

Woodblock Printed Books from the Qing Court in the Nagasaki Trade:

A Case Study of *Hakusai shomoku* (List of Books Brought as Cargo)

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The Japanese scholar Ōba Osamu is a pioneer in the data collection and research of books brought to Japan by Chinese vessels in ancient times. Since 1963, he has studied the importation of Chinese books in the Edo Period and compiled a lot of relevant materials. His research leads to a series of unique and valuable research outputs and lays a solid foundation for future researchers in this field. The books that he compiles—*Edo jidai ni okeru Tōsen Mochiwatarisho no kenkyū* (Studies of the Books Transported [to Japan] aboard Chinese Vessels in the Edo Period) and *Hakusai shomoku: tsuketari kaidai Kunaichō Shoryōbu-zō* (List of Books Brought as Cargo Held in the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency) are both excellent casebooks. However, woodblock printed books from the Qing court have drawn nobody's attention except Ōba Osamu, who has discussed *Da qing hui dian* (Collected Statutes of the Great Qing Dynasty) and *Gu jin tu shu ji cheng* (the Imperial Encyclopedia) in his book *Edo jidai ni okeru Chūgoku bunka juyō no kenkyū* (Studies of the Reception of Chinese Culture in the Edo Period). Therefore, more in-depth studies on woodblock printed books from the Qing court are in need.

1. Books in the Nagasaki Trade

In the Edo Period (1603–1867), from 1633 to 1641, through a series of decrees, the Tokugawa shogunate instated bans on several things: the cross-border travelling by Japanese vessels and people, the introduction of Catholicism into Japan, trades with Catholic countries such as Portugal and Spain, and the entry of Catholic books. It particularly set a rule that all foreign traders landing in Nagasaki must go through the process of “painting-

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trampling” (*tahui*, i.e. trampling on copper plates painted with the image of Virgin Mary) to prove that they were not Catholics. Except for a few controlled trades with China and the Netherlands in Nagasaki and exchanges with Korea and the Ryukyu Kingdom through Tsushima Fuchū-han and Satsuma-han, the shogunate nearly cut off all foreign trades and exchanges, and built an increasingly closed system, a system of Sakoku (closed country). In the academic field of history, the term “Nagasaki Trade” is generally used to refer to foreign trades taking place in Nagasaki in the Edo Period.

China’s central international exchange in the early age of the Qing dynasty was non-governmental overseas trades led by private merchant vessels. After the Qing government had lifted the maritime embargo, the number of merchant vessels travelling to Japan increased rapidly and in 1688, up to 193 vessels had travelled to Japan (the 27th year of Kangxi, the 1st year of Genroku). The Tokugawa shogunate then immediately implemented trade restrictions to control the number of Chinese merchant vessels entering the Nagasaki port, the value of trade, the goods and the merchants’ activities every year. In 1715 (the 54th year of Kangxi, the 5th year of Shōtoku), the Tokugawa shogunate enacted *Shōtoku shinrei* (Shōtoku New Law), and issued licenses, known as *shinpai*, to authorize holders to trade legally at the port. Every year, the number of Chinese merchant vessels allowed to enter the port of Nagasaki was only 30, and the maximum value of trading merchandise allowed was 6000 *kan* (roughly 22, 5000 kilograms, which mainly refers to the trading amount of copper).

Chinese vessels, which were called *Tōsen* by Japanese at that time, often brought Chinese books for sale when sailing to Japan. Transportation through Chinese vessels had become the primary way of importation for Chinese books. Japanese called these books “books transported [to Japan] aboard Chinese vessels.” The Tokugawa shogunate established the position of *Shomotsu mekiki* (Inspectorate of Books) below the position of *Bugyō* (Governor) in Nagasaki and appointed officials who were experts of Chinese books to these positions to take over the inspection of imported Chinese books. These officials had left a large number of rosters of imported Chinese books (i.e. *Shoseki motochō*, Register of Book Prices) which reported in detail the year of registration, the serial number of Chinese vessels, the names of vessel owners and the names, volumes, sets and prices of imported Chinese books. Sometimes details about book buyers as well as outlines of books (i.e. *Taiisho*) were also noted down. These rosters have provided valuable original data for the study of the history of Sino-Japanese cultural exchanges. Ōba Osamu’s book—*Edo jidai ni okeru Tōsen Mochiwatarisho no kenkyū* (Studies of the Books Transported [to Japan] aboard Chinese Vessels in the Edo Period)—has reported that around 8000 Chinese books were imported into

Japan in the 180 years between the 17th century and *Meiji Ishin* (the Meiji Restoration), showing a significant influence of Chinese books on Japanese culture and thinking through a large number of imports and a fast speed of distribution.

2. The record of woodblock printed books from the Qing Court in *Hakusai shomoku* (List of Books Brought as Cargo)

According to the existing data, we find that many woodblock printed books from the Qing court were sold to Japan soon after they were published. Here we will just discuss what is reported in *Hakusai shomoku* (List of Books Brought as Cargo) held in the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency. Originally, we would also like to discuss relevant data in the book *Edo jidai ni okeru Tōsen Mochiwatarisho no kenkyū* (Studies of the Books Transported [to Japan] aboard Chinese Vessels in the Edo Period) which describes a lot of woodblock printed books from the Qing court imported to Japan. These books include a set of four-color copies of *Yū Xuan Tang Song Shi Chun* (Tang Song Poetry Anthologies Selected by the Emperor Qianlong) arranged into 47 volumes of main collection and 2 volumes of table of contents, edited by Zhang Qing and Liang Shizheng in the Qing dynasty and printed by Wuyingdian (Hall of Martial Valor) in the 16th year of Qianlong of the Qing dynasty¹. However, if we are going to discuss these printed books, we need to examine them carefully one by one for several reasons. First, it is impossible to identify whether a book copy was printed by the Qing court itself simply out of intuition or impression. Second, even if there was a woodblock printed copy of the book by the Qing court, it does not follow that what was imported to Japan happened to be this copy. We have to check and see whether the sailing date was earlier than the date that the woodblock copy was printed in the Qing court. Third, it is hard to tell whether it is the most likely copy printed by the Qing court among several copies of the same book. Considering that the data is big and complicated, and the examination of books mentioned in *Edo jidai ni okeru Tōsen Mochiwatarisho no kenkyū* (Studies of the Books Transported [to Japan] aboard Chinese Vessels in the Edo Period) will take more time, the present study will focus on the data from “Hakusai shomoku” (List of Books Brought as Cargo).

Hakusai shomoku (List of Books Brought as Cargo) has recorded 32 kinds

1 Ōba, Osamu 大庭脩 (Ed.). *Edo jidai ni okeru Tōsen Mochiwatarisho no kenkyū* 江戸時代における唐船持渡書の研究(Studies of the Books Transported [to Japan] aboard Chinese Vessels in the Edo Period). Suita: Institute of Oriental and Occidental Studies, Kansai University, 1967: 587B, 717C.

and 8675 volumes of woodblock printed books from the Qing court transported to Japan: one kind, 102 volumes in the Genroku era (1688–1703); 7 kinds, 1685 volumes in the Hōei era (1704–1710); 7 kinds, 911 volumes in the Shōtoku era (1711–1715); 19 kinds, 1961 volumes in the Kyōhō era (1716–1735); 4 kinds, 723 volumes in the Genbun era (1736–1740); 2 kinds, 954 volumes in the Kanpō era (1741–1743); and 8 kinds, 2339 volumes in the Kan'en era (1748–1751)².

Woodblock printed books from the Qing court listed in *Hakusai shomoku* (List of Books Brought as Cargo) are as follows.

Five kinds of *Jing* (经 Classics): 44 volumes of *Qin ding zhuan wen liu jing* (Imperially Commissioned Compilation of the Six Classics in Seal Script) edited by Li Guangdi et al. in the Qing dynasty and printed by the Imperial Secretariat from the Kangxi Reign of the Qing dynasty, 8 volumes of *Gu xiang zhai jian shang xiu zhen wu jing* (The Guxiang Studio's Pocket-size Collection of the Five Classics) printed by the Imperial Secretariat from the Kangxi Reign, 26 volumes of *Ri jiang si shu jie yi* (Daily Lecture on the Four Books) written by La Shali and Chen Tingjing et al. in the Qing dynasty and printed by the Imperial Secretariat from the Kangxi Reign in the 16th year of Kangxi, *Yu zhi xing li si shu da quan* (Imperially Commissioned Great Collection of Works on Nature and Principle and Four Books), including 70 volumes of *Xing li da quan shu* (Great Compendia of Nature and Principle) and 18 volumes of *Yu zhi si shu da quan* (Imperially Commissioned Great Collection of Four Books) edited by Hu Guang et al. in the Ming dynasty, first printed by the Imperial Secretariat in the 13th year of Yongle of the Ming dynasty and revised in the 12th year of Kangxi, and 42 volumes of *Kang xi zi dian* (Kangxi Dictionary) compiled by Zhang Yushu et al. on the Emperor Kangxi's order and printed by the Imperial Secretariat in the 50th year of Kangxi.

8 kinds of *Shi* (史 Histories): *Ming shi* (The History of Ming) arranged into 332 volumes of main collection and 2 volumes of table of contents as a part of *Er shi si shi* (Twenty-four Histories of China) written by Zhang Tingyu et al. in the Qing dynasty, and printed by Wuyingdian (Hall of Martial Valor) in the 4th year of Qianlong, 109 volumes of *Yu pi zi zhi tong jian gang mu* (Imperially Commissioned Outlines and Details of the Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance) edited by Song Luo et al. in the Qing dynasty and printed by *Yangzhou shiju* (Yangzhou Poetry Office) from the 46th year to the

2 Ōba, Osamu 大庭脩 (Ed.). *Hakusai shomoku : tsuketari kaidai Kunaichō Shoryōbu-zō* 宮内廳書陵部藏舶載書目 (List of Books Brought as Cargo Held in the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency). Suita: Institute of Oriental and Occidental Studies, Kansai University, 1972.

49th year of Kangxi, 348 volumes of *Wen xian tong kao* (Comprehensive Examination of Literature) written by Ma Duanlin in the Yuan dynasty, first printed by Silijian (Directorate of Ceremonial) in the 3rd year of Jiajing of the Ming dynasty and revised by the Imperial Secretariat in the 12th year of Kangxi, 162 volumes of *Da qing hui dian* (Collected Statutes of the Great Qing Dynasty) compiled by Yi Sang'a and Wang Xi et al. in the Qing dynasty and printed by the Imperial Secretariat in the 29th year of Kangxi, 120 volumes of *Wan shou sheng dian chu ji* (Magnificent Record of Long Life, First Collection) compiled by Wang Yuanqi and Wang Yiqing et al. in the Qing dynasty and printed by the Imperial Secretariat from the 54th to the 56th year of Kangxi, 30 volumes of *Da qing lv* (The Code of the Great Qing) with appendices of *zeli* (precedent) and *xinli* (new regulation) compiled by the Ministry of Justice in the Qing dynasty, printed in the 4th year of Shunzhi of the Qing dynasty and reprinted in the 3rd year of Kangxi, 31 volumes of *Da qing lv ji jie fu li* (The Code of Great Qing with Collected Commentaries and Appended Sub-laws) printed by the Imperial Secretariat in the 4th year of Shunzhi, and *Shang yu* (Imperial Edicts).

12 kinds of *Zi* (子 Masters): 70 volumes of *Xing li da quan* (Collection of Nature and Principle) edited by Hu Guang et al. in the Ming dynasty, first printed by the Imperial Secretariat in the 13th year of Yongle and revised in the 12th year of Kangxi, the first two volumes of the 100 volumes of *Xiao jing yan yi* (Extended Explication of the Classic of Filial Piety) written by Ye Fang'ai et al. in the Qing dynasty and printed in the 29th year of Kangxi, 66 volumes of *Yuan jian zhai yu zuan zhu zi quan shu* (The Yuanjian Studio's Imperially Commissioned Complete Works of Master Zhu) compiled by Li Guangdi et al. in the Qing dynasty and printed by the Imperial Secretariat in the 53rd year of Kangxi (the book had two editions, one is *heikouben* whose trunk is printed with black lines, the other is *baikouben* whose trunk is not printed with black lines, but it is not indicated which edition was imported to Japan), 2 volumes of *Yu zhi geng zhi tu* (Imperially Commissioned Illustrations of Agriculture and Sericulture) including poems written by the Emperor Kangxi, edited by Song Loushou, painted by Jiao Bingzhen et al. and engraved by Zhu Gui et al. in the Qing dynasty, and printed by the Imperial Secretariat in the 35th year of Kangxi, a volume of *Ge yuan gou gu ba xian biao* (Tables of Cyclotomic Methods and Trigonometric Functions) written by the Italian Giacomo Rho, printed in Chongzhen era of the Ming dynasty, and enlarged by astronomy officers in the 2nd year of Shunzhi, the 13th year and 17th year of Kangxi, *Da qing yong zheng san nian shi xian li* (The Temporal Model Calendar of the 3rd year of Yongzheng of the Qing Dynasty), *Yong zheng shi nian li* (The Calendar of the 10th year of Yongzheng of the Qing Dynasty), 100 volumes of *Pei wen zhai shu hua pu* (The Peiwen Studio's

Collection of Calligraphy and Painting) edited by Sun Yueban et al. in the Qing dynasty and printed by the Imperial Secretariat in the 47th year of Kangxi, *Pei wen zhai guang qun fang pu* (The Peiwen Studio's Collection of All Fragrances) arranged into 100 volumes of main collection and 2 volumes of table of contents, edited by Wang Hao et al. in the Qing dynasty and printed by the Imperial Secretariat in the 47th year of Kangxi, *Yuan jian lei han* (The Encyclopedia of China) arranged into 450 volumes of main collection and 4 volumes of table of contents, edited by Zhang Ying et al. in the Qing dynasty and printed by the Imperial Secretariat in the 49th year of Kangxi, 106 volumes of *Pei wen yun fu* (Rhyming Compendium of Refined Literature) edited by Zhang Yushu, Cai Shengyuan et al. in the Qing dynasty and printed by *Yangzhou shiju* (Yangzhou Poetry Office) in the 50th year of Kangxi, 110 volumes (20 sets of 160 copies as is recorded in *Hakusai shomoku*) of *Qin ding gu jin tu shu ji cheng tu* (The Imperial Commissioned Illustrations from the Complete Collection of Illustrations and Writings from the Earliest to Current Times) which is the collection of illustrations of the book *Gu jin tu shu ji cheng* (The Complete Collection of Illustrations and Writings from the Earliest to Current Times) and was printed as an independent book and engraved by the Imperial Secretariat in the 4th year of Yongzheng.

7 kinds of *Ji* (集 Collections): a set of four-color copies of 64 volumes of *Gu wen yuan jian* (Profound Mirror of Ancient-style Prose) selected by the Emperor Kangxi, edited and annotated by Xu Qianxue et al., and printed by the Imperial Secretariat in the 24th year of Kangxi, *Yu ding li dai fu hui* (Imperially Commissioned Compendium of Fu Through the Ages) arranged into 140 volumes of *zhengji* (main collection), 20 volumes of *waiji* (extra collection), 2 volumes of fragments, 22 volumes of collection of supplementary pieces, and 3 volumes of table of contents, edited by Chen Yuanlong et al., commissioned by the Emperor Kangxi, and printed by Chen Yuanlong in *chengben* (copy submitted to the emperor) in the 45th year of Kangxi, 486 volumes of *Pei wen zhai yong wu shi xuan* (The Peiwen Studio's Collection of Poems on Things) edited by Zhang Yushu et al. in the Qing dynasty, commissioned by the Emperor Kangxi and printed by Gao Yuxiao in *chengben* (copy submitted to the emperor) in the 46th year of Kangxi, 100 volumes of *Yu ding quan tang shi lu* (Imperially Commissioned Complete Tang Poems Collection) edited by Xu Zhuo and Xu Yuanzheng in the Qing dynasty and printed by Xu Zhuo in *chengben* (copy submitted to the emperor) in the 45th year of Kangxi, *Quan tang shi* (Complete Tang Poems) arranged into 900 volumes of main collection and 12 volumes of table of contents, edited by Cao Yin, Peng Dingqiu et al. and printed by *Yangzhou shiju* (Yangzhou Poetry Office) in the 46th year of Kangxi, *Le shan tang quan ji*

(The Complete Works from the Leshan Hall) arranged into 40 volumes of main collection and 4 volumes of table of contents, written by the Emperor Qianlong and printed by Wuyingdian (Hall of Martial Valor) in the 2nd year of Qianlong, and 120 volumes of *Yu xuan li dai shi yu* (Compendium of Ci Through the Ages Selected by the Emperor Kangxi) edited by Shen Chenyuan, Wang Yiqing et al. and printed by the Imperial Secretariat in the 46th year of Kangxi.

Although there are not many kinds of woodblock printed books from the Qing court transported to Japan, they are all tomes of classics. Some of them are works of over 100 volumes. For instance, 912 volumes of *Quan tang shi* (Complete Tang Poems), 486 volumes of *Pei wen zhai yong wu shi xuan* (The Peiwen Studio's Collection of Poems on Things), 454 volumes of *Yuan jian lei han* (The Encyclopedia of China), 348 volumes of *Wen xian tong kao* (Comprehensive Examination of Literature), 336 volumes of *Ming shi* (The History of Ming), 187 volumes of *Yu ding li dai fu hui* (Imperially Commissioned Compendium of Fu Through the Ages), 162 volumes of *Da qing hui dian* (Collected Statutes of the Great Qing Dynasty), 120 volumes of *Wan shou sheng dian chu ji* (Magnificent Record of Long Life, First Collection), 120 volumes of *Yu xuan li dai shi yu* (Compendium of Ci Through the Ages Selected by the Emperor Kangxi), 109 volumes of *Yu pi zi zhi tong jian gang mu* (Imperially Commissioned Outlines and Details of the Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance), 106 volumes *Pei wen yun fu* (Rhyming Compendium of Refined Literature), 102 volumes of *Xiao jing yan yi* (Extended Explication of the Classic of Filial Piety), 102 volumes of *Pei wen zhai guang qun fang pu* (The Peiwen Studio's Collection of All Fragrances), 100 volumes of *Yu ding quan tang shi lu* (Imperially Commissioned Complete Tang Poems Collection), and 100 volumes of *Pei wen zhai shu hua pu* (The Peiwen Studio's Collection of Calligraphy and Painting).

The books from the Qing court were brought to Japan soon after they had been printed. For instance, *Yu ding quan tang shi lu* (Imperially Commissioned Complete Tang Poems Collection), edited by Xu Zhuo and Xu Yuanzheng in the Qing dynasty, was printed by Xu Zhuo in the 45th year of Kangxi, and 4 copies of this book were imported to Japan respectively in the 6th year of Hōei (the 48th year of Kangxi, 1709), the 8th year of Kyōhō (the 1st year of Yongzheng, 1723), the 9th year of Kyōhō (the 2nd year of Yongzheng, 1724). *Yu ding li dai fu hui* (Imperially Commissioned Compendium of Fu Through the Ages), arranged into 140 volumes of *zhengji* (main collection), 20 volumes of *waiji* (extra collection), 2 volumes of fragments, 22 volumes of collection of supplementary pieces, and 3 volumes of table of contents, was printed by Chen Yuanlong in the 45th year of Kangxi, and 2 copies of this

book were imported to Japan in 6th year of Hōei (the 48th year of Kangxi, 1709). *Yuan jian zhai yu zuan zhu zi quan shu* (The Yuanjian Studio's Imperially Commissioned Complete Works of Master Zhu), arranged into 66 volumes, was printed by the Imperial Secretariat in the 53rd year of Kangxi, and two copies of the book were imported to Japan respectively in the 4th year of Kyōhō (the 58th year of Kangxi, 1719) and the 9th year of Kyōhō (the 2nd year of Yongzheng, 1724). *Le shan tang quan ji* (The Complete Works from the Leshan Hall), arranged into 40 volumes of main collection and 2 volumes of table of contents, was printed by Wuyingdian (Hall of Martial Valor) in the 2nd year of Qianlong, and 3 copies of the books were imported to Japan respectively in the 4th year of Genbun (the 4th year of Qianlong, 1739) and the 1st year of Kanpō (the 6th year of Qianlong, 1741). Maybe the importation of these books was requested by the Japanese government, or maybe the vessel owners gradually understood the needs of the shogunate during trades and intentionally brought these books. The record from *Kaiki* in July 7th, the 10th year of Kyōhō shows, "After recent years of purchase, now we have two sets of *Shi wu sheng tong zhi* (Gazetteer of Fifteen Provinces) in Japan. These books should be collected. It is hoped that the book list can help to build the collection of these books by the sequence of orders the shogunate had sent to Nagasaki."³ Ōba Osamu discusses one of the influences of *Shōtoku shinrei* (Shōtoku New Law) on the trade with Chinese vessels as follows: "To obtain extra quota of specially-issued temporary *shinpai*, owners of Chinese vessels tried their best to meet the particular demands of the shogunate, that is, the demands for *yuyongwu* (emperor's things) or the demands for special knowledge. As a result, many experts and special goods were transported to Japan from the 4th or 5th year of Kyōhō to the 11th or 12th year of Kyōhō. These experts were doctors, Confucian scholars, horse-riding and archery talents, and horse veterinarians. The goods included large numbers of books."⁴ It is possible that the books were imported soon after they had been printed due to the request of the Japanese government at that time. Although specific names of the books might not be indicated, at least the category and content of the books were described, for instance, books on the topic of political system printed by the Qing court in particular.

Some books were imported for several times. For instance, *Yu pi zi zhi*

3 Ōba, Osamu 大庭脩 (Ed.). *Hakusai shomoku : tsuketari kaidai Kunaichō Shoryōbu-zō* 宮内廳書陵部藏舶載書目(List of Books Brought as Cargo Held in the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency). Suita: Institute of Oriental and Occidental Studies, Kansai University, 1972: 47.

4 Ōba, Osamu 大庭脩. *Edo jindai ni okeru Chūgoku bunka juyō no kenkyū* 江戸時代における中国文化受容の研究 (Studies of the Reception of Chinese Culture in the Edo Period [Japan]). Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1984, 1986 (2nd edition): 439.

tong jian gang mu (Imperially Commissioned Outlines and Details of the Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance) was a popular book of history in Japan. Nine copies of this book in total were imported respectively in the 7th year of Hōei (the 49th year of Kangxi, 1710), the 2nd year of Shōtoku (the 51th year of Kangxi, 1712), the 4th year of Shōtoku (the 53rd year of Kangxi, 1714), the 11th year of Kyōhō (the 4th year of Yongzheng, 1726), the 5th year of Genbun (the 5th year of Qianlong, 1740), the 1st year of Kanpō (the 6th year of Qianlong, 1741) and the 4th year of Kan'en (the 16th year of Qianlong, 1751), 2 copies among which were imported in the same year of the 1st year of Kanpō (the 6th year of Qianlong, 1741). 11 copies of *Kang xi zi dian* (Kangxi Dictionary) in total were imported to Japan after they had been printed by the Imperial Secretariat in the 50th year of Kangxi. They were imported respectively in the 9th year of Kyōhō (the 2nd year of Yongzheng, 1724), the 10th year of Kyōhō (the 3rd year of Yongzheng, 1725), the 2nd year of Genbun (the 2nd year of Qianlong, 1737), the 4th year of Genbun (the 4th year of Qianlong, 1739), the 1st year of Kanpō (the 6th year of Qianlong, 1741), the 2nd year of Kanpō (the 7th year of Qianlong, 1742), and the 4th year of Kan'en (the 16th year of Qianlong, 1751).

The Tokugawa shogunate is the biggest buyer of books imported to Japan, and it sometimes ordered books. Ōba Osamu points out, “In general, these transported books aboard Chinese vessels were selected by the owners of the vessels and then brought to Japan, but there are exceptions of books ordered by the Japanese government. Tokugawa Yoshimune, for instance, ordered books for several times. These books transported on the government leaders’ order are the so-called *yuyongwu* (emperor’s things) and their prices are much higher than the prices of books of the general category.”⁵ Take *Da qing hui dian* (Collected Statutes of the Great Qing Dynasty) for example. The chapter -- *Shu ji ba cai fang* (Eight: Interview) in the 58th volume and 59th volume of *Hao shu gu shi* (Stories of Favorite Books) mentions an order of books from the Secretary of Books in Nagasaki, “As is mentioned by other previous letters, books such as *Ding li cheng an* (Regulations and Leading Cases), *Da qing hui dian* (Collected Statutes of the Great Qing Dynasty) and so on are what the General likes. The General will pay deposit as well as the price of the books. His Excellency, Warden of Tōtōmi no kuni (a state of Japan) Kanō asked me to deliver this message. Please fulfil this mission as is expected. However, if the books are brought by the Chinese merchants themselves, we will pay the normal book price even when they are bought by the General.

5 Ōba, Osamu 大庭脩. *Edo jindai ni okeru Chūgoku bunka juyō no kenkyū* 江戸時代における中国文化受容の研究 (Studies of the Reception of Chinese Culture in the Edo Period [Japan]). Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1984, 1986 (2nd edition): 210.

Valuable books such as *Da qing hui dian* (Collected Statutes of the Great Qing Dynasty) are the most important, and His Excellency, Warden of Tōtōmi no kuni (a state of Japan) Kanō particularly asked me to notify the Chinese merchants to bring more books of this kind.” It is also pointed out that 162 volumes of *Da qing hui dian* (Collected Statutes of the Great Qing Dynasty) were transported by Chinese vessels in the autumn of the 4th year of Kyōhō (the 58th year of Kangxi, 1719)⁶. Ōba Osamu once organized a symposium discussing “Fukami Kudayū’s translation of *Da qing hui dian*.”⁷ According to *Hakusai shomoku* (List of Books Brought as Cargo), after the 4th year of Kyōhō (vol.11, p.34), copies of *Da qing hui dian* (Collected Statutes of the Great Qing Dynasty) were also imported to Japan in the 9th year of Kyōhō (the 2nd year of Yongzheng, 1724) (vol.14, p.89), the 10th year of Kyōhō (the 3rd year of Yongzheng, 1725) (vol.15, p.3), and the 11th year of Kyōhō (the 4th year of Yongzheng, 1726) (vol.16, p.22)⁸. The book *Da qing hui dian* (Collected Statutes of the Great Qing Dynasty) has explained the system of regulations as well as the structure of each administrative institution of the central and local governments. Through reading this book, the Japanese could get to know the political system of its neighbor, and reflect on its own political system. And that is why the General valued this book. The Edo Period is a period when both martial and literary talents were appreciated and cultivated. During this period, social stability and economic prosperity had been realized, and literary education was highly valued. Therefore, there were great demands of Chinese books. The book base of the shogunate was a main buyer of books imported to Japan aboard Chinese vessels. officials such as *Shomotsu bugyō* (Governor of Books), *Shomotsu aratame-yaku* (Censor of Books), and *Shomotsu mekiki* (Inspectorate of Books) etc., were all responsible for selecting and buying books for the shogunate. Tokugawa Yoshimune put much emphasis on Chinese books and a lot of Chinese books transported to Nagasaki were selected and stored in the book base. According to *Yūtoku in jikki* (Records of Shōgun Yoshimune), Tokugawa Yoshimune “often gathered *Osoba* (attendant), *Koshō* (pageboy), and *Shō-nagon* (attendant officer) and asked them to search for books. He first ordered them to search for

6 Ōba, Osamu 大庭脩. *Edo jindai ni okeru Chūgoku bunka juyō no kenkyū* 江戸時代における中国文化受容の研究 (Studies of the Reception of Chinese Culture in the Edo Period [Japan]). Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1984, 1986 (2nd edition): 230.

7 Ōba, Osamu 大庭脩. *Edo jindai ni okeru Chūgoku bunka juyō no kenkyū* 江戸時代における中国文化受容の研究 (Studies of the Reception of Chinese Culture in the Edo Period [Japan]). Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1984, 1986 (2nd edition): 233.

8 Numeral notes, such as vol.25, p.17, are cited in this article to indicate the number of volume and page of the copy book of *Hakusai shomoku: tsuketari kaidai Kunaichō Shoryōbu-zō*.

Japanese ancient classics. And he believed that the books brought by Chinese merchants were of various kinds, so he asked for a book list for preview and then selected useful books from the list. But he did not particularly look for books of poems or essays; instead, he collected useful books on the topic of nation-governing, for instance, gazetteers of administrative districts, states and counties. Gradually, the book base doubled its collection of books.”⁹ *Wen xian tong kao* (Comprehensive Examination of Literature) written by Ma Duanlin in the Yuan dynasty has been listed in the same category as *Da qing hui dian* (Collected Statutes of the Great Qing Dynasty). *Da qing hui dian* (Collected Statutes of the Great Qing Dynasty) records systems of regulations from the remote ages of China to the final years of Southern Song dynasty. It has generalized all the systems and analyzed the causes of rises and falls of all ages, which explains why the Japanese needed this book urgently at that time.

3. Chinese vessels that transported printed books from the Qing court to Japan

Trading details regarding cargo transported by the Chinese merchant vessels found in relevant history books – *Tōban kamotsu chō* (Register of Chinese and Barbarian Cargo), *Sairai shomoku* (List of Books Brought to Japan), *Taiisho* (Outlines), *Shōhaku sairai shomoku* (List of Books Transported by Chinese Merchant Vessels), and *Hakusai shomoku* (List of Books Brought as Cargo) – show that the trading goods were mostly silk, textiles and medical ingredients while books were only a small part in the Sino-Japan trade. In his work *Zōho kai tsūshō kō* (A Study of Commerce between the Barbarians and the Civilized, Expanded), Nishikawa Joken gives a brief summary of the Sino-Japan trade at that time. The book records departure sites of the Chinese merchant vessels, together with the name list of all Chinese merchants from 15 provinces sailing to Nagasaki. It also lists local special products from different provinces of China. For instance, Yingtianfu (modern Nanjing area, capital of Ming Dynasty in the early stage) is labelled as the place producing books¹⁰. As is recorded in *Tōban kamotsu chō* (Register of Chinese and Barbarian Cargo), between the 6th year of Hōei (1709) and the 3rd year of Shōtoku (1713), only 14 Chinese vessels carried books with them, which

9 Ba, Zhaoxiang. *Zhong guo di fang zhi liu bo ri ben yan jiu* 中国地方志流播日本研究 (Japanese Studies of the Distribution of Gazetteers of Chinese Administrative Districts). Shanghai: Shanghai People’s Publishing House, 2008: 6.

10 Nishikawa, Joken 西川如見. *Zōho kai tsūshō kō* (A Study of Commerce between the Barbarians and the Civilized, Expanded). In Nishikawa Tadaaki (Ed.), *Nishikawa Joken isho* 西川如見遺書 (The Last Will of Nishikawa Joken) (4th edition). Tōkyō: Kyūrin-dō, 1899: 4.

were Nanjing ships and Ningbo ships, and the number of books in each vessel varied between 1 to 93 boxes. Ōba Osamu comments, “Not all Chinese vessels were loaded with books. Those vessels carrying books with them were mainly Nanjing ships and Ningbo ships. Nanjing ships refer to ships sailing from the regions of Zhenjiang, Huai’an, Changzhou, Yangzhou, Suzhou, Shanghai and Songjiang. Ningbo ships refer to ships sailing from Zhapu of Zhejiang province. In a word, they were all ships from Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces, i.e. *kouchuan*. In the early stage of the Edo Period, for instance, the 1st year of Shōtoku (1711), only 5 out of 54 vessels entering the port were loaded with books, and 3 of them were Ningbo ships, 2 were Nanjing ships. As to the number of books, the 3 Ningbo ships carried around 4 boxes, and the two Nanjing ships carried 41 boxes. The number of books in Nanjing ships was ten times of that in Ningbo ships.” Ōba Osamu further infers that such a case is related to the location of the publishing center in China. He continues to comment, “*Kouchuan* were loaded with books because the departure sites were located in the regions of Jiangsu and Zhejiang where the publishing industry was the most developed. In other words, books were the special product of Jiangzhe District (Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces)¹¹. Ōba Osamu also adds, “Merchant vessels transporting books were mostly Nanjing ships and Ningbo ships. But there were two exceptions – a Guangdong ship, the 20th ship arriving at the Nagasaki port in the 20th year of Kyōhō, and a Xiamen ship, the 8th ship arriving at the Nagasaki port in the 4th year of An’ei. As is mentioned, before the 1st year of Genroku, most vessels sailing to Japan were Fujian ships including Fuzhou ships. But when it came to the era of Shōtoku, more Chinese vessels from Jiangzhe District travelled to Japan. We cannot jump to the conclusion that since Yingtianfu was the place where books were published, Nanjing ships and Fuzhou ships must carry books with them. But it is confusing that while Nanjing ships brought a lot of books, Fuzhou ships had never brought any books.”¹² In contrast, Fan Jinmin points out that Ōba Osamu’s saying – “Fuzhou ships had never brought any books” – was at odds with the history¹³. Zhou Zhenhe gathers

11 Ōba, Osamu 大庭脩. *Guan yu zhong guo shu ji chuan ru ri ben de yan jiu* (Study on Chinese Books Transported to Japan). In Department of History, Peking University (Ed.), *Beida shixue* 北大史学 (Study of History, Peking University). Beijing: Peking University Press, Vol.2, 1994: 98.

12 Ōba, Osamu 大庭脩. *Edo jindai ni okeru Chūgoku bunka juyō no kenkyū* 江戸時代における中国文化受容の研究 (Studies of the Reception of Chinese Culture in the Edo Period [Japan]). Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1984, 1986 (2nd edition): 44–45.

13 Fan, Jinmin. *Piao nang xiang zhi: qing dai qian qi jiang nan shu ji de ri ben xiao chang* 缥囊细帙: 清代前期江南书籍的日本销场 (Book Rolls: Place of Sale in Japan for Jiangnan Books in the Early Stage of the Qing Dynasty), *Historical Review*. Vol.1, 2010.

detailed statistics about the departure sites of those Chinese vessels transporting books to Japan based on Nagazumi Yoko's work *Tōsen yushutsunyūhin sūryō ichiran, 1637–1833 nen* (The Volume of Exports and Imports on Chinese Ships, 1637–1833) and summarizes the statistics in three tables – “Table of Chinese Vessels Travelling to Japan and Transported Books in the Early Stage of the Qing Dynasty Based on Dutch Files,” “Table of Chinese Vessels Travelling to Japan and Transported Books in the Mid and Late Stages of the Qing Dynasty Based on Dutch Files,” “Table of Chinese Vessels’ Trips to Japan and Transported Books.” He has pointed out that the departure sites of Chinese vessels transporting books were mainly in Fujian before 1682, and were changed to Zhapu after 1724¹⁴. This is the truth about the Sino-Japan book trade.

4. The distribution of woodblock printed books from the Qing court

How can woodblock printed books from the Qing court be transported so quickly to Japan? To answer this question, we need to discuss how these books were collected and bought by Chinese vessel owners. If the books were hidden from common people, today we would not be able to discuss these imported books. An open environment is a must for the importation of printed books from the Qing court. The Qing government prohibited the exportation of rice, iron, ironware, weapons, etc. from China¹⁵, but it adopted an open approach to the exportation of books. In the middle of 17th to 19th century, i.e. the Edo Period, a large number of Chinese books were transported to Japan¹⁶. Many factors have contributed to such a transportation of Chinese books, for instance, potential profits for merchants, the governmental ruling aided by literatures and humanities, the adequate supply of books, the government's permission on the distribution of books among civilians. At least, within the context of the Qing dynasty, the Qing government actively promoted the distribution of printed books from the court.

14 Zhou, Zhenhe. Qing dai shu wang ri ben han ji de chu bu yan jiu (Preliminary Study of Chinese Books Transported to Japan in the Qing Dynasty). *Newsletter for International China Studies* by International Academy of Chinese Studies. Beijing: Peking University Press, Vol.3, 2011.

15 Guo, Yunjing. *Qing dai shang ye shi* 清代商业史 (The History of Business in the Qing Dynasty). Shenyang: Liaoning People's Publishing House, 1994: 342–349.

16 According to *Shōhaku sairai shomoku* (List of Books Transported by Chinese Merchant Vessels) edited by Mukai Tomi, 43 Chinese merchant vessels sailed to the Nagasaki port and brought 4781 kinds of Chinese books in the 111 years between 1693 and 1803. Ōba Osamu claims that 6118 kinds and 57240 volumes of Chinese books were imported to Japan through Nagasaki between 1714 and 1855, and Fan Jinmin believes that the numbers Ōba Osamu gives are conservative estimates, and the number of books transported could be more than doubled.

The early era of the Qing dynasty witnessed a culture boom and the popularity of printed books from the Qing court. So far, not a single study has explored deeply the uses of these books. The information we have, generally given as examples, is that some of them were printed exclusively for the emperors' reading, some were for the display in the palaces, some were bestowed to princes, governmental officials and foreign nations, and some were awarded to provincial governments, academies, and temples. For instance, the Emperor Qianlong called for the offering of collections of books from civilians for his project—the compilation of *Si ku quan shu* (The Complete Library in Four Sections). According to an imperial edict in the 39th year of Qianlong (1774), bibliophiles in the Jiangnan District (a region to the south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River) who offered comparatively more books, for instance, those who had offered more than 500 kinds of books—“families of Bao Shigong, Fan Maozhu, Wang Qishu, and Ma Yu will be given respectively a set of *Gu jin tu shu ji cheng* (Complete Collection of Illustrations and Writings from the Earliest to Current Times) as rewards for their tradition of collecting and preserving ancient books. Zhou Houyu and Jiang Zengying from Jiangsu, Wu Yuchi, Sun Yangzeng, and Wang Ruli from Zhejiang, and officials like Huang Dengxian, Jiyun, Gu Shouqian, Wang Ruzao, etc., who have offered over 100 kinds of books, are all from renowned families with great book collections, and will be given respectively a set of *Pei wen yun fu* (Rhyming Compendium of Refined Literature). It is hoped that these bestowed books as rewards will also be cherished and preserved by them.”¹⁷ Such a project was widely known and acclaimed by the public and was believed to be the main channel through which printed books from the Qing court were able to be distributed among civilians.

However, that is a misunderstanding towards the channel of distribution for woodblock printed books from the Qing court. As a matter of fact, these books were not only served for the emperor's reading or as display in the palaces, or as gifts or rewards. Civilians were allowed to reprint books published by the Qing court themselves, to apply for printed books from the court, or to sell these books.

17 The First Historical Archives of China (Ed.) *Yu nei ge shang bao shi gong deng gu jin tu shu ji cheng zhou hou yu deng pei wen yun fu ge yi bu* 谕内閣賞鮑士恭等《古今圖書集成》周厚堦等《佩文韻府》各一部 (Imperial Edict: Bestow a Set of *Gu jin tu shu ji cheng* on Bao Shigong et al. Respectively, a Set of *Pei wen yun fu* on Zhou Houyu et al. Respectively) (May 14th, the 39th year of Qianlong). In *Zuan xiu si ku quan shu dang an* 纂修四庫全書檔案 (Edited Archives of the Complete Library in Four Sections). Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Publishing House, 1997: 210–211.

a. Reprinting was allowed

Emperors in the Qing dynasty knew well the effects of “examining and referencing all ancient books” and its importance on developing talents, academics and education. They intended to expand the influence of printed books from the Qing court, and released several edicts, asking all provinces to distribute classics and important books and encourage local book sellers to reprint the books and sell them to spread knowledge. According to an edict made in the 45th year of Kangxi (1706), “Books such as *Gu wen yuan jian* (Profound Mirror of Ancient-style Prose) and *Zi zhi tong jian gang mu* (Imperially Commissioned Outlines and Details of the Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance) are printed and bestowed to governmental officials. These books, are specially edited to help the study of young students, and can be distributed quickly and directly to all provinces. Any book seller who would like to reprint and sell the books is allowed to do so.” According to an edict made in the 1st year of Qianlong (1736), “It is heard that although some books commissioned by the Emperor Kangxi, for instance, *Yu zuan zhou yi zhe zhong* (Imperially Commissioned Collection of Zhouyi), and the three classics – *Shang shu* (The Book of Documents), *Shi* (Classic of Poetry), *Chun qiu* (The Spring and Autumn Annals), are all engraved in the woodblocks, it will take some time for young students to submit applications and wait for approval. Besides, one person only applies for one book and it is hard to gather craftsmen to print the books, therefore, only a few students have received the books. It is asked that governors of all provinces should recruit some local book sellers to prepare paper and ink so as to print these books and sell them. And governmental officials should not deter them from the preparation or the process of book printing. As long as local book sellers are willing to print books, young students can easily buy them. It is hoped that these books will be passed from one family to another family and widely spread.” Another edict from the 3rd year of Qianlong (1738) says, “Woodblocks of the books of classics and histories published under the commission of the Emperor Kangxi had already been given to *Buzhengshi* (Head of the Bureau of Financial and Civil Affairs) of each province. They were asked to carefully reprint these books, and give permission to local civilians to print and sell the books. Originally it was intended that all young students could read and recite these books and the grace of the emperor would be received by the public. However, it is heard that the woodblocks are stored in the provincial warehouses, and few young students or book sellers print these books. It is asked that governors of each province restore these woodblocks to facilitate book printing for young students. Anyone who would like to reprint these books is allowed to do so and governors should

not prohibit such an act.”¹⁸ Edicts of similar kinds – “print carefully, and allow the local workshops to reprint and spread widely” – can be found in the chapter “Ban xing shu ji” (Publish Books) from *Qin ding da qing hui dian shi li* (Imperially Commissioned Collected Statutes of the Great Qing Dynasty) and chapter four “Ban fa shu ji” (Publish Books) from *Qin ding xue zheng quan shu* (Imperially Commissioned Handbook of Educational Administration). Although civilians (including squires and book sellers) were allowed for self-funded reprinting of books published by the Imperial Secretariat, the cost of such practice was high. In fact, few private bookstores, students and squires self-funded the reprinting of sets of tomes, and most books were reprinted by the government. For instance, the head of the Board of Rites and the Jijiu of Guozijian (National Academy) Yang Mingshi applied for the reprinting of 1021 pages of *Yu zuan zhou yi zhe zhong* (Imperially Commissioned Collection of Zhouyi), 423 pages of *Yu zuan xing li jing yi* (Imperially Commissioned Essential Ideas of Nature and Principle), 1905 pages of *Qin ding chun qiu chuan shuo hui zuan* (Imperially Commissioned Collection of Tales in Spring and Autumn Period), 1611 pages of *Qin ding shi jing chuan shuo hui zuan* (Imperially Commissioned Tales of Classic of Poetry), and 1175 pages of *Qin ding shu jing chuan shuo hui zuan* (Imperially Commissioned Tales of Book of Documents). Within one year, over 6000 pages of these five books were reprinted. Books transported to Japan during this period were almost books of over 100 volumes¹⁹. It was impossible for civilians to reprint books of such a big size for several reasons. First, such a big project would take too much time and it is hard to gain profits quickly. Second, it costs too much money and is highly risky, which is against the profit-oriented business principle. At least owners of the Chinese vessels would not undertake such a long-drawn-out project.

b. Self-prepared paper and ink for printing

After the Imperial Secretariat had done the printing, the woodblocks often laid idle. Civilians could apply for some of the woodblocks and then

18 Kun Gang (Revised), Liu Qirui (Ed.). *Li bu, xue xiao, ban xing shu ji* 礼部·学校·颁行书籍 (The Board of Rites, Academies, Publish Books), the 388th volume of *Qin ding da qing hui dian shi li* 钦定大清会典事例 (Imperially Commissioned Collected Statutes of the Great Qing Dynasty). In *Xu xiu si ku quan shu* 续修四库全书 (Sequel to the Complete Library in Four Sections). Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Publishing House, 2002: 197–209.

19 Wen Qing, Li Zong fang et al (Write). Guo Yanan et al. (Proofread). *Jing ji zhi er: shu ban* 经籍志二·书版 (The Second Gazetteer of Books of Classics: Book Edition), the 66th volume of *Qin ding guo zi jian zhi* 钦定国子监志 (Imperially Commissioned Gazetteers of National Academy). Beijing: Beijing Guji Publishing House, 2000: 1151–1152.

prepared paper and ink for the printing of limited pages. The record in the 45th year of Kangxi writes, “Previously, for books written in the language of Qing—*Zi zhi tong jian gang mu* (Imperially Commissioned Outlines and Details of the Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance) and *Gu wen yuan jian* (Profound Mirror of Ancient-style Prose), 100 copies were printed with the paper of liansi (made of moso bamboo), and 600 copies were printed with the paper of bang. After the imperial printing was done, anyone who would like to print these two books would be given permission to print them. Today Manchu people, Mongolians and even the Han army and Han Chinese all say that the books commissioned by the Qing emperors can be printed by the Imperial Secretariat, and after the imperial printing is done and the woodblock lays idle, we are also allowed to make good use of these woodblocks for governmental printing by the grace of the emperor. Thus, we are able to learn the Manchu language as early as possible and print books before the woodblocks are cracked, and the characters printed on the books are very clear.” “Written instruction from the emperor: Noted. Please follow the case of *Gu wen yuan jian* (Profound Mirror of Ancient-style Prose).”²⁰ An edict in the 3rd year of Qianlong claims, “Following the edict issued by the Emperor Yongzheng, books of classics and histories which were printed by the commission of the Emperor Kangxi are given to *Buzhengsi* (the Bureau of Financial and Civil Affairs) of each province. They should carefully print the books and allow civilians to apply for governmental printed books and sell them. It was intended that every young student could read and recite these books and the grace of the emperor would be received by the public. However, it is heard that the woodblocks are stored in the provincial warehouses, and few young students or book sellers print these books. It is asked that governors of all province give due attention to this matter, and restore the woodblocks to facilitate the reprinting by civilians. Anyone who would like to reprint the books is allowed to do that. Do not prohibit them from reprinting the books. If anything in the imperially commissioned books is good for reciting and learning while the woodblocks of the books are not yet given to the provincial governments, governors can submit an application for the woodblocks. As to woodblocks stored in Wuyingdian (Hall of Martial

20 The First Historical Archives of China (Ed. & Transl.). *Wu ying dian zong jian zao he shi heng jin shu bing zeng yin gu wen yuan jian deng shu zhe* 武英殿总监造赫世亨进书并请增印古文渊鉴等书折 (The Memorial to the Throne from the Governor of Wuyingdian He Shiheng on More Printing of Books of *Gu wen yuan jian*, etc.) (August 21st, the 45th year of Kangxi). In *Kang xi chao man wen zhu pi zou zhe quan yi* 康熙朝满文硃批奏折全译 (The Complete Translation of Reviewed Memorials to the Throne Written in Manchu in the Era of Kangxi). Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 1996: 459.

Valor), Hanlinyuan (Hanlin Academy), and Guozijian (National Academy), people who would like to have the books can apply for governmental printed books. As to all kinds of books in the Imperial Secretariat, Man or Han officials who would like to buy and read are allowed to apply for them. As to how to deal with officials' purchase and printing, the Board of Rites would discuss with other departments, make a regulation and seek for the emperor's advice. Everyone should be notified and follow the instructions. A suggested plan is as follows. The price of the paper and ink needed for the governmental printing of each book will be checked and verified by relevant departments. Any Man or Han official who would like to buy and read them, please place an order in his department and pay for the books in cash. The governmental printing of books will be approved after the order is confirmed and payment is done. If the official would like to pay through wages, he will have to wait for his department to review the order and consult divisions in Wuyingdian (Hall of Martial Valor). Then the ordered books will be sent to him, a relevant notice will be sent to the Board of Revenue and the corresponding amount of money will be deducted from his wage."²¹ Similar edicts, such as "young students are allowed to apply for printed books from provincial governments," "Officials who would like to pay through wages will be given as many books as they have paid", can be found in *Qin ding da qing hui dian shi li* (Imperially Commissioned Collected Statutes of the Great Qing Dynasty) and *Qin ding xue zheng quan shu* (Imperially Commissioned Handbook of Educational Administration). There are also some records in *Wu ying dian ke shu zuo ding li* (Regulations of Book Printing in Wuyingdian)²².

c. Book Sale in Chongwenmen

The sale of printed books from the Imperial Secretariat of the Qing court dates to as early as the beginning of the Qianlong era, and the Chongwenmen Division of Supervision was responsible for book selling²³. In the 3rd year of Qianlong, departments including the Board of Rites made a regulation: books such as *Yu xuan yu lu* (Imperially Selected Sayings) from the imperial court would be issued as usual. "Books printed by Wuyingdian (Hall of Martial

21 *Qing gao zong shi lu* 清高宗实录 (Records of the Emperor Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty), Vol.70 (June 28th, the 3rd year of Qianlong), *Qing shi lu* 清实录 (Records of the Emperors in the Qing Dynasty), Vol.10. Beijing: Copies by Zhonghua Book Company, 1985: 130.

22 The First Historical Archives of China & The Palace Museum (Ed.). *Wu ying dian xiu shu chu dang an* 武英殿修书处档案 (The Archives of the Printing Workshop in Wuyingdian). Beijing: The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2014.

23 Memorials from Wang Jihua, Ying Lian, Jin Jian. In *Jun ji chu lu fu zou zhe* 军机处录副奏折 (Copies of Memorial to the Throne in the Grand Council) (April 26th, the 38th year of Qianlong). The First Historical Archives of China.

Valor) will be given to Chongwenmen Division of Supervision and stored in the bureau of books so that young students can buy them.”²⁴ Sayings in *Yu xuan yu lu* (Imperially Selected Sayings) were selected and edited by the Emperor Yongzheng, and printed in the final years of the Yongzheng era and early years of the Qianlong era. However, Chongwenmen Division of Supervision had sold books from the court much earlier. Since the 7th year of Qianlong, the printing workshop of Wuyingdian (Hall of Martial Valor) had directly sold books. With more and more tasks of book selling, the Emperor Qianlong set up a sale office for *tongxing* books (books circulating in the marketplace) in the printing workshop of Wuyingdian and sent staff to take charge of book selling. “*Tongxing* books from Wuyingdian have been allowed for sale since the 9th year of Qianlong.”²⁵ The sale office sold books to not only Man and Han governmental officials, soldiers and civilians, etc., but also bookstores located in the five districts of Beijing (east, west, south, north, and middle). Those books sold to the public were copies of *tongxingben* (general editions that were circulated in the marketplace) specially printed in common paper with common binding, different from those copies issued by the court following edicts from the emperors, copies intended for the display at various palaces or copies intended as imperial rewards. They were sold at the market prices by the currency of taels of silver. In the 39th year of Qianlong, *Lv jun wang yong cheng deng zou zhuo ni cun liu wu ying dian xiu shu chu ku zhu ge zhong shu ji zhe* (The Memorial to the Throne from the Prince of Lvjun Yong Cheng and Other Officials on All Kinds of Books That Will Be Kept in the Printing Workshop of Wuyingdian) writes, “For all printed books, either printed by the Imperial Secretariat or imported from the outside, if the book is of over 1000 copies, we should keep 200 copies. If the book is of 150 to 600 or 700 copies, we should keep 100 copies. If the book is of fewer than 150 copies, we should keep 50 copies. These copies are all the first-editions printed with the original woodblocks, and the paper and ink used are better than those used for *tongxingben*. We have already received endless grace of the emperor. His Majesty, why not abolish the rule of application for printed books, and give permission to all for getting the books. All who would like to

24 *Qing gao zong shi lu* 清高宗实录 (Records of the Emperor Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty), Vol.70 (June 28th, the 3rd year of Qianlong), *Qing shi lu* 清实录 (Records of the Emperors in the Qing Dynasty), Vol.10. Beijing: Copies by Zhonghua Book Company, 1985: 130.

25 Chen Yuan (Ed.). *Zong guan nei wu fu da chen ying lian deng zou shu* (The Memorial to the Throne from the Official of Imperial Household Department Ying Lian et al.) (June 25th, the 39th year of Qianlong). In *Ban li si ku quan shu dang an* 办理四库全书档案 (Transaction of Archives of the Complete Library in Four Sections). Beijing: National Beijing Library, 1934.

buy the printed books can have the good books.”²⁶ 182 kinds of *tongxing* books from the printing workshop of Wuyingdian were allowed to be sold through the Chongwenmen Division of Supervision²⁷. Detailed records of all kinds of books distributed by the Imperial Secretariat can be found in the book *Qing tong zhi guang xu jian wu ying dian mai shu di bu* (The Account Book of Book Sale of Wuyingdian in the Eras of Tongzhi and Guangxu) in the library of Chinese Academy of Sciences. Wuyingdian (Hall of Martial Valor) is the most important printing workshop in the Qing dynasty. However, people usually pay more attention to what books it has printed, and have little knowledge of the book sale. In the beginning of *Qing tong zhi guang xu jian wu ying dian mai shu di bu* (The Account Book of Book Sale of Wuyingdian in the Eras of Tongzhi and Guangxu), it writes “savings of one tael, nine maces, five candareens, five lis and one hao in the end of December, the 3rd year of Tongzhi.” We can tell that Wuyingdian had kept records of sale for a long time, maybe even since it started to sell books. It is a pity that except this account book, few other account books are left today. We can only wait for future discoveries from the files of Wuyingdian. From the beginning of the account book “savings of one tael, nine maces, five candareens, five lis and one hao in the end of December, the 3rd year of Tongzhi,” we can tell that records of this book had been kept since the early days of the 4th year of Tongzhi, which is further confirmed by the first record in the following lines “March 16, the 4th year of Tongzhi.” The date of the last record is “June 17, the 5th year of Guangxu.” There are 91 records in the account book, mostly about book sale, and a few about spending, which indicates that officers in charge of the treasury in the division could withdraw money when necessary. In addition, every transaction was supervised by several people, indicating that there was a strict management system. From the 4th year of Tongzhi to June, the 5th year of Guangxu, only 70 sale records can be found during the 15 years, showing that the printing workshop in Wuyingdian was in decline, which matches the actual situation in Wuyingdian. Only some old long-stored books of limited kinds were sold by Wuyingdian. From *Qing tong zhi guang xu jian wu ying dian mai shu di bu*

26 The First Historical Archives of China (Ed.). *Lv jun wang yong cheng deng zou zhao ni cun liu wu ying dian xiu shu chu ku zhu ge zhong shu ji zhe* 履郡王永城等奏酌拟存留武英殿修书处库贮各种书籍折 (The Memorial to the Throne from the Prince of Lvjun Yong Cheng and Other Officials on All Kinds of Books That Will Be Kept in the Printing Workshop of Wuyingdian) (May 11th, the 39th year of Qianlong). In *Zuan xiu si ku quan shu dang an* 纂修四库全书档案 (Edited Archives of the Complete Library in Four Sections). Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Publishing House, 1997: 206–207.

27 Zhang, Xiumin. *Zhong guo yin shua shi* 中国印刷史 (The History of Printing in China). Shanghai: Shanghai People’s Publishing House, 1989: 549.

(The Account Book of Book Sale of Wuyingdian in the Eras of Tongzhi and Guangxu), we can find that buyers were princes, officials and common civilians, showing that printed books from Wuyingdian can be sold to civilians²⁸. We can find that a buyer called Zhao Junying bought several copies of the same book. It is possible that he was a book seller, or he just bought books for others.

d. Bookstore sale

Printed books from the Imperial Secretariat were sold by bookstores as well as Chongwenmen. However, in the era of Qianlong, there were not many bookstores in Beijing selling printed books from the Qing court. According to the record by Li Wenzao, only a bookstore called *Xianyuelou* run by the family of Li sold a lot of printed books from the Imperial Secretariat²⁹. The record of the printing workshop of Wuyingdian in the 9th year of Daoguang shows, “Books from our division are sold to bookstores in the five districts of Beijing, apart from those sold directly to Man and Han officials, soldiers and civilians.” The division reported to the emperor in the 9th year of Daoguang, “According to the regulation in our division, all *juzhenben* (precious editions) and *tongxingben* (general editions) are entrusted to bookstores in the five districts for premiere sale. These bookstores are required to pay quarterly. Please send Duchayuan (the Censorate) to supervise book firms and workshops in the five districts under the jurisdiction of *Bingmasi* (Department of Horse and Calvary) in accordance with the regulation. Please gather outstanding bookstores and establish a system of peer supervision so as to ensure stable and fair book prices in the marketplace.”³⁰

28 Anonymous. *Qing tong zhi guang xu jian wu ying dian mai shu di bu* 清同治光绪间武英殿卖书底簿不分卷 (The Account Book of Book Sale of Wuyingdian in the Eras of Tongzhi and Guangxu). In *Si ku wei shou shu ji kan* 四库未收书辑刊 (Collection of Books Not Included in the Complete Library in Four Sections). Beijing: Beijing Publishing House, 2000: 105–139.

29 Li, Wenzao. *Liu li chang shu si ji* 琉璃厂书肆记 (Records of Bookstores in the Liulichang Area). In *Nan jian wen ji* 南涧文集 (Essays of Nanjian) Vol.1. In *Xu xiu si ku quan shu* 续修四库全书 (Sequel to the Complete Library in Four Sections). Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Publishing House, 2002: 76.

30 *Wu ying dian xiu shu chu dang an* 武英殿修书处档案 (The Archives of the Printing Workshop in Wuyingdian). Copies were made in early times, and the source of the edict cannot be traced.

The second edict is partly quoted in

Yang, Yuliang. *Qian tan qing zhong yang guan zuan tu shu de fa xing ji qi dui fa zhan qing dai wen hua de zuo yong*. 浅谈清中央官纂图书的发行及其对发展清代文化的作用 (On the Publish of Central Governmental Books and Its Influence on Developing Qing Culture). In *Qing dai gong shi qiu shi* 清代宫史求实 (Exploration of the Qing Palace History), edited by The Society for Qing Palace History. Beijing:

Beijing was the important center of book distribution in the Qing dynasty. Some book sellers and publishers from Jiangnan District opened bookstores in Beijing or imported books published or collected in Jiangnan District to Beijing. Many people who run book business in Liulichang area of Beijing were from Suzhou and Huzhou³¹. These book sellers in Beijing knew very well the printed books from the Imperial Secretariat. They opened bookstores here and bought books from the Qing court directly or indirectly. Jiangnan booksellers was an important source through whom *dianben* (books printed by Wuyingdian) could be transported to the book market of Jiangnan District. The distribution of *dianben* can be studied by observing the Sino-Japan trade at that time. If we trace the source of printed books from the Qing court transported to Japan by Chinese vessels, we will find two possible channels. One possibility is that the vessel owners went to Beijing or sent people to Beijing to buy the books. Another possibility is that there was an established book circulation network through which printed books from the Qing court were distributed to different regions in the country, including areas where the vessel owners lived. The vessel owners only had to search and buy printed books in bookstores of Jiangnan District, or they simply asked the Jiangnan book sellers who opened stores in Beijing to buy books for them. It seems that the latter possibility fits the commercial rule better.

The Forbidden City Publishing House, 1992: 330.

- 31 Li, Wenzao. Liu li chang shu si ji 琉璃厂书肆记 (Records of Bookstores in the Liulichang Area). In *Nan jian wen ji* 南涧文集 (Essays of Nanjian) Vol.1. In *Xu xiu si ku quan shu* 续修四库全书 (Sequel to the Complete Library in Four Sections). Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Publishing House, 2002: 77.