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Book Collecting by a Literati Daimyo in Early Modern Japan, and the Exchange of Information: An Investigation into Catalogues of the Rakusaidō Collection in Hirado Domain

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TRANSLATED BY KAZUHIRO MURAYAMA

Introduction

THIS article considers book collecting by the early modern literati daimyo Matura Seizan 松浦静山 (1760–1841), and the library of the Matura house of Hirado, known as Rakusaidō Bunko 楽歳堂文庫 (Rakusaidō Library). The matter has previously been addressed by Umeki Kōkichi 梅本幸吉 in a paper on the Saiki Bunko 佐伯文庫 (Bungo Saiki Mōri House Library),¹ and detailed research on Western books in the Rakusaidō has been carried out by Matsuda Kiyoshi 松田清.²

Seizan amassed most of the ten thousand books in the Rakusaidō during his lifetime, and this article examines the means by which he did so. It also considers his lending and borrowing, bibliographic networks,

and the socioeconomic conditions that enabled him to complete such a huge undertaking. The hope is to contribute to a better understanding of the social significance of the collection, beyond issues of Seizan's personal tastes and preferences. Matsuda's outstanding scholarship introduced the Rakusaidō catalogues, arguing that they were crucial to understanding the social background and overall significance of the library. Indeed, he showed the high potential of library catalogues overall as data for historical research. This article builds on Matsuda's work to further consider Seizan and his library. We will discuss how the daimyo was able to acquire foreign books (Western and Chinese) via international contacts, and his access to *kinsho* 禁書 (forbidden, or proscribed volumes). The Rakusaidō catalogues are incomparably richer than those of other daimyo holdings, and their information is far more revealing. It would be valuable to study them in their entirety, but that is impossible here. The present discussion is limited to items that can usefully be contrasted with works in other daimyo and literati collections. It is hoped that the exercise will allow identification of the characteristics of Seizan's collection, while remaining within manageable proportions.

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1 This is a revision and translation of an article published by the author, Iwasaki Yoshinori, 岩崎義則 entitled "Daimyō zōsho no naka no kokusaikōryū: Hirado-han Rakusaidō no zōshomokuroku kara 大名蔵書の中の国際交流: 平戸藩楽歳堂の蔵書目録から", previously published in *Kyūshū Daigaku jinbungaku nyūmon 1: Higashi Ajia no kōryū to hen'yō* 九州大学人文学入門 1: 東アジアの交流と変容 (2011), pp. 149–61.

Umeki, *Saiki bunko no kenkyū*.

2 Matsuda, *Yōgaku no shoshiteki kenkyū*.

Matsura Seizan

Matsura Seizan is well known as the author of the *zui-hitsu* 随筆 (common-place book) *Kasshi yawa* 甲子夜話 (Night Talks From the Year of the Rat). He was a descendant of the Saga Genji 嵯峨源氏, and ninth generation daimyo of Hirado in the Edo 江戸 period (1603–1867). He held the honorary title Iki-no-kami 壱岐守 (Governor of Iki), while his given name was Kiyoshi 清. He took the name Seizan upon retirement, in Bunka 文化 3 (1806).³ *Kasshi yawa* is a major work, running to fully 278 fascicles, that is, an original one hundred, followed by a sequel of another one hundred, and a third section of seventy-eight. Compiled over the last twenty years of Seizan's life, it began in Bunsei 文政 4 (1821), the Year of the Rat, on the eleventh day of the twelfth month, and ended with Seizan's death in Tenpō 天保 12 (1841).⁴

One year before Seizan's death, on the eighteenth day of the twelfth month of Tenpō 11 (1840), Tokugawa Nariaki 徳川斉昭 (1800–1860), daimyo of Mito 水戸, invited Seizan to his residence. Also present were Sanada Yukitsura 真田幸貫 (1791–1852), a high shogunal official and daimyo of Matsushiro 松代, and the highly-admired daimyo of Kurobane 黒羽, Ōzeki Masunari 大関増業 (1781–1845). All sat for a group portrait titled *San'yū zō* 三勇像 (Three Heroes; see figure 1). Confucian scholar Satō Issai 佐藤一斎 (1772–1859) inscribed the painting, noting how healthy Seizan looked, it being “amazing to see this eighty-year-old gentleman from Hirado in such robust condition.”⁵

Seizan left a series of signal achievements as daimyo. One was opening a domain school, the Ishin-kan 維新館 (Hall of Renovation); another was preparing *oshioki chō* 御仕置帳 (lawbooks) for use by village, town, and coastal magistrates. He also won fame for literary pursuits, and despite his busy life between Hirado and Edo, Seizan found time to cultivate a love of books and reading. He was familiar with booksellers in various cities, from Nagasaki and Osaka to Kyoto and Edo.

In An'ei 安永 8 (1779), Seizan established the Rakusaidō as a hall within Hirado Castle to preserve the

family's ancestral tablets and keep his growing library. His books were of diverse types—Japanese, Chinese, and Western, and he also had paintings, *takuhon* 拓本 (rubblings), and artefacts such as stones and ancient roof tiles. Seizan referred to, or quoted from, many of these in *Kasshi yawa*.

As well as books available on the open market, Seizan acquired rare items and secret works. He was willing to lend his possessions to significant institutions, one being the shogunal Confucian academy, the Shōhei-zaka Gakumonjo 昌平坂学問所 (Study Center at Shōhei-zaka), and to individuals, like the academy rector Hayashi Jussai 林述斎 (1768–1841), the polymath, patron, and advocate of scholarly and cultural exchange Kimura Kenkadō 木村兼葭堂 (1736–1802), and Satō Issai, who became head of the academy in Bunka 文化 2 (1805).

Seizan's son and successor, Matsura Hiromu 松浦熙 (1791–1876), tenth daimyo, retired to Hirado shortly before his father's death, and expanded both the collection and the library storage facilities. Hiromu took all Seizan's personal manuscripts and effects to Hirado, including his holograph of *Kasshi yawa* and *Keiko jutsuji* 敬孝述事 (Record of Filial Respect). The works accumulated by Seizan and Hiromu together form the basis of today's Matsura Shiryō Hakubutsukan 松浦史料博物館 (Matsura Historical Museum), though there have been losses and dispersals due to earthquakes and war.⁶

Rakusaidō Library

In the spring of Tenpō 11 (1840), Sadakata Tadatomu 貞方忠友 (n.d.) chronicled the foundation and development of the library in a work titled *Kongō ko gozōei no raiyu* 金剛庫御造営の来由 (Origins of the Foundation of the Kongō Storehouse). Tadatomu wrote of Seizan's passion for books in the following terms: “In An'ei 8 [1779], he erected a mausoleum which he named Rakusaidō, placing his ancestral tablets within, together with his books. Lord Seizan was a bibliophile and treasured rare and secret works. He spared no effort in amassing a wide collection, even buying foreign titles.”⁷

3 Ujiie, *Tonosama to nezumikozō*, p. 29; Ujiie, *Yūyūjiteki: Rōkō*, p. 43.

4 Nakamura and Nakano, *Kasshi yawa*, part 1, vol. 6, pp. 425–35 (commentary section, not part of the original text). The original of *Kasshi yawa* is housed in the collection of the Matsura Historical Museum. It is unpaginated and totals 278 volumes.

5 「為平戸老侯、齡八十、老驥伏櫪、可畏也。」

6 Zaidanhōjin Matsura Shiryō Hakubutsukan, *Toshorui mokuroku*; Zaidanhōjin Matsura Shiryō Hakubutsukan, *Jukirui mokuroku*. The museum website provides information in English and Japanese: <http://www.matsura.or.jp/en/history/lords/>

7 Matsura, *Kameoka zuihitsu*, pp. 17–19.



Figure 1. *San'yū zō*. The elderly Seizan, right. 1832. H. 89 cm, W. 88 cm. Courtesy of Matsura Historical Museum.

Thus, Rakusaidō was the name given to the mausoleum of the Matsura ancestors and the book depository, erected in 1779. However, it soon became too small, and in Tenmei 天明 5 (1785), Seizan built a new facility, financed by Masutomi Masaaki 益富正昭 (n.d.), a wealthy whaler from Ikitsuki in the Hirado domain. This was also named Rakusaidō, but around Bunsei 11 (1828), that name was no longer being used, with the new facility commonly called Go-shomotsu gura 御書物蔵 (Lord's Book Storehouse). Later, in Tenpō 10 (1839), Hiromu completed two more depositories, naming them Tsuru Bunko 鶴文庫 (Crane Library), for books, and the Kongō Ko 金剛庫 (Diamond Storage), for other treasures. The Kongō Ko enclosed the old Rakusaidō inside it, which became solely a mausoleum.

Some sense of the scale of the Matsura Collection can be gained from a record dating to the eleventh day of the tenth month of Kansei 寛政 12 (1800), that is, fifteen years after Seizan's rebuilding. The document transcribes and catalogues the holdings under the title of *Rakusaidō shomoku kansu shirushi korearu goshomotsu ita* 楽歳堂書目巻数記シ有之御書物板 (Record Panels of the Many Books and Scrolls Stored in the Rakusaidō). The *Record* is housed in the Matsura Historical Museum and is made of paper glued to wooden panels. The work is in sections, with *Uchihen bo* 内篇簿 (inner volumes) listing 6,579 mainly Japanese books, *Sotohen bo* 外篇簿 (outer volumes) listing 9,299 mainly Chinese books, and *Bankoku bu bo* 蛮国部簿 ("barbarian" volumes) listing 148 mainly Western books. This makes

a total of 16,026 titles. The *Uchihen bo* section runs to ten fascicles, the *Sotohen bo* to four, and the *Bankoku bu* to two. Three more catalogues also exist: *Betsuroku bo* 別録簿 (separate volumes), *Furoku bo* 附録簿 (appendixes), and *Kajomoku bo* 家乗目簿 (family histories). Altogether, the six catalogues have twenty-four fascicles. These lists match a twenty-four-fascicle *Hirado-han rakusaidō zōsho mokuroku* 平戸藩楽歳堂蔵書目録 (Catalogue of the Hirado Domain Rakusaidō; hereafter referred to as Catalogue A), of which only fifteen fascicles survive in the Matsura Historical Museum. The museum also has a set of twenty-three object lists grouped under the title *Shinzō shomoku* 新增書目 (Newly-Acquired Books; hereafter Catalogue B), recording Seizan's purchases in Edo, rather than Nagasaki or elsewhere. Catalogues A, B, and C have no modern reprints.

When compared with Catalogue A, Catalogue B appears to be incomplete, especially in its *Bankoku bu* section. Missing parts can be identified by comparison with a list of the Rakusaidō's Western books preserved in Kyoto University Library. A study of all these catalogues, alongside extant books, would reveal the full extent of Seizan's holdings, and constitute an important academic endeavor.⁸

Catalogue A has a preface dated to the seventh month of Tenmei 5 (1785), composed by eight Hirado retainers on behalf of Seizan. It states, "This is written in the hope that my descendants will know my intentions, even if the collection should be dispersed in the distant future." The purpose of compiling the catalogues was evidently to inform later generations of the collection, and the motives behind it.

Three seals were used to mark items. One reads *Hirado-han zōsho* 平戸藩蔵書 (Books Belonging to Hirado Domain), another *Rakusaidō toshoki* 楽歳堂図書記 (Record of Books in the Rakusaidō), and a third *Shison eihō* 子孫永宝 (Eternal Treasure for Descendants). The seals themselves are now in the Matsura Historical Museum. They were not used consistently, but the seal reading *Shison eihō* seems to have been used on the order of Seizan himself. Library seals had the practical function of confirming possession in the event of dispersal or removal.

Notes at the beginning of the catalogues explain their classificatory systems. *Sotohen* (i.e., mostly Chi-

nese works) contains *keirui* 経類 (economics), *shirui* 史類 (history), *shirui* 子類 (pedagogy), and *shūru* 集類 (anthologies). These classifications follow those used in the *Guo shi jing ji zhi* 國史經籍志 (Bibliographic Information and Index of Chinese Books). For further clarity, works were color-coded to distinguish original Chinese books from Japanese reprints, and later annotated versions: small rectangular slips (*ken* 圈) in red, blue, or purple were applied to demarcate the groups. The same system was used to group calligraphic works and paintings. Conversely, the classification *Uchihen* (mostly Japanese works) has twenty divisions, including one for Shinto rituals, and a note explains that this follows the *Ninnaji shojaku mokuroku* 仁和寺書籍目録 (Catalogue of Books in Ninnaji Temple).

Western Books

The Rakusaidō catalogues include Seizan's annotations on how he obtained each item, and his first impressions on examining them. Although fundamentally catalogues, these additions make the volumes fascinating to read, almost like narratives in their own right. Some examples will be provided below.

Of all the books in the Rakusaidō, the Western works have attracted the most scholarly attention. Seizan's purchases of these were assisted by families resident in Nagasaki and working as Dutch translators. These included the Motoki 本木, the Yokoyama 横山, the Shizuki 志筑, the Ishibashi 石橋, and the Inomata 猪股, all of whom were formerly retainers of Hirado domain, and had once lived there. The eminent translator and Dutch studies scholar Motoki Ryōei 本木良永 (1735–1794) was especially helpful to Seizan, as was the translator Yoshio Kōgyū 吉雄耕牛 (1724–1800).

An interesting example is that of an English-language work in the collection, *Anatomical Tables*. It is given the Japanese title *Kaitaiki* 解体記 (Anatomical Record), while its illustrations are identified as *Sanpu kaibō zu* 産婦解剖図 (Obstetric charts; figure 2). An annotation by Seizan beside the English title explains that the book was acquired in Nagasaki, and was translated by the shogunal doctor Katsuragawa Hoshū 桂川甫周 (1751–1809) and the translator of Dutch, Motoki Shōei 本木正栄 (1767–1822, son of Ryōei above), who undertook the project at the Asakusa Observatory in Edo. The note adds that the book was published in 1754, and when it arrived in Nagasaki, no Dutch translator was proficient

8 Matsuda, *Yōgaku no shoshiteki kenkyū*.

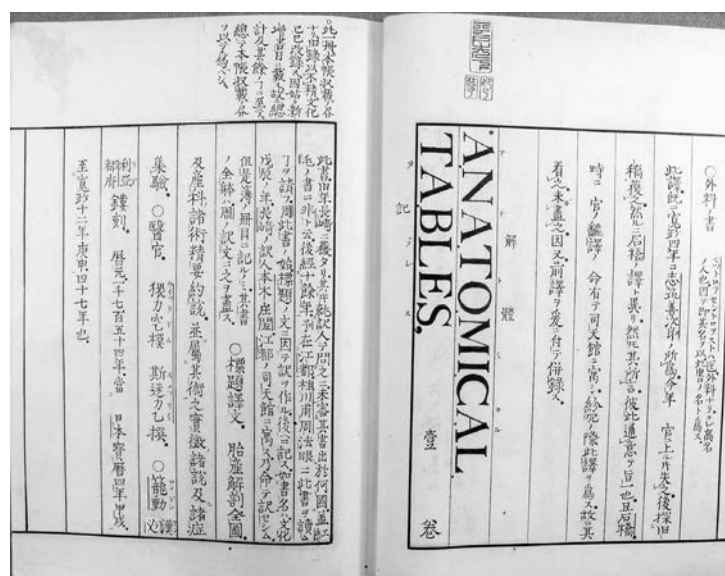


Figure 2. Seizan, *Shinzō shomoku sotohen bankoku*, p. 78. 1800. H. 28 cm, W. 40 cm. Courtesy of Matsura Historical Museum.

in English, so they could not understand its contents. As a result of the arrival of *HMS Phaeton* in Nagasaki in Bunka 5 (1808), Shōei began concerted study of English the next year, after which the contents were understood.

Chinese Books

Catalogue A lists 499 Chinese books, while 274 are listed in Catalogue B, making 773 works. Another catalogue exists, a four-fascicle *Rakusaidō zō kanshomoku* 楽歳堂蔵漢書目 (Rakusaidō Catalogue of Chinese Books; hereafter Catalogue C), with 786 entries. There are no overlapping entries between Catalogues A and C on one hand and B on the other, meaning that the Rakusaidō had 786 Chinese books in total.

Of the entries in Catalogue C, 345 are described as *tōhan* 唐版 (Chinese publications), 368 as *han* 版 ([Japanese] publications), and 71 as *utsushi* 写 (manuscript copies); two are unspecified. This reveals that some 40 percent of the Chinese-language books stored in the Rakusaidō were imports.

The *Nagasaki bugyō* 長崎奉行 (Nagasaki Governor) and the *Nagasaki itowappu shukurō* 長崎糸割符宿老 (Director of the Nagasaki Silk-Importing Monopoly) played important roles in the purchase of books arriving on Chinese ships. During the library's early period, Tenmei 5–6 (1785–1786), the governor was Matsura

Izumi-no-kami Nobukiyo 松浦和泉守信程 (1736–1813) and the director was Tokumi Moshirō 徳見茂四郎 (n.d.). Nobukiyo was the brother of the eighth daimyo of Hirado, Sanenobu 誠信 (1712–1779), and therefore Seizan's great-uncle. He was appointed in the sixth month of Tenmei 5 (1785), taking up his post that autumn, and residing in Nagasaki for the next year (officeholders rotated between Nagasaki and Edo). Nobukiyo was an excellent avenue for Seizan to obtain books, and he made every effort to assist, as can be seen in two manuscripts, *Jiraiki* 待来記 (Record of books held by Seizan) and *Kinsho yōroku* 琴書要録 (A list of books collected by Seizan before Rakusaidō; both can be found in Matsura Historical Museum). Tokumi Moshirō will be discussed below.

Imported books had to be vetted at Nagasaki's Seidō 聖堂 (Confucian temple) by members of the Mukai 向井 house, who made *taiisho* 大意書 (appraisals). These were sent to the governor, before being sent on to the shogunate in Edo. The governor therefore had the privilege of previewing the list and was able to retain items for himself. These were known as *nusuki mono* 除き物 (items set aside).⁹ In the ninth year of Tenmei 6 (1786) Nobukiyo sent ten titles to Hirado, including three enormous works, *Jiutangshu* 舊唐書 (Old

⁹ Nakamura, *Kinsei Nagasaki bōekishi no kenkyū*, pp. 389–422.

Book of the Tang) in 160 fascicles, *Xihe he ji* 西河合集 (Collected writings of Mao Qiling 毛奇齡 [1623–1716]) in 120 fascicles, and *Zhibu zuzhai congshu* 知不足齋叢書 (A series of collectanea compiled by Bao Tingbo 鮑廷博 [1728–1814]) in eighty fascicles. The following month, Nobukiyo presented eight more works, including *Miji* 秘笈 (an otherwise little-known work dated 977 by Zheng Wen Bao 鄭文宝 [952–1013] according to a Matsura Historical Museum record of 1966), of fully four hundred fascicles. The previous New Year, Seizan had petitioned the shogunate to increase the governor's salary by four hundred *koku* 石 (bushels), which had been agreed. As a result, Nobukiyo's salary virtually doubled. Perhaps these books were thanks for Seizan's intervention.

As for the director of the silk-importing monopoly, Tokumi Moshio, he presented two works to Seizan in Tenmei 5 (1785). These were *Wan li ban meng zi* 萬曆版孟子 (Discourses on Mencius) in twelve fascicles, and *Zeng ding jing xin lu* 增訂敬信錄 (Record of Refined Words, Revised) in two fascicles. In the ninth month of the following year, he sold Seizan seven titles, including *Wan shou sheng dian* 萬壽盛典 (The Grand Ceremony Celebrating Longevity) in eighty fascicles, *Shi san jing zhu shu* 十三經注疏 (Commentaries and Sub-Commentaries to the Thirteen Classics) in two hundred fascicles, *Han Wei cong shu* 漢魏叢書 (Anthology of the Chinese Spirit) in seventy-two fascicles, *Da Ming hui dian* 大明會典 (Legal Codes of the Ming) in ninety-six fascicles, and *Da Qing hui dian* 大清會典 (Legal Codes of the Qing) in 160 fascicles. About the same time, Seizan went on patrol in the Nagasaki area and took the opportunity to hand Moshio a list of requests, titled *Tokai chūmon* 渡海注文 (Import Orders).

Among the above Chinese acquisitions were works that Seizan intended to offer to the Shōhei-zaka Academy in Edo. He listed 132 titles that he was willing to present in 1802 in *Rakusaidō zōsho mokuryaku* 樂歲堂藏書目略 (Brief List of Books in the Rakusaidō). These include *Jiutangshu*, mentioned above, *Mi ji*, *Zhao dai cong shu* 昭代叢書 (Collectanea of the Glorious Age [compiled by Zhang Chao 張潮, 1650–ca. 1707]), *Li shi* 隸釋 (Analysis of Inscriptions in Clerical Script), *Li xu* 隸續 (Extended Analysis of Inscriptions in Clerical Script), *Zhi bu zu zhai cong shu* and *Xi he he ji* that are both mentioned above, *He fang yi lan* 河防一覽 (Overview of River Management, by Pan Jixun 潘季訓, 1521–1595), and the abovementioned *Wan shou sheng dian*, *Han Wei cong shu*, *Da Ming hui dian*, and *Da Qing*

hui dian. This list adds that the academy rector, Hayashi Jussai, accepted just three books (including *Jiutangshu* and *Mi ji*), and stated that he wished to receive a further eight on loan.¹⁰

Proscribed Books

In Kan'ei 寛永 7 (1630), as a part of its anti-Christian policies, the shogunate prohibited import of *Tianxue chuhan* 天學初函 (Learning from Heaven), comprising thirty-two subtitles, along with other books on *jashūmon* 邪宗門 (Christianity). The reason was that some of the contents were translated from the writings of the Jesuit priest Matteo Ricci (Li Madou 利瑪竇, 1552–1610). In Jōkyō 貞享 2 (1685), an attempted import into Japan of a Christian manual, *Huan you quan* 寰有詮 (On Heaven and Earth [by Franciscus Furtado (Fu Fanji 傅泛際, 1587–1653), with Li Zhizao 李之藻]), came to light, resulting in its incineration. Over the years up to Kyōhō 享保 5 (1720), the shogunate designated a further sixteen Chinese titles or *kinsho* (proscribed books). However, that same year, twelve subtitles of *Tianxue chuhan* were delisted, as were seven subtitles of other works proscribed in 1685, as well as part of a work titled *Zhi fang wai ji* 職方外記 (Record of Places beyond the Tribute States [by the Italian Jesuit father Giulio Aleni; Chinese name Ai Rulüe 艾儒略, 1582–1649]). All had been confirmed as without relevance to evangelism.¹¹

Yet some proscribed books did circulate, and even entered daimyo collections. As concrete examples, it is known that the daimyo of Owari 尾張 had proscribed books in his Hōsa Bunko 蓬左文庫 (Hosa Library), and that Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666–1728) wrote a preface to a proscribed work, *Ji ren shi pian* 畸人十篇 (Ten Chapters on Extraordinary Persons). Owners seldom advertised possession, but Seizan did (figure 3): the pedagogy section of Catalogue B contains a sub-section on *Tenshū moku* 天主目 (Christian Works), listing two manuscript fascicles of *Ji ren shi pian* and eight chapters in four fascicles of a Chinese anti-Christian text dated to Chongzhen 崇禎 12 (1639), titled *Sheng chao po xie ji* 聖朝破邪集 (The

10 The list is attached to Matsura, *Hirado-han rakusaidō zōsho mokuroku*.

11 Nagasaki Bugyō Sho, *Gokinsho mokuroku*, pp. 39–41.

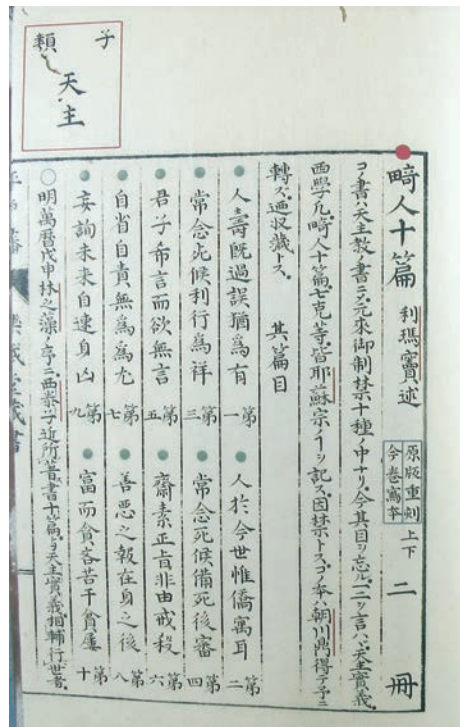


Figure 3. Seizan, *Shinzō shomoku sotohen bankoku*, vol. 4, p. 85. 1800. H. 28 cm, W. 40 cm. Courtesy of Matsura Historical Museum.

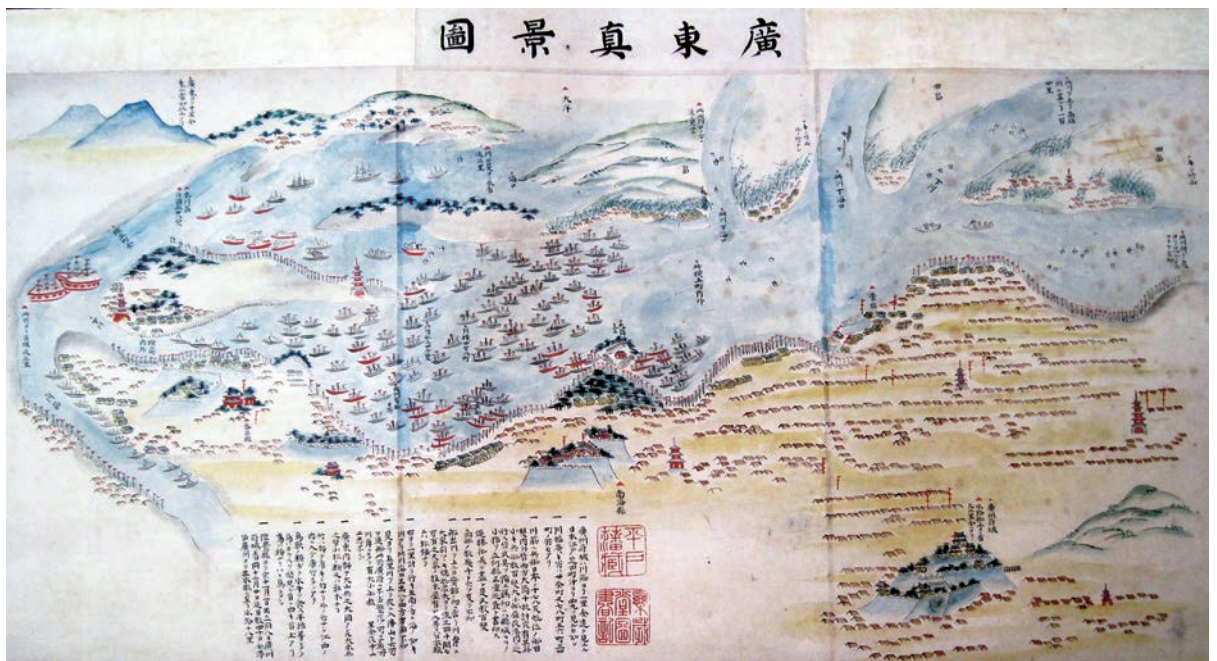


Figure 4. *Kanton shinkeizu*. Matsura, *Kasshi yawa*, part 1, vol. 32; Nakamura and Nakano, *Kasshi yawa*, part 1, vol. 2, pp. 292-99. 1808. H. 40 cm, W. 82.5 cm. Courtesy of Matsura Historical Museum.

Sacred Dynasty's Collection of Refutations against Vicious Doctrines). Seizan wrote, "These books are about Christianity and are among ten titles that it is forbidden to import. I do not remember the titles of all ten, but some are *Tian zhu shi yi* 天主實義 (True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven), *Xi xue fan* 西學凡 (Summary of Western Learning), *Ji ren shi pian*, and *Qi ke* 七克 (Seven Triumphs). All are about Christianity." Seizan openly stated this, in full knowledge that the books were proscribed. The supplier was his good friend, a Confucian scholar named Asakawa Zen'an 朝川善庵 (1781–1849), who is recorded as personally prompting Seizan to purchase the anti-Christian *Sheng chao po xie ji*. Seizan stated that his motivation for such acquisitions was "ease of understanding Christianity."¹² Another work he owned was *Zhi fang wai ji* in three fascicles, mentioned above as initially proscribed but later cleared; Rakusaidō Catalogue A notes this as "one of thirty-two works that were formerly banned from import."¹³

Range of the Collection

• Works on China and Chinese People

Reading *Kasshi yawa* together with the Rakusaidō catalogues, it is apparent how important Nagasaki was for cultural exchange with China. Stories abound of Nagasaki's *tōjin yashiki* 唐人屋敷 (Chinese compound), in which Chinese were required to live from the early eighteenth century. There are anecdotes about the appearance of ghosts there,¹⁴ and tales of an infamous *tōjin sōdo* 唐人騷動 (Chinese riot), in Tenpō 6 (1835).¹⁵ Interesting in this regard are pictures in the Rakusaidō titled *Kanton shinkeizu* 廣東真景図 (True Views of Guangdong),¹⁶ recording firsthand experiences of a castaway retainer of Satsuma. An entry appears in the *Sotohen* section of Seizan's catalogue *Shinzō shomoku* identifying this work, which is now in the Matsura His-

torical Museum (figure 4). Elements from these pictures were incorporated by Seizan into *Kasshi yawa*. The Rakusaidō also possessed depictions of the Great Wall, and had a scroll titled *Qianglong-di xunxing* 乾隆帝巡幸 (Imperial Progress of the Qianlong Emperor).¹⁷ There is a catalogue reference to a similar-sounding set, given in Japanese as *Kenryū-tei kōnan soshū fuyū kōkaidō zu* 乾隆帝江南蘇州府幸街道図, with later parts lost. Note also that the final section of *Kasshi yawa* deals with the Opium War.¹⁸

The Ryūkyūs and Ezo

While collecting books and objects from China, Korea, and the West, Seizan also interested himself in the folk traditions of Ezo 蝦夷, the Ryūkyūs 琉球, and Hachijō-jima 八丈島. The Ryūkyū Kingdom was subordinate both to Japan (Satsuma domain) and the Qing. Seizan inserted into *Kasshi yawa* depictions of a Ryūkyūan Embassy procession to Edo in the eleventh month of the third year of Tenpō 3 (1832), led by Prince Tumigusuku (Jp. Tomishiro).¹⁹ He acquired from Matsudaira Nariatsu 松平斎厚 (1783–1839) a portrait of the prince, made by Toda Ujitsune 戸田氏庸 (1780–1841), the eighth daimyo of the Toda clan in Ōgaki 大垣 domain. This figures in Catalogue B as *Ryūkyū koku Tomishiro ōji no shō* 琉球国豊見城王子之肖 (Depiction of Prince Tumigusuku of the Ryūkyūan State).²⁰

Seizan studied the customs of Ezo (part two, volume 86),²¹ and in Kansei 11 (1799), while in Edo, made a copy of a finely painted work titled *Ezo zuzō* 蝦夷図像 (Illustrations of Ezo), parts one and two, in the possession of Matsumae Michihiro 松前道広 (1754–1832). Seizan kept this in the Rakusaidō, and commented that it was "the best way to understand the appearance of Ainu people."²² As for Hachijō-jima, *Kasshi yawa* has a section titled *Hachijō kibun* 八丈紀聞 (Things Heard

12 Matsura, *Shinzō shomoku*, vol. 4, *sotohen* 外編, p. 90.

13 Matsura, *Hirado-han rakusaidō zōsho mokuroku*, p. 81.

14 Matsura, *Kasshi yawa*, part 1, vol. 17 (n.p.); Nakamura and Nakano, *Kasshi yawa*, part 1, vol. 17; part 1, vols. 1 and 2, pp. 290–91.

15 Ibid., Matsura, part 3, vol. 26; Nakamura and Nakano, part 3, vol. 2, pp. 275–84.

16 Ibid., Matsura, part 1, vol. 32; Nakamura and Nakano, part 1, vol. 2, pp. 292–99.

17 Ibid., Matsura, part 1, vol. 96; Nakamura and Nakano, part 1, vol. 5, pp. 303–4.

18 Ibid., Matsura, part 3, vol. 78; Nakamura and Nakano, part 3, vol. 6, pp. 287–305.

19 Ibid., Matsura, part 2, vols. 87–90; Nakamura and Nakano, part 2, vol. 7, pp. 291–361 and part 2, vol. 8, pp. 3–54.

20 Matsura, *Shinzō shomoku*, *Uchihen*, part 2, vol. 6, p. 43.

21 Matsura, *Kasshi yawa*, part 2, vol. 86; Nakamura and Nakano, *Kasshi yawa*, part 2, vol. 7, pp. 275–77.

22 Matsura, *Hirado-han rakusaidō zōsho mokuroku*, *Uchihen*, vol. 4, p. 44.

about Hachijō),²³ while Catalogue B lists a work titled *Hachijō-jima fujo no zu* 八丈嶋婦女之図 (Depictions of the Women of Hachijō).²⁴

• Stones, Roof Tiles, Wooden Items, and Shells

Seizan's wide interests and high level of curiosity can be seen in how his collection extends from books to objects. The Matura Historical Museum holds a number of items he owned including fifty stones, twenty-one pieces of roof tiles, six wooden objects, four bamboo objects, eight earthenware vessels, seven metal objects (including coins), and four shells. Seizan is known to have swapped stones with his friend Maeda Toshitane 前田利物 (1760–1788), daimyo of Kaga-daishoji 加賀大聖寺藩, and he wrote, “as soon as we come across rare stones, we swap them with each other.”²⁵ These objects are catalogued under *Uchihen* (Japanese items), the majority classified with the sub-heading *chiri bu* 地理部 (natural history). Catalogues A and B have the largest number, with the following sub-headings (indicated by a circle). Items in square brackets are *warigaki* 割書 (sub-sub-categories). The word *shinpin* 真品 indicates actual objects, rather than depictions or descriptions.

Teito kyūen 帝都宮苑 (capital and palaces), *kokugun* 国郡 (states and commanderies), *shikaku* 市陌 (cities), *jōkaku* 城郭 (castles), *jinja* 神社 (shrines), *bukkaku* 仏閣 (temples), *meishō san'en* 名勝山川 (beauty spots), *ekidō* 駅道 (roads and stations), *kaiko* 海路 (sea routes), [○*tōsho* 島嶼 (islands)] *fūdoki* 風土記 (gazetteers), *yochizu* 輿地図 (world maps), *hi* 碑 (monuments), Ezo 蝦夷 (Ezo), *kyōsho* 居処 (domestic items) [○*teitaku* 第宅 (residences), ○*gafu* 瓦譜 (records of roof tiles) ○*shinga* 真瓦 (roof tiles), ○*kaoku* 家屋 (housing)] *sōrui* 草類 (grasses), *mokurui* 木類 (trees), *chōrui* 鳥類 (birds), *jūrui* 獸類 (animals), *chūrui* 虫類 (insects), *gyorui* 魚類 (fish), *suirui* 水類 (waters), *karui* 火類 (fire), *kinrui* 金類 (metals) [○*kingin senpu* 金銀錢譜 (numismatics)]

○*seizō* 製造 (manufacturing) ○*shinpin* 真品 (actual objects), *gyōkurui* 玉類 (precious stones), *sekirui* 石類 (minerology), [○*sekifu* 石譜 (catalogues of stones) ○*shinpin* 真品 (actual objects)], *shirui* 齒類 (teeth etc.), *kii* 奇異 (strange things).

Items in square brackets are *warigaki* 割書 (sub-sub-categories). The word *shinpin* indicates actual objects, rather than depictions or descriptions. The Rakusaidō may have been a library, but it also had the characteristics of a museum.

Final Remarks

Some matters can be added in closing. On the twenty-eighth day of the sixth month of Tenmei 6 (1786), Seizan made a list of thirteen Chinese books he hoped to obtain from the collection of Mori Takasue 毛利高標 (1755–1801), daimyo of Saiki. Seizan wrote to the Hirado house elder Matura Tenzen 松浦典善 (n.d.), “This list constitutes some 540–550 fascicles. However, there are five or six titles for which I am not sure of the exact number, and so there are too many fascicles for Lord Takasue, and I can try to procure the uncertain titles elsewhere. Still, I very much hope all the Chinese books on this list can be transferred from Saiki to Hirado.”²⁶ Thus, while Seizan made purchases, he also received and exchanged with other daimyo.

That same year, 1786, Seizan spent five *ryō* 両 on two Western books purchased from Kutsuki Masatsuna 朽木昌綱 (1750–1802), daimyo of Fukuchiyama, and known as *ranpeki* 蘭癖 (“hollandomaniac”).²⁷ The Rakusaidō had been launched in earnest the year before, Tenmei 5 (1785), and in the four years up to Kansei 1 (1789) it expanded rapidly in Chinese, Japanese, and Western holdings.

Lastly, what of the financial background that enabled Seizan to build up his collection, and what prices was he able to pay? In Tenmei 2 (1782), he reformed the Hirado *shiryōkata* 私領方 (domestic exchequer), creating a *jōheisho* 常平所 (office of daily expenses), which was independent of domain financing. Essentially it was Seizan's discretionary fund, supposed to cover expenses like family weddings, and to meet his retirement

23 Matura Kasshi yawa, part 3, vol. 51; Nakamura and Nakano, *Kasshi yawa*, part 3, vol. 4, pp. 273–96.

24 Matura, *Shinzō shomoku*, *Uchihen*, part 2, vol. 6.

25 Matura, *Jiraiki*, p. 1.

26 Matura, *Jiraiki*, pp. 8–9.

27 Matura, *yōroku*, p. 24.

costs. Notably, this administrative change occurred three years before the rebuilding and expansion of the Rakusaidō. This is how Seizan ensured the resources to acquire books. From Kansei 2 (1790), new ricefields were opened in Sasebo 佐世保, yielding eighty bales, with revenue allotted to the office of daily expenses, and put towards the Rakusaidō. Rice was exchanged for silver, and produced the equivalent of some twenty to thirty gold *ryō* annually, all allocated for books.²⁸

Also pertinent is the relationship between the Matsura and the Masutomi whaling family. As stated above, the Masutomi funded reconstruction of the Rakusaidō, though whether they contributed to book purchases is unclear. In similar need of clarification is the way in which the office of daily expenses was used to purchase books. We know that its income was also loaned to the Hirado population at interest, with whalers among its clients. In this sense, what were to become Hirado's major industries in the modern era—development of new ricefields and commercial whaling in the northwestern Kyushu coastal area (referred to as *Saikai hoge* *gyō* 西海捕鯨業, literally, “whaling in the Western Sea”) had already been exploited by the Hirado domain to support Seizan's collecting.

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28 Jōheisho, *Rakusaidō tsuki shindenmai dai kakinuki chō*, pp. 1–21.