Week 3

Japanese Culture Through Rare Books
古書から読み解く日本の文化

Keio University

近世日本の書物出版と学問
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Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period

Handout English
Version Jan 2019

WEEK 3: SCHOLARSHIP AND PUBLISHING IN THE EDO PERIOD

Activity 1: Introduction to week 3

Welcome. The theme of the third week is book publishing in the Edo period. To start us off, Prof. Sasaki and Prof. Ichinohe will briefly discuss the week's most important topics.

- Step 3.1: Books in the Edo period (video 03:45)

Activity 2: History of printing and publishing in Japan

In this section we will look at the early history of printing and bookmaking in Japan from the 8th century to the age of movable type printing (late 16th to mid-17th century).

- Step 3.2: Bookmaking and printing in the Nara and Heian periods (video 04:52)
- Step 3.3: History of Japanese printing and publishing in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods (video 07:02)
- Step 3.4: What is movable type? (video 10:17)
- Step 3.5: Movable type printing and woodblock printing (article)
- Step 3.6: How to tell a typeset book (discussion)
- Step 3.7: Format and content of early-modern printed books (article)
-

Activity 3: The rise of printed illustrated books

Printed illustrated books appeared not too long after their handwritten counterparts. In this step, you will learn how printed picture books first appeared, evolved, and were used.

- Step 3.8: Early printed illustrated books (article)
- Step 3.9: Bordered plates and the use of the outer border in kana books (video 09:19)
- Step 3.10: Hand-colored illustrated books (article)

Activity 4: The spread of books

Let's explore Edo-period reading habits, the culture of re-using the classics in new ways, and the spread of books to larger and larger sections of society.

- Step 3.11: Reading as education (article)
- Step 3.12: The spread and creative re-use of the classics (article)
- Step 3.13: The status of manuscripts and printed books (video 08:23)
- Step 3.14: The book as mass commodity (discussion)

Activity 5: Book publishing and the development of scholarship

We will explore how book publishing influenced the development of scholarship in the Edo period.

- Step 3.15: The power of texts (article)
- Step 3.16: Toward a new, open knowledge (video 09:39)
- Step 3.17: 5 Five questions about Japanese books (quiz)

Activity 6: Summary of the course

This activity reviews what we have covered during this course.

- Step 3.18: Books and Japanese culture (article)
- Step 3.19: Course summary – books and Japanese culture (video 03:16)

Week3	Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period
Activity1	Introduction
Type	Video

Step 3-1. Books in the Edo period

The theme in Week 3 is "Book Publishing and Scholarship in Early-modern Japan". Our educator will be Professor Wataru Ichinohe, a specialist of Edo-period publishing and literary culture.

In this video, you will learn some interesting things about the cultural background of the Edo period, from looking at this Ukiyoe print.

Please take a look at this *Ukiyoe* (Fig. 1) and think about what it shows before looking at the video to find out more.

Fig.1 ***Rikōmono*** (The Clever One)
Kyōkun oya no megane (A Parent's Edifying Spectacles) by Kitagawa Utamaro

Era names (Nengō) in Edo Period

There were several era names (nengo, or gengo) in Edo period (1603 ~ 1867) and they are sometimes used in the description of the old books and materials. Here is the list of the era names in Edo period for your convenience;

Start	Era name	English
1596	慶長	Keichō
1615	元和	Genna
1624	寛永	Kan'ei
1644	正保	Shōhō
1648	慶安	Keian
1652	承応	Jōō
1655	明暦	Meireki
1658	万治	Manji
1661	寛文	Kanbun

Start	Era name	English
1744	延享	Enkyō
1748	寛延	Kan'en
1751	宝暦	Hōreki
1764	明和	Meiwa
1772	安永	An'ei
1781	天明	Tenmei
1789	寛政	Kansei
1801	享和	Kyōwa
1804	文化	Bunka

1673	延宝	Enpō
1681	天和	Tenna
1684	貞享	Jōkyō
1688	元禄	Genroku
1704	宝永	Hōei
1711	正徳	Shōtoku
1716	享保	Kyōhō
1736	元文	Genbun
1741	寛保	Kanpō

1818	文政	Bunsei
1830	天保	Tenpō
1844	弘化	Kōka
1848	嘉永	Kaei
1854	安政	Ansei
1860	万延	Man'en
1861	文久	Bunkyū
1864	元治	Genji
1865	慶応	Keiō

Week 3 materials

You can download PDF version of the text and transcript of Week 3, in English and Japanese at the **DOWNLOADS** section below.

Video Script

Sasaki: Our theme in Week 3 is "Book Publishing and Scholarship in Early-modern Japan." The lecturer is Professor Ichinohe Wataru, a specialist of Edo-period publishing and literary culture.

Ichinohe: Hello, my name is Ichinohe. I will be your lecturer for this week.

Sasaki: So where can we position the early-modern period in the history of Japanese bookmaking?

Ichinohe: First of all, please look at this ukiyoe print. It is called "*Rikōmono*" (The Clever One) and it is part of a series entitled "Kyokun oya no megane" (A Parent's Edifying Spectacles) by Kitagawa Utamaro. It shows a woman enjoying a book as she lies down with her head rested on a Japanese-style headrest.

Sasaki: The book she is reading is bound in the fukurotoji (bound-pocket) style, isn't it?

Ichinohe: Yes, the fukurotoji was the most common binding method during the Edo period.

Sasaki: When was the print made?

Ichinohe: It dates from the beginning of the 19th century. Ukiyoe prints usually depict the life of the common folk, and this one, too, is not a woman of the aristocracy but an ordinary lady.

Sasaki: So we can say the image shows the reading habits of the commoners.

Ichinohe: Yes, ukiyoe prints typically feature beautiful women, but a woman reading as she is must not have been an unusual sight at this time. However, this print is not promoting reading for women; rather, the message is that it is not desirable for women to be too absorbed by books and be too intellectual.

Sasaki: So while it depicts an attractive woman, it has a didactic message.

Ichinohe: Ukiyoe were under strict governmental control because they were thought to corrupt morals, so by adding a didactic message to the portrait of a beautiful woman, the author is reacting to such control by saying: "Look, this is not inappropriate content, it is didactic material." It is a bold move by Utamaro and the publisher of the series. But the important point is that before the Edo period, you would not have seen a woman of commoner stock relaxing and enjoying a book.

Sasaki: That is a major difference with society up to medieval times.

Ichinohe: Yes, in the Edo period books became a mass phenomenon. Even people from classes who previously had few chances to come into contact with books started to use them in significant amounts. During the Edo period, a regulatory system based on written information, which included books and written materials of all kinds, truly reached every corner of Japan, and both the demand for books and their status grew accordingly.

Sasaki: And when demand increases, quantities also increase.

Ichinohe: Precisely. It may be obvious but when it comes to books, technology is the key. Printing existed in Japan at least as far back as the 8th century, but in the Edo period the scale of printing grew exponentially. In this lecture, I will provide a short summary of the history of publishing before the Edo period, then explain how things changed during the Edo period, and finally discuss the impact of these changes on the literature and scholarly output of the period.

Sasaki: Thank you. So the Edo period seems to have been a time of great changes in the history of books. Please join us to find out more about these changes and how they came about.

Week 3	Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period
Activity 2 History of printing and publishing in Japan	
Type	Video

Step 3-2. Bookmaking and printing in the Nara and Heian periods

In this video, Professor Ichinohe will guide us through the early history of printing and bookmaking (700-1200 C.E.). Topics covered include:

- The oldest printed texts
- The spread of printed works
- The first printed books

Keio's Books introduced in the video

1. *Hōryūji Hyakumantōdarani*, Nara period
   Click to see the image and information

2. Heian-period Printed Buddhas, 1 scroll

Click to see the image and information

Video Script

0:04

The history of printing and publishing in Japan begins with the *Hyakumantōdarani*, dating from 770CE. This long, narrow strip of paper is a printed excerpt from a Buddhist sutra. The wooden pagoda is a container which is designed to house the tiny sutra rolled up into a scroll. According to the *Shoku Nihongi*, in 770 empress Shōtoku issued the command to produce one million printed scrolls of the Dharani sutra and their wooden cases, which were to be stored attemples including the Hōryūji and Tōdaiji to pray for the safety of the state. Of these, only those that were stored at the Hōryūji have survived in significant quantities. The item currently in the Keio Library collection comes from that set.

0:57

The *Hyakumantōdarani* is the oldest printed work in the world whose date of creation can be firmly ascertained in the sources. Most early printed works are impossible to date with certainty, but the *Hyakumantōdarani* is a rare exception in that both the actual item and references to it in contemporary records are available. Of course, there are good reasons to believe that by the time the *Hyakumantōdarani* was made in the second half of the 8th century, printing was already widespread in China and Korea. The copy of the *Diamond Sutra* now at the British Library was printed in China in 868, and is considered the world's oldest printed book.

1:47

It was printed about one hundred years after the *Hyakumantōdarani* ; it features a marvelously detailed image of the Buddha at the beginning and the characters on the page are incredibly vivid. Although no artefacts dating from the time of the *Hyakumantōdarani* known to exist today, it is probable that printing in China had reached a considerable level of sophistication by this point and that the printing of the *Hyakumantōdarani* followed continental models. From the second half of the 9th century, printed and stamped images of the Buddhas, known as *shūbutsu* and *inbutsu* in Japanese, began to be

produced in large quantities. *inbutsu* are images of the Buddha stamped onto the page using a wooden stamp.

2:27

In the *shūbutsu* , several images of the Buddha were carved on a larger block of wood and then pressed onto paper. Although different techniques were used, the end result in both cases is a large number of images of the deity on a single sheet of paper. *inbutsu* and *shūbutsu* are often found inside statues of Buddhist deities. The *shūbutsu* in Keio Library's collection is said to have been originally stored inside a statue of Amida at the Jōruriji temple in Kyoto. Although they involve writing, printing, and images, neither the *Hyakumantōdarani* nor the *inbutsu* and *shūbutsu* are books. Books are bound, and deal with a topic at some length, among other characteristics.

3:08

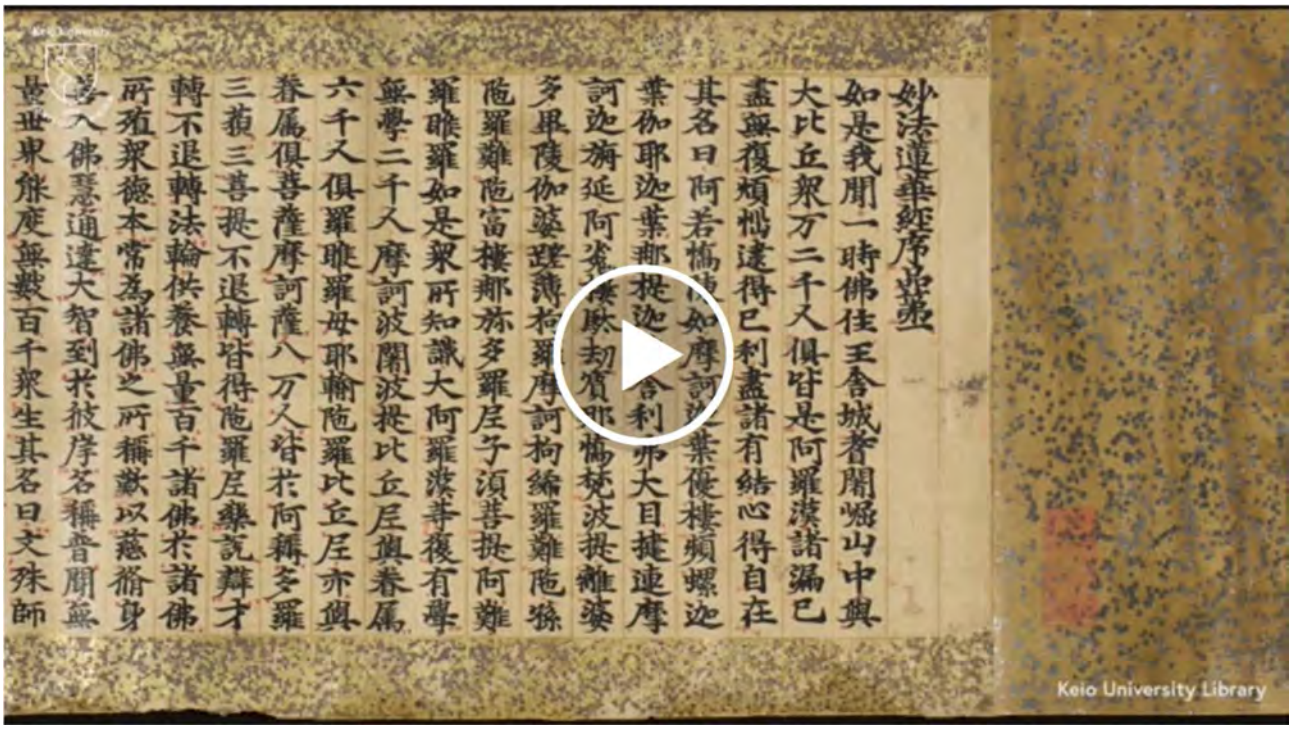
Among the items that fit this description, we can cite the first printed sutras, which date from the beginning of the 11th century. The oldest extant example is the *ChūngWūishīLūn* which was printed at the Kōfukuji temple in Nara in the third month of 1088. Only one copy survives, which is currently at the Shōsoin repository of the Tōdaiji temple. The *Jōyuishikiron* is the first of many Buddhist works to be printed in Japan from the late Heian period onwards. This phenomenon was not unique to Japan and mirrors similar trends on the continent. Examples include the first printed edition of the Buddhist Tripitaka in Sung China , and the *Tripitaka Koreana* in 11th century Korea. These books were not necessarily made for reading.

4:19

Like sutra copying, sutra printing was a devotional act, a form of prayer to the Buddha, or a way to earn merit for a deceased person. As of the late Heian period, however, commentaries to these works also began to be published, so gradually we have the appearance of books intended for doctrinal study.

Week 3	Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period
Activity 2	History of printing and publishing in Japan
Type	Video

Step 3-3. History of Japanese printing and publishing in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods



In this video, we will look at the history of printing and bookmaking in the medieval period (late 12th to late 16th c.).

Printing and publishing between the eighth and 16th centuries served mainly as a vehicle to spread ideas and knowledge from the Asian mainland. Works in Japanese genres such as *waka* and *monogatari* were never published during this 800 year period. All this was to change in the Edo period.

Watch the video to learn more about these developments. Topics covered include:

Kamakura period (1185-1333)

- *Kasuga-ban* (Kasuga editions)
- *Okototen* (reading marks)
- *Kōya-ban* (Kōya editions)

- *Jōdokyō-ban* (Pure Land editions)

Nambokuchō (1333 - 1392) and Muromachi periods (1392 - 1573)

- Gozan-ban ("Five Mountains") books

Late-Namboku period and after (~ 1603)

- Printing activity by local daimyō

Keio's books introduced in the video

1. *Myōhō rengekyō* (Lotus Sutra of the Wonderful Law)
   Click to see the image and information
2. *Kongōchōkyō daiyuga himitsu shinji hōmon giketsu* (Instructions on the Gate of Teaching about the Secret State of Mind of the Great Yoga, the Vajra Pinnacle Scripture)
   Click to see the image and information
3. *Ōjōjūin* (The Ten Conditions for Rebirth in the Pure Land)
   Click to see the image and information
4. *Rekidai teiō hennen goken no zu* (Illustrated Genealogies of Emperors and Kings)
   Click to see the image and information
5. *Goseibai shikimoku* (Formulary of Adjudications)
   Click to see the image and information

Video Script

0:03

Having moved its first steps in the late Heian period, the printing of sutras and sutra commentaries grew in scale during the Kamakura period. The major printing centers were the major temple complexes of the time. In Nara, the main center was the Kōfukuji. Works published at the Kōfukuji are known as "Kasuga-ban" . The copy of the *Lotus Sutra* shown here is a 13th century Kasuga-ban. It is sumptuously decorated, as befits a sacred text, and bears reading and chanting marks known

as *okototen* and *shōten* , in red ink. These marks were added to facilitate the reading and recitation of the text, so it is reasonable to assume that the book was intended for regular use, and not simply as a decorative object.

0:57

Other prominent printing centers in the Nara area were the Saidaiji, the Tōshōdaiji, the Tōdaiji, and the Hōryūji. The monasteries on Mount Kōya specialized in printing Shingon esoteric texts and the works of Kūkai, the sect's founder. The books published on Mt. Kōya are known as Kōya-ban. Here we have an example of Kōya-ban published in 1291. It is a commentary to the Kongōchōkyō, an important Shingon text. Many Kōya-ban books were bound using the *detchōsō* bookbinding method, an ancient method in which several sheets of paper folded in half are placed on top of one another and glued together.

1:55

Kyoto establishments like the Sennyūji and the Daigoji were also active as printing centers, but the most important in terms of both quality and quantity, because of the popularity of Pure Land Buddhism at the time, was the Chion'in temple, which published Pure Land-related texts known collectively as 'Jōdōkyō-ban'. This copy of the *ōjōjūin* is one of the Jōdōkyō-ban in the holdings of Keio Library. The author was the Japanese monk Eikan. Together with Genshin's popular *ōjōyōshū* , which is known to have been published before 1210, the ōjōjūin is the first work by a Japanese author to be printed. Another noteworthy Jōdōkyō-ban is the *Kurodani shōnin gotōroku*, published in 1321, which is the first book in Japanese to be printed.

2:54

It is likely because of the populist nature of Pure Land Buddhism and its wide following among the commoners that the earliest books in Japanese were printed under the aegis of the Pure Land sect, as Jōdōkyō-ban. The most significant publications during the Nambokuchō period and Muromachi periods were the so-called Gozan-ban books. The "Five Mountains" were the Zen monasteries officially recognized by both the military government and by the court and the term Gozan-ban refers to works printed at these institutions. The most significant thing about Gozan books is the range of works that was printed. While still centering at temples, publications now covered a wider range of books than before.

3:34

Shown here is the Rekidaiteiōhennen goken no zu, one of the Gozan-ban books in the Keio Library collection. It was published in 1376 at the Taiyōan, a building of the Daitokuji temple. It is a chronological compendium of Chinese history noting the years of reign, era names, and the main events for the reign of each ruler. It was first published in China during the Song and reprinted in Japan, and it is significant because it shows that temples now also printed books not directly related to Buddhism. Gozan-ban books also include poetry collections, dictionaries, and Japanese reprints of works originally published in China.

4:28

Here lies the other characteristic of Five Mountains books: they include the first books in the history of Japanese publishing that do not focus on Buddhism. The Zen monks of the Five Mountains were a highly-cultivated elite. Composing Buddhist verse in Chinese was a daily activity at Zen temple complexes, and knowledge of literary Chinese was also required to interact with intellectuals on the continent. The publication of literary works at temples catered to this need. In the late Namboku period, provincial warlords began to get involved in printing. Paralleling the decline of Kyoto that followed the ōnin war , there was an increase of printing activity by local *daimyō*.

5:34

Most of the works printed by these provincial presses were Confucian and Buddhist works, but a small percentage of works by Japanese authors was also printed, among them the *Setsuyōshū*, a Japanese dictionary, and the compendium of military laws, *Goseibai shikimoku*. This is a copy of the *Goseibai shikimoku* printed in 1529 and now in the Keio Library collection. Here we conclude our short survey of the history of printing and publishing between the 8th and 16th centuries. Printing and publishing during this long period of time served mainly as a vehicle to spread ideas and knowledge from the Asian mainland.

6:24

In the early phase, printing focused on Buddhist works, but from the medieval period onwards, with the appearance of Five Mountains books, it grew to include secular works, although it continued to focus primarily on works in Chinese and very few works by Japanese authors were published. Works in

Japanese genres such as *waka* and *monogatari* were never published during this 800 years period. Written mostly in *hiragana*, these works were appreciated by small elite circles with the means to produce luxurious handwritten copies, and so probably the need to print such works never arose. All this was to change in the Edo period.

Week 3	Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period
Activity 2	History of printing and publishing in Japan
Type	Video

Step 3-4. What is movable type?

In this video, we will focus on the age of movable-type printing (late 16th to mid-17th century).

Please watch the video to learn about the following topics about movable-type printing;

- Popularization of books
- Beginnings of movable type printing in Japan.
- Variety of movable type books
- Development of movable type printing technology in Japan
- Influences from contemporary culture

Keio's Books introduced in the video

The number in the subtitles represents the book# in the list here;

1. *Kyōkun oya no megane "Rikōmono"*, Kitagawa Utamaro

   Click to see the image and information

2. The 42-line Bible by Gutenberg

   Click to see the image and information

3. *Tamakatsura*

   Click to see the image and information

4. *Aki no yonagamonogatari*

   Click to see the image and information

5. *Ōsaka monogatari*

   Click to see the image and information

Video Script

0:04

In the Edo period, the world of Japanese publishing underwent radical changes. The first of these was that books became a mass commodity. Classes that up to this point had had little to no contact with written works now began to access them regularly. Because books gave access to knowledge, the Edo period was also a time of democratization of knowledge and learning. This is a *ukiyoe* [1] dating from the early 19th century. It shows a woman enjoying a book as she lies down with her head rested on a Japanese-style headrest.

0:47

Although the purpose of this print is not to promote reading among women, but rather to show that it is not desirable for a woman to be too absorbed by books and too intellectual, the point is that it shows that, by this time, reading had become a common popular pastime. The work the lady is reading is the *Ehontaikōki*, an illustrated fictionalized biography of Toyotomi Hideyoshi which became one of the bestselling books of the time. Hideyoshi himself happens to have had a rather significant, albeit indirect, role in popularizing books.

1:18

The key factor in the popularization of books was the introduction, between the late 16th and the early 17th century, of movable type printing, which is known in Japan as "old" movable type printing. It is so called to distinguish it from later wooden movable-type printing, which made a comeback at the end of the 18th century. The name Edo period refers to the years of the Tokugawa regime, which lasted from 1603 to 1867. But political and cultural history do not always coincide, so my brief overview will start from the late 16th century, when movable type printing was introduced and the publishing world first assumed its typical Edo-period structure. Before the introduction of movable type printing, the main printing method was woodblock printing.

2:07

Moveable type printing was first adopted in the late 16th century as a result of developments from outside Japan. The first was the encounter with Western printing technology [2]. In 1590, the Gesuit priest Alessandro Valignano brought to Japan the first Western-style printing press and began printing movable type books both in the Roman alphabet and in kana and kanji. More than 100 titles were published in the 20 odd years before the Christian faith was officially outlawed. These are known as Kirishitan-ban, or, Christian editions, and only 30 of them are extant today.

3:02

In addition to books on Christianity used for proselytizing, Christian missionaries published books in a wide range of genres including literary works such as the Heike *monogatari* and the *Taiheiki*, and dictionaries like the *Rakuyōshū*. The second important factor was the influx of printing technology from Korea. Between 1592 and 1598, Hideyoshi launched an invasion of Korea as part of a larger plan to conquer Ming China. Known in Japan as the "Bunroku and Keichō era wars", this military campaign had deep repercussions on the cultures of both countries. Korea at the time possessed a sophisticated printing technology, which was brought to Japan as spoils of war.

3:38

The encounter with Western and Korean printing technology represented a major turning point in the history of Japanese books. In 1593, emperor GoYozei ordered the publication of the *Xiao Jing*, an important text of Confucianism. Only the records of this publication survive, but it is highly likely that it

showed the influence of Korean printing techniques. From this point onward, emperors and anybody else with power and means became involved in printing. Not only the printing technology differed from earlier times, the range of books that was printed was larger and printing as a whole now occurred on a much wider scale.

5:02

Books in Japanese such as the *Genjimonogatari*, the *Isemonogatari*, the *Tsurezuregusa* and the historical work *Nihon Shoki*, which previously had been read only within small elite circles, reached wide circulation for the first time. Most books published up to the medieval period were Buddhist and Confucian works originally from China. All were in Chinese or *kanbun*. A small number of books in Japanese by Japanese authors were printed, but they represent a tiny percentage. In other words, before the introduction of movable type printing, publishing was mainly aimed at circulating what was considered official, authoritative knowledge in Chinese; with the onset of movable type printing, books in *hiragana* and literary works intended mainly for private consumption were first made available in printed form.

6:01

The first movable type books were produced by wealthy patrons, daimyōs, and temples. Elite figures who in medieval times sponsored the making of lavish manuscript books, now devoted their energies to publishing high quality print editions. A good example are the so-called Saga-bon. The Sagabon were born from the partnership between Suminokura Soan, a wealthy merchant and intellectual, and the prominent lacquer, potter, and calligrapher Hon'ami Kōetsu. They take the name from the Saga area of Kyoto where they were published. The most representative of the Saga books is the collection of noh plays entitled *Kanzeryūutaibon* in 100 volumes. Tamakazura [3] is one volume of the set. Wooden type cut from Kōetsu's calligraphy was pressed on thick paper decorated using the *kirazuri* technique.

7:04

Of the several editions of the *Kanzeryūutaibon* that were printed, the one this copy of "Tamakazura" is from is in the *tetsuyōsō* binding and is particularly lavishly decorated. The level of ornamentation matches and perhaps even surpasses that of Heian and medieval handwritten books, making for a printed book of exceptional beauty. Clearly, the creators aimed to apply to the print medium the

techniques traditionally used in handwritten books. The fact that large number of connected letter type were used to simulate the effect of the brush on the page, moreover, while partly simply a reflection of the dominance of the cursive script at the time, also expresses the authors' desire to replicate in the new medium the appearance of a handwritten book.

7:52

Movable type books were produced for a period of about 50 years, from the end of the 16th century through to the first half of the 17th century. Initially, they were printed by temples, *daimyō* and other wealthy figures, who were later joined by commercial publishers who printed for profit. Trading thrives where there is demand, and printing for profit meant that a much larger range of books than ever before began to be printed. This is a copy of the *Aki no yonagamonogatari* [4]. It deals with the life of a monk who overcomes his carnal attraction for a young boy to attain salvation and started a fad for tales about young Buddhist acolytes known as *chigomono*.

8:48

The work was written during the Nanbokuchō period and was published between the late 1610s and the early 1620s, almost certainly by a commercial publisher. Between 1614-1615, the *Ōsaka monogatari* [5], an account of the civil war between the Edo bakufu and Hideyoshi was published in movable type. It was written just a few years after the events it records took place, so it is not inaccurate to describe it as a piece of journalistic writing. Since Keio Library does not own a copy of the first movable-type edition, what we have here is a 1668 woodblock edition published some 50 years after the first edition.

9:33

Thus, with the appearance of movable-type printing, Japanese publishing no longer dealt only with the traditional canon, but actively tackled contemporary culture and current events. Next, let us take a look at the actual type used to print movable type editions. This photo shows the type used at the Suruga print, which was set up by Tokugawa Ieyasu when he handed over the role of *shōgun* to his son Hidetada. This is one of the few specimens of movable type that survive today. No kana letter type survives.

SEE ALSO

- THE OLDEST METAL MOVABLE TYPE BOOK IN KOREA
  - the Baegun hwasang Chorok Buljo Jikji simche yojeol of simply Jikji (Baegun's Anthology of the Zen Teachings of Buddhist Patriarchs, J. Hakuun washō shōroku busso chokushi shintai yōsetsu 1377, Bibliotèque Nationale de France
- MOVABLE TYPE EDITION OF THE ŌSAKA MONOGATARI
  - (1615) (National Diet Library, National Diet Library Digital Collection)
- KITAGAWA UTAMARO, KYŌKUN OYA NO MEGANE, "RIKŌMONO" 200X@133
  - Keio University Library, Takahashi Seiichirō Ukiyoe Collection
- ŌSAKA MONOGATARI, 1 VOL., 100@31@1,
  - Keio University Library
- MOVABLE TYPE USED FOR SURUGA PRINT, PRINTING MUSEUM TOKYO
- GIYA DO PEKADORU (A GUIDE FOR SINNERS), 1598 EDITION
  - Here you can find originals of Kirishitan-ban, Christian editions of books published in Japan owned by Sophia University, Laures Kirishitan Bunko Database

Week 3	Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period
Activity 2	History of printing and publishing in Japan
Type	Article

Step 3-5. Movable type printing and woodblock printing

Heike Monogatari, Nakanoin-bon (Nakanoin text)

In this step, we will examine the characteristics of movable type printing using an edition of the *Heike monogatari* (Tale of the Heike).We will then discuss the differences between movable type printing and woodblock printing using the *Nihon Shoki* (Chronicles of Japan) as an example.

Editions of the *Heike monogatari* (Tale of the Heike)

The *Tale of the Heike* deals with the rise and fall of the Taira General Taira no Kiyomori (1118-1181) against the backdrop of the wars between the Taira and Minamoto clans in the late 12th century. It is the

most representative work in the war tales (*gunki monogatari*) genre. It is thought to have first been written in the first half of the 13th century, and enjoyed wide circulation, both as a written work, and as a performance text chanted by blind minstrels known as *biwa hōshi* . However, it was never printed in the medieval period and it was not until the beginning of the early-modern period that the first printed editions appeared. Of all movable type books, the *Heike* is the most frequently published work of the movable type era. The scholar Kawase Kazuma has identified ten different editions based on a study of the type used. Keio University Library owns seven different items, from the following five editions:

- A. *Shimomura-bon* (Shimomura-text)
- B. *Jūichigyō hiragana bon* (11-line Hiragana text), published by Kawaramachi Niemon
- C. *Fukun katakana-bon* (Annotated Katakana text)
- D. *Nakanoin-bon* (Nakanoin text). (Two versions, one with editorial note and one without; 1 fascicle from book 12)
- E. *Jūnigyō hiragana-bon* (12-line hiragana text); two versions, with the type set differently.

A. Shimomura-text

Fig.1. *Heike Monogatari (Tale of the Heike)*, Shimomura-bon, Colophon (left) of Vol.12, Opening section (center) and Cover (right) of Vol.1,

Click to take a closer look

The colophon of Text A (Fig.1) says that it was published by a Shimomura Tokifusa, but nothing is known about him. The year of publication is not noted, but the book is thought to date from the Keichō era (1596-1615). The book also bears the seal of the archive of the wealthy late-Edo merchant Ozu Hisatari (1804-1858), the Seisō Bunko, so we know that, for a time, it was in his collection.

B. 11-line Hiragana text, published by Kawaramachi Niemon

Fig.2. *Heike Monogatari* Jūichigyō hiragana bon,Colophon of vol.6 (left), Opening section of vol.1 (center) and Cover of vol.1 (right),

Click to take a closer look

The colophon of text B (Fig.2) says that the text was approved by performers of the Ichikata School of Heike performance, and published by a man called Niemon who resided in the Kawaramachi area of Kyoto. It is thought to have been printed in the Gen'na era (1615-1624).

C. Annotated *Katakana* text

Fig.3. *Heike Monogatari*, Fukun Katakana -bon, Gap in the outer border (left), Opening section (center) and Cover (right),

Click to take a closer look

Item C (Fig.3) is thought to date from the Kan'ei era (1624-1645) and it is the only edition to use a mixture of *katakana* and *kanji* (all other editions use *hiragana* and *kanji*). It is also the only edition to enclose the text in an outer border (*kyōkaku*, Korean kwangg-wak), a typical feature of books published in China and Korea. The horizontal and vertical lines of the border were printed using different pieces, so sometimes there is a gap between the two, as item C here shows. The gap in the outer border is one of the ways that we can tell a typeset book from a block-printed one, keeping in mind that only a small number of typeset books feature the border.

D. Nakanoin text

Fig.4. *Heike Monogatari*, Nakanoin-bon with editorial note, Colophon with editorial note (left), Opening section (center) and Cover (right),

Click to take a closer look

Fig.5. *Heike Monogatari*, Nakanoin-bon without editorial note, Colophon without editorial note (left), Opening section (center) and Cover (right),

Click to take a closer look

The colophon of Item D (Fig.4, Fig.5)states that the text was carefully edited by Nakanoin Michikatsu (1558-1610), a courtier and well-known literary expert. Keio Library owns two copies of the book, one of which does not bear the colophon. They are both thought to have been printed in the Keichō era (1596-1615).

E. 12-line hiragana text

Fig.6. *Heike Monogatari*, Jūnigyō hiragana-bon (1), Opening section of book3 (left), Cover of book3 (center) and Cover of book2 (right),

Click to take a close look

Fig.7. *Heike Monogatari*, Jūnigyō hiragana-bon (2),Opening section of book3 (left), and Cover page (right),

Click to take a close look

Finally, item E was printed in the Kan'ei era (1624-1645) using the same text as the Nakanoin edition, but the type that was used is smaller. Again, Keio Library owns two copies (Fig.6, Fig.7) that differ slightly in the arrangement of the type.

Unfortunately, there is much we still do not know about who published these books, and when. However, these multiple editions of the same work suggest that, one, there was a large number of people involved in typographic printing, and two, that these publishers had enough enthusiasm to enlist the help of learned aristocrats and actual performers to produce editions of the finest quality.

Editions of the *Nihon Shoki* (Chronicles of Japan, 720)

We have already noted that "old" movable type printing was in vogue for about 50 years between the late 16th and the mid-17th centuries. After this time, there was a return to the earlier method, woodblock printing, with some adjustments from earlier times.

- A. *Nihon shoki* , “old” movable type edition, 2 vols.
- B. *Nihon shoki* , woodblock imprint

(Right) Fig.8. A. *Nihon Shoki*, "old" movable type edition, Opening section

Click to take a close look

(Left and Center) Fig.9. B. *Nihon Shoki*, woodblock imprint, Opening section and Cover page

Click to take a closer look

Item A (Fig.8, A) is a movable type edition of the *Nihon shoki* (Chronicles of Japan, 720) published in 1610. Item B (Fig.9, B) is a woodblock edition published in the Kan’ei era (1624-1645) based on the earlier movable type edition.

The Kan’ei era is when woodblock reprints of existing movable type editions began to be produced in large numbers, whereas movable type printing gradually declined. If we compare the two books, we can see one of the reasons. Whereas item A only gives the main text, item B also includes reading marks to facilitate reading and notes. In terms of ease of reading, edition B is far superior. The problem was technical: in order to provide reading glosses in a typeset text one must either make a new set of small type for the glosses or create a type with both the larger characters for the main body of the text and the smaller type for the glosses. This is not only very expensive, it also constrains the process of setting the type to a virtually unmanageable degree. By contrast, in woodblock printing everything is carved onto a single block of wood, so it is easy to add notation and glosses. A few movable type books with notation marks were made (for example, item C of *Heike Monogatari* in the list above), but it never truly caught on, likely for financial reasons.

Summary

With movable type printing, once you have the basic type, you can combine it in different ways to produce a wide variety of books. Or rather you have to print a wide range of different books to cover the costs of producing the type. This trend to publish more and more titles became more evident as time passed and the number of publishers increased, and it continued even after the decline of movable type and the return to block printing. In other words, it is in the early-modern period that Japanese publishing truly became a commercial enterprise with many publishers marketing widely a large number of titles.

SEE ALSO

- **KAWASE KAZUMA, ZŌHŌ KOKATSUJIBAN NO KENKYŪ , 1967 (IN JAPANESE)**
  http://www.worldcat.org/title/kokatsujiban-no-kenkyu/oclc/844783292
  This is a book providing Kawase's research output related to the movable type printing in Japan.
  Publisher : Antiquarian Booksellers Association of Japan

Week 3	Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period
Activity 2	History of printing and publishing in Japan
Type	Discussion

Step 3-6. How to tell a typeset book

Overall, movable type books are much rarer than woodblock editions, so determining which method was used to print a particular book is very important in order to assess its documentary value. The market price of movable type books is also much higher. In this step, you will learn to distinguish between typeset books and block-printed ones.

It is not always easy to tell a typeset book from a block-printed one. The best way to determine whether a book was printed using movable type is to see if there are identical characters on different pages of the same book. Because the whole book is printed using the same set of type, there will be perfectly identical characters on many different pages. By contrast, no two characters in a block-printed book look exactly alike. Some may look remarkably similar, but as each sheet is printed from a different hand-carved woodblock, there are always some differences, no matter how small.

Let's spot identical letters

Images in the next page (Fig.1) show copies of the two pages (and their script text on the side) from the *Nakanoin* movable-type edition of the *Heike*. In these two pages alone, five different pieces of connected cursive *hiragana* letters (Fig.2) were used several times. Let's look carefully and see if you can spot the identical letters. If you are unsure, print out the images and put the characters over each other.

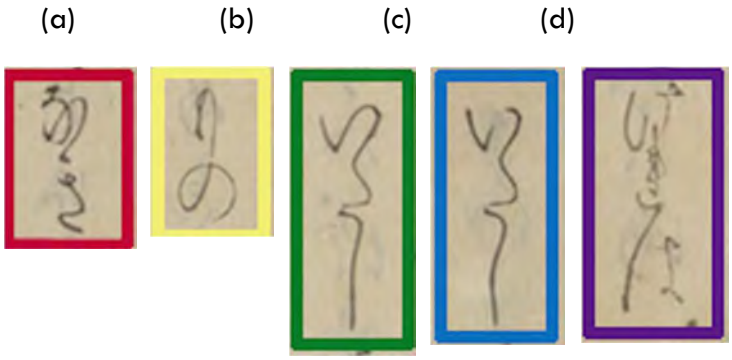
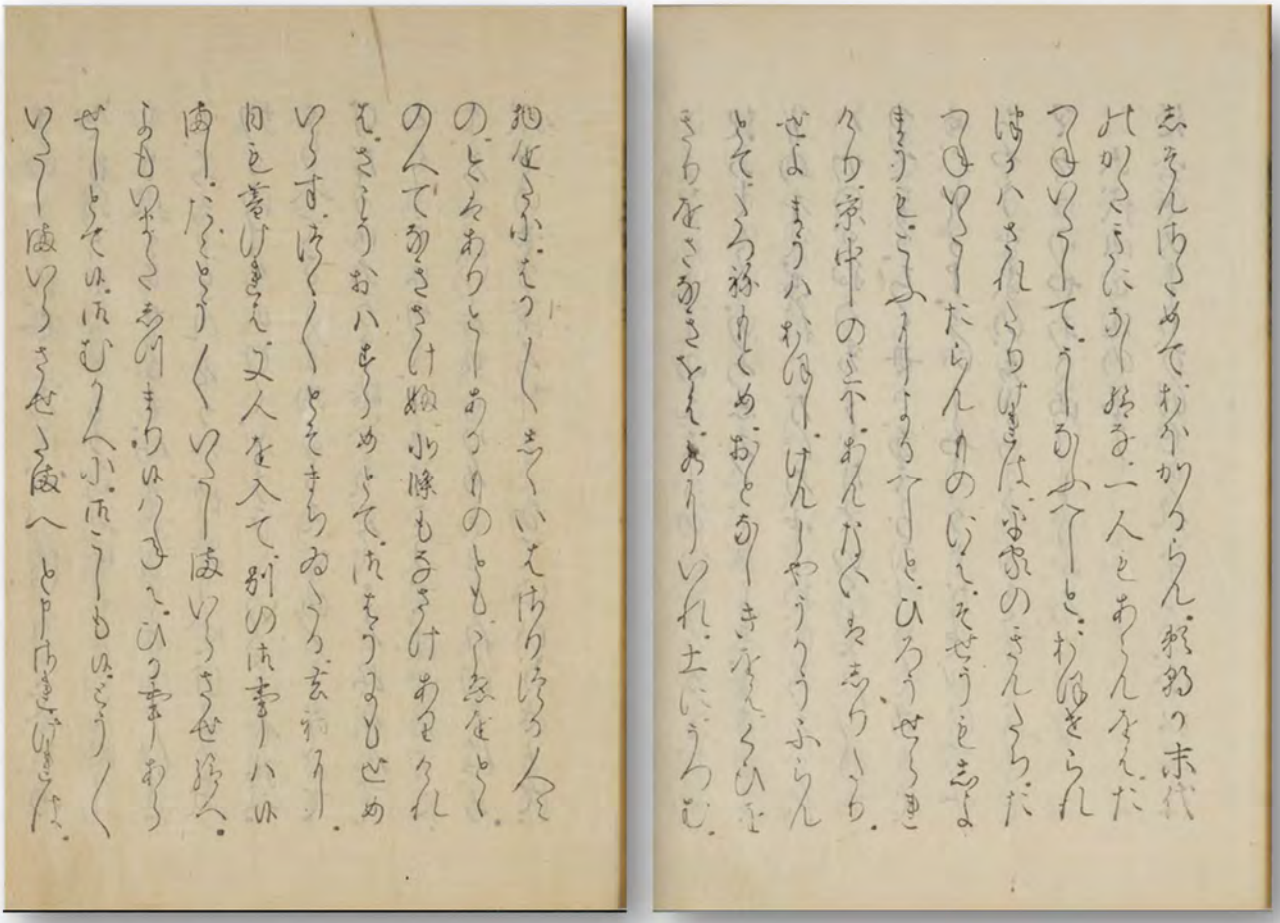


Fig. 2 Five examples of connected cursive hiragana letters

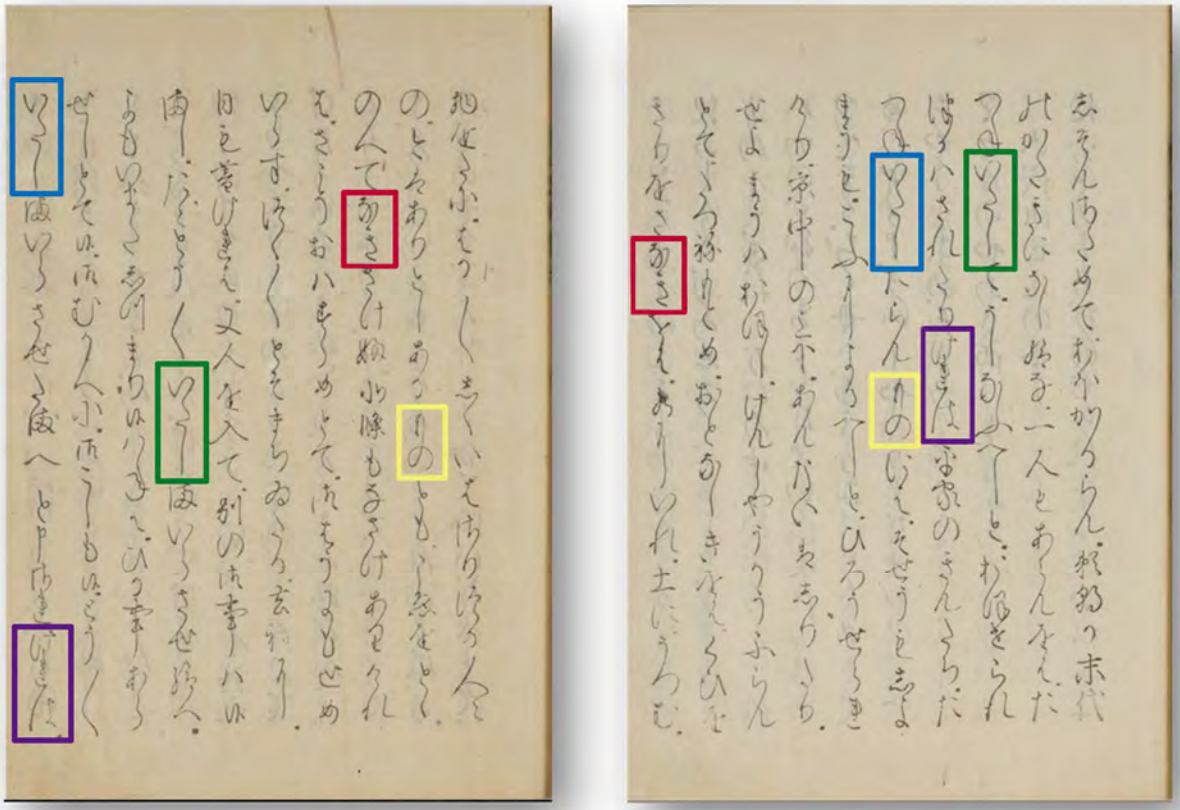


しそんさためておほかるらん、頼朝か末代
のかたきになし給な、一人もあらんをは、た
つねいたしてうしなふへしと、おほせられ
つかはされたりけれは、平家のきんたち、た
つねいたしたらんものには、そせうもしよ
まうも、こふによるへしと、ひろうせられ
けり、京中の上下、あんないはしりたり、
せよまうはおほし、けんしやうかうふらん
とて、たつねもとめ、おとなしきをは、くひを
きり、をさなきをは水にいれ、土にうつむ、

物をたに、はか〳〵しくいはさりつる人々
の、今はありとしあるものとも、こゑをとゝ
のへてなきさけふ、北條もなさけありけれ
は、さこそおはすらめとて、御はうにもせめ
いらす、つく〳〵とそまちゐたる、去程に、
日も暮けれは、又人を入て、別の御事は候
まし、たゝとう〳〵いたしまいらさせ給へ、
よもいまたしつまり候はねは、ひか事あら
せしとて候、御むかへに、御こしも候、とう〳〵
いたしまいらさせたまへと申されけれは、

Fig. 1 Nakanoin-text, Heike Monogatari

Please see the figures below for the answers. Were you able to find all five sets of connected letters on each page?



Answers: Connected letters used in each page

Identify the printing method

Look at the following images and tell us what you think was the printing method for A and B. Write your answer in the discussion area.

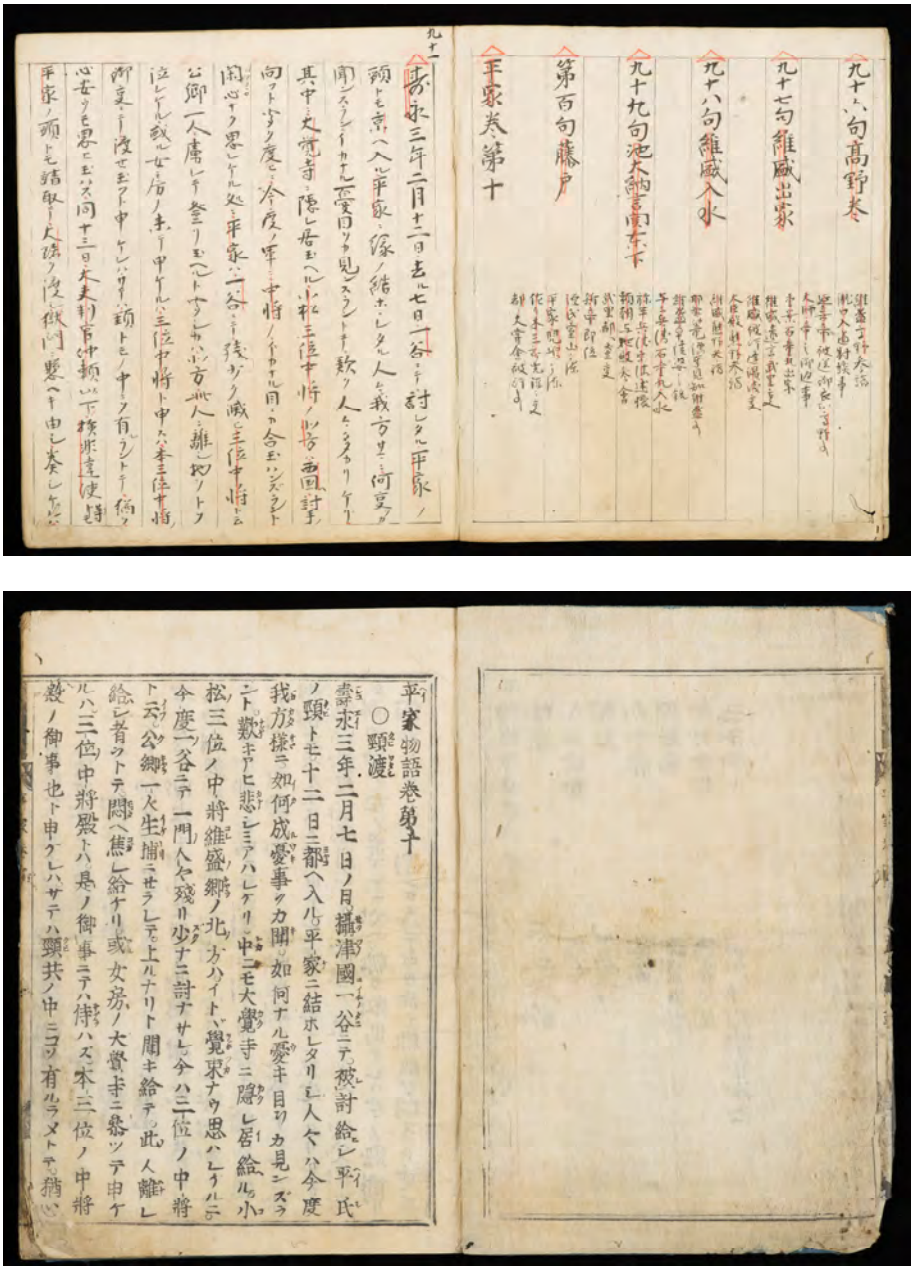


Fig. 3. Top: A Bottom: B

Both are from *Heike monogatari* of different editions

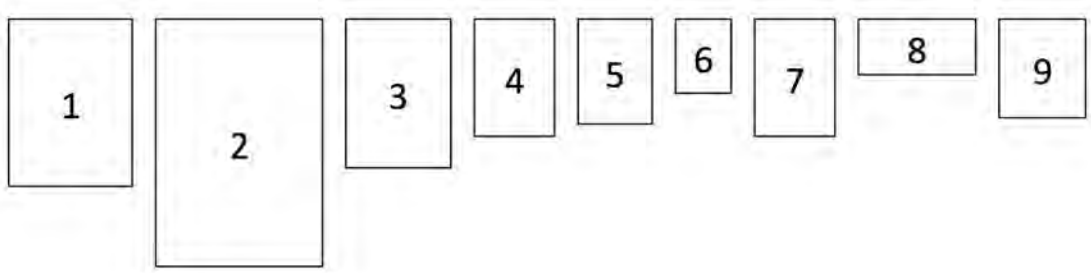
Week3	Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period
Activity2	History of printing and publishing in Japan
Type	Article

Step 3-7. Format and content of early-modern printed books

Nine old Japanese books introduced in this step

Early-modern books come in standard formats and to some extent it is possible to tell the content of the book from its size, although there are exceptions. In this step, we will go over the main book formats and the type of content they were typically used for.

The figures below represent the basic sizes of traditional Japanese books introduced in this step.



1. *Ōhon* (large books, 20 x 27 cm)

Fig.1. *Nihon shoki* (Chronicles of Japan), Kan'ei-era edition , Left: Opening section, Right: Cover page

Click to take a closer look

Format:

The size of a sheet of Mino *washi* (Mino paper, 39x 27 cm), folded in two. Books larger than *ōhon* are known as *toku-ōhon* (extra-large books).

Content:

Mostly the classics and scholarly subjects (Confucianism, Chinese studies, Buddhism, waka, poetics). Being the largest among the scholarly formats, it was used for books on subjects traditionally considered prestigious and authoritative.

2. *Toku-ōhon* (Extra-large books)

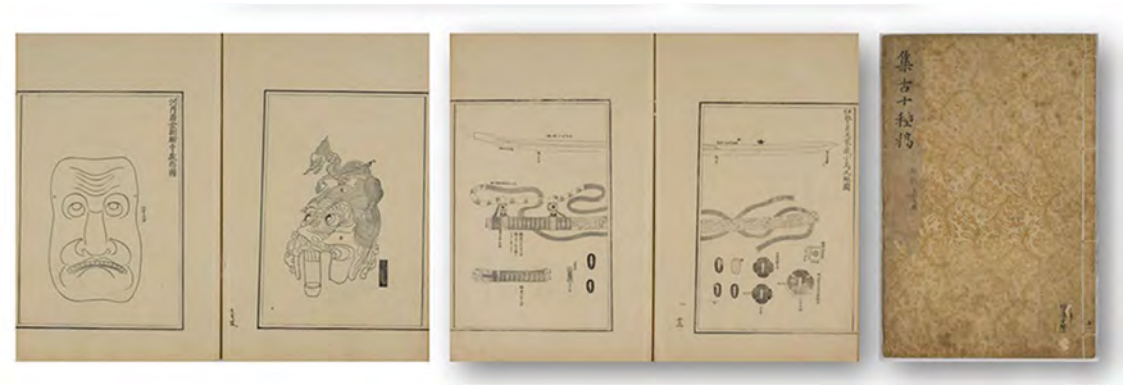


Fig.2. *Shūko jisshu-kō* (Collected Antiquities in Ten Categories, 1800), with case

Click to take a closer look

Format:

A general designation for books larger than *ōhon*.

Content:

Because their large size made them somewhat harder to read, *toku-ōhon* were mostly used for pictures and maps. They were typically produced by the presses of provincial *daimyō*, who viewed booksize as a symbol of power.

3. *Hanshibon* (half-size Books, 17 cm x 24 cm)

Fig.3. *Yamato zokkun*, hanshi-bon, Kaibara Ekken, Click to take a closer look

Format:

The size of a sheet of *hanshi* paper (33x24 cm) folded in two.

Content:

Introductory-level books on scholarly subjects such as Confucianism, Buddhism, Native Studies, and history. More generally oriented than the *ōhon*, they tend to focus on educational, illustrated, and haiku-related books.

4. *Chūhon* (medium-size books, 13x 19cm)

Fig.4. *Meisho buri kon'nōzakura*, Tomikawa Ginsetsu, Chūhon

Click to take a closer look

Format:

Half the size of a *ōhon*, equivalent to the size of a sheet of Mino *washi* paper folded in four.

Content:

Mostly popular novels such as *kusazōshi* and guides to the pleasure quarters (e.g. *Yoshiwara saiken*); travel guides, books on cooking, and other such light, "how to" books.

5. *Kohon* (small books, 12x 17 cm)

Fig.5. *Kabun yōgo*, kohon

Click to take a closer look

Format:

Half the size of the *hanshibon*, or,one fourth of a sheet of *hanshi* paper.

Content:

Typically used for pocket-size, easy to carry *waka* and *kanshi* lexica for use by poets; light or humorous books (e.g. *sharebon*, *hanashibon*) and *haikai*-related books.

6. *Toku-kohon* (Extra-small books)

Fig.6. *Kokkō shōshō*, toku-kohon

Click to take a closer look

Format:

Smaller in size than a *kohon*.

Content:

Because their small format made them impractical for regular use, they were mostly made as ornamental objects (e.g. *waka* and *kanshi* collections by *bunjin* and elite figures) or were used for books on quirkier, niche subjects.

7. *Tatenaga-bon* ("Higher-than-wide" books)

Fig.7. *Chikuden-sō shiwa*, tatenaga-bon

Click to take a closer look

Format:

Books of narrower than usual width.

Content:

Mostly poetry collections and calligraphy copybooks by Chinese-style literati (*bunjin*).

8. *Yokohon* ("Wider-than-high" books)

Fig.8. *Eisō satoshigusa*, Yokohon

Click to take a closer look

Format:

Book of shorter than average height made by cutting into three (in some rare cases four) sections, instead of the usual two, the sheets of paper used to make *toku-ōhon*, *ōhon*, *hanshibon*, *chūhon*, and *kohon* books.

Content:

Primarily popular, fashionable books such as actors' reviews, popular fiction and *haiku* books; reference books such dictionaries Who's who books; introductory books on *waka*, *kanshi* and *haiku* composition.

9. *Masugata-bon* (Square books)

Fig.9. *Oku no hosomichi*, Masugata-bon

Click to take a closer look

Format:

Books of identical or almost identical width and height.

Content:

Few were published during the Edo period, so it is difficult to identify a single trend content-wise. In the age of manuscripts, this format was often used for beautifully decorated versions of court tales, waka collections, and Buddhist works, and its associations with these genres remained strong in the Edo period.

Summary

As this summary shows, in the early-modern period book format and content were closely related. With the exception of the oversized books and the so-called "miniature books" (*mame-hon*), which were not for regular use, and the comparatively rare *masugata-bon*, book sizes reflected the social prestige of the content (from high to low). So it can be said that in Edo-period Japan, not only society but also books were divided by class.

Week 3	Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period
Activity 3	The rise of printed illustrated books
Type	Article

Step 3-8. Early printed illustrated books

Printed illustrated books appeared not too long after their handwritten counterparts, about which you learned in Week 2. You are also already familiar with the history of printed books in general, so here I will only focus on early printed illustrated books.

The very earliest specimens are two Buddhist texts in scroll format, namely the *Yūzū nenbutsu engi* (Origins of the Yūzū Nembutsu Sect, 14th and 15th c.) and the Kōya daishi gyōjō zue (Illustrated Biography of the Great Master of Mount Kōya, 16th c.) However, as no other similar books were made after them, they must be considered a one-off exception. Illustrated printed books proper appeared at the beginning of the 17th century and rapidly caught on as a result of the boom of commercial publishing.

The very first printed illustrated book was the *Saga-bon Ise monogatari* (Saga-version Tales of Ise) (Fig.1). Its publication was truly an epoch-making event as it was the first book in kana ever to be printed. The name "Saga-bon" (Saga books) refers to the set of large-type luxury books published in the Saga area of Kyoto by the wealthy merchant and art connoisseur Suminokura Soan (1571-1632). It is fair to say that the *Ise* is the most representative work of the set.

Fig.1. ***Saga-bon Ise monogatari***

Click to take a closer look

It is a beautifully made book with pages of five different colors. However, it is important to bear in mind that printed illustrated books would not have appeared had handwritten illustrated books not paved the way for them during the previous decades.

Week 3	Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period
Activity 3	The rise of printed illustrated books
Type	Video

Step 3-9. Bordered plates and the use of the outer border in *kana* books

An important difference between printed and handwritten illustrated books is that illustrations in printed books often feature a border or frame whereas illustrations in handwritten books do not. First, read the article, and then watch Prof. Sasaki's video explanation to see examples.

Illustrations in printed books tend to be surrounded by a border or frame whereas illustrations in handwritten books are not. This version of the *Ise monogatari* (Fig. 1) is an exception in that it does feature the border.

Fig. 1. *Saga-bon Ise monogatari*

Click to take a closer look

Most of the so-called **Saga-bon** were printed with movable type but some, like *Shinkokinshūshō Getsuei waka-kan* (Poems on the Moon from the *Shinkokinshū*) (this work is preserved in Gotoh Museum collection. please refer to "See also" section), were printed using the old woodblock method (known as seihan). Not all scholars consider it part of the Saga books, but there are other examples, such as the Saga-bon *Sanjūrokkasen* (Fig.2). It follows in the tradition of portraits of famous poets accompanied by their most representative poems (known as *kasen-e*, literally, "poet-pictures"), which dates back to at least the twelfth century. Literary countless poet-pictures survive, in scrolls, books, or as individual images（Look at manuscripts of *Hyakunin isshu* (Fig.3.)).

But whereas images of the poets in earlier works do not feature the border around either the images or the text, the Saga-bon version does.

Fig. 2. *Saga-bon Sanjūrokkasen*

Click to take a closer look

Fig.3. *Ogurayama hyakunin isshu*

Click to take a closer look

We do not know for certain why illustrations in printed books always featured a border. It may have been for some unknown technical reason, but that is unlikely to be the only explanation. One intriguing hypothesis is that it was as a result of Western influence. European printed works, the history of which began in 1455 with Gutemberg's Bible, were usually in book format, and featured bordered images. The introduction of firearms in 1543 marked the beginning of a time of great interest in all things Western, including books. However, due to the persecution of Christianity almost no European books from this period survive, so it is difficult if not impossible to determine whether a connection exists. Considering that book-style illustrated books appeared roughly at the time of maximum circulation of Western books in Japan, the possibility of direct influence seems likely enough, but it is impossible to say more.

Interestingly, as of a certain point the use of the border around images seems to have begun affecting the printed text as well. Ever since the early days of movable type printing at the beginning of the Edo period, printed books in hiragana did not feature a border around the text (called *kyōkaku*, Korean kwangg-wak). However, books in Chinese or Sino-Japanese did, as it was usual in China and Korea, and so did books written in katakana, the script traditionally used to annotate Chinese texts. In a sense, the border was a sort of hallmark of printed books. Recent research has shown that the book below was one of the so-called Saga-bon (Fig.4. *Shiji* [*J. Shiki*, Records of the Grand Historian]). As you can see, it does feature the outer border.

By contrast, books without borders were more visually akin to manuscripts, and it is likely that the earliest printed kana books were made as replicas of manuscripts. We know that printed replicas of manuscripts were quite popular in Europe, for instance.

Fig.4. *Shiji (J. Shiki)*

Click to take a closer look

The text of this book *Tawara Tōda monogatari* (The Tale of Tawara "Rice-bag" Tōda)(Fig. 5) looks almost handwritten; what gives it away as a printed book is the border around the image.

Fig.5. *Tawara Tōda monogatari*

Click to take a closer look

As you can see, the top part of the frame is slightly more indented than the text (a feature which we first see in the Saga-bon *Ise monogatari*). Indeed, if one looks at both text and image at the same time, there is a certain lack of balance. It is difficult to say for certain if the two phenomena are related, but as of the second half of the 17th century, not only did the border begin to be used around the text portion in more and more kana works, but in all cases in which the type and the images were produced at the same time (text and images were not always made together; sometimes illustrations were added to texts that initially did not have any, or they were made anew to replace older ones), it was standard to use frames of equal size for both . This book *Tsuru no sōshi* (The crane's tale) (Fig 6.) is an early example featuring practically perfectly aligned frames for both text and images.

Fig.6. *Tsuru no sōshi*

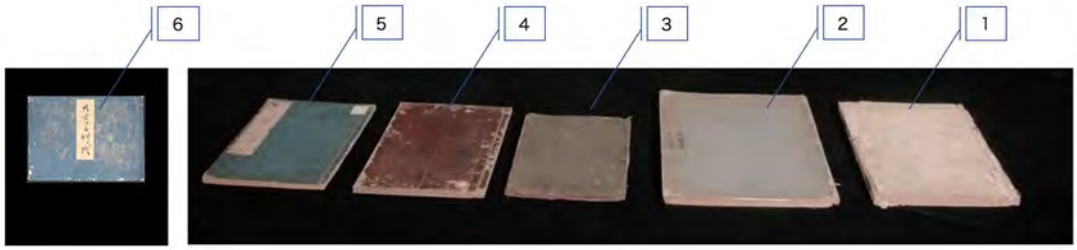
Click to take a closer look

The eventual adoption of the text border in printed books in kana can be said to mark the end of the attempts to associate printed books to manuscripts and the final acceptance of the printed book as a legitimate medium. Though very rare, there are a few examples of mid-17th century kana books without the border. They are a series of 23 books called *Otogi bunko* (Collection of Tales), although it is unclear if the blocks were all made at the same time (Fig.7 *Otogi Sōshi Issun bōshi*) From such features as the landscape orientation of the page and the design of the covers, we can tell that they were created as faithful replicas of the horizontal Nara ehon. One item in the set, the Tale of *Bunshō (Bunshō-zōshi)*, even features hand-colored illustrations. By replicating all the features of manuscript books, the makers probably meant to maximize the appeal of the product at a time when the book market as a whole was moving away from manuscript replicas.

Fig.7. *Otogi Sōshi Issun bōshi*

Click to take a closer look

Books introduced in the video



6. Nosezaru Sōshi
5. Akinoyonaga monogatari
4. Akinoyonaga monogatari
3. Tsukishima
2. Sanjūrokkasen
1. Shiji

Video Script

0:04

Here I will talk about illustrated books. Prof. Ichinohe explained about printed books, so Here I will concentrate on printed picture books. With the introduction of movable type printing technology from Europe and from Korea at the end of the 16th century, movable type began in earnest in Japan too. The diffusion of these printed book exerted a strong influence on Japanese publishing, but there are some subtle differences to keep in mind. Let us start with these books [5] produced under the influence of books in Chinese from the Korean peninsula. As you can see, there is a border around the text.

1:11

This border was called *kyōkaku*, you can also see the grid of columns between the lines of text, and it is standard in kanji-based books. At the opposite end of the spectrum were the books in the local script, the kana. This is an example [2], and as you can see, there is no border. In 1608 the first illustrated movable type edition of the *Tales of Ise (Ise monogatari)* was published. There is no border around the text portion, but there is one around the plates. This [3] is a different, slightly later book but it is a similar example. As you can see, there is no border around the text but there is one around the images.

2:19

The images are were colored by hand and the whole genre is known as *tanroku-bon* (red and green books) after the pigments used for coloring. These books always have a border around the images but not around the text. Next, this book [4] here is titled *Sanjūrokunin utaawase* (Poetry Contests of the Thirty-six Immortal Poets). Suminokura Soan (1571-1632), the man behind the series of luxurious printed books known as Saga-bon (Saga books), the first of which was the Tales of Ise we have just looked at, is thought to have been involved in its publication. It contains portraits of famous poets next to their most representative poems.

3:12

This kind of pictures are known as *kasen-e* (pictures of famous poets) and were popular since the 12th century. Traditionally these pictures did not feature a border but they do in this book we are looking at. So there seems to be a connection between the print medium and the use of the border. There is no definitive explanation as to why illustrations in printed books feature the border and those in handwritten ones do not. One intriguing possibility is that it was as a result of Western influence. Illustrations in Western books tend to feature a border. The way some of them had green and red added to them by hand also resembles the way color was applied on plates in Japan.

4:24

So Western influence is a distinct possibility. And so we have roughly outlined how illustrations became a common presence in Japanese printed books, but it is important to keep in mind that this occurred because of the popularity of handwritten illustrated books before them. Moving back to the border, originally it was only used for images, but as time went on, it also began to be used around the text, as in this example [1]. Why? Without the border, a printed book looks very similar to a manuscript. It is possible that early printed kana books, which do not feature the border, were meant to look like manuscripts. By contrast, books that featured a border around the text sort of flaunted their "printedness".

6:17

In other words, though they began life as passable replica of handwritten books gradually printed books came to be accepted as a legitimate medium in their own right. Illustrations may have played an

important role in making the border around the text acceptable. If we look at this book we already saw earlier, we see that there is no border around the text, but there is one around the image. However, the image is slightly smaller than the text and there is a certain unbalance between the two pages. But as the border began to be used for both text and images, as in this example, it gradually became standard to use frames of equal size for the two.

7:29

This book here, it doesn't have any illustrations, and this one are two printed versions of the same text, the *Aki no yo no nagamonogatari* (Tale of a Long Autumn night). They were published about 100 years apart from each other and they show just how much publishing conventions changed during this period of time. Finally, let us look at an example of a book both going against and exploiting the trend of the times. If we look inside, it is a printed book but there is no border around the text and neither is there one around the images. If we added color to the images it would look virtually identical to the illustrated handwritten Nara ehon that we saw earlier.

8:38

In other words, this was made as a replica of a Nara ehon. In order to make it look just like a handwritten book the borders were omitted. Although technically possible, by this point borderless printing was extremely rare. Though these may seem like minor details, it is surprising how much we can learn by paying attention to the relationship between images and the border.

SEE ALSO

- **SHINKOKINSHŪSHŌ GETSUEI WAKA-KAN**
  http://www.gotoh-museum.or.jp/collection/col_15/105_19_1.html
  (Poems on the Moon from the Shinkokinshū), printed using the old woodblock method (known as seihan). This books is preserved at Gotoh Museium. (In this page, you can see the image of the book with description in Japanese).
- **GOTOH MUSEUM**
  http://www.gotoh-museum.or.jp/english/overview.html

The collection of the Gotoh Museum consists primarily of Japanese and Chinese works of art including paintings, tea ceremony implements, ceramics, calligraphy, ancient mirrors, and swords. Perhaps the most celebrated item in the museum's collection is the Illustrated Handscroll of The Tale of Genji, dating from the Heian Period. This work has been designated a National Treasure and is available for public viewing generally in the first week of May every year. The museum holds six or seven exhibitions a year, of which two are special exhibitions. The current collection consists of around five thousand works. (from the homepage)

Week 3	**Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period**
Activity 3	The rise of printed illustrated books
Type	Article

Step 3-10. Hand-colored illustrated books

Hand-colored printed books represent an interesting amalgam of handwritten and printed illustrated books.

This book (Fig.1) was printed using wooden movable type and features bordered color plates.

Fig.1. *Iwaya no sōshi (Lady in the Cave)*

Click to take a closer look

Various colors including red and green were added by hand in a rather haphazard manner. As hand-colored plates can be found in European books, it is possible that the makers were influenced by European models. What they were certainly aware of was the local tradition of illustrated manuscripts.

These books are known as *tanrokubon* (lit., "red and green books"), from the names of some of the pigments used. They were only made for a few decades from the 1620s on, so they are quite rare. One must be careful when buying them because often the color was added later by unscrupulous vendors seeking higher profits. Movable type color books are quite rare; woodblock printed ones are much more common. Here are two examples: (Fig.2), (Fig.3.)

Fig.2. *Tengu no dairi (The Palace of the tengu)*

Click to take a closer look

Fig.3. *Bunshō no sōshi (The Tale of Bunshō)*

Click to take a closer look

Since illustrations made books more marketable, they began to be added even to works that did not initially contain any, including ones where there was no special need for them, such as poetry collections. As this process continued, images became an increasingly indispensable element of printed books.

Week 3	Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period
Activity 4	The spread of books
Type	Article

Step 3-11. Reading as education

With the introduction of movable type printing in the early Edo period, books began to be printed in large quantities and to reach a wide audience. A much wider section of society now had access to books compared to medieval times, with obvious consequences on the spread of knowledge and education.

To begin, let us look at the *Yamato zokkun* (Precepts for Daily Life in Japan), published in 1708 by Kaibara Ekken (1630-1714)(Fig.1), a scholar from the Fukuoka domain.

Fig.1. *Yamato zokkun*, Kaibara Ekken, 1708 edition.

Bottom Left: Passage quoted below.

Click to take a closer look

The book belongs to the genre of the so-called self-improvement books and explains in plain Japanese "how life should be lived". Regarding "how to study" (*ika ni manabu ka*), the author notes:

博く学ぶの道は、見ると聞くとの二をつとむ。聖賢の書をよみ、人に道をききて、古今を考へて道理を求むるなり。　（中略）　博く学ぶの道多けれど、書をよむほど益あるはなし。古人も人の知恵をますは、書にしくはなしといへり。されど文字をのみ好みて、義理を求めざるは博く学ぶにはあらず。

[English translation] In order to acquire a broad education, you must both look and listen. That is to say, you must read the works of the sages, learn about your subject from teachers,and seek to understand the nature of things by pondering past and present events. [...] There are many ways to learn, but none is more valuable than reading books. As the people of the past used to say, nothing is better than books to expand your knowledge. However, if you only read books and do not aim to understand the principle of rightness, you will never acquire a broad education.

Ekken distinguishes two main study methods: one is reading, that is, learning through and from books; the other is listening, that is, learning from a teacher. Both are necessary, but Ekken seems to be asserting that reading is the primary one.

Ekken was a Confucian scholar and when he says books what he probably had in mind is the Chinese classics, starting with Confucius'Analects (J. *Rongo*). Yet, as noted earlier, the *Yamato zokkun* is written in plain, easy to understand Japanese and was directed at a less educated audience, so his remarks about how to study are not aimed only to an erudite audience but to everyone. The pedagogic value of books had been recognized long before the Edo period, but it is only in the Edo period, when books become a mass commodity, that we see their importance so publicly advertised in a book for the general public.

Booksellers

So to what extent had books penetrated Japanese society when the *Yamato zokkun* was published? One way to answer the question is to look at the number of bookshops present in Japanese cities at the time.

Fig.2. *Yorozu kaimono chōhōki*, 1692.

From the top: cover, page44, page 45, page46, page47

Click to take a closer look

The book shown here (Fig.2) is the *Yorozu kaimono chōhōki*, (A Guide to Shopping of All Kinds), which lists the trading establishments in the three major cities of the time (Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka). The section on bookshops gives us an idea of how many establishments were in existence in the late 17th century. Bookshops are grouped by the type of books they sold. Under the "Poetry Books and Illustrated books" category, we find shops that dealt with poetry-related and popular, entertainment books. It lists the names of three shops in Kyoto, five shops in Edo, and three in Osaka (page 44). Another category is "Scholarly Bookshops" which lists shops that specialized in highbrow content such as the Confucian classics, Buddhist works, and medicine. 11 shops in Kyoto, 27 in Edo, and 23 in Osaka are listed (page 45), including shops specializing in both new and second-hand items. Under "Chinese books," we find shops that specialized in imported books from China(page 46), whereas the category "Theater books" lists shops dealing in drama-related books (page 46) (page 47). Needless to say, the lists are selective and do not mention each and every establishment in operation at the time.

Temple Schools

The late 18th century *Ehon sakaegusa* (Fig.3), an illustrated book by the artist Katsukawa Shunchō, shows us what contemporary temple schools (known as *terakoya*) looked like.

Fig.3. *Ehon sakaegusa (Leaves of Prosperity)*, "Learning to write", Katsukawa Shunchō, 1790

(Click to take a closer look)

On left-hand side of the picture, we see two children sitting at the desk holding a brush and practicing writing. In Edo times, "learning to write" (*tenarai*) consisted of repeatedly copying words and sentences from a copybook. To save paper, every inch of the sheet has been used so that the sheet is completely covered in black ink. On the right-hand side, there is a female teacher holding a baby on her back and two little girls

sitting in front of her with an open book in front of them. They point at the characters on the page with a stick. The girls are actually learning to recite Chinese texts in Chinese by mimicking the teacher's pronunciation. The stick they are holding was called a *jisashi* (character pointer), and was used to trace the lines of the characters as one read them. In learning to both read and write, "repetition" was the key pedagogic device, and texts were an indispensable tool in both cases.

Temple schools were the simplest way for commoners to acquire the basic skills needed in everyday life (literacy, arithmetic, etc.). Over the course of the Edo period, thousands of books for use as textbooks in temple schools were published.

Fig.4. *Ehon teikin ōrai* (Illustrated Book of Domestic Manners), illustrated by Katsushika Hokusai (19th c.). Left: beginning of the text, Center: image of the temple school, Right: cover

Click to take a closer look

One example is the *Ehon teikin ōrai* (Fig.4). Because the illustrations are by the famous painter and printmaker Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849), they are larger than usual. One of them shows students at work at a temple school.

Fig.5. *Onna daigaku* (The Great Learning for Women), Kaibara Ekken,1844

Click to take a closer look

Onna daigaku (Fig.5), a popular behavior manual for women, contains an image of young girls learning to read Chinese texts from a female instructor. Images of commoners learning from books are indeed common in Edo-period educational books.

Despite some obvious changes, attitudes to education remained rather consistent after the end of the Tokugawa shogunate and the beginning of the Meiji period.

Fig.6. *Kinsei onna daigaku (The Modern Great Learning for Women)*, Doi Kōka,1874.
Right: Opening slogan "Equal Rights for Men and Women"
Click to take a closer look

With the influx of ideas and institutions from the West following the Restoration, Japan rapidly reorganized itself as a modern nation state. As the title shows, Doi Kōka (1847-1918)'s *Kinsei onna daigaku* (Fig.6) was conceived as a "Great Learning for Women" for the modern age. The slogan "Equal rights for men and women, two partners one household" is printed in large letters on the cover. In keeping with the slogan, one of the front illustrations, by Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831-1889), shows two couples of husbands and wives, one Japanese and one Western, each dressed in their usual attire. Another (Western-style) illustration, shows a stern-looking (Western) teacher addressing a classroom of Western female students with the words "Attention all!" Two years before *Kinsei onna daigaku* was published, in 1872, Japan had just introduced a modern, centralized national education system and Doi's book reflects the ideas and values of this new age. At the same time, it clearly follows in the tradition of Edo-period pedagogic books with their emphasis on reading for women.

SEE ALSO

- "*EHON SAKAEGUSA*", KATSUKAWA SHUNKO, 1790, NATIONAL DIET LIBRARY DIGITAL COLLECTIONS
  http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1286828
  All pages of "Ehon Sakaegusa" is available here.

Week 3	Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period
Activity 4	The spread of books
Type	Article

Step 3-12. The spread and creative re-use of the classics

Complete set of Ryūtei Tanehiko, Nise Murasaki Inaka Genji

Learn about the ways Edo-period writers re-interpreted and re-packaged the Japanese classics for a new audience.

The basis of the social order was the *bakuhan* system, which placed the lords of the local domains (*han*) under the authority of the central government (the *bakufu*), but left them considerable discretion in exercising power. Stability brought economic growth, which was further aided by the growth of large cities and the booming of trade. Rapid population growth also meant that more people than ever before were now involved in producing and consuming culture (broadly defined as to include knowledge, education, and leisure).

High and Low Culture

We can distinguish two main dimensions of culture: traditional culture, which had been passed down for centuries and was universally regarded as highbrow and prestigious, and the new mass culture, which was popular and ephemeral, and enjoyed popularity for a short while only to disappear soon after. The difference between the two can be compared to the difference between classical music and pop music today. Edo-period people called the first, "high" type of culture "*ga*" (refined, high) and the second type "*zoku*" (popular, low).

Just as sometimes popular musicians borrow elements from classical music and classical musicians perform popular pieces, the worlds of *ga* and *zoku* were not rigidly separated but often crossed ways and interacted with each other giving rise to various hybrid forms.

A parody of the *Pillow Book*

The *Mottomo no sōshi* (Fig.1) (first half of the 17th century) was one of the many parodies of the classics that were popular at the time. What we see here is a reprint published two years after the first 1632 edition.

Fig.1. *Mottomo no sōshi*

Click to take a closer look

The *Mottomo no sōshi* 尤之双紙 is a parody of the *Makura no sōshi* 枕草子 (The Pillow Book), an early 11th century miscellany by the court lady known as Sei Shōnagon, a lady in waiting of empress Teishi (977-1001) and a consort of Emperor Ichijō (980-1011).

"Mottomo" means "reasonable" or "convincing" in Japanese but more importantly the title is meant to be a pun on the original title *Makura no sōshi*. The similarities between the two even extend to the characters in the title, "Mottomo" 尤 being almost identical to the right part of the character "Makura" 枕 (pillow).

The Pillow Book is one of the foundational texts of the Japanese courtly aesthetics. It is particularly famous for its lists of items, such as "Beautiful things", "Auspicious Things", etc. The *Mottomo no sōshi* mimics this structure by presenting lists of "Long things", "Short things," but the content of the lists could not be further removed from the elegant world of the Heian aristocracy. The items listed are unfailingly coarse things from the everyday life of the commoners, and anybody familiar with the refined world of the original cannot help but laugh at the contrast. Thus, Edo parodies relied on the reader's knowledge of the classics to entertain. The first printed (movable-type) edition of the *Makura no sōshi* appeared in the Keichō era (1596-1615), and the *Mottomo no sōshi* a mere 20 to 30 years later. The making of these parodies shows just how broad the readership of the classics had become.

The spread of high culture to a mass audience

If parodies brought the classics down to the world of *zoku*, reverence for them remained high, among ever widening segments of society. Contradictory though it may seem, this sentiment of "reverence" for the classics was the main reason of their spread to a mass audience.

Fig.2. *Eisōsatoshigusa* (A manual for poetry composition), yokohon, 1853

Click to take a closer look

The *Eisōsatoshigusa* (Fig.2) , dating from the late Edo period, is a beginner's guide to *waka* composition. A courtly genre, *waka* was a symbol of high culture throughout the pre-modern period. However, during the Edo period there was a significant increase in the number of people who composed waka in both cities and rural

areas. The publication of a large number of introductory manuals such as this one reflects this increase in demand.

The *Tale of Genji* in the Edo Period

The early-11th century *Tale of Genji* (Genjimonogatari) is probably the most famous of all the Japanese classics. Like the *Makura no sōshi*, the *Genji* was first published in printed form around 1600, but its influence on Edo literature and culture was profound. Here I would like to mention two works in particular that show the level of interest that the *Genji* generated.

The first is the *Tamakura* (Fig.3) (Hand as Pillow, ca. 1750s) by Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), a prominent scholar with a lifelong interest in the *Genji*.

Fig. 3. *Tamakura*, Motoori Norinaga, 1792 edition.

Click to take a closer look

It is a sort of appendix to the *Genji* that presents scenes that do not appear in the original tale. It is written in a language that replicates in every detail Murasaki Shikibu's 11th century idiom and only an erudite scholar could have written it.

The second work is the *Nise Murasaki Inaka Genji* (Fig.4), which was serialized between 1829 and 1842 by Ryūtei Tanehiko (1783-1842).

Fig. 4. *Nise Murasaki Inaka Genji* (A Fake Murasaki's Country *Genji*)

Left: preface of book 10, Center: Beginning of the text

Click to take a closer look

This is a humorous retelling of the *Genji* set in the warrior-dominated world of Muromachi Japan. However, both the narrative and the illustrations incorporate elements from contemporary Edo culture and society. It was wildly popular, especially among women. In the preface to the tenth installment in the series, which was published in 1833, the author shares his struggle to find a suitable style to write the story. He records the advice of two friends, one young and one old. Whereas the old man apparently advised Tanehiko to adhere as closely as possible to the source text, the youth argued that as young women were unlikely to be captivated by such a text,the new version should incorporate elements from kabukidrama and freely adapt the original text to provide a more entertaining reading experience. Tanehiko concludes by saying that although initially he had followed the young friend's advice,for the past year or so he had been following the old man's advice and was still now wondering whose advice to follow. In other words, throughout the writing of *Inaka Genji*, Tanehiko kept wavering between the two approaches.

To sum up, during the Edo period, the courtly, traditionally prestigious world of "*ga*" not only spread to a wider audience through printed books, but it also became the basis for countless parodies and creative adaptations. This rather free, playful attitude to the past and the classics is still very much alive in contemporary Japanese culture.

Week 3	Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period
Activity 4	The spread of books
Type	Video

Step 3-13. The status of manuscripts and printed books

Books come in two main types: handwritten books (*shahon* in Japanese) and printed books (*kanpon*). In this video, we will explore how the spread of printing affected the relationship between manuscripts and printed books.

In the video, Professor Ichinohe will introduce excerpts from two Edo-period texts. You'll find the original Japanese text for each reproduced below, along with English translations, to enable you to take a closer look:

Example 1 : The story of a man who tried to borrow a copy of the *Tale of Genji* from a *tayū*

- *Shoen ōkagami* (The Great Mirror of Beauties: Son of an Amorous Man, 1684) by Ihara Saikaku (1642-1693)

(Original)

むつかしきは太夫の身也。有時、物覚のよはき人、「「わりなきは情の道」と書きしは、柏木の巻にはなき」とあらそひ、去太夫殿へ、源氏物語を借(かり)に遣しけるに、其まゝ湖月おくられて、即座に其埒(らち)もあけしに、此本を見て、「さてもさても此里の太夫もすゑになるかな。むかしは名の有御筆の哥書を、揃へて持ぬはなし。板本つかはされて、物事(ものごと)あさまになりぬ。

(English Translation)

It is hard to be a tayū [senior courtesan]! Once, a man of feeble memory was having an argument about whether the phrase “love is the most irrational of all pursuits” appears in the “Kashiwagi” [The Oak Tree] chapter of the Tale of Genji. He dispatched someone to the house of a tayū to fetch a copy of the Genji. The man returned with a copy of the *Kogetsushō*. Having settled the dispute, the forgetful man said: “The tayū of this area are no longer what they used to be! In the olden days, a tayū would have owned a full library of the finest books in the hand of famous calligraphers. To send one of these printed books—how crude!”

Example 2 : A waka poet is proud of having personally copied the *Kokinwakashū* three times

- *Kokinshūshō no oku ni kakeru kotoba* (A postface to the Kokinshūshō, 1742) by Katō Enao (1693-1785)

（Original）

今世に證本といふものは、定家卿貞応二年老の手づから筆を染たまひしなり。又嘉禄二年に書給ひしも有とぞ。古人の常に深切なるをしるべし。今民間の歌よむ人、板行の古今一部もちたれば、自筆にうつす事はせぬにや。今の世にも常にすける人は、荻生何がし儒学者にて有しが、文選をほぐのうらに三度うつしたるなり。すける人はかくこそ有けれとはげまされて、をのれもすでに古今集を書写する事三度に及べり。

(English Translation)

The trustworthy texts [of the Kokinshū] today are the ones that the aging Lord Teika copied late in his life, in Jōō 2 [1223] and Karoku 2 [1226]. Poets of commoner stock today feel that if they own a printed version of the Kokin wakashū, they don’t need to make their own copy of it. But even today true connoisseurs do not stop at that. For example, the Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai [1666-1728] is said to have copied the Wenxuan[Literary Selections, c. 520] three times in his personal notebooks. That is what one must do if one is serious about art, and that is why I have already copied the Kokinshū three times myself.

Books introduced in the video

Number in the subtitle indicates the book # in the list here;

1. *Kogetsushō*

   Click to see the image and information

2. *Musukobeya*

   Click to see the image and information

Video Script

0:03

We may divide books into two main categories: printed books and handwritten books. Modern bookshops only sell printed books, but Edo-period bookshops not only also sold manuscripts, but they could have them made on order. The term "manuscript" referred to everything from notes and jottings meant for personal use to widely-circulated, high quality copies of important books. Where as producing the blocks to print books required considerable capital investment and compliance with a complex series of governmental regulations, manuscripts could be cheaply produced, and because of the fewer restrictions compared to printed books, there was also considerably more flexibility with regard to content. Finally, manuscripts were prestigious.

1:14

The Edo period saw a dramatic rise in the number and range of printed books, but how did this affect the perception of both printed and handwritten books? The Osaka-based Ihara Saikaku, who was active in the second half of the 17th century, was one of the most successful authors of his generation. He produced a long list of lively novels in which he poked fun at characters from all walks of life. In *Shōen ōkagami* ,

1:45

a collection of stories set in the pleasure quarters, there is the following scene: [English translation] It is hard to be a *tayū* ! Once, a man of feeble memory was having an argument about whether the phrase "love is the most irrational of all pursuits" appears in the "Hahakigi" chapter of the Tale of *Genji* . He

dispatched someone to the house of a *tayū* to fetch a copy of the *Genji*. The man returned with a copy of the *Kogetsushō* [1].

2:13

Having settled the dispute, the forgetful man said: "The *tayū* of this area are no longer what they used to be! In the olden days, a *tayū* would have owned a full library of the finest books in the hand of famous calligraphers. To send one of these printed books? how crude! Why is the lady criticized for handing out a printed book? The *Kogetsushō* was a hugely popular commentary to the Tale of *Genji* published by Kitamura Kigin in 1675. The Tale of *Genji* was first published in print form in the early 17th century, which means that for six-hundred years since it was written, it was read in manuscript form.

3:04

Because it was considered required reading for *waka* poets, hundreds, perhaps thousands of copies were made, of which the beautifully written, lavishly bound copies by aristocratic scribes to which the forgetful man in Saikaku's story refers to were the most precious. Manuscript versions continued to be made in the Edo period, but with the appearance of the printed editions, and especially with the publication of annotated editions like the *Kogetsushō*, owning the printed edition is likely to have been the norm. As the highest ranking among the courtesans, the *tayū* was expected to be highly educated, and the *Genji* in particular, because it dealt with love and relationships, was very much required knowledge for a professional of the love industry.

4:05

This image [2] is from a book dealing with the pleasure quarters published in the second half of the 18th century. It shows a courtesan in the company of one of her clients and on the left-hand side, in front of one of the two book cases behind the woman, is a copy of a book titled *Kogetsushū*, probably an error for *Kogetsushō*. Courtesans and the *Kogetsushō* are often pictured together in art and literature from the 18th century onwards, which is another indicator of the work's popularity among courtesans. Before the advent of print and print culture, a *tayū* would have owned a handwritten copy of the *Genji*.

4:49

Because of her high rank, only the highly prestigious manuscript book would have been considered suitable. All that changed with the appearance of books like the *Kogetsushō*. In a sense, we can see the

comment of the forgetful man in Saikaku's *Shoen ōkagami* as an elegy to the end of manuscript culture. With the spread of printed books, the manuscript ceased to be simply a way of making books. The poet and classicist Katō Enao notes in a work titled *"Kokinshūshō* no oku ni kakeru kotoba". [English translation] The trustworthy texts today are the ones that the aging Lord Teika copied late in his life, in Jōō 2 and Karoku 2.

5:44

Poets of commoner stock today feel that if they own a printed version of the *Kokin wakashū* , they don't need to make their own copy of it. But even today true connoisseurs do not stop at that. For example, the Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai is said to have copied the *Wenxuan* three times in his personal notebooks. That is what one must do if one is serious about art, and that is why I have already copied the *Kokinshū* three times myself. Ever since its compilation in 905, the *Kokinwakashū* had been the sacred book of *waka* poets. Like the *Genji* , it had been read in manuscript form for centuries before the first printed editions appeared in the early 17th century.

6:42

More than 30 different print editions were published during the Edo period, far more than any other work of Japanese literature. Demand was so high that bookshops could pretty much assume a good volume of sales from it. In the 18th century when Enao wrote the above passage, the *Kokinshū* had been easy to get hold of for a while, and few poets now went to the trouble of copying it personally. By going against the trend of the time and copying it several times, Enao showed his commitment to waka. If prior to the spread of printing hand-copying texts had been just a way of producing books, in the age of print it acquired a new meaning.

7:48

In his autobiography, *Shugyōroku* , the government official Matsudaira Sadanobu claims to have personally copied many of the major classic poetry collections and prose tales several times, including seven different complete copies of the Tale of *Genji* . By this time, producing handwritten copies of classic texts no longer had a practical purpose, so it became almost a form of asceticism that signified complete devotion to a book or literary genre.

Week 3	Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period
Activity 4	The spread of books
Type	Discussion

Step 3-14. Books become a mass commodity

In Japan, books become a mass commodity during the Edo period (1603 - 1868).

The onset of movable type printing in the late 16th century led to a rapid expansion of the range of books available in printed form. Previously, the only texts to be printed were Buddhist works, and although the so-called Gozan-ban (Five Temples editions) somewhat widened the range of genres to be disseminated through print, most publications were in Chinese or Sino-Japanese, with an almost negligible percentage of works by Japanese authors. With the return to block printing in the second half of the 17th century, books now available in an unprecedented range of genres and subjects achieved even wider circulation, as booksellers produced and marketed them as goods to sell. That was about the time the books become a mass commodity.

Do you know when books became a mass commodity in the country where you were born or where you live now? What brought about the change? Write what you know about the topic.

What was the first book to become a bestseller in your country? Do you know any famous writers of the past?

You may like to read and comment on contributions made by other learners. You can see who has replied to or 'Liked' a comment that you have posted by clicking the notifications bell icon next to your profile (in the upper-right corner of your screen). You can also ‘like’ comments if you agree with what’s been said or if you have found something particularly interesting.

Week 3	Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period
Activity 5	Book publishing and the development of scholarship
Type	Article

Step 3-15. The power of texts

Kasen kashū [Poetry Collections of the Immortal Poets]

During the Edo period, not only were the Japanese classics published in printed form for the first time, but there was also an unprecedented eagerness to study them and understand them in greater depth than ever before.

The classics were studied in the medieval period too, for example by *waka* poets who admired the *Kokinshū* and the *Tale of Genji*, but it was primarily a small number of court aristocrats who were involved in such study. By contrast, and thanks to the spread of printed books, in the Edo period people from a diverse range of social backgrounds devoted themselves to scholarship.

Keichū

One of the great scholars of the period was Keichū (1640-1701), a Buddhist priest of the Shingon sect. In many ways, his scholarly approach was perfectly suited to the age. Keichū's magnum opus is the *Man'yōshū daishōki* (Fig.1), a commentary to the Nara-period poetry collection *Man'yōshū* (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves, mid-8th c.).

Fig.1. *Man'yōshū daishōki* (A Stand-in's Account of the *Man'yōshū*), Keichū, Click to take a closer look

Keichū's aim in writing this work was to reconstruct as closely as possible the original meaning of the text by looking at a wide range of contemporary and near-contemporary sources. Within the work, Keichū discusses the basic principles of his approach to the study of the past, which can be summarized as follows:

- Reconstruct the contemporary meaning of the work and avoid at all costs any interference from the modern reader's expectations and beliefs.
- Make use only of sources from the same time period or thereabouts.
- Do not take for granted the theories contained in later commentaries, including traditionally authoritative ones, because they may not be accurate or not apply directly to the age of the *Man'yōshū*.

Keichū applied these principles not only to the *Man'yōshū*, but also to the Kokinshū and other important works of the past. Through his method he made a number of important breakthroughs that forever changed the face of scholarship on the classics.

Although Keichū's method may seem obvious today, no one before him had used such a rigorous philological approach in *waka* studies. Traditionally, *waka* scholars studied under a master and the emphasis was on amassing the transmitted teachings of one's school or "house" (*ie*) rather than on textual study. Keichū never

studied under a specific master, and so was never bound by a master-disciple type of relationship. Even more important was the boom of book publishing, which enabled Keichū to obtain the texts he needed for his research with ease. As sources for his commentary to the *Man'yōshū, Keichū* names the *Nihon shoki* (Chronicles of Japan, 720), the *Kaifūsō* (Collection of Fond Recollections, 751), the *Shoku Nihongi* (Later Chronicles of Japan, 797), the *Kogo shūi* (Gleanings of Ancient Words, 807), the *Shinsen Man'yōshū* (Newly Edited Man'yōshū, 894), and the *Wamyō ruijūshō* (Japanese Words by Category, ca. 938), all of which were written between the 8th and 10th centuries, and all of which were available in print when Keichū wrote *Man'yō daishōki* in 1683. None of them had ever been printed prior to the late 17th century, so it can be said that Keichū's text-based scholarship would have been impossible in earlier periods. That Keichū's approach relied heavily on printed editions of the texts he studied can be seen from the many notes and comments that he personally wrote on his own printed editions of the classics. Keio University Library owns one such book (Fig.2).

Fig.2. *Kasen kashū*

Click to take a closer look

Motoori Norinaga

After Keichū, many scholars of so-called Nativist Studies (*kokugaku* or *wagaku*) adopted his philological method and produced groundbreaking studies and reinterpretations of the Japanese classics. Kada no Azumamaro（1669-1736), Kamo no Mabuchi (1697-1769), and Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) are some notable examples. Motoori Norinaga in particular was the one who made the most of the new opportunities provided by publishing.

Norinaga came from a family of merchants from Matsusaka in Ise province. Having realized early that trade was not his vocation, he established himself as a physician and at the same time began to study the classics,

especially the Nara-period *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters, 710), to the study of which he made an immense contribution. His *Ashiwake obune* (A Small Boat Through the Reeds) takes the form of a dialogue and contains the following exchange:

常縁何故に古今伝授と云ふことを作りたるや。答へて云はく。本朝に昔は、書物に板本と云ふことはなかりしなり。板本はいと近き世になりてのことなり。昔はみな写本にて行はれしなり。しかるに足利将軍家の末に至り、天下大きに乱れて世の中騒がしかりしゆゑに、昔の書物ども多く失せて世に稀なりしに、この常縁多く古書を所持して、世になき書物どももありしなり。その中に定家卿の顕注密勘などその外もあるをみて、それに本づきてさまざまのことを作り加へて、古今伝授と云へるなり。その比は世に書物少くして、古書をみること稀なれば、常縁が云ふことを珍らしく思ひ、まことに貫之より相伝のむねと心得たるなり。今の世には古書もあまねく世に広まりて、古へを考ふるに暗きことなければ、かの作りごとも書物をみれば弁へらるることなれども、そこへ心を付けてみる人少くして、なほかの偽物に欺かれてゐるなり。

[English translation] “Why did Tōno Tsunenori [late-medieval warlord and poet] create the “Secret Transmission of the Kokinshū” (Kokin denju)?” “Here is the answer: at the time, the Japanese classics had never been published. It is only in recent times that they have been published. Up to that point, they were only available as manuscripts. With the turmoil of the late Muromachi period, a lot of books were lost to fire. Tōno Tsunenori had a rich collection of books, which included works unknown to the public, such as Kokinshū commentaries like Teika’s Kenchū mikkan. He used these works to fabricate a set of theories which were known as the Kokin denju. At the time there were few books and ancient works were especially rare, so Tsunenori’s theories sounded authoritative and were believed to reflect the teachings of Kokinshū compiler Ki no Tsurayuki himself. But today the classics are readily available in printed version and it is very easy to research the past if one wishes to do so. It is obvious to anyone who reads the classics that these so-called “teachings” are nothing but later fabrications. And yet, somehow, few seem to care much about this and the “Kokin denju” is still considered authoritative.

It is hard to believe that Norinaga was only in his mid-twenties when he wrote this book. He shows a clear grasp of the limitations of earlier *waka* scholarship and of the power of books to overcome them. Norinaga was perhaps even more aware than Keichū of the power of the printed word. To begin with, he actively sought to publish his works. Before him, it was uncommon for scholars to publish their works during their lifetime. Keichū only published two of his works, so did Kamo no Mabuchi, and Kada no Azumamaro published none at all. By contrast, Norinaga published a staggering total of about 30 works during his lifetime.

Besides Norinaga's personal interest in publishing, his prolific output shows just how popular the study of antiquity was in the second half of the 18th century. The reputation of Keichū, Mabuchi, and Azumamaro's scholarship grew after their death, and their works were published regularly between the late 18th century and the first half of the 19th century.

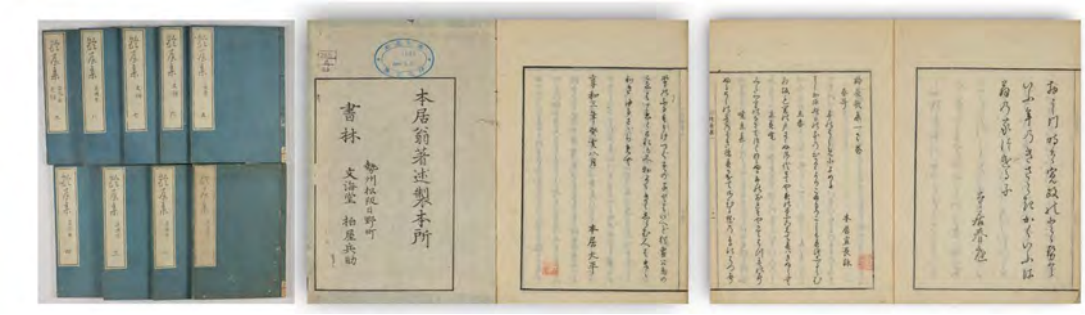


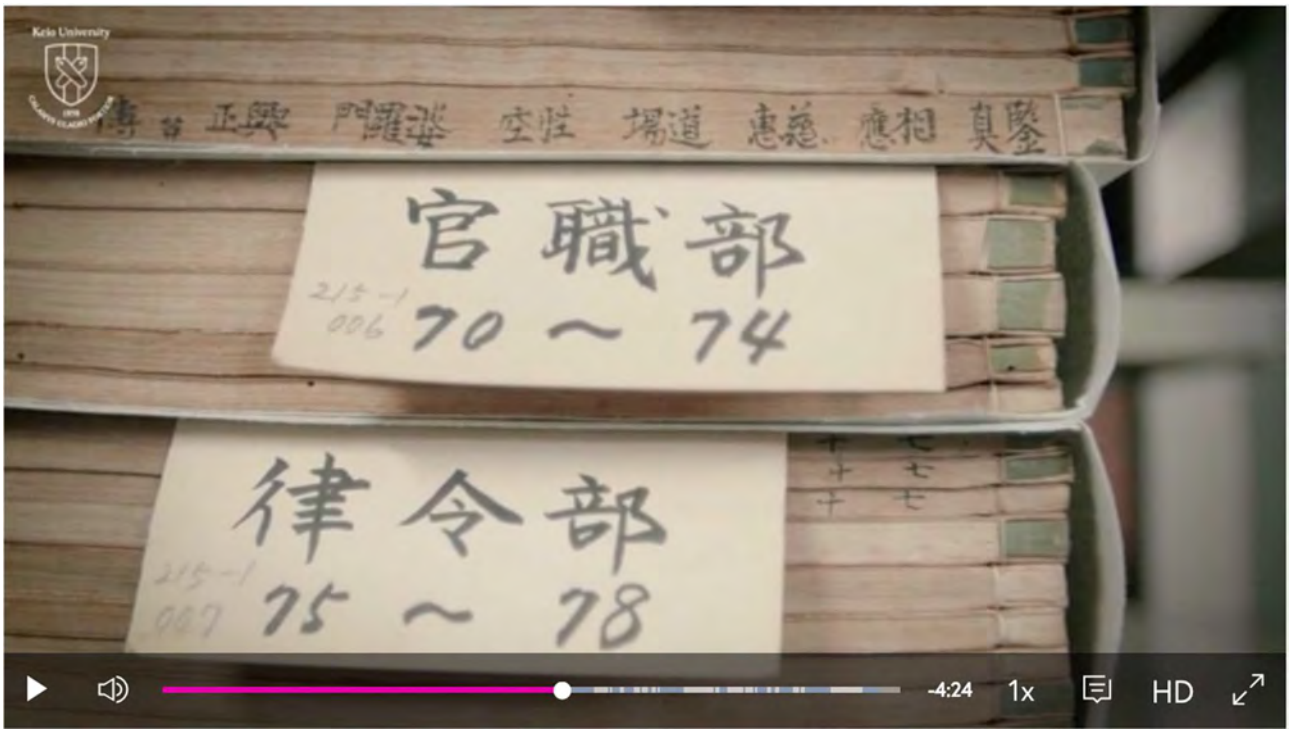
Fig.3. *Suzunoya-shū*, Motoori Norinaga,

Click to take a closer look

Norinaga's successful publishing career, which was aided by his numerous disciples, must be seen as part of this larger phenomenon (Fig.3). His publications earned him even more disciples, as many were drawn to study with him by the ideas expressed in his books. He kept a list of the students regularly studying at his school and the total is in excess of 500. Norinaga's students formed a nationwide network and his published works provided the connecting tissue among them.

Week 3	Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period
Activity 5	Book publishing and the development of scholarship
Type	Video

Step 3-16. Toward a new, open knowledge



Starting in the mid-18th century, a large quantity of previously unpublished works were published and made available to a wide audience.

In this video, Prof. Ichinohe introduces the publishing activity of various late Edo-period scholars and intellectuals. For many of them, publishing activity went hand in hand with their love for the past. By collecting and making available ancient materials, Edo scholars aimed to acquire a fuller and more accurate understanding of the cultural past.

Books introduced in the video

Number in the susbitles indicate the book # in the list here;

1. *Wamyō ruijūshō*

   Click to see the image and information

2. *Gunsho ruijū*

   Click to see the image and information

3. *Nihon kōki*

   Click to see the image and information

4. *Shūko jisshu-kō*

   Click to see the image and information

SEE ALSO

- **JAPAN KNOWLEDGE – DATABSE SERVICE SITE**

  http://japanknowledge.com/

  The "Gunsho ruijū", introduced in the video was published in modern typographic edition in the Meiji period, and it is now available in electronic format from this site. The site is available only in Japanese.

Video Script

0:04

The publication of many of the classics during the Edo period gave a tremendous boost to scholarship. The most important of the classical works all appeared in print in the one-hundred-year period between the end of the 16th century and the end of the 17th century. Research and scholarship thrived as a result, but efforts to make old sources available did not stop here. Rather, from this point on, they extended to include rarer materials, making accessing old texts easier than ever before. The Hōshōin archive of the Shinpukuji temple in Ōsu, Naka ward, Nagoya, has housed a rich collection of priceless ancient texts since the times of its founder, Nōshin.

0:56

The quality and value of the holdings of the collection were already known in the early Edo period. Among the most important works in the archive is the oldest extant complete copy of the *Kojiki* in 3 volumes, which was made between 1371 and 1372 and which is now a designated National Treasure.

This very copy of the *Kojiki* was studied by prominent Edo-period scholars such as Watarai Nobuyoshi and Motoori Norinaga. The size and variety of the collection was such that a large number of Edo scholars paid regular visits to it to survey it and study it.

1:50

Particularly noteworthy is the research stay of Inaba Michikuni, a samurai from the Owari domain who in 1797 was officially commanded by the daimyō of Owari, Tokugawa Munechika, to study the *Kojiki*. In the spring of 1798, as he surveyed the holdings of the collection, Michikuni accidentally stumbled upon a fragment at the bottom of a book case. What he had found was a fragment of a 1283 copy of the *Wamyō ruijūshō*, an early 10th century Sino-Japanese dictionary. At the time, this was the oldest surviving text of the *Wamyō ruijūshō*. Realizing the importance of the document, Michikuni immediately made a faithful copy, and two years later, he published it as *Bishū Ōsu Hōshōin-zō Wamyōshō zanpen*.

2:40

What is particularly remarkable about this woodblock edition [1] is how faithful to the original in every detail it is. Not only the original handwriting but even the damage to the text in the original were faithfully reproduced. Documents are most suitable for research when they are left in their original form without any modification. It is no doubt because he fully realized the value of the document he had found that Mitsukuni produced a replica version that allowed readers to study it almost as if they had been looking at the original text. The books you see on this bookshelf are the *Gunsho ruijū* [2], a series of books published in the late Edo period.

3:36

The full series comprised 666 volumes, and included approximately 1300 Japanese texts dating in time from the 7th century to the 17th century. The project was the brainchild of a blind scholar named Hanawa Hokiichi. Hokiichi lost his eyesight in his childhood, but he had a great passion for learning and was apparently blessed with a prodigious memory. He conducted his studies of the classics in Edo, under the guidance of Yamaoka Matsuake and Hagiwara Sōko, among others. In 1779 he had the idea of publishing a collection of shorter texts which, because of their small size, were more likely to become lost.

4:34

When we said that most of the classics were available in print by the middle of the Edo period, we meant the most important ones, that is to say, books that had been traditionally recognized as valuable and important. By contrast, the works included in the *Gunsho ruijū* were the mass of shorter works that one was unlikely to ever have the opportunity to see, which lied unread at the back of private libraries, shrine and temple archives, and which were unlikely to ever be published. But precisely for this reason, they were more appealing to the researcher. The *Gunsho ruijū* was inspired by this desire to fill a gap in the world of scholarship and to explore previously uncharted territory.

5:21

Hokiichi dispatched friends and disciples to archives in all corners of Japan to analyze and collect texts, and steadily published their findings. Hokiichi himself travelled to the Shinpukuji archive from Edo and personally surveyed its holdings. The publication of the *Gunsho ruijū* was a work of undeniable public utility, but the driving force behind it was one man, Hokiichi himself. In 1793 he borrowed land from the shogunate to set up an officially-recognized teaching and research institute named “Wagaku kōdanjo” and even received grants from the government. But although he did receive some official support, it was a rather feeble and indirect form of backing.

6:17

A few years prior to the publication of *Gunsho ruijū*, in China, the Qianlong Emperor sponsored the publication the *Siku Quanshu* which was completed in 1782. Compared to this state-commissioned, officially-sponsored series, the *Gunsho ruijū* has all the hallmarks of a private project. Hokiichi published many more books besides the *Gunsho ruijū*. His partial edition of the official history *Nihon kōki* [3], in 1799, was a major event. Up to the 14th century, the text had been stored in the court’s library but nothing had been known about it since. The shogunate had repeatedly tried to locate it, but to no avail. It was Hokiichi’s disciple Inayama Yukinori who eventually found the book in Kyoto and Hokiichi published it soon after.

7:30

Inasmuch as they made available books that had been previously difficult or impossible to find, Hanawa Hokiichi’s publishing efforts had a profound impact on scholarship and learning. After Hokiichi’s death,

his disciples continued his work and even released a sequel to the *Gunsho ruijū*, the Zoku *Gunsho ruijū*. The *Gunsho ruijū* was published in modern typographic edition in the Meiji period, and it is now available in electronic format. As such, it continues to serve its original function as a publicly accessible treasury of ancient texts. The curiosity of Edo scholars was not limited to texts but extended to the material culture of the past. This is a book entitled *Shūko jisshu* [4], which was published in 1800.

8:10

It is an illustrated archaeological catalog containing detailed reproductions of ancient steles, weapons, copperware, musical instruments, writing utensils, paintings, etc. In addition to the images, it also provides information about the current owners and locations of the items as well as their size, material and color. The main person behind the *Shūko jisshu* was the influential daimyō and politician Matsudaira Sadanobu. As *rōjū* of the shogunate, Sadanobu was responsible for the important set of reforms known as the Kansei reforms, but he was also very active as a scholar and man of culture.

8:56

sWith the help of retainers and collaborators from around the country, he collected and edited for publication information about items in temples, shrines and private collections, and the *Shūko jisshu* was the result of this work. To sum up, from approximately the mid-18th century onward, large-scale efforts were made to retrieve, study, and make available through publishing previously unavailable materials. Publishing activity went hand in hand with the love for the past. By collecting and making available these ancient materials, Edo scholars aimed to acquire a fuller and more accurate picture of the cultural past. In this respect, their goals are not so very different from those of researchers working in the humanities today.

Week 3	Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period
Activity 5	Book publishing and the development of scholarship
Type	Quiz

Step 3-17. Five questions about Japanese books

Please check your understanding of the topics covered in week 3 in this fun quiz.

Question 1

The Hyakumantō darani (One Million Pagodas and Dharani Prayers) are the oldest dated printed documents in the world. When were they made?

- ◯ 660CE
- ◯ 770CE
- ◯ 880CE
- ◯ 990CE

Question 2

What kind of books were primarily printed in Japan before the Edo period?

- ◯ Popular books likely to produce a profit.
- ◯ Buddhist works.
- ◯ Military handbooks to improve in the military arts.
- ◯ Literary works for use by the court (poetry collections, etc.)

Question 3

Where did commoners learn to read and write in Edo-period Japan?

- ◯ In schools run by temples.
- ◯ In state-run provincial schools.
- ◯ In local community schools.
- ◯ In government schools run by the shogunate.

Question 4

On what did Edo-period philologists like Keichū and Motoori Norinaga base their critiques of earlier theories?

- ◯ Printed editions of the classics.
- ◯ Their vivid imagination.
- ◯ The secret teachings of their masters.
- ◯ Unbending courage in the face of authority.

Question 5

Which of the following definitions best describes the Gunsho ruijū?

- ◯ An early Edo-period Man'yōshū commentary by Keichū characterized by its rigorous use of period sources.
- ◯ A late Edo-period book series collecting shorter old texts first conceived in 1779 by the blind scholar Hanawa Hokiichi.
- ◯ A widely-read commentary of the Tale of Genji first published in 1675 by Kitamura Kigin.
- ◯ A parody of the Heian-period miscellany Makura no sōshi (The Pillow Book) published in the early Edo period.

Week3	Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period
Activity6	Summary of the course
Type	Discussion

Step 3-18. Books and Japanese Culture

Now that you've made your way through the course, we would like you to share what you found most interesting in the discussion area. You may also want to comment on the similarities and differences between the history of bookmaking and publishing in your country and in Japan. In addition, read the comments of the other learners to find out how they experienced the course and please give feedback. Remember you can also 'like' comments.

You can see who has replied to or 'Liked' a comment that you have posted by clicking the notifications bell icon next to your profile (in the upper-right corner of your screen).

Week3	Scholarship and Publishing in the Edo Period
Activity6	Summary of the course
Type	Video

Step 3-19. Course Summary – Books and Japanese Culture

Thank you very much for joining us for the past three weeks. Please watch the video for a brief wrap-up by professors Sasaki and Ichinohe from the quiet comfort of a traditional Japanese style room.

Related course from Keio University

As introduced in the video, Keio University offers a related course "Sino-Japanese Interactions Through Rare Books" on FutureLearn. You'll enjoy learning how Japanese culture has been influenced from Chinese culture by looking into rare books in Japan written in Chinese text. Please join us if you have not taken it yet!

Complete the post-course survey

We would also be very grateful if you can take the time to complete our post-course survey which asks you some questions about your experience on the course in order to help us keep improving our courses.

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You can now get extra benefits by upgrading this course, including:

Unlimited access to the course: Go at your own pace with unlimited access to the course for as long as it exists on FutureLearn.

A Certificate of Achievement or Statement of Participation: To help you demonstrate your learning we'll send you a Certificate of Achievement or Statement of Participation when you become eligible.

Find out more

Video Script

Sasaki: "For our last meeting of the course we have come to a traditional Japanese-style room."

Ichinohe: "This is the kind of room where the people of old would read their books."

Sasaki: "Fewer and fewer houses these days have a Japanese-style room. As I am sure you will notice immediately, in this room there is something that was once a book."

Ichinohe: "You mean that hanging scroll over there."

Sasaki: "That's right. Books were cut and mounted as scrolls in order to enjoy and appreciate the beauty of the calligraphy."

Ichinohe: "In Europe, too, it was common to frame and display illustrations from good quality books."

Sasaki: “Absolutely. I don’t know how far the two cases resemble each other, but it seems that in Japan it was usually books that because of damage could no longer be read that were cut. You can say that the practice embodies the Japanese dislike for waste which is captured in the phrase ‘mottai nai.’”

Ichinohe: “Books were also used as decorative objects, weren’t they? In the West, for instance, the tradition is to buy large sets of books with the same cover to display them in one’s study.”

Sasaki: “One can say that few other things offer as much insight into Japanese culture as books do. It is because books were so loved and appreciated that a larger quantity of them has survived than of any other kind of old artifact.”

Ichinohe: “Indeed. There are so many and from all periods. They kind of transport you back to the time they were made, don’t they? Like time capsules of sorts.”

Sasaki: “Yes. Not only do they reflect the thinking of bygone ages, they tell us about the technology, aesthetic preferences, and economic situation of the time.”

Ichinohe: “Which is why we included the words ‘Japanese Culture’ in the name of the course.”

Sasaki: “Yes. Traditional books come in a great variety of binding, size, shape, and cover style but one thing they all have in common is the fine craftsmanship. This may well be a characteristic of Japanese culture as a whole.”

Ichinohe: “It would be nice if what people have learned about books in this course will inspire them to further explore Japanese culture.”

Sasaki: “It certainly would. There are many Japanese books in Japan of course, but there are also many in North America, Europe, China, and Korea. It is not at all uncommon to find Japanese illustrated books in museums across the world.”

Ichinohe: “I hope people will go to see them and, why not, come to Japan and visit Jimbōchō to touch them and have a first-hand look. I trust that many people will come to like Japanese books and gain a finer appreciation of Japanese culture as a result of this course.”

Sasaki: “Three of our colleagues at the Keio University Institute of Oriental Classics are already preparing a follow-up course on the history of Sino-Japanese interaction. I hope that many of those who have taken this course will also take that one and learn even more about Japanese culture by comparing it with that of China.”

Sasaki and Ichinohe: “We would like to thank you for being with us for the past three weeks.”