

Sino-Japanese Relations in the Edo Period¹

Ôba Osamu

大庭脩

Kansai University

Translated by Joshua A. Fogel

Part Three. The Discovery of Banned Books

Summons from the Office of the Administrator. On the sixteenth day of the third lunar month of 1695, the eighth year of the Genroku reign period, an order from the office of the Tateyama Administrator 立山奉行, Yasoshima Buhee 八十嶋武兵衛, arrived before Junior Interpreter Hayashi Kaneuemon 林金右衛門. It read:

When in the past vessels bearing proscribed books arrived in port, the concerned parties received directives from the Administrator. What has now become of this line of command? We request a report on this matter in detail from Senior Interpreter Hayashi Dôei 林道栄.

It seems as if, by some means, vessels laden with banned books had arrived in port. Late in the evening, Hayashi Dôei and Hayashi Kaneuemon, together with another junior interpreter, Sakaki Tôjiemon 彭城藤治右衛門, were summoned to the office of the Tateyama Administrator. The Administrator then issued the following order:

The Number Sixteen Nanjing Ship now in port was carrying a work known as *Dijing jingwu lue* 帝京景物略 (Views of the Imperial Capital). Go interrogate the Chinese as to how they got it here.

And, thus, the three men proceeded in the middle of the night to the Tôjin yashiki 唐人屋敷 (Chinese Residence). They gathered together He Yuanliang 何元亮, the ship's captain, Chen Xianke 陳獻可, the *caifu* 財副 or clerk in charge of daily accounting of the ship's cargo, and the rest of the crew. They began the investigation in private so that no one else would know of it, and took statements from each and every one of those involved. They were then to quickly translate the statements into Japanese (the term then in use for translating into Japanese was *wage* 和解) and submit them to the office of the Administrator. Suddenly, they found themselves extremely busy.

What were these so-called "proscribed books?" They were works concerning Christian religious tenets written in Chinese. That the Edo Shogunate banned Christianity and engaged in thought control is well known, but in order to carry out these

*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.45-69.

policies books advocating Christian ideas had to be prevented from entering Japan by sea. They thus had to establish that there was no mention of Christianity in the books imported to Japan and to allow imports only so long as they were unrelated to it. To that end the position of *Shomotsu aratameyaku* 書物改役 (Inspectorate of Books²) was established under the authority of the Nagasaki Administrator.

The Inspector of Proscribed Books. In 1630, the seventh year of the Kan'ei reign period, the Shuntoku 春徳 Temple was opened in Nagasaki on the orders of the shogunate. The temple founder Taishitsu 泰室 took over responsibility for the inspection of proscribed books of the Christian sect, and received as compensation from the office of the magistrate of Amakusa thirty sacks of rice and a stipend for five persons. For generations the chief priest of the Shintoku Temple carried on these duties, which are represented in documents as "Shomotsu mekiki Shuntokuji" 書物目利春徳寺 (Shuntoku Temple, Inspectorate of Books). The Inspectorate of Books was one of a number of inspectorates that evaluated the cargo brought into the port of Nagasaki; it was established at the latest in 1664, the fourth year of the Kanbun era. At that time three persons worked at its office, two merchants in addition to the chief priest of Shuntoku Temple. The preface to the pledge presented each year by these book inspectors to the office of the Administrator contained the following items:

In addition to works concerning military matters or containing passages on the Christian sect, should we locate rare books, we shall report them promptly.... Should we hear of any such rare works in Edo, Kyoto, Ôsaka, Sakai, or elsewhere, we shall promptly inform the Administrators of said places or persons under their control.

It was thus their duty to report on the discovery of any rare books.

In this manner, the Shuntoku Temple was from its inception involved in the control over banned books. From 1639, the sixteenth year of the Kan'ei reign, though, Mukai Genshō 向井元升 joined the book inspectors. Originally from Kanzaki in Hizen, he moved to take up residence in Nagasaki. He had been a Confucian doctor, was well-versed in astronomy and herbal medicine, and has among his scholarly writings such works as *Hôchû biyô honzô* 庖厨備用本草 (Herbs for Use in the Preparation of Food). Later, in 1647, the fourth year of the Shôhō reign, he built the Seidō 聖堂 in Tateyama, opened the Tateyama Academy, and taught Confucian Studies there. The principal objective in adding Genshō to the roster of book inspectors was "the gathering of books and archives brought [to Japan] aboard Chinese vessels." In the same sixteenth year of Kan'ei, the shogunate opened a library at Momijiyama 紅葉山 within the walled city of Edo, and set about administering the books hitherto in the possession of the shogunal family. This was the now famous Momijiyama Library, known also in good Kangaku style as the Kaedeyama 楓山 Library.³ Genshō was ordered to select for the Momijiyama Library the most useful works from those that arrived on ships from China. From the

² Concerned primarily with books making reference to Christianity and, secondarily, with writings making reference to Japan.

³ Both *momiji* and *kaede* mean "maple." The former was part of the place name, Momijiyama, and because of the synonym, the latter became part of an alternative place name, Kaedeyama.

“Gobunko mokuroku” 御文庫目録, held in the Kano Bunko at Tôhoku University, we learn what sorts of books were purchased. A look also at a small document (nine centimeters tall and 151 long) known as “Gobunko mokuroku,” held among the Seidô documents in the Nagasaki Municipal Museum (document no. 370-38), reveals how many volumes the Mukais, Inspectors of Books, delivered to Edo by 1723, Kyôhō 8. The number reached 92 volumes in Kan’ei 16.

What is a banned book? What sorts of works were “proscribed?” By their nature, there was no need to announce proscribed books publicly, as long as those involved had full knowledge of the situation. Thus, the documents held in the office of the Inspectorate of Books in Nagasaki are fully accurate in this regard. Yet, in the eighth lunar month of 1698, the eleventh year of the Genroku era, Matsudaira Genba no kami Tadachika 松平玄蕃頭忠周, the Regional Administrator of Ôsaka, banned the purchase of 38 proscribed works in the bookstores of his city, and he had the proprietors prepare lists of their books. Again in 1828, the twelfth year of the Bunsei reign, when Toyoda Mitsugi 豊田貢 (1774-1829) and his fellow Christian conspirators were convicted in Ôsaka, the Regional administrator tightened controls and indicated to bookshop owners the list of 38 banned books. The titles of these 38 banned books that were publicly announced twice are the same, and the prohibition edict-boards from the Genroku era which had been housed in the Shikada Shôundô 鹿田松雲堂 were transferred to the Okimori 沖森 Bookstore in Ueno city, Iga.

Again in 1772, the eighth year of the Meiwa reign period, the Kyoto Bookdealers Association published a list of proscribed books. I have this last item, in one stringbound volume, in my possession, and it carries the same list of 38 volumes, but with some small differences from the Ôsaka list; furthermore, according to one theory, although it listed what are said to be 36 titles and was published out of commercial necessity by the bookdealers, its content is not necessarily correct. On the list in my possession of proscribed books, there is the library chop that reads “Takachiho Seinenji” 高千穂正念寺 (Seinen Temple of Takachiho). Thus, we can see that by their very nature, the more something was kept a secret the more people wanted to know about it, and the list used by the bookdealers just whetted the general public’s interest. Needless to say, this trend was especially strong among intellectuals, for lists of banned books appear in such works as the *Kaeriyama roku* 帰山録 and the *Gogatsu ame shô* 五月雨抄 by Miura Baien 三浦梅園 (1723-89), the *Kottô zatsudan* 骨董雑談 of Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657-1725), and the *Kôsho koji* 好書故事 of Kondô Seisai 近藤正斎 (1771-1829). They borrowed from one another which led to mistranscriptions. Thus, just which books were banned and why they were banned remains an important topic for scholars of intellectual history and the history of Christianity. These questions have been somewhat resolved by two articles: Itô Tasaburô 伊東多三郎, “Kinsho no kenkyû” 禁書の研究 (A Study of Banned Books); and Ebisawa Arimichi 海老沢有道, “Kinshorei ni kansuru shomondai” 禁書令に関する諸問題 (Issues Concerning the Order to Ban Books).

These two scholars have reached their conclusions after actually examining with their own hands the books designated as proscribed, and thus they are clearly different from the people of the Edo era who based their views on hearsay. Their research interestingly resolves a number of contradictions in the source materials, but they do

indicate one extreme case. This is the title *Keikan* 計閑 (Ch. *Jixian*) or *Keikai* 計開 (Ch. *Jikai*) which appears in many of the documents. Despite have searched widely through Chinese-language works concerning Christianity, Itô and Ebisawa confirm that such titles are not to be found. *Keikai* is, properly speaking, a mistranscription for *Kaikan*, and as Itô has concluded, it was a term meaning “total” and not a book title after all. It was frequently used in the writings of Chinese of the period; when they were detailing the content of various works, they began with the term, *jikai*. I will return to this issue later, but because such a colloquialism as this was counted as a book title, we may have to suspend judgment on the figure of 38 as rather unreliable for the number of banned books.

Materials Concerned with Proscribed Books. Scholars to date are agreed that the most reliable source materials are two collections: “Gokinsho mokuroku, gokinshochû gomensho mokuroku, goseikin gomen shoseki wakesho” 御禁書目録、御禁書中御免書目録、御制禁御免書籍訳書 held in Nagasaki Library in Nagasaki prefecture; and references in the *Kôsho koji* (Stories of Interesting Books) by Kondô Seisai who examined the records of the Mukai family. In particular, the materials found in the former were presented by Mukai Masajirô 向井雅次郎, Tanabe Keiuemon 田辺啓右衛門, and Muraoka Tôkichirô 村岡東吉郎 in the fourth lunar month of Tenpô 12 (1841) to the Nagasaki Administrator of the time, Togawa Harima no kami Yasukiyo 戸川播磨守安清. Mukai Masajirô, also known as Mukai Kentetsu 向井兼哲, was a descendant of Mukai Genshō, the seventh head of the Seidō, and the inspector of books. The other two men were instructors at the Seidō and assistants at the time at the Inspectorate of Books. On the cover it reads: “san zaikin Togawa Harima” 三在勤戸川播磨 (third [time] in service, Togawa Harima); this was added later by Administrator Tagawa Yasukiyo. At this time, there were two men in charge of the Nagasaki Administrator’s Office, one serving in Nagasaki and one in Edo, and every year they switched positions. Togawa was at this time in his third rotation of service in Nagasaki, and thus he added the “san zaikin” (third [time] in service [in Nagasaki]). The Nagasaki Prefectural Library was the successor to the much older office of the Tateyama Administrator; rich in historical materials, it houses one of the best library collections for researching topics in the history of Sino-Japanese relations of the Edo period. Once Nagasaki prefecture came into existence, the prefectural office inherited the duties of the Nagasaki Administrator’s office and eventually took over and preserved its discarded records. Documents from the Tenpô era (1830-44) are among the most trustworthy in that they appear to be documents still actively in use at the time that the prefectural office took them over in the early Meiji years. The “Gokinsho mokuroku” was among these materials, and Togawa did not put it together out of personal interest. As I will discuss later, when the work *Tianfang zhisheng shilu nianpu* 天方至聖實錄年譜 (Record and Chronological Biography of the Great Sage of Heaven) was brought by ship to China and new suspicions of a banned book cropped up, it was this document which reported publicly on the process of dealing with banned books in the past, as had been the case in Genroku 8 (1695).

Thirty-two Banned Book. In a detailed entry in his *Kottô koji*, Kondô Seisai described the first book proscription of 1630, when in his capacity as the Administrator of Books he went himself to Nagasaki to inspect what Mukai had written. On the basis of this experience, he enumerated 32 titles of books, and then added:

From the seventh year of the Kan'ei reign [1630], 32 works by the European Li Madou 利瑪竇 and [other] Christian proselytizing writings were ordered banned. However, it was ordered that other works containing passages concerned with Christianity and the customs and manners of the European nations could continue to be sold.

Thus were banned thirty-two works by Matteo Ricci and others as well as works with Christian connections. The *Kottô koji* then lists the following 32 titles:

1. *Tianxue chuhan (yibu)* 天學初函壹部 (First Collection on Christianity, Part 1) *Jiren* 畸人 (A Nonconformist), *Shipian* 十篇 (Ten Essays),⁴ *Bianxue yidu* 辨學遺牘 (Against Buddhism), *Qike* 七克 (Seven Victories over the Seven Deadly Sins), *Misajiyi* 彌撒祭義 (Liturgy of the [Roman Catholic] Mass), *Daiyipian* 代疑篇 (In Place of Doubts), *Sanshanlun xueji* 三山論學記 (Study Notes from the Three-Mountain Discourse), *Jiaoyao jielüe* 教要解略 (Abridged Explanation of Religious Principles), *Tang Jingjiao bei* 唐景教碑 (The Nestorian Stele of the Tang), *Shengji baiyan* 聖記百言 (One Hundred Sayings of the Lord), *Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義 (The True Principles of God), *Tianzhu xupian* 天主續篇 (Further Essays on God), *Ershiwu yan* 二十五言 (Twenty-five Sayings), *Lingyan li shuo* 靈言蠡勺 (Treatise on the Soul), *Kuangyi* 況義 (Aesop's Fables), *Wanwu zhenyuan* 萬物真源 (The True Origins of All Things), *Dizui zhengji* 滌罪正記 (True Record of Washing Away Sin), *Diping yiji* 滌平儀記, *Biao du shuo* 表度說 (On the Gnomon), *Celiang fayi* 測量法義 (The Laws of Trigonometry), *Celiang fayi yitong* 測量法義異同 (Differences in the Laws of Trigonometry), *Jian pingyi shuo* 簡平儀說 (Simplified Explanation of the Rules of Balance), *Zhifang waiji* 職方外紀 (External Record of Maps), *Tian wen lue* 天問略 (On Astronomy), *Gougu yi* 勾股義 (On Right-angle Triangles), *Jihe yuanben* 幾何原本 ([Euclid's] Elements of Geometry), *Jiaoyou lun* 交友論 (On Friendship), *Taixi shuifa* 泰西水法 (Hydraulics in the West), *Hungai tongxian tushuo* 渾蓋通憲圖說 (On the Stereographic Projection of the Celestial Sphere), *Yuanrong jiaoyi* 圓容較義 (Treatise on Geometry), *Tongwen xuanzhi* 通文算指 (On Arithmetic), *qianbian* 前編 *tongbian* 通編.

This collection, the *Tianxue chuhan*, was a compilation edited by Li Zhizao 李之藻 and Xu Guangqi 徐光啓 in the Chongzhen era (1628-44) of the Ming dynasty. It runs to 52 *juan*, contains nineteen works, and is divided into a *li* 理 (or ideas) section and a *qi* 器 (or practical) section. The *li* section contains nine works and the *qi* section contains eleven.⁵ Itô Tasaburô has done a study and raised arguments about the actual

⁴ In fact, as Professor Ôba will soon make clear, these first two titles are one work by Matteo Ricci, *Jiren shipian*. They contain the dialogues in which Ricci engaged with an number of eminent Chinese. See *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, ed. L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 1141-42.

⁵ Author's note. Those in the *li* section are: *Jiren*, *Bianxue yidu*, *Qike*, *Tang Jingjiao bei*, *Tianzhu shiyi*, *Ershiwu yan*, *Lingyan li shuo*, *Zhifang waiji*, and *Jiaoyou*. However, the *Tang*

texts of the *Tianxue chuhan*, but this work is extremely difficult to find in Japan. The collections of the Seikadô Bunko 靜嘉堂文庫 and Tenri 天理 Library have copies from the Meiji era; there is also a set in the collection of the Owari 尾張 family of the Tokugawas, said to have been given by Ieyasu to Tokugawa Yoshinao 德川義直 (1600-50).⁶ This collection predates 1630 and thus the proscription of that year. I have attempted to examine the shogunate's Momijiyama Library and those of various daimyos, and while I was concerned with the many Chinese texts that were coming to Japan, on rare occasions I happened upon the *Tianxue chuhan*. To that extent the book banning policy was rather effective.

Of these 32 titles, the *Shipian* is not a book unto itself but part of the title with the work before it, *Jiren shipian*. It would seem as though they were considered two separate titles because of the way in which they appeared on this list. Or, as Professor Itô suggests, perhaps *Shipian* was an error for a banned book with the title *Shiwei* 十慰 (Ten Consolations). Mistakes of this sort had already been made by Book Inspector Mukai, such as when the *Tang Jingjiao bei* was separated from its place as an appendix to the *Xixue fan* and counted. Thus, when we subtract the nineteen works included here that appear in the *Tianxue chuhan*, we are left with eleven: *Shiwei*, *Misajiyi*, *Daiyipian*, *Sanshanlun xueji*, *Jiaoyao jielüe*, *Shengji baiyan*, *Tianzhu xupian*, *Kuangyi*, *Wanwu zhenyuan*,⁷ *Dizui zhengji*,⁸ and *Diping yiji*. The *Tianxue chuhan* and these eleven works were banned.

Professor Ebisawa, however, argues that there was no such text as the *Dishui yiji* and that it was a fictitious title combining the *Dizui zhenggui* and the *Jian pingyi ji*; thus, despite the 32 titles on the Kan'ei list of banned books, there were really only 31 with the one additional title concocted at some indefinite point in time. One might infer that the *qianpian* and *tongpian* of the *Tongwen suanzhi* were counted separately, making the total 32.

Counting these works is an extremely difficult task, but let me try just once more. I would conjecture that the *Tianxue chuhan* itself was considered one work. In the text cited above, it is specifically written out as "1. *Tianxue chuhan (yibu)*" and details then enumerated following it. Then, as time passed, all of the other works came to be under the heading of *Tianxue chuhan*. I would guess that, originally, the two characters mentioned earlier, *jikai*, appeared after the title "1. *Tianxue chuhan (yibu)*" and what followed was a thorough listing of book titles. Later, it was thought that *jikai* was itself a

Jingjiao bei--namely, the famous stele that records the goings on of the Nestorian Church (*Jingjiao*) in the Tang era--was appended to the *Xixue fan* 西學凡 (On Western Learning) [of Giulio Aleni]. Those in the *qi* section include: *Biao du shuo*, *Celiang fayi*, *Celiang fayi*, *Jian pingyi shuo*, *Tian wen lüe*, *Gougu yi*, *Jihe yuanben*, *Taixi shuifa*, *Hungai tongxian tushuo*, *Yuanrong*, and *Tongwen xuanzhi*.

Translator's note. For a little more information, see Professor Ôba's entry on the *Tianxue chuhan* in *Nihon shi dai jiten* 日本史大事典 Great Encyclopedia of Japan (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1993), vol. 4, p. 1200.

⁶ Founder of the Owari branch of the Tokugawa house.

⁷ Author's note. The *yuan* written here as 源 should, more correctly, be written as 原.

⁸ Author's note. The *ji* written here as 記 should, more correctly, be written as 規.

title. I would like now to look into the question of whether the *Tianxue chuhan* itself or each of its constituent texts were proscribed.

Tianxue chuhan. Li Zhizao, the editor of *Tianxue chuhan* and a fervent convert along with Xu Guangqi to the faith of Matteo Ricci, took part in the preparation of this work by transmitting and transcribing the translated works of Matteo Ricci and putting together this collection. The *li* section was concerned largely with religious principles, while the *qi* section dealt with natural science.

For example, in the *Bianxue yidu* Ricci argues against Yu Chunxi 虞淳熙 and the Buddhist faith he professed, and he further rebutted the critique of Christianity leveled by the Buddhist monk Lianchi 蓮池 [Zhuhong 祜宏] in the work *Zhuchuang sanbi* 竹窗三筆 (Notes of the Bamboo Window, Part 3). The *Tianzhu shiyi* was a work by Ricci that gave an overview of Christianity and denounced Buddhism, using the catechism format of questions and answers between two men, Zhongshi 中士 and Xishi 西士. The *Jiren shipian* was divided into ten sections, also employing a question-and-answer format, to advocate religious views, while the *Jiaoyulun* and the *Ershiwu yan* were both works authored by Ricci. The *Xixue fan* is a work describing Western scholarship and religious institutions written by Giulio Aleni; the *Lingyan lishuo* was a work by Bi Fangji 畢方濟 (Francesco Sambiasi), compiled by Xu Guangqi, which discussed the *anima* 亞尼瑪, namely the human soul. The shogunate saw both of these works as detestable.

The *Zhifang waiji* was a work by Aleni concerning world geography which described in detail the geography of the five continents, customs and manners, and products. The title appears today even in high school textbooks on world history. It did not really fit in the *li* section, and the ban on it was later lifted.

By way of introducing several of the texts in the *qi* section, the *Taixi shuifa* was a technical work concerning hydraulics and the nature of water by Xiong Sanba 熊三拔 (Sabatino de Ursis); the *Hungai tongxian tushuo* was a work by Li Zhizao that concerns the methods of measuring the celestial bodies; the *Jihe yuanben* is the Chinese translation by Matteo Ricci and Xu Guangqi of the *Elements of Geometry* by Euclid (Oujiulide 歐九里得); and the *Biao du shuo* concerns calendrical methods, the *Tianwen lüe* deals with astronomy in general, the *Tongwen suanzhi qianbian*, *tongbian* mathematics, *Yuanrong jiaoyi* deals with geometry, the *Celiang fayi*, the *Celiang fayi yitong*, and the *Gougu yi* all concern trigonometric calculation, and the *Jian pingyi shuo* deals with ways of calculating celestial bodies and the earth.

Of the works in the *qi* section, the following were Chinese translations by Matteo Ricci: *Jihe yuanben*, *Tongwen suanzhi*, *Yuanrong jiaoyi*, *Celiang fayi*, *Celiang fayi yitong*, and *Gougu yi*. He was assisted in this work by Li Zhizao, Xu Guangqi, and others, and one can see the great influence Ricci had on Chinese scholarship of the late Ming era. The significance of the book proscription edict of the Kan'ei reign in which he is mentioned by name--"32 books by the European Li Madou and others"--can readily be understood.

Proscribed Treasures. From the Kan'ei proscription edict throughout the Edo period, the ban on books waxed and waned in severity. I shall describe this process in due course, but as for the shogunate's success in completing shutting out pro-Christian

writings, there were on rare occasions items that slipped through the web and there were materials that had entered Japan before the Kan'ei period. For example, the *Jiaoyu lun* [of Matteo Ricci] was included in a collection of works known as the *Shuofu* 說郛 which was printed in the late Ming; it was transported to Japan in 1710, the seventh year of the Hōei reign period, and successfully entered the country. Itō Tasaburō raises many such examples from which we can take our lead. Let me begin with a case that arose closer to home. When about 1965 I was researching my work on the books brought to Japan aboard Chinese vessels, I happened upon a book with the intriguing title *Yi liu shi xiong* 一六十兄, which appears in a bibliography of old books. It bore the chop of the library of one Abe 阿部 in Fukuyama domain. This Abe was none other than Senior Councillor Abe Ise no kami Masahiro 阿部伊勢守正弘, and he purchased many books brought from China; his curiosity peaked, he sought to get his hands on this volume, but by then it had been sold to someone else. The person who had bought it was a certain teacher and colleague of Abe's, however, and he was thus able to see the work. As for the odd title *Yi liu shi xiong*, in fact the first two characters, *yi* (one) and *liu* (six), were to be combined, thus producing "seven" (*qi*); similarly, when the latter two characters, *shi* and *xiong*, were combined, they produced the character *ke*, and thus this work was none other than the *Qike*. On the 1630 list of proscribed books, the *Qike* was a work by Diego de Pantoja (Pang Diwo 龐迪我). It was an exhortative text teaching that the root of all evil arises from desires for wealth, esteem, and pleasure; that these would give rise to the seven sins of covetousness, arrogance, gluttony, licentiousness, idleness, jealousy, and indignation; and how to overcome these deadly sins. There is no way now to establish firmly when this manuscript was taken down, but the very fact that the title was encrypted in this manner to keep it secret is fascinating.

Here would be a good place to bring this discussion of the 32 banned books on the Kan'ei list to a close. As Kondō Seisai put it, "other works containing passages concerned with Christianity and the customs and manners of the European nations could continue to be sold." There may have been a certain number of references, but these were not entire banned books. Yet, an incident was to occur that would change this direction sharply.

The *Huan you quan* and Mukai Gensai. In the second year of the Jōkyō reign, 1685, a book entitled *Huan you quan* 寰有詮 [a translation of Aristotle's *De coelo et mundo*] was brought to Japan from China on Nanjing vessel no. 15. This was a work by the Portuguese Jesuit Francisco Furtado (Fu Hanji 傅汎際) from the Tianqi period (1621-28) of the Ming, and it bore a preface by Li Zhizao to the translation dated Chongzhen 1 (1628). It is a work advocating Christian religious ideas, divided in fifteen sections--such as "Huanman" 圓滿, "Chunti" 純體, and "Buhuai" 不壞--and denounces the three teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism. Inspector of Books Mukai Gensai discovered and pointed out the fact that the contents of the *Huan you quan* violated the ban. Gensei was the third son of the aforementioned Mukai Genshō, and his second elder brother was Mukai Kanetoki 向井兼時 (also known as Motohiro 元淵), namely the well-known poet Mukai Kyorai 去來 (1651-1704). In the first year of the Manji reign period (1658), when Gensei was three years old (East Asian style), he moved with his father Genshō and his elder brothers to Kyoto, but in the spring of Enpō 8 (1680)

he returned to Nagasaki, and in response to a request from the Nagasaki Administrator, Ushigome Chûzaemon 牛込忠左衛門, became head of the Seidô on the 23rd day of the third lunar month. As noted earlier, the Seidô was established in Nagasaki by Gensei's father, Genshō, in 1647 (Tenpō 4), but it burned down in 1663 (Kanbun 3); Ushigome revived it, and then a Chinese interpreter by the name of Sakaki Jinzaemon 彭城仁左衛門 served as its head, followed by Nanbu Sōju 南部艸壽. On the 25th day of the seventh lunar month, Gensei went on to become inspector of books, following completely in his father's footsteps. In the fifth year following these events, he discovered the *Huan you quan*.

There are scarcely any detailed materials covering the events of this time, as the appropriate volumes of the *Tō tsūji kaisho nichiroku* 唐通事會所日錄 (Daily Accounts from the Hall of the Chinese Interpreters) are no longer extant. The only record that remains dates to the fourteenth day of the eighth month; it is a report from the Administrator, Kawaguchi Genzaemon 川口源左衛門, concerning his carrying out the instructions, dated the last day of the seventh month, of the senior councillors who had arrived the day before. According to this report, the owner of the book in question was Wu Zhanzhu 吳湛竹, and on the fourteenth Wu and three others, including two ships' captains, were summoned to tell what they knew, thus making Wu a guest of sorts (I will be discussing the subject of ship captains and crews in a later section of this work). Both Wu and the two ship captains were deemed insolent braggarts, Wu for "bringing the banned work" to Japan and the ship captains for "knowing full well that the book was strictly banned and carrying it aboard ship nonetheless." The three men were thereafter prohibited from sailing to Japan, and the *Huan you quan* in six stringbound volumes was burned before the eyes of all concerned. Their entire ship's cargo was ordered not to be unloaded but to return with it intact, all that they had sold until that point was to be taken back with them, and they were further ordered to set sail all together. This action entailed a prohibition on the sale of goods and a order to return with full cargo; the trip was a complete waste for the Chinese vessels and entailed a great loss.

This was a great feat for Gensei. As a result, Administrator Miyagi Kanbutsu 宮城監物, who was stationed in Edo, came to Nagasaki, conferred with Kawaguchi Settsu no kami 川口攝津守, and then on sixteenth day of the ninth lunar month wrote to Gensei: "You have fulfilled your duties in the scrupulous manner with which you attended to your tasks in the inspection of books in this matter. It was extremely important." He then received the extraordinary treatment of being awarded thirty sacks of rice and a stipend for two persons, and was promoted to the rank of *fudai*. The announcement of this event was handled scrupulously, and there was attached the following explanation to the award of rice and stipend:

Although this is seemingly insignificant, you have been promoted to *fudai*, and for generations your descendants shall continue to be recognized in this status. This is a happy event indeed, and you should think of it as such. Because you are something of a rustic from a distant area [Nagasaki], I am explaining this to you.

Thereafter, the Mukais were attached to the office of the Nakasaki Administrator and for generations held the hereditary post of Inspector of Books.

After the discovery of the *Huan you quan* in 1685, however, the number of books designated as banned rose dramatically. The shogunate took this opportunity, it was said, to reinvigorate its vigilance. The problem was, though, that what the inspector of books did not check could not be found. I have the sense that this is the hidden reason Gensei was increasingly becoming so industrious in his job, or so enthusiastic about his achievements, and thus so severe in what he sought to uncover.

The Banning of a Guidebook to Beijing. We now return to the *Dijing jingwu lue*, the volume brought to Japan on Number Sixteen Nanjing Ship in the eighth year of the Genroku period (1695). Although the date this ship entered port cannot be verified, according to volume four of the *Tô tsûji kaisho nichiroku*, the Number Eleven Guangnan Ship entered port at noon on the 25th of the first lunar month of the year; and on the fifteenth of the second month, sixteen members of the crew of nineteen of a vessel which en route to Liaozhou in Shandong from Chongming county (Nanjing) had been shipwrecked in Satsuma on the fourteenth of the first month, had purchased pigs, and was shipwrecked on its way back to Songjiang--in the *Tô tsûji kaisho nichiroku* this ship is referred to as "pig boat returning home from Satsuma"--were turned over to ship's captains of sixteen vessels to be taken care of. The remaining three men were, respectively, to be turned over to the three ships--Numbers One, Five, and Sixteen--bound for Nanjing. Thus, they remained in Nagasaki. Accordingly, it was some time after the 25th of the first month and before the fifteen of the next. Inasmuch as Junior Interpreter Hayashi Kaneuemon was summoned on the sixteenth day of the third month, a full month followed, and during this period the work on the inspection of books proceeded. That there were problems with the contents of the *Dijing jingwu lue* reached the Administrator in a report from the inspector of books. In the *Zôho Nagasaki ryakushi* 増補長崎略史 (Brief History of Nagasaki, Expanded), the "Teikyô keibutsu ryaku taiisho" 帝京景物略大意書 (Outlines of the *Dijing jingwu lue*) and the "Môshiage oboe" 申上覺 (Memorandum) were cited. These were the reports of the inspector of books. The term "taiisho" refers to an outline of the contents of a book and is dated the third month of Genroku 8, as is the "Môshiage oboe," and both are signed by Iwanaga Gentô 岩永元當 and Katayama Genshi 片山元止. Iwanaga and Katayama were assistant inspectors of books. Gensei may not have been in charge of this case inasmuch as his signature does not appear on the report. Neither carries a specific day of the month, though it was near the fifteenth.

Professor Takahashi Moritada 高橋盛忠 asks in apparent wonderment: Why would a work such as the *Dijing jingwu lue* have been banned? It was only natural that they would be suspicious, and this book appeared to be a guidebook to the sites of Beijing. Fang Fengnian 方逢年, a man from Suian 遂安, together with his student Liu Shengdong 劉生洞 and his friend Yu Yisheng 于奕生,⁹ visited the Chinese capital, saw the famous sites inside and outside the city walls and the city scenery, parks, and ponds, and then wrote up a travelogue with poems by earlier men collected after each section of the work. It was published in 1635, the eighth year of the reign of the Chongzhen

⁹ See the entry under "Liu T'ung" in *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, pp. 968-69, for a slightly different rendition of this story and with slightly different names.

emperor. However, in the fourth and fifth *juan*, respectively, they note a Christian church and the grave of Matteo Ricci. Therein lay the problem.

The Church and the Grave of Matteo Ricci. The church was built during the reign of the Wanli emperor when Ricci came to China. Its method of construction and the images of Jesus are described in detail. To the right of the church was a church for the Virgin Mary. "It recounts the form of the Virgin Mary," [reads the "Taiisho"]. "She had one child, namely Jesus." This is followed by the execution of Jesus, the resurrection, the ascension, and the Christian church.

The people who believe in this doctrine are called Christians. They pray to Jesus on the seventh day and call this mass. The days of Jesus' incarnation and his ascension are called great masses. These are all recorded in works such as the *Tianxue shiyi*.... At the end of this work are four poems. All presented to Matteo Ricci by poets of the Ming period, they praise his virtues.

This seems, indeed, to describe the church in a little too much detail. As for the entry on Ricci's grave, it recounts his coming to China, the gifts he brought, his personal appearance, his countenance, his language, and the like. In addition, "in the *gengxu* year of the Wanli reign [1610], Matteo Ricci died, and his followers buried him according to ritual. His grave was unlike the Chinese style." They noted that to his right was the grave of Deng Yuhuan 鄧玉函 (Johann Terrenz [1576-1630]), explained the content of their teachings, and even elucidated one part of their faith. Then, at the end, they concluded the "Taiisho" with: "Poets of the Ming era visited his grave and contributed poems to him. In general, this is the case."

For its part the "Môshiage oboe" described in simpler terms the content of the "Taiisho" and then offered the rather fair assessment:

Although that time has past, the principal aim of the [*Dijing*] *jingwu lue* was to be a text that described the scenery of Beijing and the history of the terrain, and hence aside from two *juan*, there is no mention of Jesus. Thus, in the literary style of these two sections, it calls people to the faith and encourages them to follow its path. There is nothing offensive in the way it is written. In addition, there are poems appended to the work, but they only praise [Ricci's] scholarship. We append this section to the "Taiisho" and offer the two documents together.

Investigation by the Chinese-language Interpreters. The three interpreters who interrogated the ship's captain on the night of the sixteenth presented a translation into Japanese of the affidavit obtained to the offices of the Nishi Administrator and the Tateyama Administrator early in the morning of the seventeenth. At Tateyama they carried out an inquiry of the Chinese before breakfast that morning. Apparently they once again at that time inspected the Chinese for Christianity, such as making them carry out the *fumie*. At that point, the interpreters returned to their quarters, and the ship's captain, *caifu*, and the passengers were informed: "On this occasion a Christian book has been brought [to Japan]. We are working to determine the means by which it was brought here and other details in this matter." They were ordered confined to quarters, all contacts

with those from other ships were severed, and then the interpreters took their affidavits. Furthermore, they forbid further investigation until after summoning the man in charge of their residence, Nakamura Rokuemon 中村六右衛門 from Kon'yamachi 紺屋町, and until his interrogation was complete. By the same token, they summoned the priests of the Fukusai and Kôfuku temples and communicated to them that they "were not to use and dispense with abruptly" any items donated to their temples by the vessel Number Sixteen.

On the eighteenth, all interpreters save those ill or on duty at the Tôjin yashiki proceeded to the Interpreters' Hall. Affidavits from He Yuanliang (captain of the ship), Chen Xianke (*caifu*), Fei Ji'an (owner of the book), the seven passengers, and the oaths of Fei, He, and Chen were prepared in duplicate clean copies, as were Japanese translations of each, and all was presented to the office of the Administrator. In addition, the two members from the crew of the aforementioned Nanjing "Pig boat" were reassigned, one to vessel number eighteen and one to vessel number twenty. On that day, the allotments for commerce were permitted for twenty vessels in the spring, but vessel number sixteen was ordered "to refrain from trade and await notification."

On the twentieth, a report was submitted above the names of Senior Interpreters Sakaki and Hayashi. It was a report on their reading and investigation of the *Dijing jingwu lüe*. In their view:

We have been ordered to turn our attention to scrutinizing the two volumes of the above mentioned work, and we have tried to look at it in great detail. While the two sections may be praised for being well constructed, they do mention the name of Christ, the leader of Christianity and describe his origins. Were these references not there, there would be no explanation of the Christian church. This, I believe, is the reason mention is made of the church. There is, of course, not the slightest encouragement of Christianity within these references. Descriptions of scenery (*fengtuji* 風土記) and local accounts of sites (*zhishu* 志書) are published at many places in every province of China. Such works describe in detail, irrespective of good or bad, old sites, people, and varieties of mountains, forests, and flora for the region encompassed by the work. Accordingly, the name of the Christian faith appears nowhere outside these two *juan*. It seems that their aims have long been to describe in detail certain famous sites. The [*Dijing*] *jingwu lüe* is a work such as these descriptions of scenery.

The two senior interpreters carried out their investigation of the contents of the book on orders from the Administrator and said it was simply a description of scenery, not a Christian proselytizing text.

Instructions from the Senior Councillors. On the 21st, an examination of the Chinese was conducted at the office of the Tateyama Administrator in an effort to see if there were any discrepancies with the affidavits given earlier. On that day 36 servants and seaman were interrogated, and on the following day a copy of the previous day's documents in addition to two clean copies of the affidavits given on the 21st by the 36 men were presented by the interpreters. They were told at the Tateyama office to write up a postscript for these documents, nine of the interpreters were to sign it, and then submit it which they did the following day, the 23rd. The investigative documents all being in

order, Administrator Miyagi Echizen no kami Kazusumi 宮城越前守和澄 and Kondô Bichû no kami Yôshô 近藤備中守用章 communicated to Administrator Niwa Tôto mi no kami Nagamori 丹羽遠江守長守 who was also on duty the course of events in the case, the results of the investigation, and the original plan for handling it together with the affidavits of the Chinese, the oaths, their Japanese translations, and an outline statement concerning the book. On the 24th they arrived in Edo. At this time three men were serving in the post of Nagasaki Administrator. Niwa made his report to the senior councillors in attendance, and a solution was decided on based on the original plan; a reply arrived from Tôto mi no kami dated the 15th day of the fourth month, and the senior councillors notified them with a memorandum dated the 16th. It read:

MEMO.

* Among the works brought to port [Nagasaki] this spring aboard Number Sixteen Nanjing Ship is one bearing the title *Dijing jingwu lue*. It describes the scenery, sites, temples, and pavilions of the Beijing region, and within its pages there are also references to Christianity. The owner of the volume in question, Fei Ji'an, as well as the ship's captain and Chinese passengers were interrogated. It was brought into port after only its title was perused, nothing appearing out of the ordinary. This has now led to a great deal of trouble, and an investigation ensued with affidavits and oaths from the Chinese, together with Japanese translation, and an outline report submitted in six copies. The content of what was learned has been conveyed, as has the content of your communications.

* The aforementioned Chinese have been repeatedly summoned, questioned, instructed to perform the *fumie*, and placed under investigation. There were no discrepancies in their affidavits, and it would seem that there is no reason to doubt that the book entered through inattention. However, inasmuch as a book that was brought to port does mention such things as the founder of the Christian religion, the structure of his teachings, and the achievements of his followers, this writing must be destroyed at the Administrator's residence before the eyes of the general Chinese populace. The book's owner, Fei Ji'an, and the ship's captain shall no longer cross the sea to come to Japan. They shall not be involved in commerce concerning any ship's merchandise. Let them be returned home as soon as possible. We have understood your intentions.

* The aforementioned work was brought here through inattention. At your discretion have the Christian book burned before the eyes of the Chinese. The ship's owner and captain are henceforth prohibited from coming to Japan and shall not engage in ship's business here. They shall be informed of this immediately. We completely understand what must be done here. Matters concerning Christianity are matters that must be scrutinized. Hereafter, you are to keep ever more informed of such affairs and renew your vigilance in accordance with the designs of the shôgun.

Fourth [lunar] month, sixteenth day.

	Sagami no kami	相模守
	Yamashiro no kami	山城守
	Bungo no kami	豊後守
	Kaga no kami	加賀守
Lord Miyagi Echizen no kami	宮城越前守殿	
Lord Kondô Bichû no kami	近藤備中守殿	

The Judgment of the Administrator. The first two items of this memorandum were recognition of the handling of the matter as deemed fit by the Nagasaki Administrator. The final item were instructions of a report to the shogun. This memo from the senior councillors and Niwa's reply apparently arrived in Nagasaki at the end of the fourth lunar month. On the last day of that month, an unofficial announcement from the Administrator was sent to the Hall of the Chinese-language Interpreters: "As for Number Sixteen Ship, be advised that it has been ordered to leave port soon." On the first day of the fifth month, an official order went out: "Number Sixteen Ship shall be leaving with all due haste." On that day the ship was prepared to put out to sea, its mast raised aloft, and the man in charge of their residence was summoned and the various expenses for their stay cleared. The next day 20 Chinese were sent ahead to sea, loaded with their ship's cargo and a *Bosa* (a bodhisattva, the deity Mazu) which had been installed at the Chinese temple. They had to return having taken back the present offered to the temple at the time they entered port. Thus, on the third of the month, 46 Chinese were all called to the office of the Tateyama Administrator and given the judgment of the two administrators. It read:

As concerns the matter of the Christian religion, for many years now there has been a strict ban in place, which has been made known to all Chinese vessels. That a book laced with this heretical doctrine has now been brought to Japan is the height of insolence. Furthermore, the book's content were not checked and it clearly entered into Japan without careful scrutiny. In the light of fair investigation, the fault is forgiven and the ship's merchandise will not be removed. The book has been destroyed, and the vessel is instructed to set sail. However, banned words, such as *Tianxue shiyi*, appear on countless documents, and this failure occurred through extreme inattention. The owner Fei Ji'an and ship's captain He Yuanliang are hereafter strictly forbidden from sailing to Japan. Fifth month, third day.

And so, it would seem, the book was destroyed by fire. Number Sixteen Ship put out to sea that day, and thereafter the *Dijing jingwu lue* became a matter resolved. Of this entire process, the "Goseikin gomen shoseki wakesho" merely noted: "In Genroku 8, Number Sixteen Ship brought *Dijing jingwu lue* [to Japan], and it was ordered destroyed." There is a fair body of documentation, as I have introduced it here, concerning the *Dijing jingwu lue*. The process by which it became a banned work can be followed in detail, and although a bit tedious I have tried to trace that process here.

Banned Books after Jôkyô 2. Following the designation of the *Huan you quan* as banned in Jôkyô 2 [1685], proscriptive actions became increasingly severe, as noted earlier. This situation continued until 1720 (Jôhō 5) by which time the *Huan you quan* and fifteen other works had been added to the index. According to the "Gokinsho mokuroku" held in the Nagasaki Library, the titles of banned books, the years and ships on which they were brought to Japan, and their fate are given in list form:

<u>Title</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Ship</u>	<u>Fate of book/ship</u>
<i>Huan you quan</i> 寰有詮	Jôkyô 2 [1685]	No. 15	Book destroyed, ship owner reprimanded, ship's cargo returned

<i>Fujian tongzhi</i> 福建通志	Jōkyō 3 [1686]	Nos. 12, 25	Book destroyed, ship owner reprimanded, ship's cargo returned
<i>Diwei</i> 地緯	Jōkyō 3	No. 32	Book destroyed, ship's cargo returned, owner banned from Japan
<i>Tianjing huowen houji</i> 天經或問後集	Jōkyō 4 [1687]	No. 21	Characters blotted out with ink, sent back
<i>Dijing jingwu lue</i> 帝京景物略	Genroku 8 [1695]	No. 16	Book destroyed
<i>Xitang quanji</i> 西堂全集	Genroku 9 [1696]	No. 62	Book torn up and sent back
<i>Xitang quanji</i>	Genroku 11 [1698]	No. 12	Characters blotted out with ink, sent back
<i>Sancai fami</i> 三才發秘	Genroku 12 [1699]	No. 4	Characters blotted out with ink, sent back
<i>Yuanxue ji</i> 願學集	Genroku 12	No. 21	Characters blotted out with ink, sent back
<i>Xihu zhi</i> 西湖志	Genroku 12	No. 56	Characters blotted out with ink, sent back
<i>Chan zhen yizhi</i> 禪真逸志	Genroku 13 [1700]	No. 6	Characters blotted out with ink, sent back
<i>Tan Youxia heji</i> 譚友夏合集	Genroku 14 [1701]	No. 8	Characters blotted out with ink, sent back
<i>Fangcheng lun</i> 方程論	Genroku 14	No. 12	Characters blotted out with ink, sent back
<i>Mingjia shi guan</i> 名家詩觀	Genroku 15 [1702]	No. 31	Book sent back as is, future trade banned
<i>Tan Xuezhai ji</i> 檀雪齋集	Genroku 16 [1703]	No. 9	Book sent back as is, future trade banned
<i>Zengding guangyu ji</i> 增定廣輿記	Hōei 7 [1710]	No. 16	Characters blotted out with ink, sent back
<i>Jianhu ji</i> 堅瓠集	Shōtoku 2 [1712]	No. 1	Characters blotted out with ink, sent back

Reasons for Banning Books. The expression “characters blotted out with ink” (*sumikeshi* 墨消) implies that the offending portions of a text were blackened with ink, whereas “torn up” (*hikiyaburi* 弓|破) indicates the books were destroyed. The *Dijing jingwu lue* can still be seen today and has nothing in it referring to its ship being sent back nor to the ban on the captain and others from returning to Japan. There is thus the strong possibility that the entire ship's cargo was not sent back or that subsequent trade was not fully barred.

According to the “Gokinsho mokuroku,” the following reasons are given for the banning of these books:

<i>Tianjing huowen houji</i>	Heterodox theories of <i>yin-yang</i> and the five agents are mentioned on numerous instances in this work.
<i>Xitang quanji</i>	Poems by Europeans are cited among the <i>zhuzhi</i> 竹枝 poems by foreigners in this work.
<i>Sancai fami</i>	There are citations to arithmetic and stereographic projection by Westerners in this work.

<i>Guxue ji</i>	Works involved in the exchange of presents are included in this work.
<i>Xihu zhi</i>	There is mention of Christianity in the section on the Wansui Pavilion in this work.
<i>Chan zhen yizhi</i>	The Chinese characters for Jesus appear in this work.
<i>Tan Youxia heji</i>	There is hearsay about Christianity in this work.
<i>Fangcheng lun</i>	The names of Westerners and their inscriptions in banned books appear in this work.
<i>Mingjia shi guan</i>	The poems exchanged between the Chinese Wu Tongchi 吳統持 and a Westerner appear in this work.
<i>Tan Xuezhai ji</i>	Jesus is mentioned in the "Zi ming zhong song xu" 自鳴鐘頌序 which appears in this work.
<i>Zengding guangyu ji</i>	There is reference to a Christian church in this work.
<i>Jianhu ji</i>	Mention is made of <i>sanzhu</i> 三主 from the West and the Catholic Matteo Ricci in this work.

As we can see here, books were banned if "a phrase or a word in them referred to Christianity" or "even if only slight mention of Jesus or his disciple Matteo Ricci was made."

Change of Direction. This general direction changed in 1720 (Jôhô 5) with the issuance of a more relaxed policy by Shogun Yoshimune 吉宗: "To this point in time, if a work had the slightest mention of Christianity it would be completely banned. Henceforth, we shall not be concerned with works that are in elite or popular circulation so long as they are not concerned with proselytizing the faith." As a result, works about astronomy, calendrical science, mathematics, and the like--works such as those from the *qi* section of the *Tianxue chuhan*--were thereafter not banned from importation to Japan and were allowed to be sold. This included such works as the following: *Yuanrong jiaoyi*, *Yungai tongxian tushuo*, *Celiang fayi*, *Celiang fayi yitong*, *Jian pingyi ji*, *Gougu yi*, *Jihe yuanben*, *Jiaoyou lun*, *Tongwen xuanzhi*, *Taixi shuifa*, *Tianwen lue*, *Zhifang waiji*, *Fujian tongzhi*, *Xitang quanji*, *Sancai fami*, *Xihu zhi*, *Tan Youxia heji*, *Zengding guangyu ji*, *Jianhu ji*.

The *Zhifang waiji*, though, was allowed into Japan on only one further occasion; in 1775 (Kansei 7), it was again placed on the list of banned books. When the *Jianhu ji* was again brought to Japan in 1805 (Bunka 2), it was blotted out with ink and sent back, though when it arrived in 1837 (Tenpô 8), it was allowed to be sold. The immediate reason for the composition of the "Gokinsho mokuroku" held in the Nagasaki Library, which we have now repeatedly had occasion to use, in the fourth month of Tenpô 12 [1841] was the arrival that year in Japan aboard the Number One vessel the *Tianfang zhisheng shilu nianpu*. It was checked by the inspector of books, deemed a proscribed work, and designated to be destroyed by fire on the ninth day of the fourth month. Thus, it seems that Togawa Harima no kami had a report prepared on the events to that point. The work in question in 1841 was not a Christian text, but a book about Islam written about Kangxi 60 [1721] by the Qing-era scholar Liu Jielian 劉介廉 and published by Yuan Guoxiang 袁國祥 in Qianlong 43 [1778] in twenty *juan* and ten stringbound volumes. We unfortunately have no documentation to determine whether the inspector found mention of Jesus or of foreign countries in the book problematic or whether he

found the entire text heretical. We can only imagine how the inspector would have understood the Chinese characters used to pronounce Arabic words, an amusing thought to be sure.

Relaxation of Judgments. Following the relaxation of the ban in the Jôhō period, in instances when banned books were brought to port, there seems to have been a relaxation in judgments as well, and no summary judgments in which a vessel had to return with its entire cargo intact were issued. For example, the Number Nine vessel in 1771 (Meiwa 8) came to port bearing, of all things, the *Tianxue chuhan*. Copies of the "Taiisho" from that time are available in Kyûshû University Library and the Kano Bunko of Tôhoku University Library, and the manuscript at Tôhoku University has a more recent transcription date. The Kyûshû University text has 23 traditional pages in one stringbound volume with a covered binding and clearly contains a number of omissions. The Tôhoku University text has the same omissions. The original cover has two lines in the center which read: "Books Brought Aboard the Number Nine Chinese Vessel from the Year of the Rabbit" and "Outline of the *Tianxue chuhan*." On the right side were three lines: "Meiwa 8, the Year of the Rabbit," "Shinmi 新見 Kaga no kami on Duty," and "Volume 1." On the left side, it reads: "Eighth Month of the Year of the Rabbit." Shinmi Kaga no kami was none other than Shinmi Masayoshi 新見正榮, who served as Nagasaki Administrator from the first month of Meiwa 2 [1765] through the eleventh month of An'ei 3 [1774].

The book contains a record of the titles, numbers of *juan*, and numbers of leaves of eighteen works, beginning with the *Xixue fan*, one *juan*, seventeen leaves. There are no comparable cases of such a "Taiisho" that was detailed down to the number of leaves. The banned books are clearly designated, and it seems this was done so that nothing would slip through. Concerning the last ten works listed here from the *Yuanrong jiaoyi* to the *Jiaoyou lun*, it describes their contents in general terms as "astronomical work," "work of calendrical science," or "mathematical text." Then it goes on to say: "From Kyôhō 5 [1720], the year of the rat, it was proclaimed that Western writings were unproblematic as long as they did not discuss heretical religious matters. Thereafter, the above cited ten works have gradually been imported, and none contain language concerned with heretical religion. They have been sold." This would indicate that commerce in these texts had been permitted. The inspector of books, after the two generations of Mukai Saikyû 向井齋宮 and Mukai Gensei, was a man by the name of Mukai Kaneyoshi 向井兼美.

Documents from the Office of the Administrator. Among the documents from the Seidō held in the Nagasaki Museum, there is a document (no. 370-41) from the office of the Nagasaki Administrator which informed Mukai Saikyû of the judgments handed down concerning the shippers of these books. It reads as follows:

Cheng Jiannan 程澗南, owner of Number Nine Nanjing Ship in the Year of the Rabbit.

Among the books transported [to Japan] this past summer, you had the eighteen works in the *Tianxue chuhan*. Since these are works banned from importation, you carried out a detailed investigation to determine how they entered port. When they arrived in port

last year, it apparently had set sail from China with all of the works transported precisely in the manner arranged by the shipper's book cargo and were received according to the book list. Matters became confused and they appeared to be ordinary works. They were improperly checked and entered [Japan]. This is needless to say regrettable and the inattention disgraceful. The fault for this mismanagement is forgiven. Have the aforementioned books ordered one way or another completely destroyed. As instructed in the past, you must be aware that all goods coming into port are extremely important for the ship owners, and items known to be banned must increasingly become your number one task of inspection. Failure to attend to these matters is the epitome of inattention. There are, therefore, many ways in which this matter can be handled, but failure to exercise complete care will lead to regrets. With a special pardon you are reproved, and this matter comes to an end. You are ordered to black out with ink the portions in the aforementioned books that advocate the principles of Christianity, and have the ships returned with their cargoes intact. Pay attention henceforth to ships bearing cargo when they arrive in port, and particularly investigate to see that they are not bringing in any banned items.

This letter was communicated to the owner of vessel number nine. See that its main points are understood and that the places in the offending texts where inappropriate [Christian] doctrines are mentioned are blotted out, and report back.

Intercalary second month.

Thus, the judgment was a reprimand, the books blotted out and returned. The "Taiisho" was written in the eighth month, and since the judgment was not to be carried out until the second month of the following year, there was a fair amount of time to spend at ease until then. He did not face the severe treatment of having all future commerce in Japan cut off and have to return with his entire cargo intact. On the eleventh day of the eleventh lunar month of Kansei 11 (1799), a judgment concerning the *Dijing jingwu lue* that shipowner Shen Jingdan 沈敬膽 had brought to Japan that summer was carried out in a room at the Tōjin yashiki. Again, he was reprimanded, and the book was blotted out and sent back. These cases are altogether different from what had transpired with Number Sixteen vessel in Genroku 8. The aforementioned Cheng Jiannan had defended himself by saying "altogether in the shipowner's bookshop in China, he had checked them with a book list, and set sail. Mixed in among the others, he thought they were ordinary books, and he brought them here without checking them closely." One finds precisely the same words written about Shen Jingdan.

By this time the number of Chinese ships coming to Japan had decreased, and the Chinese who made the trip had become fixed. Thus, the character of these men was known to the Japanese, and it was probably true that they loaded the books on hand at the bookstore and set off. Shen Jingdan made the trip to Japan at least ten times, and there are numerous documents concerning the time he was shipwrecked at Chikura, Bōshū on the first day of the fourth lunar month of An'ei 9 [1780]. In 1782 (Tenmei 2), when he entered port aboard Ship Number Ten in the Year of the Tiger, he brought numerous books with him. And, frequently he was dealt with leniently for bringing in banned books mixed in among those he brought with his cargo.

Thereafter, the inspector of books inspected the imported books and checked their contents. If he thought there was something questionable, he invariably reported it to the Administrator and sought a judgment. However, the direction taken by the Administrator

and the Senior Councillors to whom he sent his report changed with the times. Tucked in amid these changes was a turn to the international situation. This can be seen clearly in the judgment passed on the *Haiguo tuzhi* 海國圖志 (Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Kingdoms) which came to Japan in the late Edo years, discussion of which must be deferred to a later chapter.