳 (Register of Chinese and Barbarian Cargo),<sup>2</sup> held in the Naikaku Bunko. This work was a record kept by the Chinese and Dutch interpreters of the cargoes by ship of vessels that arrived in port and left port for the period from the seventh month of Hôei 6 (1709) through the eleventh month of Shôtoku 3 (1713). However, the only year for which we have complete information on cargoes is Shôtoku 1, as there are lacunae for other years. In this year there were a total of 54 ships of which only six, or roughly ten percent, were laden with books: two works on Ningbo vessel number ten, 93 crates on Nanjing number fifteen, four crates on Ningbo number nineteen, one box aboard Nanjing number twenty-five, one item on Ningbo number thirty-seven, and 40 crates aboard Nanjing number fifty-one. We also have data for Shôtoku 2 (1712) covering from vessel number nineteen which entered port on the fifteenth day of the sixth lunar month through vessel number fifty-nine of the first day of the tenth month, altogether some 36 ships except for vessels number forty-four, forty-five, forty-seven, fifty-one, and fifty-four. Of these, books were transported aboard Ningbo vessel number twenty-one (one item), Nanjing vessel number forty (82 crates), Nanjing vessel number forty-one (one work), and Nanjing vessel number fifty-seven (67 crates); further investigation of the *Hakusai shomoku* 舶載書目 (List of Books Brought as Cargo) held in the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency leads to information that up through vessel number eighteen there were books aboard vessels number four, eleven, and fourteen. Accordingly, the year Shôtoku 1 was more or less the same in this regard as the year that followed. The quantity of books varied widely; only a few ships carried large numbers of books. Vessel number fifteen in Shôtoku 1, the year of the rabbit, which brought 93 crates of books to Japan was owned by Zhong Shengyu 鍾聖玉; Nanjing vessel number forty in the year of the rabbit which brought 82 crates of books was owned by Zhu Zijin 朱子進; and Nanjing vessel number fifty-seven in Shôtoku 2, the year of the dragon, which brought 67 crates of books was owned by Yu Meiji 俞枚吉.

Thus, it was the Nanjing and Ningbo vessels that transported books from China, and there are no cases of Fuzhou vessels at this time. From the source materials now extant, there is one exception for Kyôhō 20 (1735) when Guangdong vessel number

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<sup>2</sup> (Tokyo: Naikaku Bunko, 1970). 2 volumes.

twenty-five brought books; thereafter, all book-bearing ships were Nanjing or Ningbo vessels.

**Centers of Publishing.** From the Five Dynasties period into the Northern Song, the finest publishing in China was the woodblock printed editions of Shu 蜀 (Sichuan). In the Southern Song era, Hang 杭 (namely, the capital at Hangzhou, then known as Lin'an) was the center of Chinese politics and culture, and woodblocking printing flourished there producing the finest editions; Shu followed, and Min 閩 (Fujian) editions were the lowest in quality. However, works published in the two cities of Masha 麻沙 and Chonghua 崇化 of Jian'an 建安 (Jian'ou 建甌 county), Jianning 建寧 prefecture were the most numerous. In terms of volume, the Min editions far surpassed Hang works. At the end of the Song dynasty, Zhejiang was devastated by war and for a time fell into decline, but Fujian laying outside it developed its publishing industry, and Yuan period editions with woodblocks cut in the calligraphic style of Zhao Songxue 趙松雪 were said to be for the most part Fujian works. This situation prevailed through the middle years of the Ming era, and gradually Suzhou, Jinling (Nanjing), and other cities became more and more prominent within Jiangsu province. The latter sites, too, produced fine editions, and Suzhou works flourished in the late Ming, followed by Nanjing and Hangzhou. Also, Changshu, site of the Jigu Pavilion 汲古閣 of Mao Jin 毛晉, grew in stature, while publishing in Jian'an withered away from the Wanli years forward due to the burning down of the bookshops in Fujian. In the Qing era the centers of publishing were accordingly the sites of freight collection for Nanjing vessels--Nanjing and Suzhou--and for Ningbo vessels--Hangzhou. Clearly, these were destined to be the ships bringing books to Japan.

Among the bookstores in the famed Liulichang 琉璃廠 area of Beijing, merchants from Suzhou and men from Huzhou opened shops, and there were allegedly men who transported books received from Suzhou by ship. In terms of the number of days required for transshipment, Nagasaki was the same distance from Suzhou as Beijing, and it was thus the same supply distance. Hence, insofar as enjoying the benefits of Chinese publishing was concerned, Nagasaki and Beijing were effectively competitors.

The *Zôho ka-i tsûshô kô* was probably composed in the Ming dynasty inasmuch as many of the works referred to therein date from that time. There were books among the products of Fuzhou but in fact there were few books aboard Fuzhou vessels. As noted earlier, there were Nanjing and Ningbo vessels which did not bear books among their cargo, and those that did brought widely varying loads. There were ships with single items and others with 82 or 93 crates of books. Of the 21 Nanjing vessels and fourteen Ningbo vessels that came to Japan in Shôtoku 1, three each were laden with books. This marks a great difference from the latter half of the Edo period; for example, in Bunka 1 (1804) eleven vessels entered port from China and ten carried books. In short, there were some captains who were capable at handling books and some who were not. Let us now try to come up with a profile of those ship captains who dealt in books.

**Yu Meiji and Zhong Shengyu.** Let me begin with Yu Meiji, captain of Nanjing vessel number fifty-seven in Shôtoku 2, the year of the dragon. He came to Japan on business in Kyôhō 8 (1723), bearing ginseng seedlings, dried ginseng, and a book entitled *Caishen jilüe* 採參紀略 (Brief Account of Planting Ginseng) which described the process

from the first fruits of ginseng through its production. In Shôtoku 1, he came to Japan as captain of Nanjing vessel number twenty-five in the year of the rabbit, bringing one crate of books, and in Kyôhō 4 (1719), when he came to Japan as captain of Nanjing vessel number twenty-nine in the year of the pig, he brought 52 works, including three copies of *Qianque leishu* 潛確類書 (Categorized Encyclopedia of Chen Renxi 陳仁錫 [studio name: Qianqueju 潛確居]) and ten copies of *Jianben sishu* 監本四書 (Four Books, Issued by the Imperial Academy). This was the largest amount brought by any of the seven ships listed in the "Kyôhō yon inoshishidoshi shomotsu aratamebo" 享保四亥年書物改簿 (Register of books from Kyôhō 4 [1719], the year of the pig) among the *Seidō monjo* 聖堂文書 (Seidō Documents). He clearly seems to have been one of those adept at handling books.

Next we have Zhong Shengyu, captain of vessel number fifteen in Shôtoku 1, the year of the rabbit, who is the record holder for transporting the largest quantity of books, 93 crates, in one shipment. As far as we can determine, he had come to Japan as captain of vessel number seventy-six in Hōei 3 (1706), vessel number eighty-two in Hōei 5 (1708), and vessel number twenty in Hōei 6 (1709). He next arrived in Japan as captain of vessel number fifteen in Shôtoku 1, and with the promulgation of the New Shôtoku Laws he returned to Japan as a guest aboard vessel number twenty-seven in Kyôhō 3 (1718), the year of the dog. Although he had received a licence on this occasion, he ultimately passed it along to his son, Zhong Qintian 鍾觀天. We have no sources for the years from Shôtoku 2 through Shôtoku 4, but we can conjecture that he came to Japan at least once during this time. From the Seidō Documents we see that Zhong Qintian transported two sets of the Buddhist Tripitaka to Japan in Kyôhō 4; he, too, was a captain well-versed concerning the book trade. The reason I raise Zhong Shengyu here is that we know what vessel number fifteen of Shôtoku 1 brought to port and what it had purchased in Japan at the time of its departure for home. The contents are rich and a bit complex, but let me now transcribe both cargoes. As noted from the start, this is the only year for which we have full data on cargoes brought to port; and we know the cargoes purchased for the return home of some 32 of the total of 54 vessels that came to Japan that year, or more than half. We have here a valuable sample.

**The Cargo of Vessel Number Fifteen in the Year of the Rabbit.** His ship docked at port on the third day of the sixth lunar month of Shôtoku 1 with a crew of 34 men. It was probably a *shachuan* 沙船 or large junk, distinctive of the Nanjing ships. Its cargo was as follows:

- \* White silk thread (720 catties)
- \* Large gossamer silk with interspersed crest design (1,057 *tan* 端)<sup>3</sup>
- \* Medium gossamer silk with interspersed crest design (188 *tan*)
- \* Ordinary gossamer silk (291 *tan*)
- \* Purple gossamer silk (154 *tan*)
- \* Island gossamer silk (106 *tan*)
- \* Large white silk crepe (165 *tan*)
- \* Foot-long, medium white silk crepe (110 *tan*)

<sup>3</sup> A *tan* (C. *duan*) is a length of cloth roughly equal to 18 feet.

- \* Medium white silk crepe (71 *tan*)
- \* Striped silk crepe (40 *tan*)
- \* Foot-long, medium purple silk crepe (23 *tan*)
- \* Medium rolled figured satin (30 *tan*)
- \* Yellow figured satin (2 *tan*)
- \* Colored damask (22 *tan*)
- \* Colored satin (59 *tan*)
- \* Colored satin with raised figures (26 *tan*)
- \* Colored, patterned, "Indian" silk cloth (32 *tan*)
- \* *Heruhetoan* (4 *tan*)
- \* Black woolen cloth (1 *tan*)
- \* *Gigan* island (1 *tan*)
- \* Continuous *toromen* (19 *tan*)
- \* Black satin wool (2 *tan*)
- \* Mats for quiet sitting (1,300)
- \* Silk floss (400 catties)
- \* Carpets (1,624)
- \* Multi-colored carpets (2)
- \* Ginseng (70 catties)
- \* Lesser ginseng (317 catties)
- \* *Shakô* (40 catties)
- \* *Teiji* 丁字 (150 catties)
- \* *Shinsha* 辰砂 (2 catties)
- \* Various kinds of medicine (24,600 catties)
- \* White sugar (760 catties)
- \* Meat of the *longyan* 龍眼 fruit (1,400 catties)
- \* *Richii* (100 catties)
- \* Zinc (9,600 catties)
- \* Sandalwood (1,040 catties)
- \* Thick door paper (1,300 bundles)
- \* Mercury (50 catties)
- \* *Kômeishu* 光明朱 (7,000 catties)
- \* Elixirs (300 catties [?])
- \* Candles (320 catties)
- \* Ox horns (20)
- \* Ox horn tips (150 catties)
- \* Books (93 crates)
- \* Aloes wood (□ catties)
- \* *Nitari* (15.5 catties)
- \* Sundry household items (5 boxes)

Contents:

- \* Raised red lacquer incense boxes (11)
- \* Raised red lacquer goblets (2)
- \* Lower quality, raised red lacquer incense boxes (4)
- \* □□ [Lacquer?] desert plates (6)
- \* Lower quality, red lacquer letter holder (1)
- \* Black lacquer, mother-of-pearl desert plates (10)
- \* Black lacquer, mother-of-pearl book box (1)
- \* Lower quality, black lacquer, □□ incense box (□)

- \* Lower quality, mother-of-pearl ribbed fan (1)
- \* Lower quality, black lacquered, ordinary incense box (1)
- \* Lower quality, embroidered teacups (4 large)
- \* Lower quality, embroidered wine cup (1)
- \* Lower quality, lacquer [?] wine cup (2)
- \* Lower quality □□ dish (10)
- \* Lower quality inkstone case (1)
- \* Lower quality mixed weave cloth of cotton and hemp (1 piece)
- \* Lower quality mixed weave cloth (4 pieces)
- \* Inksticks imprinted with Chinese characters (3)
- \* Inkboxes (82)
- \* Finely-made ink sticks (4)
- \* *Shanotokuro* (1)
- \* Buddhist rosaries made of black pearls (115)

From this list it should be clear that Zhong Shengyu's vessel number fifteen in the year of the rabbit carried an enormous quantity of items in its cargo.

**The Cargo of Vessel Number Fifty-One in the Year of the Rabbit.** Let us compare the above data with that of Nanjing vessel number fifty-one of the same year; it was captained by Cheng Fangcheng 程方城 and had a crew of 34 men. The number of crew members was exactly the same, and both vessels were out of Nanjing. Thus, they were probably more or less the same size.

- \* White silk thread (6,480 catties)
- \* Large white silk crepe (50 *tan*)
- \* Foot-long, medium white crepe brocade (720 *tan*)
- \* Medium white silk crepe (740 *tan*)
- \* Small white silk crepe (800 *tan*)
- \* Colored damask (500 *tan*)
- \* White gossamer silk with crest woven in (1 *tan*)
- \* Various medicines (380 catties)
- \* Elixirs (450 catties)
- \* Thick door paper (2 bundles)
- \* Books (40 crates)

Vessel number fifty-one in the year of the rabbit had far fewer sorts of items on board. It brought nine times as much Chinese-produced silk thread as vessel number fifteen. Its total number of textiles ran to 2,811 *tan*, while vessel number fifteen brought an approximately similar figure of 2,182 *tan*. However, when looked at in detail, vessel number fifty-one had six types of textiles, while vessel number fifteen had eighteen. Zhong Shengyu seems to have been an expert at carrying mixed freight. Among his cargo were various kinds of gossamer silk: with interspersed crest pattern, ordinary gossamer silk, and the like. Gossamer silk was a kind of pongee sewn with silk thread (at times, cotton thread) as warp and thread made from silk floss (stretched out cocoons--such as waste cocoon and twin cocoons--insufficient for the raw material for thread) as woof. Such silk goods woven with brocade designs of lightning or diamond shapes were

gossamer silk, and if its design recurred intermittently it was known as “flying crest” gossamer silk. Island gossamer silk was brocade in a striped pattern; “large,” “medium,” and “ordinary” refers to the width. Figured satin (*rinzu* 綸子), damask (*donsu* 緞子), satin with raised figures (*shuchin* 繡珍) (a kind of damask--if the crest woven into the cloth was single-colored, it was called *donsu*, if multicolored with such colors as yellow or red it was called *shuchin*). *Heruhetoan* was a kind of wool weave; the word *heruhetoan* comes from a Dutch word meaning durable. *Gigan* island was a striped gingham, *toromen* was a mixed weave of cotton and wool; lesser ginseng was also known as bearded ginseng, a kind of ginseng used for medicinal purposes; *shakô* was musk (*jakô* 麝香) and *teiji* were clove seeds, both spices; *shinsha* was cinnabar used in preparing lacquerware and in making red-ink sticks. *Richii* are litchi fruit [usually pronounced *reishi* 荔枝 in Japanese] which, like *longyan* fruit, were preserved in sugar. *Kômeishu* was a vermilion made by burning mercury. Ox horns were the horns of water buffaloes, and their tips were used to make seals. *Nitari* 似り acquired its name because it “resembled” aloes wood but was not the real stuff. *Shanotokuro* was a bizarre item, the skeleton of a snake, which seems to have been sold, perhaps as a kind of medicine.

**The Cargo for the Return Voyage of Vessel Number Fifteen in the Year of the Rabbit.** What then did Zhong Shengyu take on as freight for vessel number fifteen that year before returning to China? This information appears in a register entitled “Jûgoban Nankinsen kihan nimotsu kaiwatasichô” 拾五番南京船歸帆荷物買渡帳 (Register of the cargo sold for the return voyage to Nanjing vessel number fifteen). According to this record, “the total amount paid out in silver was 206 *kan*, 70 *monme*, 6 *bu*; and in gold 3,434 *ryô*, 2 *bu*, and silver 2 *monme*, 6 *bu*.” Payment went as follows:

- \* Silver. 2.7 *kan*                      Carried in silver ingots
- \* Copper                                74.283 *kin*, 6 *gô*  
     each *kin* is worth 1 *monme*, 1 *bu*, 4 *rin*, 2 *mô* [= 1.142 *monme*]  
     Cost in silver: 84 *kan*, 831.8712 *monme*
- \* Unprocessed copper                1.500 *kin*  
     each *kin* is worth 9 *bu* 7 *rin* [= 0.97 *monme*]  
     Cost in silver: 1 *kan*, 455 *monme*
- \* Sundry household items (all put together) 26 boxes  
   Copper kettle, copper wind furnace, copper cooking pot, copper washbasin, well-made copper *koshi* [cauldron?], copper plate for side dishes, copper flatiron, copper potato grater, brass incense burner, brass pitcher, brass belt clasp, brass mosquito net hanger, brass hairpin, iron hairpin, tobacco pipe, *raku*-style brazier, telescope, pin cushion, [gold- or silver-] lacquer inkstone case, lacquer table, lacquer bookcase, lacquer inkstone, lacquer incense burner dais, lacquer incense box, lacquer tiered incense box, lacquer large Buddhist altar, lacquer Buddhist altar, lacquered *go* stone box, lacquer *nestuke*, lacquer nest of boxes, lacquer stand, lacquer small item [?], lacquer soup bowl, lacquer altar cloth, round dish, Imari ware flower vase, Imari teacup, miniature enshrined Buddhist image, folding fan without warrior's picture, sewing box, papier-mâché doll, 100-times [?] paper, round fan without warrior's picture, rouge, shredded tobacco, braided tobacco, tray for smoking apparatus, paper lantern, face powder, *hikimeshi* 弓飯 [?], sable, leather tobacco pouch  
     Cost in silver: 6 *kan*, 486 *monme*

- \* Copper kettles                    450 *kin*  
     each *kin* is worth 3.5 *monme*  
     Cost in silver: 1 *kan*, 575 *monme*
  - \* Lead                                17,000 *kin*  
     each *kin* is worth 1.25 *monme*  
     Cost in silver: 21 *kan*, 250 *me* [or *monme*]
  - \* Sea cucumber                    7,002.5 *kin*  
     each *kin* is worth over 4.2049 *monme*  
     Cost in silver: 29 *kan*, 445.41 *monme*
  - \* Dried abalone                    7,190 *kin*  
     Cost in silver: 5 *kan* 228.56 *monme*
  - \* Shark fillet                      380 *kin*  
     each *kin* is worth over 2.7152 *monme*  
     Cost in silver: 1 *kan*, 31.8 *monme*
  - \* Sea tangle (*konbu*)              35,288 *kin*  
     each *kin* is worth over 0.3552 *monme*  
     Cost in silver: 12 *kan*, 537.48 *monme*
  - \* Agar-agar (*tokorotengusa*) 330 *kin*  
     each *kin* is worth 0.55 *monme*  
     Cost in silver: 181.5 *monme*
  - \* Fox skin                          402 pelts  
     each pelt is worth over 1.942 *monme*
  - \* Soy                                 4 barrels  
     each barrel is worth 5 *monme*  
     Cost in silver: 20 *monme*
  - \* Plants (peonies, camellias) 48 tubs  
     each tub is worth 6 *monme*  
     Cost in silver: 288 *monme*
- Combined value in silver of the above purchased items: 169 *kan*, 130.6212 *me*  
 Cost in gold: 2.818 3 *monme* and 5.6212 *monme* in silver  
 Silver, 2.7 *kan*  
 Cost in gold: 45 *monme*  
 Living expenses in Japan: 34 *kan*, 241.9788 *monme* in silver  
 Worth in gold: 570.2 *ryō* and 11.9788 *monme* in silver  
 Combined silver value: 206 *kan*, 72.6 *monme*  
 Worth in gold: 3,434.2 *monme* and 2.6 *monme* in silver

From this list, the first item of 2.7 *kan* of silver was brought in bars. The primary objective of this trading vessel was the 74,283 *kin*, 6 *go* of silver and the 1,500 *kin* of unprocessed copper. Among the other items we find such things as marine produce--the three famed "straw baskets" (*tawaramono* 俵物) of sea cucumber, dried abalone, and shark fillets, as well as *konbu* or sea tangle [a kind of seaweed]; these are followed by agar-agar [another kind of seaweed], fox pelts, plants, and soy. Zhong Shengyu seems to have acquired a taste for various and sundry items for import--a copper kettle, a lacquered inkstone case, an Imari ware flower vase, a lacquered *gō* stone case, a folding fan, a round fan; "without warrior's picture" was appended because items on which a "warrior's picture" were to be found were banned from importation. All manner of things fell within the purview of this ship captain's interests: copper side dish, copper wind furnace, brass

mosquito net hanger, tobacco tray, leather tobacco pouch. The final item on this accounting is given as "living expenses in Japan" (*Nihon ni te yarisutegin* 日本にて遣捨銀). If there was extant an account ledger for the return-voyage cargo aboard vessel number fifty-one in the year of the rabbit, we could make a better comparison, but unfortunately no such ledger exists.

Be that as it may, because samples of the cargo were seen, we know generally what items were brought to Japan and what items were brought back. And, we can obtain a general understanding of how ships varied by the nature of their cargoes.

### **The Books Brought by Vessel Number Fifty-One in the Year of the Rabbit.**

What was contained in the 93 crates of books carried by vessel number fifteen in the year of the rabbit? It would be wonderful to have such information, but unfortunately we only know the fact that the *Jingyue quanshu* 景岳全書 (Collected Works of Jingyue), which appears in volume nine of the *Hakusai shomoku* held in the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency, was one of the items. In this regard, data for vessel number fifty-one in the year of the rabbit is more readily obtained. Indeed, at the beginning of volume nine of the *Hakusai shomoku*, one finds: "Vessel number fifty-one received on the sixteenth day of the eleventh month." Inasmuch as vessel number fifty-one entered port on the eighth day of the eleventh month, this date means that the books were passed quickly to to the Inspectorate of Books. Let me now list the book titles.<sup>4</sup>

1. *Yijing jiangyi qiyi* 易經講意去疑 (Lectures on the Meaning of the Classic of Change to Dispel Doubts), 2 *juan*, 6 stringbound volumes;
2. *Quanbu fawei lizheng tongshu* 全補發微曆正通書 (Perpetual Calendar Clarifying All Subtle Points of Uncertainty), 30 *juan*, 8 stringbound volumes;
3. *Xiansheng daxun* 先聖大訓 (Great Instructions from Men of Wisdom), 6 *juan*, 6 stringbound volumes;
4. *Tang shi zheng* 唐詩正 (Poems of the Tang), 26 *juan*, 6 stringbound volumes;
5. *Ji guyinpu* 集古印譜 (Collection of Old Printed Genealogies), 6 *juan*, 6 stringbound volumes;
6. *Tan Youxia heji* 譚友夏合集 (The Works of Tan Youxia), 23 *juan*, 6 stringbound volumes;
7. *Jiangnan tongzhi* 江南通志 (Gazetteer of Jiangnan), 76 *juan*, 26 stringbound volumes;
8. *Shiguan chuji* 詩觀初集 (Perspectives on the Classic of Poetry: First Collection), 12 *juan*, 12 stringbound volumes;
9. *Yixue yilin* 易學義林 (Collection of Studies of the Classic of Change), 10 *juan*, 10 stringbound volumes;
10. *Han wen qi* 韓文起 (Prose Writings of Han [Yu]), 12 *juan*, 6 stringbound volumes;
11. *Li Du shitong* 李杜詩通 (Comprehensive Poetry of Li [Bo] and Du [Fu]), 61 *juan*, 8 stringbound volumes;
12. *San Su wenfan* 三蘇文範 (The Literary Styles of the Three Sus), 18 *juan*, 10 stringbound volumes;
13. *Tang Song bajia wen chaoxuan* 唐宋八家文鈔選 (Selections from the Prose Writings of the Eight Masters of the Tang and Song), 12 *juan*, 10 stringbound volumes;
14. *Yixue zhengzhuan* 易學正傳 (Main Treatises in the Study of the Classic of Change), 21 *juan*, 12 stringbound volumes;
15. *Lichao fu kai* 歷朝賦楷 (Models of Verse through the Ages), 9 *juan*, 6 stringbound volumes;
16. *Zhou Zhongyi gong zouyi* 周忠毅公奏議 (Memorials of Zhou Zhongyi), 5 *juan*, 4 stringbound volumes;
17. *Yunfu qunyu* 韻府群玉 (Amassed Jewels from the Storehouse of Rhymes), 20 *juan*, 10 stringbound volumes;
18. *Pianhai leibian* 篇海類編

<sup>4</sup> I had great difficulty coming up with correct translations for a number of these titles. Any help from readers would be much appreciated.

(Categorized Collection of Essays). 20 *juan*. 10 stringbound volumes: 19. *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 (Intrigues of the Warring States), 10 *juan*. 4 stringbound volumes: 20. *Yichuan jirangji* 伊川擊攘集 (Poetry Collection of Shao Yong), 20 *juan*. 4 stringbound volumes: 21. *Linchuan Wang Jiefu xiansheng ji* 臨川王介甫先生集 (Writings of Mr. Wang Jiefu of Linchuan), 100 *juan*. 16 stringbound volumes: 22. *Heluo lishu* 河洛理數 (On the Yellow River and the Luo River), 7 *juan*. 8 stringbound volumes: 23. *Huang Ming zou liu* 皇明奏疏 (Memorials of the Ming Dynasty), 6 *juan*. 10 stringbound volumes: 24. *Cunbi tang shiji* 寸碧堂詩集 (Poetry Collection from the Cunbi Hall), 3 *juan*. 1 stringbound volume: 25. *Dun weng lei gao* 鈍翁類稿 (Classified Writings of the Master of Dullness), 118 *juan*. 22 stringbound volumes: 26. *Wang Bozi shan'an yigao* 汪伯子善菴遺稿 (Posthumous Works of Wang Bozi), 1 *juan*. 1 stringbound volume: 27. *Zengding lichao guwen bidu* 增定歷朝古文必讀 (Reader on the Ancient Prose Style through the Ages, Revised). 9 *juan*. 4 stringbound volumes: 28. *Huangye cunzhuang shiji* 黃葉村莊詩集 (Collection of Poetry from the Village of the Autumn Leaves). 8 *juan*. 4 stringbound volumes: 29. *Chutan ji* 初譚集 (First Collection), 30 *juan*. 4 stringbound volumes: 30. *Su Zimei quanji* 蘇子美全集 (Complete Works of Su Zimei). 16 *juan*. 4 stringbound volumes: 31. *Cixue quanshu* 詞學全書 (Complete Writings on the Study of Phraseology). 15 *juan*. 10 stringbound volumes: 32. *Shi gui* 詩歸 (Return to the Classic of Poetry), 50 *juan*. 10 stringbound volumes: 33. *Zunsheng bajian* 遵生八牋 (Eight Pieces Honoring Life). 8 *juan*. 8 stringbound volumes: 34. *Yi jie* 易解 (Explanation of the Classic of Change), 10 *juan*. 5 stringbound volumes: 35. *Shijing yiwen* 詩經疑問 (Doubts Concerning the Classic of Poetry). 8 *juan*. 6 stringbound volumes: 36. *Lin zhi* 鱗指 (Fish Scales and Fingers), 4 *juan*. 4 stringbound volumes: 37. *Li shi cangshu* 李氏藏書 (Mr. Li [Zhi's] Book to Be Hidden), 68 *juan*. 18 stringbound volumes: 38. *Xu cangshu* 續藏書 ([Mr. Li Zhi's] Book to Be Hidden, Continued). 27 *juan*. 8 stringbound volumes: 39. *Zhenchuan xiansheng wenji* 震川先生文集 (The Prose Writings of Zhenchuan). 20 *juan*. 6 stringbound volumes: 40. *Guang zhiping lue* 廣治平略 (On Rulership, Full Edition), 44 *juan*. 12 stringbound volumes: 41. *Daxue yanyi* 大學衍義 (Elaborating the Meaning of the Great Learning). 43 *juan*. 8 stringbound volumes: 42. *Daxue yanyi bu* 大學衍義補 (Elaborating the Meaning of the Great Learning, Addendum). 203 *juan*. 40 stringbound volumes: 43. *Wenxuan liuchen zhu* 文選六臣註 (Commentaries of the Six Officials on the *Wenxuan*). 60 *juan*. 32 stringbound volumes: 44. *Gujin du daquan* 古今讀大全 (Great Collection of Texts, Old and New). 8 *juan*. 4 stringbound volumes: 45. *Zhiping lue zengding quanshu* 治平略增定全書 (Complete Revised Edition of *On Rulership*). 32 *juan*: 46. *Siliu quanshu* 四六全書 (Complete Writings in the 4-6 Style), 45 *juan*. 12 stringbound volumes: 47. *Siliu quanshu* 四六全書 (Complete Writings in the 4-6 Style), 45 *juan*. 20 stringbound volumes: 48. *Dixiang Qi shi jiazhuang sishu dacheng xinyin* 帝鄉戚氏家傳四書大成心印 (Compendium of the Four Books in the Xu Family Records of the Capital): 49. *Lidai shizuan zuobian* 歷代史纂左編 (Collection of Historical Materials through the Ages), 142 *juan*. 100 stringbound volumes: 50. *Shi ji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian), 130 *juan*. 20 stringbound volumes: 51. *Lichao gangjian quanshi* 歷朝綱鑑全史 (Complete History in Chronological Form through the Ages). 70 *juan*. 30 stringbound volumes: 52. *Guwen hui chao* 古文彙鈔 (Classified Excerpts from the Ancient Prose Style), 10 *juan*. 16 stringbound volumes: 53. *Gangjian huizuan* 綱鑑會纂 (Historical Compendium in Chronological Form), 70 *juan*. 4 stringbound volumes (incomplete): 54. *Sishu daquan* 四書大全 (Collection on the Four Books), 28 *juan*. 24 stringbound volumes: 55. *Huishu xiangzhu* 彙書詳註 (Classified Texts with Detailed Commentaries), 36 *juan*. 24 stringbound volumes: 56. *Yu lin* 喻林 (Collection of

Illustrative Examples), 120 *juan*, 25 stringbound volumes; 57. *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 (Materia Medica), 52 *juan*, 40 stringbound volumes; 58. *Sishu beikao* 四書備考 (Complete Examination of the Four Books), 28 *juan*, 20 stringbound volumes; 59. *Wanzhe Tangren jueju* 萬者唐人絕句 (The Jueju Style of Poetry by Wangzhe Tangren), 24 stringbound volumes; 60. *Yuan Liaofan xiansheng chongding Fengzhou gangjian shishi leibian* 袁了凡先生重訂鳳洲綱鑑世史類編 (Classified Essays in the Chronological History of Fengzhou Revised by Mr. Yuan Liaofan [Yuan Huang]), 65 *juan*; 61. *Gangjian bomei* 綱鑑白眉 (Chronology of Brilliant Men), 21 *juan*, 16 stringbound volumes; 62. *Huang Ming tongji* 皇明通紀 (Comprehensive Account of the Ming Dynasty), 27 *juan*, 16 stringbound volumes; 63. *Shijing shuoyue* 詩經說約 (Concise Theory of the Classic of Poetry), 28 *juan*, 16 stringbound volumes; 64. *Xingli daquan* 性理大全 (Comprehensive Collection on Nature and Principle), 70 *juan*, 30 stringbound volumes; 65. *Shanbu yisheng weilun* 刪補頤生微論 (Trifling Discussion on the Protection of Life, Revised), 6 *juan*, 6 stringbound volumes; 66. *Wujing pangxun* 五經旁訓 (Running Commentaries on the Five Classics), 21 *juan*, 12 stringbound volumes; 67. *Xinkan zuantu niujing majing leifang daquan* 新刊纂圖牛經馬經類方大全 (Newly Printed Classified Compendium of Cow and Horse Classics with Illustrations), 8 *juan*, 4 stringbound volumes; 68. *Xihu youlan zhi* 西湖遊覽志 (Record of a Trip to West Lake), 50 *juan*, 16 stringbound volumes; 69. *Wang Wengong wenchao* 王文公文抄 (Literary Excerpts from Wang Wengong), 16 *juan*, 6 stringbound volumes; 70. *Wuzi jinsilu* 五子近思錄 (Reflections on Things at Hand of the Five [Song] Masters), 14 *juan*, 4 stringbound volumes; 71. *Yulin ji* 寓林集 (Forest-Dwelling Collection), 38 *juan*, 16 stringbound volumes; 72. *Jianjitang wenji* 兼濟堂文集 (Literary Collection from the Jianji Hall), 24 *juan*, 20 stringbound volumes; 73. *Jinti taige ji* 近體臺閣集 (Collection from the Tower of Modern Style), 10 *juan*, 4 stringbound volumes; 74. *Youke quanji* 幼科全集 (Complete Writings on Treating Children's Ailments), 21 *juan*, 8 stringbound volumes; 75. *Xingli huitong* 性理會通 (Thorough Explanation of Nature and Principle), 112 *juan*, 22 stringbound volumes; 76. *Zuozhuan wending* 左傳文定 (The Zuo Commentary, Expurgated Edition), 12 *juan*, 8 stringbound volumes; 77. *Gangjian huizuan* 綱鑑會纂 (Chronological Compendium), 40 *juan*, 24 stringbound volumes; 78. *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms), 65 *juan*, 24 volumes; 79. *Heke Guanzi Hanfeizi* 合刻管子韓非子 (Joint Edition of the Guanzi and the Hanfeizi), 10 stringbound volumes; 80. *Po Ruzhai chongxiu xuanhe bogu tu* 泊如齋重修宣和博古圖 (Explication of Ancient Things with Illustrations, Revised Edition of Po Ruzhai), 32 *juan*, 21 stringbound volumes; 81. *Neijing suwen* 內經素問 (Simple Questions Concerning the Inner Classic), 10 *juan*, 8 stringbound volumes; 82. *Bencai jing shu* 本草經疏 (Commentary on the Materia Medica), 30 *juan*, 12 stringbound volumes; 83. *Yizong bidu* 醫宗必讀 (Reader on Medical Principles), 19 *juan*, 8 stringbound volumes; 84. *Yuanzhu nanjing maijue* 圓註難經脈訣 (Veins of Difficult Texts, with Complete Commentaries), 8 *juan*, 4 stringbound volumes; 85. *Yifang kao* 醫方考 (Examination of Medical Prescriptions), 8 *juan*, 6 stringbound volumes; 86. *Yifang jijie* 醫方集解 (Collected Explanations of Medical Prescriptions), 25 *juan*, 6 stringbound volumes.

We can thus conclude that these 86 titles in over 1,100 stringbound volumes were transported aboard vessel number fifty-one in the year of the rabbit. They were loaded in 44 crates, and thus each crate must have carried about 30 stringbound volumes on average, making these crates not large at all. In line with the general trends of the era,

these books dealt with the classics, literature, history, medicine, and botany; there were a fair number of works in the literary field, though nothing particularly rare.

**An Order for the Ming Legal Codes.** Amid the general trends described above, there is a notation in the *Tô tsûji kaisho nichiroku* for the fifth day of the seventh lunar month of Hôei 6 (1709) for an order for an extremely peculiar book.

Summoned by Takagi Sakuemon, one of the interpreters on duty Kanbai Sanjûrô 官梅三十郎 presented himself. Takagi handed him two order lists, one for textiles and one for books, and he was ordered to tell the vessels soon to depart for home what they should bring with them upon their return and that they [the Japanese] would buy such at a good price.

The textiles were listed as: "white Indian cloth; fine, white figured satin; fine, white gossamer silk; fine, white, broad figured satin." As for books, however, the following nine items were ordered:

*Da Ming lû dufa* 大明律讀法 (Reader on the Legal Codes of the Great Ming Dynasty), *Da Ming lû guanjian* 大明律管見 (Views on the Legal Codes of the Great Ming Dynasty), *Da Ming lû quanjie* 大明律全解 (Collected Interpretations of the Legal Codes of the Great Ming Dynasty), *Da Ming lû zhiyin* 大明律直引 (Straightforward Guide to the Legal Codes of the Great Ming Dynasty), *Da Ming lû xiangzhu fenjie daquan* 大明律詳註分解大全 (Great Compendium of Commentaries and Analyses of the Legal Codes of the Great Ming Dynasty), *Du lû suoyan* 讀律瑣言 (Random Thoughts on Reading the Legal Codes), *Da Ming lû sijian* 大明律私箋 (Personal Notes on the Legal Codes of the Great Ming Dynasty), *Lü jie bianyi* 律解辨疑 (Disputing Doubts in Explaining the Legal Codes), and *Zhi yuan* 職源 (Origins of Official Positions).

The final text listed, *Zhi yan*, was a work on institutions by Wang Yizhi 王益之 of the Song dynasty, while all of the others were works concerned with the Ming legal codes. This needs to be studied as something of interest to the history of laws and institutions.

The shôgun at the time, Tokugawa Ienobu 徳川家宣, had only just arrived from Kai and been made shôgun on the first day of the fifth month. The former shôgun, Tsunayoshi 綱吉, had died on the tenth day of the first month, and Ienobu succeeded him as head of the Tokugawa house on the fifteenth day of the second month. Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 [1657-1725] accompanied him. Ienobu was not a man of such specialized knowledge, but perhaps it was Hakuseki? To convey a request to the Chinese interpreter on the fifth day of the seventh month, the order had to have been given in Edo before the end of the sixth month. Noting this, we find in Arai Hakuseki's diary, the *Ida nichireki* 委蛇日曆 (Superfluous Daily Record), the following under the 28th day of the fourth lunar month: "Went to work, and there was a matter concerning Nagasaki. Had some suggestions concerning the 'check' [see below] and forwarded a note for two items personally desired." Furthermore, as I shall describe later, Hakuseki was deeply concerned with the Ming legal codes. Some years ago when I was researching the books brought to Japan on Chinese ships, I had no hard evidence for this, but I conjectured

concerning these “personally desired” items that Hakuseki applied to the shōgun to have these books purchased in China. Later, however, in examining studies of the Ming legal codes in Japan, evidence first appeared that this supposition might be in error. It became increasingly possible that it was, in fact, the daimyō of Kaga domain, Maeda Tsunanori 前田綱紀 [1643-1724]. Let us now look into this matter a little more closely.

**Maeda Tsunanori, Daimyō of Kaga.** It is well known that the Maeda family of Kaga domain were great daimyōs. Maeda Tsunanori was an exemplary daimyō who loved learning. The books collected over the years by the daimyōs with Kaga domain assets are now held in the Sonkeikaku Bunko 尊經閣文庫 in the Komaba area of Tokyo. One scholar whom Tsunanori employed and had high regard for was Kinoshita Jun'an 木下順庵 [1621-98]. Arai Hakuseki was a disciple of Jun'an's. Among Jun'an's other disciples were Muro Kyūsō 室鳩巢 [1658-1734] who was employed by Tsunanori and later by the family of the shōgun, Amenomori Hōshū 雨森芳洲 [1668-1755] who was employed by Tsushima domain, and Sakakibara Kōshū 榑原篁洲 [1656-1706] and Gion Nankai 祇園南海 [1676/7-1751] who were employed in Kishū domain.

Many scholars have looked into Japanese studies of the Ming legal codes during the Edo period, and a fair amount of research has been published in this area since the Meiji era. One particularly fine piece among them is an essay by Kobayakawa Kingo 小早川欣吾 entitled “Min ritsuryō no waga kinseihō ni oyoboseru eikyō” 明律令の我近世法に及ぼせる影響 (The influence of the Ming legal codes on early modern Japanese law).<sup>5</sup> More recently, Matsushita Tadashi 松下忠 published a noteworthy study concerning research on the Ming legal codes in Kishū domain.<sup>6</sup>

In his essay, Kobayakawa points out that Maeda Tsunanori himself studied the Ming codes and compiled a work in two volumes entitled *Dai Min ritsu shosho shikō* 大明律諸書私考 (Studies of Various Works on the Legal Codes of the Great Ming Dynasty), but he does not examine the content of this work. We also have the text of a lecture given by Kawase Kazuma 川瀬一馬 which concerns Maeda Tsunanori's wide collection of writings, and he mentions that Maeda composed a work entitled “Dai Min ritsu shosho shikō” 大明律諸書資講 (Lecture notes on writings concerning the legal codes of the great Ming dynasty). Both works are listed in the holdings of the Sonkeikaku Bunko, and at long last I decided to visit that library to examine these works.

**Tsunanori's Studies of the Ming Legal Codes.** There is no substitute for seeing something with one's own eyes. In short, the two texts in question, each two volumes in length, are entitled: *Dai Min ritsu shosho shikō* and *Min ritsu shikō in'yō shomoku* 明律資講引用書目 (Bibliography of Works Citing the Lecture Notes on the Ming Legal Codes). The latter work lists the titles of writings concerned with the Ming codes--38 in the first volume and 60 in the second--such as *Da Ming lü* 大明律 (The Legal Codes of the Great Ming Dynasty) and *Da Ming lü fenlei mulu* 大明律分類目錄 (Classified Bibliography of the Legal Codes of the Great Ming Dynasty). It also appends explanatory

<sup>5</sup> *Tō-A jinbun gakuho* 東亞人文學報 4.2 (March 1945).

<sup>6</sup> “Dai Min ritsu kenkyū. Sakakibara Kōshū to Takase Gakuzan” 大明律研究、榑原篁洲と高瀬学山 (Studies of the Great Ming Legal Code: Sakakibara Kōshū and Takase Gakuzan), chapter seven of his *Kishū no hangaku* (Domainal Research in Kishū) (Tokyo: Hō shuppan. 1974).

notes which cite such works as *Ba zhi jingji zhi* 八志經籍志 (Treatises on Bibliography and the Classics from Eight [Dynastic Histories]). In a fair number of cases, we have only the titles with no explanatory note, and it seems that Tsunanori wished to know what sort of works these were. It appears that the *Dai Min ritsu shosho shikô* is comprised of notes he excerpted from books he read, notes on the results of research he had officials and retainers do for him, and sentences copied out of replies to letters which he accumulated in the process of composing the *Min ritsu shikô in'yô shomoku*. Thus this work, the *Dai Min ritsu shosho shikô*, is by far the more interesting text. It is practically alive.

To the right of the first line on the first page of the work are the two titles, "Xunfang zongyue" 巡方總約 (Overall account of the imperial circuits) and "Lizhi yizhu" 禮制儀注 (Notes on propriety and ceremony). It then follows with the note: "The aforementioned volume was in the possession of Nakaizumi 中泉 and was lent to Mr. Muro to read. I obtained it on the seventeenth day of the ninth month of [Hôei] 6 [1709]. It seems to have become separated." Here we see that Muro Kyûsô borrowed the work in question from a man by the name of Nakaizumi, and the impression is that one portion of some work was detached as a single stringbound volume. Furthermore, in the margin beside the title *Da Ming lü jianjie* 大明律箋解 (Commentary on the Legal Codes of the Great Ming Dynasty), Maeda Tsunanori wrote out the preface to the *Linmin baojing* 臨民寶鏡 (Precious Mirror for Ruling the Populace) and noted: "On the 28th day of the fourth month of [Shôtoku] 4 [1714], a Chinese book arrived from Seibee 清兵衛, and I copied it out. I had to compare it with the book in my library. It was an unofficially published book, so I had to return it. It came in eight stringbound volumes in two packages, at a cost of eighteen *ryô* in gold."

**Seibee of the Tôhonya.** Seibee of the Tôhonya 唐本屋 was a man by the name of Nakada Seibee 中田清兵衛 whose bookshop was called the Tôhonya. We learn from the *Keichô irai shoko shûran* 慶長以來書賈集覽 (Compendium of Booksellers Since the Keichô Era) that it was a bookstore from the Shôtoku through the Tenmei eras, located at 10 Kôjimachi 麹町 in Edo, although it moved to number 3 in the Meiwa era. It also appears as an official book dealer in the section on duty assignments in the book of heraldry. In the book of heraldry for Kyôhō 7 [1722], the names "Tôhon" and "Seibee" appear for the first time together with Matsuai Sanshirô 松會三四郎, Izumodera Hokusui 出雲寺白水, Izumodera Izumi 出雲寺和泉, and Shorin Hachiemon 書林八右衛門. Prior to this point in the book of heraldry for Kyôhō 3 [1718] and Shôtoku 3 [1713], we find only the three names of Izumodera Hokusui, Shorin Hachiemon, and Matsuai Sanshirô.

However, under the 23rd day of the seventh month of Shôtoku 4 in the *Bakufu shomotsukata nikki* 幕府書物方日記 (Record of Books for the Shogunate), we find a note from Uzuhashi Kazue 堆橋主計, who had just become Book Administrator two days earlier, to the effect: "I reported to Hokusui, Iemon 伊右衛門, and Seibee." Iemon was Yamagataya Iemon 山形屋伊右衛門. Inasmuch as both he and Seibee would begin to receive book fees on the 28th day of the twelfth month of this year, they probably had not yet been designated official book dealers. Nonetheless, there are records of Seibee's contacts with the Book Administrator for the eighth day of the eighth month of Shôtoku 5 [1715], the fifteenth day of the third month of Kyôhō 1 [1716], the ninth day of

the fifth month of Kyôhō 1, the nineteenth day of the twelfth month of Kyôhō 1, and the 24th day of sixth month of Kyôhō 2.

According to Arai Hakuseki's personal accounts, the *Taikō nichiroku* 退公日録 (Daily Account of Withdrawing from the Public) and *Kôtai roku* 公退録 (Account of Withdrawing from the Public), Tôhonya Seibee appears to have been working as book procurer at the Edo residence of Kôfu domain. For example, on the seventeenth day of the seventh month of Genroku 7 [1692], he purchased the *Shujing yanyi* 書經衍義 (Extended Meaning of the Classic of Documents) for ten *ryô*, and on the fifteenth day of the fifth month of the same year he bought the “*Jingjie*” The latter refers to the *Tongzhitang jingjie* 通志堂經解 (Explication of the Classics from the Tongzhi Hall); it came to Japan in Kyôhō 2 [1717] and was placed in the Momijiyama 紅葉山文庫 Bunko on the second day of the second month of Kyôhō 3. It contained 602 stringbound volumes in 61 packets.

The Shôkôkan Bunko 彰考館文庫 in Mito possesses a listing of Chinese books for Genroku 1 [1686] for Tôhonya Seibee. It became clear that he was working as well for the Maeda family of Kaga domain. We now see that Tôhonya Seibee's bookshop was older than thought in the *Keichô irai shoko shûran*, from before the Genroku era; it was providing books for the shogunate, Mito domain, Kôfu domain, and Kaga domain, and was of considerable influence. It probably had ties to Owari and Kii domains, too. Still, eighteen *ryô* for eight stringbound volumes (in two packets) is extremely expensive. Perhaps the reason importers have done such a profitable business past and present in Japan is that it is an island country.

**A Letter to the Nagasaki Administrator.** The story has digressed from the studies of the Ming legal codes by Maeda Tsunanori, Lord Shôun 松雲, to which we now return. As discussed above, Tsunanori composed the *Dai Min ritsu shosho shikô* as notes of all sorts jotted down concerning writings about the Ming legal codes. Tsunanori's concern, it seems, was ultimately to get his hands on the original texts which these “various works” (*shosho*) cited and books concerned with the legal codes of the Ming dynasty whose titles appeared the *Ba zhi jingjie zhi* and the *Xu wenxian tongkao* 續文獻通考 (Comprehensive Study of Institutions, Continued). The years involved here extend from before the third day of the fifth month of Hôei 6 (1709) through the first year of the Kyôhō era (1716). Thus, this list of titles was first compiled before the fourth month of 1709. From that year, Hôei 6, Tsunanori began to search for with uncommon vigor the following nine titles: “*Ta Ming lü dufa*, *Da Ming lü guanjian*, *Da Ming lü quanjie*, *Da Ming lü zhiyin*, *Da Ming lü xiangzhu fenjie daquan*, *Du lü suoyan*, *Du lü sijian*, *Lü jie bianyi*, and *Zhiyuan*.” We have seen this list somewhere before. Indeed, it is the very list given under the fifth day of the seventh month for Hôei 6 in the *Tô tsûji kaisho nichiroku*. This becomes clearer in a letter (dated the fourth day of the ninth month of the year of the tiger) in Tsunanori's letter collection, entitled *Shosatsu ruikô* 書札類稿 (Classified Drafts of Letters), to Hisamatsu Bingo no kami 久松備後守.

The ninth month of the year of the tiger was Hôei 7 (1710), and Hisamatsu Bingo no kami was Sadamochi 定持, the Nagasaki Administrator. It reads in part as follows:

The books requested last year by Lord Bessho Harima no kami 別所播磨守 were nowhere to be found within the city of Nagasaki. This information was conveyed to the Chinese returning home, but unfortunately we now know that they did not bring the books this year. Please by all means request that they bring these works next year. I list the titles for your perusal. I should also tell Lord Sakuma Aki no kami 佐久間安藝守, but I am asking you because it smacks of a request.

This book list is appended. Both Sakuma Aki no kami Nobunari 信就 and Bessho Harima no kami had been Nagasaki Administrators. It would appear that Sakuma and Hisamatsu were serving in Nagasaki at this time, while Bessho had served there the previous year and was then serving in Edo. It was just before Hisamatsu had left the capital to take up his alternate attendance. Accordingly, Tsunanori asked Bessho Harima no kami in Hôei 6 to search the city of Nagasaki, and failing that to put in an order with the Chinese merchants. As a result, the order in question in *Tô tsûji kaisho nichiroku* dated the fifth day of the seventh month of Hôei 6 seems to have been the request of Bessho Harima no kami, the Nagasaki Administrator, to Takagi Sakuemon which was then conveyed to the Chinese merchants.

**To Both Kishû and Kyoto.** The basis of the error of my first reasoning appears to have been that fact that, because Takagi Sakuemon was the number two official in Nagasaki, he placed the order in his official capacity, and thus I thought it was the shôgun's order. We find in another collection of letters, the "Sôka shoshi" 桑華書志 (Missives of the mulberry flower), that Takagi Sakuemon and Tsunanori exchanged letters and that there was a gift from Sakuemon to Tsunanori. On the fifth day of the second month of Shôtoku 4 (1714), a list of works--"Kiyôfu ken Edo shomoku" 崎陽府獻江都書目 (List of works sent from Nagasaki to Edo)--and Chinese-style paper were presented by Sakuemon. It would thus seem that there is a possibility that Sakuemon knew that it was Tsunanori's desire to have the books officially procured by order of the Nagasaki Administrator and that the term "for official use" also includes cases of official use by the Nagasaki Administrator.

Not only did Tsunanori search for these books in Nagasaki in Hôei 6. In the eleventh month of Genroku 7 (1694), Sakakibara Kôshû of Kishû wrote a commentary on the Ming legal codes entitled *Dai Min ritsurei genkai* 大明律例諺解 (Colloquial Explanation of the Statutes and Laws of the Great Ming Dynasty); at that time Kinoshita Jun'an asked Sakakibara what sources he had relied upon and Sakakibara replied to him. Tsunanori was presented with this letter by the second child of his mentor Kinoshita Jun'an, Kinoshita Heisaburô 木下平三郎 (Kikutan 菊潭), which he was only too happy to use as a guide. Perhaps his request was based on this letter. In the following year of Hôei 7, he inquired via Kinoshita Heisaburô of Gion Nankai, a disciple of Kinoshita Jun'an's serving in Kishû domain, about works concerning the Ming legal codes held in Kishû, and he noted in the *Dai Min ritsu shosho shikô* that he received a reply.

Furthermore, on Kinoshita's recommendation in Shôtoku 1 (1711), he sent a letter to Sugama Shizu 菅眞靜, who was then serving the Nonomiya 野宮 family (the Nakanoin 中院 family), to the effect that without the following eight works it would be impossible to do a study of the Ming legal codes--Did he have them? Would he seek out who did possess them? Would he pass the information on to Nonomiya Chûnagon 野宮

中納言 [1669-1711]? He was tacitly asking if Nonomiya or any of the other aristocrats had copies of the works in question. The eight books had been treated as any other order to Nagasaki, and he still did not have them in hand.

As late as Kyôhō 1 (1716), his wish had still not been fulfilled. On the fifth day of the eighth month of that year, he request nine books of Hayashi Nobuatsu 林信篤 ([1644-1732], head of the shogunal college). In his letter he noted that the *Du lü suoyan*, the first book on the list, was held in the library of Kishû and he wished to borrow it.

**The Coming of the Ming Legal Codes.** What were the ship owners doing during all this? According to the *Shôhaku sairai shomoku* 商舶載來書目 (List of Books Transported for Sale), the following books on Ming law were brought to Japan in the following years: *Da Ming lü fuli yibu shiliuben* 大明律附例一部十六本 (The Legal Codes of the Great Ming Dynasty with Supplements, 16 vols.) in Shôtoku 1, *Da Ming lü shiyi yibu baben* 大明律例釋義一部八本 (Explanation of the Legal Codes of the Great Ming Dynasty, 8 vols.), *Da Ming lü tianshi pangzhu yibu sibin* 大明律例添釋旁註一部四本 (Additional Explanation with Commentary of the Legal Codes of the Great Ming Dynasty, 4 vols.), *Da Ming lü fujie yibu shierben* 大明律例附解一部十二本 (The Legal Codes of the Great Ming Dynasty with Explanation, 12 vols.), and *Xinli santai Ming lü zhaopan zhengzong yibu baben* 新例三台明律招判正宗一部八本 (Orthodox *Santai* Explication of the Ming Legal Codes, Including New Regulations, 8 vols.) in Shôtoku 2, and *Da Ming lü jianshi yibu ertao* 大明律箋釋一部二套 (Explanatory Notes on the Legal Codes of the Great Ming Dynasty, 2 sets) and *Da Ming lü sijian yibu baben* 大明律私箋一部八本 (Personal Notes on the Legal Codes of the Great Ming Dynasty, 8 vols.) in Shôtoku 3. In addition, two works on Qing law arrived in Shôtoku 2 (1712): *Da Qing lü yibu wuben* 大清律一部五本 (The Legal Codes of the Great Qing Dynasty, 5 vols.) and *Da Qing lü jijie fuli yibu yitao* 大清律集解附例一部一套 (Collected Explanations of the Legal Codes of the Great Qing Dynasty with Supplements, 1 set). Among these writings on the Ming codes, the only one corresponding to the order of Hôei 6 is the *Da Ming lü sijian*, but according to the investigative notes taken at this time by the Inspectorate of Books (which can be found in the ten stringbound volumes of the *Shôhaku sairai shomoku*), the *Da Ming lü sijian* of Wang Qiao 王樵 is included in both the *Da Ming lü fujie* and the *Da Ming lü fuli*; also the *Da Ming lü xiangzhu fenjie daquan*, the *Du lü suoyan*, and the *Da Ming lü guanjian* are all to be found on the list of works cited in the *Da Ming lü tianshi pangzhu*. Thus, it would certainly seem that the Chinese ship owners were filling these orders. The ship that brought these law books to Japan was vessel number fourteen in the year of the dragon, Shôtoku 2; unfortunately, the records of this vessel are not in the *Tôban kamotsu chô*.

Among these works, the *Da Ming lü fujie*, the *Da Ming lü jianshi*, the *Da Ming lü tianshi pangzhu*, and the *Da Qing lü jijie fuli* were all placed in the Momijiyama Bunko. The *Da Ming lü jianshi* turns out to be the same as the *Da Ming lü fuli*, as a note inside the text explains the change in title. These four works were placed in the Momijiyama Bunko in Shôtoku 3.

**On Loan to Arai Chikugo no kami.** On the 26th day of the eleventh month of the following year, Shôtoku 4, these four works plus an additional eight--seven concerned

with Ming law and one with Qing law--were removed from the Momijiyama Bunko "for purposes of official use" and placed in the care of Shibata Hachirôzaemon 柴田八郎左衛門, page (*konando* 小納戸) in the Honmaru 本丸 (castle keep, in charge of the shôgun's library). This is by no means a conjecture but is described in the *Bakufu shomotsukata nikki*.

These works on the Ming legal codes were released to the shogunal book office on the 25th day of the sixth month of Kyôhō 1, two years later. The records of the Administrator of Books at this time are extremely important. There we find the note: "The above [books] were loaned to Arai Chikugo no kami 新井筑後守 and returned." Clearly, none other than Arai Hakuseki had borrowed the books. Kyôhō 1 was a time when it was mandatory to return books borrowed prior to the reign of Tokugawa Ietsugu 徳川家継, for reasons to be explored in the next chapter of this book.

Arai Hakuseki's diaries have been published. I was interested in what records there were of books returned, so I examined Hakuseki's *Ida nichireki*. There, in an entry for the seventeenth day of the sixth month of Kyôhō 1, he notes that Murakami Ichimasa 村上市正 came to ask him about the books received from the previous era. Then, after mentioning the titles of the twelve works on Ming and Qing law, he notes:

I borrowed the aforementioned twelve works back in the era of Yûshōin 有章院 [shôgun Ietsugu] for reference when I was appointed to serve as the special person in charge of affairs for Nagasaki. I returned seventeen works on the second day of the fifth month after the death of Yûshōin.

It now becomes apparent that Hakuseki borrowed these books on Ming and Qing law "for reference when [he] was appointed to serve as the special person in charge of affairs for Nagasaki." What was all this about? At the time Hakuseki was in the midst of planning promulgation of the New Shôtoku Laws. Given the timing, it was precisely for this reason that he needed the Ming legal codes. For example, because the term *shinpai* 信牌 (trading licenses which were sold to Chinese merchants) appears in the Ming codes, this was an important reference for him.

**Questions for the Chinese in Nagasaki.** We see then that Hakuseki's investigation of the Ming legal codes came to the attention of Maeda Tsunanori and peaked the latter's curiosity. In his *Shosatsu ruikô*, Tsunanori had the following to say at one point:

I heard the following story from Takagi Sakuemon among others. Because there are passages in the Ming legal codes that are difficult to understand in Japan, queries came to me from Edo; scholars in Nagasaki questioned some Chinese there, and they prepared a booklet with commentary for the officialdom. Perhaps Mr. Arai sought this with the authority of the shôgun's wishes. Whether it was the shôgun's order or Mr. Arai's borrowing his authority, he certainly should have been able to secure the booklet of replies. He had Aochi Kurando 青地藏人 question Mr. Muro [Kyûsô], but Mr. Muro knew nothing. However, in response to Mr. Aochi, [Muro] said:

If this is correct, then without a doubt it came from Chikugo [namely, Arai Hakuseki]. No one said any of this to me at all. At an earlier point in time, Sakakibara

Gensuke 榊原玄輔 [Hôshû] wrote a commentary on the legal codes of the great Ming dynasty, but he generally inferred the meaning of difficult expressions from the context. I believe it was only last year that I was speaking of the need to prepare a study of the meaning of these terms. I thus believe this took place then. Chikugo has not been well since this past spring, and hence we have not as yet met. I will soon ask and speak about this whole matter when I am in service. Muro Shinsuke 室新助.

This letter is dated the twelfth day of the first month of Shôtoku 5 (1715), meaning that Kyûsô heard of Hakuseki's evaluation of the Sakakibara's commentary on the Ming codes during Shôtoku 4 [1714]. The story fits together perfectly.

**Tsunanori's Devotion.** Maeda Tsunanori of Kaga domain was the subsidiary character playing the lead role in the story of this chapter--Hakuseki, the New Shôtoku Laws, and the Ming codes. We need now to describe whether or not Tsunanori was ultimately successful in achieving his objective.

When his order of the seventh month of Hôei 6 was not filled in Hôei 7, Tsunanori again made his request in the form of a letter. The following year, Shôtoku 1, the *Da Ming li fuli yibu shiliuben* was transported to Japan. We have already described how in Shôtoku 2 and 3 more books concerned with the Ming legal codes were brought to Japan. In particular, that books concerning Ming and Qing law came with the freight of vessel number fourteen in the year of the dragon appears to have been in response to his earlier order. Among these books those for official use were selected by the Momijiyama Bunko, but, as a general principle, were an order to arrive from Maeda Tsunanori, if it were made known that it was for the official use of the shôgun's family, no complaints would be raised. However, in the freight brought to Japan in this year, Tsunanori's order was not filled. These works on the Ming codes were citations or copies of the works he wanted; he wanted original editions. He already had many works which were copied out of other texts. Proof for this assertion appears in the letter mentioned briefly above to Sugama Shizu, in which he notes: "Although I have collected several dozen works concerning the Ming dynasty, I have not gotten the books I most want to see. I have not been able to collect books as I would like to have." It seems that he had not attained his goal. As another proof, he noted that on the fifth day of the eighth month of Kyôhō 1 (1716), he asked head of the Shogunal College Hayashi to find nine works, and among them the *Du li suoyan*, which was listed among the books he was looking for in his first letter, was to be found in the domainal library in Kishû and he wanted to borrow it. Ultimately, Tsunanori was never able to attain his objective. He lived until Kyôhō 9 (1724), and there is no evidence that the books he wanted were transported to Japan. If they did make it to Japan, from the Kyôhō era Shôgun Yoshimune, a rival unsurpassed in book collecting, appeared, and Tsunanori would likely have been unable to get his hands on such works.

**License to Trade (*Shinpai*).** In an earlier chapter, we looked at the main points involved in the reforms of the New Shôtoku Laws. Let me explain the *shinpai* which were given out from that time.

It was indicated in the third month of Shôtoku 5 that the *shinpai* was a "check which was to be given to the Chinese by the interpreters." It appears that on the Japanese side they publicly employed the term *wappu* 割符 for "check" and the original record of

the issuance of *shinpai* was known as the *Wappu tomechô* 割符留帳 (Check Account Book). As present these records from Bunka 12 [1815] forward are held in the Nagasaki Prefectural Library. According to the original plan, they were to be based upon the following guidelines:

The *wappu* is given to the Chinese merchant, and it describes in which year how many boats from which places [could sail to Japan] and what the value of the goods could be worth in silver. When they returned to Japan, they were supposed to return the check [licence] upon arrival. We shall express all of this so that the Chinese will understand and, if necessary, write additional agreements and contracts into this in consultation with the official interpreters. Of course, the year, month, and day will be indicated and a red seal affixed.

Inspector of Books Mukai Gensei 向井元成, head of the Seidô 聖堂, Sakaki Soken 彭城素軒, senior Chinese interpreter, and others prepared a text. There is a photographic copy of the Chinese text of a *shinpai* in the name of Yang Dunhou 楊敦厚, in charge of a Nanjing vessel, dated the twentieth day of the eighth month of Ansei 4 [1857], held in the Nagasaki Prefectural Library. Its meaning is rendered in a more easily readable Japanese translation of Yang Dunhou's *shinpai* for Bunka 12 which can be found at the very beginning of the *Wappu tomechô*.

Xiong, Xiong, Zheng.  
Nagasaki Interpreters Ping, Liu.  
Ye, Fan, Ye

Having received orders from the office of the [Nagasaki] Administrator, we shall select merchants, issue licenses, and carry on commerce. We have done this to preserve the clarity of our legal arrangements. Furthermore, your Chinese vessels have been sailing the seas to Japan for many years without break. However, people have been coming in a confused manner without any thought, and many illegal merchants who violate our statutes have been among them. Consequently we shall henceforth limit the number of vessels coming from each of the [Chinese] ports. From the Hinoene 丙子 year [1816], the cargo brought aboard one Ningbo vessel may reach a value of 95 *monme* and carry out commerce with this. Yang Dunhou, who is in charge of the vessel, will submit a certificate modeled to the form provided by the Nagasaki office to the effect that he has received the rules and regulations concerning shipping. In future when you provide palm impressions, then we shall give you a license indicating this. After inspection, you will give it to us, and you will be added to the numbered list of ships. Those who lack this proof will be immediately ordered to return home. You Chinese shall follow [the rules] all the more respectfully. If you disobey some of the itemized regulations, we shall not reissue you a license. We shall chastise according to precedent, and there will definitively be no forgiveness. Everyone should take this to heart. You must comply faithfully with what is written on this license.

The above license is hereby given to Yang Dunhou, in charge of a Ningbo vessel.

Bunka 12 [1815].

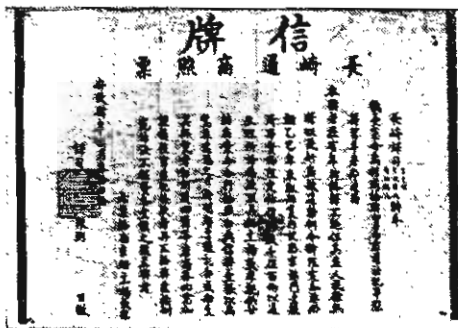
Interpreter ☐ shall return the license on ☐ day. /

**The Paper and the Tally Seal.** The paper used for *shinpai* was a Japanese paper as ordered in the announcement of the New Shôtoku Laws. The first article in the order "Announcing the New Regulations to the Chinese" (dated the first month of Shôtoku 5) laid out the following: "The paper that shall be used is a kind of *torinoko* paper [a stout, smooth paper] made from a tall cedar, Japanese paper. The paper for the agreed upon check shall also not be that of a foreign land." Obviously, the intent here was to be vigilant in the face of countefeiting done in China.

Furthermore, the following was indicated concerning the seal to be impressed according to provision number three.

A tally seal as well as a seal at the spot indicating the number of items is to be employed on the check. As for the characters on the red seal, the interpreters will be ordered to select characters appropriate to the check which is presented by the interpreters, and they will have someone who can write seal script inscribe it. Engraving is done on orders of the office of the Administator, and the seals are always kept in his office. When the red seal is impressed, have it done in front of the Administrator. Prepare a register of the presentation of the check for office of the Administrator, and indicate therein the month, day, and place of origin of the ship as well as the name of the Chinese to whom it was given. Take the seal of the interpreters present at this time, compare the register and the check, and have the tally seal stamped. Be certain at a later date that there is nothing out of order.

The *Wappu tomechô* held in the Nagasaki Municipal Library corresponds to these "Registers of Issuing *Wappu*." The use of the *shinpai* was carried out just as described here. On the original *shinpai*, a photograph of which is reproduced below, the seal tally is in the upper right corner, there is a seal indicating the value of the freight transported in the center, and there is a seal after the date at the end of the text. Furthermore, something on the order of an incantation written in the very first line of text concerning the Nagasaki interpreters is the Chinese names of the interpreters present at the time. The order of the interpreters is given by their status.



*Shinpai* (held in the collection of the Nagasaki Prefectural Library)

**The Seals on the *Shinpai* and Their Content.** As concerns these seals, there is a fascinating story that can be found in volume 75 of the *Kasshi yawa* 甲子夜話 (Evening Chats from the *Kasshi* Day [of the Eleventh Month of 1821]), the miscellaneous writings of Matsura Seizan 松浦静山 (Kiyoshi 清) [1760-1841], daimyô of Hirado domain and well known intellectual. When Yang Qitang 楊啓堂, in charge of a Ningbo vessel, came aground shipwrecked at Suruga in the first month of Bunsei 9 (1826), he was carrying a *shinpai* in the name of Shen Fuling 沈福齡. Seizan wrote this up:

The three seals were difficult to read, and because Kiin Takahashi Eshû 崎尹高橋越州 [Nagasaki Administrator Takahashi Echizen no kami Shigekata 高橋越前守重賢] was a man of learning, he was approached to explain what the characters were. He replied:

As for the seal, on the day prior to the departure of the Chinese, the relevant person [agent of the interpreters] carried a box in which the aforementioned seal was placed. The key was held by the Administrator. The contents of the *shinpai* can be read from what was brought to the Administrator by the relevant person. He returned it through his retainer, and the key was given to the relevant person by the retainer. He opened the box before all those present, and soon after showing it to himself he applied the seal. Those present witnessed this, and the retainer gave it to me and asked me to read it. Thus was the extremely rigorous manner in which this matter was handled. I rewrote the text of the seal in regular script and placed it in the box. That way it would not be copied, and at the first opportunity while on duty he would see it in regular script. Beyond this, I do not have a clear recollection. At the time I had occasion to write things from memory. I looked for it for an entire day recently but could not find it. Thus, I cannot respond, but the text of the seal about which you ask in your letter is, without a doubt, the characters from the *shinpai*.



The three seals from the *shinpai* enlarged

The seal which Lord Mastuura Seizan had not read and the Administrator on duty at the time did not recognize was stamped on the *shinpai* of Yang Dunhou, dated Ansei 4, shown above. What is stamped at the very end of the text on the left is 5.5 centimeter tall and 5.0 centimeters wide, and the text reads: "Seal of the Interpreters Present" (*yisi huitong zhi yin* 譯司會同之印). The seal at the center forms a square 3.0 centimeters to each side; it is stamped on this spot to prevent falsification of the amount of silver written in the text of the *shinpai* here. The text read: "Contracted in trust for perpetuity" (*jiexin yongyuan* 結信永遠).

The tally seal on the right edge is more difficult. It was made by covering the upper right corner of the paper with the *shinpai* of Yang Dunhou. We learn from the *Wappu tomechô*, however, that there were two other, interchangeable methods. They would align the upper edge of the seal with the upper edge of the paper and stamp; what

thus remains in the register is the right half of the seal. Or, they might align the right edge of the seal with the right edge of the paper and stamp; what remains here is the upper half of the seal. If stamped in the manner of Yang Dunhou, then the print of the seal would leave a right-angle shape [ㄟ] on the register. Such details were not even known by the Administrator himself. When I went to Nagasaki to investigate *shinpai* primarily from the *Wappu tomechô*, I tried hard but unsuccessfully to capture the entire tally seal. There is but one portion of it in the *Wappu tomechô*, and no matter how much effort is expended the lower left of the seal print will not appear. While considering all manner of approaches to this problem, it suddenly dawned on me that I should place Yang Dunhou's *shinpai* together with the *Wappu tomechô* for the year in which it was issued. It was the summer of 1973, and Yang's *shinpai* was sitting upon a ledger 170 years old. This impossible task now seemed so easy and I was elated. I felt as though I had outwitted Lord Matsuura Seizan. The text read: "Let there be friendship forever" (*yong yi wei hao* 永以爲好).

The writing on these seals are a highly stiff Japanese form of the *jiudiezhuàn* 九疊篆 style of seal script. I was unable to read this style easily and in fact need a crib sheet to help. I was ultimately able to read it because there was a seal text written in regular script contained in the *Shinpaikata jiroku* 信牌方記錄 (Records of Licences), also held in the Nagasaki Prefectural Library.

On August 1, 1979 I attended a symposium on the history of Sino-Japanese relations sponsored by the Historical Association (Lishi yanjiusuo 歷史研究所) in Beijing. Satô Saburô 佐藤三郎, professor emeritus from Yamagata University, gave a talk on the subject of China as seen by Japanese castaways in the Edo period. Afterward, we all gave short self-introductions concerning our own specialties. On that occasion, I presented a photo of Yang Dunhou's *shinpai* to the Historical Association and to the Chinese Historical Museum (Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 中國歷史博物館). The texts of the three seals were appended. Then, when I went to visit the Palace Museum on the morning of the day I was to depart Beijing, I received via Professor Feng Xianming 馮先銘 a letter from Professor Shi Shuqing 史樹青 of the Historical Museum. In it he asked if the form of the Chinese character *yong* 永 (eternal, forever) in two of the seals might be incorrect. Professor Shi thought that the first seal mentioned above should really read *jiexin changyuan* 結信長遠 (contracted in trust forever), with the third character as *chang* 長 (long-lasting, forever), not *yong*. In fact, he was right. Had I misread the *Shinpaikata jiroku*? Had that changed seal styles along the way? I thus decided that I would have to investigate what had taken place in Japan. However, as a still unresolved problem, I am only too happy to note here that at the level of studies in the history of Sino-Japanese relations such an exchange of concrete views goes on.