Japan’s Book Donation to the University of Louvain

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Published by Leuven University Press

Mennens, Eline, et al.
Japan’s Book Donation to the University of Louvain: Japanese Cultural Identity and Modernity in the 1920s.


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Selected Books from the 1920s Japanese Donation

Introduction to the Selection from the Japanese Donation

It is an almost impossible task to select some sixty odd items from a collection of about 3,000 titles in almost 14,000 volumes. In the selection process, we have not only been motivated by an antiquarian perspective (rarity of the item) or from the viewpoint of the book historian, but also by the significance of the item for the cultural history of Japan, its visual attractiveness, and the uncommon aspects the item in question offers. Our main goal was to provide a general overview of the depth and breadth of the Japanese donation, of what the Japanese donors – and, in particular, the bibliographers and librarians who actually picked it out – considered to be representative of classical Japanese culture as they saw it (see list p. 291).

A Representative Selection

To provide such a global overview, we had to base our selection on the twenty-six divisions that the donors themselves used to categorize the donation. They were defined in the catalogue that was compiled at the time of the donation, and which was published in a limited edition. Some divisions have been left out due to their limited relevance, such as the division on education, while others are also less evident to us. The division “philosophy”, for instance, includes many books on fortune-telling and divination because these are often linked to the ancient Chinese Yi Jing (Book of Changes, Jap. Ekipyo 易經), which for many centuries has functioned both as a divination manual and as a book of wisdom. This classification reflects an interpretation of the definition of “philosophy” different from what we are used to. The donors used bibliographical concepts that, to some extent, differed from contemporary Western ones. One conspicuous example is that Shinto, the indigenous religion of Japan, earned its own division alongside that of “religion”, whereas nowadays it is subsumed into the division of “philosophy and religion”. This former designation obviously reflects the special status Shinto had enjoyed in Japan since the Meiji period (1868-1912). In the division “religion”, we come across both doctrinal essays and edifying folktales, mostly of a Buddhist signature. Although we have selected only one item from “religion”, this category, at least as far as Buddhism is concerned, is largely represented in the division “precious and rare works”.

The proportion of illustrated books in our selection is relatively large, since we assumed that this type of book was likely to interest a broader public. This decision means, for example, that books that constitute a minor genre and are known as “illustrated topographical descriptions” (the division “topography and travelogues”) figure rather prominently in the selection. It also holds for the “scientific” books, which we come across in the divisions “natural sciences” and “medicine”, as well as the books in the division “arts and crafts”. Books in these divisions are usually more richly and more artistically illustrated. The books on ‘scientific’ subjects are also fascinating because they bear witness to the first stirrings of the scientific mind in Japan. In the view of many historians of the book, these works paved the way for the later rapid development of the modern sciences in the country, while Japanese arts and crafts have been more familiar and favourite aspects of Japanese culture in the West since the nineteenth century.

Scroll of the Lotus Sutra of the Marvellous Doctrine: The Parable Chapter, illustrated manuscript, probably from the Kamakura period (1185-1333), and its wooden box (of later date). See selected books no. 62.
As mentioned in the preceding essay, a new catalogue on the Japanese donation was published in 2000, compiled by Yamazaki Makoto. He replicated the arrangement of the aforementioned original catalogue, with one difference: he has added a twenty-seventh division to the pre-existing twenty-six, so as to accommodate later additions to the collection, which were not part of the original donation but have since been integrated into it. While replicating the original arrangement, he expanded on the very scant information contained in the original catalogue by adding bibliographical data retrieved from the vast electronic database of the Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryokan (National Research and Documentation Center for Japanese Literature in Tokyo) and from the database of the National Diet Library. In some cases, this augmented information has led to discrepancies between the physical item at UCLouvain and the bibliographic description derived from a union catalogue.

The donation consisted and still consists of five main categories: manuscripts, antiquarian books (generally from before 1868), maps (mostly from before 1868), scientific and scholarly works from the Meiji (1868-1912) and Taishō periods (1912-1925), and contemporary reproductions of classical works of art. The reproductions were made with the best means available at the time and, as such, represent the epitome of the surprisingly advanced Japanese reproduction techniques of the 1920s. Nevertheless, we have not selected any of them, because they are no match to contemporary reproduction techniques. Of the maps and other large-sized one-page documents, we could only make a limited selection in view of space limitations for the exhibition. We did not select any items from the scholarly and literary works from the Meiji and Taishō periods, either. Consequently, our selection is primarily focused on two categories, namely the manuscripts and what we have called antiquarian books. In the vast majority of cases, the latter are woodblock-printed editions, although we have also included so-called “old movable-type editions” (kokatsujiban 古活字版) and even one or two “early modern movable-type editions”. Whatever the printing technique, all are bound in a Japanese style (wasōbon 和装本).

It follows, naturally, that nearly all selected books antedate 1868. Nevertheless, we have chosen a limited number of items of a more recent date. They include a pair of exquisite scrolls related to the enthronement and thanksgiving ceremonies of the Taishō emperor in 1915. They represent the finest of traditional Japanese painting techniques in the Taishō period. Notably, they are not categorized under the division “arts and crafts” but, rather, under division “laws and institutions”. The copy of Honzō zufu, 本草図譜 a botanical album, dates from the Taishō period as well. It is a woodblock reprint of a work consisting of many fascicles, originally published between 1830 and 1844. The reprint is of extraordinary quality, and the copy in the UCLouvain is in mint condition. This superb colour print (mokuhan no irozuri 木版の色刷り) represents the pinnacle of woodblock printing (mokuhan gijutsu 木版技術).

Until the Taishō period, the technique of woodblock printing was passed on from generation to generation perfectly, and that outstanding art could still be used in this Honzō zufu. After that, it was gradually lost. Whether book makers today are still capable of such consummate technical prowess on a similar scale is doubtful.

The layout and conventions of the Japanese-bound book are very different from those of a Western book. They come in various formats, all conspicuously different from traditional Western binding. One of the oldest formats on paper is the hand scroll (kansubon 巻子本), which is scrolled around a spindle, and which is also a traditional format for paintings. This is rather unhandy. Therefore, at one point, to make for easier handling, people started folding the long scroll in equal sections, not unlike a concertina. This type of book is called the folded book (orihon 折本). It is often found in Buddhist scriptures. The most commonly encountered format, however, is that of the sensōbon 線装本, the ‘book bound with thread,’ also called fukurotojibon 袋縫じ本, the ‘book bound as a bag’. Each printed leaf that will make up the book is folded in two with the printing on the outside. The two edges of each leaf (on the opposite side of the fold) are aligned on top of one another. When the leaves thus folded and aligned reach a certain thickness, they are stitched together with a thread forming the back of the bound book. Since the stitching with a thread is not very robust, a ‘book’ is usually a thin fascicle, probably best comparable to what in French is called ‘cahier’, so that one ‘title’ usually consists of a multiple of fascicles. The fascicles were sometimes wrapped in a jacket (sotobukuro 拝書カバー).
The writing systems of Japan and China are based on Classical Chinese and uses the Chinese characters, much like Latin once used to be a vehicle of communication among the elites in various European countries and regions. In sum, the cultural elite of the Edo period held firmly onto the old tradition which revered Classical Chinese, a language which in its written form was shared by the elites in East Asia who used the Chinese characters, much like Latin once used to be a vehicle of communication among the elites in various European countries and regions. In sum, in China as well as in Japan, Korea, and Vietnam, literary production in the vernacular had a secondary status.

In the modern histories of Japanese literature, however, Japanese-language works take centre stage, somewhat at the cost of downplaying the importance of Classical Chinese. This 'distortion' was the result of the rising consciousness of national identity, which was strongly articulated starting with the Meiji Restoration, and which favoured the 'popular language'. This development was not unique to Japan. A similar evolution occurred in Western Europe. Who remembers the works of 'our national' scholars writing difficult and erudite treatises in Latin in the seventeenth century? It does mean, though, that works on which most of the intellectual energy was spent at that time have now partially or completely disappeared behind the cultural horizon. A small group of specialized academics may study them, but the fruits of their diligent work are not enjoyed by a wider audience.

Following the Western example, modern Japanese academics wrote literary histories which
similarly marginalized *kanbun* works. In modern Japanese literary history, the Edo period is portrayed as the *chōnin bungaku* 町人文学, literature by and for the townspeople, as represented in the early phase by writers like Chikamatsu Monzaemon 近松門左衛門 (1653-1725) and Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642-1693) and, in the later phase, by writers like Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬 (1776-1822). This shift would have been hard to accept for intellectuals in the late Edo period. To them, Chikamatsu was a pleasant diversion, Saikaku was probably unknown to them, and they would have spurned the *gesakusha* 戏作者 – the ‘dime novelists’ of the so-called *tenpō rokkassen* 天保六花 – since that was ‘entertainment for women and children’. They were convinced that only literary and philosophical writings of the seventeenth-century Confucianists were must-reads.

The books selected by us mostly date back to the Edo period and provide us a glance at the vibrant culture of the time. Despite the country being largely closed off from the outside world, it experienced a period of great creativity. Or was it *because* of the isolation and imposed limitations? In such circumstances, the human mind can twist and turn itself in all kinds of ways to get around the limitations imposed. Such creative contortions sometimes resulted in intellectual or artistic achievements of epic proportions. One need only think of the Buddhist monk Jiun Sonja 慈雲尊者 (1718-1804), who aspired to return to the origins of his faith, but was cut off from direct contacts of this source, both in terms of distance and time. Not to be deterred, he set about reconstructing the grammar of Sanskrit relying on ancient Chinese and Japanese sources, including the *Honyaku myōgi-shū 翻譯名義集*, featured among the works selected here.

The explanations that accompany each of the selected items contain as a minimum a limited uniform set of bibliographical data, in addition to some explanation about its contents and its author(s). In many cases, though not uniformly so, they also include data about other particularities that are specific to the selected item in question: data given in the colophon, interspersed notes in the text, author’s seals, collector’s seals, Ex Libris stamps, as well as, in some cases, remarks on the physical aspects of the book, such as damage, wear, traces of restoration, quality of the paper, of the print or the illustrations.

Besides, within each description, we have included a reference to one or more reproduced illustrations taken from the described item, also briefly adding a description of the content or significance of the selected illustrations. The explanatory notes are concluded at the end of each entry with one or a few references to germane research literature on the subject dealt with in the explanatory text. There are several reasons for the lack of strict uniformity in the description: the varying importance of the title under review for the cultural history of Japan, its rarity, its history, its value, features specific to the copy in the UCLouvain, space limitations imposed by the publisher, and so on.

In many of the contributed articles one will come across Chinese characters inserted in the running text. We hope that the readers who are not familiar with these logograms (called *kanji* in Japanese) do not experience their presence as an unnecessary impediment to the smooth reading of the text. We have purposely included them following the names of Japanese persons, lesser-known place names, titles of Japanese books, institutions, important concepts and notions, or typically Japanese phenomena. All logographs that are included in the official list of the *Jōyō kanji* are consistently given in their simplified form. It is common practice in the field of Japanese studies to reproduce the *kanji*, and since this catalogue is also intended as a work of reference, we assume that both the students of Japanese studies, as well as Japanese readers, will appreciate the original renderings of the aforesaid word categories.

Within each catalogue division of those represented here, the books are ordered alphabetically per title. We have translated the Japanese title literally, where possible, or else paraphrased it. Many titles often include far-flung allusions or refer to other titles and so remain puzzling even in translation, unless a sufficient explanation is added. We hope the description following each title will adequately explain what the book, manuscript or scroll in question is about. All items exhibited here belong to the UCLouvain – Libraries Heritage Collections, Japanese donation. To avoid repetitiveness each item is identified in the catalogue descriptions by the abbreviation “UCLouvain Libraries,” followed by its shelf number (e.g., RES JAP 15612).
1. Kottō-shū 骨董集
('Collection of Curios [part one]')

This is an essay by *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵 (woodblock print) artist and author of popular literature Santō Kyōden (1761-1816), with illustrations by Kita Busei, Utagawa Toyohiro, and Kyōden’s brother, Santō Kyōzan. There were apparently also a second and third part scheduled, but only the first part was ever published. It is a study of habits, customs, clothing, games, toys, furniture, food, decorations, and so on, of the Edo period (1600-1868). The author investigates their origin and evolution in 111 sections. He does this with a certain scientific precision, drawing on some 350 sources and enriching his discourse with numerous illustrations.

Ill. 1: a young peddler plying the streets with a case on his back (illustration to section 21 of fascicle I, 上編上, 20b-21a). This print is of the *beni-e* 紅絵 type, and dates from the Kyōhō period (1716-1736). In the case the peddler is carrying single-sheet prints. Dangling from a bamboo stick in his hand are likewise a number of *beni-e* prints, all representing ‘portraits’ of female beauties (*sugata-e* 姿絵). On the side of the chest we read the characters Yoshiwara 吉原 and *fūryū beni saishiki sugata-e* 風流紅彩色姿絵. Yoshiwara refers to Edo’s officially certified ‘pleasure’ district, while the longer inscription translates as “fashionable red-coloured portraits”, evidently of courtesans of the Yoshiwara district.

In the text that goes with the illustration, Santō Kyōden briefly retraces the development of the *ukiyo-e* print. Illustrated books had been around before, but beginning with the Enpō-Tenna period (1673-1684), printers started to print and sell single-sheet prints, [not unlike the posters of today]. The *beni-e* (‘prints in red’) were first put onto the market by a printer from the area of Asakusa gomon in Edo, at the beginning of the Kyōhō period (1716-1736). When glue was mixed into the ink, the colours took on a glossy shine. This kind of prints was called *urushi-e* 漆絵 (‘lacquered prints’). Okumura Masanobu was an important artist in this genre. Incidentally,
it was not until the 1760s that the highly prized polychrome prints made their appearance.

Ill. 2: two travelling Buddhist nuns (Kumano Bikuni 熊野比丘尼), who spread the Buddhist message among the common people (Illustration to section 1 of fascicle IV, 上篇下之後 2b). They are holding an illustrated scroll in their hand, on which the terrors of hell are depicted. The illustrations serve to heighten the impact of their story.

The first page of each of the four fascicles bears the collector’s seal of “Okuda & Inoue” and another of “Inoue Tsurumatsu”.

Santō Kyōden (1761–1816) is the pseudonym of Iwase Samuru 岩瀬醒, also known as Kyōya Denzō 京屋傳藏, a poet, writer, and ukiyo-e artist. As an ukiyo-e artist, he is known as Kitao Masanobu 北尾政寅 after his master Kitao Shigemasa 北尾重政. He began his career as an illustrator of a genre of novels known as kibyōshi 黃表紙 (see page 99), though he soon tried his hand at writing them himself under the pseudonym Santō Kyōden. Churning out kibyōshi 黃表紙, sharebon 洒落本 (novelettes about life in the red-light districts), yomihon 読本, and historical essays in great numbers, he garnered a wide readership and was one of the first fiction writers in the Edo period to be able to live by his pen.

Literature: Tsukamoto 1915

▲ Travelling Buddhist nuns, who spread the Buddhist message among the common people.
Collector’s Seals

A remarkable feature of antique books in East Asia is that they often bear traces of their previous owners, either in the form of inscriptions and notes, or in the form of collector’s seals (zōshoin 蔵書印). This usage was already known in China, during the Han Dynasty (202 BC-220 AD), and from there spread to other countries influenced by the Chinese culture.

In Japan, the practice of pressing seals in books is attested as early as the Nara period (710-784), but it is only much later that it became widespread, even beyond what was known in China and Korea. Seals were originally used to validate a document or certify its authenticity, but gradually their use shifted to marking one’s ownership of a book. In the Edo and Meiji periods the pressing of collector’s seals became a common practice. They were used by feudal lords (daimyō), official domain academies, schools, authors, and intellectuals. The library of the shōgun used a collector’s seal from its founding in 1639. Kashihon-ya 貸本屋 or ‘booklenders’ also used them to mark their ownership of their books and in so doing limit theft.

Seals are hard to remove. They are usually pressed on the first page of the preface or of the corpus of the text and are commonly vermillion or black in colour. Most have a frame and a rectangular shape, although there are also round or elliptical ones. Certain intellectuals even used ones in the shape of an elephant or gourd.

Many books also contain marginal comments, notes, or remarks. In kanbun texts (in Classical Chinese), one often finds all manner of punctuation marks, such as lines along or through proper names in vermillion (shubiki 朱引).


▲ Examples of collector’s seals found in various books in the collection.
2. Semete wagusa 責而者草
(‘The Very Least We Should Remember’)

In the Kokusho sōmokuroku 国書総目録, the title is given as 勢免天話草, albeit with the same pronunciation. These at first sight enigmatic characters are simply the Manyōgana 万葉仮名 style equivalents of the kana syllabary. The mimicry of Manyōgana style, transcribing even the morphological elements て and は in kanji, resonates with the intention of the author to hark back to past times. He has gleaned testimonies about virtuous conduct and noble acts by shōguns, their relatives, feudal lords, ministers, councilors, down to virtuous women, from no less than thirty-six books. After careful investigation and collation – fact-checking we would say nowadays – he has retained only the most reliable and commendable data, those that at the very least should be remembered and cherished by posterity, hence the title. The books he excerpted include, among others, Kyūsō shōsetsu 鳩巣小説, a collection of essays by Muro Kyūsō 室鳩巣 (1658-1734), Hankanfu 藩翰譜, a repertory of daimyō families and their achievements by the Confucianist Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657-1725), and Buya shokudan 武野蜀談 - each and every one of them reliable and authoritative sources, according to the author.

The author Shibui Tokushō was a Confucian scholar in the service of the lord of Sakura 佐倉. His biography is included in Sentetsu sōdan kōhan 先哲叢談後編, chapter 7.

The UCLouvain copy is remarkable because it is a case of early modern wooden movable type (kisen mokkatsu-ban 近世木活字版, in contradistinction to the old movable type). There are several editions of this work, the number of chapters varying. There are copies that are datable to 1842 and 1866, but most extant copies lack a colophon, and so does the copy in UCLouvain. Since a colophon is lacking, the publisher of this wooden movable-type edition is not known, but since it comprises forty-two chapters in eleven fascicles, it is probably the Tenpō 天保 13 (1842) edition. The last page bears the seal of the Isobeya 磯部屋 bookstore in Tokyo, where the UCLouvain copy was presumably purchased by the National Committee.

During the Taishō period (1912-1926), the work was reprinted as part of the series Nihon ijin genkō shiryō 日本偉人言行資料 (Documents about Words and Deeds of Eminent Japanese), under the general editorship of Hagino Yoshiyuki 萩野由之 (1860-1924). This reprint in metal movable type, published by Kokushi kenkyūkai 国史研究会 in Taishō 6 (1917), was edited by Hotta Shōzō 堀田璋右 and Kawakami Tasuke 川上多助 (1884-1959).
Minagawa Kien 皆川淇園 (1735–1807) was a Confucianist, painter, and writer born and active in Kyoto. He was invited to serve as teacher of Confucian classics by various feudal lords, including Matsudaira Nobumine 松平信岑 (1696–1763). His literary and pictorial skills made him an outstanding figure in the literati circles of the imperial capital. More than three thousand students from all rungs of society are said to have taken his lessons. With the support of various feudal lords, he opened his own private school named Kōdōkan 弘道館 in 1805, but he did not outlive its establishment very long.

Among other subjects, he studied the Yi Jing a.k.a. The Book of Changes (Jap.: Ekikyō 易経), developing an original linguistic theory, in which he explored the relationship between ‘words’ (na 名) and ‘phenomena’ (mono 物). In addition he authored commentaries on various Chinese classics, including the Lunyì, Laozi, Zhuangzi, and Liezi.

The term kaibutsu 開物 (‘opening, exploring things’), an expression taken from The Book of Changes, refers to his philosophical method of exploring phenomena through the study of words (na). The phenomena cannot be directly experienced; their exploration has to be mediated by the analysis of sound and meaning enshrined in words. However, in his ethico-political approach, ‘phenomena’ are first and foremost human affairs, and their ‘exploration’ is relevant in view of wise government.

For him The Book of Changes is not a book of divination, as it was traditionally considered to be, but a book of wisdom. Despite its abstruse nature this classic stimulated Minagawa and other Confucianists in his wake to turn to the study of celestial phenomena as well. In recent times Minagawa has been re-appraised as a philosopher because of his positivist approach to Confucian studies, which made him a kind of forerunner of Western philosophy in Japan.

The spectacular development of publishing from the middle of the Tokugawa era onwards was generally looked upon by the shogunate with a certain degree of suspicion or caution. Mass publishing was viewed as an issue directly concerning social stability. Keen to control the flow of information, the authorities issued orders controlling publication and set up a system of publication censorship. Admittedly, the shogunate generally took a negative stance towards the circulation and spread of information, yet it also actively engaged in promoting desirable information through means of official publications.

The Kansei period (1789-1801) witnessed a conspicuous case of this new and pro-active attitude of the government towards the media, an early case of politically manipulating information through these media: the compilation and publication of Kōgiroku. The Kōgiroku has been regarded as part of the implementation of the shogunate’s policy of reform and popular edification, the so-called Kansei Reforms, but conversely, it may also be construed as a subtle way of advertising the virtues of the shogunate’s righteous and benevolent policies, thus reinforcing the legitimacy of its rule.

The Kōgiroku project almost perfectly coincided with the beginning and end of this Kansei period, an era, moreover, of Confucianist revival. In Kansei 1 (1789), the shogunate, in the person of the chief senior councilor (rōjū shuza 老中首座) Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1759-1829), ordered a nationwide survey of recorded cases of outstanding filial piety and righteousness. Since it is a government edition (kankoku 官刻 or kanpan 官版), the colophon does not mention any editors, only ‘Hiromedokoro’ 豊元.
A few fascicles from Kōgiroku.

弘所 (distribution centres), followed by a few addresses. We know, though, that the versatile scholar and man of letters Ōta Nanpo 太田南畝 (1749-1823) was involved in the compiling and editing. Undertaken at the Shōheizaka gakumonjo 昌平坂学問所, the recently established official school of the shogunate, the work was completed in Kansei 12 (1800). The following year, the published book was officially presented to the shogunate, who gave permission for its public sale before the end of that same year.

While similar books extolling the (Confucian) virtues of people and published during the Edo period are believed to have numbered at least around a hundred, Kōgiroku is exceptional for its government sponsorship and its sheer volume, consisting of no less than fifty chapters. No less than 8,611 - numbers slightly vary according to the author: Van Steenpaal's figure is 8,611; Suzuki Rie's figure, 8,614 - of virtuous subjects from all over the country are mentioned, having been commended for their conduct, spanning a time frame between 1602 and 1798. 81 percent of them, that is, 6,985 individuals, belong to the second half of the eighteenth century. Those rated outstanding, 755 (Van Steenpaal's figure; Suzuki Rie's figure: 759) in all, are honoured with an individual biographical (hagiographical) notice. While the longest biographical notice runs up to 5,050 characters and the shortest counts a mere 196 characters, most have a length that varies between 400 to 2,000 characters.

This to all intents and purposes impressive number of individuals is subdivided in eleven categories, including filial piety, loyalty, devotion, chastity, brotherly love, and so forth – needless to say, all good commendable Confucian virtues. The overwhelming majority of the individuals included are ordinary people. There are only 78 members of the samurai class, in addition to a pitiful 15 members of the eta 穀多 and hinin 非人 class (Japan's equivalent of outcasts). This Confucian-inspired social bias towards the ‘commoners’ does however add to the relevance of the work as a source of social history.

First page of the first chapter of Kyūōdōwa, mentioning that the sermons were written down as he spoke by Kyūō's son Takeyoshi (Fasc.I/chapter 1, p.1).
Shibata Kyūō 柴田鳩翁 (1783-1839) descended from a family of couriers, townspeople in Kyoto. He is especially known as the author of Kyūō dōwa, a collection of episodes taken from daily life and narrated in the colloquial style, meant to inculcate the simple ethics of “Heart Learning” (Shingaku 心学, or Sekimon-shingaku 石門心学). This particular school of moral philosophy was founded by Ishida Baigan 石田梅岩 (1685-1744), and it commanded a considerable following in its heyday. Its simple tenets were rooted in Neo-Confucianism, mixed with principles from Zen Buddhism and Shintō.

His family having fallen on hard times in the wake of the Great Fire of Tenmei (1788), which devastated major parts of Kyoto, Shibata began serving as an apprentice in a kimono store from the age of eleven (1793). After having lost both his father and mother in succession, and with his sister and her husband having taken over the family business, at the age of nineteen he went to Edo to try his luck there (1801). However, after seven years in Edo, he returned to Kyoto, now earning his living with a side job as painter. At age 28, he started giving performances of oral storytelling about historical events, military feats, and other sensational incidents. He garnered so much success that he decided to make a living out of this practice, honing his art by reading poetry and the classics.

One day he hit upon a work of Ishida Baigan and was greatly moved by the philosophy of Heart Learning expounded in it. He set about studying this doctrine in earnest, eventually earning a licence from one of the proponents of the doctrine. Subsequently, he practised Zen at a temple of the Ōbaku school of Zen Buddhism. Around 1825, coming to the conclusion that there were many commonalities between Heart Learning and Zen Buddhism, he said goodbye to his profession of telling stories and started a career preaching his newly found doctrine to the common people. He made a name for himself as the most prominent preacher of Heart Learning in the land. Benefitting from his experience, he interspersed his lectures with salient episodes and anecdotes taken from real life, the better to drive his moral message home with his audience. Unfortunately, his eyesight started to decline, before long leading to complete blindness. He took the Buddhist tonsure and henceforth styled himself Kyūō. This challenge did not stop him from continuing his lecturing tours in and around Kyoto, now sprinkling his narrative with episodes taken from his own adverse luck. His son recorded his lectures in the colloquial language of his father’s delivery, publishing them under the title (Moral Discourses by Kyūō, First Sequel and Second Sequel). It has been speculated that Heart Learning was one of the cultural foundations for Japan’s industrialization.

The UCLouvain copy has a collector’s seal of a certain Watanabe. In 1878, Comte Charles de Montblanc published a French translation of a part of this book. Although a French citizen, he was also Baron of Ingelmunster. As such, he may be considered the first “Belgian” to have translated (part of) a Japanese classic.

Itō Tōgai (1670-1736) was a prominent Confucian scholar, the eldest son of the even more famous Confucian scholar Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627-1705). He inherited from his father his private school Kogidō 古義堂. His given name was Nagatane, his courtesy name Genzō, his sobriquet Tōgai.

In biographical sources he is portrayed as a gentle person, supportive of his father and younger brothers, carrying on the legacy of his father by laying the foundations for the success of Kogigaku 古義学, the school of Confucian exegesis founded by his father. Besides devoting himself to editing and publishing his father’s books, he also published a number of erudite studies of his own. His interests were in Chinese language, Chinese institutional history, and Confucian history. He befriended other outstanding Confucian scholars including Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657-1725) and Ogyū Sorai 萩生徂徠 (1666-1728).

‘A Study of Kinship Terminology, and sequel,’ is one of Itō’s lesser known works, and there are not many copies extant in public collections. It is a good example of his learning and philological meticulousness. Based on Chinese sources, it is a study of the complex kinship relations in Chinese history, defining the various kinds of relationships within the genealogical structure of the extended family (kyūzoku 九族) and the multitude of terms that are used in this context.

The book includes an original preface by Tōgai himself, dated Genroku 14 (1701), but the book was actually not published until the year of his death. It was his disciple Yasuhara Sadahira (1698-1780) who edited the book, including his own preface, and had it published in 1736. The copy of the UCLouvain is the reprint of 1796.
This work is the Japanese version of *Di fan* 帝範, a Chinese equivalent of what is known in the West as ‘Mirrors for Princes’ (*specula principum*), a manual of statecraft. The book was allegedly compiled in 648 by Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626-649), who consolidated the Tang dynasty and is considered one of the greatest monarchs of all time in Chinese history. He intended it as an introduction to the art of governing and leadership, serving as a mirror of good conduct and wise judgment for his son and successor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649-683) – unfortunately to no avail, as it would later turn out.

The Chinese original consists of two parts in two chapters each and is divided into 12 topics. Since it reflected the ideas and inner thoughts about politics and leadership by an extremely successful monarch, it has always been considered the premier handbook of statecraft, or *Teiōgaku* 帝學 (Instruction of rulers on rule and behaviour), in East Asia. There are two other books about Emperor Taizong’s art of governing. Best known is *Zhen-guan zheng-yao* 貞観政要 (The Essence of the Government of the Zhen-guan Era). It is a record of the pronouncements and acts of Taizong during the Zhen-guan period (627-649). This book, too, was revered as a ‘speculum’ for emperors. It was not only used in Korea and Japan, but also translated into the Tangut language for the rulers of the Xi-xia, into the Khitan language for the emperors of the Liao, into the Jürchen language for the emperors of the Jin, as well as into Mongolian and Manchu. The third book related to Taizong’s art of governing is *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要 (The Essence of Government Culled from a Multitude of Books), a compilation of wise words and commendable policies excerpted from the classics, the official histories, and various other ancient writings, collected by Wei Zheng 魏徵 at the behest of Taizong (631). Of these three, *Di fan* is considered to be the most direct reflection of Taizong’s vision on statecraft. Since it is mentioned in *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* 日本国見在書目録, Japan’s oldest known catalogue of Chinese books, compiled by Fujiwara no Sukeyo 藤原佐世 (847-898) around 891, it must

7. *Teihan kokuji kai* 帝範国字解

(‘Mirrors for Emperors, Explained in Japanese’)

2 chapters in 2 fascicles; 22.6 x 16.3 cm
Author: Ichikawa Kakumei 市川鶴鳴
Date: Tenmei 天明 9 (1789)
have been transmitted to Japan before the Kanpyō era (889-898).

The compiler Ichikawa Kakumei (1740-1795) was a Confucian scholar. He vehemently opposed the Kansei Edict (Kansei igaku no kin 寛政異學の禁) of 1790, which enforced teaching of Zhu Xi’s version of Neo-Confucianism as the official Confucian doctrine in Japan. The decree banned certain publications and enjoined strict observance of Neo-Confucian doctrine, especially with regard to the curriculum of the official Hayashi school. He is also known as the first Confucian critic of the Kodōron 古道論 by Moto’ori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801).

This is a philological study by Hashimura Masanobu (1714-1771), a Shintō priest connected to the Grand Shrine of Ise, about the correct, ancient reading of the liturgical invocation (norito 祝詞) recited in the Ōharae 大祓 or Great Purification Ceremony. In ancient times, the recitation was a monopoly of the Nakatomi clan, and ever since it has been called the “liturgical formulae of the Nakatomi”. The ceremony that includes the incantation is performed on the last day of the sixth and of the twelfth month of the lunar calendar. The oldest extant version of these formulae is found in the Engi-shiki 延喜式, a compendium of rules and procedures for implementing ritsu 律 (penal codes), ryō 令 (administrative codes), and kyaku 格 (supplementary laws). Compilation was begun at imperial behest in 905 and completed in 927. Because one third of it deals with Shintō-related matters, the work has been revered as a Shintō classic since the middle ages, spawning numerous commentaries on it throughout the centuries.

According to the standards of the National Diet Library of Japan, this edition of the book is classified as 準貴重書 (“semi-precious book”), one of only 799 titles in its holdings as per March 2020. The library has 1310 titles in the category 貴重書 (‘precious book’). The UCLouvain copy appears to be a reprint from the same woodblocks (atozuri 後刷り) of the original edition.


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8. Nakatomi no harae kotoba kokun 中臣祓辞古訓
(The Ancient Reading of the Nakatomi Liturgical Formulae of Purification)

Alternative title: Shinka jōyō sekkyō hikkei 神家常用説教必携 / Ōharae kokun chūshō 大祓古訓註録 / Shinka hōyō 神家秘要 / Nakatomi no harae kokun chūshō 中臣祓古訓註録
2 chapters in 2 fascicles; 27.5 x 18.6 cm
Author: Hashimura Masanobu 橋村正身

Revised by his disciples: Ono Fusakichi 小野房吉, Hashisako Koresada 橋迫是定, Kawasaki Masayo 川崎正世
Date: Hōreki 11 (1761), preface by Arakida Morimi 荒木田盛箕 dated Hōreki 7 (1757)

This covers of the two fascicles. Judging from the shelf number label on the cover of the UCLouvain copy, the book once belonged to a collection named Kōka-en 芳楽園. Its identity is unclear.
This is a hagiography, written in the vernacular (kanamajiri 仮名交じり) and richly illustrated, of Kūkai 空海 (774-835), also known posthumously as Kōbō-Daishi 弘法大師. Kūkai was one of the greatest Buddhist monks in Japanese history, and founder of the school of Esoteric Buddhism, known as Shingon 真言. In his youth he travelled to China to study the latest developments of Buddhism. There in the Chinese capital Chang-an, his training included the study of Sanskrit – under the guidance of an Indian pandit Prajñā (734-810?), who had been educated at the Indian Buddhist university of Nalanda – and also entailed practice in the arts of calligraphy and poetry – again, all with recognized masters. Most important of all, Huiguo 恵果 (746-805), the seventh patriarch of Esoteric Buddhism, initiated him into the abstruse tenets of his doctrine at the Qinglong-si Monastery 青龍寺. He led him through the various stages of initiation, up to the final one, in a matter of months, making him a master of the esoteric lineage. Before dying, Huiguo instructed Kūkai to return to Japan to spread the esoteric gospel in his home country. Thus, according to tradition, Kūkai arrived back in Japan as the eighth patriarch of Esoteric Buddhism, with a large number of texts, many of which were new to Japan, and cultic images. His subsequent contributions to Japanese culture, not just in the field of religion and thought but also in many other fields, are immense, so great indeed that in the course of time he became the stuff of many legends.

Painting images and copying Holy Scriptures: Kōbō Daishi, sitting to the right in monk’s garments, looks on while Chinese draughtsmen are drawing mandalas and images for him to take back to Japan (fascicle II, chapter 4, pp. 7b-8a).

Jichie (786–847), eminent disciple and relative of Kūkai, having petitioned for imperial sanction, performs the consecration ceremony at the temple Tōji (fascicle VI, chapter 11, pp. 4b-5a).
This is a *yomihon* 読本 in eight instalments and 40 chapters (*maki*). The first six books are by Kyokutei (Takizawa) Bakin (1767–1848), the seventh and eighth are by Shōtei Kinsui. Its plot is based on the legends surrounding Asaina Saburō Yoshihide 朝夷奈三朗義秀 (1176–?). The work was written from the period Bunka 12 until Ansei 5 (1815–1858).

In 1213 Yoshihide’s father, Wada Yoshimori 和田義盛 (1147–1213), made an abortive attempt to attack the Hōjō clan (regents of the *shōgun*, who ruled de facto over Japan with an iron fist), but Wada was defeated and killed. Yoshihide fled to the province of Awa and settled in Asaina. From that moment on he adopted this toponym as his personal name. Although this is the last that was officially heard of him, legends about him gradually began to spread. They usually portrayed the incredible power and courage attributed to him. His mother Tomoe Gozen 巴御前, by the way, was also a valiant woman of legendary renown.

The illustrations show various scenes from the life of Asaina.

Literature: Hakubunkan 1902.

Asaina on horseback goes to meet Ichizō and listen to his tales of old (chapter 33, pp. 5b–6a).
A courtesan tries in vain to ensnare Asaina (Instalment 7, chapter 4, pp. 4b-5a).

The mikaeshi (reverse of cover) of the seventh instalment.
Yoshihide shoots the gargantuan serpent Uwabami with his arrow and finishes her off with his sword. Note how the tail of the monster extends into the preceding page (2nd instalment, chapter 1, pp. 16b-18a).
Kaga no Chiyo-jo 加賀千代女, a.k.a. Fukuda Chiyo-ni 福田千代尼 (1703-1775), was one of the few acclaimed women haiku (then called haikai) poets of the Edo period. Although in recent years, American and, in their wake, European authors have tended to overstate her stature among her peers, she was nevertheless an accepted member of a group of poets writing in the style of the great Master Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644-1694). Despite being born into a family of scroll mounters (i.e., commoners), she is said to have started writing haikai from the age of seven. At the age of seventeen her talent was recognized by Kagami Shikō 各務支考 (1665-1731), one of Bashō’s ten chief disciples. According to some, she married around 1720, but was widowed two years later. She thereupon returned home to take care of her parents, never remarrying. At the age of thirty she took lessons in painting from a painter in Kyoto. In 1754, at the age of fifty-two (by Japanese reckoning), Chiyo-jo chose to become a Buddhist nun, hence the suffix -ni to her first name. At the age of seventy-two she wrote the preface to Tamamo-shū 玉藻集 (1774), a collection of haikai by women haiku poets, collected and edited by the great poet and painter Yosa Buson 与謝蕪村 (1716-1784), an unmistakable sign of the high esteem she was held in by her fellow poets. She is best known for this haiku:

朝顔に釣 瓶とられてもらい水
A morning glory
entangled around my well bucket –
I will borrow water from the neighbour

**12. Datezome tazuna 伊達染手綱**

_Tanba Yosaku matsuyo no komurobushi_ 丹波与作待夜の小室節

(‘The Fancy Chequered Bridle of Yosaku from Tanba’)

Alternative title: _Tanba yosaku_ 丹波与作 / _Tanba yosaku_ datezome tazuna 丹波与作伊達染手綱

1 fascicles; 22.2 x 17 cm

Libretto of a _jōruri_ play by Chikamatsu Monzaemon 近松門左衛門 (real name Sugimori Nobumori 杉森信盛, 1653–1725). He was a prolific playwright, writing libretti for _jōruri_ 燕樂, the form of puppet theatre now known as _bunraku_ 文楽, and for live-actor drama, known as _kabuki_ 歌舞伎. Of his puppet plays, around nine are _jidaimono_ 時代物 (historical romances) and twenty-four are _sewamono_ 世話物 (domestic tragedies), while around forty _kabuki_ plays are credited to him. His most famous plays deal with double suicides of honour-bound lovers.

In the contemporary perception _jōruri_ and _kabuki_ libretti were not considered high literature. Many original libretti were lost in the course of time. In the Meiji and Taishō periods, however, these genres were reappraised as fine literature and hailed as a centrepiece of the literary canon. As a result many libretti were reprinted in movable type. The original ones had been published as woodblock editions. This title is a fine example of such original woodblock-printed libretti. One will note the typical curly calligraphic style of the characters, called _Kanteiryū_ 勘亭流, after Okazakiya Kantei 岡崎屋勘亭 (1746–1805), who initiated the style in 1779, a style still visible today in _kabuki_ posters and advertisements. It is just one variety of so-called _Edomoji_ 戸文字, i.e., Japanese lettering styles designed for advertising in the Edo period. These libretti were subjected to intense wear and tear during the recitation on stage. The National Committee has ostensibly been prompted to do some repair on this copy: reinforcing the folds of the pages and replacing the cover.

The plot runs as follows: The princess Shirabe of the Yurugi family in the country of Tanba is departing to marry the son of the Iruma family in the East, but she loathes to travel all the way to Edo. Her retinue, desperate to distract her, order a young groom named Sankichi to play backgammon with the princess to while away the time. After this ploy has succeeded, Shigenoi, the princess’s wet nurse, is about to reward Sankichi for helping to distract the princess. Just before doing so, she realizes that the young groom is actually the child she had with her now estranged husband, Yosaku. Fearing that she might thus reveal that the groom and the princess are nursing siblings, she breaks down in tears and says goodbye to her son, without letting him know she is his mother. The “bridle” (_tazuna_) in the title is an allusion to the profession of the groom, who happens to be at the same time an enduring bond (_tazuna_) between the nurse and her former husband Yosaku.

The samurai warrior is a defining image of Japan that has inspired some of the most enduring icons of its popular and literary culture since medieval times. Yet Funakoshi Kinkai’s *Ehon baisō gundan* is a warrior tale of an entirely different kind; while blades are crossed and valiant deeds extolled in the narrative, its battleground is the human body, its warriors are under attack from the miasma of disease, and the insidious assailant is a scourge that was terribly familiar in early modern Japan: syphilis (see Ill. 1).

Such mock battles were in fact a prolific trope in Edo-period (1600-1868) literature and arts, which humorously pitted all kinds of inanimate objects against each other; these could range from rice wine and mochi rice cakes to different genres of popular literature and types of Kyoto textiles. Armed feuds between various medicines and diseases, such as measles and smallpox, were a particularly successful motif across a variety of media, from narrative fiction to visual arts and commercial advertising. This type of military metaphor for the ‘battle’ against disease was not unique to early modern Japan, and even at the dawn of the twenty-first century we still regularly ‘declare war’ on cancer and ‘combat’ new epidemics.

If cultural theorist Susan Sontag is correct that deadly, widespread, and incurable diseases attract popular mythologization, then syphilis certainly fulfilled all these preconditions in early modern Japan. Modern science has proven the viral extent of its transmission – with Edo-period bone samples suggesting infection rates of between forty and seventy percent of the adult population – and contemporary accounts bear witness to a growing awareness of the rampant spread of the disease among all walks of life. Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白 (1733-1817), one of the pioneers of Western-style medicine at the turn of the eighteenth century, claimed that no less
than seven or eight hundred in a thousand patients he treated every year suffered from syphilis. Treatment was often ineffectual and unpleasant; apart from Chinese herbal medication and hot spring bathing, doctors swore by mercury-based medicines that caused serious side effects due to their toxicity.

Despite its prevalence, syphilis was in fact a comparably new disease in most of the early modern world. After appearing in Europe at the end of the fifteenth century, it subsequently swept across the continent at a breathtaking speed and reached the shores of Japan a mere two decades later at the beginning of the sixteenth century, presumably via the Asian mainland. The Japanese first referred to the skin eruptions of syphilis as ‘Chinese boils’ (tōgasa 唐瘡) due to their perceived geographic origin, applying a naming strategy similar to that in Europe, where the new malady was variously known as the ‘French disease’, ‘Spanish disease’, and ‘Neapolitan disease’.

Medical opinions concerning this devastating illness changed throughout the Edo period – as did social attitudes towards it. Late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japanese physicians mainly interpreted its ulcers as the visible manifestation of stagnating sexual desires that had manifested physically under the skin’s surface. Viewed as arising from the sufferer’s body itself, initially no connection was drawn with another contaminated body or with the specific social context of prostitution. Indeed, manifold explanations existed in the Edo-period medical mind to make sense of syphilis: Some sources blamed environmental and climactic factors, others hereditary factors or the emerging urban modus vivendi of luxury and conspicuous consumption.

It was not long, however, before the notion appeared in both medical writings and popular conceptions of the disease that one possible source of syphilis was transmission through intercourse, particularly with prostitutes. One late eighteenth-century doctor, for example, complained:

The prostitute should be called a storehouse for syphilis. A long time ago I was asked for help by a bordello and treated many cases of this disease. In every brothel seven or eight out of every ten prostitutes were secretly infected, but they made up their faces with rouge and white powder, covering up the signs of disease. They should truly be called monsters.

Needless to say, such rhetoric demonized professional sex workers as the source of syphilis infection and the flourishing early modern culture of the pleasure quarters as a cesspool of disease. Nevertheless, this vilification failed to produce any sustained public discourse questioning the institution of prostitution per se in early modern Japan, much less any detectable governmental attempts to prevent the spread of the disease. Only once Japan opened its ports to Western ships in the second half of the nineteenth century did such measures become a matter of debate, as a result of foreign intervention.

Until that point, dealing with the disease was largely left to the unfortunate sufferers, their families, and at times doctors with varying degrees of knowledge. In the course of the eighteenth century, the number of syphilis treatises published both for experts and lay people increased, and medical practitioners specializing in its treatment appeared, along with a booming market for commercial patent medicines. It is within this context that we have to place the appearance of a work such as *Ehon baisō gundan*.

Its author, Funakoshi Kinkai, was in fact one of the doctors who began to specialize in syphilis treatment. More precisely, he straddled the categories of both patient and practitioner. If we are to believe his own account of events, both of his parents were infected with the disease, while he himself “suffered from it for several years in his youth and sought relief with all kinds of remedies” – yet to no avail. The quest for a cure ultimately motivated him to become a doctor and to spend many years developing his own treatments. He later set up his practice in Osaka and dedicated himself to enlightening common people about the disease, penning several compendia on the topic in accessible vernacular before writing *Ehon baisō gundan*.

His first-hand experience in battling the affliction is perhaps nowhere more palpable than in the medical case studies he published, which paint a devastating picture of the horrors of the disease. His patients included men and women of all ages, prostitutes as well as the sons and daughters of merchant families, and those who had contracted the disease congenitally as young children as well as those infected later in life. Their symptoms are described in gruesomely graphic detail:

Patient: the son of Hinoya Chōshichi, aged 26, from Osaka Shinsaibashi. His left leg had been eaten away by syphilis from the knee joint to two-thirds down his calf. The sores gaped like caverns in a rocky landscape – some deep, some shallow – up to about one sun (ca. three centimetres) in depth.

In *Ehon baisō gundan*, however, Funakoshi strikes a very different tone in order to disseminate his teachings. His self-confessed strategy in this work is “to compare the interactions between medications and disease to a military conflict, in order to convey information in an easily accessible manner.” Adopting the “standard format of playful writings”, he mimics the style and contents of contemporary popular
literature, including the “fervour of the battlefield” and supernatural elements such as spirits and deities - “without whom one can hardly hope to please readers these days”. The narrative revolves around an attack by the evil ‘King Syphilis’ (baidoku daiō 梅毒大王), portrayed as a malevolent fox spirit (see ill. 2), who invades the “lands of the human body”. His first port of call is the “country of the female body” in Nagasaki’s Maruyama 丸山 district – the pleasure quarters in Japan’s only harbour open to foreigners until the 1850s, where Chinese and Dutch ships regularly arrived to trade. From there, the villain rapidly advances into the “provinces of the male body”, though soon meets resistance from the army of medications led by the deadly efficient General Long-Life Concoction (Enjugan 延寿丸) – none other than a personification of the patent medication that Funakoshi himself was selling. After a drawn-out war over five volumes which witnesses gains and losses on both sides, the medications predictably emerge victorious.

The changing fortunes of the prolonged struggle in the tale were a fitting representation of the vicissitudes of syphilis and must have been all too painfully familiar to Funakoshi. Just as King Syphilis’s soldiers, even when seemingly defeated, regroup once again and lay waste to one province after another, syphilis would recur repeatedly after periods of latency that lulled sufferers into the mistaken security of thinking themselves healed. It attacked new regions of the body over the years and in its terminal stages would not only disfigure the infected but might also render them blind, deaf, and mad. The varied symptoms of the disease appear in Ehon baisō gundan as the fiendish minions of King Syphilis’s invading army, sporting humorous names such as Aching-bones Can’t-move (Honeitami Ugokazu 骨痛動須), Ulcers Quick-sprout (Gekan Hayanari 下疳早成), and Poisons Hard-to-Kill (Idoku Nuke-kane 遺毒抜兼). Visually represented as grotesque demonic figures (see ill. 3), the evildoers also display sores, ulcers, and boils on their bodies reminiscent of those affecting syphilis sufferers.

The choice of Nagasaki, Edo-era Japan’s window on the world and, particularly, the Maruyama pleasure quarters as the site of King Syphilis’s invasion
clearly reflects common perceptions of how the disease was propagated. As mentioned above, it was a widespread belief that the ‘Chinese boils’ had been introduced to Japan from abroad and hence inevitably via Nagasaki. Yet while Funakoshi mirrors this popular conception in his narrative, his postscript provides a more global view of the disease that is remarkable for its awareness of contemporary Western knowledge: “In the year 1494 according to the Dutch calendar, the French discovered America. […] They attacked the Antilles Islands, looting treasure and women. When they brought these women on-board their ship and had sex with them, the crew developed syphilis. Following this, the disease spread in the lands of the Red-haired Barbarians [i.e., the Netherlands and by extension Europe].” Despite obvious mistakes in his account, Funakoshi was clearly aware of the European notion that syphilis was brought to Europe from the New World by Columbus’s ships.

As mentioned previously, Funakoshi’s reason for adopting a novel and dramatic style in his text was not merely to provide entertainment but also “to convey information in an easily accessible manner”. This intention is most clearly seen in the final volume of the work, which consists entirely of a short treatise detailing the origins, symptoms, and treatments of the disease. Some editions of the book even include a note on the last page stating that the publication was not for sale and that it would be printed and distributed for free, as long as the person wishing to obtain the book brought their own paper (this generally being the most expensive part of the printing process) “since it was written with the aim of saving the sick people in our realm”. The UCLouvain copy, however, like others currently in Japanese collections, lacks this magnanimous note and was clearly distributed on a commercial basis by the Osaka publisher Harimaya Gorōbei 播磨屋五郎兵衛, who appended advertisements for his own goods and services at the back of the book. This variation suggests that the work was initially distributed free of charge but was probably sold to a commercial publisher at a later stage.

Yet Funakoshi’s self-proclaimed lofty goal of ‘saving the people’ merely masks the deeply com-

▲ King Syphilis surrounded by his minions representing the diverse symptoms of the disease (fascicle I/chapter 1, pp. 11b-12a).
mercial and promotional character of the work, which also acted as an extended advertisement in narrative guise for Funakoshi’s own medications, such as Long-Life Concoction (Enjugan), which were promoted in the book’s back matter (see Ill. 4). Although this medication was produced at Funakoshi’s shop in Osaka, the advertisement claims, possibly with a touch of hyperbole, that it could also be obtained from distributors in all the towns and provinces throughout Japan. The Louvain copy has a rare handwritten entry that identifies its distributor as “the Nabeya shop in Toyooka City, Tajima Province” (present-day Hyōgo Prefecture), suggesting that the book was circulated there, potentially together with the various medications. Funakoshi’s business-oriented thinking is also evident in his treatise on syphilis in the final volume, in which he instructs his readers how they can make a range of remedies for the disease – the formulas for his own prescriptions, however, are omitted with the curt statement that these are “commercially available medications”.

Ultimately, *Ehon baisō gundan* is a multi-faceted work that was designed not only to entertain but also to circulate medical knowledge about the disease and act as an advertisement for commercial medications. Perhaps most importantly, though, it promised sick readers what the narrative acted out for them on the page: a victory over King Syphilis and a happy ending to their own story.


▲ Advertisement for Funakoshi Kinkai’s syphilis medications at the back of *Ehon baisō gundan* (fascicle III, chapter 6, p. 22b).
A saijiki 岁時記, literally a ‘seasonal almanac’, is a compendium of ‘kigo 季語’ (seasonal terms) used in haiku and related forms of poetry. An entry in a saijiki usually includes a description of the ‘seasonal term’ itself, in addition to a list of similar or related words, and some examples of haiku that include that specific ‘seasonal term’. Kyokutei Bakin’s (1767-1848) compilation includes more than 2,600 entries, distributed over the four seasons, arranged in the order of the lunar months, and supplied with commentary. It also includes instructions about rules of composition and keeping score in a composition contest.

Traditionally, these almanacs were geared to the progression of seasons as experienced in Kyoto, but Bakin’s commentaries and instructions are more in line with the seasons in Edo. His almanac is the first to do so.


▲ The first page of the section on autumn, bearing the collector’s seal of Jōunsai 乗運斎 (Fascicle II/chapter 2, p. 7).
Jippensha Ikku (1765-1831) was the pen name of Shigeta Sadakazu 重田貞一. He lived primarily in Edo in the service of samurai but also spent some time in Osaka as a townsman. He was among the most prolific yellow-backed novel (kibyōshi 黄表紙) writers of the late Edo period. Between 1795 and 1801, he churned out a minimum of twenty novels a year, thereafter writing sharebon 洒落本, kokkeibon 滑稽本, and over 360 illustrated stories (gōkan 合巻) (see also the text on kibyōshi and gōkan in this volume, p. 99).

As often in this exquisite kind of ‘pulp’ literature, the title is a little gem of recreational linguistics. By reading a syntactic structure into the string of characters, the title resonates with the saying “Hana wa sakuragi, hito wa bushi”(Cherry blossoms are foremost among flowers; samurai are foremost among men). The expression also features in jōruri and kabuki (e.g., Kanadehon chūshingura 仮名手本忠臣蔵). The title thus takes on the ring of a proverb or an exhortation. No need to add that the book tells the story of valiant samurai, staunch to the bone.

We reproduce here the cover of the first fascicle, unfortunately disfigured by the white label with the transcription and shelf number. The book was published in the year of the rooster 酉, whose corresponding character, visible as a watermark, is repeated in the rectangular checkerboard design.

Kibyōshi 黄表紙 and Gōkan 合巻

Kusazōshi 草双紙 (lit. “pulp picture books”) is the generic term for a number of successive types of illustrated novels in the vernacular from the second half of the seventeenth century to the first decade of the Meiji period.

Having evolved one out of the other, they share some conspicuous traits in terms of format. They typically come in the size of a chibōn 中本 or shirokuban 四六判 (doudecimo, 18 cm high, 13 cm wide). One chapter (maki 卷) equals one fascicle, one fascicle comprises five leaves folded once and stitched at the opposite side of the fold into the back (thus making ten pages), while a single complete book title comprises between one and three fascicles (except for the last type, which may run into 100 fascicles). The first type to make its appearance around 1662 was the so-called “red cover” (akahon 赤本), a cheap picture book aimed at children, telling in simple words and crude pictures fairy tales and ghost stories. On its red cover was pasted a decorative slip (edaisen 絵題簽) mentioning the title. With the passage of time, the story line grew more complex, featuring the plots of theatre plays and shifting its target to an adult readership. During the 1740s, due to a price rise in dyes, the red covers were replaced by black ones (kurohon 黒本), in addition to blue ones (aohon 青本). “Black cover” books and “blue cover” books took their material from drama scripts, historical chronicles, legends, and miracle stories. Initially, most of these books were published anonymously, but before long, gifted artists and painters of the early Ukiyo-e school – such as Okumura Masanobu 萩村政信 (1686-1764), Torii Kiyomitsu 鳥居清満 (1735-1785), Tomikawa Fusanojū 鳥居信房 (active about 1750-1780) – ventured into the field, providing both the story and the illustrations. Gradually, they would associate with specialized authors in a more efficient division of labour, whereby both illustrations and text benefitted. Eventually, the blue colour was replaced by the cheaper and more colour-fast yellow.

The first “yellow cover” book (kibyōshi) was published in 1775, by Koikawa Harumachi 恋川春町 (1744-1789). Owing to its pointed and witty characterizations, it looked like an illustrated parody of the sharebon 誠噺本 ("books about fashionistas"). Although set in the licensed red-light district in Edo, sharebon are lacking in overt descriptions of erotic scenes and rather concentrate on the analysis of the ‘good taste’ of the customers: taste in matters of clothing, manners, language, conversational skills, sensitivity for the feelings of the courtesans, and familiarity with the rules of etiquette. Whereas sharebon have few illustrations and contain mainly conversations between protagonists, kibyōshi combine comic text with pictures. Pictures are set in a frame spanning the entire surface of each pair of opened pages. The text is written vertically into the blank spaces between the figures, creating an overall impression of heavily crowded pages.

The popularity of the yellow covers attracted talented writers with a samurai background – such as Harumachi – as well as townspeople – such as Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761-1816) and Shiba Zenkō 並木兼交 (1750-1793) – and outstanding artists of the Ukiyo-e school – such as Kitao Shigemasa 北尾重政 (1739-1820), Torii Kiyonaga 鳥居清長 (1752-1815), and Kitagawa Utamaro 北川歌麿 (c. 1753-1806). The genre enjoyed its heyday during the 1780s. At their best these works are full of light-hearted satire and subtle parody; at their worst they are marred by ludicrously implausible situations, grotesque characters, and pedantic descriptions.

The authors’ imagination was given relatively free rein during the time that the shōgun’s chief senior councillor, Tanuma Okitsu 谷津川 次 (1719-1788), held the reins of power. After his death, the conservative chief councillor, Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1759-1829), introduced a policy of austerity known as the Kansei Reforms (1787-1793), prohibiting the publication of frivolous books. The authors of samurai background discontinued writing, while those who did go on, changed tack, by henceforth imbuing their stories with moral lessons in the spirit of “Heart Learning” (Shingaku 心学), or by churning out stories of vendettas. The plot lines became increasingly long-winding and complicated, eventually necessitating a change of format. Therefore, a kibyōshi had typically comprised one to three chapters/fascicles of five sheets (ten pages) each; from 1807 on, however, publishers adopted a new format: that of the gōkan 合巻 (‘bound-together volumes’), in which one fascicle henceforth contained five chapters (maki). This format would be maintained until the end of the nineteenth century. They vary greatly in length, but some run into several tens, even close to several hundreds of chapters in several tens of instalments. Their plots are complicated, often implausible, with a penchant for grotesque and gory scenes. They often include portraits of popular actors, a feature suggesting their close affinity with Kabuki plays.

The presence of kibyōshi, as well as other varieties of what still may have been considered “pulp fiction” by other serious historians of literature, is another salient feature of the donation and testifies to Wada Mankichi’s view on Japanese literature and culture in general, giving a broader scope to popular traditions.
An illustrated saga novel (goiken 合巻), including coloured illustrations, in 48 instalments published between 1855 and 1883, by the Edo publisher Wakasaya Yoichi 若狭屋與市 (dates unknown). The title varies depending on the cover title, the preface title, the mikashiti title, and so on. The plot is vaguely based on a historical family feud known as the Kaga Sōdō 加賀騒動 (erupted in 1746, settled in 1754), an incident of presumed intrigue, murder, and illicit love, which rocked the prestigious house of the lord of Kaga. The main plot of the novel narrates the amorous and fantastic adventures of a handsome but morally unstable young man Yukari no Jō 由縁之丞, who was, to make matters worse, an accomplished magician. The word ‘bidan’ in the title is written with the characters for ‘edifying story’, but underneath resonate the homonymous characters for ‘handsome lad’. The story was adapted and produced for the Kabuki stage in March 1876, in the Nakaza 中座 in Osaka, under the title Keisei jidai kagami けいせい時代鏡 (‘Mirror of the Age for Courtesans’), and in February 1881, in the Harugiza 春木座 in Tokyo, under the title Hokusetsu bidan jidai kagami 北雪美談時代鏡. According to Nojima (1990) the premiere took place in the Matsushima theatre 松島芝居 in March 1876.

The illustration here is the combined title print for the two parts of the first instalment, designed by Utagawa Toyokuni (the third), also known as Utagawa Kuniaki 歌川国明 (1786-1865).

Hyakunin isshu hitoyo-gatari 百人一首一夕話
(‘One Poem of One Hundred Poets’ Told in One Night)

Alternative title: Hyakunin isshu hitoyo-gatari 百人一首一夕話
9 chapters in 9 fascicles; 25.4 x 18.1 cm

Author: Ozaki Masayoshi 尾崎雅嘉; illustrator: Ōishi
Matora 大石真虎
Date: Tenpō 天保 4 (1833)

(Ogura) Hyakunin isshu (小倉)百人一首 is an anthology of one hundred classical waka poems by as many poets compiled by the preeminent classical poet Fujiwara Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241). This work was reprinted countless times and served as a kind of catechism of classical Japanese poetry. During the Edo period (1600-1868), numerous commentaries on the anthology Hyakunin isshu appeared. Particularly well known are the Hyakunin isshu kaikan-shō 百人一首改観抄 百人一首改観抄 by Keichū 契沖 (1640-1710), Hyakunin isshu uimanabi 百人一首初学 百人一首初学 by Kamo Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697-1769), and Hyakushu ikken 百首異見 百首異見 by Kagawa Kageki 香川景樹 (1768-1843).

More unusual, however, is a work such as this Hyakunin isshu hitoyo-gatari by Ozaki Masayoshi (1755-1827). While it likewise offers commentaries on the poems of the famed anthology – mostly borrowed from Keichū as well as from Shimoköbe Chóryu 下河邊長流 (whose name can also be read as ‘Shimokawabe Nagaru’, 1627-1686) – the bulk of the work consists of biographies and anecdotes about the authors of the poems included in the anthology. In this respect it differs markedly from other commentaries. Moreover, it was written with a clearly educational purpose and with a scholarly approach. According to the preface, the author has assembled information from all quarters so as to inform the reader in one night about each of the hundred poets. The arrangement and order of the biographies and the anecdotes seem to be inspired by the format of the yomihon. Likewise, the illustrations are informed by the format of three different genres: (1) some are in the style of illustrated topographical accounts (meisho-zue), (2) others are in the style of the illustrations typical of the yomihon (a genre of historical fiction influenced by Chinese vernacular early modern novels), and (3) still others are inspired by the style of illustrations typical of the Yūsoku ko-

▲ After a stay of many years in the Chinese capital as a bureaucrat Abe no Nakamaru 阿倍仲麻呂 sails back to Japan.


jitsu 有職故実 genre (transmitting precedents and customs at court and among the aristocracy). The illustrations are first and foremost intended to help in understanding the text, but they also have an autonomous artistic value.

The edition published in Osaka in Tenpō 4 (1833) by Tsurugaya Kyūbē 敦賀屋九兵衛 enjoyed a wide readership, and it was always assumed that it faithfully and integrally reproduced the text as it had been left by its deceased author Ozaki Masayoshi. In 1993, however, an autograph manuscript by the author was discovered, and many differences between the manuscript and the printed edition came to light. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, numerous xylographical and typographical reprints of this book appeared. Ozaki Masayoshi excelled in the writing of small characters. He made his own block copy (hanshita 版下, the copy which was pasted upside down upon the woodblock to be carved out) and, as it happened, the block copy for this book was nearly completed when he passed away. The work was subsequently finished by Tanikawa Ukyō 谷川右京, but it was not published until six years after Ozaki’s death.

The UCLouvain copy once belonged to a collector, whose seal was ostensibly blotted out when the book was donated to the National Committee.

Ill. 1: after a stay of many years in the Chinese capital as a bureaucrat (described a.o. in Ishō Nihonden 異称日本伝), Abe no Nakamaru 阿倍仲麻呂 sails back to Japan. His ship runs into a storm and goes adrift. It eventually washes ashore on the coasts of Vietnam, whence he travels back to the Chinese capital, where he will eventually also die without ever seeing his home country again (Fascicle 1/chapter 1, pp. 49b-50a);

Ill. 2: the hamlet Eguchi no sato 江口の里. The commentary by the author goes as follows: “The hamlet of Eguchi is located in Tsu Province. In olden days there used to be many prostitutes here. Now a paltry shrine stands here, housing statues of the nun of Eguchi and the wandering priest-poet Saigyō 西行 (1118-1190). People call this small shrine ‘Kimidō 君堂.’ It was built by people of later genera-
tions who took their inspiration from the Nō play *Eguchi*. I have checked the *Senjūshō* 撮集抄 [a collection of stories related to Saigyō], but the story differs from what is told in the little shrine.” (Fascicles I/ chapter 1, pp. 12b-13a).

The story alluded to is that of the famous itinerant priest and poet Saigyō, who is surprised by a rain shower and is forced to beg for shelter in the house of a prostitute. Seeing he is a monk, she is at first unwelcoming, but when he sends her a poem reproving her lack of hospitality, she at once sends a smart repartee, one that outdoes the subtle critique of his own poem.

Ill. 3: the poet and courtier Ariwara no Narihira’s 佐原業平 (825-880) journey to Azuma 東 (Eastern Japan) (Fascicle II/chapter 2, pp. 11b-12a).

Léon de Rosny (1837-1914), France’s first university professor of Japanese Studies, made the first translations in French of the *Hyakunin isshu* published in his *Si-ka-zen-yō Anthologie japonaise* on the basis of *Hyakunin isshu hitoyo-gatari*.

This is an incomplete set of a serial novel that runs up to 173 fascicles in 43 instalments and was published between 1839 and 1868. Writing involved, besides Mizugaki Egao (1789-1846), Ippitsuan Shu-jin (1791-1848), Ryūkatei Tanekazu (1807-1858), and Ryūsuitei Tanekiyo (1807-1858), Involved illustrators were, besides Utagawa Kunisada I (1786-1865), Utagawa Kuniteru (dates unknown), Utagawa Kunimori (dates unknown), Utagawa Kunisada II (1823-1880), Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797-1861), Utagawa Yoshifusa (1837-1860), and Utagawa Yoshiiku (1833-1904).

“The Tale of the Gallant Jiraiya” is a traditional Japanese tale that recounts the story of Ogata Shūma Hiroyuki (尾形周馬弘行), a marauding yet chivalrous ninja, subsequently known as Jiraiya (lit. “Young Thunder”). This sobriquet was a pun on the homophonous characters (自来也) (“It is me who was here”). The contemporary Japanese audience would no doubt have understood this pun, for they would have been familiar with the latter three characters as the name of a noble-minded robber who had appeared in a so-called reading book (yomihon) with the title 《Jiraiya monogatari》 (‘The Story of Jiraiya’), written by Kanwatei Onita-ke 感和亭鬼武 (1760-1818), published in 1806, and adapted for the kabuki theatre stage in 1807. This yomihon story tells the tale, too, of a chivalrous robber, an accomplished ninja, whose habit of leaving the words “It is me who was here”, namely, on the walls of the houses where he had intruded, was the origin of his sobriquet.

The story’s success prompted its subsequent expansion into the voluminous serial novel (gōkan), ‘The Tale of the Gallant Jiraiya.’ Written by multiple authors and illustrated by seven print artists over nearly three decades, the plot lacks coherence, and the novel never reached its dénouement.

In this serial novel, the hero Jiraiya, now written in characters meaning “Young Thunder”, was the scion of a powerful clan in Kyūshū. When his family fell into ruin, he went to the province of Echigo, where he was successful as a marauder, becoming the leader of a “chivalrous” band of thieves. He was initiated into the “magic of the toad” by an immortal who lived on Mount Myōkōzan 妙香山. Around that time he fell in love and married Tsunade 綱手, a beautiful young woman who was well versed in the “magical art of the snail”. When he felt confident enough, he left to take revenge on the man who had been the cause of the ruin of his family, an old man named Sarashina, but he was unable to defeat him.

Sometime later, Yashagorō 夜叉五郎, one of his followers, was enchanted by the “magical art of the snake”. By dint of hard study and practice, he acquired the ability to transform himself into a huge serpent. Changing his name to Orochimaru 大蛇丸, after the name of the mythical eight-headed snake Orochi 大蛇, he challenged Jiraiya and Tsunade. He managed to poison them with his serpent venom, and they fell unconscious to the ground. Fortunately, another of Jiraiya’s followers, whose life he had once saved, came to his rescue. At this point, without conclusion, the tale abruptly ends.

The playwright Kawatake Shinshichi II 河竹新七 (二代) (1816-1893) adapted it for the kabuki theatre, basing himself on the first ten instalments of the novel. It was first staged, under the same title, at the Kawarasaki 河原崎座 Theatre in Edo in the seventh month of 1852, with the acclaimed actor Ichikawa Danjūrō VIII 八代目市川團十郎 (1823-1854) in the leading role. In 1881, Kawatake changed his first name to Mokuami 黙阿弥, the name by which he is best known.

On p. 105 we reproduce the combined title print by Kunisada (Toyokuni III) for the two parts of the second instalment.

Combined title print by Kunisada.
This is a typical ki hyōshi 黄表紙 with a typical jestful title. Text and illustrations are by Katsushika Hokusai I, a famous printmaker, painter, and draughtsman (1760-1849), who signs here with one of his numerous other names Tokitarō Kakō 時太郎可候.

It is the story of a merchant’s family, living a life of luxury and dissipation, whose members fall on hard times and are being hounded by creditors. When they are on the verge of bankruptcy, their branch family comes to the rescue. The story portrays the protagonists as rivalling lords of the Warring States era, but it is in fact a parody on Hokusai’s own time, the Kansei 寛政 period (1789-1801). The hero is Dadara Daijin Hiromune ダダラ大 尽ひろむね, a man who squanders his money among the courtesans of the red-light district Yoshiwara 吉原, while his wife too maintains an extravagant lifestyle. Seeing that the household is inevitably heading for bankruptcy, one of the servants, acting the role of the typical traitor in a Warring States tale, goes to tip the creditor off. The latter, an implacable miser, is portrayed here as the enemy lord. The scene of the creditor laying siege to the castle of Dadara Daijin metaphorically means that he refuses to extend his credit, demanding the immedi-
ate repayment of his loans. Dadara Daijin ignores the demands of the creditor and pawns some of his belongings in the pawnshop. His wife, too, pawns a few of her tortoiseshell hair ornaments.

Still, this is not enough. The wife flees in the company of the wet nurse, while Hiromune abandons his shop and goes into hiding in his country house. He puts his shop up for sale. Here the stage suddenly changes from the setting of the Warring States to a shop-lined street in Edo. Hiromune is now all of a sudden given shelter by a servant of the teahouse in the red-light district, which he used to patronize. A band of servants chases the army of the creditor off. At this point a subordinate retainer, who has remained loyal to his lord, enters the scene. He is actually a former shop assistant of Hiromune, who has started his own business and has become a wealthy merchant in his own right. He rescues his former boss, pays off the creditor, and the servant of the teahouse gets some reward as well. The story ends with a moral lesson both for the debtor and the creditor. This will surely have pleased the censor, who was supposed to enforce the edict of the Kansei period.

A melodrama, known as *ninjōbon* 人情本, in three parts and nine chapters (maki). It is believed that it was not created by Kyokusanjin (1793-1854), but that he rearranged and refined an anonymous manuscript by an amateur writer. The name of the heroes are Kosan 小三 and Kingorō 金五郎, who have been stock protagonists in love stories of double suicide since the Genroku 元禄 period (1688-1704), but the novel does not portray a stereotypical love double suicide. Although it ends with the suicide of the woman, its main focus is on the opposition between *giri* 義理 and *ninjō* 人情, that is, social obligation opposed to personal inclination and desire.

Kingorō is the love child of Kanaya Bunnojō 仮名屋文之丞 and the chambermaid Tamazusa 玉瑳, who have eloped from the house of the Shiba 斯波 family. As fate would have it, Bunnojō also happened to have adopted Okame, the daughter of an old ironmonger, who was in dire straits and could not raise her himself. She later became the *geisha* Kosan and fell in love with Kingorō. Having been raised as brother and sister, their love posed a serious problem in samurai society, and, sure enough, it ends with the suicide of Kosan. The novel owed its popularity to its delicate drawing of the tender sentiments between the star-struck lovers, steering clear from the traditional moral lesson that the novels usually were supposed to inculcate. The novel was first published with illustrations by Utagawa Kunitsugu 歌川国次 (1800-1861), but later reprinted with illustrations by Utagawa Kuninao 歌川国直 (1793-1854), and it is this version that garnered great popularity. It is one of the representative examples of the genre *ninjōbon*.

As often in these kinds of books, the title suggests a pun. On the surface it is a neutral, even dull title, but some of the characters (logograms) also occur in the name of one of the protagonists. Thus on the underlying level the title adumbrates what the book is really about.

Publisher and place of publication are unknown.

A yomihon by Santō Kyōden (1761-1816), with illustrations by Utagawa Toyokuni I (1769-1825). Loosely based on a play by Chikamatsu Monzaemon, it relates an internecine feud about the succession to the estate of a family of consequence, set in the Japanese Middle Ages, and pitting the loyal retainer Nagoya Sansaburō against the villainous retainer Fuwa Banzaemon. The latter sides with a concubine who tries to secure the succession for her son, but Nagoya, protector of the rightful heir, stymies their scheme, eliminates them, and causes righteousness to prevail. Owing to its huge success, this ‘novel’ was adapted for the theatre two years after its publication and staged in Osaka. The “lightning” in the title refers to the pattern on the clothing of the main character Fuwa Banzaemon. The actor Ichikawa Saigyū was the first to have this pattern dyed onto the fabric of his costume. He was inspired to do so by a haiku by Kasui:

“The first lightning strike
I have seen over the pass
Of Fuwa”

It was undoubtedly the fact that the family name of his character in the play was Fuwa, which suggested this link with the haiku.

Kyōden wrote a sequel to this book with a title that was not very ingenious, namely, *Inazuma-byōshi kōhen* (lit. *Inazuma byōshi Sequel*). Because he wanted to stress the independent character of his book in relation to its predecessor, he also gave it its own title: *Honchō suibodai* (‘A Japanese Version of Suibodai’).

The hero in *Honchō suibodai* is the eccentric monk Ikkyū (1394-1481), and it is written from
2 Sasara Sanpachirō, retainer of the house of Sasaki, about to kill the courtesan Fujinami out of loyalty.

3 Ikkyū spends the night in the brothel.
the point of view of the Buddhist upaya (hōben 方便); all means are good as long as they lead people to the right path. Ikkyū’s favourite ‘means’ is yuge-zanmai 遊戯三昧. This is an expression borrowed from Zen Buddhism, where it denotes a state of liberation of the trammels of ignorance and delusion. However, here Ikkyū, in his legendary eccentric manner, interprets the term in a more mundane sense, as “revelling in one’s freedom”, “unrestrained pleasure and gaiety”. Embracing this freedom, our hero makes himself – only seemingly – guilty of all kinds of behaviour which in Buddhism would normally at once be condemned as “mortal sin”. He behaves like a madman, visits brothels, gets involved in the most impossible situations, but it is all for a good cause: teaching people about the transience of life and converting them to Buddha’s teachings.

Ill. 1: the karmic girl (ingga musume 因果娘) of Tanba Province; next to the image of the girl, a fitting haiku by Bashō is quoted (Fascicle I, chapter 1, p. 8a):

“The call of the pheasant, そくふときけば When you hear it eats snakes, おそろし雉子の声 Sounds terrifying”

The point of the verse is that the call of the pheasant, while traditionally considered poetic and melancholy, suddenly sounds quite different when one learns that this bird actually eats snakes. The same sentiment applies to the girls of easy virtue, who may be very charming but actually lead one to a bad rebirth.

Ill. 2: Sasara Sanpachirō, retainer of the house of Sasaki, sneaking up to the unwitting courtesan Fujinami and about to kill her out of loyalty to his master (Fascicle I/chapter 1, pp. 7b-8a).

Ill. 4: final showdown between Nagoya and Fuwa, Nagoya avenging himself on his father’s killer (Fascicle VI, chapter 5b, p. 16a).

From Honchō suibodai, the following scenes are reproduced:

Ill. 3: Ikkyū spends the night in the brothel (Fascicle IV/chapter 4, pp. 25b-26a). After getting drunk, he throws up the carp he has eaten, alive, thus respecting the Buddhist precept of not killing living beings.

Ill. 5: Ikkyū is on the road with a skull in his hand to remind people of the impermanence and fragility of life (Fascicle I/chapter 1, p. 10b).

Literature: Keene 1978, pp. 404-409; Tsukamoto 1918.
22. Nansō Satomi hakkenden 那総里見八犬伝
('Biographies of the Eight ‘Dogs’ of the Satomi Clan in the Kazusa Province')

This is one of the most famous yomihon 読本. Yomihon or “reading books” are illustrated fictional stories where the text is more important than the illustrations, contrary to other genres where illustrations are central. They are interspersed with countless historical references to Japanese or Chinese history, and the reader is taught a moral lesson at the end of each episode. The portrayal of the characters is very schematic and stereotypical. The stories are set in a fantastic world of fairies, princesses, brave warriors, and villains. At its best the genre could be considered the epitome of the traditional art of storytelling.

Kyokutei (Takizawa) Bakin (1767-1848) is by far the foremost master of the yomihon. The work with the rather bizarre title Nansō satomi hakkenden (Biographies of the Eight ‘Dogs’ of the Satomi Clan in the Kazusa Province, 1814-41) may be considered his masterpiece. He began this roman-fleuve in 1814, when he was 47 years old. In total, he worked on it for 27 years, churning out no less than 106 volumes. The later instalments of the book were a true ordeal, because the author was slowly but surely turning blind. In the end, he had to dictate his text to his daughter-in-law. It was no easy task for her to correctly write down his complicated sentences and formulations, and he often had to explain the more difficult characters (kanji) to her.

The story is set in the fifteenth century. General Satomi Yoshizane 里見義実 (1417-1488) is under siege in his castle. In despair, he declares that he will marry his daughter Fusehime 伏姫 to whoever will bring him the head of his enemy. His guard dog Yatsufusa 八房 hurriedly runs off only to return a short while later with the enemy’s head. Fusehime, under the value of a promise made, absolutely wants to keep her father’s vow and marries the dog. She goes to live with her canine groom in a cave in the mountains. One year later she is pregnant. Around the same time, a servant of her father comes to ‘free’ her. He aims at the dog but accidentally hits the princess. She is mortally wounded, knows that she cannot be saved, and kills herself with a knife. A white cloud rises up from her wounds and...
wraps around the crystal pearls around her neck. Eight of these pearls rise up into the air. On each of these pearls a character denoting one of the Confucian virtues is inscribed. Afterwards, each of these pearls is found in the hand of eight newly born sons of men who are all called “inu” (dog). Each of these so-called dogs turns out to be the incarnation of one of the Confucian virtues carved on the pearls. In the course of an endless series of adventures, the eight heroes encounter each other countless times, only to be separated again by the circumstances. Eventually, fate brings them together for their crowning feat of arms: the restoration of the Satomi clan to its former glory. Once the task is completed, the eight dogs retreat to Yatsufusa’s cave and disappear from the face of the earth.

Bakin’s yomihon were mostly read by the literate classes, particularly by the samurai class. The print runs for his books were about 300 copies per edition. More than half of these were immediately sold to booklenders (kashihon-ya 賃本屋). Because he could not survive on that money alone, he additionally had to write a lot of ‘pulp’. In his more serious works, he glorified the samurai virtues. His heroes refuse to be swayed from their supreme goal, neither by evil creatures nor by the stirrings of the heart. Even the love of the most beautiful woman is no match to their sense of duty. They will pursue their noble mission at all cost.

Ill. 1: Satomi Jibu no tayū Yoshizane 里見治部 太夫義実 riding on a carp (instalment I, pp. 4a-5a prefatory section to chapter 1, pp. 4b-5a).

Ill. 2: Yatsufusa and Fusehime in the cave (instalment I, chapter 5, pp. 22b-23a). The accompanying text reads: “Keeping the promise made, Fusehime accompanies the animal (to the cave) deep in the mountains”.

This is a travel account in poems, written in kanbun, about Tsukigase, the name of a village and a stretch of valley along the Nabarigawa River in Yamato Province. If Mount Yoshino counts as the most beautiful panorama of cherry blossoms in Japan, then Tsukigase is famed for its plum blossoms. The area was first celebrated in kanbun-poems by the literatus (bunjin 文人) and poet Yamaguchi Kanrengyoku 山口韓聯玉, who traveled through this area in Bunsei 2 (1819). He collected his poems, added works sent to him by scholarly friends, and published the whole as Tsukigase baika-jo 月瀬梅花 帖 (A Notebook on the Plum Blossoms of Tsukigase) (1825). This was the first time that the area acquired a level of fame among certain groups of literati.

Saitō Setsudō (1797-1865), author of Tsukigase kishō 月瀬記勝, was born in Kansei 9 (1797) in Edo, in the residence of the lord (daimyō) of the Tsu domain in Ise Province. From an early age, he attended the school of the Bakufu (the Shōheikō 昌平黌), where he studied under Koga Seiri 古賀精里 (1750-1817). At the age of 24, he was summoned as a teacher to the school recently established by the lord of Tsu in his domain. Gradually he emerged as one of the foremost specialists of Confucianism in Tsu and, in his later years, even became political advisor to his daimyō.

Tsukigase kishō is a travel account written by Setsudō in the wake of a trip to Tsukigase in the company of several friends. The work is divided into nine chapters, in which he describes the plum orchards in the Tsukigase valley from various points of view and under various circumstances. The text proper is preceded by eight landscapes in ink and light colour, no doubt intended as the Tsukigase version of the “Eight Views” in the style of nanga 南画 (literati painting). The “Eight Views” are a canonical...
set of landscapes in traditional painting, representing a scenic area under eight different meteorological or atmospheric conditions.

The first page of each fascicle bears the collector’s seal “Tomita tosho 富田図書” and “Hoku? kyû in Ōshima bunko 北宮印大島文庫”.

Ill. 1: a map showing the villages, including the village of Tsukigase, and hamlets where plum blossoms are worth viewing (chapter 1, pp. 5b-6a).

Ill. 2: view of a hermitage overlooking the valley of the Nabarigawa river with the inscription: “The old temple bell (echoes) in the clearing after snow.” This solemn vignette embodies the detachment and unworldly lifestyle of the literary man (bunjin) (chapter 1, pp. 13b-14a).

This work consists of five chapters (maki) and includes the biographies of about 100 persons from different walks of life - celebrities, eccentrics, madmen, and so on, as remarkable, outlandish, or exceptional characters - from the beginning of the Edo period down to the late eighteenth century. It includes, for instance, the Confucian scholar Nakae Tōju 中江藤樹; the monks Tōsui 桃水, Tetsugan 鉄眼, and Baisa-ō 卖茶翁; the nun Hakyō 破鏡; the courtesan Ōhashi 大橋; and many others. The work was completed in 1788, and people still alive at that time were not included. It includes a foreword in kanbun by the monk Shaku Jishū 釈慈周 (1734-1801); a preface by the author himself; and a postscript by a friend of the author, Mikuma Shikō (Katen) (1730-1794), who also contributed forty illustrations to the book.

The author Ban Kōkei (1733-1806) was an erudite individual from Kyoto, who succeeded in gathering a host of stories and testimonies about monks, poets, scholars, hermits, and artists from various regions across Japan, though when writing the book he hardly ever left the capital. He was born in Kyoto into a family of merchants. At the age of eight, he was adopted into the main branch of the Ban family. He eventually became the head of the family business and in that capacity often went on business trips to Edo, where the family owned a shop. When he was 36 years old, he passed the management of the business on to his adopted son and retired in Kyoto. From that point on, he adopted the name Kōkei. Although he did not belong to the court nobility, he was considered one of the great waka poets of his time. Moreover, he was a master of elegant Japanese prose and an eminent expert in Japanese and Chinese classics. Although he had a sickly constitution from childhood, he was blessed with a relatively long life for his time.

The term kijin畸人 in the title needs some explanation. Ki畸here means “exceptional”, “eccentric”, or also “different”. A kijin is therefore someone whose lifestyle and behaviour differ from that of the common person. In his preface Kōkei argues that the term has two meanings; the first is “remarkable”, “extraordinary” in the sense of someone far exceeding the average, someone who is a consummate mas-
ter in his profession or in his art. Examples of this are the scholars Nakae Tōju 中江藤樹 (1608-1648) and Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒 (1630-1714), who were allegedly exceptional paragons of Confucian virtues.

However, a second meaning is found in the Daoist classic Zhuangzi (Jap. Sōshi 荘子), where we read that a kijin is someone who is different from others, and who lives in accord with heaven. Ban Kökei's emphasis on this second meaning is understandably related to the success and popularity of the ideas of the Chinese philosophers Laozi (Jap. Rōshī 老子) and Zhuangzi among intellectuals in eighteenth-century Japan. The compilation of the book Kinsei kijinden was also inspired by this intellectual trend. It is no ordinary collection of biographies.

Ban Kökei describes Baisa-ō 卖茶翁 as the epitome of eccentricity. Baisa-ō – his name means “tea-selling old man” – led an unusual existence. Around 1735 – when he was about 60 years old – he was known throughout Kyoto as an intellectual tea-peddler. He was a prominent intellectual, wrote excellent poems, and was also an excellent calligrapher. His style of life was an implicit yet sharp critique of the style of life of the contemporary clergy and intelligentsia. Even so, he attracted many like-minded people.

The illustrations in this work are of excellent quality; the text is considered to be written in an elegant and refined style.

Ill. 1: Baisa-ō in chapter II, pp. 25b-26a, drawing of basket containing his tea utensils.

Ill. 2: chapter II/fascicle II, p. 37a: the wandering monk Enkū (1632-1695). The description about Enkū in the Kinsei kijinden is the only biography about this legendary monk. He made various pilgrimages to holy places in Japan and set out to carve tens of thousands of little Buddha statues in order to accumulate spiritual merits. His biography in the Kinsei kijinden includes a passage where he is carving the faces of two colossal temple guardians out of the trunk of two withered trees. The illustration depicts two farmers watching, as Enkū ‘tackles’ the colossal tree with his chisel. We can already discern the contours of both legs and the face of one of the two giants. Afterwards, the tree started growing branches anew, a story about wondrous growth reminiscent of the Western legend of the Holy Cross (chapter II/fascicle II, p. 37a).

Ill. 3: the famous monk Tetsugen, handing out food to the poor (chapter II/fascicle II, p. 3b).

Kashihon-ya 貸本屋 (Booklender Stores)

From the second half of the Edo period (1600–1868), a network of commercial ‘booklenders’ (kashihon-ya) spread throughout Japan. By the end of the seventeenth century, peddlers with packs of books on their backs were a familiar sight on the streets of the most important cities. It is mostly after the mid-eighteenth century, though, that kashihon-ya became the main suppliers of reading material for people living in the cities. Whenever new books appeared, the peddler went around visiting his clients to deliver the books to their houses, or the customers came to his shop to borrow the books. It was mostly popular books, contemporary works of fiction, which were in high demand, especially when it concerned more voluminous books, too expensive for many to purchase. In such cases, the booklenders provided a more affordable alternative.

These itinerant bookshops were the pioneers of modern reading clubs or book clubs. They loaned from their collections on the honour system. To avoid books being stolen, they marked them with seals. Books from the collections of these bookshops usually bore the signs of frequent use. One could often find notes or scribbling in them, too. The kashihon-ya strongly influenced society in the Edo period. They contributed to the reading culture and the “democratization” of knowledge. Among their clients were nobles, samurai, and citizens, as well as prostitutes. Through their home delivery system, the books were also accessible to a broad female readership.

This book is a partially revised and enlarged edition of *Kokyō-kaeri no Edobanashi* (古郷帰の江戸咄) (published in Jōkyō 貞享 4 (1687)). The original title is replaced in the newer edition by the present one.

On the first page we see the collector’s seal 松平氏蔵書印. This is the seal of Matsudaira Naritsune 松平斉典 (1797-1850), fourth feudal lord of the fief Kawagoe 川越. He has gone down in history as a good ruler of his domain. He is also known for his promotion of education and learning. He set up a school for the education of samurai in his fiefdom as well as in Edo. In Tenpō 15 (1844), he gave orders to Yasuoka Reinan 保岡嶺南 (1801-1868), a Confucian scholar, to revise Rai Sanyō’s 頼山陽 (1780-1832) famous *Nihon gaishi* 日本外史 (*Unofficial History of Japan*), originally published in 1829. The 1844 edition, known as the Kawagoe edition, became a real bestseller going through no less than fourteen editions. Its woodblocks were kept in the Matsudaira clan’s residence, until they were lost, along with other treasures, during an air raid in 1945.

If we assume this book was donated directly from the Matsudaira residence to the National Committee, then it escaped three disasters: the Kantō Earthquake and the ensuing conflagration, the German bombing of the Louvain library and, finally, the American air raid in 1945.

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The copy in the UCLouvain bears the label “rare” 希購書. The colophon page bears the date Genroku 元禄 7 (1694), published by Sudareya Mataemon 簾屋又右衛門, located near Nihonbashi.
This is a revised version of a map that was published in 1693, under the title *Edo-zu seihō kagami* 江戸図正方鑑, measuring 158.4 x 129.5 cm.

The top of the map represents the West. Edo castle, the residence of the shōgun is clearly indicated by the family crest of the Tokugawa clan, commonly known as the ‘triple hollyhock,’ but the privacy of the shōgun evidently being a matter of state interest, no lay-out of the buildings is given.

It offers a good impression of the lively city of Edo, today’s Tokyo, during the Genroku era (1688-1704). On the map one can see temples and Shinto shrines, as well as the numerous mansions of feudal lords, marked by the respective badges of their clans. These badges are the same that are tied to spears and carried at the head of the processions in which a feudal lord travels in state to the castle of the shōgun or some other lofty destination. The map also features several separate columns with lists of temples and sanctuaries, and perhaps more unexpectedly for us fire brigade stations, which needless to say played a vital role in a wooden city like Edo. One also notices the many *kumiyashiki* 組屋敷, police stations, bearing witness to the police state that the shogunate maintained. Moreover, the names of the town districts are accompanied by the names

![General view of the map.](https://www.uclouvain.be/heritagecollections/res_jap_46_c11(2))
The section of the city where the temple to Confucius (indicated here by the characters seidō 聖堂) is located.

The Western section (Nishi omaru 西御丸) of Edo Castle where the retired shōgun and the designated shōgun resided.
of the district heads (machi-nanushi 町名主), who act as go-betweens among the townspeople and the shogunate’s administration. Yushima seidō 湯島聖堂, the temple dedicated to Confucius, is visible at its present location. It was relocated here from Ueno by order of the fifth shōgun, Tsunayoshi 綱吉 (1646-1709), in 1690-1691.

The map also includes inset tide tables, a feature missing in its 1693 predecessor. The UCLouvain copy has manifestly been backed with strong mulberry paper and slightly restored in some places, presumably as commissioned by the National Committee.

▲ The colophon of the map, mentioning the title of the map as ‘[Edo-]zu shōtaizen,’ and the date ‘late spring 1695.’
Illustrated topographical account of the pilgrim road to Konpira, with text by Akatsuki Kanenari (1793-1861) and illustrations by Urakawa Kōsa (active between 1830-1860), published in the year Kōka 4 (1847). The shrine of Konpira Daigongen on Mount Zōzuzan in Sanuki Province (present-day Kagawa Prefecture) was considered the most important place of pilgrimage after that of Ise Jingū. This edition was meant as a sort of guide for the pilgrim. The descriptions are based on factual observation. Not unlike modern-day travel journalists, the author and illustrator spent two months in the province. Presumably the costs of this trip were paid for by the publisher. The signed preface is by the court official and tanka poet Uematsu Masataka (1825-1855).

According to the colophon, this is a “new print” (shinkoku 新刻), published by various bookstores in Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka. It is unclear if this means that it is also a first printing (shozuri 初刷り), but it is definitely a printing close to it. The first page of every fascicle bears the vermilion collector’s seal ‘Shōjidō 嘯而堂,’ thus far unidentified.


The god of Sumiyoshi exorcises an evil spirit in the guise of an oxen (chapter 1, pp. 6b-7a).

The site where the battle of Kamagashima was fought between the insurgent Fujiwara no Sumitomo (died 941) and the imperial armies (chapter 1, pp. 49b-50a).
This title is the first meisho-zue about Kyoto (see also p. 127). The book is conceived as a narrative about two lads who take the reader (the visitor) on a tour of no less than eighty scenic spots in the imperial capital (ill. 1: fascicle I, pp. 5b-6a). The tour starts at the imperial palace. Each place is given a simple description by the author, concluded with one or more haiku or kyōka (comical poems), written by him, followed by an illustration.

The author, Nakagawa Kiun 中川喜雲 (1636-1705), came from Tanba Province and settled as a physician in Kyoto. He was a fervent haiku poet and writer of kanazōshi 仮名草子 (books of fiction or didactic intent), produced in the seventeenth century and composed mainly in the kana syllabaries.

Ill. 2: the shrine where the famous statue of the Buddha Amida looking over his shoulder is venerated (chapter IV/fascicle IV, pp. 5b-6a). It is in the temple Eikandō 永観堂 (Eikan's hall), named for the famed monk Yōkan 永観. Worth noting is that the characters “永観” and “永観堂” were read as Yōkan and Yōkandō in the seventeenth century. Although the name of the temple is now read in the kan'on reading as Eikandō, the name of the monk is still pronounced Yōkan in the go'on reading.

The accompanying text reads: “This temple is officially called Zenrinji. Here the vinaya-master, a master in the rules of Buddhist monastic discipline, Yōkan (1032-1111), practiced a combination of three kinds of devotion: Zen meditation, the vinaya, and the Pure Land teaching. (…) The statue of the Buddha looking back dates from the time when Yōkan dedicated himself to intense religious exercises. The Buddha Amida was doing the same exercises at the time and looked behind him to see if (Yōkan) was following in his footsteps. Yōkan then made this statue of Amida in that pose so that it might be venerated for eternity. (…)”
The illustration shown here comes with a haiku:

花にや
ミカヘリ
下向衆

While we look to the blossoms,
The buddha Amida looks back/after
‘his’ flock of sinners

The statue, known as the “mikaeri Amida”, can even now be admired in the temple Eikandō. It was classified as an important cultural asset in 1999. The first drawings in the first fascicle of this copy in the UCLouvain are faintly coloured by hand. The rest are not. The date on the colophon is: 明暦四年七月吉日 (on an auspicious day in the seventh month of the fourth year of Meireiki (1658)), 八文字屋五兵衛新刊 (newly published by the Hachimonjiya Gohē). As such, it is a hachimonjiya-bon 八文字屋本, which makes this copy exceptionally valuable. The committee therefore rightly marked it as “rare”. Hachimonjiya is the name of a publisher/bookseller in Kyoto, active from the late seventeenth century to 1767, and known for its publication of books in a number of popular genres, including novels and kabuki plays.

Literature: Nakagawa 1967; Nakagawa 1976.

▲ The shrine where the famous statue of the Buddha Amida looking over his shoulder is venerated.
Meisho-zue 名所図会: Illustrated Topographical Accounts

Meisho-zue are illustrated topographical accounts meant for a broader audience. Some classic examples of the genre include the works compiled by Akisato Ritō 秋里 篤. There is little to no biographical information on him, although he originally seems to have been a little-known haiku poet based in Kyoto. Meisho-zue contain illustrations of panoramas in bird’s-eye view, although not in the strict sense of today’s geographical methods. As a rule, they are in daihon-size 大本, i.e., a page of Minogami-paper 美濃紙 folded in half, which roughly corresponds to the current B5 size. The oldest topographical accounts focused on famous places and sights celebrated in classical poetry (utamakura 歌枕) A place that was not mentioned in any classical poem therefore did not originally qualify, no matter how stunning the view might have been. Conversely, someone who wanted to compose a classical poem would have needed to know about these famous places. This need fueled the publication of the earliest accounts, the Utamakura-sho 歌枕書 (Repertory of Utamakura) and the Meisho-ki 名所記 (Tales of Famous Places), which may be considered the forerunners of the meisho-zue. The meisho-ki were structured as a story. The hero travelled from one famous place to another and described what he saw. The explanation was straightforward, the selection of famed places was rather arbitrary. This genre of books was illustrated, though the drawings were simple and unsophisticated and not drawn from the actual setting. Rather, they were imaginary landscapes. The meisho-zue changed that practice. They are no longer stories but factual reports. They do not restrict themselves to utamakura but are methodical in their accounts. The author aimed to be exhaustive in covering all interesting and noteworthy places in a certain region or city. They come close to what we would call an illustrated travelogue. While there was already a topographical account on nearly every region before the advent of the meisho-zue, these were often written in kanbun 漢文 (Classical Chinese), tersely composed, and difficult to understand. Moreover, they barely included any drawings. The meisho-zue were a significant improvement: The description was in easy-to-understand Japanese, based on factual observations, and they were richly illustrated. These illustrations are generally realistic, although there was the occasional (imaginary) depiction of a historical event. They are depictions of temples, mountains, and rivers, usually from a bird’s-eye view. As a rule, they describe the contemporary situation. Author and illustrator mean to report on the current look of the place based on factual observations. Even the poems (tanka and haiku) that are cited are not limited to classical examples.

The first authentic example of a meisho-zue is Miyako meisho-zue 都名所図会 (Famous Places of the Capital, Illustrated; 1780). The author was Akisato Ritō (?-1830), its illustrator Takehara Shunchōsai 竹原春朝斎 (1772-1801). When their partnership proved to be hugely successful, they produced a sequel: the Jūi miyako meisho-zue 拾遺都名所図会 (Famous Places of the Capital, Illustrated; supplement; 1787) and continued with similar books on different places in the Kinki and Tōkaidō regions. The height of Meisho-zue occurred between the second half of the eighteenth century until the end of the Edo period (1600-1868), especially whenever the government subjected the publishing world to strict censorship. In such times, publishers were keen to tap the market potential of this politically and morally harmless genre. The genre is dominated by two authors: the aforementioned Akisato Ritō in addition to Akatsuki Kanenari 秋里 作次郎 (1793-1861). While Ritō still attached much importance to utomatouru, Kanenari broke free from this convention. He also included sights and places that do not appear at all in classical poetry. One such example is his Tenpōzan meisho-zue 天保山名所図会 (Famous Places of Mount Tenpō Capital, Illustrated; 1780). This is a newly discovered area “without history”. He also adopted an unusual format for this book, namely, that of the chūban 中本, and it is very possible that he intended this book to be a parody of the genre. Ritō and Kanenari were also haiku poets (haijin 俳人) in their own right and wrote other books as well.

Ritō and Kanenari were true professionals in what we might call travel journalism. They received assignments from publishers who would also ensure that they were reimbursed for their travel expenses. After all, the book was a report of their journey. Such editions were of course intended as a profit-making enterprise. Not surprisingly, then, the topics were mainly chosen from popular ‘tourist’ spots such as Kyoto, Edo (now Tokyo), and major destinations of pilgrimage. Because mobility was on the rise at this time, and many people travelled under the guise of making a pilgrimage, the demand for a guide to such places was high. In less populated and less developed areas, local heritage experts or amateurs would produce a local topographical guide. They often published the book themselves, while in other cases the products of their pen never made it past the manuscript stage.

Meisho-zue are an ode to the varied landscapes and city views of Japan. The Japanese discovered the beauty of their country, and because they could never travel abroad, the archipelago was ‘constructed’ into a mini-world of its own. The varied ecological types and the vast climatological differences, in addition to the strongly defined local specialties, customs, and rituals, conjured up among the Japanese the illusion of ‘dépaysement’, of travelling abroad.

29. Miyako meisho-zue 都名所図会
('Famous Places of the Capital, Illustrated')

6 chapters in 6 fascicles; 25.7 x 18.2 cm
Author: Akisato Ritō 秋里離島
Date: An‘ei 安永 9 (1780)

The first print of this work dates from An‘ei 9 (1780). It was reprinted in Tenmei 天明 6 (1786). On the daisen 题签 or gedai 外题 (the slip of paper on the outside of each fascicle bearing the title of the work) of the copy in UCLouvain saikoku 再刻 or ‘reissue’ is written. The colophon does indeed state that it is a new and enlarged edition of the year Tenmei 7 (1787). The book was clearly a great success.

This is the first topographical account to include the generic term ‘Meisho-zue’ (‘illustrated description of a famous place’) in its title. The first two chapters are devoted to Heian-jō 平安城, the old centre of Kyoto. The third chapter is about the eastern part of the city, the fourth about the western part, the fifth about the south, and the sixth about the northern part of the city. A large proportion of the descriptions is devoted to Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines, not only famous institutions but also small chapels and hermitages, all written in simple language. That this did not turn out to be merely a touristic account is thanks to the occasional poems (waka and haiku) interspersed throughout the text. The waka are often classical, but the haiku are composed by contemporary poets and significantly enhance the text’s vivacity.

Year of birth and death of the author are unknown, but based on indirect information we may assume that Akisato Ritō published the Miyako meisho-zue when he was about 45 years old. This was the first in a whole series of excellent illustrated topographical accounts he published in the same style. He published Kisoji meisho-zue 木曾路名所図会 – a topographical account of the mountainous Kiso region – in 1802, and since he would have been close to

The imperial palace (fascicle I, pp. 6b-7a).
The big bridge over the Kamo-river at the street Sanjō (fascicle I, pp. 31b-32a).

The folk festival Gion 祗園祭 with its parade floats (fascicle II, pp. 6b-7a).
70 years old at the time, and he would have travelled the mountain paths and steep roads he described in the book himself, he must have enjoyed good health until an advanced age.

The real name of illustrator Takehara Shuncho-sai (?-1801) was Nobushige 信繁. He was a master of ukiyo-e prints and was active in Osaka. He also provided the illustrations for a few other Meisho-zue written by Ritō. They are the duo that largely defined and shaped the style of this genre. Shuncho-sai draws the panoramic sights realistically and from a bird’s-eye view. His illustrations are not only very refined and aesthetically attractive, but they also contain a wealth of information.

The preface states: “The great panoramas have been drawn with particular attention to detail. The small shrines and chapels have not been depicted smaller than they are. All illustrations feature human figures. If they have been drawn very small, it is because the surrounding panorama is vast. If the human figures are not small, it means they are represented in confined surroundings.”

The Zen temple Nanzenji 南禅寺 (fascicle III, pp. 51b-52a).
Ishikawa Tomonobu (alias Ryūsen, ?-?) was an ukiyo-e artist active in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It is unclear who his teacher was, but his style seems to be close to that of Hishikawa Moronobu or Sugimura Jihee. He was one of the prominent painters (eshi) of the Genroku era. In addition, he was active as draughtsman of woodblock-printed maps, which are eponymously known as Ryūsen maps (Ryūsen-zu). Especially his maps of the Japanese archipelago, combining artistic execution with an abundance of practical information, enjoyed great popularity during the better part of the eighteenth century, right until the publication of the map by Nagakubo Sekisui in 1778.

In 1687, he drew the Honchō zukan kōmoku, published by Sagamiya Tahē in Edo, a small-scale map, reprinted from the same blocks two years later. He subsequently redesigned it into a large-scale map in 1691 (82 × 170 cm), under the title Nihon kaisan chōriku-zu. The UCLouvain copy belongs to the 1694 edition. As the title indicates, it was a new version, printed from newly carved blocks, probably the second edition of what eventually would turn out to be a series of about thirty in all, over a period of ninety years. Many copies were hand coloured. New versions were often given new titles, an alteration that required little adjustment, since these titles were not printed on the map itself but only on the daiseki or gedai title (the slip of paper on the cover). The 1694 edition, which appears to be uncommon, has the binomen koriku (湖陸) in its title, whereas the 1691 edition had the binomen chōriku (潮陸). The 1703 version was published under the title Nihon sankai-zu dōdaizen (日本山海図道大全), though it was actually a reprint from the same blocks but with a new title. Like the 1691 edition, the UCLouvain copy has two small volvelles in the lower left corner, showing (above) the length of day and night in the 24 solar terms of the year and (below) the waxing and waning of the moon, as well as ebb and flow of the tide.

The 1691 map of Ishikawa served as the model for a map of Japan published by the Dutch Orientalist and cartographer Adrien Reland (1676-1718) in several editions, the first of which was published as Le Japon divisé en soissante et six provinces, in Amsterdam in 1715, not as a separate map but included in Recueil des voyages au Nord, vol. 3, edited by Jean Frederic Bernard, Amsterdam, 1716.1

2 Section of the map featuring major fiefs in Kyūshū.

2 Section of the map featuring among others the Sanctuary of Nikkō in the province of Shimotsuke.

Volvelles
This item is a horizontal scroll which was mounted as a leporello book. It depicts, in continuous images, Mount Yoshino in spring when the cherry blossoms are in bloom. This mountain was famed for the beauty of its cherry blossoms. Even now it attracts great numbers of eager visitors each year in the blossoming period. The text is by Kaibara Ekiken (Atsunobu 篤信, 1630-1714). He is known mainly as a Confucianist, although he was in fact a versatile scholar who published about a broad scope of subjects (see also no. 41, Yamato honzō). He signs his preface with the expression “text by Kaibara Atsunobu, at the age of 84” 八十四翁貝原篤信記.

A sheet glued in the back of the book has the following information: This book is the first in a series of five. The title of the series is: Fusō meishō-zu 扶桑名勝図 (Famous Places in Japan). The collection of rare Japanese books in the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels, includes a copy of another title in the series, titled Itsukushima Sokei 窮島龍景 (A General View of Itsukushima), likewise prefaced by Kaibara Ekiken (Atsunobu) and dated the second year of Genroku 元禄 (1689). However, the UCLouvain copy has no colophon.

The binding of Washū Yoshino yama shōkei-zu is of a later date (sātei-naoshi 裝丁直し). The work itself is a good, though later impression from the original woodblocks. In the text section the line of the framing, around the text is interrupted on a certain page, which tells us that the woodblock was repaired by inserting a new piece of wood (umeki 埋め木) here. The colophon reads:

京市六角通御幸町西入町
柳枝軒茨城多左衛門蔵版
Published by Ibaragi Tazaemon, Ryūshiken, residing in Kyoto, Rokkaku-dōri, Miyuki-chō nishi iru machi.
This particular copy is an original edition. The text is written by Saitō Chōshū (Yukio, 1737-1799), his son Agatamaro 縣麻呂 (Yukitaka), and Agatamaro’s son Gesshin 斎藤月岑 (Yukishige 幸成). The illustrations are by Hasegawa Settan (1778-1843). This work includes prefaces by Matsudaira Kanzan 松平冠山 (1767-1833), Kameda Chōshi 亀田長梓 (1778-1853), Kataoka Kankō 片岡寛光 (1794-1838), and one by Saitō himself dated Kansei 12 (1800).

Edo was originally a village, later chosen by Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543-1616) to become the seat of his military government. In less than a hundred years’ time, the place grew into a city of about one million inhabitants. At first, it resembled a kind of colony, where immigrants from all over Japan gathered to try their luck, and where thousands of male retainers resided together with their feudal lords every two years. A more conventional culture gradually developed, however, and people started to consider Edo their home. This book was compiled by such ‘Edokko’ 江戸っ子 as a typical inhabitant of Edo is called. It is an illustrated topographical account of Edo and its surroundings, which actually include large parts of the neighbouring Musashi Province. The description starts with the Castle of Edo and goes on to describe in clockwise fashion a long series of districts, quarters, and places of scenic interest. According to the author, he divided the city and its surrounding area into seven sections based on the seven stars of Ursa Major. The descriptions are detailed and based on personal observation. Settan has accurately portrayed the beautiful panoramas and scenic spots. This work is recognized as a masterpiece of its genre.

One scenic spot is a tea house with a view of Mount Fuji (ill. 1, fascicle VII, pp. 48b-49a). The ac-
Panoramic view of the South Easterly section of the city of Edo, with in the background the sun rising over the bay (fascicle I, pp. 23b-24a).

The popular festival of Sannō 山王, a Shintō deity (fascicle II, pp. 18b-19a).
companying description above it includes, not without irony, a famous haiku by the poet Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644-1694) (here under his pseudonym Tōsei 桃青):

“In the south-westerly direction, there is a vast panorama with a view on the white peak of Mount Fuji. When the wind blows away the light clouds, the wintry sight (of the mountain) suddenly appears, only to disappear (as) suddenly. Ephemeral and ever-changing, and a different view each time! It is truly a wonderful panorama.

Through fog and rain
No Mount Fuji to be seen,
Now that’s a true sight!
(Old Tōsei)”

The shopping district Owari-chō 尾張町 (fascicle II, pp. 43b-44a).
Kinjō Tennō go-sokui-rei emaki 今上天皇即位禮絵巻
(‘Illustrated Handscroll of the Enthronement Ceremony of the Present Emperor’)

and

Kinjō Tennō daijōsai emaki 今上天皇大嘗祭絵巻
(‘Illustrated Handscroll of the Festival of Thanksgiving of the Present Emperor’)

Pair of handscrolls in paulownia storage box; colour woodblock print.
Print by Urushibara Sanjirō 漆原三次郎

The first scroll Kinjō Tennō gosokui-rei emaki does not mention the author or any printing or publication data. At the end of the second scroll Kinjō Tennō daijōsai emaki, there is a notice dated November 10, Taishō 4 (1915), signed by Ikebe Yoshitaka. The colophon proper states the following:

Revised (kenkō 檢校) by:
Commissioner for the Grand Ceremonies of Enthronement and Thanksgiving 大禮使事務官: Tada Kōmon 多田好門, noble of the fourth rank A, order of the third rank 禁三等.
Text and calligraphy (ekotoba narabi ni sho 絵詞並書):
Ikebe Yoshitaka, compiler in the Temporary Imperial Bureau of the Imperial Household Ministry 宮内省臨時編修局編修, noble of the sixth rank B.
Painting (tansei 丹青):
Yoshizaki Hokuryō 吉崎北陵, Kobori Tomone 小堀鞆音, Murata Tanryō 村田丹陵, Sekiyasu 関安之輔, assistants, nobles of the fifth rank B.

This work is published by the Association for the Commemoration of the Imperial Enthronement 御即位記念協会. The head of this committee is Viscount Kyō'oka Nagakoto 子爵 清岡長郎 (1825–1903), a paramount specialist of court ceremonies and rituals. His delegate (shaiji 主事) is Kimura Tadashi 今村孝利. The woodblock engraver (chōkokusha 影刻者) is Katayama Kiseki 片山基石; the printers (insatsusha 印刷者) are Urushibara Sanjirō and Urushibara Eijirō 漆原栄次郎; assistant (hojō 補助) is Takeda Katsunosuke 武田長之助, and the mounter (daikyōshi 大絵師) is Katō Tōju 加藤藤樹.

The enthronement is the most important ceremony at the imperial court. It is to be enacted meticulously and by following strict rules. Contrary to popular belief that they go back to times immemorial, these rules were actually often adapted and modified. The Jogan gishiki 貞観儀式 (Procedures for Ceremonies of the Jōgan Period, compiled second half of the ninth century) provided a guiding framework, which, along with the tenth-century Engi-shiki 延喜式, codified the rituals of the imperial family and its attendant clans. This ceremony rather resembled the New Year Ceremony that used to be performed at the Chinese court during the Tang Dynasty (618–907). When Emperor Meiji succeeded to the throne in 1868, the ceremony was fundamentally changed and reshaped as a Shintō ritual. The garments were also adapted to reflect this change. The emperor no longer wore the konben 貫冠, a robe and cap in a Chinese-looking style, but the typically Japanese robe sokutai 束帶 and cap of the type ryūi 立叟. According to the ordinance of 1889, the ceremony of enthronement was supposed to be held in Kyoto, and according to the ordinance of 1909 (tōkyokurei 登極令), the ceremony of enthronement and that of thanksgiving had to be held in the same period, in the autumn or spring following the end of the mourning period for the previous emperor. The most important aspect of this ceremony is the ritual in the throne room (shishinden no gi 紫宸殿の儀). In this pair of scrolls, the most important moments in the ritual programme are illustrated with careful attention to detail.

Ikebe Yoshitaka (1861–1923) was a specialist in Japanese literature and history of law. He was the son of a samurai who served the feudal lord of the fiefdom of Kumamoto. His go 吉号 (sobriquet) was Tōen 藤園. After the Seinan Rebellion (1877), he began his studies at the Jingū kyōin 神宮教院, a school of Shintō theology. In 1882, he enrolled in the Department of Classical Japanese Studies at the University of Tokyo. Starting in 1886, he successively became librarian at the Imperial Library, teacher at the First Higher Middle School, the Higher Pedagogical Institute for Girls, and member of the Historical-Graphical Commission. From 1898 to 1901, he studied in France. After returning to Japan, he became lector at the Imperial University of Kyoto in 1903; in 1914, compiler in the Temporary Compilation Bureau of the Imperial Household Ministry; in 1917, a member of the Imperial Bureau for Poetry; and in 1918, an official in the Temporary Imperial Bureau for History. Ikebe is one of the earliest specialists in modern academia of legal and institutional history 法制史 in Japan. This may also explain why Wada Mankichi classified this illustrated scroll under the donation’s division of Law and Institutions.

Copies of our pair of scrolls can also be found in the British Museum, Kōgakukan daigaku Shintō hakubutsukan 皇學館大學神道博物館 in Ise, and
the National Museum of Japanese History 国立歴史民俗博物館 in Sakura.

The pair of scrolls is a simplified pictorial survey of the salient moments in the various ceremonies, probably produced to be distributed as a souvenir among the important guests present at the ceremonies, or to be offered to important persons or prestigious institutions.

The first scroll Kinjō Tennō gosokui-rei emaki begins with three prefatory mottos (daiji 题字) in four-character lines by high officials in the imperial household. Each of the mottos (daiji) echoes a direct or indirect cosmological reference, meant as covert references to the emperor. They are redolent of the Confucian-inspired Classical Chinese texts extolling the greatness of the emperor, whose solemnity transcends space and time.

Kinjō Tennō daijōsai emaki scroll: ceremonial rice planting.

Kinjō Tennō daijōsai emaki scroll: performance of court dance and music.
Somewhat naively the Japanese National Committee put this numismatic study in the “economy” division. This book is a kind of catalogue raisonné for the collection of Western coins of Kutsuki Masatsuna (1750-1802), eighth generation of the Kutsuki clan, who ruled the fief Fukuchiyama 福知山 in Tanba 丹波 as feudal lord. Masatsuna, whose sobriquets (gō) included Ryūkyō 龍橋 was a man of learning. He was versed in Chinese and Japanese studies and was an excellent waka-poet. In addition, he was a prominent “Hollandologist” (rangakusha 蘭学者), who had studied under the famous Hollandologist Maeno Ryōtaku 前野良沢. He was also active as patron and sponsored the studies of the famous Hollandologist Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 (1757-1827), when the latter was staying in Nagasaki to master Dutch studies. Kutsuki corresponded in Dutch with Isaac Titsingh (1745-1812), head of the Dutch factory on Deshima from 1781 to 1783. This correspondence in Dutch is now kept in the library of the University of Kyoto, where it is registered as “Titsingh Isaak “Zes en veertig eigen handige brieven. 1785-1791” (Forty-six personally handwritten letters. 1785-1791).

Masatsuna was an avid collector of coins and published multiple numismatic essays, one of which is this Seiyō senpu. He even earned the nickname ‘king of numismatics’ 古銭家の王者. He later gave his collection of coins to Titsingh, who had helped him in building it. What happened to the collection after Titsingh’s death is unclear, but what we do
know is that in 1881, a German silk trader, Rudolph Frentzel, offered Masatsuna’s collection, in total circa 9,000 coins, for sale to the British Museum. Before this institution had taken a decision, however, the German merchant sold the entire collection to Howel Wills (1854-1901), who subsequently sold 2,524 Japanese and other occidental coins to the British Museum in 1884. He donated the rest of his collection to the Indian Institute in Oxford. There are, however, no Western coins in this collection, so it is still unclear what happened to the coins featured in Seiyō senpu. Titsingh had no heirs. The story of his inheritance and its distribution is a complex and intriguing tale.

Ill. 1: image of a coin of Augustus the Strong (p. 14a). The obverse reads ‘AUG USTI (sic) AUGUSTAM VIRTUTEM NAMA (sic) CORONAT.’ The reverse states: ‘A.M. 1666 ΑΕΤΑ ΝΑΥ Χ ΑΡΓ ΙΠΕ’, and in the centre of the coin, the motto “Alles mit Bedacht” (Everything with prudence) is written. Wolfgang Leschhorn, Braunschweigische Münzen und Medaillen: 1000 Jahre Münzkunst und Geldgeschichte in Stadt und Land Braunschweig, Braunschweig: Appelhans, 2010, p. 85, has the transcription virtutem fama coronat Augusti Augustam (‘Fame crowns Augustus’ virtue’).

Ill. 2: silver commemorative medal of the province of Utrecht (p. 28b). According to the text, the United Provinces draw up a closing balance of the budget of all provinces every one hundred years. As proof that the accounts have been closed, each official receives such a medal. There are gold, silver and copper versions, according to the Dutch informant of the daimyō.

The word “setsuyō” in the title suggests that this is a work of popular reference. The book is made up of five chapters (maki) bundled into one fascicle. The author is someone named Takashima, a member of the Shijō 四条 clan. Nothing else is known about him/her. The publishers are Sudō Gonbē 須藤権兵衛 of Edo and Yorozuya Hikotarō 万屋彦太郎 of Osaka. The name of Yorozuya Hikotarō’s shop (yagō屋号) was Shōjudō 松寿堂 (Hall of Pine Longevity), and he was the owner of the woodblocks. The book includes twenty-six illustrations in the text itself and another thirty-six in the introduction. The book consists of eighty-five folios. The pagination, however, continues until page 107, because the numbering skips in several places. This work contains recipes for banquets, for the menu of each of the twelve months, methods of preparation, as well as information on the toxicity of certain ingredients.

It is one of the earliest cookbooks that manages masterfully to include illustrations in its text. This book is a compilation of data the author has found in cookbooks of the Shijō school, supplemented with information from other cookbooks and herbals. According to the findings of Shinosaki Kazuko 篠崎和子, this work is based in large part on some five earlier works. There are at least three editions in existence, the first being from the year 1700. The National Diet Library owns one copy of that edition. Most of the remaining copies date from Shōtoku 4 (1714). Of this edition, there is also a reprint from the same year with an identical colophon (kanki刊記). Finally, there is a reprint by Kikuya Shichirōbei 菊屋七良兵衛, who bought the woodblocks from the original publisher.

With this book, the author attempted to provide a kind of reference work about the art of cooking in
the Shijō style. It was meant as a sort of household encyclopaedia or dictionary. Numerous Japanese collections include examples of passages copied from this book. It was not just intended for professional chefs but also for the higher classes in general. Most of the preserved copies are later prints of the same woodblocks (atozuri 後刷り).

The existence of this kind of book confirms that already during the Edo period (1600-1868), there were various niche markets for printed books such as cookbooks, books on flower arrangement, medical books, etc.

The illustration on the frontispiece (p. 141) depicts a wedding party. Japanese mythology (recorded in the Kojiki 古事記) describes how Watatsumi’s 夢津見 daughter Otohime 乙姫 married the human Ho’ori 火折尊. After Ho’ori had lost his brother Hoderi’s 火照命 fishhook, he went searching for it at the bottom of the sea. There he met and married the dragon goddess Otohime and stayed there to live in the sea god’s underwater palace, Ryūgū-jō 龍宮城. After three years however, Ho’ori started feeling homesick and wanted to return to the land, which he eventually did. In the illustration we see the groom Ho’ori sitting on a dais, at his right-hand side his bride, and obliquely to her right-hand side her father the dragon king. The platform where the ceremony is taking place is surrounded by the waters of the sea. Not surprisingly, the fare consists of fish.


Instruction on how to prepare ozōni, a dish associated with the Japanese New Year (fascicle I, chapter 1, pp. 10b-11a).
In China, one of the most important tasks of the emperor was to draw up the calendar. He ruled time, and he received his legitimacy from it. That is why it was one of his most sacred duties to publish an accurate calendar each year. The Japanese emperor, on the other hand, derived his legitimacy from the myths about his being a descendant of the gods and was no ruler of time. The regulation of the calendar was therefore less vital to him. Just like China, however, Japan was an agrarian state, which meant it needed a calendar that predicted the turn of the seasons. It was an important duty for the government, which entrusted the task to a few noble families who turned it into a hereditary monopoly.

Similar to China, calendars in Japan belong to the oldest printed works. The oldest mention of a calendar of the year Genroku 11 (1698) (first and second fold).
(xylographic) printed calendar in Japan is dated Kenkyū 建久 9 (1198). The oldest existing calendar in the syllabic writing system of hiragana dates back to Genkō 元弘 2 (1332), while the oldest calendar in the syllabic writing system of katakana is from the year Shitoku 至徳 4 (1387).

The calendars known as Guchūreike 具注歴, written in Classical Chinese, also already existed in the Nara (710-794) and Heian periods (794-1185). They contained detailed explanations for the signs of the zodiac, auspicious and unlucky days, celestial bodies, and so on. Manuscript copies of this kind of calendar from the Heian period have been preserved. The oldest preserved printed guchūreike dates back to the Kamakura period (1185-1333).

Calendars in Japanese syllabic writing (hiragana and katakana), whether they are handwritten or printed, differ little in form and appearance across the centuries. The format has been more or less fixed since the Kamakura period. In medieval times, calendars were published in hiragana as well as katakana. From the Keichō period (1596-1615) onward, however, they are mostly only hiragana-calendars. Scarce are the woodblock-printed calendars dating from the Keichō until the Genroku period (1688-1704) that have been preserved. This dearth must presumably be owing to the boom of the typographical (kokatsuji-ban) technique. Whether or not these typographical calendars completely supplanted the xylographic ones for a while - and if so, how long - is not clear. In any case, the xylographic print reclaims its monopoly from the second half of the Kan'ei period (1624-1630) onward. In the early Edo period (1600-1868), many calendars were published by publishers in Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka, and from the second half of the period onward, sundry varieties and formats of calendars emerged in various places across the country. It was however the priests (onshi/oshi 御師) of the Shintō sanctuary of Ise who are truly to thank for the large-scale spread of printed calendars.

Four calendrical reforms were enacted during the Edo period. Any reform of the calendar was announced in the heading (kantō 卷頭) of the calendar for the following year. Calendars were always printed in the preceding year. This is always mentioned at the end of the calendar. As a result, when the era name (nengo 年号) changed, it was not yet mentioned in the calendar of the era's first year. The previous era name is still used in the calendar of the first year of a new era (kaigen 改元).

The format of the Ise-goyomi remains practically unchanged. It is cut on one woodblock: from the year's beginning to the fifth month on the front side, and from the sixth until the twelfth month on the back side. The frame containing the first five months is often of a different format than the one framing the other months.

The calendar was printed on sheets of minogami paper, which were glued together horizontally. Thus glued together, the pages then formed a long horizontal strip which was then folded as a leporello book (orihon 折本). In most cases, it was wrapped in an indigo, blue, or black cover, although there are also copies without any cover. The vertical paper slip on which the title is written (gedaigami 外題紙 or daisen 題簽) is yellow, pale red, or white. The title is stereotypical, for example: “Calendar for Hōreki 14, (Year of the) Monkey”.

No one contributed more to the popularity of the calendar than the onshi of the Shintō sanctuary of Ise. They welcomed the pilgrims, provided them with calendars and amulets, guided them through the sanctuary, and arranged lodgings for them. On occasion, one and the same onshi distributed both a large-sized and a small-sized type of calendar, but usually one person only published one calendar, commonly over a period of multiple years.

The onshi also travelled through the entire country to distribute the amulets of Ise among the devotees, and as a bonus they would give an Ise calendar as a souvenir. This is why this type of calendar is called Ise-goyomi (Ise calendar). It is the precursor of the current Jingūreike 神宮暦 (Calendar of the Sanctuary), sold to pilgrims and visitors in the Ise Sanctuary to this day.

The copy in the UCLouvain collection is valuable because of its completeness. Many copies of Ise-calendars can be found, but sets as complete as this one are rather rare.

The word *heitengi* 平天儀 originally refers to a celestial map. The spherical celestial sky is projected onto a flat surface. Around the year 1800, Iwahashi Yoshitaka – also known as Iwahashi Zenbei 岩橋善兵衛 (1756-1811, sobriquet (gō 号) Kōryūdō 耕珋堂), a craftsman from a village in the south of Izumi Province (present-day Osaka) – came up with a device to represent the spherical sky in a somewhat three-dimensional way. Five concentric discs were placed on top of each other and fixed at their centre to a common axis. The discs could rotate freely in both directions. The smallest disc represented the earth, then came the disc with sun, moon, and ecliptic, followed by the disc representing the sky with the twenty-eight constellations (*shuku*, Chinese: *xiu* 宿). Next came the disc with the twelve directions and, finally, the disc with the twelve double-hours of the day. From these discs, one could easily read the orbit of the sun and the position of the moon, the tides, and so on, for every region on the earth. In his work

![Firmament with the fixed stars (pp. 91b-92a).](image)

Author: Iwahashi Yoshitaka 岩橋嘉孝
Date: Kyōwa 享和 2 (1802)

**Alternate title:** Tenmon shōkei 天文捷経 / Heitengi zukai 平天儀図解

1 fascicle; 26.2 x 18 cm

One of two hemispheres of the globe, apparently on paper of different quality and colour than the rest of the book, suggesting these leaves were inserted later (pp. 33b-34a).
Heitengi zukai, Iwahashi explained the workings of this simple yet ingenious system and expanded on the astronomical knowledge he had gained during the course of his research. Moreover, this book was written in kanamajiri 仮名交じり, that is, easy-to-understand vernacular Japanese. It was meant as an educational book on astronomy, as is indicated by its tsunogaki 角書き (title prefix): ‘a shortcut to astronomy’.

Among other things, this book includes a preface with an explanation on the use of the concentric discs, a map with the earth at its centre (chishin no zu 地心の図), a map of the geocentric system of the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546-1601) (sōten no zu 宗天の図), a map of the positions of the moon, and more.

Iwahashi Zenbē is mostly known for his construction of a telescope, called kitenkyō 窺天鏡. It was made of wood. According to Suzuki Kazuyo-shi 鈴木一義, there were quite a number of these wooden telescopes in the late Edo period. Even more remarkable is the telescope built by Kunitomo Ikikansai 国友一貫斎 (1778-1840). This man, who was employed by the shogunal government as a gunsmith (teppō kaji 鉄砲鍛冶), is credited with the construction of the first Japanese reflecting telescope (hansha bōenkyō 反射望遠鏡). It was built in 1834 and is presently preserved in the Municipal Museum of Ueda City 上田市立博物館.

On this map, a later hand marked in vermillion (shu 朱) a route while adding some other data, all of which seem to be linked to the voyage of Daikokuya Kōdaiyu 大黒屋光太夫 (1751-1828), though the man is not called by name here. He was a Japanese castaway who spent nine years in Russia. His drifting ship made landfall at Amchitka, in the Aleutian Islands. With his surviving crew he managed to travel all the way to Saint Petersburg and was given an audience by Catherine the Great. He requested to be sent back to Japan and his wish was granted by Catherine, who ordered he be escorted back to Japan by Adam Laxman (1766-1806?). In the end, only three of the original crew made it back to Japan, one of them dying soon after landing. Kōdaiyu and his only surviving companion Isokichi 磯吉 were sent to Edo. Of the original crew, two had converted to Christianity and stayed in Irkutsk, and eleven others had died. After his return to Japan, he came under the suspicion of the shogunal government as a possible spy, as would have happened to any returnee in those days. Kōdaiyu had to spend the rest of his life in Edo, where surveillance of his movements and contacts by the authorities was much easier. However, he was not treated as a prisoner and had relative freedom of movement in Edo, where he could mingle with rangaku (Dutch learning) scholars.

Honzōgaku 本草学: The Study of Materia Medica

Honzōgaku is the name for the collection and study of plants, animals, and minerals that can be used as ingredients for medicine, in other words, for pharmacology.

Honzōgaku originated in China. It was already mentioned in the Hanshu 漢書, the annals of the Western Han Dynasty (202 BC – 8 AD). During the Eastern Han Dynasty (25 – 220), the work Shennong bencao jing 神農本草經 is said to have been compiled. When Sino-Japanese relations took a more formal turn in the sixth century, knowledge of Chinese materia medica also entered Japan. In order to be useful for the Japanese, it was essential to compare the Chinese and the Japanese names of the plants, herbs, fauna, and minerals and identify which plant, herb, animal, and mineral corresponded with which name. The first book on pharmacology compiled by a Japanese person dates from 918. It is known by the title Honzō wamyō 本草和名 (Japanese Terminology of Materia Medica). It includes 1,205 types of useable ingredients, divided into nine categories, and for each product both the Chinese and the Japanese name are given.

During the Edo period (1600–1868) honzōgaku developed into its own discipline in new ways. In 1603 the Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1657) acquired a copy of the 1596 edition of Li Shizhen’s 李時珍 (1518–1593) Bencao gangmu 本草綱目 (Honzō kōmoku 本草総目) in Nagasaki, and presented it to the military government (Bakufu). From 1638 onward, the Bakufu had gardens for medicinal herbs (yakuo 薬園) laid out in two places in the city of Edo: one in Shinagawa 品川 and one in Ushigome 牛込. This undertaking marked the beginning of a type of pharmacology based increasingly on observation and experiment. Its sphere of interest also expanded constantly and gradually evolved into natural history (historia naturalis). The Confucian scholar Kaibara Ekiken 賀原益軒 (1630–1714) compiled Yamato honzō 大和本草 (Japanese Materia Medica), a book consisting of 16 chapters of text, 2 chapters of appendices, and 1 chapter of illustrations, which includes no less than 1,366 products. This book, printed in 1709, is based largely on field observations. Kaibara did for Japanese pharmacopeia what the German herbalists and the herbalists in the Low Countries, such as Rembert Dodoens (1517–1585), did for European pharmacology. Another Confucian, Inō Jakusui 稲生若水 (1655–1715), compiled Shobutsu ruisan 庸物類纂 (A Systematic Classification of All Things [in the natural world]), by which he attempted to create a kind of summa of the materia medica. His pupil Niwa Shōhaku 丹羽正伯 (1691–1756) researched useful plants and products throughout Japan as part of the policy of the eighth shōgun, Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗 (1684–1751), who wanted to stimulate domestic production. Niwa continued the compilation his master had started and published the resulting amalgamation as Shobutsu ruisan (1747), a truly monumental work comprising one thousand chapters (maki). The feudal fiefdoms followed the bakufu’s example and launched similar initiatives to stimulate the production of useful substances through honzōgaku.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, honzōgaku achieved new heights in Edo and Osaka. In Edo, Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内 (1729–1816) and Tamura Ransui 田村藍水 (1718–1776) organized exhibitions of medicinal and useful products. This marked a huge step forward. They were no longer satisfied with what was written down in books. Instead, they aimed to enlarge their knowledge through direct observation. We may call this trend the first stirrings of a modern scientific approach in Japan. Gennai compiled a catalogue of his exhibitions under the title Butsuirui hinshitsu 物類品類 (An Examination into Natural Products), in which he also expanded on the cultivation of Korean ginseng and sugarcane, as well as on methods of sugar production. Gennai was a prodigy and an original thinker, who aimed to realize a synthesis of natural history on the basis of Japanese, Chinese, and Western knowledge (so-called Hollandology). Another of Inō Jakusui’s pupils, Ono Ranzan 小野廉山 (1729–1810), was an eminent honzōgaku scholar and author of Honzō kōmoku keimō 本草総目啓蒙 (Commentaries on Materia Medica), a synthesis of the state of the art of Japanese materia medica and natural history at the time.

Still, all these were essentially developments of a science based on the Chinese materia medica. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, though, Philip Franz von Siebold (1796–1866), a German scholar in the service of the Dutch government, brought Carl Peter Thunberg’s (1743–1828) Flora Japonica to Japan, a description of Japan’s flora based on the taxonomy of Linnaeus. It confronted Japanese scholars with an entirely different scientific approach. Siebold’s talented pupil Itō Keisuke 伊藤圭介 (1803–1901) adapted Linnaeus’ method in his work Taisei honzō meiso 泰西本草名疏 (The Nomenclature of the Western Herbal, 1829), which became the foundation of modern botany in Japan. At the same time, it ushered in the gradual marginalization of the traditional honzōgaku.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, honzōgaku and medicine in the Chinese style were largely displaced by their Western counterparts in the system of education that the Meiji government established from 1868 onward.

Honzō kōmoku 本草綱目 (‘Compendium of Materia Medica’)

53 chapters, appendices 10 chapters, in 45 fascicles.;
25.2 x 17.4 cm
Author: Inō Jakusui 稲生若水

Date: printed in Shōtoku 正徳 4 (1714), in Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka.

Honzō kōmoku, compiled by Inō Jakusui is the Japanese adaptation of the Chinese Compendium of Materia Medica Bencao gangmu 本草綱目. The book includes an introduction (reigen 例言) in kanbun by Hirose Genpaku Tōkei 広瀬元白東啓, an early practitioner of Western medicine, as well as a preface in kanbun by Itō Nagatane 伊藤長胤, a Japanese Confucian scholar. In addition, it reproduces the Chinese prefaces written by Wang Shizhen 王世貞, a poet and writer from the Wanli period 万暦 (1573-1620), as well as those written by the mandarins Xia Liangxin 夏良心 and Zhang Dingsi 張鼎思. Kaeriten 返り点 and okurigana 送り仮名 have been added to all five prefaces as well as the main text for the benefit of the Japanese reader. By this creolization process the text is made accessible to Japanese readers in some semblance of the original. In the margins above the texts of these prefaces, some erudite Japanese reader has added glosses in ink. Most of them are about the Sino-Japanese pronunciation and the meaning of rare characters. The Japanese preface and the introduction show elevations (taitō 擬頭) jutting out above the printed frame (kyōkaku 匡郭) to accommodate characters referring to the emperor or to Japan.

On the last page of every fascicle, we notice an oval collector’s seal in vermilion with the mention “逸身氏所持 property of Mr. Hayami” (unidentified). The book has no okugaki 奥書; the colophon is printed on the mikaeshi 見返し. A leaf from the gingko tree can be found between the pages of this copy to ward off bookworms.

The text of the mikaeshi in translation reads as following:

“Honzō kōmoku, revised edition in 53 chapters. This is the book of which master Inō Jakusui revised the characters and corrected the mistakes. For example, the coltsfoot in the section on herbs and the ‘molili’ in the section of fruits had all disappeared from the old edition and have now been added again. If the names of categories of insects, fish, herbs, and trees have been passed on inaccurately, then the damage is not insignificant. This is why they have been corrected. All [corrections] are based on the daily experiences and observations of the master,

38. Honzō kōmoku 本草綱目

Illustrations, fascicle 乾 p. 14a; first page of the section on mountain herbs 山草.
and on books that circulate among the people. [The book] contains much useful information and constitutes truly the essence of medicine. Moreover, it is also a contribution to a general overview of natural history.”

The original book with the same title, *Bencao gang-mu*, was written by the Chinese scholar Li Shizhen (1518-1593), who lived during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). The compilation process took 27 years. The text consists of 1,892 entries on plants, animals, minerals, and other items that were believed to have medicinal properties. The British historian of Chinese science Joseph Needham has called this book “undoubtedly the greatest scientific achievement of the Ming”. The first draft was completed in 1578, but its first edition dates from 1596 and is known as the Jinling edition, named after the place of publication Jinling (present-day Nanjing 南京). The first edition is considered very rare, there are only seven complete copies known to be extant in the world, of which four can be found in Japan. The first reprint is dated Wanli 31 (1603) and is known as the Jiangxi edition. Still other editions were published during the Ming Dynasty, and even during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) numerous reprints were made. The compendium is generally recognized as the first early modern book on traditional Asian medicine and is said to have heralded the dawning of modern pharmacological studies. The illustrations, however, are rather crude. The book was submitted by China and recommended for inclusion in the UNESCO “Memory of the World Register” in 2010 and included in the Register in 2011.

This book first came to Japan in the year 1604. The descriptions are fairly detailed and especially those on fauna are markedly better than the earlier compendia. As a result, it was not only used in Japan as a compendium of medicines, but it gradually evolved into a handbook on natural history. It provided the honzōka 本草家 (specialists in the materia medica) of the Edo period with the necessary knowledge for collecting and identifying medicinal herbs and was one of the factors that fueled the boom of hakubutsugaku 博物学 (historia naturalis). Fourteen Japanese editions (wakokubon 和刻本) are known, which can be divided into three lineages. The Jakusui-version (1714) is considered to be the best of the Japanese editions. For the main text (honbun 本文) the same woodblocks were used as for the Kan’ei 延永 edition (1637), the first Japanese edition of the Honzō kōmoku.

This book must not be confused with Yamato honzō 大和本草, as Yamazaki 2000 does.

Despite its title, this work is not so much a work on pharmacopoeia than a botanical album, a monumental work compiled by Iwasaki Kan’en (1786-1842) over a period of twenty years. It consists of 96 chapters which were published between 1830 and 1844. It is the first Japanese botanical album to be illustrated in colour. It includes some 2,000 plants, which are provided with explanations based on the classification of the Honzō kōmoku (hence its title), that is, the classification into herbs, grains, tubers, fruits, and trees. Kan’en not only included wild varieties but cultivars as well. Moreover, he also included plants and products of foreign origin. A few minerals and animals are included, too.

Most of the illustrations were drawn by Kan’en himself, but some are copies of images in the Taalgrijk register der plaat- ofte figuur-beschrijvingen der bloemdrage ende gewassen (1748). This is the Dutch translation by Johannes Burmannus of the florilegium Phytanthoza iconographia by the Regensburg pharmacist Johann Wilhelm Weinmann (1683-1741), compiled between 1737 and 1745. The Hollandologist Udagawa Yōan 宇田川榕菴 (1798-1846) owned a copy of this Dutch translation, whose title Japanese authors translated as Kenka shokubutsu zufu 頭花植物図譜 (Album of Flowering Plants).

Honzō zufu is the first pictorial album of Japanese flora in the modern sense, but at the same time it marks the apogee of honzōgaku (study of materia medica) in the Edo period, along with the Honzō kōmoku keimō 本草綱目啓蒙 (Clarifications on Honzō Kōmoku) by Ono Ranzan 小野蘭山 (1729-1810), who had been Kan’en’s teacher. The first chapters (naki) were printed from woodblocks, but the majority of them were copied by hand and distributed through personal networks. Therefore, the extant copies from the Edo period are of varied quality and degree of completeness, yet many of these hand-
written copies have been preserved. A large number of them were also coloured by hand. In the Taishō period (1912-1926), a complete xylographic edition of the book was printed and published between 1916 and 1921. It comprised a run of 600 copies of superb quality. One of these copies figures in the collection of the UCLouvain and is still in mint condition.

The personal name of Iwasaki Kan’en was Tsunemasu 常正. He originated from Mikawa 三河. He also authored the Honzō sodate-gusa 草木育種 as well as Bukō sanbutsu-shi 武江産物志.

This work is the oldest and most famous astronomical treatise published during the Edo period (1600-1868). About the author Inokuchi Tsunenori, however, nothing is known. It is even unclear whether the characters of his surname should be read as ‘Inokuchi’ or as ‘Iguchi’.

The work consists of 5 chapters. Chapters 1 to 3 discuss the celestial bodies, in addition to the position of the five planets, the sun, and the moon. Chapter 1 includes seven illustrations: an equatorial armillary sphere of the old type and one of the new type, the central world-mountain (Sumeru) as it is portrayed in Buddhism, a celestial map, an ecliptic armillary sphere, and the nine celestial spheres. According to the preface, the author excerpted the data from various books perused in the course of many years. The equatorial armillary sphere of the old type is, judging from the drawing, a kind of conflation of the armillary sphere of the Chinese astronomer Su Song (1020-1101), built in 1090, and that of Guo Shou-jing 郭守敬 (1231-1316), who designed a new armillary sphere in 1276 by order of Kublai Khan. An exact copy of Guo Shou-jing’s instrument was in place in the observatory of Nanjing around 1600, where it was seen by Jesuits. The armillary sphere of the new type appears to be meant for demonstrations rather than for factual observations.

The concept of the nine heavens has existed in China since ancient times. The number nine in this combination actually referred to the heaven in the four cardinal directions, the regions between the four points of the compass and the centre. The scheme of concentric heavens shown here, however, is of Western inspiration. The author had learned of it through Chinese books that dealt with Western astronomy.

A map of the stars (fascicle I, map 2b-3a).
In chapter 2, the moon, the positions of the moon, and the 28 xiu 宿 or lunar mansions are discussed. Chapters 3 and 4 deal with, among other topics, eclipses and the lunar calendar. In chapter 5, the author once again discusses the lunar mansions. The illustrations are coloured by hand.

This copy bears on the first page of each fascicle the vermilion oval relief collector’s seal ‘Futsukaya tosho’ 両日屋図書 and the vermilion square relief collector’s seal Jōsuitei kazō 穎翠亭家藏. I have not been able to identify the collectors yet, but their seals appear in other known book collections as well. Literature: *China hemel en aarde* 1988, pp. 22–45; Iguchi and Ōya 1980.
**41. Yamato honzō 大和本草 ('Japanese Materia Medica')**

Alternative title: *Yamato honzō kōmoku 大和本草綱目* 19 chapters: 16 chapters of text, 2 chapters of appendices and 1 chapter with illustrations; 22.2 x 15.6 cm

The book includes a preface written by Tsuruhara Osamu 東原鶴 (??), a student of Ekiken, as well as a preface by the author himself. Both are dated 1708. Kaibara Ekiken (1630-1714) wanted to compile a book that was based on his own observations and study of native specimens, and which would rival Li Shizhen’s *Bencao gangmu* (Jap. *Honzō kōmoku*). He records 1,362 specimens in the compendium and discusses both Chinese and Japanese medicinal herbs, fauna, and minerals, comparing them and pointing out their similarities and differences. He also includes many varieties that cannot be found in the work of his Chinese predecessor. His descriptions of plants are thorough and instructive. Because he does not only cover a wide range of edible and otherwise useful plants, but also includes animals and minerals that can be found in Japan, the book is more than just a pharmacopeia and instead bears much resemblance to a *summa* of natural history. Kaibara Ekiken was a polymath, who wrote about the most varied topics. He was the son of a samurai in the service of the *daimyō* of Fukuoka. His given name was Atsunobu 篤信, his courtesy name was Shisei 子誠. His sobriquet was initially Sonken 損軒 (literally ‘House of Loss’), but, bespeaking a fondness of wordplay, was later changed to Ekiken 益軒 ('House of Gain').

In the chapter with illustrations, both animals and plants are depicted but no materia medica are included.

**Author:** compiled by Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒, published by Yamanaka Zuikindō 瑞錦堂, Kyoto.

**Date:** published in Hōei 宝永 6 (1709), appendices and illustrations in Shōtoku 正徳 5 (1715)

**Literature:** Kosoto 1999, p. 386; Tucker 1989.
A fern (fascicle IX, pp. 21b-22a); the accompanying text reads: “kusa-zotetsu 草蘇鉄 (ostrich fern); a kind of yama sotetsu 山蘇鉄. The leaves resemble those of the fern.”

Types of maples (fascicle IX, pp. 45b-46a).
This work was written by Ōta Shinsai and comprises one volume, which is not divided into further chapters. It deals with massage, particularly that of the abdomen. This work is the most famous book about massage from the Edo period. It provides a physiological description of the beneficial effects of massage and recommends it as a manner of treatment for nerve pain and colic.

The author Ōta Shinsai came from Osaka. His personal name was Taketsune 武経 and his court rank was that of hokkyō 法橋.

According to the colophon, the book was published by Yamashiroya Sahei 山城屋佐兵衛, a Kyoto publisher, the name of whose shop was Bunseidō 文政堂. In the colophon he describes himself as specialized in publications of Shintō, Confucian, or Buddhist content, besides texts for preaching, Buddhist scriptures, illustrated books, and the like.

Literature: Kosoto 1999, p. 3; Ōta 2011.
Inaba Katsu (?-1805, sobriquet: Konan 湖南) was an adherent of the so-called ancient medicine (ko-ihō 古医方), a movement within traditional Asian medicine of the Edo period, which aspired to resurrect the medical knowledge of the Ancients in the contemporary age. Proponents of this approach tended to take a critical stance towards Chinese medicine as it had evolved after the Song 宋 period (960-1279), and insisted on reconnecting with Shōkanron (Chinese: Shānghán Lùn 傷寒論, known in English as the Treatise on Cold Damage Disorders, and with Kinki yōryaku (Chinese: Jīnguì Yàolüè 金匱要略), translated in English as Essential Prescriptions from the Golden Cabinet. Both are traditional Chinese medicine treatises compiled by Zhāng Zhòngjīng (Japanese: Chō Chūkei 張仲景 (150-219) at the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty.

Typical for this branch of medicine in the Edo period was the practice of so-called abdominal diagnostics, the fukushō 腹証 of the title. The diagnosis of symptoms is made by palpations of the abdomen. Based on his findings the doctor would then prescribe the appropriate medicine. This book teaches the reader or student through illustrations how the physician should perform the various types of palpations. Inaba did not write the book himself but dictated it to his students. The principal book was written in 1799 and published in 1801, while two sequels were written in 1801 and published in 1809.

Prescription of a spasmolytic mixture on the basis of licorice (Sequel, chapter 2, pp. 19b ff).
This is a book on clinical medicine by Honma Sōken (1804-1872). Sōken was a scion of a family of famous physicians. His courtesy name (azana 字) was Wakei or Wakyō 和卿. He studied Chinese medicine under Hara Nan'yō 原南陽 (1753-1820), Dutch medicine under Sugita Ryūkei 杉田立卿 (1787-1846), and the Confucian classics under Ōta Kinjō 大田錦城 (1765-1825). He travelled to Nagasaki to study with Philip Franz von Siebold (1796-1866), the famous German physician employed by the Netherlands Trading Society (Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij). In Kyoto he took lessons with Takashina Kien 高階枳園 (1773-1844), in Wakayama 和歌山 at the school founded by the famous surgeon Hanaoka Seishū 華岡青洲 (1760-1835). He settled as a physician in Edo and practiced surgery in the style of Hanaoka. He is considered the most talented surgeon of Hanaoka's school, but because he divulged a secret technique he had learned from Hanaoka in one of his books, he was 'excommunicated' from the school.

He was the first surgeon to successfully amputate a femur. Later he took up a position as personal physician of the lord of the Mitō domain, and finally he became professor of medicine in the same fiefdom. Naika hiroku is inspired by one of the works of his mentor Hara Nan'yō. It starts with a general introduction into medicine, diagnostics, and the principles of internal medicine. The subsequent chapters discuss the various fields of medicine and their many syndromes, illustrated with copious examples from his rich experience as physician.

This work comprises a treatise about dermatology by Honma Sōken (1804-1872). The preface is dated Tenpō 8 (1837), but the book was not printed and published until 1847. In 1859, a sequel appeared entitled Zoku yōka hiroku 続瘍科秘録 ('The Secrets of Ulcer Treatment, Sequel'), which includes the oral teachings of Sōken, penned down by one of his pupils. Sōken was versed in both Chinese and 'Dutch' (i.e. Western) medicine. Dermatology was his forte, and in this work he reveals both his theoretical knowledge and his specific methods of treatment. At the time of their publication, his books represented the state of the art in their discipline. The book is written in kanamajiri 仮名交じり (Japanese written in both characters and katakana) – in other words, in the vernacular – thus being accessible to less learned practitioners as well.

Yōka hiroku 瘍科秘録 includes the description of a syndrome called shokuto chūdoku 食兎中毒 (poison from eating rabbit) by Sōken. This entry has been alleged to be the very first mention in medical history of rabbit fever (yatobyō 野兎病) or tularemia. Zoku yōka hiroku includes a description and illustration in colour of the amputation of a thigh in a patient suffering from gangrene. Sōken performed this operation under general anaesthesia using the procedure invented by his mentor Hanaoka Seishū 華岡青洲. This was the first amputation under general anaesthesia performed in Japan. Hanaoka Seishū is generally recognized to have been the first surgeon in the world to successfully apply general anaesthesia. He used it for the first time in an operation for breast cancer in 1805. In the West, general anaesthesia was not applied until 1846.

This copy bears the collector’s seal of a certain Yoshida 吉田.

A leg amputated because of gangrene ([Zoku yōka hiroku](#), chapter 1, pp. 14a-15b).

Child with fractured skull ([Zoku Yōka hiroku](#), chapter 5, pp. 19b-20a).
Blood clot on the cheek (Yōka hiroku, chapter 10, p. 24b).
Tachibana Yasukuni (1715-1792) was born in Osaka, the son of the painter (eshi 绘師) Tachibana Morikuni 橘守国 (1679-1748), whose sobriquet (gō 号) was Soken 素軒. Morikuni first studied painting under Tsuruzawa Tanzan 鶴沢探山 (1655-1729), a painter of the Kanō school 山野派. Afterwards, he changed his vocation and earned his livelihood by printing and publishing model books (ehon 絵本). The cause for this change was his expulsion from the school. He had dared to publish allegedly proprietary sketches (funpon 粉本) of the Kanō school, thus divulging a professional secret of his master. Yasukuni then learned painting from his father. After his father’s death, he succeeded to the family business and adopted the sobriquet Kō-soken 後素軒 (the second Soken).

The target audience for model books in the Edo period (1600-1868) were people aspiring to become professional painters. Morikuni is said to have published over 20 painting books. The famous Hokusai manga 北斎漫画, too, were not meant as a simple collection of comic strips but as a model book for the draughtsman and painter. Morikuni earned a measure of renown with the publication of his model books, which were drawn with great accuracy and refinement. His style was a source of inspiration for many ukiyo-e artists in the Kamigata area (the region of Kyoto, Osaka, and Nara). His books included ‘studies’ of natural phenomena, of buildings, customs, traditional festivities, fauna, and flora.

In 1740 he published the work Ehon Ōshukubai 絵本鶯宿梅 (‘My Plum Tree Where the Bush Warbler Used to Roost, Illustrated’). In the fifth chapter, 37 varieties of plants were illustrated. What is re-
Markable about this work is that, in addition to the sketches, glosses are added about the use of pigments and colours. His model books were used by students of the major traditional painting schools (the Kanō school and the Tosa school 土佐派), as well as by the masters of ukiyo-e, who used them when making their compositions.

Yasukuni continued in the style of his father. Intending to extend the range of subjects covered in the earlier Ehon Oshukubai, he published the work Ehon Noyama-gusa 絵本野山草 in 1755. It included detailed sketches of trees, 21 wild plants and garden varieties, and 144 herbs, accompanied with guidance for the pigments and colours, as well as quotes from Chinese and Japanese works to detail the names and features of the illustrated plants. He also included imported varieties such as the marigold (tagetes), the hollyhock, and the poppy. In some copies, the illustrations have been heightened with colour, though not in the copy of the UCLouvain. The drawings are very detailed and precise, and the author shows a thorough knowledge of trees, plants, and herbs. In the Edo period, horticulture reached unseen heights, spawning a whole array of remarkable plant varieties and colourful picture books on horticulture. Although Ehon Noyama-gusa is not a book on horticulture, it testifies to the highly developed knowledge in this field in the mid-Edo period.

Besides the original date of publication (1755), the colophon page also mentions the woodblocks were purchased from Narahara Kihee 楠原喜兵衛, who was apparently a descendant of the illustrator, for ‘Narahara’ was the real family name of Tachibana Yasukuni.


▲ Fuyu-botan 冬牡丹, winter peony i.e. Paeonia suffruticosa or tree peony (fascicle IV, chapter 4, 16b).
Nishimura Nantei (1755-1834) was a painter active in the circle of Maruyama Ōkyo 円山応挙 (1733-1795), one of Japan’s greatest painters. Nantei excelled in drawing the human figure, and this album, a collection of genre scenes, eminently illustrates his talent in this respect. They are executed with the brush in an exuberant and comical style, and left uncoloured, all the more stressing the flourish of his brush. They are accompanied by kyōka 狂歌 (comical waka). The first page of the book bears a seal with the words: ‘Ine no ya zō’ 稲廼舎蔵, the collector’s seal of the kokugakusha 国学者 (a scholar of native Japanese classics) Kusakada Taruho 日下田足穂 (1814-1890).

Literature: Chibbett 1977, pp. 219-220.

Taking the baby for a walk with the nursemaid (fascicle II, pp. 6b-7a).}

Kōshin-machi (庚申待 – Kōshin Waiting), a type of religious folklore, involving nightly festivities (fascicle II, pp. 8b-9a).
The comparison of things in pairs is an old pastime in Japan. During the Heian period (794-1185), aristocrats amused themselves with the comparison of paired waka-poems. Later on, this custom was extended to other forms of artistic expression, and during the Edo period (1600-1868) even to female beauty. The “blue pavilion” of the title is a euphemistic reference to the licensed red-light district Yoshiwara. There was unlicensed prostitution in many places, but Yoshiwara had been designated by the military government as the place where prostitution was authorized. This protection, albeit under severe constraints, created the conditions for the district to develop into a microcosm ruled by its own laws and conventions, rituals, and festivals. Knowing all the rules was absolutely vital if one wanted to enjoy any respect in the district. There was a ranking system in place among the women, and the highest rank of women (oiran 花魁) were sometimes true celebrities. They were versed in the arts and often started new fashion trends. For this reason, they often drew the attention of artists and became a favourite subject of the ukiyo-e 浮世絵 or ‘prints of the floating world’.

This book therefore offers a series of comparisons in pairs of the beauties at the time in the pleasure district Yoshiwara. The drawings are by the famous print artist Suzuki Harunobu (1725-1770). His style is immediately apparent from his ideal of beauty so typical to his work: All women are represented as ethereal, day-dreaming girls. Only one of the drawings is coloured by hand. For each woman, the name of the teahouse she belongs to as well as a haiku are given.

The first page of this copy bears the collector’s seal in vermilion of Kurokawa Mamichi 黒川真道 (1866-1925). The Kurokawa family is known for its tradition of classical Japanese studies and its collection of books. The most famous head of the family was Kurokawa Mayori 黒川真頼 (1829-1906). Mamichi was his son. The style of the characters in the seal of Mamichi strongly resembles that of Mayori. According to the colophon, the woodblock cutter is Endō Shōgorō 遠藤松五郎 (?-?). On the final page (inside the back cover), Kurokawa Mamichi has added a note in ink in fluid handwriting, extolling the art of the illustrator Suzuki Harunobu. The note is dated October of the fourth year of Taishō (1915).

Each of the four fascicles bears the collector’s seal “Tomo” (Western (mountains)), “Tomo” (Eastern (mountains)), “Tomo” (Southern (mountains)), and “Tomo” (Northern (mountains)). “East” and “West” form a set and were published first. “South” and “North”, also a set, were published subsequently.

“East” is the first part of the first set. It includes a preface by Tatsukawa Seikun, with calligraphy by Kensai 研斎, dated winter, year of the hare Hinotō 甲戌 (winter 1807).

The second part “West” of the first set opens with a gogen zekku 五言絶句, a Chinese poem of four lines with five characters to the line, written and first name: Minamoto Korehiro 源之熙 with a black background. The top seal includes his last name: Minamoto Korehiro 頼山陽 and, in a column separated by a vertical line, the calligraphic inscription:

木版刻工 影工 細足伊兵衛 printer 摺工 堀喜三郎

The colophon page reads: publisher/printer, bookseller, residence: Teishiya Genjirō 丁子屋源治郎, of the bookstore Fukui Shōbōdō 福井正宝堂 across from the Rokkaku-dō 六角堂 in Kyoto.

The book provides an overview of the sights of the imperial capital Kyoto. This work, however, is not classified in the catalogue as a Meisho-zue 美蹟図, but, rather, in the division ‘arts and crafts’. This division is owing to the style of the illustrations being entirely different from those of the Meisho-zue, as the number of illustrations far outweigh the text, and since what little text can be found is not informative but, rather, meditative in nature. As a rule, they are short poems celebrating the sights in Classical Chinese (kanshi 漢詩). The book is in no way intended as a guidebook. It belongs to the ethereal cultural sphere of the eighteenth-century literati, while the Meisho-zue targeted a different, more popular audience. This difference is also apparent from the title, which includes the word gakei 雅景 (stylish, elegant, courtly places), a reference to a more courtly tradition.

Be that as it may, it would be highly interesting to compare a place in Kyo warabe to the same one in Teito gakei ichiran 帝都雅景一覧 and see how it had changed over a century’s time or how differently it is portrayed.

In the volume “Eastern (mountains)” on page 19 recto. The poem in the Kankai 山海詩楼 Written in the Kankai shirō in the early spring of 1807 十州小栗光胤 by Tōshū Oguri 岡部,” which may be compared to Kyo warabe’s volume 3, page 19 recto. The drawing in Teito gakei ichiran simply depicts the temple’s main building, with a copse of trees on both sides of the path leading to the building. No human presence, simple, but, topographically correct. Kyo warabe, on the other hand, offers a sketchy depiction of the main building and the pagoda, without backdrop or décor. Three figures also appear prominently in the scene, lending the scene an anecdotal
appearance, contrary to *Teito gaikai ichiran*’s more poetic and dreamier atmosphere.

The illustrator Kawamura Bunpō (1779-1821) blended the style of various painting schools, but in this case the influences of *nanga* and the Maruyama school are striking.

Shown here is the famous temple Kiyomizu-dera. The meditative and intimate atmosphere as well as the soft colours are typical of the literary painting style (*nanga*). The poem is a shichigon zekku 七言絶句, a four-line verse with seven characters to the line:

Temple buildings high and low, no spring yet in the air,
In three streamlets, the waterfall flows down,
spattering on a bunch of flowers
A dressed-up wanderer, sauntering after dusk,
Is waiting for the moon to write a poem about blossoms in the snow.

A poem, although consisting of four lines of seven characters to the line, does not necessarily have to be written as calligraphy in four lines. Not the visual, typographical representation but, rather, the rhyme and grammatical structure of the calligraphic text indicate the type of poem.

Another copy of *Teito gaikai ichiran* belongs to the ‘Fonds Hans de Winiwarter’ in the Royal Library Albertina, no. H.W. 896.


The famous temple Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto (fascicle I, pp. 28-30).
This collection comprises kyōka 狂歌 (‘comical poems’ in tanka format), illustrated with images of famous sights in Edo, drawn by the famous print artist Hokusai (1760-1849) and published in Kansei 12 (1800). It is clear that the images are of more importance than the poems. The design is conceived as a rolling landscape. The book starts off in Shinagawa in early spring, and as the reader turns the pages, the panorama and seasons change.

This is the popular version of Tōto meisho ichiran 東都名所一覧. There was also a more exclusive, luxury version. Both versions were published at almost the same time. The first edition appeared in Edo, and the second in Nagoya in 1815. Of the second version, Philip Franz von Siebold (1796-1866), the famous Paris-based antiquarian and art expert, whose clientele included nearly all French impressionists.

Incidentally, in the sales catalogue of Hayashi Tadamasa’s collection, we find the luxury edition of this work under number 1714:

“Tōto meicho ichiran – Coup de’oeil [sic] sur les endroits célèbres de Tōto (Edo).
Signatures-Dessinateur: Hok’sai Tokimasa [sic]
Graveur: Andō Yenchī
Quarante pages de gravures
Tirage en couleurs, 2 vol. 25 cm x 17 cm”.

This collection comprises kyōka 狂歌 (‘comical poems’ in tanka format), illustrated with images of famous sights in Edo, drawn by the famous print artist Hokusai (1760-1849) and published in Kansei 12 (1800). It is clear that the images are of more importance than the poems. The design is conceived as a rolling landscape. The book starts off in Shinagawa in early spring, and as the reader turns the pages, the panorama and seasons change.

This is the popular version of Tōto meisho ichiran 東都名所一覧. There was also a more exclusive, luxury version. Both versions were published at almost the same time. The first edition appeared in Edo, and the second in Nagoya in 1815. Of the second version, Philip Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) brought a copy back to the Netherlands. In 1840 a third edition appeared in Osaka. The present item belongs to that edition. At the end of the nineteenth century, the woodblocks of this book ended up in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

The copy in the collection of UCLouvain bears the collector’s seal of Hayashi Tadamasa 林忠正 (1853-1906), the famous Paris-based antiquarian and art expert, whose clientele included nearly all French impressionists.

Incidentally, in the sales catalogue of Hayashi Tadamasa’s collection, we find the luxury edition of this work under number 1714:

“A scene at Shinagawa (fascicle I, pp. 2b-3a).
A copy of the sales catalogue of the Hayashi collection is included in the UCLouvain’s Japanese donation (Collection Hayashi 1902). This copy is marked with the collector’s seal ‘Nagasaki’ 長崎蔵書之印, the seal of Nagasaki Shōgo 長崎省吾 (1850-1937), high ranking official and advisor to the Imperial Household.

With the exception of the last page of fascicle I and the first page of fascicle II, each view is spread across two pages. In the empty ‘sky’ above the pictured scene, the name of the depicted place and four germane kyōka are reproduced, two per page.

Shown in ill. 1 is a view of Shinagawa. A child is playing with a kite, while three adults are seemingly peering at something on the ground near the riverside. The sitting man, smoking a pipe, is a boatswain; the woman runs a tea stall along the river; above the image, calligraphy with kyōka. In fascicle II above the first print (one page), the following kyōka is reproduced:

湯島天満宮
座巳登々丸
きのふまで
つづきしのこごの
ミはらしい
愛宕にまけぬ
ゆしま天神

The (shrine of) Yushima Tenjin: until yesterday
The rain dragged on,
but now the view is no less
than that at the shrine of Atago (Zashi Todomaru)

In the colophon (kanki 刊記) we read:

画工北斎辰政
彫工安藤円紫
寛政十二年
江戸日本橋通一丁目
須原屋茂兵衛
天保十一年九月求版
大阪心齋橋通通(博)領町角
河内屋茂兵衛版

Illustrator: Hokusai Tatumasa
Engraver: Andō Enshi
Suwaraya Mohei [1756 – 1820; active], residing in Edo, Nihonbashi-dōri itchōme, printed and published this work in Kansei 12 (1800).
In Tenpō 11 (1840) Kawachiya Mohei, residing in Osaka, on the corner of Shinsaibashi-dōri denrōchō, bought the woodblocks and [re] published [this book].

In Japan, publishing as a commercial enterprise took root around the middle of the seventeenth century, and publishers could claim publishing rights to their own publications. This right, called hankabu 版, meant that woodblocks could be bought and sold between publishers, a practice known as kyūhan 求版. In this case the Osaka printer Kawachiya Mohei purchased the woodblocks from his Edo colleague Suwaraya Mohei, as is evidenced by the colophon.

Land surveying (sokuryō 調量) has two intended purposes: measuring distances and measuring surface areas. People used to measure distances with a rope, but since this did not require any kind of mathematical knowledge, traditionally books of mathematics make no mention of it. Yet some Chinese treatises do refer to the method of measuring distances by using the proportionality of a right-angled triangle. Japanese disquisitions from the Edo period, such as the Warisansho 割算書 and the Jinkōki 塵劫記, also refer to this method.

The surface area was measured by stringing a rope in the form of a rectangle around a plot. One had to make sure that the part of the plot that fell outside the rectangle was equal to the surface size of the part that fell inside it. The surface area of the rectangle yielded the surface size of the plot that had to be measured. Another method consisted of divid-
ing the plot into a number of triangles, and then adding up the various surface areas of these triangles. This seems to have been the most commonly used method in seventeenth-century Japan.

The making of maps took things one step further. Originally, maps, such as cadastral maps, covered only a very limited area. The rectangular shape was used here as well. Around the area to be measured, a rope was strung in the shape of a rectangle. Using ropes, the rectangle was divided into a grid of many small squares. The grid was then copied onto a piece of paper. A conspicuous feature on the terrain was chosen as point of reference and was likewise copied onto the paper. For the contours of the area, the lines of the ropes forming the grid were also noted. Because the use of the grid was not very precise, here, too, people eventually switched to using the method of the sum of the triangles instead. The benefit of the triangle method was that not everything had to be measured. Certain parts of the terrain which were hard to access were difficult to measure anyway. The triangle was drawn onto a piece of paper and, from there on, it sufficed to measure only two sides and one inside corner angle, or one side and two inside angles.

Dividing the plot into a grid and the use of the triangle were methods used in China, which were also known in Japan. Onto this traditional know-how Western surveying techniques were then applied.

Triangulation, the method developed by the Dutch mathematician and astronomer Snellius (1580-1626), was the first form of Western land surveying used in Japan. It is said to have been introduced in Japan around the 1640s in the form of what we call the planchet. This method, too, divides the plot into triangles. Once the three points of the triangle have been marked on the terrain, the grades/degrees of the inside corners of that triangle are plotted on a plane table with the help of an alidade, a device that uses the line of sight to view a distant object (see ill. 1). Then it suffices to actually measure only one side in order to calculate the length of the two other sides. This instrument, or at least its principles, were allegedly introduced in Japan by the German surgeon Caspar Schamberger (1623-1706), who in fact stayed in Japan from 1649 to 1651, employed by the Dutch East India Company (VOC). He allegedly passed the know-how about its use on to the Japanese Higuchi Gon'emon 橋口権右衛門 (1601-1684). Higuchi was a scholar from Nagasaki, an astronomer more commonly known by the name Kobayashi Kanesada 小林謙貞 (also read as Kobayashi Kentei).

Thus, Higuchi Gon'emon became the heir to this new kind of know-how, which he in turn passed on to his students. His school became the most influential approach in land surveying during the Edo period. One of his students, Shimizu Teitoku 清水貞德 (1645-1717), perfected the technique and lent his name to the school: Shimizu-ryū 清水流. Its method, known as the kiku genpō 規矩元法, was passed on as secret knowledge. Although the principles were noted, the resulting records were only kept as manuscripts and were deliberately not printed or published for many years. Many of the surveying permits from the Edo period, which are still preserved today as archival material, were issued by this school.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, against the background of growing demand, many books on land surveying were compiled. The eighth shōgun, Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗 (lived 1684-1751), promoted a vigorous policy of economic development, leading to massive clearance of arable land throughout the country. The failed harvest and ensuing famine of 1732 only strengthened his resolve. During the same period, he relaxed the embargo on the import of foreign books, allowing more books from China to enter the country. In the Kyōhō period – more specifically, in the year 1733 – the Chinese compilation Chongzhen lishu 崇禎曆書 (Jap. Sūtei rekisho: ‘Astronomical Treatises of the Chongzhen Reign’) arrived in Japan. This work is a Chinese compilation by Jesuits active in China, including Giacomo Rho (1592-1638), Adam Schall von Bell (1591-1666), and others. It incorporates content of various European astronomical treaties with scant citation, making it hard to identify its European sources. At any rate, it also included tables with trigonometric functions. Similar tables were found in Dutch books on navigation. These tables were copied by hand and spread throughout Japan. The mathematician Nakane Genkei 中根元珪 (1662-1773) wrote a brief commentary on their use, but it took considerable time before they were actually used in the practice of land surveying. It was not until the 1830s, when the demand rose once again, that the use of trigonometric tables became widespread. By now, however, land surveying was no longer the province of surveyors but of mathematicians. Understandably, their publications pay less attention to actual surveying and more to explaining the method of calculation.

To successfully make use of these tables, more sophisticated instruments than the planchet are needed. The few octants and sextants imported by the Dutch were soon copied by the Japanese, but even so the demand exceeded the supply. It did not take long before DIY books appeared, explaining how people could make simple surveying instruments themselves. Thus land surveying know-how became widespread. When the sweeping land reform was enacted in the early Meiji period, this knowledge came in handy.
Biographical information on the author, Murai Masahiro is scanty. He inherited his expertise indirectly from Higuchi Gon’emon, although he did not belong to the Shimizu school. His sobriquet (gō) was Sodo 蘇道 or Sodoji 蘇道子. He hailed from Ise, but moved to Edo at an early age. Most likely, he was a masterless samurai (rōnin 浪人) and a specialist in military science. In Edo, he opened a private school. He appears to have been the author of various treatises on military science, including strategy and tactics, many of which probably only existed as manuscripts at the time of his death. According to the preface and the postscript of the first part, his grandfather Murai Masami 村井昌躬 had learnt the art of surveying from Higuchi Gon’emon and passed it on to his son, Masahiro’s father. The second part was written by Masahiro with the help of his son. From the preface of the first part we learn that the manuscript was completed in Kyōhō 15 (1730), while the colophon (kanki 刊記) informs us that printing by Noda Yahee 野田弥兵衛 in Kyoto and by Noda Tahee 野田太兵衛 in Edo was completed in Kyōhō 18 (1733). The preface of the second part mentions the date Hōreki 4 (1754), but the colophon gives the date Kansei 寛政 6 (1794) instead. The book includes another preface, this one dated Kansei 9 (1797), which is presumably the year in which the second part was actually printed. It was the grandson of Masahiro who saw this second part of the book through the press.

In the first part, Murai explains triangulation, referred to in Japan at the time as “the Dutch method”. This is the crucial part of his treatise. In the second part, he discusses various topics, including the use of the compass, and records various data he has culled from other books or has learnt from informants.

Ill. 2: a description with illustration of the method used to measure from the top of a mountain the height, incline, and diameter of another mountain, as well as the height, incline, and diameter of the mountain one is standing on, in addition to the height of the tree on top of the other mountain, the height of the temple on the slope of the other mountain, and the depth of the valley between both mountains (chapter 3, pp. 26b–27a).

This work is a study of the typology, construction, and use of vessels in Japan and China. The overview of the Japanese and Chinese ships is particularly impressive. In addition, it goes on to discuss – albeit to a much lesser extent – ships of Korea, the Ryūkyū Archipelago, Portugal, the Netherlands, the Philippines, and so forth. The abundance of sloops used by the Japanese for river navigation is illustrated appropriately.

Birth and death dates for the author are unknown. He was a shipwright (*funadaiku* 船大工) from Osaka. For many generations, his family practiced the ship-building profession in the district Dōjima *funadaiku-machi* 堂島船大工町 in Osaka. The book is a distillation of their secret know-how, handed down over a period of two centuries for seven generations in the author’s family.


Alternative title: *Gazu wakan sen’yō-shū* 画図和漢舩用集
12 chapters in 12 fascicles; 22.6 x 15.6 cm
Author: Kanazawa Kanemitsu 金沢金光

Date: preface dated *Hōreki* 宝暦 11 (1761), printed in *Meiji* 明治 3 (1870)

A Dutch ship, here called *kōmō-sen* (ship of the red-haired). This illustration was selected because of its recognizability.

(fascicle IV, pp. 44b-45a). Note the four-legged creature on the ship’s bow.
The foreword is dated Ka’ei 嘉永 3 (1850) and was written in kanbun by the nobleman Kiyohara Nobuaki (also read as ‘Senmei’) 清原宣明 (1790-1863). The epilogue, also in kanbun, is by Arai Kimihiro 荒井公廣 (?-?).

According to the author’s preface (hanrei 凡例), the book is a historical study of the horse saddle. His aim is to codify the various types and to ‘immortalise’ them. As a nobleman, who is usually far-removed from any and all military operations, he is not so much interested in their practical use as he is in their decorative and historical character. The codification of objects, usages, customs, techniques, and instruments belonging to the living environment of the aristocratic and warrior classes grew into a true pseudo-science called yūsoku kojitsu 有職故実.

On the first page of the preface, the book bears a seal printed in relief with the words “Taika sanbō zōsho” 太華山房藏書, the collector’s seal of novelist Takahashi Taika 高橋太華 (1863-1947), also famous for his young adult literature.

▲ A ritual horse race held yearly in the Shintō shrine Hirano 平野神社 in Kyoto (fascicle II, p. 30b).
A noblewoman on horseback, an illustration borrowed from an old masterpiece, known as the Illustrated history of the temple Ishiyamadera (fascicle II, pp. 31b-32a).

Bridles and lassos (fascicle II, pp. 36b-37a).
For the biographical background on the author, see the description about Kōeki kokusan-kō 広益国産考 (pp. 179-181). This work is a treatise on the control of locusts. Insects damaging the crops were a scourge for farmers. During the course of the seventeenth century, a farmer in the Chikuzen 筑前 Province (present-day Fukuoka Prefecture) discovered an effective method. It consisted of sprinkling whale oil over the paddies, which would form a greasy layer over their entire surface. The insects were then shaken off the rice stalks so that they fell onto the layer of oil in which they remained stuck and eventually suffocated.

Whether Ōkura Nagatsune came up with this technique all on his own, is a matter of debate. The fact that insects get stuck in oil is likely to have been observed everywhere. A Chinese source from the Qing Dynasty mentions the sprinkling of a mixture of vegetable oil and water over the crops. Incidentally, in the West, too, there are cases where whale oil was used as a pest control. This was first recorded in the American state of Massachusetts, where whale oil was mixed with soapy water and sprayed on roses. The experiment in Chikuzen was apparently effective enough for it to spread to other parts of Japan. Even the government lent a hand. The shōgun informed his officials that this method was to be recommended.

The book Jōkoroku (1826) played a considerable role in the spread and use of this method. During his travels through the country, Nagatsune had managed to amass a wealth of practical knowledge and experience on the subject, which he organized and compiled into his book. Japanese farmers continued using this method until the end of the Second World War.

In the introductory chapter of his book, Nagatsune states that he is writing this work to introduce...
the method in the Tōhoku region, an important agricultural area in northeastern Japan, where it was not yet known. In 1844 he published a sequel (kōhen). In it, he discusses other types of animal, vegetable, and mineral oils as replacements for whale oil. The sequel was apparently far less widely distributed and, as such, now has much more value as an antiquarian work than the first volume. Both volumes were reprinted in the Meiji period (first volume 1886, sequel 1887), not as a reprint of a classic but as a practical guide for farmers.

Okura Nagatsune was born in Meiwa 明和 5 (1768) in the Bungo 豊後 Province (today’s Ōita Prefecture). He passed away possibly in 1861. He was the fourth child in a farmer’s family of eleven. His parents were middle-class farmers. The life of a farmer was relentless and dreary. Becoming a scholar or a monk were the only two possible routes of escape from the societal constraints of class. As a boy, Nagatsune dreamt of becoming a Confucian scholar, but his father opposed the idea. He then turned to the study of agriculture and apprenticed to a wholesaler specializing in wax.

When he was in his twenties, he left the region of his birth and worked as an agricultural worker in various places in Kyūshū. At the age of 29, he went to Osaka, where he first found employment as a journeyman and then as a teacher of calligraphy. After a few years, he started to make his living by trading in seedlings, shoots from the wax tree (hazenoki 櫨木, Rhus succedanea), and other plants. For his work, he travelled often through the Kinai region, the most advanced farming region of Japan, and, in so doing, learnt much about farming techniques and management. He became an expert in the field of growing wax trees, the production of wax and sugar, as well as the manufacturing of farming equipment.

He became friends with a publisher in Osaka, who offered him the opportunity to turn his vast knowledge and experience into a book. Thus, seven years after he moved to Osaka, he could publish his first book, Nōka eki 农家益 (For the Benefit of the Farmer), in three chapters. He came very close to committing plagiarism, however, for his book was almost identical to Kyūmin yakō no tama 救民夜光の玉 (The Shining Pearl in the Night that Rescues the People), a work published by Takahashi Zenzō.

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55. Kōeki kokusan-kō 広益国産考
(‘An Inquiry into Domestic Production for the Greater Public Good’)

Title: Kokusan-kō 国産; alternative title: Kōeki kokusan-kō 広益国産考
8 chapters in 8 fascicles; black-and-white illustrations;

Author: Okura Nagatsune 大蔵永常
Date: Tenpō 天保 13 (1842)

22.4 x 15.2 cm

UCLouvain — Libraries Heritage Collections
Japanese donation, RES JAP 06513

Sowing (fascicle III, p. 18a).
He found temporary residence in Okazaki. His wife was ill, and his daughter had passed the age of marriage. In Okazaki, life must have been very bleak. In Tenpō 13 (1842), he was appointed as advisor of economic affairs (kōsankata) of the Hamamatsu domain. He was given a fairly large residence with a garden, the allowance (fuchi) of five men and ten ryō. Three years later, however, his lord was fired as advisor of the Bakufu and had no choice but to change domains. This also meant the end of Nagatsune's tenure. In these three years, he published Kokusan-kō, which was later incorporated into his magnum opus Kōeki kokusan-kō, and he also completed the manuscript of this latter work. This book, counting eight chapters, was published in 1860, the year of his death.

Nearly all agricultural treatises written in the Edo period were penned by farmers who lived in their region of birth all their life, and who wanted to pass on the rich experience and know-how they had acquired while farming to their children and descendants. There are only two exceptions to this pattern: Miyazaki Yasusada 宮崎安貞 (1623-1697) and Ōkura Nagatsune (1768-1860). These two authors travelled through farming villages in

Mixing yams (tokoro 野老, Dioscorea japonica) into horse feed (fascicle IV, p. 13a).

Making bracken starch (fascicle IV, p. 18a).
various agricultural areas, especially the Kinai region, and systematically observed their customs and techniques. After his travels, Miyazaki retired to his village of birth, and during the ensuing 40 years put into practice all he had learnt, while at the same time recording it for posterity. The result of his labour is the Nōgyō zensho in ten chapters.

Ōkura Nagatsune, on the other hand, did not stay in his native village, nor did he return to it. He settled first in Osaka, then in Edo, and devoted himself entirely to writing books on agriculture as practised in the most advanced areas, intending them as guidebooks for farmers in less advanced regions. During his lifetime, Nagatsune published 30 books in 70 fascicles. Iinuma Jirō (1918-2005), a prominent agrarian historian, has called him the only agricultural journalist of the Edo period.

The techniques and farming equipment Ōkura Nagatsune describes in his books were all tried out by him first. His descriptions are detailed and accurate, so that they might benefit the reader who wants to put his advice and instructions into practice. He did not write for his children or descendants, nor for the farmers of his native region, but for the farmers in all of Japan. For this reason, his descriptions are more elaborate and systematic and require less prior knowledge. Moreover, his writings are always accompanied by detailed and accurate illustrations, based on sketches which Nagatsune himself drew from life. While Miyazaki’s scholarship was limited to the cultivation of rice, Ōkura Nagatsune’s main focus lies on profitable specialty crops.

Traditionally, taxes were collected in rice, but by the end of the Edo period, these levies no longer sufficed to keep up the high living standards the samurai class wanted to maintain. Samurai and farmers alike looked for other specialty crops that would yield a higher return. A commercial monopoly on specialty crops could potentially constitute an important source of income. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, a vibrant nightlife began to develop in the three main cities, Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto. The use of candles increased spectacularly, stimulating the cultivation of wax trees (haze), which provided the raw material for the candles. One of the intended purposes of Ōkura Nagatsune’s books was to serve as a manual for the cultivation and trade of specialty crops, such as wax trees.


▲ A candle shop in Osaka (fascicle V, p. 10b).

▲ Clearing brushwood, cultivating the fields, and sowing (fascicle VIII, p. 19a).
Shimazu Shigehide (1745-1833), the feudal lord of Satsuma, was an enlightened and progressive ruler. As part of his policy to stimulate agriculture and industry in his domain, he set out to compile a *summa* of all available knowledge on the products of nature. He assigned this work to Sō Han (common name: Senshun) (1758-1834), a great *honzōgaku* specialist. He was assisted by Shirao Kunihashira (1762-1821), a specialist in *kokugaku* 国学, the school of ‘national learning’ (a school of Japanese philology and philosophy). In a workshop specially dedicated for that enterprise in the lord’s residence in Edo, the two men completed this work, which eventually consisted of 100 chapters. In 1806, when only thirty chapters had been printed, a fire destroyed all manuscript drafts and woodblocks. Undeterred, Sō Han continued his work, but in 1829 all manuscripts drafts and woodblocks once again went up in flames. Even then he continued his work, and it is from this work that the manuscript drafts have been preserved. The thirty chapters that survived the 1806 fire were printed again in Tenpō 天保 2 (1831). The manuscripts of the drafts which Sō Han delivered after the fire of 1829, and which were preserved, were typographically printed and published in the twentieth century. The copy of the UCLouvain is not the original edition (*motohan* 元版) of 1806 but the reprint of 1831.

For the standards of the time, Shimazu Shigehide enjoyed a long life. His most active years, however, were those between 1780 and 1790. When the Dutchman Jan Cock Blomhoff (1779-1853), the “opperhoofd” (kapitan) of the Dutch factory on the artificial island Dejima in Nagasaki Bay, made the obligatory courtesy trip to the Edo court (the so-called ‘hofreis naar Edo’) in 1818, he was greeted by Shigehide upon reaching Shinagawa, a suburban district of Edo. Shigehide was very much into everything Dutch. Blomhoff says about Shigehide that he greeted him in Dutch and “enige onverschillige discoursen voerde” (addressed to him a few discourses on sundry topics). *Seikei zusetsu* does indeed include (in Japanese transcription) quite a number of Dutch words such as the names for the months and names for various types of scholarly fields, and so forth.

Sō Han descended from Chinese in the Fujian province, who had settled in Nagasaki many generations ago, running a medical practice and working as Chinese-Japanese interpreters. He was born in Edo and entered the service of the lord of Shōnai 庄内 in 1776. After one year, he resigned from his position...
there to study medicine under Taki Rankei 多紀藍溪 (1732-1801), in addition to materia medica (pharmacology) under Tamura Ransui 田村藍水 (1718-1776). In 1792, he became the personal physician to Shimazu Shigehide, who greatly admired him.


The religious dances honouring the god of Mount Kanasa (chapter 4, pp. 35b-36a).

Winnowing the rice (chapter 5, pp. 14b-15a).
This is a treatise on the origins of *sumo* wrestling and the customs surrounding it, supplemented with a description of a ritual sumo bout organized at the behest and for the pleasure of the *shōgun*.

The author Shikimori Inosuke 伊之助 (1740-1822, alternative dates 1743-1823) was a famed chief referee (*tate-gyōji* 立行司) of sumo in Edo, and the first incumbent of the rank of chief referee with the hereditary stage name Shikimori Inosuke. He began his career in 1767 and ended it in 1793. The bearer of the stage name Shikimori Inosuke (the current one is the 41st in line) is one of only two chief referees, the other one being the bearer of the hereditary stage name Kimura Shōnosuke 木村之助, who has precedence over Shikimori. The latter is associated with the champion of the west, whereas Kimura is associated with the champion of the east. In *Sumo*, east has precedence over west. The chief referees enter the arena together with their associated champion. After his retirement as head referee, Shikimori Inosuke adopted the sobriquet (gō) ‘kagyū’, meaning ‘snail’. The shape of the snail can be observed in his stylized autograph (kaō 花押). It is under this name that he published this book.

On the *mikaeshi* 見返し (inside of the front cover) is mentioned: 不許數外千部必絶 ‘circulation may not exceed 1000 copies.’ The work also includes a preface by Senjintei Sunchō 千尋亭寸鳥, not mentioned by Yamazaki. On the inside of the back page, the following notice is written by hand: 禁売 ‘may not be sold’ and 白木家蔵書 ‘collection of the Shiragi family’. The book bears some three collector’s seals, one with the text ‘Ogura bunko’.

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A sumo bout (chapter 1, pp. 19b.-20a).
58. Bukka Engo zenji hekigan-roku 佛果圖悟禪師碧巌録 ('The Blue Cliff Record by Zen master Bukka Engo')

Alternative titles: Bukka engo zenji Hekigan-roku shudenshō 佛果圖悟禪師碧巌録種電鈔 / Hekigan-shū shudenshō 碧巌集種電鈔

Bukka Engo zenji hekigan-roku, or Hekigan-roku (Ch.: Bi yan lu), is the Japanese edition of a Zen classic that was compiled in China in 1125, during the reign of Emperor Huizong 徽宗 of the Song Dynasty (960-1279). It is a collection of so-called kōan 公案, to which two commentators have added verses and comments of various kinds.

The term kōan (Ch. Gong-an) literally means ‘public case,’ suggesting a likeness between law cases and the one hundred anecdotes of sayings and doings, mainly from traditional accounts of Zen masters and acolytes, included in this book. Kōan serve as precedents to judge whether or not a student has correctly grasped a certain aspect of the teachings. Later, kōan simply meant a problem of the Zen doctrine which was phrased as a riddle or a paradox. Kōan are a remarkable aspect of religious literature of Zen Buddhism, which probably does not have an equal in any other religious tradition. They make up part of the training of Zen acolytes. Especially the Rinzai 臨濟 school sets great stock by this aspect of training. The master gives the novice a kōan. The latter has to come up with a sufficient answer, only then will he be given another one. As he succeeds in formulating answers that are approved by his master, he advances in his religious development.

The text we now know as the Hekigan-roku originally consisted of a collection of one hundred kōan selected from old Zen records by Xuedou Chongxian (Jap. Setchō Jūken 雪竇重顕, 980-1052), an exceptional Zen master and poet. To each kōan he added verses (geju 偈頌) and remarks to elucidate the meaning. This expanded text was titled Setchō juko hyaku-soku 碧巌錄古百則 (Setchō’s One Hundred Verses about Old [Kōan]). The book was very popular. Some sixty years later, the Zen master Yuanwu Keqin (Jap. Engo 関悟克勤, 1063-1135) added glosses (so called ‘capping phrases’, chakugo 評唱) to each sentence or saying in the kōan text and each accompanying poem by Setchō, in addition to synthetic commentaries (kyōshō 評著) on the context of each kōan. Moreover, he added a short introduction (suiji 垂示) to most cases. Together, the original anecdotes, Xuedou’s verses, Yuanwu’s introductions, remarks, and commentaries all form the book Hekigan-roku. The title is allegedly inspired by the name of the abode on Mount Jia 夹山 in Hunan in China, where Yuanwu originally delivered his explanations of the kōan. In another version, Yuanwu’s abode displayed calligraphy for the two characters bi 碧 (azure) and yan 峯 (rock); lu (Jap. roku 網) means ‘record, note, document’.

Although the commentaries of Yuanwu were certainly no superfluous luxury for understanding the paradoxes and hidden allusions of this text, some masters in the Zen school deemed them to be too intellectual and believed that they hampered the immediate and direct experience. For that reason, Da-hui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (Jap. Daishi Sōko, 1080-1163), the successor of Yuanwu and also a great Zen master, so tradition alleges, destroyed the woodblocks of Yuanwu’s edition. The version of the Bi yan lu (Hekigan roku) known to us today is the work of the layman Zhang Mingyuan (Jap. Chō Mei’en 張明遠), who around 1300 supposedly recovered whatever copies remained of the text and, based on those, reconstructed the original book through emendation and collation. In the meantime, the text had already fallen prey to corruption and additions, especially Yuanwu’s glosses and commentaries (ill. 2: fascicle 1, p. 2b). The most important parts of the book, the actual kōan, Xuedou’s verses, and Yuanwu’s introductions were presumably left reasonably intact. All extant editions were indirectly based on this edition.

According to Zen tradition, the famous Japanese monk Eihei Dōgen 永平道元 (1200-1253) brought back to Japan a handwritten copy of this book in 1227, after a sojourn of four years in China, which in view of the date would mean that he copied a version that antedated Zhang Mingyuan’s reconstructed text. This copy, known as the ‘One Night Blue Cliff Record’, because he allegedly copied the text in one night the night before his return to Japan, is preserved at present in the Daijōji Temple 大乗寺 in the city of Kanazawa 金沢市. If it was indeed transmitted to Japan in the course of the thirteenth century, by Dōgen or someone else, it represents the oldest version of the text extant.

In the 1920s the National Committee identified this book as Bukka Engo zenji Hekigan-roku, which is the complete title of Hekigan-roku. This title is kind of generic, however, since Zhang Mingyuan’s version did not come down to us as an independent text but only as quoted in two Japanese editions. One of these is Taichi Jittō’s 大智実統 Bukka Engo zenji Hekigan-shū shudenshō 佛果圖悟禪師碧巌録種電鈔 or Hekigan-roku shudenshō 碧巌録種電鈔 (12 maki) for short, the two titles given by Yamazaki 楊崎 as alternative titles. The other is Kiyō Hōshū’s 岐陽方秀 (1361-1424) Hekiganroku Funishō 碧巌録不二銘 (10 maki, published 1657). Both offer a detailed commentary on Hekiganroku in kanbun.
On the reverse of the cover the National Committee pasted a slip of paper on which it identified this copy as a movable type edition of the Myōshinji Temple妙心寺 in the western district of Kyoto, dating from the Genna-Kan’ei period (1615-1644). This dating does not tally with the identification as Taichi Jittō’s compilation. Taichi Jittō大智実統 was a Zen monk of the Ōbaku黄檗 school. His compilation, comprised of 12 chapters in 12 fascicles, has a preface dated Kyōhō享保21 (1736) and was printed in Genbun元文4 (1739), according to the colophon.

The typographic style of the title page in the UCLouvain copy is remarkably different from the main body of the text. It is a woodblock-printed page, ostensibly transferred from an older edition (fukkoku-bon復刻本), presumably a gozanban 五山版 edition. The original frame (kyōkaku匡郭) of the title page has ostensibly been extended by a column to the left and one to the right. In these two columns the publisher has added the colophon data relating to the reprint at hand. The vertical column to the right states that the Chinese book Bi yan lu was printed in Hangzhou, the one to the left that it was reprinted in the Shōgan-an正眼庵, a temple in the large Zen monastery Myōshinji妙心寺, west of Kyoto (ill. 1). This woodblock-printed title page has been added to precede a movable type impression (kokatsujiban古活字版). One may wonder whether it was the original page of this movable type impression. Maybe it was deliberately borrowed from an older (Chinese?) woodblock version to lend the book that extra Chinese flavour. Since this book is an old print in movable type, it is an edition dating from the early seventeenth century. The identification with Taichi’s compilation is therefore erroneous.

At the conclusion of every chapter someone has pressed a seal mentioning 弘中張氏書隠刻梓: ‘published based on the hidden versions of Mr. Zhang [Mingyuan] from the [eastern] mountains’, as if to stress that it was a reprint of the oldest extant ver-
The title page suggests a *fūkoku-bon* 復刻本 of a Chinese edition, though this is not actually the case, since it is a reprint in movable type.

On the UCLouvain copy someone has added by hand in ink syntactic marks (*kaeriten* 返り点) and *furigana* 振り仮名, as well as strokes (*shubiki*) and points in vermillion (*shuten*). On the final page of volumes 1, 3, and 4, there is a handwritten note by a reader, presumably the person who added the syntactic marks. It says: 'Soryō 祖了 of the Kōshūji Temple 光周寺, in the village Sugawara 菅原, in the Kusu commandery 玖珠郡, in the province of Bungo 豊後. On a favourable day in the new year’s month of Kyōhō 5, Year of the Rat.' Kyōhō 5 is the year 1720. This inscription too precedes the date of publication of Taichi Jittō’s compilation. Consequently, the identification in Yamazaki’s catalogue must be wrong. The original title slip (*daisen*) is missing. Someone has scribbled the title on the spot where the slip once was. The same rather sloppy hand has scribbled on the cover of fascicle IV the characters: 養寿寺什物, “a treasure of the Yōjuji Temple”. Whether there is any connection with the Yōjuji Temple in the town Nishio, in the Aichi Prefecture, is unclear.

Hekigan-roku has seen many editions and reprints and was frequently translated into various Western languages in the twentieth century.

Ill. 2: end of preface by Fanghui Wanli 方回萬里 (1227-1305), referring in a humorous pun to the burning by Dahui and the salvaging by Zheng Yuanming (fascicle I, preface, p. 2b): 大慧已一炬丙之矣... “Dahui once burnt it, but Zhang Mingyuan from the [eastern] mountains breathed new life into the dead ashes and published it...”

Movable Type Editions

The typographical printing technique was introduced in Japan when Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), the Visitor of the Society of Jesus, imported a Western printing press into Japan in 1590. The press was first installed in the Jesuit college of Kazusa 加津佐 but was soon moved to Amakusa 天草 and finally to Nagasaki 長崎. Valignano was accompanied by a Japanese man, known only by his Western name Constantino Dourado (1566-1620), who had learnt the art of printing in Lisbon. He had already demonstrated his mastery of the printing technique in Goa and was likely the first to operate the printing press in Japan. Barely forty works of these so-called Jesuit editions have been preserved in Japan, and of some of them only one single copy. How many copies a single edition totalled is hard to ascertain, but it has been claimed that the number of copies for a single edition has been around 1,300-1,500. A huge number of copies went up in flames or was otherwise destroyed as a result of the persecution of Christians in the seventeenth century. Several scholars have made an effort to identify and inventory the total output of the Jesuit press. The total tally of confirmed titles in the world stands at forty-one, as a result of the persecution of Christians in the seventeenth century. The typographical edition was produced, a copy of which is kept in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu in Rome. Whether the typographical editions of the Jesuits had any deep impact on the further development of printing in Japan, however, is doubtful.

More likely, this honour goes to the typographical technique developed in Korea. Although there are clues suggesting that a typographical technique with ceramic fonts, and later to a limited extent with wooden fonts, existed in China during the tenth century, this Chinese practice seems to have had no influence on the development of movable type in Japan. The independent Korean tradition of typography thus was that much more influential. It was transmitted to Japan at the end of the sixteenth century. It made use of metal fonts. Its origins date back to the early thirteenth century, but it became a matter of national interest when, in 1392, the Korean court set up a bureau for publishing, both for casting type and printing books. The oldest examples of this kind of movable type editions extend today date back to the end of the fourteenth century, half a century before Gutenberg’s Bible (1455). This marked the start of typography as a method of publishing books in East Asia. Why the technique caught on is unclear, since woodblock printing had been the preferred technique for many centuries. The Korean contribution consisted mainly in the invention of a method to cast metal type. From the end of the fourteenth century on, Korean printers also used wooden type. Both metal and wooden fonts were introduced in Japan in the wake of the military campaigns of Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536-1598) on the peninsula. Both materials were used on a large scale in Japan during the seventeenth century.

The Korean bureau for publishing had been established by the Yi 李 Dynasty (1392-1910), when Confucianism held pride of place. Unsurprisingly, the books printed by the bureau were secular works in Classical Chinese, mainly Confucian texts. Naturally, when Korean typography entered Japan, it was strongly associated with secular works, in contrast to woodblock printing, which from its beginnings had had a strong association with Buddhism.

Korean movable type and printing equipment were taken to Japan as spoils of war and offered to Emperor Go-Yōzei 後陽成 (1586-1611). They were immediately put to use, and the first work printed with the Korean equipment was the Confucian classic Xiao jing 孝經 (‘Classic of Filial Piety’), printed in 1593. It is not known whether Korean printers were taken to Japan as well.

Because the Korean technique was associated with the elite of Japanese society, it enjoyed great prestige and strongly influenced the ensuing history of printing in the country. For a period of about
fifty years, Korean typography was adopted on a large scale for the production of books. These editions are known as *kokatsuji-ban* (old movable type editions). This does not imply, however, that typography completely supplanted woodblock printing, which continued to be used on a large scale, especially for editions that included illustrations. Moreover, facsimiles of Chinese editions were also still being printed using the *kabusebori* technique, as was the case with a Chinese *Bencao gangmu* (*Honzō ria medica*), which a late sixteenth-century Chinese edition was published in 1637.

Shortly after 1593, Emperor Go-Yōzei ordered the carving of wooden type. He and his successor, Emperor Go-Mizuno'o (1611-1629), ordered the printing of a number of so-called imperial prints using this type. Remarkably, all of these works – printed between 1595 and 1621 – were secular books. The majority were Chinese, such as the *Four Books of Confucianism*, but there were some Japanese works as well, for example, the *Nihon shoki* (*The Chronicles of Japan*).

Although many secular works were being printed by now, the close traditional link between printing and Buddhist texts still had not entirely been broken. Even during the seventeenth century, Buddhist texts continued to occupy a sizeable part of the Japanese market. Temples even experimented with movable type for the printing of Buddhist texts. There are testimonies pointing to a budding cooperation between temples and local printers, run by laypeople on a commercial basis. These are the first signs heralding a new trend: the transition from editions published under the protection of a powerful institution to commercial editions by private citizens.

Thus, private individuals started printing books. Very soon after the introduction of Korean type, wooden type had been cut, not only of the Chinese logographs but also of the Japanese syllabic script. This came at an opportune time, as printers started to publish more and more texts in Japanese. The most striking representative of this new category of movable type editions by individuals are the so-called *Saga-bon* (*Saga editions*), printed between 1599 and 1610, in Saga near Kyoto. They were the product of a unique cooperation between the versatile artist Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558-1637) and the intellectual merchant Suminokura Soan (1571-1632). Kōetsu no doubt provided the splendid calligraphy from which the type was carved, and perhaps also the layout, while Suminokura took care of financing and printing. The extensive use of ligatures, making it possible to reproduce in print the flowing calligraphic lines of the Japanese *hiragana* writing, as well as the incorporation of illustrations, and in certain cases the use of high-quality paper, resulted in the production of unsurpassed jewels of printing. The *Saga-bon* almost exclusively comprise texts written in Japanese, in particular *Ise monogatari* (*The Tale of Ise*). This is the first illustrated, secular Japanese book that has come down to us, in various editions indeed, a fact attesting to a wide circulation. Although these books may never have been intended for sale, and as such may not have been published in the commercial sense, the *Saga-bon* nevertheless exerted great influence because they used Japanese syllabic writing and paved the way for the routine publication of illustrated versions of texts written in the Japanese language (in contrast to Classical Chinese). Illustrated editions became the norm during the remainder of the Edo period (1600-1868).

Before long, in spite of this short-lived outburst of movable type editions, woodblock-printed editions (seihan) recovered their erstwhile dominant position, although wooden movable type did continue on a modest scale. Here a few words on terminology are in order. Editions published up to the first half of the seventeenth century are specifically called ‘old movable type editions’ (*kokatsuji-ban*). The early modern editions, which are called ‘early modern movable type editions’ (*kinsei mokkatsuji-ban*). There is no unanimity among scholars about where the line has to be drawn between the ‘old’ editions and the early ‘early modern’ editions. For some the ‘early modern’ editions start from the second half of the seventeenth century, while others have them starting in the late eighteenth century (Tenmei and Kansei eras). Indeed, around this time a Chinese book on printing technology titled *Qingdìn Wuyìng dìan juchenban chéngshì* (*Jap. Kin-tai Bueden shūchibin hōshiki*) introduced movable type editions printed at the Wuying Hall, by Imperial Command) was introduced in Japan. Using some of the know-how contained in it, Japanese printers were able to reduce the production costs of the printing process, thus paving the way for publica-
tions with limited capital or in limited copies, privately printed books (*shikaban* 私家版), amateur editions, and so on. In addition, it now became economically viable to publish schoolbooks at educational institutions, ranging from the official schools of the Edo Shogunate to the local schools of the feudal fiefs down to the privately run schools of Confucian scholars.

In those days, the concept of ‘copyright’ was extremely vague. The owners of woodblocks came closest to what we would now consider to be the copyright holders. They were mostly concentrated in the three major publishing centres of Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka. They understandably looked askance at these ‘infringements’ on their near monopoly, but the trend could not be stopped.

Private presses were much harder to control by the censors of the Edo Shogunate or the authorities of the feudal domains, so it became the favourite channel to launch new-fangled ideas (including in the fields of politics, economics, and ideology) or to tap new kinds of readership. There are allegedly more than 1,000 titles of early modern wooden movable type editions extant.

This book contains the sayings, sermons, essays, and poems by Zen master Eigen (永源 1290-1367), written down by some of his disciples shortly after his death. He is called Eigen because he founded the Eigenji temple (永源寺) in Kyoto. In a young age, he went to study under a Zen master of the famous Tofukuji temple (東福寺) in Kyoto. In 1320, at the age of 31 years (according to Japanese count), he travelled in the company of Kaō Sōnen (可翁宗然), a Zen painter who later became famous, to China, which was ruled at the time by the Mongol Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368). There he visited several prominent Zen masters. After a stay of 6 years, he
returned to Japan, to live a life of seclusion in various Zen temples for the next 25 years, systematically declining invitations from the imperial court or the military government, the shogunate. When he was 72 years old, he was granted some land by the provincial governor (shugoshoku 守護職) Sasaki Ujiyori (1326-1370), on which he was allowed to build a temple, which he called Eigenji. After his death, the emperor awarded him the posthumous sobriquet (okurigō 諡號) of En’ō Zenji. In November 1928, he was given the honorific title (shōgō 称号) Shōtō kokushi 正燈国師 by Hirohito, the young Shōwa emperor. The temple Eigenji is now the head temple of one of 15 autonomous branches of the Rinzai school of Japanese Zen Buddhism.

Chapter 1 of the book includes 269 Buddhist stanzas (called geju 頌頌, from the Sanskrit term gāthā: a poem usually of the zeiku 絶句 sort, a so-called modern style poem in Classical Chinese, consisting of four lines, comprising a total of 20 or 28 characters, depending on whether the line length is of either five or seven characters). Maki 2 includes 34 essays on liturgical prescriptions and performance, 19 essays, 15 letters, 56 sermons, counsel for posterity, and posthumous gāthās. There is also an epilogue (batsu 足) contributed by the monk Shōkin 性均 at the time of the book’s publication in 1377. In the year Kan’ei 寛永 21 (1644), Isshi Bunshu 一糸文守 (posthumous sobriquet: Butchō kokushi 仏頂国師; 1608-1640), venerated as the second founder of Eigenji, wrote a hagiographic essay about Master Eigen, which was included in the Shōho 正保 2 (1645) reprint of the book. There is also an old typographical edition with wooden type consisting of 2 maki. In Genroku 元禄 10 (1697), an annotated version in 4 maki was published. Of this version, an enlarged edition with a critical apparatus was published in Kan’ei 寛延 4 (1751). Of the version in two maki, a reprint appeared in the Kyōhō 享保 period (1716-1736). Another version appeared during the Kanbun 寛文 period (1661-1673), this one consisting of three chapters. The frequent reprints prove that this text was quite popular among Zen monks.

The kanbun text in this edition has been supplied with kaeriten (marks to indicate the order the characters should be read in) and okurigana (kana suffixes which follow the characters to inflect verbs and adjectives). This copy also has shubiki 朱引き (lines in red) and shuten 朱点 (dots in red), tools for marking and punctuation, added in the course of reading or study by a diligent student or reader.

In the UCLouvain collection the protective wrapper containing the Gozan version also contains a copy of the enlarged edition of 1751, which interestingly bears the collector’s seal of the Ōryōkutsu 黄龍窟 (the Cave of the Yellow Dragon), the library of the famous Zen temple Kenninji 建仁寺 in Kyoto. It was no doubt the National Committee that put it with the original edition in the same wrapper.

This is a story about a Japanese Cinderella, Hachikazuki 鉢かづき (the girl with the bowl on her head), sometimes also called Hachikatsugi.

In Katano 交野 in the Kawachi 河内 Province, the Governor of Bichū 備中, Sanetaka 実高, lived with his wife. The married couple had no children. The couple prayed and prayed to the Bodhisattva Kannon of the Hasedera temple 長谷寺 and finally their prayers were heard: They would get a daughter. Then, when the girl was thirteen years old, the mother passed away.

Just before dying, the mother put a wooden bowl on the head of her daughter, so deep that it covered most of her face. To make matters worse, the bowl turns out to be stuck and impossible to remove. The girl is now forced to go through life with the bowl on her head. This offers the pretext for her stepmother – the father had remarried in the meantime – to expel her from the house, with nothing but a thin dress to cover her body. She is doomed to roam around and, in utter despair, she decides to drown herself. The bowl on her head keeps her afloat, however, and she is saved by a fisherman.

Eventually she ends up in the residence of a lord, where she is given the task to stoke the fire in the bathhouse. The lord’s son notices her beautiful hands and falls in love with her. Because the son’s parents object to his intention to marry the servant girl, the two youngsters decide to elope. At that very moment the bowl drops off the head of the girl and breaks. Money, valuables, and fine clothing appear from the bowl. Now everyone can see the beautiful princess who was hidden under the bowl. She outshines all the other marriage candidates and is chosen to be the bride of the lord’s successor.

The scene in which Hachikazuki outshines the other marriage candidates (fascicle III, folio 6v).
Nara-ehon 奈良絵本

*Nara-ehon* 奈良絵本 (literally: printed books from Nara) is the name loosely given to a type of woodblock-printed picture book or illustrated handscroll produced in the late Muromachi period (1333–1573) and early Edo period (1600–1868). They often reproduce or adapt fairy tales and short (legendary) stories, which were known as *otogi-zōshi* 御伽草子, from these eras. Other material they adapt include *katarimono* 語り物 (narrative genres), such as *kōwaka* 幸若, *sekkyō* 説教, and *jōruri* 浄瑠璃. In some cases they take their inspiration from older masterpieces of prose literature, such as *Taiheiki* 太平記, *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語, *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語, and so forth. The narrative episodes alternate with colourful hand-painted or printed illustrations.

During the Muromachi period, most *Nara-ehon* came in horizontal scrolls (*makimono* 巻物), but in the seventeenth century they were usually bound as a booklet (*sasshibon* 冊子本). These *sasshibon* were printed from woodblocks in one of three formats: a ‘horizontal format’ (*yokobon* 横本) of approximately 15-16 cm in height and 21-23 cm in width; a vertical format measuring approximately 21-23 cm in height and 15-16 cm in width; and a grand format (*ōgata-bon* 大型本) of approximately 24-28 cm in height and 17-19 cm in width. The really luxurious items may even be of a bigger format, measuring 30 cm by 21 cm. The covers of the books are often decorated with mist and cloud shapes, sprinkled with flowers and grasses painted in gold (*kindei* 金泥). The titles were written on rectangular slips and pasted onto the upper middle or upper left side of the covers. Gold foil (*kinpaku* 金箔) and gold dust (*sunago* 砂子) were used in high-end products, not only in the illustrations themselves but also on the bindings.

*Nara-ehon* are often printed on a special type of paper called *maniai-gami* 間似合紙. It is the same paper used for *byōbu* 屏風 (decorative, painted folding screens) and *fusuma* 褦 (paper sliding doors which form the walls of rooms and hide deep shelves in traditional houses).

The illustrations of *Nara-ehon* are distinctly naïve, using a palette of bright, even colours, gold foil, and artless brushwork. The illustrations are anonymous, and their style ranges from *Yamato-e* 大和絵 to *Tosa-e* 土佐絵 to *Kanō-ha* 狩野派. The calligraphy of the text, done by someone other than the illustrator, is similarly anonymous in most cases. Until the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the *Nara-ehon* were made to order, but from that point onward they were increasingly commercialized and ‘mass-produced’. In a parallel development, in the early period they were handmade, but as demand increased in the seventeenth century, the number of woodblock-printed items rose accordingly.

A possible explanation for the name *Nara-ehon* (printed books of Nara) is that their creators were initially painters of Buddhist scenes working for the temple Kōfuku-ji 興福寺 in Nara, who, in their spare time, set about illustrating famous and beloved stories. According to another explanation, painters in the service of the Buddhist temples of Nara set up shop as commercial painters in Kyoto, where they took to making *Nara-ehon*, either made to order or mass-produced, for subsequent sale. There are other theories on the origin of the name, but in any case it gained coinage only much later, in the Meiji period, and the connection to the city of Nara remains unclear.

61. Hon’yaku myōgi-shū 翻譯名義集
('Dictionary for Translations')

7 chapters in 7 fascicles; rare; 26.8 x 19.5 cm
Author: Shi Fayun 釈法雲

A note pasted on the inside of the cover by the donors states: “impression à caractères mobiles, au cours de l’époque Keichō-Genna”. This coincides with the period 1596-1624. It is not clear on which data the donors based their decision regarding the date or period of time to which the printing of this work should be assigned. We know of a woodblock edition from the Muromachi period (1333-1573), as well as a typographical edition from the Kan’ei period (1624-1644), the latter a reprint of the Ming edition. Of the latter edition, some sources provide the precise date as the year Kan’ei 5 (1628). The copy in UCLouvain probably belongs to that edition.

In the preface and various parts throughout the book, shubiki 朱引 can be found: vertical lines in vermilion (shuzumi 朱墨) that mark place names, proper names, and period names. There are shuten 朱点 as well: punctuation marks in vermilion. In certain parts of the book, kaeriten 返り点 (syntactic marks) and okurigana 送り仮名 (morphological marks) have been added in ink with a thin brush.

The pages of the preface count eight columns per page and fifteen characters per column. In the main body of the text, the entries are written in one single line per column, while the explanation of the entries is written in a double row per column with eighteen characters per column. On the mikaeshi 見返し of the fourth fascicle, we find the name ‘Kan’yaku 観益’, probably the name of a monk, in addition to his stylized autograph (kao 花押), both written in ink. On the inside of the back cover, there is another handwritten addition in ink which is partially struck out. The book lacks a colophon.

The work Hon’yaku myōgi-shū is a compilation by the Chinese monk Fayun (1088-1158), who lived during the Song Dynasty (960-1279). He worked on it for twenty years before completing it in 1143. The preface was written by Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073). It is a dictionary that explains Sanskrit words in Classical Chinese. The Sanskrit words themselves are not reproduced in an Indian alphabet or syllabary, but are transcribed in Chinese characters, which at best approximate the genuine Indian pronunciation. The book was meant as a dictionary for translators of Buddhist texts.

The history of the translation of Indian Buddhist texts into Classical Chinese spans more than a thousand years, ranging from the first century CE to about the twelfth century. This period is often divided into two parts: the period up until the great translators and thinkers Xuan-zang 玄奘 (600-664) and Yijing 義淨 (635-713), and the period thereafter. These two masters criticized earlier translations (kuyaku 旧訳), claiming that they were often incorrect. As a result, many of the older translations were discarded, and the new translations provided by these masters became the only norm. Xuan-zang’s criticism is however partially due to a lack of etymological knowledge. The older translations were not necessarily wrong, but their language was no longer adapted to the times. Fayun was aware of this and recognized the merits of the older translations. He collected a large number of Sanskrit words, illustrated them with passages from Buddhist scriptures, and explained their meaning in Classical Chinese.

The historian of the Japanese language, Sugimoto Tsutomu 杉本つとむ (1927-), surmises that the Japanese word hon’yaku 翻訳, now commonly used in modern Japanese to denote the notion of ‘translation’, may have been used for the first time by Fayun.7

Attached to a letter dated ‘Bruxelles 9 octobre 1924’, from Ambassador Adachi to Rector Monseigneur Ladeuze, is a translated excerpt from a letter of Furuichi Kimitake to Adachi. This excerpt includes a list of valuable works to be included in the first shipment to Leuven. One of them is Hon’yaku myōgi-shū, erroneously transcribed by Adachi in the kan’on reading as Hon’yaku meigi-shuu.

翻譯名義序

余閱大藏等，有意效崇文總目，撮取諸經要義，以為內典總目。見諸經中每用梵語，必搜檢經教，具所譯音義表而出之。別為一編，然未及竟而顯親深老示平江景德寺普潤大師法雲所編翻譯名義，余一見而喜，日是余意也。他日

First page of the preface (fascicle I).
The **mikaeshi** 見返し features an illustration of the Buddha preaching, ostensibly of a later date to substitute an original that had been damaged. The beginning of the scroll has been lightly restored in a few places. The scroll is rolled around a wooden spindle that is decorated on both ends with a brass button of later make. There is no colophon, but the florid pattern of the cover, the writing style of the text, and the material aspect of the scroll suggest that it is probably a Kamakura period (1185-1333) manuscript.

The **Lotus Sūtra** (Sanskrit: Saddharma Pun. d. arīka Sūtra, literally: Sūtra on the White Lotus of the Sublime Dharma) ranks among the most popular and most influential scriptures of Mahayana Buddhism. Originally written in a Prakrit language, and subsequently transposed into Sanskrit, it was translated for the first time into Chinese in 286 CE. This early translation was superseded by a translation by Kumārajīva in 406 CE. In 601, a revised version of Kumārajīva’s text was published. Of high literary quality, Kumārajīva’s translation became the classic Chinese edition for the scripture, and it is this version that also became hugely popular in Japan. The scripture is rich in content and full of intricate imagery. It consists of 28 chapters. The third chapter is the “Parable Chapter”. A father promises his children various toy carts to lure them out of a burning house. Once they are outside, he gives them just one large cart. This is a metaphor for Buddha’s teaching as a great vehicle on which all sentient beings can ride towards ultimate liberation. The various teachings of Buddhism, called ‘vehicles’, are ultimately all subsumed in the one great vehicle of Buddha’s teaching.

Although the text represents the third chapter, the drawing on the frontispiece can best be understood as setting the stage as described in the first chapter of the scripture. During a gathering at Vulture Peak, Buddha Śākyamuni goes into a state of deep meditation, and he shines forth a ray of light which illuminates thousands of buddha-fields in the East. The Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī then states that the Buddha is about to expound his ultimate teaching.

The third chapter begins with the following words: “Thereupon Śāriputra stood up ecstatic and joyful, pressed his palms together and, gazing at the Buddha, the Bhagavat, said: ‘Now, hearing the words of this Dharma from the Bhagavat, my heart is full of joy for I have experienced something unprecedented. What is the reason for this? In the past when I heard this Dharma from the Buddha and saw the bodhisattvas receive their predictions, I was not included. I grieved because I thought I had been deprived of the immeasurable wisdom and insight of the Tathāgata.”

Although woodblock printing had developed very early on in China and was also introduced in Japan in an early phase, the production of manuscripts in Japan persisted for a long time afterwards. It was not until the nineteenth century that manuscript culture began to fade as a result of the general spread of typographical printing technique. That the manuscript maintained such a prominent status may be attributed to multiple reasons. First of all, it was a time-hallowed practice for Japanese literary
texts to be reproduced and passed on in manuscript form. Printing was, in view of its cost, reserved for Buddhist texts and secular Chinese texts for many centuries. Besides, the manuscript was a suitable means of controlling access to certain texts, either because they were politically sensitive and could not or were not allowed to be printed, or because they were meant for experts, as was the case for tea ceremony or flower arrangement, for example. Moreover, printing books was a laborious and expensive process, and copying was often the fastest way to acquire or reproduce a text. Another important reason was that copying sutras earned spiritual merits. Particularly copying the Lotus Sutra (*Hokekyō* 法華経, *Myōhō renge kyō* 妙法蓮華経) was considered of great merit.

Most specimens of these handwritten sutra copies take the form of the scroll (*kansubon* 卷子本), but some exist in the form of a bound book (*sashibon* 篆子本) or concertina book (*orihon* 折本). The custom of copying sutras originated in India, whence it spread to China and thence to Korea and Japan.

In Japan, the copying of sutras peaked in the Nara period (710-784). The oldest extant specimen of a hand-copied sutra dates to 686. Copying was a state-run activity. In the capital there was a *scriptorium* (*shakyojo* 聖経所 or *hōsha issai kyōsho* 奉一切経所), which was part of the civil service. One of the earliest sutras copied there and still preserved is a copy of the *Daihannya*kyō* 大般若経 (Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra), which was copied out by order of Prince Nagaya 長屋 (684-729) in 728. No doubt the first copies were transcribed from imported Chinese manuscripts, but after official diplomatic relations between China and Japan had been discontinued in the Heian period (794-1185), most copies were likely transcribed from Japanese manuscripts.

Many copies include a colophon stating who commissioned the work and for which purpose the copy was made. As a rule, persons sponsoring the work did not make the copy themselves but outsourced it to professional copyists. Often the copy was made to pray for the health or salvation of the parents of the sponsors. They were almost always members of the imperial family, the upper aristocracy, or the higher echelons of the Buddhist clergy.

During the Nara period, at least some twenty cases are known of the entire Buddhist canon being hand-copied. Most sutras were copied in black ink on paper, seventeen characters to the line. The paper was, as was the case in China, dyed with a buff juice to fend off bookworms. Some copies, however, were copied out in gold or silver ink on indigo-dyed paper. This practice seems also to have existed in China and Korea, but very few Chinese examples have been preserved.

The custom of hand-copying sutras continued during the Heian period (794-1185) and subsequent eras, despite the growing number of available
printed Buddhist texts, in addition to the Song editions of Buddhist writings that were brought to Japan at the end of the Heian period. By then, however, the practice lost its state-sponsored character. Temples copied sutras for their own use and, when individuals sought to earn religious merit, they copied the texts themselves.

No text was copied more often than the Lotus Sutra, owing to the exceptional powers ascribed to it. From the Heian period, more devotional copies of this sutra have been transmitted than from all other scriptures combined. Similar practices are known in the West. To name but one example, Thomas à Kempis (ca. 1380-1471) copied the Bible at least four times, of which one copy in five parts is preserved in Darmstadt, Germany.

The use of gold and silver ink on indigo-dyed paper gradually increased. From the eleventh century on, it became common practice to add the equivalent of a Western frontispiece to the sutras. This custom also existed in China, as can be seen from the frontispiece of the printed copy of the Diamond Sutra in the British Library, which was printed in 868. Fragments of a frontispiece that were discovered in Korea allegedly date back to the eighth century. They feature images in lines drawn in golden ink on dark-blue paper and are allegedly inspired by a style of illustration typical of the Tang Dynasty (618-907). The oldest Japanese specimen of this kind of frontispiece is attached to a copy of the Lotus Sutra in silver ink dating from the ninth century. The representation is merely a stylized decoration, presumably based on a Chinese model. Later Japanese frontispieces usually depict the scene of the Buddha Śākyamuni preaching to his disciples on the Vulture Peak (Sanskrit: Grdhrakūṭa), also known as the Holy Eagle Peak, the Buddha’s favourite retreat in Rājagṛha (now Rajgir) and the scene for many of his discourses.

During the Heian period, Japanese decorators developed various new forms of decoration for the sutras. Well known are the hanging scrolls onto which the text of the sutra was copied in gold ink in the shape of a pagoda. After the Heian period, the custom of copying sutras in a decorative manner continued, though it often lacked the beauty and splendour of the earlier copies. Thus, the copy in UCLouvain more than likely dates from the KamaKura period.


▲ The end of the scroll.
Kobun Shinpō 古文真宝 (True Treasures of Antique Style Writing) is a digest of Classical Chinese texts, which includes ancient poems and prose writings spanning a time frame from the Han Dynasty (202 BCE-220 CE) to the Song Dynasty (960-1279). It is believed to have been completed at the end of the Song Dynasty or at the beginning of the Yuan period (1279-1368).

The compilation is attributed to Huang Jian 黄堅, or even to the great Song poet Huang Tingjian 黄庭堅, or the Ming emperor Shen-zong 神宗, these last two being quite unlikely authors. In any event, little is known of the compiler or the circumstances of the compilation. The book as it has been transmitted went through several editions, so that it is hard in fact to determine the date of its final version. In its transmitted version the compilation includes two “books”, called respectively “former collection” (zenshū 前集) and “latter collection” (kōshū 後集), containing ten chapters each.

The compiler’s aim was to make a sampling of poetry and prose written in the so-called antique style (kobun 古文), which claims to go back ultimately to the Chinese classic The Book of Odes (Shījīng 詩經), traditionally said to have been compiled by Confucius. Kobun Shinpō was supposed to embody a style that was in stark contrast to the new style of poetry, defined during the Six Dynasties period (220-589), and characterized by tone harmony, rhythmic patterns, antithetic parallelism, and ornate word usage to the detriment of depth and content.

The “former collection” includes 217 poems in 11 different styles or formats from the Han to the Song periods, while the “latter collection” contains 67 samples of prose, covering 17 different genres (12 types of unrhymed prose and 5 types of rhymed prose poems). Depending on the edition, however, there are variations in the number of selected items, their arrangement, the number of chapters, and the title.

It was conceived as a sample book introducing the learner to the various genres and styles. In China, it served as a handbook for the aspiring bureaucrats preparing for the state examinations, because in these great emphasis was put on the mastery of the various literary styles and genres. In Japan, which had no state examinations, it served as a primer for students aiming to acquire a basic understanding of classical culture.

The two fascicles in the Japanese donation are part of this “latter collection”. The first chapter of the “latter collection” contains samples of jirui 詞類 (lyrics) and furui 詩類 (rhapsodies), the only two lyrical genres (genshi 言志) in the entire collection, which otherwise includes no less than 12 genres that 'discourse on the Way' (saidō 載道), that is, genres of social or political relevance, or philosophical or moral character.

Kobun Shinpō was introduced to Japan at the beginning of the Muromachi period 室町時代 (1333-1573). It spread among the learned Zen monks of the Gozan temples establishment and was eventually published as a woodblock edition by them (Gozanban 五山版). Moreover, several Zen monks published commentaries on the book, so-called senshaku no hon 真解の本. The number of annotated editions or versions, both in China and Japan, is impressive.

During the Edo period (1600-1868), Kobun Shinpō went through numerous editions and was widely used as a reader of Classical Chinese, also spawning numerous commentaries. The great novelist Ibara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642-1693) as well as the famous poet Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 make references to Kobun Shinpō, a fact that testifies to its wide circulation as a style sample book. However, because of the variations between the various editions, the lack of cohesion in its selection, and the alleged lack of discernment of the compiler(s), it was rejected as a ‘vulgarizing book’ (zokusho 俗書) by the great Confucian scholar and sinologist Ogūi Sorai 萩生徂徠 (1666-1728) and his followers. Therefore, as a sample book for the proper style it was gradually supplanted by Tōshisen 唐詩選 (A Selection of Poetry from the Tang Era) for poetry composition and by Bunshō kihan 文章軌範 (Models for Prose Writing) for prose composition. The latter two compilations are basically focused on samples from the Tang and Song periods, whereas Kobun Shinpō also includes many samples of an earlier date, ranging from pre-Han times (202 BCE) up to the Song period (960-1279), including old style poetry (kōshī 古詩), ballads (gafu 藁府), poetry of the Six Dynasties, and songs from the Three States (Sankokuka 三国歌). Despite its alleged deficiencies, it continued to go through reprints well into the Meiji period (1868-1912). The word kobun shinpō even made it into the parlance of the Japanese language as a quasi-adjective denoting ‘with a solemn, grave look, ceremonious’.

The copy in the Japanese donation bears the mention ‘rare’ on its cover. It is not rare in the sense of the text being uncommon. Since the work went through countless editions and reprints, that could
The folio shown here is folio six (六丁) of what should be chapter one. However, it is rare because this is an old manuscript. Yamazaki’s catalogue, Shoju senkai kobun shinpō kōshū (Yamazaki 2000, p. 700, under number 55A08), mentions that it is an ‘old manuscript’, dated in the first year of Meiō 明応元年 (1492). This was the period when the Gozan monasteries were at their height, and book printing was still in its infancy. Based on the title, we have to conclude that this manuscript is likely a copy of the annotated version of the Kobun shinpō, which is classified in the catalogues under the title Kaihon daiji shoju senkai kobun shinpō zenshū jikkan kōshū jikkan 魁本大字諸儒箋解古文真宝前集十巻後集十巻. Its compiler is unknown.

Since printed copies were still rare at the time, one or more copyists (Zen monks in circles of the Gozan monasteries) copied this text from a printed model at hand. The copying may also have been intended as an exercise. Until the 20th century, copying - even in Europe - was considered a good and adequate method to learn or memorize something. This manuscript is particularly interesting because the original Chinese text is interspersed with Japanese translations, commentaries, or glosses. This book was used for study, still bearing the traces of a student hard at work, and it bears witness to the function the work held in Japan. It was an important book for learning Classical Chinese.

Classical Chinese fulfilled a role more or less equivalent to that of Latin and Greek in Europe, although the degree of indigenization of Classical Chinese (or literary creolization) may have been higher than that of Latin in Europe. After all, Classical Chinese was read aloud, not in a Chinese pronunciation but in a meta-language which combines Sino-Japanese pronunciations, Japanese pronunciations, and Japanese syntax. It could be compared to seeing the Latin word ‘tabula’ written but reading it aloud as ‘table’, or seeing ‘iustitia’ written only to pronounce it aloud as ‘justice’. The vast majority of Japanese did not know the Chinese pronunciation, only a corrupted pronunciation derived from Chinese. It should be noted in passing that we do not know the exact way Latin was read in Roman times, either, and that the pronunciation in Medieval times deviated from the original one. To the best of this author’s knowledge,
however, nowhere else has there been a similar development of a systematic classical meta-language, incorporating the syntax of another living language.

The folio reproduced here is folio six (六) of what should be chapter one (the first four folios are apparently missing). To its right, on folio 5 verso, we read the following passage:

漢書儒林伝ニハ易、礼、周礼、毛詩、尚書、春秋ヲ六芸ト云や。("The biographies of Confucian scholars in the Book of Han defines the Book of Changes, the Book of Rites, the Rites of Zhou, the Book of Odes, the Book of Documents and the Spring and Autumn Annals as the six classics"

Folio 6 begins with the following words:

皈去来云々山谷云東坡在...（"Going Back Home, etc., Huang Tingjian wrote: Su Dongpo was..."

Kikyorai皈去来 or Kikyorai-ji帰去来辞（'Going Back Home') is the third text in chapter one of the Kobun shinpō. It is a lyrical prose poem by Tao Qian (365-427), better known by the courtesy name (azan字) Yuanming 淵明. The poem describes how he suddenly resigns from his position in the bureaucracy and returns to the countryside to live as a gentleman farmer. The poem voices his aversion towards life as a career bureaucrat, which places great importance on appearances and is rife with flattery, and instead sings the simple pleasures of country life. He praises the authenticity of the rustic life, the honesty of simple country folk, devoid of artfulness and deceit. His dithyramb in fairly simple wording resonated with the aspiration of the aristocrat or gentleman, both in China and Japan, longing for a life in retirement dedicated to contemplation and the arts.

Tao Yuanming's poetry was only moderately successful among his contemporaries, but during the Tang Dynasty (618-907), his simple and authentic lyrics enjoyed greater success, and he became one of the most beloved poets. In Japan, too, he was one of the most appreciated Chinese poets.

The work *Teikan zusetsu*, a ‘mirror for princes’, was compiled in the year Long-qing 隆慶 6 (1572) and published in 1573, by the scholars Zhang Juzhi 張居正 (1525-1582) and Lü Tiaoyang 呂調陽 (1516-1578). The compilation was undertaken in China at the behest of the Ming emperor Shen-zong 神宗 (1572-1619), who is better known by the name of his reign period Wan-li 万暦. It includes eighty-one cases of commendable behaviour (zenkō 善行) by Chinese emperors, worthy of emulation – starting with the legendary Emperor Yao 堯 (2357-2258 BC) down to Emperor Shen-zong 神宗 (1067-1085) of the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1125) – as well as thirty-six cases of objectionable behaviour (akkō 悪行) – from the semi-legendary Xia emperor Tai-kang 太康 (2188-2159 BC) down to the eccentric and last emperor of the Northern Song period, Hui-zong 徽宗 (1100-1125). Each case is represented by an illustration, the original quote describing the commendable or reprehensible behaviour, and an explanatory comment. The book may well originally have only existed in manuscript form, until it was printed and distributed in 1573. One or more copies from China also reached Japan.

In Japan, the book was first printed and published in 1606, at the order of Toyotomi Hideyori 豊臣秀頼 (1593-1615). This copy was a print in wooden movable type, one of the earliest typographical editions to include illustrations. The illustrations, however, were printed from woodblocks, with one illustration continuing from the recto to the verso side of the folio leaf (chō 丁). Hideyori may have decided to publish this mirror of princes out of a sense of rivalry with his archenemy Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543-1616), who would eventually be the instrument of his undoing. A Japanese version of
this book was published in 1627, also a typographical edition. The fonts used here include types where four characters or characters with furigana 振り仮名 are combined on one font.

Later, the kanbun-version was reprinted multiple times. The book’s illustrations inspired artists of the Kanō school, who adopted images of certain episodes to decorate the interiors of palaces and castles with edifying episodes of ‘ancient’ times. In the palace of the shōgun in Edo, there was even a ‘mirror of princes room’.

The copy in UCLouvain is incomplete and lacks the last volume, which would normally have included the colophon or postscript. It is therefore hard to determine to which edition it belongs. As a matter of fact, many copies in public collections seem to be incomplete. The copies of the Hideyori edition (1606, five copies are known) have some typical type-setting errors in common. These errors are lacking in the copy of the UCLouvain, which means that it is of a later date. All fascicles of the UCLouvain copy show some traces of damage, but the four fascicles in part I have been restored by the National Committee.

On the inside of the fly page of fascicle I, someone has pasted a strip of paper with two lines in kanbun which, in view of the style of writing, must date from the nineteenth or twentieth century. It reads (in translation): “In the prefatory notes to Nihon shoki tsūshō (in translation): “In the prefatory notes to Nihon shoki, 1762), it is said: ‘Printing in Japan possibly started during the Genbun 元文 era, but it was exclusively typographical. The xylographical printing that we nowdays know started from the end of the Keichō 具長 era ...’”

That this old Japanese typographical print (kakutsuji-ban) uses wooden fonts (mokkatsuji-ban 木活字版) can be deduced from the breaks in the printed frame in which the block of text was set. At the bottom, in the corners where the horizontal and vertical lines of the frame are supposed to connect, there are some places where they do not join. Moreover, some characters are out of alignment.

There are two kinds of old movable-type editions (kakutsuji-ban): dōkatsuji-ban 鋅活字版 (with copper fonts) and mokkatsuji-ban (with wooden fonts). Suruga editions (Suruga-ban 駿河版) were printed with copper fonts, while Fushimi editions (Fushimi-ban 伏見版) were printed using wooden fonts. The famous and aesthetically refined Saga editions (Saga-bon) are mokkatsuji-ban. Although

Korean typography preferred copper fonts, Japanese preferred to cut them from wood, because this allowed them to cut elongated fonts which could accommodate ligatures of multiple characters, such as verbs ending in the auxiliary verb ‘sōrō 候’. The type case with the copper fonts is nowadays preserved by the large publishing company Toppan Insatsu 凸版印刷. The type case with wooden fonts in the kaishō 稿書 style is now preserved in the temple Enkōji 院光寺 in Kyoto. Both represent the oldest movable type sets in Japan.

It was Tokugawa Ieyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, who ordered the establishment of the temple Enkōji in Fushimi by Zen master Sanyō Genkitsu 三要元佶 (1548-1612). Here the approximately 100,000 wooden fonts brought back by the Japanese armies from their expeditions in Korea were stored. With these fonts, famous works in kanbun were (re-)printed, such as Jigō seiyō 貞觀政要, Bukey shichishō 武経七書, and Kōshi kago 孔子家語. This is why they are called Fushimi editions or Enkōji editions.

After Ieyasu had retired to Suruga, he ordered two more important books to be printed with copper movable type. They were Daizō ichiran(sha 大蔵一覧集 and Gunsho chiyō 群書治要. The temple Enkōji, on the other hand, whose printing press had now run out of work, was moved from Fushimi to the temple Shōkokuji 相国寺 in Kyoto, and later moved once again to the district Ichijōji 一乗寺 in the northeastern part of Kyoto, where it has remained to this day. In the early Meiji period the temple was abandoned for some time, but it was later revived as a conven for Buddhist nuns. The type case with the wooden movable types is still preserved here.

The story of Emperor Wu-di 武帝 (464-540) of the Liang Dynasty offering himself up to the Buddhist monastery (shashin butsuji 捨身仏寺) Tongtai- si 同泰寺 and taking on the ‘simple’ life of a monk is emblematic. His ministers called at the monastery and beseeched him to return to the palace and take up the business of government again. After the third entreaty he finally acceded, but not without imposing a hefty ransom to be paid from the government treasury into the coffers of the monastery. He was a great patron of Buddhism but from the Confucian point of view, he was an abhorrently deluded ruler (fascicle VI, p. 55a).

The scene in which the fisherman turns into an old man (folio 3 r).

65. Urashima うらしま
(‘The Story of Urashima’)

1 fascicle; manuscript; rare; 16.3 x 28.5 cm
Author: unknown
Date: 17th century (no date in book)

This *nara-ehon* tells the well-known tale of Urashima Tarō 浦島太郎. This man saved a sea turtle that was being badgered by children. After being saved from this cruelty, the animal turned into a beautiful princess who invited him to join her in the dragon’s palace (ryūgū 龍宮, i.e., the palace of the sea-god under the sea). Here, he married her and spent three happy years. Eventually, however, homesickness got the better of him, and he returned to his home village. To his dismay he discovered that he no longer recognized anyone. At wit’s end, he opened the box the princess had given him as a souvenir, although she had insisted he not open it. From the box rose a purple cloud, and he instantly turned into an old man (ill. 1: p. 2a). He had been away for seven hundred years.

This old folk tale, with numerous variations in the details, appears all over Japan. In one version, he does not become an old man but, rather, a crane, who is reunited on the isle of immortals with the princess, who had transformed back into a sea turtle. Finally he appears as the god Urashima no myōjin 浦島神. This is also the case in this particular copy.

The oldest traces of the story of Urashima (Tarō) go back to the *Nihon shoki* (720) and the *Man’yōshū* 万葉集 (760), but the narrative as we know it today originated during the Muromachi period. It belongs to the *otogi-zōshi* 御伽草子 (fairy tale) genre, a group of stories written between the Muromachi period and the beginning of the Edo period. In its narrow sense, this particular genre only includes twenty-three stories, published under the eponymous title *Otogi bunke* 御伽文庫 or *Otogi-zōshi* 御伽草紙 or 御伽草子 during the 1720s. The designation was later expanded to include about 400 anonymous illustrated prose narratives, most of them written in the Muromachi period (1392–1573). *Urashima (Tarō)* is one of the twenty-three stories in the stricter sense.

In *Otogi-zōshi*, the dragon’s palace is not located under the sea but on an island or even on the mainland, and it is also represented like that in illustrated scrolls and picture books. This feature is also the case in the UCLouvain copy where, in one illustration, we see the couple sitting in an open room looking out onto the garden, with what looks like waves on a shore in the background.
The scene in which the fisherman saves the turtle (folio 14 r). The following illustration in the book (not reproduced here) shows the transfiguration of the sea turtle into a beautiful princess.