

Sino-Japanese Relations in the Edo Period¹

Ôba Osamu

大庭脩

Kôgakkan University

Translated by Joshua A. Fogel

Part Seven. The Voyages of Mr. Shen Xie'an

The *Shinchô tanji*. Among the works that circulated widely in Edo-period Japan was one entitled *Shinchô tanji* 清朝探事 (Inquiries about China), a record of questions and answers on circumstances pertaining in Qing-period China. It is one of the accounts given in question and answer form or verbatim notes referred to in the previous chapter of this work. It is also known by such titles as *Dai Shin chôya mondô* 大清朝野問答 (Questions and Answers on the State and People of the Great Qing), *Shinjin mondôsho* 清人問答書 (Questions and Answers with Chinese), and *Kyôhô hitsuwa* 享保筆語 (Notes from the Kyôhô Period). There also some works with the same title *Shinchô tanji* which have slightly different contents, possibly due to additional questions and answers raised. In the process of being copied and passed from hand to hand, we have one manuscript with a postface dated Hôreki 14 (1764), perhaps indicating that copying took off from about this time. In the *Kyôhô hitsuwa*, from the library of the former Kishû domain, the former Nanki Bunko 南葵文庫, now held in Tokyo University Library, we find the following colophon:

In the Kyôhô era, Ogyû Sôshichirô 荻生總七郎 was ordered to question the Chinese Zhu Peizhang 朱佩章. Fukami Kudayû 深見九大夫 recorded Zhu Peizhang's replies to the questions and submitted it.

Here we have the most pertinent explanation. Furthermore, when we examine the *Shinchô tanji* held in the collection of the Kôjukan 教授館, the domainal school of the former Tosa fief, now held in the National Diet Library, we find: "Interview ordered and carried out by Ogyû Sôshichirô, Fukami Kudayû, interpreter Sakaki Tôjiemon 彭城藤治右衛門, and the Chinese Zhu Peizhang." We learn as well that Senior Interpreter Sakaki Tôjiemon was charged with translation here. At the beginning of this edition of the text, there is a colophon by one Sôshôdô shujin 雙松堂主人 (Master of the Double Pine Hall) which reads:

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

¹ *Edo jidai no Nit-Chû hiwa* 江戸時代の日中秘話 (Tokyo: Tôhō shoten, 1980), pp. 138-59

In the early Kyôhō period, Fukami Kodayū received orders to repair to Nagasaki in Hi[zen domain] to investigate matters involving medicinal plants. Afterward, there was business concerning questions to be put to Chinese who had come by ship, and the Chinese Zhu Peizhang offered replies. [Fukami] recorded these in preparing the account of questions and answers. At that time, the Confucian official Ogyū in the impregnable fortress [of the palace] translated it into Japanese for the court. Someone placed it in the library. I eagerly entreated them to let me make a copy which I treasure.

Although one text gives Sakaki Tōjiemon as the translator, we really do not know--perhaps this is but hearsay. That Fukami was investigating medicinal plants may bear some relationship with the *Kyôhō fukugen* 享保復言 (Exchange of the Kyôhō Era) of Zhou Zhilai 周岐來 and Zhu Laizhang 朱來章, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Fukami Kodayū in Nagasaki. Fukami Kodayū (Arichika 有鄰 [1691-1773]), traveled to Nagasaki with the task of translating the *Da Qing huidian* 大清會典 (Collected Statutes of the Great Qing Dynasty) into Japanese. There he spent five full years, coping with numerous orders coming from Shōgun Yoshimune 吉宗 in Edo and serving as his window in Nagasaki. We noted earlier that Fukami was the son of Fukami Gentai 深見玄岱, and a third generation Japanese of Chinese origins. After Gentai was summoned to Edo, Kodayū took care of the family in Nagasaki until he was called to Edo in the early Kyôhō reign. Thus, by returning to their hometowns to which they were already well accustomed, Yoshimune used his disposition of personnel to great effect.

In an entry dated the eighteenth day of the second month of Kyôhō 11 (1726) in the *Bakufu shomotsukata nikki* 幕府書物方日記 (Record of Books of the Shogunate), there is mention of the title, *Xiangyue quanshu* 鄉約全書 (Complete Writings of Village Compacts), where the following order is recorded: "It was this work which, at the behest of Fukami Kodayū, the Nagasaki Administrator ordered to be brought from China and it was. We shall now place it in the [Momijiyama] Bunko, so please process it." This would seem to be what is now titled the *Shangyu helü xiangyue quanshu* 上諭合律鄉約全書 (Complete Writings of Village Compacts in Accordance with Imperial Decrees) which is presently held in the Naikaku Bunko, and it enables us to see one aspect of Fukami's book collecting activities.

Also, in a report by Fukami entitled *Man-Kan hinkyū kô* 漫漢品級考 (A Study of Manchu and Han Status) which appears as item 52 in the *Meika sôsho* 名家叢書 (Collected Reprints of Famed Authors), we find: "I asked about the appearances of the morning cap, the seating protocol, and formal documentary language which appear in this volume, and the Chinese said that the shape of the morning cap was generally as follows." He then drew a picture of the morning cap and noted: "I have heard from the Chinese that the three official writing styles--*zhafu* 劄付 [directive], *zicheng* 咨呈 [report, communication], and *guandie* 關牒 [record]--are the names of three written styles." We can see from an examination of the three terms *zhafu*, *zicheng*, and *guandie* that this report by Fukami was undoubtedly prepared in Nagasaki.

The Shioki no kata mondôsho. If we might return to the *Shinchô tanji*, the questions--or, so-called *monmoku* 文目--run to over 120 in the first volume and 72 in the

second, for a total of 200 or more and cover all manner of topics. They are generally divided into *kibutsu* 器物 (implements), *saisô* 祭葬 (festivals and funerals), *ifuku* 衣服 (clothing), *shikô* 嗜好 (tastes), *seiji* 政治 (government), and *fûzoku* 風俗 (customs). The contents are completely disorganized, covering manifold areas. They include rumors concerning the emperor and his high officials such as “The behavior of the Yongzheng Emperor in an ordinary day’s work, his hunting, court attendance, and rankings of his tastes” and “Are there men of excellence among the prime minister and other officials?”; defense-related topics such as “Which ministries are especially important?” “Which are the important sites in defense of Japan?” “Strategic sites,” and “Overview of places to defend against foreign lands”; matters involving legal institutions and legal proscriptions such as “the seriousness of capital punishment,” “the importance of litigation,” “laws of the marketplace,” and “laws involving the travels of officials”; and such isolated expressions as *hongyi* 紅衣, *guanding* 冠頂, and *dingquan* 頂圈. In other words, Yoshimune wanted to know everything there was to know about Qing China. Whether such a question such as “Can we attack China [lit. “the other country,” *takoku* 他國] and expand our territory?” was right on the mark or an innocent query, it certainly evokes a wry smile now.

In addition to the *Shinchô tanji*, there is another report of questions put to Zhu Peizhang. In this case, there are no other copied texts; the original is in the Naikaku Bunko. This is a text known as the *Shioki no kata mondôsho* 仕置方問答書 (Questions and Answers Concerning Governance), though this is a refashioned title for the original which is on an attached label at the center of the cover in a clear hand: *Shioki no kata no gi ni tsuki Shû Haishô e aitazune sôrô mondôsho ohikae* 仕置方之儀に付き朱佩章え相尋ね候問答書御扣 (A Copy of the Questions and Answers in an Interview with Zhu Peizhang Concerning Matters of Governance). In all it fills 57 folio pages--from the initial words of “fûchû fukô no mono” 不忠不孝之者 (someone disloyal and/or unfilial) to the final words of “ranshinsha” 亂心者 (someone deranged)--covering 21 items. After each heading, there is first an explanation, and the questions and replies are written at a level one character below this. This work was placed among “unclassified writings”; the *Bangai zassho kaidai* 番外雜書改題 (Explanatory List of Unclassified Works) offers this explanation:

This work is a translation into Japanese of the text of the questions put to Zhu Peizhang, who had come [to Japan] aboard ship, concerning the contours of the Chinese legal system and methods of governance and Peizhang’s answers. The questions were drafted by Ogyû Sôshichirô in compliance with orders given him.

Upon inspection of the original text in the Naikaku Bunko, it is written in a distinctive hand, a style clearly that of the official interpreter. Thus, I believe it would be safe to assume that, like the *Shinchô tanji*, this work was translated by Sakaki Tôjiemon with Fukami Kudayû present.

What sort of a man, then, was thus Zhu Peizhang? Hailing from Dingzhou prefecture in Fujian, he had come to Japan on the fifth day of the second month of Kyôhô 10 (1725) together with his two younger brothers, Zhu Zizhang 朱子章 and Zhu Laizhang 朱來章; he returned to China on the eighteenth day of the second month, the following year; and on the 28th day of the eleventh month later that year, he made a

second trip to Japan before returning home on the thirteenth day of the sixth month of Kyôhō 12 [1727]. For about three months at the beginning of his second trip, he overlapped with Fukami Kudayû's period of residence in Nagasaki, but the many questions and replies seem to date to his earlier period of residence. I shall return to the question of who Zhu Peizhang was in a subsequent chapter, but now I would like to center the discussion around Fukami.

Advisor Sun Fuzhai. The Chinese person who advised Fukami on difficult terms in the *Da Qing huidian* was not Zhu Peizhang. Evidence for this assertion can be found in the latter part of the fourth fascicle of a text entitled *Wa-Kan kibun* 和漢寄文 (Japanese-Chinese Translation). According to a preface by Ro Sekkutsu 盧草拙 dated the fifth month of Kyôhō 11 (1726), the *Wa-Kan kibun* was a work in which Suga Shunjô 菅俊仍, a man from Shimotsuke who was serving in the office of the Nagasaki Administrator in the Kyôhō era, had selected suitable items from documents either presented to him at the time by Chinese or attributed to Chinese and placed the original side-by-side with a Japanese translation. In the past when languages between different peoples were mutually unintelligible, those from the east were dubbed *ki* 寄 (C. *ji*) and those from the north dubbed *yaku* 譯 (C. *yi*)--thus, the text was titled *Wa-Kan kibun*, according to Ro. The shogunate cited numerous documents from this work in the *Tsûkô ichiran* 通航一覽 (Overview of Maritime Relations), a text compiled in 1853, and there are a number of documents it cites which appear nowhere else. The following text is such a work nowhere else to be found.

The title of this piece is "Son Hosai shinpai negai no kakitsuke" 孫輔齋信牌願之書附 (Note on Sun Fuzhai's request for a trading license), and in it we find the following passage:

Since arriving by sea in the summer of last year, I have been subjected to questioning about the *Da Qing huidian*, a text used at officials' offices to deal with business. Men with no experience of working in a government office, no matter how talented, might find it impossible to reply [to these queries] rapidly. Since last year, I have frequently been embarrassed by questions I was unable to answer. I have an uncle by the name of Sun Shilong 孫仕隆 who is 56 years of age and a *juren*. He has experience of service in a bureaucratic office, and he undoubtedly knows about the business of the statutes [of the Qing]. When I made a return trip to Japan, he came with me and was able to reply to the questions posed to him. There are, however, obstacles to a *juren* going abroad; out of our uncle-nephew bond, he accompanied me secretly to offer advice. Fearful that word would get out, though, we thought it dangerous to travel on someone else's vessel. If possible, we would like to receive a trading license and make the trip together aboard our own ship. I realize that if I had brought along someone without any knowledge, then naturally I would bear responsibility even if I were not allowed to engage in trade. I shall return to China aboard Number 10 Vessel for the purpose of this important affair and humbly request issuance of a trading license. Eleventh month, Kyôhō 11.

This is a reliable lead. Fukami Kudayû's advisor was Sun Fuzhai. What vessel, then, did Sun sail on when he came to Japan?

The *Tōsen shinkō kaitō roku*. In order to answer this question, the source material known as the *Tōsen shinkō kaitō roku* 唐船進港回棹録 (Record of the Coming to Port and Departing for Home of Chinese Vessels) held in the Watanabe Bunko 渡邊文庫 at the Nagasaki Municipal Museum is of great utility. This material appears to be a record, kept by the Chinese interpreters, of the furnishing of trading licenses that were created following the promulgation of the New Shōtoku Laws. There is a chronicle in good order of the ships that entered port in Japan from Shōtoku 5 [1715] through Kyōhō 18 [1733]. When we consider the fact that there are just a few entries for vessels for Kyōhō 17 [1732], there is a genuine possibility that vessels from that year in fact were used for a return trip in the spring of Kyōhō 19 [1734]. Because this is the work of a single person, though, it seems that in early Kyōhō 19 they recompiled a work that had been kept in diary fashion. Sun Fuzhai noted in the eleventh month of Kyōhō 11 that he wanted to return aboard vessel number ten. This is what we find for vessel number ten in the *Tōsen shinkō kaitō roku*:

Number Ten Vessel of Lu Nanpo 陸南坡 of Jianpuzhai entered port with a license for the year of the horse on the eighth day of the seventh month of this year, and departed for home with a license for the year of the monkey on the seventeenth day of the eleventh month of this year.

The terms [of the license] was for two vessels. One additional ship was provisionally added, Number Ten Vessel, which returned home.

Sun Fuzhai of Xiamen who was together with Zhou Qilai, guests on the Number Fourteen Vessel in the year of the snake of Fei Zanhou 費贊侯, returned home having received a license for the year of the sheep on the seventeenth day of the eleventh month of this year.

This requires something of an explanation. “Number Ten Vessel” indicates the order of entering port, and “Jianpuzhai” 東埔寨 is the point of departure in China. Having received the trading license allocated to Jianpuzhai, even if its point of departure was not Jianpuzhai, it was expected that the vessel would be transporting produce distinctive to that place. Lu Nanpo was the name of the ship’s master, and the ship was consistent with the name on the trading license. Because the vessel entered port in Kyōhō 11, the year of the horse, its full official name would have been: “Number Ten Vessel in the year of the horse, Kyōhō 11, belonging to Lu Nanpo, departing from Jianpuzhai” which would ordinarily be shortened to “Number Ten Vessel from Jianpuzhai in the year of the horse.” With its “license for the year of the horse [it came] on the eighth day of the seventh month” implies that it entered port bearing a trading license which allowed it to come to Japan and engage in trade in Kyōhō 11, the year of the horse. By “license for the year of the monkey [it left for home] on the seventeenth day of the eleventh month” was implied that it had received a trading license which recognized its right to enter port and engage in trade in Kyōhō 13 [1728], and it was returning home. Sun Fuzhai was returning home with a trading license allocated to Xiamen. According to the small print, the terms (of the trading license) indicated that (originally Xiamen) had two licensed vessels, but in addition (licenses had been allocated) on a provisional basis for one more ship; and he was returning home aboard Number Ten Vessel. According to the language which follows in larger print, Sun Fuzhai had sailed on the same vessel to Japan as Zhou Qilai, guests of

ship's master Fei Zanhou, aboard Number Fourteen Vessel the previous year, the year of the snake. By "having received a license for the year of the sheep on the seventeenth day of the eleventh month of this year" was implied that they returned to China with a trading license which enabled them to enter port in Japan the following year, Kyôhō 12, the year of the sheep. His wish had been granted.

Examining Number Fourteen Vessel in the year of the snake, we find that it was a Nanjing vessel of Fei Zanhou which had entered port in Japan on the eighth day of the sixth month of Kyôhō 10 and departed on the nineteenth day of the second month of Kyôhō 11. There is a note as well that Zhou Qilai came aboard it. We shall look more closely at Zhou Qilai in the next installment of this work.

The Arrival of Shen Xie'an. Did, then, Sun Fuzhai come to Japan the next year with his uncle Sun Shilong? For this we need to check once more the *Tôsen shinkô kaitô roku*. In Kyôhō 12, he entered port on the ninth day of the twelfth month as Number Forty-One Vessel:

Sun Fuzhai's representative

Number Forty-One Vessel of Yang Danzhai of Xiamen entered port with a license for the year of the sheep on the ninth day of the twelfth month of this year. Returned home on the 23rd day of the ninth month of the year of the monkey.

What is indicated here is that, with a trading license in the name of Sun Fuzhai, Yang Danzhai 楊澹齋 came in his stead as ship's master. That they sailed home without a license can be gleaned from the small type to the left of the original which reads: "The original license was limited to this year only, and thus a new license was not issued. Ship's master Yang Danzhai returned to China."

As for Sun Fuzhai himself, we read in a row of small type to the right of the text: "Sun Fuzhai also came. However, he came together with Shen Xie'an, a man from Hangzhou prefecture, a tribute student (*suigongsheng* 歲貢生), age 55." We thus know that Shen Xie'an accompanied them. We also read in fine print that "Sun Fuzhai lived at Shen Xie'an's residence," implying that they first stayed at the Tōjin yashiki 唐人屋敷 or Chinese Compound in Nagasaki. Hence, Sun Fuzhai had not come with Sun Shilong, but had brought along Shen Xie'an in his stead. As we shall describe below, Shen was a scholar, and Sun had been thinking from the start of being allowed to trade and again be able to reside in Japan. He came to Japan with Yang Danzhai as his agent and ship's master, engaged in trade, and then returned home.

Fukami's Translation of the *Da Qing huidian*. As Shen Xie'an now enters the picture, we need first to settle matters concerning Fukami Kudayû. Fukami returned to Edo in the second month of Kyôhō 12, and accordingly he did not meet Sun Fuzhai this time when the latter arrived in port on the ninth day of the twelfth month; nor did he meet Shen Xie'an. As a result, only Sun Fuzhai had served as an advisor in the task of translating the *Da Qing huidian* into Japanese.

Back in Edo, Fukami published his translation of the *Da Qing huidian*. For some reason, however, it does not seem as though he accomplished the major job of translating

the entire text. His translation which appears in the *Meika sôsho* fills the two stringbound volumes 50 and 51. Volume 50 has the following five lines on its cover:

Court of the Imperial Clan
Grand Secretariat
Ministry of Personnel
Ministry of Rites (2 fascicles)
Ministry of Revenue

The contents comprise a translation point by point starting with the yamen of civil appointments in *juan* 1 of the inventory of the collected statutes; in addition, explanations are added here and there, and the volume runs through *juan* 80. The second stringbound volume deals with the Ministry of War and runs from *juan* 81 through 108. There is nothing beyond this--whether it was lost or never completed is impossible to say. A look at the method of translating the portion that is extant gives one the sense that the translation had a general idea running through the entire text and a multivalent talent at work.

I must see to it that Fukami Kudayû returns to these pages in a subsequent chapter. At that time he will have become the Book Administrator and will have changed his given name to Shinbee 新兵衛.

As for Shen Xie'an, someone by that name, a Confucian scholar from Hangzhou prefecture in Zhejiang, appears in the *Nagasaki jitsuroku taisei* 長崎實錄大成 (Compendium of the Veritable Records of Nagasaki)--he arrived in Japan on the ninth day of the twelfth month of Kyôhō 12 and returned to China on the eleventh day of the fourth month of Kyôhō 14 [1729]. In the 233rd fascicle of the *Tsûkô ichiran*, in addition to this information we find that, according to the *Nagasaki nenpyô kyoyô* 長崎年表舉要 (Essentials of the Chronology of Nagasaki): "His task completed, he received 50 pieces of silver and one trading license. He boarded Number Sixteen Vessel for the year of the dog to return home." Furthermore, in fascicle 10 of the *Yûtoku in jikki furoku* 有徳院實紀附録 (Records of Shôgun Yoshimune, with Appendices), we find mention of Yoshimune's having him prepare an edited edition of the *Tang lû shuyi* 唐律疏議 (Exegetic Commentary on the Tang Legal Code).² He was a man widely known among the experts. I am of the opinion that Shen was the most erudite scholar of all Chinese who traveled to Japan throughout the Edo period and would thus like to follow the roles he played in Japan a bit more closely. To that end, we must once again bring Ogyû Sôshichirô (Hokkei 北溪) back to center stage.

Ogyû Hokkei and the *Tang lû shuyi*. We have already seen how Tokugawa Yoshimune sought to retrieve ancient, lost Chinese and Japanese books throughout Japan. The *Tang lû shuyi* was among them. For a time this work ceased to circulate in China, and later the original edition was discovered. There was originally an edition in the Momijiyama Bunko, and copies existed in the collection of the Mito family and the collection of the Maeda family of Kaga domain; the Maeda edition was a copy made from one held in the library of a Kyoto aristocrat. Yoshimune ordered Ogyû Hokkei to prepare

² This work in 30 fascicles concerns the criminal code of the Tang era. It is the oldest extant Chinese work concerning criminal statutes.

an edition of the text. It is unclear when this order was issued, but Hokkei completed the work and presented his report in the twelfth month of Kyôhō 10 (1725).

The text held in the Momijiyama Bunko is a copy of an edition from the Yuan dynasty, dated Qinding 4 [1327]. It is uncertain at what point it was acquired, but it did not come to Japan aboard a Chinese ship during the Edo period. It may have been imported to Japan earlier than that in the Kamakura or Muromachi era.

According to Hokkei's report, "Tôritsu sogi kaitei jôsho" 唐律疏議改定上書 (Memorial on revisions to the *Tang lü shuyi*), he corrected 3,142 incorrect characters, added 496 omitted characters, cut 171 superfluous characters, and changed 79 characters which were out of order, putting the text into good working order. He claimed to have used as reference materials to these ends eleven works, including the *Tang liudian* 唐六典 (Six Codes of the Tang), the *Wa ritsu* 和律 (Legal Code of Japan), and the *Ming lü* 明律 (Ming Code).

He compared Tang and Ming law and saw the Tang code as the basis for the Ming code; although the number of legal provisions had decreased over time, the categories of crimes had increased. There were a number of startling differences between the Tang and Ming bureaucratic institutions, especially in military administration. As for the applicability of the legal provisions, because the Tang code was written in great detail, in particular with the *Tang lü shuyi* scrupulously explaining difficult points, it was easier to understand than the Ming code. He also compared the Tang code to that of Japan. Much of the latter was based on the Tang code. The origins of words and customs that had taken root in Japanese customary practice could be found in the Tang code. It was thus more familiar than the Ming code.

Hokkei's edition of the *Tang lü shuyi* presented in the twelfth month of Kyôhō 10 was placed in the Momijiyama Bunko where it remained for a four-year period.

The Poetry and Prose of Shen Xie'an. Shen Xie'an lived at the Chinese Compound for three full years ending in Kyôhō 14. On the fourteenth day of the sixth month of that year, he received permission to reside outside the Compound. This was referred to at the time as "*machitaku aosetsukeraru*" 町宅仰せつけらる [lit., permission to reside in a private residence outside the Chinese Compound in the city of Nagasaki]. At that time, he lived in the home of one of the Chinese interpreters, and Shen was entrusted into the home of interpreter Niki Kôsaburô 二木幸三郎.

A work entitled the *Nagasaki meishô zue* 長崎名勝圖繪 (Famous Places in Nagasaki, Illustrated) was produced in the Bunsei era [1818-30]. In it are 25 poems by Shen Xie'an, and indeed there is practically a poem by him for every famous site in the city. The volume also includes poems written in reply to Shen by Kyotei Dôhon 荳亭道本 and Tanabe Sôkan 田邊桑漢. Thus, clearly monks and Confucian men of letters enjoyed composing poetry with Shen.

In the entry for the Shôdô 聖堂 of Nagasaki in the *Nagasaki meishô zue*, Shen recorded that it carried on the ritual known as the *shicai* 釋采 (offering vegetables), one of the Confucian ceremonies. He also wrote a piece entitled "Changqi Kongfuzi miao ji" 長崎孔夫子廟記 (Record of the Confucian Temple in Nagasaki).

It is easily imaginable that many people in Nagasaki received instruction from Shen Xie'an. One who is clearly identifiable as his disciple was an interpreter of Chinese by the

name of Ro Ki 盧驥 (Senri 千里). Among Ro Ki's writings is a work entitled *Nagasaki senmin den* 長崎先民傳 (Biographies of Former Men of Nagasaki) which includes biographies of men of Nagasaki origins--monks and lay people, scholars and literati--who lived in the city, as well as those, such as Hayashi Dôshun 林道春 [Razan 羅山, 1583-1657] who visited Nagasaki. Shen Xie'an wrote a preface to this work, and the letters he wrote to Senri while living in Nagasaki and after he returned home are also collected in the *Nagasaki meishô zue*. Thus, Shen was extremely renowned in Nagasaki at that time, and his name was conveyed as far as Edo where Shôgun Yoshimune, it would seem, received a report about him.

The Revision of the *Tang lü shuyi*. Yoshimune ordered Hokkei to show his revised edition of the *Tang lü shuyi* to this celebrated scholar and to revise it further. It was Kyôhô 15 [1730], and perhaps in Yoshimune's mind was budding the desire to show or boast to China that a classical Chinese text remained extant in Japan which probably had been lost in China. What did Shen Xie'an do when he received this order to revise the *Tang lü shuyi*?

Before this, we need to introduce a piece of accurate information about Shen. According to a work entitled *Gen Min Shin shogajin meiroku* 元明清書畫人名錄 (List of Names of Calligraphers and Artists of the Yuan, Ming, and Qing Eras) by Sakaki Hyakusen 彭城百川, we find the following note in an entry for Chinese of the Qing period who sailed to Japan: "Shen Bing 沈丙, style Xie'an, from Zhejiang, grass script." Next to it we read: "Sun Tingxiang 孫廷相, styles Taiyuan 太原 and Fuzhai, from Longhu, square-style script." By chance we come here upon the personal names and styles of Shen Xie'an and Sun Fuzhai. He also contributed a note to the poem "Fusong ting shijing" 撫松亭十景 (Ten views of the Fusong Pavilion) in the *Nagasaki meishô zue*.

Once we accept the fact that Shen Xie'an's posthumous name was Bing, there is an extremely important document to be found in the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency. In a manuscript of ten folio pages on which only nine contained writing, entitled *Tô ritsu sogi Shin Hei yakubun teisei* 唐律疏議沈炳釋文訂正 (Revised Edition with Shen Bing's Explanation of the *Tang lü shuyi*), we find that Shen Bing (炳, namely 丙) is Shen Xie'an. This work was a fruit of the revision of the *Tang lü shuyi* which he presented to the shôgun; because he wrote this himself and presented it to the shôgun, he did not use his personal names or style, but employed a posthumous name. In content, the text from page one through side one of page four--roughly one-half of the work--covers 29 items, pointing out differences in character usage in the explanatory portion of the text and missing as well as erroneous characters; it then proceeds in the body of the work to point out four problematic items in a preface and 32 in sections with such titles as "prominent cases." In the midst of this is a long and exhaustive elucidation which enables us to get a good sense for Shen's personality, scholarly knowledge, and discerning intelligence. The points that he indicates in the text are written in with the same hand on the relevant pages in Hokkei's revised edition of the text, which becomes clear as soon as one peruses the edition of Hokkei's text held in the Archives and Mausolea Department. This may be the greatest visible trace evident to us now left by Shen Xie'an in Japan.

於此結
 書序
 之政
 繩小事
 者言律
 不失其

狀最散民奉養六畜以
 充厥財其以爲據姓事神
 祇故曰厄損氏姓才作
 史載史記作定據其節
 作定載考諸經史無據
 之徒改定義字不宜用據
 世之學者

Notations by Shen Xie'an added to the margins of Ogyû Hokkei's revised edition of the *Tang lü shuyi* (held in the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency).

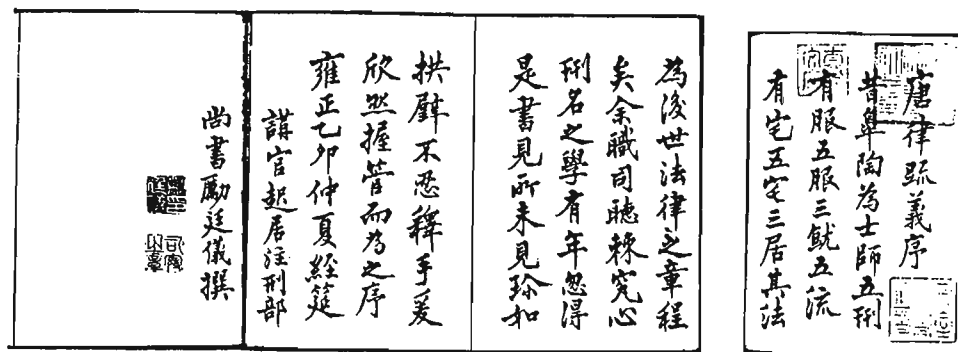
Shen Xie'an's Return Trip to Japan. As noted above, Shen set sail for home aboard Number Sixteen Vessel in the year of the dog on the eleventh day of the fourth month of Kyôhō 16 (1731). His business--the revisions of the *Tang lü shuyi*--completed, he had received as reward 50 pieces of silver and one trading license. Number Sixteen Vessel in the year of the dog was a Nanjing ship whose ship's master was Zhai Liren 齋立人. The *Tôsen shinkô kaitô roku* points out that Shen received a trading license for 1731--in other words, he returned to China and was immediately to come back to Japan--and that he gained permission to carry cargo aboard a Siamese vessel; in addition, Sun Fuzhai returned with him to China and he too received a trading license. At this time, Shen gained permission to copy out a portion himself of the *Tang lü shuyi* and return with it to China. As to why they returned home but did not come back immediately to Japan, instead waiting five years until Kyôhō 21--the year the reign title changed to Genbun 1 (1736)--involves complex circumstances, to be described in a subsequent chapter of this work.

In 1736 Shen Xie'an and Sun Fuzhai returned to Japan together. The primary evidence we have for their arrival appears in the *Yûtoku in jikki* 有徳院實紀 (Records of Shōgun Yoshimune). At this time, Shen brought with him a preface by Minister of Justice Li Tingyi 勵廷儀 (1669-1732) of the Qing dynasty for the *Tang lü shuyi*, and this he presented to the authorities in Japan. This preface can now be found in the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency, and inasmuch as it states that

this preface was prepared in the summer of Qianlong 13 (1735), that means it was written in the summer of 1735, the year before their return to Japan.³

Xie'an requested a part [of the text] and returned to China. He presented it to Minister of State Li Tingyi of the Qing. Tingyi was reputed to have matchless calligraphy, and he copied it out, adding a preface noting that he enjoyed [the text] a great deal. Later, Xie'an made a second trip to Nagasaki, and he presented the Magistrate with his preface for his viewing. His preface was attached to this work and both were placed in the [Momijiyama] Bunko.

This paragraph appears in the *Yûtoku in jikki furoku*. The expression "attached to this work" refers to the fact that Hokkei's revised edition of the *Tang lü shuyi* ran to sixteen stringbound volumes in all, but when you take a close look at the text you see written in the binding margin in tiny characters "eighteen stringbound volumes in all." The same can be seen in the *Tô ritsu sogi Shin Hei yakubun teisei* and the preface by Li Tingyi. The reason that these writings are now housed in the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency is that in Meiji 22 [1889] they moved only the rare books from the former Momijiyama Bunko to the Zushonoryô 圖書寮 (Imperial Archives Office, now housed in the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency).



Preface by Li Tingyi to the *Tang lü shuyi* (held in the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency).

In Bunka 3 (1806), Li Tingyi's preface was placed at the head of the text and the shogunate published an official edition of the *Tang lü shuyi*. At the time Shen's revisions were taken into account in certain instances and not in others. However, it was, to be sure, a joint Sino-Japanese venture. In the Republican period, this Japanese official edition

³ Translator's note. In *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), ed. Arthur Hummel, Tu Lien-chê (p. 490) gives with a certain amount of death the date of 1732 for Li's death. If she was correct, then that throws a whole new cast on the story being told here. In a personal communication (dated September 26 1998), Professor Ôba suggests that the whole matter needs to be reinvestigated, for, if Tu's information turns out to be accurate, Li's preface may turn out to be a forgery, further complicating an already intricate tale.

was published in China as part of the *Guoxue jiben congshu* 國學基本叢書 (National Learning Basic Texts Reprint Series). This is proof of Sino-Japanese cultural interchange in the Edo period that has left a legacy to the present.

Mentioned above was the fact that there is no proof anywhere to substantiate Shen Xie'an's trip to Japan in Kyôhō 21. For this we must seek evidence from Sun Fuzhai.

The *Gujin tushu jicheng huitu*. At this time, Sun Fuzhai brought to Japan a copy of the *Gujin tushu jicheng huitu* 古今圖書集成繪圖 (Illustrations from the Collection of Books Past and Present). According to the *Yûtoku in jikki furoku* (fascicle 10):

One year a Chinese merchant by the name of Sun Fuzhai selected out the illustrations from the *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成 (Collection of Books Past and Present). It amounted to 160 stringbound volumes which he brought with him to Nagasaki. He claimed it was a rare work and should command a high price. The Magistrate compelled him to go to Edo and have it looked at there. He was sent home to get the whole book, not just the illustrations.

In response to this Sun told to Magistrate Hosoi Inaba no kami 細井因幡守 that only the illustrations had thus far been published and that the entire text had not yet appeared. Hosoi took this to be the truth, and he again relayed this information to his superiors. Yoshimune had already noted that in the introduction the Yongzheng Emperor had written that "the printing had been completed"; thus, he retorted that surely the entire text had already been published. The magistrate and Confucian officials "came to realize the great depth [of Yoshimune's wisdom] on account of this." When they conveyed Yoshimune's thoughts on this matter to Sun, he had no reply and took it home. He apparently brought a full edition of the text at a subsequent time. This became a famous story about Yoshimune's intelligence.

In the *Ubun koji* 右文故事 (Tales in Praise of Learning) of Kondô Seisai 近藤正齋 [Morishige 守重, 1771-1829], the following is recorded:

In the ninth month of Genbun 1 [1736], the newly arrived *Gujin tushu jicheng huitu* in 160 fascicles, having arrived in Nagasaki in the fifth month of this year, was placed before the shôgun's eyes and deemed unsatisfactory. On the tenth day of the month, the [*Gujin*] *tushu jicheng huitu* was scrutinized by the Book Magistrates. On the 25th day of the tenth month, the Book Magistrates wrote up in one stringbound volume the *Tosho shûsei honsho kô* 圖書集成本書考 (An Analysis of the [*Gujin*] *tushu jicheng*) and sent it to Edo. The [*Gujin*] *tushu jicheng huitu* was returned to Nagasaki with instructions for the entire work [i.e., not just the illustrations] be sent to Japan.⁴

Thus, it clearly arrived in Nagasaki in the fifth month of Kyôhō 21 and arrived in Edo in the ninth month. In the 29th stringbound volume of the *Hakusai shomoku* 舶載書目 (List of Books Brought as Cargo) held in the collection of the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency, we also find that the *Gujin tushu jicheng*

⁴ *Ubun koji* in sixteen fascicles can be found in the *Kondô Seisai zenshû* 近藤正齋全集 (Collected Works of Kondô Seisai) (Tokyo: Kokusho kankôkai, 1905).

huitu listed for Kyôhō 21. It is followed by entries for the *Tang santi shi* 唐三體詩 (Poems in Three Styles from the Tang Dynasty)⁵ and the *Xu Tang santi shi* 續唐三體詩 (Poems in Three Styles from the Tang Dynasty, Continued). In the 30th stringbound volume, we find four works listed as texts brought by Shen Xie'an: *Bian zhu* 編珠 (Classified Pearls), *Wenxian tongkao zuan* 文獻通考纂 (Comprehensive Study of Institutions, Revised), *Tang shi jingbi* 唐詩鯨碧 (The Azure Whale of Tang Poetry)⁶, and *Da Qing lüli zhuzhu guanghui quanshu* 大清律例硃諸廣彙全書 (Legal Code of the Great Qing Dynasty with Vermilion Annotations, Expanded and Complete Edition). These should also be understood as belonging to Kyôhō 21. We can now say with certainty that Shen Xie'an came to Japan that very year.

The Toshō shūsei honshō kô. As we saw in the *Ukun koji*, it was not that Yoshimune read the preface to the *Gujin tushu jicheng huitu* and immediately had it sent back, but he did have his doubts investigated. The Book Magistrates who were ordered to carry out this investigation were Fukami Shinbee (Arichika, Kudayū) and Katsurayama Saburōzaemon 桂山三郎左衛門 (Yoshitane 義樹), and once again Fukami comes to the fore. On the tenth day of the ninth month, the two men were shown “a newly arrived text entitled [*Gujin*] *tushu jicheng*” by Mekada Nagato no kami 目賀田長門守. It was entrusted to them the following day, and they were ordered on the basis of a close reading to report on particulars. From then on, they worked “because the lord has requested our thoughts on this matter” (*kangaemono goyō ni tsuki* 考物御用=附) even on their days off duty and submitted an interim report on the first day of the tenth month. According to the *Bakufu shomotsukata nikki* 幕府書物方日記, it was confirmed that illustrations in 23 stringbound volumes, in three boxes, of “astronomical illustrations” from the *Gujin tushu jicheng* were taken from the the *Xiyang lijing* 西洋曆經 (Calendrical Texts from the West), and the “illustrations of novel instruments” were taken from the *Qiqi tushuo* 奇器圖說 (Illustrated Treatise on Novel Instruments).⁷ These two works were attached to the *Gujin tishu jicheng huitu* and prepared for Yoshimune's inspection. I have yet to track down the work *Toshō shūsei honshō kô* mentioned by Kondō Seisai. However, one stringbound volume entitled “Katsurayama Fukami kô” which comprises volume 39 of the *Meika sōsho* carries the following title on its original cover: “Zusetsu wage jūichijō, kiki zusetsu nai” 圖說和解十一條奇器圖說内 (Eleven items translated into Japanese from the Illustrated Treatise, from the *Qiqi tushuo*). It was written at precisely this time and perhaps is one part of the *Toshō shūsei honshō kô*, perhaps the entire text. We simply do not know, except to say that this is the form in which their report would have been written.

⁵ Usually known as the *Santi shi* 三體詩 (Poems in Three Styles), and sometimes as the *Santi Tang shi* 三體唐詩 (Tang Poems in Three Styles), this is a work in six *juan* by the Song period author Zhou Bi 周弼.

⁶ Translator's note. Needless to say, I am not entirely sure how to translate this title. Suggestions welcome. It is an eight-*juan* text compiled by Shao Renhong 邵仁泓 of the Qing in 1707.

⁷ The latter is the common name for the *Yuanxi qiqi tushuo luzui* 遠西奇器圖說錄最 (Record of an Illustrated Treatise on Novel Instruments from the West), a work by the Catholic convert Wang Zheng 王徵 (1571-1644) in collaboration with Jean Terrenz (1576-1630) that was concerned with principles of mechanics and instruments demonstrating them, replete with his own drawings.

The main text of the *Gujin tushu jicheng* was transported to Japan on Number One Vessel in the year of the dragon for Hôreki 10 (1760). The ship's master was a man by the name of Wang Shengwu 汪繩武. The work of book inspection for this text in 10,000 fascicles took until Hôreki 13 [1763], and it was placed in the Momijiyama Bunko in the second month of Hôreki 14 [1764]. That year the reign name was changed to Meiwa, and thus the *Ubun koji* records its joining the library in Meiwa 1. Yoshimune had already died in Hôreki 1 (1751), and the ninth shôgun Ieshige 家重 had also died in Hôreki 11 (1761). It was the era of Shôgun Ieharu 家治. Had Yoshimune still been alive, I dare say that the inspection of the *Gujin tushu jicheng* would not have taken three years.

Collection of Local Gazetteers. There is one further area for which Yoshimune's book collecting is well known, and as a result of his book collecting quite useful to us today--Chinese local gazetteers. As a consequence, the Naikaku Bunko has become one of the most prominent libraries in the world due to the numerous local gazetteers of the Kangxi reign that were acquired.

As concerns Yoshimune's collecting of Chinese local gazetteers, Kondô Seisai cites the *Obunko kyûshi* (Old Records of the [Momijiyama] Bunko) in his *Ubun koji* to the effect that it began with the presentation in the fourth month of Kyôhō 7 (1722) by Maeda Tsunanori 前田綱紀 of the gazetteers of thirteen prefectures, including Baoding 保定 and Hejian 河間. The evidence for this assertion is that it was widely believed, but as a result of my own research, I believe the facts are somewhat different.

First if all, where the text of the *Obunko kyûshi* mentions the fourth month of Kyôhō 7, this is when the thirteen prefectural gazetteers presented by Maeda Tsunanori were placed by Yoshimune in the Momijiyama Bunko. Tsunanori presented the texts on the seventeenth day of the eleventh month of Kyôhō 6. Also, these gazetteers are now held in the Naikaku Bunko and cover the following prefectures: Baoding, Hejian, Daming 大名, Zhending 眞定, Luzhou 廬州, Zhenjiang 鎮江, Songjiang 松江, Daping 大平, Anqing 安慶, Fuzhou 福州, Nanchang 南昌, Dayuan 大原, and Kaifeng 開封. Having exerted no end of energy trying to get these thirteen prefectural gazetteers to surface, I was quite pleased; later, I saw a work entitled *Kaga Shôun kô* 加賀松雲公 (Lord Shôun of Kaga [namely, Maeda Tsunanori--JAF]) which notes that he had presented these gazetteers. I practically cried.

According to copies of the *Shôun kô Hayashi ke ôfuku shokanshû* 松雲公林家往復書簡集 (Collection of Letters between Lord Shôun and the Hayashi Family) held in the Kanazawa Municipal Library, which was the correspondence between Maeda Tsunanori (Lord Shôun) and Hayashi Nobuatsu 林信篤 (head of the Shogunal College), at the beginning of the sixth month of Kyôhō 6 (1721), Yoshimune ordered the Nagasaki Administrator to collect prefectural gazetteers from Qing-period China; and Hayashi wrote to Tsunanori, asking for a list of gazetteers held by the Maeda family. There is also appended a list of the prefectural gazetteers among the holdings of the Momijiyama Bunko which is appended to a letter from Chamberlain Arima Hyôgo no kami 有馬兵庫頭 to Hayashi. Yoshimune's wish was to acquire Chinese prefectural gazetteers prepared under the Qing dynasty, especially since their unification of the realm [in 1644], and to have a list of gazetteers circulating prior to that point in time made up. Tsunanori replied that he

had about 300 such items, and eventually he presented the shōgun with a list. The thirteen prefectural gazetteers seem to have been selected from that list. Furthermore, according to the *Bakufu shomotsukata nikki*, on the 24th day of the fourth month of Kyōhō 6, altogether twelve gazetteers were requested for Yoshimune, including eight prefectural gazetteers--such as the *Zhejiang tongzhi* 浙江通志 (Comprehensive Gazetteer of Zhejiang) and *Yingtian fuzhi* 應天府志 (Prefectural Gazetteer of Yingtian)--*Jiangdu zhi* 江都志 (Gazetteer of Jiangdu), *Shanghai xianzhi* 上海縣志 (Gazetteer of Shanghai County), and *Putuoshan zhi* 普陀山志 (Gazetteer of Putuoshan). Thus, by this point in time, Yoshimune had begun to have an interest in local gazetteers and had set Maeda Tsunanori to work on this task via Shogunal College head Hayashi. This understanding of the facts runs contrary to received wisdom.

Why, then, did Yoshimune develop such an interest in local gazetteers? According to Professor Hibino Takeo 日比野丈夫, in Kyōhō 4 (1719) he ordered the production of comprehensive maps of Japan and was enthusiastic about the compilation of local gazetteers of Japan.⁸ Were the Chinese texts to serve as reference works? Also, Yoshimune had developed an interest in Qing government and politics, particularly the accomplishments of the Kangxi reign, and he may have sought to use the Chinese texts as references for all the details of local administration.

I am of the view that Yoshimune was concerned with local produce. A look at excerpts made from Chinese local gazetteers by scholars of the Edo period reveals that in every case the portions of the texts about products were selected.

The Process of Importing Local Gazetteers. On the transporting of local gazetteers to Japan, we find that in Kyōhō 6 (1721) for the first time gazetteers from the provinces of Henan, Shaanxi, Huguang, Guangdong, Shanxi, Shengjing, Zhejiang, Guizhou, and Guangxi arrived in Japan. Several of them were apparently placed in the Momijiyama Bunko. In Kyōhō 10 (1725) gazetteers for fifteen provinces were brought to Japan, and it is possible that these works came into the possession of Konoe Iehiro 近衛家熙 (1667-1736).

According to the *Fueki zensho, fukenshi mokuroku* 賦役全書，府縣志目錄 (Complete Account on Exacted Service, Listing of Prefectural and County Gazetteers) which is held among the Seidō documents in the Nagasaki Municipal Museum, Number Thirty Vessel in the year of the ox (Kyōhō 6), a Nanjing ship (with ship's masters Fei Zanhou 費贊侯 and Chen Lunsan 陳掄三), brought to Japan the *Fuyi quanshu* for Zhejiang province, Jiangxi province, Guangping prefecture, Suzhou prefecture, and Guangzhou prefecture as well as fifteen prefectural, departmental, and county gazetteers (including the *Tongzhou zhi* 通州志 [Gazetteer of Tongzhou]). The *Fuyi quanshu* was sent on to Edo on the 22nd day of the second month of Kyōhō 7, while the gazetteers were sent on the second day of the fifth month of the same year.

⁸ Hibino Takeo, "Tokugawa bakufu ni yoru Chūgoku chihōshi no shūshū" 徳川幕府による中国地方志の蒐集 (The collection of Chinese local gazetteers by the Tokugawa shogunate), in *Iwai hakushi koki kinen tenseki ronshū* 岩井博士古稀記念典籍論集 (Collection of Essays on Classical Texts to Commemorate the Seventieth Birthday of Professor Iwai) (Tokyo: Twai hakushi koki kinen jigyōkai, 1963).

This was only the beginning of large-scale importation of local Chinese gazetteers to Japan. Later, year after year gazetteers would come to Japan and be placed in the Momijiyama Bunko. On a year-by-year basis, there were 85 such items imported in Kyôhō 10, 94 in Kyôhō 11, 44 in Kyôhō 12, and 41 in Kyôhō 13. Over this four-year period, then, 264 works of this sort were brought to Japan. Thereafter, 32 items were imported in Kyôhō 17, 55 in Kyôhō 18, and 21 in Kyôhō 19--for this three-year period, 108 such works were brought to Japan. For Kyôhō 10, there were 195 works listed as *shintosho* 新渡書, namely works that were imported for the first time, there being no record of their previous arrival. Of these, 85 or 43 percent were local gazetteers; the next year there were 306 *shintosho* of which 94 (30 percent) were local gazetteers, both high ratios. From my own research, I have found that the overall number of local gazetteers listed as *shintosho* reached 548 (in some cases there were a number of the same texts which I count as one item); those imported in the two years of Kyôhō 10 and 11 account for 48 percent of the total number imported. Also, in those two years, gazetteers for the province of Jiangnan numbered 27 and Zhejiang 48--these two provinces alone accounting for 36 percent of the local gazetteers brought to Japan. By the same token, over these two years, local gazetteers from Jiangnan province occupied 36 percent of all books brought to Japan, while those from Zhejiang came to 62 percent of the total. Taking into consideration the fact that it was primarily Nanjing vessels from Jiangnan--sailing mainly from Shanghai--and Ningbo vessels from Zhejiang, sailing from Ningbo and Zhapu--that were transporting books to Japan, those who responded to the order to bring local gazetteers to Japan were from the nearby areas, namely local collectors of gazetteers. In addition, in Kyôhō 17 gazetteers from Shandong arrived, in Kyôhō 18 and 19 from Jiangxi, and in Kyôhō 17 and 18 from Guangdong; these all seem to have been brought aboard the same two or three ships.

The publication of local gazetteers was essentially the work of that local area. Accordingly, how the book merchants who exported Chinese works to Japan collected local gazetteers as freight indicates their capacity and range for gathering freight in books as a whole, not just gazetteers. As a result, published works from such places as Sichuan and Shaanxi were extremely difficult to garner for export, while Chinese texts brought to Japan came primarily from the Jiangsu-Zhejiang region. As noted earlier, this area was the largest center of Ming-Qing publishing, and from this perspective the possibility of importing publications was much greater from this area than from China's western or northeastern regions to Japan.

When we were discussing the *Tang lü shuyi*, I mentioned that there may have been brewing in Yoshimune's mind around Kyôhō 10 the wish to indicate or actually boast that this ancient Chinese text remained extant in Japan while it had been lost in China. This is precisely what would transpire with the export of the *Shichikei Môshi kôbun hoi* 七經孟子考文補遺 (Textual Study of the Seven Classics and Mencius, with Supplement) to China.

The Export of the *Shichikei Môshi kôbun hoi*. The *Shichikei Môshi kôbun* 七經孟子考文 (Textual Study of the Seven Classics and Mencius) was a work presented by the Yamanoi Kanae 山井鼎, a Confucian official of Lord Saijō 西條, in Kyôhō 11 (1726) to his lord. Using Song editions held in the Ashikaga College, Yamanoi prepared

revised editions of the seven classics and the *Mencius*. In Kyôhō 13, Lord Saijō presented this work to Yoshimune, and Yoshimune ordered Ogyū Hokkei, on the basis of these revisions, to write a supplement. Hokkei completed his “Supplement” in the twelfth month of Kyôhō 15, and it was published in the sixth month of the following year. Yoshimune then sent this work to China with a preface he had written for it by Hosoi Kōtaku (1658-1735) 細井廣澤. In his *Seisai shoseki kō* 正齋書籍考 (Seisai’s Investigation of Books), Kondō Seisai claims this transpired in the first month of Kyôhō 17 (1732), but I am still unable to determine for sure which vessel carried it back to China.⁹

The *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun hoi* was known in China as well and was collected in the *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* 知不足齋叢書 (Collected Reprints from the Studio of Insufficient Knowledge) of Bao Tingbo 鮑廷博 (1728-1814) and printed in the Qianlong era. The *Guwen Xiaojing* 古文孝經 (The Ancient Script Version of the *Classic of Filial Piety*), revised by Dazai Shundai 太宰春台 (1670-1747), is also included in the *Zhibuzu zhai congshu*. A portion of this was transported to Japan in An’ei 7 (1776). Among the Seidō documents there is a “Summary” dated the fifteenth day of the sixth month of An’ei 8 which reported particularly on the presence of the *Guwen Xiaojing* among the books carried aboard Number Seven Vessel in the year of the dog, that year. Then, in Japan the *Guwen Xiaojing* portion of the text was reprinted under the title, *Fukkoku Chifusoku sai sōsho Kobun Kōkyō* 覆刻知不足齋叢書古文孝經 (The Ancient Script Version of the *Classic of Filial Piety*, from the *Zhibuzu zhai congshu*, Reprinted). According to a postface at the end of this work by Ōshio Ryō 大鹽良, the merchant Yi Fujiu 伊孚九 brought five or six copies back to China of the *Guwen Xiaojing* and the *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun hoi*. As I shall argue later, Yi entered Nagasaki aboard Number Seven Vessel in the year of the ox, a Nanjing ship, in Kyôhō 18 (1733) and probably returned with it at this time.

The *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun hoi* was also transported to China in Kansei 6 (1794) and Bunsei 8 (1825). Ruan Yuan’s 阮元 (1764-1849) reprinting of it in Jiaqing 2 (1797) is famous. There were indeed Sino-Japanese cultural interactions at work here.

The Concept of Practical Learning. In this previous and present installments of this work, I have been looking primarily at the scholarly concerns of Tokugawa Yoshimune. Might we possibly, then, change our image of him as an unruly shōgun?

Yoshimune himself selected works of utility to him for importation from China in the book trade. The basis for his selections was to collect books, from the perspective of Chinese classificatory terms, less from the metaphysical “classics” and “belles-lettres” categories and more of works in imperial orders and memorials, geography, bureaucratic offices, and political texts from the category of “histories” and works by agriculturalists, by medical doctors, and on calendrical calculations from the category of “philosophy.” One can really see Yoshimune’s encouragement of practical learning (*jitsugaku* 實學) here. To my mind, it would be a mistake to overemphasize, as it generally is done these days, that his practical learning bent focused on books of the “philosophy” category--in

⁹ *Seisai shoseki kō* in three fascicles (Ōsaka: Maekawa Bun’eidō, 1823); it can also be found in *Kondō Seisai zenshū*.

Chinese classificatory terms--and to overlook his interest in works under the "history" category. Yoshimune saw works belonging to the "history" category assisting in the general plans for political institutions, and he planned for industrial development with works in the "philosophy" category. Both of these strike me as avenues of practical learning.

* * * * *

Correspondence

June 2, 1998

To *Sino-Japanese Studies*:

I was most interested in your recent article [by J. Timothy Wixted] on *kanbun*, which I agree is a fascinating and understudied field. I am delighted with the various recent publications that include *kanshi*, and I would like to add to John Wixted's lament that Japanese literati painting and calligraphy are also sorely neglected by scholars east and west. Since they are intimately tied to *kanbun* and *kanshi*, perhaps we should not be surprised, but I hope that *bunjinga* (also called *nanga*) will be appreciated and studied more in the future. As I have discovered, somewhat to my surprise, it continued on well into the 20th century, not dying (as is often supposed) with Tomioka Tessai. I am preparing with Jonathan Chaves a manuscript on the literatus Fukuda Kodôjin, who died in 1944 after creating marvelous *kanshi* as well as haiku, *bunjinga* as well as *haiga*.

Sincerely,

Stephen Addiss
Department of Art
University of Richmond

P.S. Fine journal, thanks for all your work.