

***SETSUYŌSHŪ* IN EARLY
MODERN JAPAN:
A BOOK HISTORICAL APPROACH**

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Abstract

The word *setsuyōshū* refers first and foremost to a kind of dictionary that was in use from late in the Muromachi-period (1336-1573) until the beginning of the twentieth century. Although many *setsuyōshū* remained as mere dictionaries, in the early modern period (1600-1868) additional content that was not related to the dictionary was added to many of them. Because of this additional content, many refer to *setsuyōshū* as “household encyclopedias”. *Setsuyōshū* were popular books, but so far they have been largely neglected by scholars, especially by non-Japanese. As the first of its kind, this study is an attempt to fill that gap.

One of the few who has researched *setsuyōshū* and written about them in English is Yokoyama Toshio, who interpreted *setsuyōshū* as books that “civilized Japan”. In this study I challenge such an interpretation, and argue that we need to address simpler and more important questions before we pose abstract questions about the books’ impact on society. How did the *setsuyōshū* change over time, and what remained unchanged? Who produced the *setsuyōshū* and under what circumstances? What were the publishers’ motivations for producing *setsuyōshū*? Where did the information in *setsuyōshū* come from and what were the relationships between *setsuyōshū* and other books? Who were the readers of *setsuyōshū* and how did they read them?

The approach used in this study to address such questions is two-fold: viewing *setsuyōshū* through the concept of genre on the one hand, and through what I call the book-historical communication circuit on the other. Through the concept of genre I am examining the *setsuyōshū* themselves and how they developed over time, while through the lens of the book-historical communication circuit I am looking at many of the different actors connected to *setsuyōshū* such as publishers, publishing guilds, and readers. This holistic approach to *setsuyōshū* reveals many insights and provides some surprising answers to the questions posed above.

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Writing a PhD dissertation is often thought of as a lonely affair, but the truth of the matter is that I would never have reached the final page had it not been for the help of others.

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Note on style

The common Hepburn transcription system is used for romanization of Japanese words while Pinyin is used for the few occurrences of Chinese words. Some exceptions where the Hepburn system has not been used are common geographical names such as Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto and words that are accepted in English such as Shinto and shogun.

Japanese words are written in italics and are followed by Japanese script in the first occurrence of the word. Japanese terms with explanations and Japanese script can be found in a glossary at the end of the dissertation. Names of *setsuyōshū* and other Japanese texts are treated in a similar manner and Japanese script follows the romanized title in first occurrences. In some cases, Japanese script is provided in multiple occurrences for the title of books. At the end of the dissertation, I have also provided a list of the various *setsuyōshū* and other primary sources mentioned in the text, which contains the title in both romanized form and with Japanese characters. Names of Japanese persons follow the Japanese order, with family name followed by given name. All of the translations in this dissertation are my own, unless indicated otherwise.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

When I was a young boy I was an avid reader of Donald Duck comic books. Some of the stories I found most fascinating was those featuring the Junior Woodchucks and their incredible guidebook called *The Woodchuck Book*. The premise of this guidebook is simple; it contains information on all thinkable subjects, is always up to date, and always gives correct information. The guidebook was first described by Carl Barks in *The Secret of Atlantis* published in 1954, and quickly became an important part of the Donald Duck universe. In the story *Guardians of the Lost Library* written by Don Rosa in 1993, it is explained that the guidebook is in fact a compilation of all the information contained in the lost Library of Alexandria.¹ The universe of Donald Duck and the Junior Woodchucks is, of course, merely fiction, but real life imitations of this book have been made. As a young boy, I inherited a copy of *Hakkespettboken* (the Norwegian name for *The Woodchuck Book*) from my mother. This book was published by A/S Hjemmet in 1972, and unfortunately it pales in comparison to the fictional book in terms of contents. It does, however, cover a wide range of subjects, from astronomy to traffic signs, and judging by the wear and tear on my personal copy it has been frequently used.

The idea of an inexhaustible book filled with all the knowledge of the world in an orderly fashion has fascinated human beings for ages. Perhaps the most well-known attempt to create such a work is the great French *Encyclopédie* (1751) edited by Diderot and d’Alembert, which has been an inspiration and a benchmark for subsequent encyclopedias in the West. There are long traditions for other kinds of reference books too, such as florilegia and commonplace books. By reference books I mean books that are intended to be consulted, rather than read from cover to cover. Early modern Japan also had its own kinds of reference books, among them a genre called *setsuyōshū*. *Setsuyōshū* as a phenomenon is a fascinating and important topic of study, not least because it has received very little attention from scholars, especially in Western languages. *Setsuyōshū* were popular and reached a large audience, and we can therefore expect them to give us valuable insights into what people considered important knowledge. A study of the historical development of the *setsuyōshū* genre makes it possible to trace changing attitudes towards knowledge and reflects important

¹ Siv Frøydis Berg, Helge Jordheim, and Øivind Berg, *All verdens kunnskap: leksikon gjennom to tusen år* (Oslo: Press, 2012), 238.

aspects of the functioning of the publishing industry. The story of *setsuyōshū* highlights a process of democratization, popularization, and commodification of knowledge, reflected in the development of *setsuyōshū* from hand-copied dictionaries used by a literate elite mainly for artistic pursuits, to mass-produced printed books for sale aimed at a much larger and more socially diversified audience.

A brief introduction to *setsuyōshū*

The word *setsuyōshū* 節用集, which originally was read as *setchōshū*,² can be translated as “a collection for occasional use”. The term’s usage can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand it can be understood as a common noun referring to a genre of different books that adhere to this genre’s rules. On the other hand, it was originally used as a proper noun in the title of the very first book, which is a dictionary. This dictionary, *Setsuyōshū*, was compiled sometime in the latter half of the Muromachi period (1337-1573) and was designed for looking up Chinese characters via the Japanese readings of words. The entries were ordered according to two sorting principles. First, entries were ordered in the *iroha* いろは order according to the first *kana* of each word (*bu* 部), and secondly, the words were sorted in several semantic categories (*mon* 門). The *iroha*-order can most simply be explained as the ABC of pre-modern Japan. The *Setsuyōshū* went through some minor transformations throughout the first few decades, but it remained quite similar to the original. *Setsuyōshū* from this pre-modern period is often referred to as *kohon setsuyōshū* 古本節用集, or “old-style *setsuyōshū*”. In the early modern period, however, there were many more changes, and at some point the word *setsuyōshū* no longer refers to one specific dictionary but rather becomes the name of a genre. There are two major changes happening in this period. Firstly, *setsuyōshū* becomes a commercial product, a commodity aimed at a new market. Whereas the *kohon setsuyōshū* were aimed at a literate elite and used mainly for artistic pursuits, early modern *setsuyōshū* targeted a much larger audience and were designed for everyday use. One important factor that made it possible for *setsuyōshū* to reach a larger audience was the fact that early modern *setsuyōshū* were printed, as opposed to the earlier hand-copied manuscripts. Secondly, new elements in the form of attachments or appendices containing various kinds of

² Satō Takahiro, "Jisho kara kinsei o miru tame ni: setsuyōshū o chūshin ni," in *Shoseki no uchū: Hirogari to taikai*, ed. Suzuki Toshiyuki (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2015), 138.

information were added to many *setsuyōshū*. A small sample of typical material includes maps, historical chronologies, guides for letter writing, etiquette guides, manuals for arithmetic calculation, and information on weaponry and armor. *Setsuyōshū* that contain such appendices will be referred to as “encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū*” hereafter, and the various kinds of information in *setsuyōshū* will be treated in more detail in following chapters.

Setsuyōshū were popular books, and during the genre’s lifetime, at least 500 different editions were published, with more than 400 being published during the early modern period.³ Donald Shively estimates as many as 800 or more editions published for the entire history of the genre.⁴ The last few *setsuyōshū* appeared early in the Meiji period (1868-1912), with some continuing to be used into the Taishō period (1912-1926).⁵ According to Kornicki, *setsuyōshū* “were one of the mainstays of the publishing industry and were probably the most likely book to be found in a house of few books.”⁶

Setsuyōshū are often considered as belonging to a homogenous genre. Although there are many similarities between different *setsuyōshū* and it is possible to identify certain standards of the genre, there is also a rich variety of styles and formats. There were, for instance, numerous attempts to improve upon the sorting principles of the dictionary. Some of these attempts were more successful than others, notably the *hayabiki* 早引 style *setsuyōshū* which used a more effective method for looking up words. The major changes and innovations in the genre will be discussed at length in chapter 3. Although this thesis seeks to provide an overview of the development of *setsuyōshū*, from the beginnings of the genre in the Muromachi period to the last published *setsuyōshū* in the Meiji period, the main focus will be on woodblock-printed *setsuyōshū* from the early modern period. Accordingly, a solid understanding of publishing and printing in the early modern period is essential.

³ Yokoyama Toshio, "The Illustrated Household Encyclopedias that Once Civilized Japan," in *Written Texts - Visual Texts: Woodblock-printed Media in Early Modern Japan*, ed. Susanne and Sepp Linhart Formanek (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005), 47; Yuasa Shigeo, "Edo jidai no jisho," in *Nihon kojisho o manabu hito no tame ni*, ed. Nishizaki Ryō (Tokyo: Sekai shisōsha, 2001), 226.

⁴ Donald H Shively, "Popular Culture," in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, ed. John Whitney Hall (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 721.

⁵ Yokoyama Toshio, "Some Notes on the History of Japanese Traditional Household Encyclopedias," *Japan Forum* 1, no. 2 (1989): 246.

⁶ Peter F. Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, 5. Abteilung, Japan (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 248.

Publishing and printing in early modern Japan

Printing in Japan has existed from as early as the 760s. The texts printed in this period, however, were not actually meant to be read, but were Buddhist incantations that were placed within miniature pagodas.⁷ Printing for practical rather than purely devotional purposes was undertaken from the eleventh century and onwards, but prior to the early modern period printed material was for the most part limited to Buddhist texts, and mostly in the Chinese language. The texts were, moreover, not aimed at a commercial market, and it was not until the early modern period that printing turned into a commercial enterprise. Printing with moveable type was imported to Japan on two separate occasions towards the end of the sixteenth century: first when a printing press using moveable type was brought to Japan by a Jesuit mission led by Alessandro Valignano in 1590, and again when Toyotomi Hideyoshi brought back to Japan a printing press he had captured during his invasion of Korea.⁸ Although this led to some texts being printed with moveable print, printing with woodblocks was to become the dominant technology that was used throughout the early modern period.

There are many reasons why woodblock printing technology was dominant for several centuries despite the availability of moveable type technology, which is often considered superior to that of woodblocks.⁹ One reason is the multitude of characters needed to represent the Japanese language. When using moveable type technology, printers would need to make and store thousands of pieces for a single font, and the assembled fonts would have to be taken apart after printing a text to make the font available for the next project. They would also have to reassemble the pieces if they wanted to reprint the same text. Woodblock technology eliminated this problem, and made it possible to print books on demand rather than estimating at the first printing how many copies one might be able to sell. Woodblocks could therefore save a significant investment in time, material, and money compared to moveable print. One disadvantage of woodblocks, however, was that they required much storage space. The woodblocks themselves also played an important role in how the publishing industry operated. They were considered valuable items in their own right and

⁷ Ibid., 114.

⁸ Ibid., 125-29.

⁹ The contents of this and the following paragraph is based on discussions in *ibid.*, 26-30., and Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2006), 31.

could be sold to other publishers if one did not have a need for them anymore, or was in need of money. The inner workings of the publishing industry and the importance of woodblocks will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

The visual aspect of publications was another reason why woodblock printing became the dominant technology. First of all, it made it possible to have a seamless integration of text and illustration in a way that would be much more challenging with moveable type. Moreover, it also offered the opportunity for a much greater typographic variety than moveable type would. With moveable type every character would look the same each time it was used, while with woodblocks it was possible to display an endless variety of styles. It was possible to show off the beautiful (or not so beautiful) calligraphy of the author, which undeniably gives a very different impression than the uniform characters made by moveable type. As Kornicki points out, the “calligraphic personality of a book [...] created a relationship between the reader and the scribe or calligrapher which in turn affected the reading of texts in ways that need to be examined.”¹⁰

The historical and social impact of print cannot be underestimated. As Elisabeth Eisenstein argued in *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, the advent of print was a revolution that had a significant influence on major changes in the West, such as the Italian Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation, and the scientific revolution.¹¹ Eisenstein’s position has received its fair share of criticism over the years, but whether or not we accept her notion of a “revolution”, there is little doubt that the advent of print created unprecedented possibilities for the dissemination of texts. It made any individual text available to an exponentially larger audience, and a significantly greater amount of texts available to the individual reader, than was previously possible.¹²

It was also in the early modern period that print became a commercial enterprise. Books and other printed material rapidly became everyday commodities, and by the end of the

¹⁰ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 29.

¹¹ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

¹² Roger Chartier and Lydia G. Cochrane, *The Author's Hand and the Printer's Mind* (Cambridge: Polity, 2014), 59. For an example of criticism of Eisenstein, see for instance Adrian Johns, "How to Acknowledge a Revolution," *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 1 (2002).

period, in Henry D. Smith's words, "every citizen down to the most humble lived in a world saturated with the products of print technology and transformed by their effects."¹³

An important aspect of print culture in early modern Japan was the *hon'ya nakama* 本屋仲間, best translated as publisher or bookseller guilds. Guilds were formed to monopolize the production and/or sale of all kinds of thinkable commodities in the early modern period; there was even a guild in Osaka that specialized in buying urine from residents in the city in order to sell it as fertilizer to farmers.¹⁴ The state rarely interfered with the way publishers ran their businesses or what they published, but expected the guilds to keep a watchful eye on their members. The guilds were run by the publishers themselves, and administrative roles were performed by its members on a circulating basis. The guilds were not officially recognized by the authorities until the first half of the eighteenth century: first in 1716 in Kyoto, then in 1721 in Edo, and in 1723 in Osaka.¹⁵ For a brief ten-year period all *kabu nakama* (guilds with members holding membership "stocks" or *kabu* 株) were disbanded in the Tenpō reforms of 1841, on the grounds that monopolies on goods caused inflation. Among these guilds were also the publisher guilds. When the guilds were revived in 1851, one of the results was a rapid rise in new members because many new actors had appeared in the market during the time when there was no control. In Edo's publisher guilds, the number of members rose from 69 to 116.¹⁶

Apart from making sure that its members did not publish anything that could upset the authorities, one of the roles of the guilds was to prevent copyright infringements and to handle complaints from its members whenever there was a problem. Although a sort of system was in place to prevent such copyright infringements, they did occur quite frequently, and it was the responsibility of the guilds to mediate in these disputes. Copyright disputes and other procedures dealt with by the guilds will be explored further in chapter 5, where some disputes involving *setsuyōshū* will be discussed.

¹³ Henry D. Smith, "The History of the Book in Edo and Paris," in *Edo and Paris: Urban Life and the State in the Early Modern Era*, ed. James L. McClain, John M. Merriman, and Kaoru Ugawa (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 336.

¹⁴ David L. Howell, "Urbanization, Trade, and Merchants," in *Japan Emerging: Premodern History to 1850*, ed. Karl F. Friday (Boulder: Westview Press, 2012), 362.

¹⁵ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 181.

¹⁶ Hashiguchi Kōnosuke, *Zoku wahan nyūmon: Edo no hon'ya to hon zukuri* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2007), 150-51.

Publishing was to a large extent an endeavor undertaken in the three largest cities, Osaka, Kyoto, and Edo, but books were also published outside of these cities. Studies have shown that during the early modern period there were at least 1733 active publishers in Kyoto, 1253 in Osaka, and 1652 in Edo. In the rest of Japan there were at least 585, but according to Kornicki there are many publishers who do not appear in the lists of these studies, and the number therefore needs to be adjusted upwards.¹⁷ The *hon'ya* 本屋, referred to in this thesis as publishers, were also invariably engaging in the selling of books. A more accurate translation might therefore be “bookseller/publishers”.¹⁸ For sake of simplicity they will be referred to as “publishers”, but it is important to remember that they were also booksellers. It is in the middle of this thriving publishing industry that we find the *setsuyōshū*.

Purpose of this thesis

Because of the popularity of *setsuyōshū*, and because many *setsuyōshū* contained information on a wide variety of subjects, it is tempting to read the contents as a reflection of what contemporaries thought and believed; that the *setsuyōshū* reflect the world-view of its readers. Alternatively, or additionally, *setsuyōshū* can be interpreted as books that had the power to influence society and the way people thought in a certain direction. This second perspective is prominent in the work of Yokoyama Toshio, who saw the *setsuyōshū* as books that contributed to the “civilizing” of the Japanese people.¹⁹ Such an interpretation of *setsuyōshū* is interesting, and it is important to ask questions about the purpose of *setsuyōshū* and about what role they played in society. Such questions, however, are prematurely posed. They need to be asked after gaining a solid foundation of knowledge about what *setsuyōshū* were.

In itself, such an ontological question is problematic since, as briefly mentioned above, *setsuyōshū* was a genre of rich variety. Therefore, it is more beneficial to ask a series of different questions about different aspects of *setsuyōshū*. How did the *setsuyōshū* change over time, and what remained unchanged? Who produced the *setsuyōshū* and under what circumstances? What were the publishers’ motivations for producing *setsuyōshū*? Where did the information in *setsuyōshū* come from and what were the relationships between *setsuyōshū*

¹⁷ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 205.

¹⁸ Smith, "The History of the Book in Edo and Paris," 343.

¹⁹ Yokoyama, "The Illustrated Household Encyclopedias that Once Civilized Japan."

and other books? Who were the readers of *setsuyōshū* and how did they read them?

Ultimately, exploring these questions will provide the foundation for exploring more abstract questions about what role *setsuyōshū* played in society of Edo-period Japan and what their purpose were.

The list of proposed questions above points in many different directions and is in need of a good approach for unifying them. The approach I am suggesting here is two-fold: viewing *setsuyōshū* through the concept of genre on the one hand, and through what I call the book-historical communication circuit on the other. These two approaches highlight different aspects of *setsuyōshū*. Both approaches will be explained at greater length in chapter 2, but their purpose can be summarized as follows. The concept of genre gives us the opportunity to explore the works themselves, noting both what changed over time and what stayed the same. These can be considered to be the internal aspects of *setsuyōshū*. The book-historical communication circuit, influenced by the work of Robert Darnton, will allow us to highlight aspects of *setsuyōshū* that are not directly a part of the works themselves, but nevertheless important for our understanding of them, such as the makers and readers of these books. These can be considered the external aspects of *setsuyōshū*.

Previous research on *setsuyōshū*

In spite of the popularity and impressive proliferation of *setsuyōshū* in the early modern period, they have received surprisingly little attention from scholars, especially in the English language. There are many who have researched and written about *setsuyōshū*, but the vast majority of existing research focuses on bibliography and genealogic relationships between different *setsuyōshū* and has been mostly concerned with mapping the addition, removal, and substitutions of entries in the dictionary. This is of course important work, but other aspects of *setsuyōshū* such as the various encyclopedic additions in many early modern *setsuyōshū* have been largely overlooked. There are a few notable exceptions, and *setsuyōshū* have slowly started to become a focus of attention in the academic literature.

In its first decades, *setsuyōshū* research was limited to the study of *kohon setsuyōshū*, or “old-style *setsuyōshū*”. This refers to dictionary-only manuscript editions of *setsuyōshū* from before the early modern period. An early pioneer who created a foundation for later researchers to work from was Hashimoto Shinkichi. In 1916, he published his *Kohon setsuyōshū no kenkyū*, which examined the many extant *kohon setsuyōshū* that were available

to him at the time.²⁰ The categories he suggested for differentiating between different *setsuyōshū* dictionaries are still widely used today. Following in his footsteps were other researchers who continued with the same bibliographic and lexicographic focus, such as Kameda Jirō, Okada Yoshio, and Yamada Tadao.²¹ Research with the same focus and approach has continued until today, with one of the more recent additions being a book with the promising title *Setsuyōshū kenkyū nyūmon* (Introduction to *setsuyōshū* research).²² Although its title seems to imply a broad focus on *setsuyōshū*, it is rather narrow in its approach and focuses almost exclusively on lexicography and the genealogy of *kohon setsuyōshū*.

The most prolific researcher on early modern *setsuyōshū* is Satō Takahiro. Satō has published numerous articles dealing with a wide variety of subjects, ranging from the usage of *setsuyōshū* in rural areas,²³ to the variety of finding mechanisms in *setsuyōshū* dictionaries,²⁴ prices of *setsuyōshū*,²⁵ and more general overviews of the history of *setsuyōshū*.²⁶ He also has a webpage dedicated to *setsuyōshū*, where many of his articles are made publicly available.²⁷ He has also collected, compiled, and published a chronological survey of copyright disputes involving *setsuyōshū*.²⁸ The data are gathered from various guild records, and having easy access to this information is very useful. Although it is a convenient compilation, complete

²⁰ Hashimoto Shinkichi, *Kohon setsuyōshū no kenkyū* (Benseisha, 1916).

²¹ See for instance Jirō Kameda, "Meiō-bon setsuyōshū ni tsuite," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* (1933); Okada Yoshio, "Kohon setsuyōshū ichihon no kaisetsu," *ibid.* (1934); Yamada Tadao, "Hashimoto hakase igo no setsuyōshū," *Kokugogaku* 5 (1951).

²² Konno Shinji, *Setsuyōshū kenkyū nyūmon*, vol. 5, Nihongogaku kōza (Osaka: Seibundō shuppan, 2012).

²³ Satō Takahiro, "Mura no setsuyōshū: Nōson no moji seikatsu to renkan shiron," *Gifu daigaku kokugo kokubungaku* 30 (2003).

²⁴ "Kinsei kōki setsuyōshū ni okeru hikiyō no tayōka ni tsuite," *Kokugogaku* 160 (1990).

²⁵ "Kinsei Setsuyōshū no kakaku," *Kindaigo kenkyū* 11 (2002).

²⁶ "Setsuyōshū to kinsei shakai," in *Kinseigo kenkyū no pāsupekutibu: Gengo bunka o dō toraeru ka*, ed. Kanazawa Hiroyuki and Yajima Masahiro (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2011).

²⁷ <http://www1.gifu-u.ac.jp/~satopy/rekishi.html>

²⁸ Originally published in Gifu Daigaku Kokugo Kokubungaku, but the survey is also fully available at Satō's homepage. Satō Takahiro, "Kinsei setsuyōshū hanken mondai tsūran: Genroku - Genbun-kan," *Gifu daigaku kokugo kokubungaku* 44, no. 1 (1995).; "Kinsei setsuyōshū hanken mondai tsūran: Hōreki - Meiwa-kan," *Gifu daigaku kokugo kokubungaku* 44, no. 2 (1996).; "Kinsei setsuyōshū hanken mondai tsūran: An'ei - Kansei-kan," *Gifu daigaku kokugo kokubungaku* 46, no. 1 (1997).; "Kinsei setsuyōshū hanken mondai tsūran: Kyōwa - Bunka-kan," *Gifu daigaku kokugo kokubungaku* 45, no. 2 (1997).; "Kinsei setsuyōshū hanken mondai tsūran: Kaei - Meiji shonen-kan," *Gifu daigaku kokugo kokubungaku* 47, no. 1 (1998).

quotes from the records are unfortunately for the most part not included, and Satō does not give specific information on where to find the full record, citing only the records' titles. This minor grievance aside, his collection of cases will serve as the main resource for the parts of chapter 6 where copyright disputes are explored.

Another scholar who deserves attention is Kashiwabara Shirō. He has published several articles on the topic of *setsuyōshū*, but his most notable contribution comes in the form of a massive tome titled *Kinsei no kokugo jisho: setsuyōshū no furoku*.²⁹ The main body of this work lists the various encyclopedic appendixes that appear in *setsuyōshū* and organizes them in headwords in the *gojūon*-order. Under each headword Kashiwabara lists the *setsuyōshū* in which the relevant appendix appears. This can be very helpful in uncovering just how widespread a certain kind of appendix was. Kashiwabara's catalog is predominantly based on about 230 *setsuyōshū* from the National Diet Library and 184 from his own collection, plus a few additional *setsuyōshū* from elsewhere; the total number of genuinely different *setsuyōshū* indexed by him is 306. In the beginning of the book, Kashiwabara sums up his research on *setsuyōshū* and comments on a wide array of topics, such as "the transition from *kohon setsuyōshū* research to early modern *setsuyōshū* research", "contemporary society and *setsuyōshū*", "titles of *setsuyōshū*", "types of early modern *setsuyōshū*", "changes in appendixes", and "the expansion of *setsuyōshū* usage", to name a few.

Another prolific scholar is Takanashi Nobuhiro. Among the topics Takanashi has written about is the development of *ryōten* 両点 (two or more readings for each character in the dictionary) and the change from 47 to 45 or 44 *kana* for organizing words in the dictionary.³⁰ Among his works, the ones that have been the most valuable to my own work are a series of collections of transcribed *setsuyōshū* introductions.³¹ This collection spans over five articles and presents introductions, as well as epilogues and explanatory notes, from 68 different *setsuyōshū* in chronological order according to the year the *setsuyōshū* was published. Additionally, he offers transcriptions of introductions to 11 *hayabiki*-style

²⁹ Kashiwabara Shirō, *Kinsei no kokugo jisho setsuyōshū no furoku* (Tokyo: Ōfū, 2012).

³⁰ Takanashi Nobuhiro, "Kinsei setsuyōshū no ichitenkai: yonjūshichibukei kara yonjūgobu, yonjūyonbukei e," *Kokubungaku kenkyū* 123 (1997).

³¹ "Kinsei setsuyōshū no jo, batsu, hanrei (1)," *Kokugogaku kenkyū to shiryō* 11 (1987); "Kinsei setsuyōshū no jo, batsu, hanrei (2)," *Kokugogaku kenkyū to shiryō* 12 (1988); "Kinsei setsuyōshū no jo, batsu, hanrei (3)," *Kokugogaku kenkyū to shiryō* 13 (1989); "Kinsei setsuyōshū no jo, batsu, hanrei (4)," *Kokugogaku kenkyū to shiryō* 14 (1990); "Kinsei setsuyōshū no jo, batsu, hanrei (5)," *Kokugogaku kenkyū to shiryō* 15 (1991).

setsuyōshū in a separate article.³² The only minor problem with these collections is that Takanashi does not always include the *furigana* 振り仮名 from the original in his transcriptions.³³ Quite frequently, the *furigana* in the original do not represent the most common reading, and sometimes the *furigana* in the original do not even render an existing reading of the characters at all. At times this gives a different meaning to the text than what the characters alone convey.

All the scholars above have published on various subjects involving *setsuyōshū*. Two others who have not (yet) published extensively about the subject but are worth mentioning here are Hisoka Miho, who has written about the educational aspect of the various appendices in early modern *setsuyōshū*, and Elena Polovnikova, who has written about various maps featured in *setsuyōshū*.³⁴

Works on *setsuyōshū* in the English language are far more scarce. By far the most significant contribution to the study of *setsuyōshū* in English comes from the Japanese scholar Yokoyama Toshio. He has published at least five articles in English focusing on *setsuyōshū*, all of which are quite similar in content and approach.³⁵ One of his main concerns is the civilizing aspect of *setsuyōshū*. Yokoyama argues that the contents of *setsuyōshū* deal with and teach readers three types of civility: “civility towards material things, civility towards living things including humans, and civility towards the miscellaneous gods that were

³² "Kinsei setsuyōshū no jo, batsu, hanrei: hayabiki setsuyōshū," *Waseda daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyū ryōkiyō* 47 (2001).

³³ Furigana is a method of indicating the reading of kanji characters by having the word written in kana next to or above the characters.

³⁴ Hisoka Miho, "Kinsei setsuyōshū ni okeru kyōyō noshintō: Kashiragaki to furoku o chūshin ni," in *Shintō suru kyōyō: Edo no shuppan bunka to iu kairo*, ed. Suzuki Kenichi (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2013); Elena Polovnikova, "Kinsei shomin no sekaizō: Setsuyōshū no sekaizu o chūshin ni," *Nihon shisōshi kenkyū*, no. 45 (2013).

³⁵ Yokoyama Toshio, "Setsuyōshū and Japanese Civilization," in *Themes and Theories in Modern Japanese History: Essays in Memory of Richard Storry*, ed. Sue Henny and Jean-Pierre Lehmann (London and New Jersey: The Athlone Press, 1988).; "Some Notes on the History of Japanese Traditional Household Encyclopedias."; "In Quest of Civility: Conspicuous Uses of Household Encyclopedias in Nineteenth-Century Japan," *Zinbun* 34, no. 1 (1999).; "The Illustrated Household Encyclopedias that Once Civilized Japan."; "Even a Sardine's Head Becomes Holy: The Role of Household Encyclopedias in Sustaining Civilisation in Pre-industrial Japan," in *SANSAI: An Environmental Journal for the Global Community* (2006).

believed to abound in the world.”³⁶ One interesting aspect of Yokoyama’s work is his original method of investigating the actual usage of *setsuyōshū*. By examining the degree of wear and tear on different copies of *setsuyōshū*, Yokoyama has managed to derive information about which pages its users consulted most frequently. His method and results will be discussed at greater length in chapter 7, for they have important implications for our knowledge about the readers of *setsuyōshū*.

The second most significant contribution to the study of *setsuyōshū* comes from Michael Kinski, who has published two articles where *setsuyōshū* feature prominently. The first one, “Basic Japanese Etiquette Rules and Their Popularization”,³⁷ explores rules for etiquette in early modern Japan. In this article, he offers translations and commentary on four etiquette texts, three of which appear in *setsuyōshū*. Such rules for proper behavior frequently appeared in *setsuyōshū* and will be discussed in chapter 4. Kinski’s article deals with only a very specific section of the *setsuyōshū*, but the second article, “Treasure Boxes, Fabrics, and Mirrors: On the Contents and the Classification of Popular Encyclopedias from Early Modern Japan”³⁸ takes a more general approach and explores various kinds of reference books, which he refers to as household encyclopedias, that were popular in the early modern period.

Other Western sources refer to *setsuyōshū* only very briefly, but there is one source that takes a closer look at the genre. Don Clifford Bailey’s 1960 article “Early Japanese Lexicography”³⁹ focuses on pre-modern Japanese dictionaries in general, rather than exclusively on *setsuyōshū*. In the process, Bailey offers a good introduction to the early development of *setsuyōshū* and the genre’s relationships to other kinds of dictionaries.

On the primary sources used

³⁶ “The Illustrated Household Encyclopedias that Once Civilized Japan,” 51. In another article in English, Yokoyama takes a similar approach to a different genre, namely *ōzassho*. “On the Civilising Role of *Ōzassho*, the Household Encyclopedia for Divining in Premodern Japan,” *Zinbun* 37 (2005).

³⁷ Michael Kinski, “Basic Japanese Etiquette Rules and Their Popularization,” *Japonica Humboldtiana* 5 (2001).

³⁸ “Treasure Boxes, Fabrics, and Mirrors: On the Contents and the Classification of Popular Encyclopedias from Early Modern Japan,” in *Listen, Copy, Read: Popular Learning in Early Modern Japan*, ed. Matthias Hayek and Annick Horiuchi (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

³⁹ Don Clifford Bailey, “Early Japanese Lexicography,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 16, no. 1/2 (1960).

It has been my ambition to gain a comprehensive overview of the entire *setsuyōshū* genre, which, considering the vast number of existing works, is almost impossible. Fortunately, however, there is presently an abundance of high-quality digital versions readily available through various repositories online, and the number of accessible books is growing rapidly. Although they do not satisfy a book lover's yearning for the physical presence and smell of the pages, such repositories have been indispensable for the completion of this thesis.

The only two *setsuyōshū* that I have had the pleasure of having hands-on experience with over a longer period of time are an 1849 edition of the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* 永代節用無尽蔵 and an 1801 edition of the *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū* 都会節用百家通, kept in a storage room in the library at the University of Oslo. Both are in fairly good condition, although the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* is in considerably better shape than the *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū*. The *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū* is bound in one volume and contains 359 *chō* 丁 (718 pages).⁴⁰ On the bottom edge of the volume someone has written a date, the title of the *setsuyōshū*, their signature, and something illegible. The date is written as an auspicious day (*kisshōnichi* 吉日) in the first month of Bunka 6 (1809), which possibly was the day of purchase or the day this volume was received as a gift.

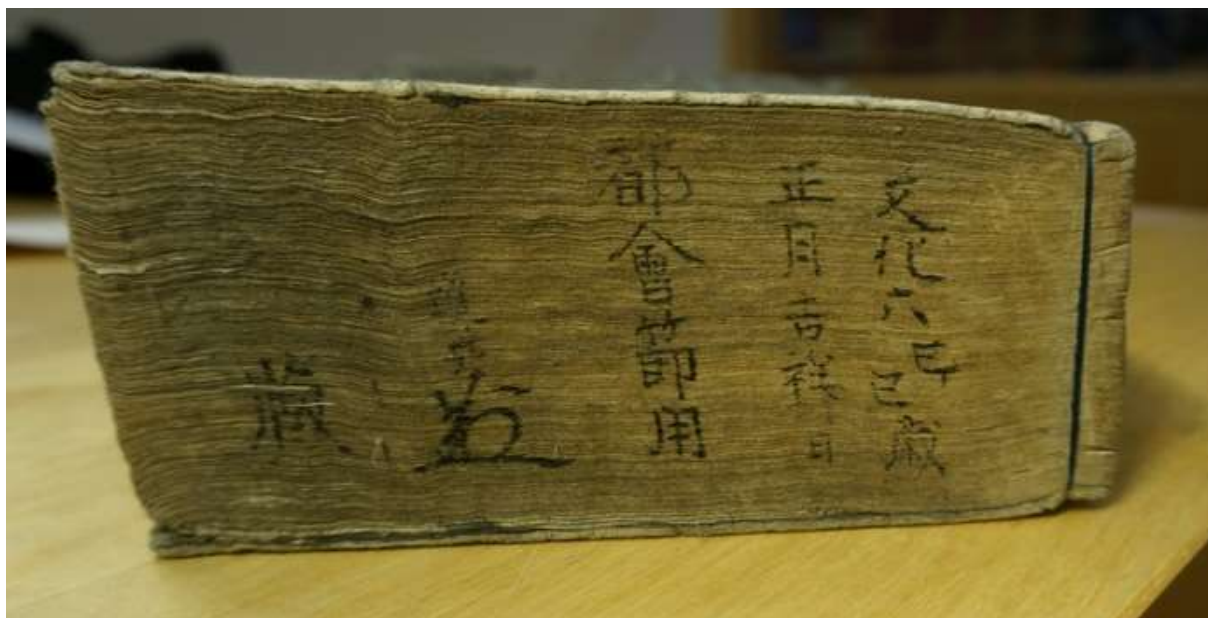


Figure 1: The bottom edge of the *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū* (1801) kept at the University of Oslo Library.

⁴⁰ *Chō* is the designation commonly used for pages in woodblock printed books. One *chō* refers to one paper, thus the recto and the verso of one leaf of paper.

The *Eitai setsuyōshū mujinzō* will receive more detailed treatment in chapter 4, but here it can be mentioned that it is bound in three separate volumes and spans a total of 435 *chō* (870 pages). Although I have tried to look at as many different *setsuyōshū* as possible, the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* is the one that has received the most attention and it is the basis for an in-depth case study in chapter 4. This is partly for practical purposes, but also because this was arguably one of the most popular *setsuyōshū* in the early modern period, especially among the “encyclopedic” kind. Based on the frequency with which he encountered copies of this particular *setsuyōshū* during his fieldwork, Yokoyama Toshio concluded that *Eitai setsuyōshū mujinzō* must indeed have been “the most widely-used variety”.⁴¹

Also in material form, although significantly less satisfying, are the facsimiles collected in the *Setsuyōshū taikai*. This collection spans over a hundred bound volumes and includes facsimiles of 120 different *setsuyōshū* of considerably varying quality. These have been most useful in the beginning of the project for quick browsing and getting a sense of the differences and similarities between different versions. To some extent the collection has lost its value, since there are better quality editions of many of the works available online, but it still serves a purpose because it is easier to browse and more convenient when looking for specific things, since many of the online repositories are fairly slow in loading images.

One of the repositories used is the Waseda Kotenseki Sōgō Database (Japanese and Chinese Classics).⁴² Although this database does not contain many *setsuyōshū*, it has been one of the first places to look for primary sources because of the possibility of downloading pdf-files. Some of the transtexts are found here, such as *Ono no Bakamura usoji zukushi* 小野のばかむら嘘字尽 and *Nanpyōki* 南瓢記, both discussed in chapter 7. Another repository with the convenience of easy downloading is the National Diet Library Digital Collection, which also contains a few *setsuyōshū*, although the vast majority of these are of the dictionary-only kind.⁴³ Two other useful resources are the Tokyo Gakugei Daigaku Repository⁴⁴ and the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books.⁴⁵ Both of these have many *setsuyōshū* of good quality available, but they can be inconvenient to use because the images can take several

⁴¹ Yokoyama, "The Illustrated Household Encyclopedias that Once Civilized Japan," 48.

⁴² <http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/index.html>

⁴³ <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/>

⁴⁴ <https://ir.u-gakugei.ac.jp/>

⁴⁵ <http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/~tkoten/index.html>. I have not found a way to link directly to individual works in this repository, and I have therefore only referred to the repository when I have used books from here.

seconds to load and there is no download function. Browsing *setsuyōshū* that are several hundred pages long can therefore be a laborious task. A search for the term “*setsuyō*” in the Tokyo Gakugei Daigaku Repository at the time of writing reveals seventy hits, although this includes different copies of the same *setsuyōshū*. The same search performed in the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books yields 128 hits if only including entries that are digitally available. The Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books is first and foremost a database of bibliographical data, which is useful in its own right. Finally, Satō Takahiro has made some of the *setsuyōshū* from his private collection available on his website.⁴⁶ Taken together, these sites and repositories cover a wide range of *setsuyōshū*, and despite being incomplete, more books continue to be added to many of them, and more institutions are digitizing books and materials in their holdings and making them publicly available.

Structure of this thesis

The chapter following this introduction, chapter 2, outlines the theoretical framework and introduces the methodological approach used in this thesis: viewing *setsuyōshū* through the dual lenses of genre and book history. The section about book history proposes that a good method for understanding various external aspects of *setsuyōshū* is to approach them through an adapted version of Robert Darnton’s book-historical communication circuit. What is meant by external here are aspects that are not in the works themselves, but that are nevertheless important for us to consider in order to gain a proper understanding of the genre. Not all such external aspects will be dealt with extensively, but they can be summarized as follows: authors and compilers, intertexts, publishers, guilds, manufacturers, distributors, and readers. The section about genre emphasizes how this concept can help us understand the works themselves. The study of genre must be approached in two ways: diachronically and synchronically. This implies that the best way to analyze the genre of *setsuyōshū* is to examine how the genre developed over time and also take a more in-depth look at what the genre had to offer at one specific point in time. Together, the two approaches of genre and the book historical communication circuit dictate the structure of the remaining chapters. Additionally chapter 2 briefly discusses Gerard Genette’s notion of different forms of transtextuality, since these have served as useful labels in this study.

⁴⁶ <http://www1.gifu-u.ac.jp/~satopy/rekishi.html>

Chapter 3 constitutes the diachronic approach to *setsuyōshū* as a genre by providing an outline of the development of *setsuyōshū* through history. This history is divided into three major periods: *setsuyōshū* in the pre-modern period, commonly referred to as *kohon setsuyōshū*; *setsuyōshū* in the early modern period; and *setsuyōshū* in the Meiji period. Although *setsuyōshū* from all of these periods are discussed, most attention is given to those from the early modern period. This period is further divided into four phases: a standardization period (1600-1690); the encyclopedic turn (1690-1750); a period of experimentation (1750-1800); and a period of bipolarization (1800-1868). This historical outline will provide an understanding of what could be considered as standards of the genre, while at the same time highlighting the rich variety of styles and forms within it.

Chapter 4 continues the exploration of the *setsuyōshū* genre, but through a synchronic approach by examining one particular *setsuyōshū* from one particular point in time: the *Dainippon eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849) kept at Oslo University library. Here, the focus is on the various encyclopedic appendices that are found within this *setsuyōshū*, in addition to the dictionary. This chapter highlights the eclectic, perhaps even haphazard, nature of the contents often found in *setsuyōshū* and questions whether the ordering and structuring of knowledge was ever among the ambitions of the publishers or compilers.

Chapter 5 bridges the gap between the internal and external approaches by looking at the intertextual relationships between the texts contained in *setsuyōshū* and other kinds of texts. The various encyclopedic entries in *setsuyōshū* were usually not original content, and this chapter highlights the “copy-and-paste” mentality that was central to the *setsuyōshū* genre by exploring the possible origins of some of the material. Through this intertextual approach, the probing for possible motivations for publishing *setsuyōshū* is also continued.

Chapter 6 views *setsuyōshū* through two of the actors in the book-historical communication circuit: the publishers and their guilds. Specifically, it explores copyright disputes that in some way or other involve *setsuyōshū*. These copyright disputes provide valuable insights into what publishers considered to be the most important aspects of their *setsuyōshū*, and help answer the question of why the genre turned out the way it did. Furthermore, these disputes also show that some publishers were more powerful than others, and invite suspicion about clandestine deals and transactions.

Chapter 7 investigates the actors that complete the book-historical communication circuit: the readers. Identifying the readers and their practices is challenging, but by utilizing “the five steps toward a history of reading” suggested by Robert Darnton, it is possible to gain

at least some insight into who the readers of *setsuyōshū* may have been, how they actually read, or used, the *setsuyōshū*, and what their attitudes towards *setsuyōshū* were. The chapter explores evidence of actual usage, model readers, and the appearance of *setsuyōshū* in different metatexts such as diaries, poems, and stories of castaways.

Chapter 8 finalizes the thesis by summarizing the findings and providing suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2: *Setsuyōshū* and book history

As previously mentioned in the introduction, some of the most important work on *setsuyōshū* was done by Yokoyama Toshio. His studies are perhaps most known for his unique way of studying how *setsuyōshū* were actually used by examining the patterns of wear and tear on the books' pages, but to a large extent his work also focused on how the *setsuyōshū* “civilized Japan” by “giving readers a standard for “properly civilised” life in such aspects as manners, taste, morals and beliefs.”⁴⁷ The claim is not a modest one, and he further states that “information obtained directly or indirectly from publications of this sort must have served as an authority. In this sense, it is not an exaggeration to say that the *setsuyōshū* served to impede the natural erosion of the etiquette system, and as such, has held a position of pivotal importance in Japanese civilization.”⁴⁸ There are many interesting things to consider here, but first let us look at his definition of Japanese civilization:

Japanese civilization is a cultural synthesis resulting from a stability created by the people living in the space called Japan (the borders of which do not necessarily conform to the contemporary borders established under international law), as they developed civility (i.e. a variety of manners and forms of etiquette, including legal and religious precepts and commandments) which would regulate their modes of everyday life and ways of production.⁴⁹

A key term here is “stability”, and Yokoyama uses the term “stable society” instead of “civilization” in some instances. He asserts that “intermediaries – that is, any persons or things playing intermediary roles – enjoyed a rich social function in non-stagnant stable societies.” He considers *setsuyōshū* (and also *ōzassho* 大雑書) to be such “intermediaries” and that they played an instrumental role “in bringing about a uniquely stable society.”⁵⁰

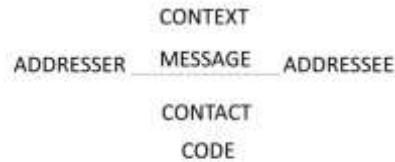
⁴⁷ Yokoyama, "Some Notes on the History of Japanese Traditional Household Encyclopedias," 244.

⁴⁸ "Setsuyōshū and Japanese Civilization," 85-86.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁵⁰ "Even a Sardine's Head Becomes Holy: The Role of Household Encyclopedias in Sustaining Civilisation in Pre-industrial Japan," 44.

When Yokoyama considers *setsuyōshū* to be “intermediaries” that mediate a “civilizing message”,⁵¹ this should be considered an act of communication and underlying this view of the civilizing aspect of *setsuyōshū* there is an implicit model of communication similar to the one used by Roman Jakobson.⁵²



At the center of this model we have the **message**. For our purposes, this should be understood as the contents of *setsuyōshū*. The **addresser** is in this case everyone involved in the production and distribution of *setsuyōshū*. The **addressee** is the reader, or rather user or consumer. The point of **contact** where the message from the addresser reaches the addressee is the actual physical and material presence of the *setsuyōshū* itself. The **code** is a system mutually understood by both the addresser and the addressee used to encode and decode the message. It refers here to the Japanese language in its various forms, but also to the conventions of the *setsuyōshū* genre. The **context** is what the message is referring to and where this act of communication is taking place.

Such a model can be useful for isolating some of the various factors that contributed to how the *setsuyōshū* was created and how it was received. Yokoyama dealt to a great extent with the readers of *setsuyōshū* and to some degree with context, but fails to consider the makers of *setsuyōshū*. If the *raison d'être* of the *setsuyōshū* was to civilize the people, whose agenda was it to civilize them? If one should consider the *setsuyōshū* as an instrument that civilized the Japanese people, one must also have a thorough look at the people who created them. What were their motivations for creating *setsuyōshū*? Did they create these books in order to educate and civilize, or were the intentions merely to make a profit, or perhaps something entirely different, or a combination of both? Either way, it seems premature to conclude that the *setsuyōshū* were agents of civility without even considering their producers first.

⁵¹ Ibid., 55.

⁵² Roman Jakobson, "Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics," *Style in Language* 350 (1960): 353.

Another problem with Jakobson's model is that communication flows only in one direction, and in the case of the work of Yokoyama only from the *setsuyōshū* to the reader. In Yokoyama's view, the *setsuyōshū* are repositories of information on proper civility, and this information is in turn transferred to the reader. This is an overly simplistic model of how books actually work, and the reality is inherently far more complex. Models are necessarily simplifications of reality, but too much simplification hampers our understanding. Yokoyama does to a great extent explore how *setsuyōshū* were used and by whom, but how did the books reach the readers' hands? How did the *setsuyōshū* change over time and what influenced these changes? Where did the contents in the *setsuyōshū* come from? If the *setsuyōshū* and the information therein "served as an authority", how was this authority achieved? In this chapter I will suggest a different approach to viewing and studying *setsuyōshū* which will be more helpful in answering these questions, or at the very least not neglect them.

The question of authority is of special interest here. It is unclear exactly how Yokoyama thinks this authority is established, but it might be related to the interactions he had with people who owned some of the *setsuyōshū* he studied:

During my research, I heard in almost all the houses that kept encyclopedic *setsuyōshū* that the fathers and grandfathers of the current generation had shown a special attitude towards their *setsuyōshū*: they used to regard these volumes as a kind of precious treasure, or even as sacred books.⁵³

Such anecdotes are far removed in time from the contexts in which the *setsuyōshū* were used, and while it may very well be that the *setsuyōshū* had some degree of authority, it seems clear that we need to look elsewhere in order to find out how this authority is established, if it exists at all. It might be that some of the authority lies in the genre itself. In the beginning of the history of the genre it was used predominantly by an elite consisting of Buddhist priests and court nobles, which might be one source of authority.⁵⁴ The idea of a collection of "everything" also elicits some degree of authority. In the case of most European encyclopedias, authority is achieved predominantly through the fame and prominence of knowledgeable men as contributors. In the case of *setsuyōshū* perhaps the opposite is true: the absence of an author generates authority because it gives the impression of timeless, objective knowledge.

⁵³ Yokoyama, "Some Notes on the History of Japanese Traditional Household Encyclopedias," 248.

⁵⁴ "The Illustrated Household Encyclopedias that Once Civilized Japan," 47.

Along with the civilizing aspect of *setsuyōshū*, Yokoyama also asserted that the *setsuyōshū* can give us valuable information about the society in which they were used and about the people who read them:

Estimating open-mindedly the influence of the varieties of instruction on civility, which were packed so densely into the volumes of encyclopedic *Setsuyōshū*, may therefore reveal what type of civilization, whether good or ill, was functioning in Japan in those days, and give us some insight into the cultures of modern times.⁵⁵

Others have adopted the same focus in their approach, such as Elena Polovnikova who argues that the maps within *setsuyōshū* are representations of what commoners in the early modern period knew about the world and asks questions such as whether people knew that the earth was globular or not.⁵⁶

While these two questions, (a) how did the *setsuyōshū* influence its readers and (b) how does the content of *setsuyōshū* reflect society, are interesting questions to ask, other questions need to be asked first. It is hardly in dispute that books in general and perhaps encyclopedias and reference books like *setsuyōshū* in particular can at the same time be both a reflection of world views and have the power to influence these in a certain direction. However, before such questions can be tackled in a meaningful way, it is important to first investigate exactly what kind of books we are dealing with and how they functioned in society. As mentioned, the approach I suggest for dealing with these crucial first steps is through the dual lens of genre and the book historical communication circuit.

Book history and the communication circuit of books

In name, “Book History” or “The History of the Book” seems rather self-explanatory, and people have been writing about books for as long as books have existed. But as a discipline in itself, book history is of fairly recent origin and it emerged from an amalgam of other disciplines such as bibliography, literary studies, and economic and social history.⁵⁷ In recent

⁵⁵ "Some Notes on the History of Japanese Traditional Household Encyclopedias," 245.

⁵⁶ Polovnikova, "Kinsei shomin no sekaizō: Setsuyōshū no sekaizu o chūshin ni."

⁵⁷ For an overview of the history of the history of the book, see David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 7-12.

decades introductory books, readers, and companions on the topic have been published,⁵⁸ academic journals have emerged, university courses are being taught and centers have been opened. Much of the scholarly work on book history has focused on European and American contexts, but the field has in recent years increasingly focused on Japanese and Asian contexts as well.⁵⁹ There are now journals dedicated to the subject,⁶⁰ as well as edited books⁶¹ and specialized works focusing on one particular aspect of book history such as Richard Rubinger's book on literacy⁶² and Suzuki Jun and Ellis Tinios' guide to understanding Japanese woodblock printed books.⁶³ A more general approach to printed material in early modern Japan can be found in Mary Elizabeth Berry's *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period*,⁶⁴ but until now the most comprehensive work on Japanese book history written in a Western language is Peter Kornicki's *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*.⁶⁵

The Book in Japan deals with a great variety of topics: the relationship between books and the state, literacy and reading, the book as a material object, the history of printing in Japan, manuscript culture before and after the commercialization of printing, various aspects of the publishing trade in the early modern period, authorship and readership, the transmission

⁵⁸ Leslie Howsam, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).; Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose, *A Companion to the History of the Book*, vol. 48, Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture (Malden: Blackwell, 2007).; David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, *The Book History Reader*, 2nd ed. ed. (London: Routledge, 2006).

⁵⁹ For a fairly up to date overview of Japanese book history, see Andrew T Kamei-Dyche, "The History of Books and Print Culture in Japan: The State of the Discipline," *Book History* 14, no. 1 (2011).

⁶⁰ *East Asian Publishing and Society* published by Brill

⁶¹ A good companion to book history in East Asia is Cynthia Joanne Brokaw and Peter F. Kornicki, eds., *The History of the Book in East Asia, The History of the Book in the East* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013). For a more comparative perspective, see Joseph P. McDermott and Peter Burke, *The Book Worlds of East Asia and Europe, 1450-1850: Connections and Comparisons* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University, 2015). Two other notable collections of articles are Susanne Formanek and Sepp Linhart, eds., *Written texts - visual texts: woodblock-printed media in early modern Japan*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005). and Matthias Hayek and Annick Horiuchi, eds., *Listen, Copy, Read: Popular Learning in Early Modern Japan*, vol. vol. 46, Brill's Japanese Studies Library (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

⁶² Richard Rubinger, *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

⁶³ Jun Suzuki and Ellis Tinios, *Understanding Japanese Woodblock-printed Illustrated Books: A Short Introduction to their History, Bibliography and Format* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

⁶⁴ Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period*.

⁶⁵ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*.

of books to and from Japan, censorship, and book collections. According to Kornicki himself there were three main goals he wanted to accomplish in writing this book: to globalize the study of the Japanese book by making it accessible to scholars without knowledge of the Japanese language, to give students of Japanese history, ideas and literature a guide to bibliographical questions, and to bring perspectives from Western book history into the field of Japanese book history which traditionally have not been of great concern to Japanese scholars.⁶⁶ The scope of this book is impressive and it is filled with facts and historical details making it an indispensable introductory text on Japanese book history. Kornicki draws on a wide variety of examples to illustrate the various aspects of books, and several titles, authors, and publishers are discussed. *Setsuyōshū* are also mentioned on a few occasions. In most instances it is only a cursory mention, but one passage in particular reveals some interesting details:

No domain edicts relating to *jūhan* and *ruihan* have yet come to light, but it is clear from a case involving one of the household almanacs known as *setsuyōshū* that provincial publishers were bound by the same rules. *Setsuyōshū* were one of the mainstays of the publishing industry and were probably the most likely book to be found in a house of few books. In 1752 two Osaka publishers put out a new kind of product with a rapid-finder index system called *Hayabiki setsuyōshū* and this was a commercial success, to the extent that it spawned numerous imitations. The publishers' claim that any other *setsuyōshū* with a similar index system would constitute a *ruihan* was upheld by the guild but imitations continued to appear: in 1865 the guild reminded booksellers that the sale of nine named *ruihan* versions was prohibited, but in 1869 yet another *ruihan* was published, in Kyoto, only to be banned on the application of the current holder of the copyright.⁶⁷

Setsuyōshū are used here as a part of a larger discussion about copyright, and *jūhan* 重板 and *ruihan* 類板 refer to the degree of severity of copyright infringement. *Jūhan* was the most severe and usually refers to cases where verbatim copies of works were published without authorization, while *ruihan* refers to cases where only parts of a work were copied or titles or formats were too similar to existing works. The case Kornicki is referring to is only one

⁶⁶ Ibid., ix-x.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 248.

among many that involve *setsuyōshū*, and many of these cases will be discussed at greater length in chapter 6. It is also quite interesting that Kornicki refers to *setsuyōshū* here as “household almanacs”. Other places in the book he also refers to them as “household encyclopedias”.⁶⁸ While these labels might give a rough impression of what *setsuyōshū* are, they are not totally unproblematic. While some of the contents of *setsuyōshū* resemble what one would typically find in an almanac, almanacs evoke an image of something published annually which does not fit a description of *setsuyōshū*. The main problem with the term “household encyclopedia” is that while *setsuyōshū* has the ambition of collecting information and knowledge, an encyclopedia also has the additional ambition to create an order of knowledge. As will become clear in later chapters, this did not seem to be a major concern for the makers of *setsuyōshū*, and the level of ambition to create an order of the information included was astonishingly low when compared to what we typically consider to be encyclopedias. Moreover, many *setsuyōshū*, including most of the *hayabiki*-style *setsuyōshū*, did not contain any extra information extending beyond the dictionary. These dictionary-only *setsuyōshū* would therefore not fall under the category of encyclopedia at all. The problems with such labels will be discussed further in the sub-chapter about genre.

Although there are works that treat book history in a general and holistic manner, most research tends to delve deeply into one particular aspect of book history, such as the history of reading or the materiality of books for instance. It must necessarily be this way, since it is difficult to be an expert in all the aspects of books, but there is also the danger of over-specialization and fragmentation of the field. Due to the sense of variation and fragmentation, Robert Darnton jested that book history looked more like a tropical rain forest than like a field,⁶⁹ while Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker asserted that “if ever there was a subject ‘interdisciplinary’, it is the study of books”.⁷⁰ The history of the book has also been summarized as “all aspects of the history of production, publication and distribution, from the stage of authorship on through the impact of books on readers and, ultimately, on society.”⁷¹ Darnton argues that these individual parts do not take on their full significance until they are considered holistically and in relation to each other in a process of communication. With this

⁶⁸ Ibid., 52, 72, 139, and 209.

⁶⁹ Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?," *Daedalus* (1982): 66.

⁷⁰ Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker, "A New Model for the Study of the Book," in *The Book History Reader*, ed. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 48.

⁷¹ Ibid.

in mind, and to “get some distance from interdisciplinarity run riot”, he suggests a model of the communication circuit that books often follow during their existence.⁷²

The circuit suggested by Darnton consists of six main actors or categories of people: authors, publishers, printers (compositors, pressmen, and warehousemen), shippers (agents, smugglers, entrepot keepers, wagoners, etc.), booksellers (wholesalers, retailers, peddlers, binders, etc.), and readers (purchasers, borrowers, clubs, and libraries). At the center of the model, and influencing each and every stage in the circuit are intellectual influences and publicity; economic and social conjuncture; and political and legal sanctions. Outside of the circuit itself, we also find suppliers and binders. The suppliers are connected with the printers and supply them with paper, ink, type, and labor. The binders are connected with the readers. This illustrates an important point about Darnton’s model: it was designed primarily with the early modern European book-market in mind, in particular the French book-market between the years 1500 to 1800. In his model, the binders are connected with the readers because books were at that time usually sold in unbound sheets and the buyers themselves had to get the books bound.⁷³ This has not been common practice at all times and in all places, so the model is clearly not universal. Darnton is also careful to point this out, and insists that other models might emerge from other research. The point is, however, to illustrate how the various stages of the life cycle of a book and its production can be integrated into a single conceptual scheme.⁷⁴

⁷² Darnton, "What is the History of Books?," 67.

⁷³ "“What is the History of Books?” Revisited," *Modern Intellectual History* 4, no. 03 (2007): 504.

⁷⁴ "What is the History of Books?," 75.

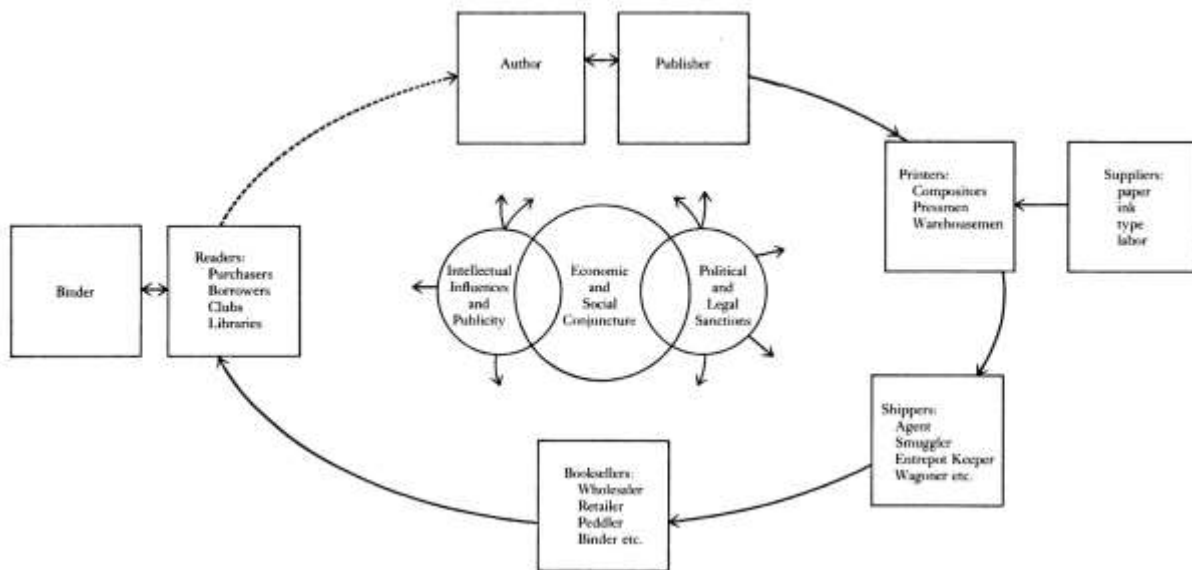


Figure 2: Robert Darnton's book-historical communication circuit⁷⁵

It is important to note that the model illustrates a circuit, which contrasts it to the linear model of communication by Jakobson discussed above. In Darnton's model the reader completes the circuit because he has influence over the author both before and after the book is produced. At the time the book is written (or compiled), the author (or compiler) has a reader in mind. After the book's production and distribution is completed, the reader yet again has influence over the author (or producers) either indirectly through reception and success of the book, or directly through explicit reviews and feedback.⁷⁶ Thus the reader can offset new cycles of the circuit, either in the form of reprints or new and similar books based on the reception.

Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker have been critical of Darnton's scheme. They have pointed out that one of the weaknesses of the model is that it deals with people and not the book itself, and has argued that the model is therefore one of social history and not book history.⁷⁷ They have proposed a different model, which focuses on five different events or stages in the life cycle of a book: publishing, manufacturing, distribution, reception, and survival. The model also portrays four categories of external influence: intellectual influences; political, legal, and religious influences; social behavior and taste; and commercial pressures. Apart from shifting the focus from people to the book itself, one of the major differences from

⁷⁵ Ibid., 68.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 67.

⁷⁷ Adams and Barker, "A New Model for the Study of the Book," 51.

Darnton's model is the included focus on the survival of books. Although survival is not a major concern in this thesis, it is important to reflect on how certain books manage to survive while others do not. The question of how two *setsuyōshū* found their way to a university library in Oslo, for instance, is an interesting aspect of survival.

Nearly a quarter of a century after Darnton introduced his notion of the communication circuit of books, he revisited the essay and used the opportunity to address some of the criticism and offered some thoughts on the advances that book history as a field had made since he wrote the first essay, with special focus on the sociology of texts, paratextuality, intertextuality, and comparative history. He also reflects on whether or not it is useful to have a debate about the actual layout of the diagram, where to put boxes and in which direction to point arrows. He concludes that this is not the most important, but rather that a diagram is a convenient tool for approaching book history holistically, and that the model could change for different contexts.⁷⁸ In response to the criticism of Barker and Adams about his focus on people instead of books, he admits that it is indeed what he is focusing on, but that it is actually vital to understanding the history of books. Further he asserts that Adams and Barker also focus on people more than they would admit, while at the same time underplaying the role of authors.⁷⁹

Similar to Darnton's skepticism about the usefulness of a debate about the layout of a diagram, Adams and Barker insists that there is not really any correct scheme. What they all share is the motivation for creating a model in the first place, to "encompass all the topics that would properly be included in the history of the book".⁸⁰ When shifting the focus away from the history of books in general and specifically to *setsuyōshū* it becomes clear that we cannot allow a one-sided focus on either the books themselves or on the people involved in the communications circuit, but that both need to be integrated. Although this was a point of contention between the two above-mentioned viewpoints, they would probably agree to this as well.

The model proposed by Adams and Barker is arguably more universal because of the general and inclusive character of the five stages as opposed to the more specific character of the actors in Darnton's model. It is hard to imagine a book history where books do not go through the five stages of publishing, manufacturing, distribution, reception, and survival. It

⁷⁸ Darnton, "“What is the History of Books?” Revisited," 505.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 504.

⁸⁰ Adams and Barker, "A New Model for the Study of the Book," 62.

might therefore be easier to impose the model of Adams and Barker on the context of early modern Japanese book history without making modifications to the model. The strength of Darnton's model, however, lies in its ability to single out the most important actors in the circuit who only become secondary in Adams and Barker's model. But because of the specific nature of Darnton's model it needs some adjustment to fit the early modern Japanese context. Because I have chosen to put much of the focus on publishers and readers of *setsuyōshū*, it seems most appropriate to employ such a modified version of Darnton's model. At the same time, it is important not to forget that we are talking about actual books and that they go through a process involving the five stages proposed by Adams and Barker.

In the following I will introduce such a modified version of Darnton's model (Figure 3). The model is designed to apply specifically to *setsuyōshū*, but to a certain extent it is also applicable to the early modern Japanese book market in general. Each of the steps will be discussed briefly with comparisons to Darnton's model, in order to point out the most important differences.

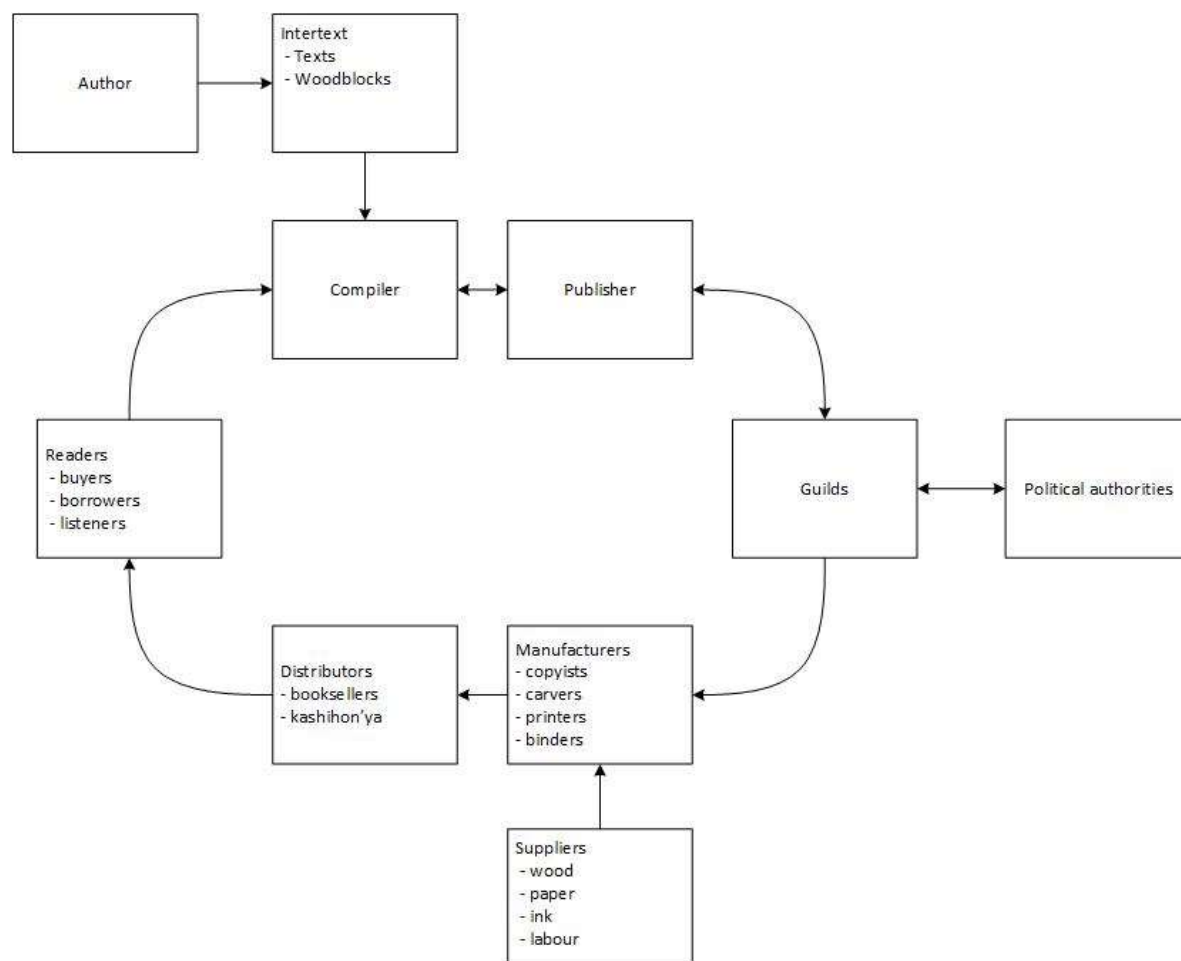


Figure 3: The book-historical communication circuit of *setsuyōshū*

Authors and compilers

Although Roland Barthes proclaimed the death of the author in the late sixties, it should be clear that authors play a crucial role in the history of books.⁸¹ In the case of *setsuyōshū*, however, the author is in a sense dead, although not for the reasons indicated by Barthes. The first adaptation from Darnton's model is the substitution of a compiler in place of an author. This is specific to *setsuyōshū* and similar kinds of reference books, so therefore the circuit that is being suggested here is on this point not universally valid for the early modern book market as a whole. Although it is possible that some compilers may have authored certain parts of *setsuyōshū* other than introductions and such, *setsuyōshū* are predominantly compilations of information gathered from elsewhere. An author, usually anonymous, therefore exists outside of the circuit itself and is linked to the compiler. Historically authors have had a much less prominent role in the history of books in Japan than in many Western book histories. Even today, this is evident in Japanese libraries and catalogues where titles have clear ascendancy over authors. In the course of the early modern period authors gradually became more important, but in the case of *setsuyōshū* they will always have a secondary and rather vague role.⁸²

Intertext

The link that connects the author and the compiler can be referred to as intertextuality. When Darnton revisited his article on book history and the communication circuit he called for an increased attention to intertextuality.⁸³ Darnton's model concentrates on the actors involved with the production, distribution, and reception of books and it might therefore seem odd to include non-actors in the model. Intertexts, however, play such a vital role in how many *setsuyōshū* were composed that they need to be understood as an important part of the communication process and must therefore be included in the model. My understanding of intertextuality here subscribes to the way in which it is used by Gérard Genette. Genette's notion of intertextuality is much more straightforward than the way it is often used and refers

⁸¹ Roland Barthes, "Death of the Author," *Aspen Journal* (1967).

⁸² For information on the evolution of the author in Japan, see Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 223-39.

⁸³ Darnton, "'What is the History of Books?' Revisited," 506-07.

to the actual presence of one text within another text. The texts compiled within *setsuyōshū* could either be lifted from other books by copying them, or the actual woodblocks from a different book could be re-used. This highlights another important aspect of book history in early modern Japan that differs from most other book histories: the importance of the woodblocks themselves. The material existence of a book can generally be divided into three material forms: before its actual manufacture, the book takes the form of a manuscript; during the manufacturing stage two different material forms of the book are produced, the actual volumes of paper stitched together and the woodblocks used to print the books. The woodblocks take on a life of their own and are traded, sold, and transferred between different publishers. In order to be able to publish a new book, publishers had to go through a painstaking bureaucratic procedure. One possible strategy for circumventing this process was to purchase woodblocks from another publisher.⁸⁴ Another possible way to obtain woodblocks from another publisher, either all of the blocks for a book or a portion of them, was by confiscation as a result of copyright disputes handled by the guilds. Copyright disputes and the role of woodblocks therein will be discussed more closely in chapter 6.

While woodblock printing technology is tremendously practical for on demand printing compared to printing with movable type, it is worthwhile pausing for a moment to consider the amount of physical space necessary for storing the woodblocks. One block was usually around 2-3 centimeters in thickness. If we take the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* as an example, which consists of 435 *chō*, and assuming that the woodblocks were 2.5 centimeters thick and one woodblock was used for each *chō*, we would end up with a stack of woodblocks towering at 10 meters high just for one book. Needless to say, if a publisher had the rights and woodblocks to a large catalogue of books he would also need quite substantial storage facilities.⁸⁵

Although hard evidence for the production capacity of one set of blocks is nonexistent, it has been estimated that around 8,000 copies could be printed from one set.⁸⁶ Should the blocks be worn down and no longer capable of producing a good copy, the *kabusebori* 被せ彫り technique could be used. This is a technique where the pages of a printed book are used

⁸⁴ On the purchasing of woodblocks, see Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 183.

⁸⁵ On the physical attributes of woodblocks, see Hashiguchi Kōnosuke, *Wahon nyūmon: Sennen ikiru shomotsu no sekai* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2009), 38.

⁸⁶ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 137.

in place of a *hanshita* 板下 (manuscript text used for tracing by the carver) in order to produce new printing blocks. Alternatively, if only smaller sections of a block was worn out, the *umeki* 埋木 technique could be used, where the worn out section was cut out and replaced with a fresh piece of wood. This technique was also frequently used to make alterations to texts or illustrations.⁸⁷

Publishers

Commercial publishing first appeared in Kyoto but soon spread to Osaka and Edo as well. During the early modern period there had been 1,733 publishers active in Kyoto, 1,253 in Osaka, and 1,652 in Edo. Although not as numerous, there had been publishers active outside the three metropolises as well, and a total of 585 had been active in the rest of Japan. Kornicki points out that these are conservative numbers, and that they most likely need to be adjusted upwards.⁸⁸ Publishers will be treated together with guilds in chapter 6.

Guilds

Another important element that needs to be integrated into the model is the book publisher guilds (*hon'ya nakama*). All publishers had to be a member of the publisher guild in the city in which they were operating and had to apply for permission from the guild before they could publish their books. The guilds also worked as an intermediary between the publisher and political authority. For the most part, the publishing industry managed to thrive without much government intervention, but the guilds were expected to keep their members in check. When publishers applied for permission to publish, the manuscript for the work they wanted to publish had to go via the guild to the *machi bugyō* 町奉行 (city commissioner) for inspection and approval.⁸⁹

Darnton does not include guilds in his circuit, but he might as well have included them since there were indeed publishing guilds in the context he is focusing on and some of his

⁸⁷ Ibid., 54.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 205.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 179-83. A short overview of this process will be given in chapter 6

work also emphasizes their role.⁹⁰ The reason for their exclusion on his part might have been the nature of their organization and how it differs from the early modern Japanese counterparts. Whereas in early modern Europe the main role of guilds was the protection of trade secrets, the principal role of the publisher guilds was to instill a form of censorship and to ensure the copyright of publishers.⁹¹

Manufacturers

The category which Darnton has labeled as “printers” has been renamed “manufacturers” here because not all of the people who were involved in the manufacturing of a book were directly engaged in the actual printing of the book. The general procedure can be described as follows. When a manuscript had been approved it was time to start the manufacturing process. First the manuscript was passed to a copyist (*hanshitagaki* 板下書き or *hikkō* 筆耕) who produced a copy of the manuscript called *hanshita*. The *hanshita* is then given to the carver (*horishi* 彫師) who pasted the *hanshita* on an empty block and used it as his guide for chiseling away the empty space surrounding text and illustrations. Block carvers also had their own guild, the *hangiya nakama* 板木屋仲間, which was officially recognized in 1791.⁹² When the blocks were carved they were passed to the printer (*surishi* 刷師). The printer covered the block with ink and placed a blank paper on it before he rubbed it with a tool called *baren* 馬棟. If the pages were to be printed with multiple colors, individual blocks for each color were carved and the printer repeated the process of applying ink and rubbing the paper until each color had been transferred to the page. When all the pages had been printed another worker commenced with aligning the pages (*chōai* 丁合) and a cover maker (*hyōshiya* 表紙屋) created covers, before finally a binder stitched everything together to create a book.⁹³ Most aspects of book

⁹⁰ See for instance Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre: and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*, [Rev. ed.] [with a new preface by the author] ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2009).

⁹¹ For a comparison of guilds in early modern Paris and Edo, see Smith, "The History of the Book in Edo and Paris," 344-46.

⁹² Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 201.

⁹³ For more information on the manufacturing process, see *ibid.*, 47-48. For a more detailed description in Japanese, see Hashiguchi, *Zoku wahan nyūmon: Edo no hon'ya to hon zukuri*, 93-113.

production were dominated by men, but the work of binding the books together was often conducted by women in the publishers' households.⁹⁴

Shippers

I have not included a “shippers” category in the model used here. Adams and Barker argued that Darnton's inclusion of this category was rather odd, since the shipper merely provides a service and does not really influence the circuit in any significant way.⁹⁵ This criticism may not be well founded, since in much of Darnton's work smugglers, for instance, have played a major role. In the context of early modern Japan a shipper category might not have played an equally prominent role, and there was no equivalent to an agent and smuggling does not seem to have been a major issue. It would be interesting to know more about how books were transported from the publishers to booksellers, especially to those that were far removed from the three metropolises. The potential output of printed books from one set of woodblocks generally exceeded the number of potential buyers in one town, so publishers developed partnerships with booksellers in other towns in order to be able to sell more books.⁹⁶ When I remove the “shippers” category, this is not so much because it does not belong in the model, but rather because presently very little is known about it.

Distributors

Darnton labels his category “booksellers”, but this obscures the fact that selling was not the only mode of distribution. Book lending, in the form of *kashihon'ya* 貸本屋 in early modern Japan, was an equally important way that books were distributed to their readers. Therefore, the category has been renamed to “distributors” here. Most publishers were also directly involved in the distribution of books, either through retail, book lending, or the use of book peddlers to sell books outside of their shops, and there is therefore not always any clear-cut separation between publisher and bookseller.⁹⁷ This makes it sometimes difficult to ascertain

⁹⁴ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 178.

⁹⁵ Adams and Barker, "A New Model for the Study of the Book," 50-51.

⁹⁶ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 170.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 175.

who was the publisher of a book, since it was common to also list shops where the book was sold in the colophon.

Especially in the second half of the early modern period, one of the more common ways to get access to books was through *kashihon'ya*. They were quite numerous and several hundred of them were operating in Osaka and Edo by the 1830s. By the end of the period they had also spread to at least all castle towns, and there is evidence of some operating on the island that is now known as Hokkaidō. The *kashihon'ya* were not libraries as we think of them today, where books can be borrowed for free, but rather book-renting services where a small sum had to be paid to borrow the books. It was quite a bit cheaper to rent than purchase books, with renting prices ranging between 15% and 35% of the purchase price, making it an affordable option for most.⁹⁸ It was a fairly common practice to borrow books from *kashihon'ya* and make manuscript copies of them, both as a pastime and as a way to save money.⁹⁹

Readers

The readers and reception of *setsuyōshū* will be dealt with extensively in chapter 7, so a few brief comments will suffice here. When looking at the impressive proliferation of books and other reading material in the early modern period, one can safely assume that many were able to read, since for a publishing industry to emerge there must necessarily be a market of literate readers. Until recently not much has been known about the development of literacy, especially outside of the three metropolises. But in recent years and most notably through the work of Richard Rubinger, much progress has been made.¹⁰⁰

It is important to remember that the reception of books consists not only of the actual readers who sit down with the books in their hands and read the words with their own eyes. Reception also consists of people who came into indirect contact with books, either through listening to others reading out loud or through the accounts of others about the books that they had read.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 391-97.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 103.

¹⁰⁰ Rubinger, *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan*.

Genre

Although the book-historical communication circuit is excellent for identifying the external factors of books and the relationships between them, focusing on such circuits tends to lead our attention away from the books themselves and the information stored within them. To rectify this, we will also examine the contents of *setsuyōshū* in more detail, and this will be done through the concept of genre.

As already mentioned in the introduction, the term *setsuyōshū* stems from one individual dictionary from the Muromachi period, and *Setsuyōshū* was the title of this dictionary. New versions of this dictionary, with minor changes and differences, were made in the following decades, but they should merely be (and are) considered to be different editions of the same dictionary. In the early modern period, however, there is a significant shift in the meaning of the term and it no longer simply refers to one specific dictionary, but rather becomes a generic term which refers to a certain group of books, or a specific kind of book which adheres to a set of rules or conventions; the meaning of the word *setsuyōshū* has changed from merely designating the title of a book into the name of a genre.

Not everyone would agree to labeling *setsuyōshū* as a genre. Mary Elizabeth Berry, for instance, considers *setsuyōshū* to be part of an “enormous genre” consisting of *setsuyōshū*, *kinmōzui* 訓蒙図彙, and *chōhōki* 重宝記.¹⁰¹ Others, Kinski and Kornicki for example, label them as household encyclopedias.¹⁰² Kinski offers some thoughts on the questions of genre, but is for the most part concerned with the usage of the label *ōraimono* 往来物 and how it has been used as a sweeping category that includes many different kinds of works which “offered general knowledge or served exhortatory purposes.”¹⁰³ Labeling *setsuyōshū* as household encyclopedias or grouping them together with other books in an “enormous genre” could be an implicit way of stating that *setsuyōshū* is a sort of sub-genre.

¹⁰¹ Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period*, 196.

¹⁰² Kinski, "Treasure Boxes, Fabrics, and Mirrors: On the Contents and the Classification of Popular Encyclopedias from Early Modern Japan," 70-88. and Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 52.

¹⁰³ Kinski, "Treasure Boxes, Fabrics, and Mirrors: On the Contents and the Classification of Popular Encyclopedias from Early Modern Japan," 77-81.

Much can be gained by further exploring the concept of genre and using it as a tool for gaining a better understanding of what *setsuyōshū* really are. The merits of genre are perfectly summarized by Kristin Asdal et al:

[...] the most important reason why it is important to stick to and further develop the concept of genre, is that it gives us an unique opportunity to make fine-tuned analyses of what is, after all, one of the most important subjects for all historical writing: the relationship between durability and change, continuity and discontinuity, convention and innovation. The concept of genre gives us the opportunity to make visible a kind of durability, a continuity and conventionality, in production, reception and use of texts, which finally makes us able to acknowledge and put words to change and transformation processes.¹⁰⁴

The concept of genre, then, serves as a useful toolkit for examining *setsuyōshū* more closely. Understanding *setsuyōshū* as a genre implies that we must examine it historically: what changes and what stays the same? Why do some generic elements seem to be so stable? What are the relationships between convention and innovation?

On the one hand, “genre” seems to be a relatively uncomplicated term, and we can use it in daily language without much confusion about what is meant. It offers a simple way of differentiating between various groups of similar forms of literature or texts (or TV-series, movies, podcasts, paintings, etc.) Simply put, it just works. But on the other hand, when one starts questioning what genre *really* is, one might get the feeling of falling down an ontological rabbit hole. When casually talking about genre, it seems as if different genres either exist on a higher ontological level than the texts themselves, similar to Platonic ideas; or alternatively that genres are merely random labels used to systematize and classify certain kinds of texts. Common for both of these viewpoints, the normative (*ante rem*) and the classificatory (*post rem*), is that they seek something *beyond* the texts, something which is uniform and constant.¹⁰⁵ A third viewpoint is formulated by Hans Robert Jauss, where he suggests that we should be studying genre historically (*in re*). He writes:

¹⁰⁴ Kristin Asdal et al., *Tekst og historie : å lese tekster historisk* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2008), 189. My translation

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 191.

[...] genres are to be understood not as *genera* (classes) in the logical sense, but rather as *groups* or *historical families*. As such, they cannot be deduced or defined, but only historically determined, delimited, and described. In this they are analogous to historical languages, for which it likewise holds that German or French, for example, do not allow themselves to be defined, but rather only synchronically described and historically investigated.¹⁰⁶

This understanding of genre, then, gives a useful guideline for an approach to studying *setsuyōshū*, and in the following *setsuyōshū* will be “investigated historically” and “described synchronically”. In chapter 3 the historical approach is used and the development of the genre through time is considered, while in chapter 4 a more synchronic approach is utilized and one particular *setsuyōshū*, the *Dainippon eitai setsuyōshū*, is examined in order to get a more in-depth understanding of the contents of the genre.

Because early modern *setsuyōshū* often include informational content in addition to the dictionary, it has become a trend in English academic literature that deals with or mentions *setsuyōshū* to refer to them as “household encyclopedias”, or “home encyclopedias”.¹⁰⁷ This term was coined by Yokoyama Toshio, who was the first to write anything substantial about “encyclopedic” *setsuyōshū* in a Western language, and who constantly referred to them as “household encyclopedias”.¹⁰⁸ This term offers a quick explanation of what *setsuyōshū* are: books that are supposed to contain information on everything in existence. The most common thing we can relate to which boasts similar claims is of course the encyclopedia. However, using the term “encyclopedia” is not totally unproblematic, for two main reasons. First, it ignores the fact that many *setsuyōshū* did in fact not include any additional content other than the dictionary itself, and therefore are clearly not

¹⁰⁶ Hans Robert Jauss and Paul De Man, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, vol. vol. 2, Theory and History of Literature (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 79-80.

¹⁰⁷ See for instance Kinski, "Treasure Boxes, Fabrics, and Mirrors: On the Contents and the Classification of Popular Encyclopedias from Early Modern Japan," 70-88. Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 52. and Rubinger, *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan*, 94.

¹⁰⁸ The term ‘household encyclopedias’ is used fairly consistently through all of his work. See for instance Yokoyama, "In Quest of Civility: Conspicuous Uses of Household Encyclopedias in Nineteenth-Century Japan."; "Some Notes on the History of Japanese Traditional Household Encyclopedias."; "The Illustrated Household Encyclopedias that Once Civilized Japan." He also uses the term in in his discussions of *ōzassho*. See "On the Civilising Role of Ōzassho, the Household Encyclopedia for Divining in Premodern Japan."

encyclopedias in the typical sense of the word. This problem can of course easily be avoided by clearly stating what kind of *setsuyōshū* is being referred to.

Secondly, the word “encyclopedia” evokes certain characteristics that do not apply to *setsuyōshū*. One of the key features of an encyclopedia is order, most commonly alphabetical order, and although the dictionary section of any *setsuyōshū* certainly has this characteristic, there is no such sense of order in the various informational appendices. The earliest encyclopedias in the west did not use alphabetical order, which became the primary system of classification in the seventeenth century, but were based on category-systems.¹⁰⁹ It might be possible to argue that there is some inherent order and logic to the structure and presentation of the material in *setsuyōshū*. Yokoyama argues that the information within *setsuyōshū*, or at least the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*, are divided into two categories: “sections which provided readers with essential cornerstones of their national identity” and “sections covering topics that could help readers add refinement to their daily lives.”¹¹⁰ The first category would typically be found at the beginning of the *setsuyōshū*, followed by the second category. But even if one could uncover such an inherent structure, it is certainly not as explicit as what should be expected from an encyclopedia.¹¹¹ The order of the entries is seemingly quite random, and the only finding mechanism available is an index in the beginning, in which order and contents may or may not correspond properly to the book itself, and which is not present in every *setsuyōshū*. Questions of order in *setsuyōshū* will be explored further in chapter 4.

There are, however, some similarities between *setsuyōshū* and encyclopedias. More to the point, there are similarities in the motivations behind them. In early modern Japan, there emerged a new attitude towards knowledge and the collection and ordering of information in what Berry refers to as a “quiet revolution in knowledge”.¹¹² This “revolution” has its parallels in Renaissance encyclopedism, which extends beyond “proper” encyclopedias themselves and refers to a whole new mindset of collecting and storing information. The early modernist Ann Blair points out that:

¹⁰⁹ Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 109-10.

¹¹⁰ Yokoyama, “The Illustrated Household Encyclopedias that Once Civilized Japan,” 50.

¹¹¹ Kinski also briefly touches upon the subject of order and structure in *setsuyōshū*. See Kinski, “Treasure Boxes, Fabrics, and Mirrors: On the Contents and the Classification of Popular Encyclopedias from Early Modern Japan,” 75-75, note 16.

¹¹² Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period*, 18.

“[...] what historians have generally emphasized as distinctive of Renaissance encyclopaedism is the increased range and size of Renaissance treatments of all kinds of topics, from bibliographies to natural histories to cabinets of curiosities, from encyclopaedic poetry and fiction (du Bartas or Cervantes) to encyclopaedic treatises on particular topics like cosmography or agriculture. This heaping impulse was also central to the explosion in the number and size of what I call ‘reference works’ (most centrally: dictionaries, florilegia, and commonplace books).”¹¹³

She further explains that early modernists usually have pointed to three causes for the emergence of Renaissance encyclopedism: “the discovery of new worlds, the recovery of ancient texts, and the proliferation of printed books,”¹¹⁴ but also goes further arguing that the main factor in its emergence was “the new level of care devoted to recording, saving and managing information” and “a cultural impulse that sought to gather and manage as much information as possible.”¹¹⁵ The observations made by Berry and Blair are remarkably similar, and in light of this it seems proper to call some of the types of *setsuyōshū* “encyclopedic”, since they include various types of information extending beyond the dictionary. Referring to them as “household encyclopedias”, however, still seems problematic. To differentiate them from *setsuyōshū* that were only dictionaries, *setsuyōshū* that included additional content will therefore be referred to as “encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū*”.

Transtextuality

Darnton considered intertextuality and paratextuality to be two important aspects of books that should be considered by book historians.¹¹⁶ Both of these terms are a part of what Gérard Genette calls transtextuality and I have found these terms to be very useful in the study of *setsuyōshū*. Genette defines this transtextuality as “all that sets the text in relationship,

¹¹³ Ann Blair, "Revisiting Renaissance Encyclopaedism," in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. Jason König and Greg Woolf (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 380.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 381.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 382.

¹¹⁶ Darnton, "'What is the History of Books?' Revisited," 506-07.

whether obvious or concealed, with other texts.”¹¹⁷ In other words, other than the “text itself”, there are other textual elements which might be just as important for our understanding of what a text is and how it works. Genette identifies five different forms of transtextuality: (1) intertextuality, (2) paratextuality, (3) metatextuality, (4) hypertextuality or hypotextuality, and (5) architextuality. He makes it explicit that this list is not necessarily “exhaustive nor definite,”¹¹⁸ but all of these concepts will nevertheless be applied in varying degrees to the examination of *setsuyōshū*.

Intertextuality, the way Genette thinks of it and also the way it is used in this thesis, is somewhat more restricted in its meaning than for some other theorists. Seen in contrast to the interpretation of intertextuality in for instance Julia Kristeva, for whom intertextuality refers to the notion that “any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another”,¹¹⁹ Genette thinks of intertextuality as “a relationship of copresence between two texts or among several texts: that is to say, eidetically and typically as the actual presence of one text within another.”¹²⁰ In other words, intertextuality is an actual physical presence of another text B within text A. He then continues by identifying three different forms of intertextuality: *quotation*, *plagiarism*, and *allusion*. The restrictive understanding of intertextuality as found in Genette is especially useful when studying *setsuyōshū*, because the very genre is in certain ways built upon intertextual relationships in the sense that most of the contents within *setsuyōshū* are taken from somewhere else. To a large extent this can actually be said of the early modern book market in general. The intertextual nature of *setsuyōshū* will be discussed in chapter 5.

Paratextuality refers to certain functions which are there to “*make present*, to ensure the text’s presence in the world.”¹²¹ Genette further divides paratexts into two sub-categories: peritext and epitext. Peritexts are paratexts that are directly connected to the main text and can for instance be an author’s name, a title or a subtitle, forewords, epilogues, introductions, illustrations or colophons. Epitexts refers to paratexts that are located outside the book, for

¹¹⁷ Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, vol. 8 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 1.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1-7.

¹¹⁹ Julia Kristeva and Leon S. Roudiez, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1980), 66.

¹²⁰ Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, 8, 1-2.

¹²¹ *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1.

instance advertisements.¹²² Genette refers to the paratext as a *threshold*; it is the zone between the text itself and the world outside the text. Ultimately it is what “enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public.”¹²³ What is the “text itself” in a *setsuyōshū*, and where does it stop? When considering encyclopedic *setsuyōshū*, for instance, Japanese scholars today tend to refer to the dictionary section as the “main part” (*honbun*) and the encyclopedic entries as “appendices” (*furoku*). Does it correspond to the way contemporaries thought of *setsuyōshū*? What do the introductions tell us of the nature of *setsuyōshū*, and what can we glean from how the books were titled? These (and other) paratextual concerns will be discussed throughout this thesis.

Metatextuality is a form of commentary where a text is referred to or spoken of without necessarily being cited.¹²⁴ For Genette, a *critical* component seems to be necessary for a text to be considered a metatext, but for our purpose any text which mentions *setsuyōshū* in one form or another will be considered a metatext: stories where *setsuyōshū* figures prominently in the plot, whether it is an anecdote revolving around *setsuyōshū*, or casual references to *setsuyōshū* in a diary. Reading metatexts can offer us insights into the reception of *setsuyōshū*.

Hypertextuality, also sometimes referred to as hypotextuality, is a relationship that links two texts, the *hypertext* and the *hypotext*, where the *hypotext* is an earlier or original text and the *hypertext* is some kind of transformation of the *hypotext*. Hypertexts can be thought of as “literature in the second degree”, as the title of the English translation of Genette’s book on the subject reflects. In his explanation of hypertextuality, Genette draws on the *Aenid* and *Ulysses*, which are both hypertextual transformations of the same hypotext, the *Odyssey*.¹²⁵ Genette lists different forms of hypertext: parody, pastiche, travesty, caricature, transposition, and forgery. We will encounter parodies of *setsuyōshū* in chapter 7.

The last form of transtextuality in Genette’s model is architextuality, which he defines as “the entire set of general or transcendent categories—types of discourse, modes of enunciation, literary genres—from which emerges each singular text.”¹²⁶ Genre seems to be a more fitting term for the purposes here, and has already been discussed above.

¹²² Ibid., 5.

¹²³ Ibid., 1-3.

¹²⁴ *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, 8, 4.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 6.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 1.

These transtextual terms are used in this thesis more as convenient labels than as a part of a theoretical discussion about transtextuality. My main reason for using them is that they illustrate the interconnectedness between *setsuyōshū* and different texts. By speaking of poems and diaries as metatexts and of parodies as hypertexts of *setsuyōshū*, we can highlight the connection between them.

Concluding remarks

To summarize, in this thesis I am using two different approaches to investigating different aspects of *setsuyōshū*. Through the concept of genre I am examining the nature of the works themselves and how they developed over time, while through the lens of book history and employing a model of the communication circuit I am looking at many of the different extra-textual factors that influenced and shaped the genre. This book-historical model stands in sharp contrast to how others have viewed *setsuyōshū*, notably Yokoyama Toshio who implicitly based his work on a model of one-way communication and argued that the *setsuyōshū* were instruments that civilized the early modern Japanese people. I argue that this way of looking at *setsuyōshū* is simplistic and ignores many important aspects of these books, such as the role of the publishers and the guilds. Utilizing a more holistic approach of book history will remedy many of the problems.

The question then arises, when substituting the one-way communication model with a book-historical communication circuit, what takes the place of the civilizing role of *setsuyōshū*? This is one of the central questions that I will be addressing throughout this thesis. What was the agenda of the producers of *setsuyōshū* and how was the *setsuyōshū* perceived by its users? Was the main purpose mere entertainment, or was it only supposed to be a moneymaker for the publishers? Were *setsuyōshū* looked upon as repositories of objective and important knowledge, or were they something else entirely? The answer is likely to be a combination of these and other possibilities, but in order to reach any conclusions, it is important to investigate all the factors discussed in this chapter more systematically.

Chapter 3: History and genre

As discussed in the previous chapter, the study of genre should include two perspectives: one diachronic and the other synchronic. This chapter takes the diachronic approach and looks at the historical development of *setsuyōshū*. The history of *setsuyōshū* can roughly be divided into three periods: the pre-modern period of *kohon*, or “old-style” *setsuyōshū*; early modern *setsuyōshū*; and *setsuyōshū* in the Meiji period and beyond. All of these periods will be investigated in this chapter, but *setsuyōshū* from the early modern period will receive the most attention.

Kohon setsuyōshū

As previously mentioned, the very first *setsuyōshū* was compiled sometime in the latter half of the fifteenth century, most likely a little after the Bunmei period (1469-1487).¹²⁷ The compiler of this work is unknown, but as Don Clifford Bailey suggests, the best guess is that the compiler was a “nameless fifteenth-century Zen priest”.¹²⁸

Apart from some minor appendices, all *kohon setsuyōshū* were simply dictionaries, as opposed to many of the early modern editions which had lots of additional content. *Setsuyōshū* were used for looking up Chinese characters using the Japanese reading of that character or word.¹²⁹ This means that the *setsuyōshū* were dictionaries designed for writing, as opposed to dictionaries used for looking up words that a reader does not understand. The original *setsuyōshū* was a dictionary that combined the organizing strategies of *onbiki* 音引き (characters listed according to their pronunciation) and *bunruitai* 分類体 (characters listed

¹²⁷ Hagihara Yoshio, "Muromachi no jisho," in *Nihon kojisho o manabu hito no tame ni*, ed. Nishizaki Ryō (Tokyo: Sekai shisōsha, 2001), 218.

¹²⁸ Bailey, "Early Japanese Lexicography," 47.

¹²⁹ Most characters have multiple possible readings in Japanese. The main reason for this is that the characters were imported from China and imposed upon the Japanese language, and the Chinese readings were imported along with the characters as well. Consequently a character can typically be read with a Japanese pronunciation (*kun'yomi* 訓読み) and a “Chinese” pronunciation (*on'yomi* 音読み). For example the character for “person” (人) can be read either as *hito* ひと in the Japanese reading, or as *nin* ニン or *jin* ジン in the Chinese reading.

according to their meaning).¹³⁰ This means that the characters or words are organized and arranged on two different levels. First, the words are ordered in 44-47 sections by their first *kana* in the *iroha*-order (*onbiki*); and second, they are ordered according to different semantic categories (*bunruitai*). The *kana* divisions are referred to as *bu* 部, while the semantic categories are referred to as *mon* 門. In the early modern period alternative formats of *setsuyōshū* dictionaries would be introduced, but the format of the *kohon setsuyōshū* remained the most common one throughout the history of the genre. This particular form of dictionary is often called *iroha-igi bunrui* いろは意義分類 *setsuyōshū* and will be referred to as the standard *setsuyōshū* dictionary hereafter.

The number of different *mon*, or semantic categories, varies between editions but typically lies somewhere between a minimum of nine and a maximum of fifteen categories.¹³¹ This remains fairly unchanged throughout the entire history of *setsuyōshū*. In the early modern period, however, there are some deviations from this norm, with books such as the *Shinsen bubun setsuyōshū* 新撰部分節用集 (1759) supposedly having as many as sixty categories.¹³² The first category is always either *tenchi* 天地 or *kenkon* 乾坤, both of which can be translated as “heaven and earth”. The following is a list of *mon* included in different *setsuyōshū* from different time periods to illustrate their similarities and differences.

<i>Setsuyōshū</i> (1556)	<i>Shinsō nigyō setsuyōshū</i> (1638)	<i>Eitai setsuyō mujinzō</i> (1849)
<i>Tenchi</i> 天地 (heaven and earth)	<i>Kenkon</i> 乾坤 (heaven and earth)	<i>Kenkon</i> 乾坤 (heaven and earth)
<i>Jisetsu</i> 時節 (time and seasons)	<i>Kan'i</i> 官位 (office and rank)	<i>Jikō</i> 時候 (time and seasons)
<i>Sōmoku</i> 草木 (plants and trees)	<i>Jingi</i> 神祇 (heavenly matters)	<i>Shinbutsu</i> 神仏 (gods and buddhas)
<i>Jinrin</i> 人倫 (human relations)	<i>Jinrin</i> 人倫 (human relations)	<i>Jinrin</i> 人倫 (human relations)

¹³⁰ Bailey, "Early Japanese Lexicography," 4. A third type of dictionary used for distinguishing Chinese and Japanese character dictionaries is *jikeibiki*, where characters are listed according to their shape (e.g. stroke order or radicals).

¹³¹ Hashimoto, *Kohon setsuyōshū no kenkyū*, 4.

¹³² <http://www1.gifu-u.ac.jp/~satopy/reki18b.html>

relations)	relations)	
<i>Jinmei</i> 人名 (names)	<i>Myōji</i> 名字 (names)	<i>Kan'i</i> 官位 (office and rank)
<i>Kanmei</i> 官名 (office names)	<i>Shitai</i> 支体 (limbs and body)	<i>Myōji</i> 名字 (names)
<i>Shitai</i> 支体 (limbs and body)	<i>Ishoku</i> 衣食 (clothing and food)	<i>Shitai</i> 支体 (limbs and body)
<i>Chikurui</i> 畜類 (animals)	<i>Kigyō</i> 気形 (living things)	<i>Shokufuku</i> 食服 (clothing and food)
<i>Zaihō</i> 財宝 (treasure)	<i>Sōmoku</i> 草木 (plants and trees)	<i>Kizai</i> 器材 (tools and materials)
<i>Ifuku</i> 衣服 (clothes)	<i>Kizai</i> 器材 (tools and materials)	<i>Kigyō</i> 気形 (living things)
<i>Kōsai</i> 光彩 (splendor)	<i>Sūryō</i> 数量 (numbers)	<i>Sōmoku</i> 草木 (plants and trees)
<i>Shokumotsu</i> 食物 (food)	<i>Gengo</i> 言語 (language)	<i>Sūryō</i> 数量 (numbers)
<i>Sūryō</i> 数量 (numbers)		<i>Gengo</i> 言語 (language)
<i>Gengo</i> 言語 (language)		
14	12	13

Table 1: *Mon* (semantic categories) in different *setsuyōshū*

In practice, all of these categories would be listed, first under the *kana i*, then starting all over again with *kenkon* or *tenchi* under the *kana ro*, and so on. To illustrate how these finding devices were used, let us imagine that someone is composing a poem about a sparrow, but has forgotten how to write the character for sparrow (*suzume* 雀). He would then consult the *setsuyōshū* by finding the *bu* corresponding to the first *kana* of the word, which in this case is *su*. This happens to be the last *kana* in the *iroha*-order, so he would have to go to the very back of the dictionary. When he arrives at the correct *bu*, he would start flipping the pages until he finds the right *mon*, which in this instance is *kigyō*, or living things, since he is looking for an animal. He would then read downwards until he found the word in *kana* on the right side of the corresponding character. The words are “alphabetized” only according to the first *kana* in the word, and he might therefore have to browse through an entire category before he finds the character or word he is looking for. This would not be a vexing problem with many of the smaller *setsuyōshū*, but would definitely be a time-consuming nuisance with some of the larger editions. As will be discussed in more detail later in this thesis, in the early

modern period new types of *setsuyōshū* dictionaries appeared that were designed to be faster and more convenient in use. The vast majority of the entries in the dictionary only contain the characters and the reading of the word, but some entries contain commentaries about the meaning of the words written in *kanbun* 漢文.¹³³

Based on the work of Hashimoto, *kohon setsuyōshū* are usually divided into three main categories. These categories are based on the first word listed in the dictionary, which is usually one of the following: *Ise* 伊勢, *Indo* 印度 or *inui* 乾. Books in each category are referred to as *Ise-bon*, *Indo-bon*, and *Inui-bon* respectively.¹³⁴

The first ones to appear were the *Ise-bon* (Figure 4), which are further divided into six major sub-categories: *the Tenshō nijūnen-bon* 天正二十年本 type; the *Ikyōshū* 伊京集; the *Tenshō jūhachinen-bon* 天正十八年本 type; the *Manjuya-bon* 饅頭屋本; the *Onkodō-bon* 温故堂本; and an “augmented type” (*zōkanbon* 增刊本). The reason for the change of the first entry, from *Indo* to *Ise*, was that names of foreign lands were moved to a separate appendix.

¹³³ *Kanbun* is a system for reading classical Chinese by employing various methods such as adding syntactic markers called *kaeriten* and *kunten* to reorder the structure of the sentences to make them fit Japanese, and by adding *okurigana* to represent particles and inflection of words.

¹³⁴ Hashimoto, *Kohon setsuyōshū no kenkyū*, 4-5.



Figure 4: *Ise-bon setsuyōshū* (year unknown)¹³⁵



Figure 5: *Indo-bon setsuyōshū* (year unknown)¹³⁶

The *Indo-bon* were the next ones to appear (Figure 5), and Hashimoto further divides this category into three major types: the *Kōji ninen-bon* 弘治二年本 type; the *Eiroku ninen-bon* 永祿二年本 type; and the *Kien-bon* 枳園本. The *Indo-bon* was heavily influenced by the *Kagakushū* 下学集, another dictionary first published in 1444, and more indirectly by the *Iroha jiruishō* 色葉字類抄 which was compiled around 1145, as well as other dictionaries that used the *iroha-order*.¹³⁷

The final category to emerge was the *Inui-bon* (Figure 6), which contains only the *Ekirinbon* 易林本 type. The *Ekirinbon setsuyōshū* takes its name from the name of the compiler written at the end of the introduction, and it is the first *setsuyōshū* edition whose author we can identify with certainty. The *Ekirinbon* was also the first *setsuyōshū* to be printed, and it was this style that was to become the model for the early modern *setsuyōshū* dictionaries. The reason why *inui* became the first word appearing in the dictionary, and no

¹³⁵ http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/i03/i03_00608/index.html

¹³⁶ Kyoto University Library: <http://edb.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/exhibit/i048/image/01/i048s0001.html>

¹³⁷ Bailey, "Early Japanese Lexicography," 42.

longer *Indo*, was the distinction between the *kana wi* and *i*. Because of this distinction *indo*, or *windo*, was moved to the *wi bu*.



Figure 6: *Inui-bon setsuyōshū* (year unknown)¹³⁸

Should the change from *Ise*, via *Indo*, to *inui* be understood as purely technical, as indicated above, or can one discern ideological considerations or even an intellectual shift in the background? *Ise*, the location of possibly the most sacred site in all of Japan, the Ise shrine, could be interpreted as a representation of Shinto; *Indo*, or India, could be interpreted as a symbol for Buddhism; and *inui* represents heaven, as in *kenkon* (heaven and earth), and it is also the very first trigram in the *Yijing*. In other words, it represents the beginning of everything in *onmyōdō* or *in'yō-gogyō* inspired popular religious thought. As will be discussed in later chapters, *onmyōdō* cosmological thought features prominently in early modern *setsuyōshū*, inviting us to interpret these changes as more than arbitrary. But at the same time, all we can be sure about are the technical changes, and it is impossible to gauge the true intentions of the compilers. It must also be said that the fact that all of the words start with the *kana i* is a random coincidence. But then again, the compilers of these dictionaries did choose these exact words and not any other. This is a typical example of a structural

¹³⁸ Waseda Kotenseko Sōgo database: http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/i03/i03_02152/index.html

element in the text that might be interpreted, and possibly over-interpreted, as a reflection of changes in world views of different periods – or as a coincidental result of editing principles.

Although the *inui-bon* type of dictionary became the most prevalent in the early modern period, there are also many *setsuyōshū* with a different word at the beginning of the dictionary. When compilers started to experiment with different ways to structure the dictionary and began employing new finding mechanisms, a natural consequence was that words would also be moved to different positions in the dictionary. *Inui* could never appear as the first word in a *hayabiki*-style dictionary, for instance, because the first word would always be a single *kana* word and *inui* consists of three. *Hayabiki*-style dictionaries and other attempts at innovation in the dictionary will be discussed later in this chapter. But other “standard” *iroha-igi bunrui*-style dictionaries with first words other than *inui* exist as well. The *Otoko setsuyōshū nyoī hōju taisei* 男節用集如意宝珠大成 (1716), for instance, begins with the word *in'yō* 陰陽, “yin and yang”. This clearly fits with the same kind of *onmyōdō* world view as *inui*, but it also highlights that the variety in *setsuyōshū* dictionaries extended beyond the three categories proposed by Hashimoto.

Early modern *setsuyōshū*

In the medieval period there were few major developments in the *setsuyōshū* genre, but in the early modern period there was an accelerated pace of development. Satō Takahiro has suggested that the development of early modern *setsuyōshū* can be divided roughly into four phases. First, there was a standardization period from around 1600 to 1690, when most of the standard features of the dictionary in early modern *setsuyōshū* emerge. Next, there was an “encyclopedic turn” from about 1690 to 1750, when additional content that was not part of the dictionary itself was added to many *setsuyōshū*. Then, in the period from around 1750 to 1800, publishers started to experiment with the genre and we see some deviations from the standard, especially in the dictionary section. And finally, from about 1800 to 1868, there was a period with two major trends: some *setsuyōshū* were expanding, with more words in the dictionary and more additional content; and other *setsuyōshū* were getting smaller, portable, and more practical.¹³⁹ Although this division is somewhat coarse and there are some aspects that do not fit into this division neatly, it highlights many important aspects of *setsuyōshū* in the early

¹³⁹ Satō, "Setsuyōshū to kinsei shakai," 138-42.

modern period, and will therefore also be used here. Together, the various developments in these four phases highlight the most basic features of *setsuyōshū*, and to a considerable extent they illustrate both what can be considered standards of the genre as well as important variations.

Phase 1: Standardization period (1600-1690)

The *setsuyōshū* continued to be only dictionaries for some time into the early modern period, but the design of the dictionaries became somewhat different from the pre-modern variants. A minimum “standard” of the *setsuyōshū* dictionary was already established with the very first edition in the Muromachi period, but a “second” standardization in the early seventeenth century introduced some new features and changes in its layout and presentation. Three major changes came in the form of *shinsō nigyō* 真草二行, *ryōten* 両点, and *kashiragaki* 頭書. Each of these developments will be explained in turn.

Whereas the kanji characters in Muromachi-period *setsuyōshū* were typically written in a square style of handwriting (*kaisho* 楷書), the standard way of depicting the characters from the Keichō period (1596-1610) onwards was in cursive script (*sōsho* 草書). According to Yokoyama, the square style of handwriting would be used in more formal settings, while the cursive style would be used in day-to-day writing, so this change of focus in the depiction of characters might reflect a change in the intended usage of *setsuyōshū*, from formal to everyday use.¹⁴⁰ Yokoyama’s assessment of square style writing as more formal may not be entirely accurate, since most formal writings were actually written using cursive,¹⁴¹ but some support for this division between formal and informal can be found in a story about Japanese castaways who drifted ashore in Annam (present day Vietnam). These castaways used a *setsuyōshū* to communicate with the locals by finding the square style of characters via the cursive ones. Evidently they knew the cursive style of the characters, but not the square style. The story about these castaways and their usage of *setsuyōshū* will be discussed further in chapter 7.

¹⁴⁰ Yokoyama, "The Illustrated Household Encyclopedias that Once Civilized Japan," 51.

¹⁴¹ Christopher Seeley, "The standing of ‘Gyōsōtai’ as the basis of script education in the Edo period," *Japan Forum* 3, no. 1 (1991): 115.

Whether or not we accept Yokoyama's division of formal and informal, the reason why the castaways were able to use the *setsuyōshū* as a tool for communication was because of the *shinsō nigyō* feature. This new standard was added to *setsuyōshū* early in the seventeenth century and would be prevalent in most *setsuyōshū* for the rest of the genre's history. *Shinsō nigyō* literally means “cursive and square [script] in two columns” and entails that the *setsuyōshū* depicts each kanji character in both cursive and square styles. The cursive rendition of the character would be the main one, while the square one would appear on the immediate left of the cursive one and written somewhat smaller. The first *setsuyōshū* to implement this *shinsō nigyō* was published in 1611.¹⁴² Figure 7 shows an example of *shinsō nigyō* from *Shinsō nigyō setsuyōshū* 真草二行節用集 (1639) and Figure 8 shows a close-up of the first four entries.¹⁴³



Figure 7: *Shinsō nigyō setsuyōshū* (1639)



Figure 8: Close-up of *shinsō nigyō* in *Shinsō nigyō setsuyōshū* (1639)

¹⁴² Satō Takahiro, "Setsuyōshū no sekai: Tenkei to itsudatsu," *Sinica* 11, no. 3 (2000): 48.

¹⁴³ Digital copy available at Gifu University Institutional Repository: <http://repository.lib.gifu-u.ac.jp/handle/123456789/54117>

Another important element added to the *setsuyōshū* dictionary was *ryōten*. *Ryōten* can be translated as “two points” or “two aspects” and refers to the inclusion of two or more readings of each character or word. The main reading of an entry, by which the entries were ordered, could be either the *kun-* or *on-*reading. Typically the main reading would appear on the right side of the cursive character written in hiragana, and the other reading or readings on the right side of the square character written in katakana, although there are also variations of this. The addition of *ryōten* improved the functionality of the dictionary by making it possible to look up alternative readings of a character, although it was still necessary for the user to know which reading the entry was listed under. The first use of *ryōten* that we can ascertain was in the 1679 edition of *Kashiragaki zōho nigyō setsuyōshū* 頭書增補二行節用集, but it is likely that it was introduced earlier.¹⁴⁴ An example of *ryōten* can be seen in the examples in Figure 9 and Figure 10 from *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849). Although this *setsuyōshū* is of a much later date than the developmental period under discussion here, the *ryōten* feature remained unchanged throughout the history of *setsuyōshū* and the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* therefore still serves as a good example.

¹⁴⁴ Takanashi Nobuhiro, "Kinsei setsuyōshū no ryōten ni tsuite," *Waseda nihongo kenkyū* 14 (2005): 4.



Figure 9: Dictionary section of *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849)

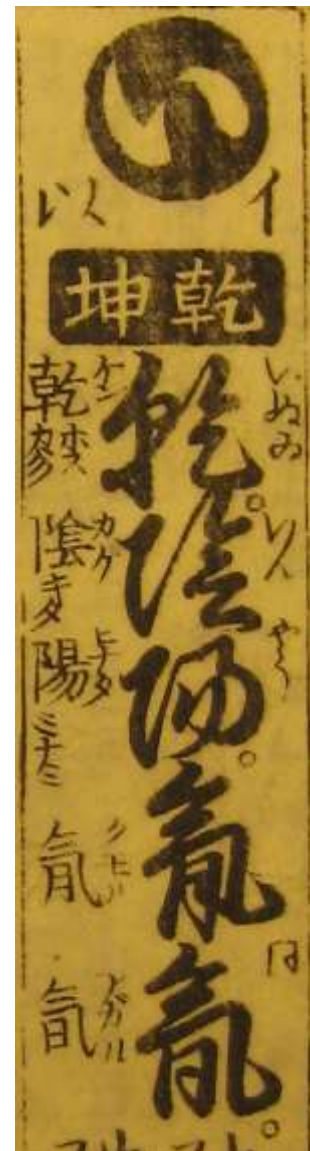


Figure 10: Close-up of dictionary entries in *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849)

The depiction of multiple readings of characters occurred in genres other than *setsuyōshū* as well, such as *ōraimono* 往来物 (“literature of correspondence”) with one example being the *Teikin ōrai eshōkai* 庭訓往来絵抄解 (1826).¹⁴⁵ *Ōraimono* were collections of letters and replies and were designed to teach reading and writing as well as formal etiquette. *Ōraimono* and their relations to *setsuyōshū* will be discussed further in chapter 5.

¹⁴⁵ Ariga Chieko, "The Playful Gloss: Rubi in Japanese Literature," *Monumenta Nipponica* 44, no. 3 (1989): 314-16.

The third element that was added to *setsuyōshū* in this period and that would be typical for the genre until the end was the *kashiragaki*. *Kashiragaki* literally means “head text” and refers to a row on top of the page that is separate from the dictionary in content. This row typically covers between one third and one fifth of the page, while the dictionary covers the remaining part of the page. This element was first introduced in the *Kashiragaki zōho nigyō setsuyōshū* 頭書増補二行節用集, published in 1670.¹⁴⁶ While *kashiragaki* was not a feature that was exclusive to *setsuyōshū*, and it appeared in many different kinds of printed books from the early modern period, it became an important defining feature of *setsuyōshū*. In this early period of development, the *kashiragaki* contained commentary on words found in the dictionary, but later it became common to find content in this section that was completely separate from the dictionary. Figure 11 shows an example from *Kashiragaki taisei setsuyōshū* 頭書大成節用集 (1691) where the *kashiragaki* contains commentary on words in the dictionary. The rightmost entry gives the etymology of the word *baka* 馬鹿 (fool).¹⁴⁷



Figure 11: *Kashiragaki* in the *Kashiragaki taisei setsuyōshū* (1691) with commentary on words in the dictionary

¹⁴⁶ Satō, "Setsuyōshū no sekai: Tenkei to itsudatsu," 50.

¹⁴⁷ http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko31/bunko31_e0890/index.html

Although the genre was moving towards standardization in this period, this does not mean that there are not also examples of experimentation and deviations from the emerging standard. An early example of such a deviating work was *Gōrui setsuyōshū* 合類節用集 (1680). This *setsuyōshū* introduced a new method for looking up words. Instead of ordering the entries in the dictionary first in the *iroha*-order and then according to semantic categories, the *Gōrui setsuyōshū* interchanged the two with each other, meaning that the words were ordered first according to semantic categories, and secondly according to the first *kana* of the word. Figure 12 shows the first dictionary page in the 1766 edition of *Wakan on shakusho genjikō setsuyōshū* 和漢音積書言字考節用集 published by Murakami Kanbei 村上勘兵衛, which shows the semantic category *kenkon* as the primary level of ordering and the kana *i* as the secondary level. Switching these two levels was not a drastic change from the standard, but it nevertheless demonstrates a willingness to explore other options and possibilities for the genre, something that would become more frequent later in the early modern period. The *gōrui*-style dictionary never became very popular and never outsold the standard type dictionary, but *setsuyōshū* utilizing this method continued to be published throughout the early modern period. Table 2 lists all known *gōrui*-style *setsuyōshū* published between 1680 and 1861.

Title	Year published
<i>Gōrui setsuyōshū</i> 合類節用集	1680
<i>Kōeki jizukushi chōhōki kōmoku</i> 広益字尽重宝記綱目	1693
<i>Kōeki jizukushi chōhōki kōmoku</i> 広益字尽重宝記綱目	1705
<i>Wakan on shakusho genjikō</i> 和漢音積書言字考	1717
<i>Kōeki jizukushi chōhōki kōmoku</i> 広益字尽重宝記綱目	1723
<i>Daikōeki jizukushi chōhōki kōmoku</i> 大広益字尽重宝記綱目	1749
<i>Daisetsuyō moji hōkan</i> 大節用文字宝鑑	1756
<i>Shinsen bubun setsuyōshū</i> 新撰部分節用集	1759
<i>Wakan on shakusho genjikō setsuyōshū</i> 和漢音積書言字考節用集	1766
<i>Daikōeki jizukushi chōhōki kōmoku</i> 大広益字尽重宝記綱目	1781

Phase 2: The encyclopedic turn (1690 to 1750)

The period between 1690 and 1750 is marked by the emergence of encyclopedic entries that are not a part of the dictionary itself. In Japanese these entries are referred to as *furoku* 付録, or appendices, while the dictionary itself is often referred to as *honbun* 本文, or the main text. Typically, encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū* from this period and onwards would include appendices in three different places in the book: in the pages preceding the dictionary (*kantō* 卷頭 or *kanshu* 卷首), in the *kashiragaki* above the dictionary, and attached after the dictionary (*kanmatsu* 卷末 or *okugaki* 奥書).

In fact, what could be considered appendices had been a part of *setsuyōshū* since the beginning, but early examples consist merely of lists of words, such as lists of provinces or areas in Kyoto. These lists surely serve a function extending beyond what the dictionary itself offers, but they look and feel more or less like parts of the dictionary. Indeed, some of the entries appeared in an appendix in some editions and in the dictionary proper in others.

Although lists of this earlier type featured in early modern *setsuyōshū* as appendices as well, most of the new appendices appearing in this period were somewhat different. Many of the new entries were richly illustrated and included information on a wider variety of topics than what was possible in a simple dictionary. *Setsuyōshū* of this kind are often referred to as “illustrated household encyclopedias”. While illustrations became an essential element for many *setsuyōshū* in this period, the first appearance of an illustration in *setsuyōshū* had come much earlier, with an illustration bamboo together with the *iroha*-poem in the *Shinsō nigyō setsuyōshū* 真草二行節用集 (1638).¹⁴⁹ This early example of illustrations in *setsuyōshū* is only one page of the entire dictionary, however, and is therefore not what we typically consider an illustrated edition of *setsuyōshū*.

The *Kashiragaki taisei setsuyōshū* 頭書大成節用集 (1691) serves as a good early example of the development in this period. Out of the total 234 pages in this particular *setsuyōshū*, 62 pages, or roughly one quarter, are dedicated to appendices. The *kashiragaki* consists of explanations of words, so in this sense it belongs to the dictionary and therefore does not count as an encyclopedic appendix in this calculation. The appendices include entries on astronomy/astrology; maps of the world, Japan and Edo; illustrations of peoples of the world; various entries in relation to yin-yang and five-phase cosmology, such as divination

¹⁴⁹ Kashiwabara, *Kinsei no kokugo jisho setsuyōshū no furoku*, 15.

techniques using people's signatures and information about sounds; a calendar; information on flower arrangement; and other things. With the exception of the calendar, most of these entries are quite common and appear in many different editions of *setsuyōshū*. Later editions did not include calendars; rather, they would contain information on how to interpret the various kinds of cosmological and divinatory information found in calendars. Perhaps the calendar disappeared from *setsuyōshū* because publishers realized that the calendar would very quickly be outdated and therefore affected the retail value of the *setsuyōshū* negatively. A few of the entries in the *Kashiragaki taisei setsuyōshū* are illustrated, but overall this *setsuyōshū* is not nearly as richly illustrated as many later editions. (Figure 13)

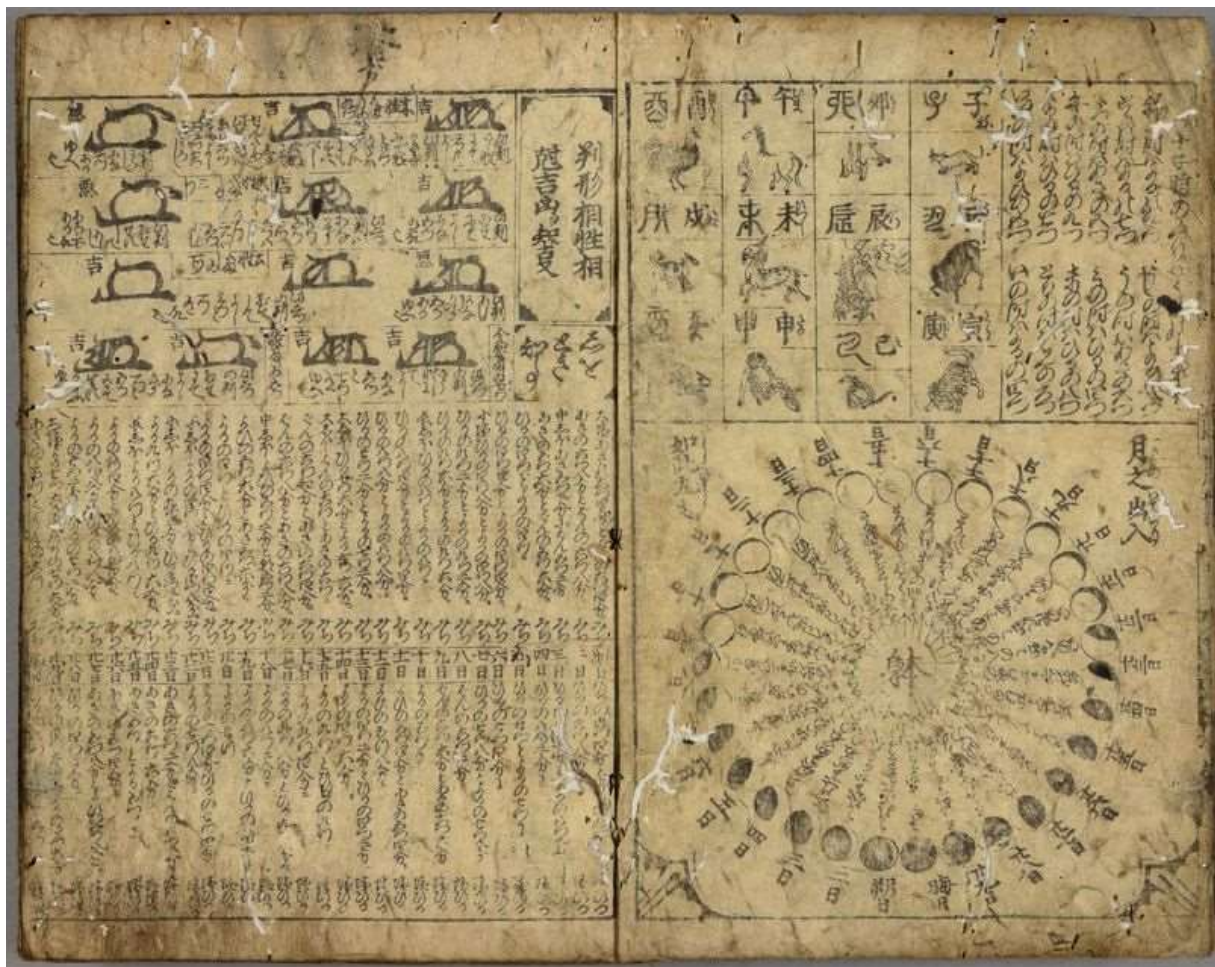


Figure 13: *Kashiragaki taisei setsuyōshū* (1691)

The *Kashiragaki taisei setsuyōshū* illustrates the beginning of the transformation of *setsuyōshū* into what many refer to as household encyclopedias, but in some aspects it had not developed completely into a “typical” encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū*. An example that gives a somewhat more complete image of the developments in this period is the *Bankoku tsūyō*

yōjisen 万国通用要字選 (1742). 58 out of the total 184 pages, or slightly less than a third, are dedicated to encyclopedic appendices in the *kantō* and the *kanmatsu*. Moreover, the *kashiragaki* also contains encyclopedic entries. The *kashiragaki* covers about a quarter of the pages in the dictionary, which means that almost half of the total space in the *setsuyōshū* is dedicated to encyclopedic entries. It is also more heavily illustrated than the previous example. Most of the encyclopedic entries that appear in the *Kashiragaki taisei setsuyōshū* also appear in the *Bankoku tsūyō yōjisen*, but the latter has many additions. Some notable examples, which are all very common in *setsuyōshū*, are for instance: information on palmistry; guides to paper folding according to the style of the Ogasawara lineage; information on weaponry; guides to the usage of the abacus; and compatibility charts between men and women according to the year of their birth.



Figure 14: *Bankoku tsūyō yōjisen* (1742)¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ Available through the Tokyo Gakugei Daigaku Repository: <https://ir.u-gakugei.ac.jp/images/EP20001580/kmview.html>

These are just two examples within this period of development; many more titles appeared in this period. From 1690 to 1750, at least 173 *setsuyōshū* were published. This number is based only on books for which we know the year of publication, so the actual number may have been higher. This number also includes reprints, and if duplicate titles are removed, the number is reduced to 101.¹⁵¹

The transformation of *setsuyōshū* into more than mere dictionaries was facilitated by several developments. Probably the most easily observable development was the growth of the printing industry. The change from manuscript to print made it more feasible to produce larger books with illustrations and more material, and the growing market of readers made it into a profitable business. There was also a changing attitude towards knowledge in the early modern period. People from all ranks of society were craving information in ways that they had never done before and the publishers of *setsuyōshū* knew how, or at least they learned how, to tap into this appetite for information. In other words, the addition of encyclopedic appendices to the *setsuyōshū* was in part a conscious strategy of the publishers in order to please the consumers and therefore sell more books. While these factors in themselves are sufficient for explaining this development, Satō Takahiro has suggested an additional reason for the emergence of the encyclopedic entries. In the Genroku period (1688-1704), the shogunate decided that it was not allowed to re-publish books which had been published previously or to blatantly copy other books. Changing the dictionary would require a tremendous amount of labor, but adding new content would not. Actually, copying smaller segments from other books and changing them a little bit caused fewer problems in terms of copyright than one might believe; copying the layout, rather than the content, was sometimes seen as more problematic. Therefore, Satō argues, “cutting and pasting” and adding new contents to the books was a convenient way for the publishers to avoid trouble for unnecessarily publishing new books.¹⁵²

During this period, the titles of *setsuyōshū* also begin to become more diversified. In the years prior to 1690, *setsuyōshū* had for the most part simple, straightforward titles, such as merely *Setsuyōshū* 節用集, *Nitai setsuyōshū* 二体節用集, *Nigyō setsuyōshū* 二行節用集,

¹⁵¹ Unless stated otherwise, numbers in this thesis are predominantly based on data from these two articles: Satō Takahiro, "Kinsei setsuyōshū shomei hensen kō," *Gifu daigaku kyōiku gakubu kenkyū hōkoku: jinbun kagaku* 44, no. 2 (1996); "Kinsei setsuyōshū kankō nenpyōkō," *Shomotsu - shuppan to shakai henyō* 6 (2009).

¹⁵² "Setsuyōshū to kinsei shakai," 140.

Shinsō nigyō setsuyōshū 真草二行節用集, *Zōho nigyō setsuyōshū* 增補二行節用集, or some form of combination of these. See Table 3 for a complete list of unique titles prior to 1670. From 1670 and onwards, the word *kashiragaki* 頭書 was also added to many titles, obviously reflecting the emergence of this new feature of *setsuyōshū*. A few examples of other, more elaborate titles are for instance: *Taikyoku setsuyō kokka teihō sangyō kōmoku* 大極節用国家鼎宝三行綱目 (1690), *Banpō setsuyōshū* (1694), *Taikai setsuyō shikkai fukyūjin* 大魁節用悉皆不求人 (1706), *Shinra banshō yōjikai* 森羅万象要字海 (1740), and *Eitai setsuyō taizen mujinzō* 永代節用大全無尽蔵 (1749). As seen in Table 3, there were only 19 different titles of *setsuyōshū* prior to 1690, while in the period between 1690 and 1750 there were, as mentioned earlier, at least 101 unique titles. Many of the titles from this period and thereafter use characters that represent the *setsuyōshū* as something valuable, or as a treasury of knowledge. For instance, the character for *takara* 宝 (read as *hō* according to the *on*-reading in most titles), which means “treasure”, appears in 61 of 268 unique titles in the early modern period.¹⁵³ Other common words include *mujin* 無尽, and *kura* 蔵 (often read as *zō*), meaning “inexhaustible” and “storehouse” respectively, as in the title *Eitai setsuyō taizen mujinzō* mentioned above. A possible translation for the title could be: “The eternal, inexhaustible and complete storehouse for occasional use”. An amusing observation made by Kashiwabara Shirō is that among the *setsuyōshū* he surveyed, titles with an odd number of characters, especially seven characters, were more common than titles with an even number of characters. Out of 254 surveyed titles, 174 carry titles with odd numbers of characters, and among those 65 have five characters and 72 seven characters. The prominence of titles with seven characters is, according to Shirō, very likely a result of a conscious choice made by the publishers. This is apparent in the fact that they changed the titles of books that previously did not use seven characters when re-publishing them, such as for instance the change from *Onna setsuyōshū keshibukuro kahō taisei* 女節用集罌粟囊家宝大成 (1743) to *Onna setsuyōshū mojibukuro* 女節用集文字囊 (1762).¹⁵⁴ Seven was, and is, considered a lucky number, and this could be demonstrating the extent to which the publishers went in choosing titles for their books. It is, however, also quite likely that Kashiwabara is over-analyzing these numbers.

¹⁵³ For a more comprehensive analysis on different characters appearing in *setsuyōshū* titles, see Kashiwabara, *Kinsei no kokugo jisho setsuyōshū no furoku*, 38-35.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 42-43.

Title	Number of books published
<i>Setsuyōshū</i> 節用集	18
<i>Shinsō nigyō setsuyōshū</i> 真草二行節用集	17
<i>Nitai setsuyōshū</i> 二体節用集	12
<i>Kashiragaki zōho setsuyōshū taizen</i> 頭書增補節用集大全	8
<i>Nigyō setsuyōshū</i> 二行節用集	7
<i>Kashiragaki zōho nigyō setsuyōshū</i> 頭書增補二行節用集	5
<i>Zōho kashiragaki ryōten nigyō setsuyōshū</i> 增補頭書兩点二行節用集	2
<i>Kashiragaki zōho setsuyōshū kōmoku</i> 頭書增補節用集綱目	2
<i>Kashiragaki taisei setsuyōshū</i> 頭書大成節用集	2
<i>Gōrui setsuyōshū</i> 合類節用集	1
<i>Zōho nitai setsuyōshū</i> 增補二体節用集	1
<i>Zōho nigyō setsuyōshū</i> 增補二行節用集	1
<i>Zōho setsuyōshū taisei</i> 增補節用集大成	1
<i>Kōeki nigyō setsuyōshū</i> 広益二行節用集	1
<i>Shinkan setsuyōshū taizen</i> 新刊節用集大全	1
<i>Shinsō zōho setsuyōshū</i> 真草增補節用集	1
<i>Kanboku setsuyōshū shinpō taisei</i> 翰墨節用集身宝大成	1
<i>Kashiragaki setsuyōshū</i> 頭書節用集	1
<i>Gōtō setsuyōshū taizen</i> 鰐頭節用集大全	1

Table 3: Setsuyōshū titles prior to 1690

Phase 3: Period of experimentation (1750-1800)

We have already seen an example of a *setsuyōshū* that diverged from the standard in the *Gōrui setsuyōshū* (1680). That *setsuyōshū* can be seen as a forerunner to a growing trend in the latter half of the eighteenth century, when more *setsuyōshū* that did not use the standard dictionary format started to appear. Another example prior to 1750 is the *Shinzō setsuyō*

muryōzō 新增節用無量蔵 (1737). This particular *setsuyōshū* followed the *iroha-igi bunrui* pattern in the dictionary, but organized the entries according to the first *two kana*, in a manner that approaches the full “alphabetization” of words in modern dictionaries.¹⁵⁵ Experimentation with formats did not vanish when this period ended in 1800 either, and some of the examples highlighted here are indeed from later periods.

The fervor for experimentation owed much to the appearance of the *Hayabiki setsuyōshū* 早引節用集 (1752). The *hayabiki*-style *setsuyōshū* offered a new and innovative way of looking up words that promised to be faster and smarter. This is evident from the name of the *setsuyōshū* itself: *hayabiki* means “to look up fast”, and in the introduction to this *setsuyōshū* its editors explicitly advertise it as “faster and more useful”.¹⁵⁶ The two examples prior to 1750 mentioned above both use the typical *bu* and *mon* of standard *setsuyōshū*, although in a slightly different way than “normal”, but the *hayabiki*-style abandons the *mon* altogether and orders the entries first in the *iroha*-order after the first *kana*, and then, secondarily, after the number of *kana* in each word. In practice, this means that on the first page of the dictionary one still finds words starting with the *kana i*, but the first words appearing would be one-*kana* words with *i*, followed by two-*kana* words starting with *i*, and so forth. The first *Hayabiki setsuyōshū* most likely used the *Reikai setsuyōshū* 蠡海節用集 (1750) as a template and copied its entries, but reorganized the layout of the dictionary.¹⁵⁷ This particular type of *setsuyōshū* quickly became very popular. 123 out of 339 *setsuyōshū* published from 1752 to 1867, or more than a third, belong to this particular style of dictionary. There was clearly a market among consumers for new and better dictionaries, something that the publishers surely must have realized. They seized the opportunity to make a good profit from it, because *hayabiki*-style *setsuyōshū* and other *setsuyōshū* that employed new and innovating ways of looking up words were also sold at a higher price than those that did not.¹⁵⁸ Figure 15 shows the *Hayabiki daisetsuyōshū* 早引大節用集 (1771) which has this particular form of dictionary. The *Hayabiki daisetsuyōshū* is of a large format and contains many additional encyclopedic entries, not just a dictionary, while many other *setsuyōshū* of this type were smaller and contained little or no extra information.

¹⁵⁵ Satō Takahiro, "Shinzō setsuyō muryōzō no ishō," *Gifu daigaku kokugo kokubungaku* 29 (2002): 50-51.

¹⁵⁶ Takanashi, "Kinsei setsuyōshū no jo, batsu, hanrei: hayabiki setsuyōshū," 4.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 5.

¹⁵⁸ Satō, "Kinsei Setsuyōshū no kakaku," 121-22.



Figure 15: *Hayabiki daisetsuyōshū* (1771)¹⁵⁹

Because of the success of the *Hayabiki setsuyōshū* (and later *setsuyōshū* that used this particular kind of dictionary), others sought to emulate them. However, because of copyright issues, one could not simply copy the layout without permission and create a new *setsuyōshū* using the same method (although there are several instances where this actually happened). This spawned a small boom in innovation and experimentation, and many different styles of dictionaries emerged.¹⁶⁰ Many of these new attempts added a third level in the ordering of the entries, such as the *Senkin yōji setsuyō taisei* 千金要字節用大成 (1764)¹⁶¹ which used the standard *bu* and *mon* for the first two levels, but added a third level based on the number of *kana* in the entries. Similarly, the *Hayabiki bandai setsuyōshū* 早引万代節用集 (1850) and the *Iroha setsuyōshū taisei* いろは節用集大成 (1827) followed the *hayabiki*-style of dictionary for the first two levels, but added a third level using semantic categories, while the

¹⁵⁹ Available through the National Diet Library Digital Collection: <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2539380>

¹⁶⁰ Satō, "Setsuyōshū to kinsei shakai," 140-41.

¹⁶¹ This, and the following examples are gathered from "Kinsei kōki setsuyōshū ni okeru hikiyō no tayōka ni tsuite," 16-18.

Ranrei setsuyōshū 蘭例節用集 (1815) sorted the entries after the first two *kana*, and then semantic categories as a third ordering principle. These were all reasonable and understandable attempts at making a more effective dictionary, but there were other attempts that are more puzzling. The *Chōhan kanabiki setsuyōshū* 長半仮名引節用集 (1804), for instance, used the *iroha*-order first, and then split the dictionary into two; words with an odd number of *kana*, and words with an even number. On the third level the entries were ordered according to the number of *kana* in the words. A similar approach can be found in the *Kōeki kōbun setsuyōshū* 広益好文節用集 (1771); however, this particular *setsuyōshū* employed semantic categories instead of the number of *kana* as the third level of ordering. Another interesting example is the *Nijibiki setsuyōshū* 二字引節用集 (1781), which ordered words according to the first and the *last* (rather than the second) *kana* of entries. A similar example is the *Go-on jibiki setsuyōshū* 五音字引節用集 (1781). This *setsuyōshū* also uses the first and the last *kana* of the entries, but the last *kana* is ordered according to the *gojūon*-order (五十音) of *kana* instead of *iroha*.¹⁶² There was, in other words, a wide variety of different attempts to improve the dictionary. Table 4 shows a list of the different dictionary types available.

1st order	2nd order	3rd order
iroha	number of <i>kana</i>	N/A
iroha	number of <i>kana</i>	semantic categories
iroha	semantic categories	number of <i>kana</i>
iroha	odd or even number of <i>kana</i>	number of <i>kana</i>
iroha	odd or even number of <i>kana</i>	semantic categories
iroha	iroha (second <i>kana</i>)	N/A
iroha	iroha (last <i>kana</i>)	N/A
iroha	gojūon (last <i>kana</i>)	N/A
iroha	iroha (second <i>kana</i>)	semantic categories
	words include voiced sound	
iroha	or not	semantic categories

¹⁶² The *gojūon*-order is a different way of ordering the *kana* than the *iroha*-order. This is the order most commonly used today.

iroha	semantic categories	words include voiced sound or not
semantic categories	iroha	N/A
semantic categories	iroha	number of <i>katakana</i> strokes in word

Table 4: Types of non-standard *setsuyōshū* dictionaries¹⁶³

The following advertisement for *Gabiki setsuyōshū* 画引節用集, found in the back of *Kamurizuke aotokusa* 冠附青とくさ (1784), a collection of *kyōka*-poetry, explains the supposedly new and efficient way for looking up words using the number of *katakana* strokes in the word:

Even though there are many *setsuyōshū* in the world, these separate the words into different *mon* such as tools and materials, human relations, plants and trees, and miscellaneous words, and therefore you end up with many words in one category which sometimes cover ten to twenty pages! Therefore, looking up characters is extremely slow and doesn't suit urgent business. This *setsuyōshū* collects without exception all everyday characters, collects them in *bu* and *mon* and displays the square style character on the side, and also uses the number of *katakana* strokes to find characters. For example, if you are looking for the character for *yasumu* 休 (to rest), that will be the total of *ya*, *su*, and *mu* which is six strokes. The character is then found under *gengo mon* 言語門, *ya*, six strokes. Also, if you are looking for the character for *tara* 鱈 (cod), that is *ta* plus *ra*, which will be a total of five *katakana* strokes, so the character is found under *kigyō mon* 気形門 (living things), *ta bu*, five strokes. Everything can be looked up as in these examples. You will find the character you are looking for very quickly and without flipping through many pages. Moreover, the number of characters is also massively increased.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Translated and modified from a list on Satō Takahiro's web-page. <http://www1.gifu-u.ac.jp/~satopy/kensaku.html>

¹⁶⁴ http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/he09/he09_03869_0072/index.html

Other than changing the method for looking up entries, another conceivable way to improve a *setsuyōshū* dictionary could be to increase the number of readings for each character. After the introduction of the *ryōten* feature discussed above, most *setsuyōshū* included at least two readings and sometimes a few more. The publishers of the *Jii setsuyō shikkai gura* 字彙節用悉皆藏 (1763) expanded upon this and included several readings for each character (Figure 16). The character for *kata* 方 in the entry for *ippō* 一方, for instance, lists no more than 26 different readings. (Figure 17) In comparison, the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849) lists only two readings for the same character.



Figure 16: *Jii setsuyō shikkai gura* (1763)¹⁶⁵

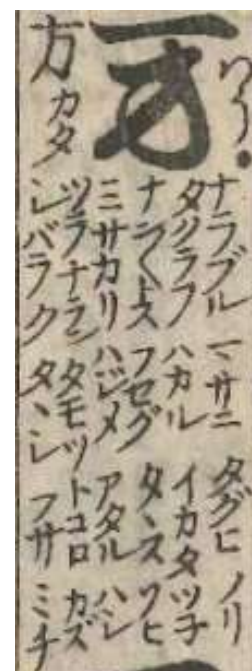


Figure 17: Readings for *kata* in *Jii setsuyō shikkai gura* (1763)

Including as many readings of a character as possible might seem to be an improvement to the dictionary, but it is not necessarily very useful. As mentioned in the discussion on *ryōten*, the user would have to know which particular reading the entry was sorted under. To further complicate things, not all of the readings were listed in each occurrence of the character. The inclusion of a large number of readings could also make the dictionary harder to navigate. As seen in Figure 17, a punctuation mark was added to signalize the end of a compound. The readings, however, were listed after each character with the result

¹⁶⁵ I am grateful to Satō Takahiro for providing me with these pictures.

that there would be a considerable gap between the characters of compounds, making them more difficult to read. Innovation and novelty seem to have been more important than efficiency and practical usefulness.

It is hard to imagine that these methods were efficient to use in any way, but they do reflect the competitiveness of the early modern book market and demonstrate to what lengths the publishers went to try to win their market share. In fact, we do know that the competition between publishers to come up with the newest and greatest *setsuyōshū* was quite fierce, because the attempts at innovation led to many copyright disputes. These disputes will receive more attention in chapter 6.

Phase 4: Period of bipolarization (1800-1867)

According to Satō, 178 different *setsuyōshū* were published in the nineteenth century.¹⁶⁶ The *hayabiki*-style *setsuyōshū* retained its popularity in this period, and experimentation and innovation continued to progress. The final stage of *setsuyōshū* development in the early modern period is characterized by two major trends. On the one hand, many *setsuyōshū* became smaller and more portable. On the other hand, it also became common to publish larger *setsuyōshū*.¹⁶⁷

The smaller books were so-called *yokohon* 横本, or “sideways books”, meaning that they were longer horizontally than vertically. They were usually either *futatsu kiri* 二つ切り (“cut in two”) or *mittsu kiri* 三つ切り (“cut in three”) books, meaning that they were half or one third the size of normal *minobon* 美濃本. *Minobon* originally referred to books using high quality paper from Mino which came in a certain size (*minohanshi* 美濃半紙), but gradually became a term designating books within a certain size range.¹⁶⁸ *Futatsu kiri* and *mittsu kiri* books were meant to be more portable, and as can be derived from the titles of some of these books, they should even be capable of being carried around in pockets or sleeves. Judging from the actual size of the books, however, it is somewhat hard to imagine anybody actually doing so. The smaller books had few or no illustrations or appendices, and usually did not

¹⁶⁶ Satō Takahiro, "Jūkyū seiki kinsei setsuyōshū ni okeru ōgataka keikō," *Kokugo goishi no kenkyū* 24 (1995): 100.

¹⁶⁷ "Setsuyōshū to kinsei shakai," 141-42.

¹⁶⁸ For an overview of these and other formats and sizes of books in the early modern period, see Nakano Mitsutoshi, *Edo no hanpon: Shoshigaku dangi* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1999), 60-69.

contain as many words as their larger counterparts. It is important to note, however, that there were also “larger” books that used the *yokohon* format and were rather bulky in terms of number of pages. One example of a smaller book is the *Kaihō kazubiki setsuyōshū* 懷宝数引節用集(1844), where *kaihō* literally means “pocket treasure”. As can be seen in Figure 18, it is a *hayabiki*-style *setsuyōshū*.



Figure 18: *Kaihō Kazubiki Setsuyōshū*¹⁶⁹

The larger books advanced the development of the encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū*. They had more appendices, more illustrations, and more words, some with more than 30,000 entries in the dictionary. The *Wakan on shakusho genjikō setsuyōshū* 和漢音釈書言字考節用集 (1717) had more than 30,000 entries, but this particular *setsuyōshū* is exceptional in the sense that it was a more specialized dictionary intended for a professional market. Apart from this *setsuyōshū*, the *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū* 都会節用百家通 (1801) was the first to exceed the 30,000 mark. This *setsuyōshū* is a fairly large book of 718 pages, of which 116 are dedicated to encyclopedic entries. Factoring in the *kashiragaki*, the amount equals to roughly 37 percent of the total pages. This *setsuyōshū* was republished three times (1811, 1819, and 1836), then with a few more pages in the *kanmatsu*.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/ho02/ho02_06839/index.html

¹⁷⁰ Yokoyama, "In Quest of Civility: Conspicuous Uses of Household Encyclopedias in Nineteenth-Century Japan," 198.

Meiji period (1868-1912)

Setsuyōshū continued to be published for a while into the Meiji period, but the layout and content changed somewhat in many cases. The *Shūchin eiwa setsuyōshū* 袖珍英和節用集 (1871) was a pocket-sized *setsuyōshū* containing a Japanese to English dictionary. The finding mechanism in this *setsuyōshū* followed the *hayabiki* style. As with many pocket-sized *setsuyōshū* from the early modern period, it does not contain any encyclopedic appendices. One peculiar feature of this *setsuyōshū* is that although the pages are turned in the normal Japanese way from left to right, the entries start on the top left page (Figure 19). The *Sekai setsuyō mujinzō* 世界節用無尽蔵 (1873) looks much more like a typical encyclopedic *setsuyōshū* from phase 2 or later, but not surprisingly contains many entries with information on western things (Figure 20). The dictionary is somewhat atypical in ordering the entries only according to the first *kana*. The only words it contains are compounds with two characters. The *Kaichū setsuyō mujinzō* 懷中節用無尽蔵 is a smaller pocket-sized *setsuyōshū* with a *hayabiki*-style dictionary. Many of the pages are dedicated to appendices, but they are not as richly illustrated as in many early modern *setsuyōshū*. Among the appendices you can find for instance a train schedule and ticket prices (Figure 21). Another example is the *Kaika setsuyō mujinzō* 開化節用無尽蔵 (1886). Quickly browsing through the first few pages, it looks very similar to many of its early modern counterparts (Figure 22). This *setsuyōshū* contains a dictionary, but it is only ten pages long and consists of English words accompanied with illustrations and the meaning in Japanese.

One final example is the *Meiji setsuyō daizen* 明治節用大全 published in 1894 by Hakubunkan.¹⁷¹ This *setsuyōshū*, which spans well over 1100 pages, does not contain a dictionary at all. The layout of the pages, however, is similar to its early modern precursors. The pages are divided into three different rows: the main row (*honran* 本欄), the middle row (*chūran* 中欄), and the top row (*jōran* 上欄). Each row contains information that is unrelated to the others. Compared to the early modern variants, information is easier to locate in the *Meiji setsuyō daizen* because of the addition of some convenient finding-aids. Firstly, the *setsuyōshū* contains a 30-page index with paginations. Each of the rows in the *setsuyōshū* has its own dedicated part in the index, and the index is also structured according to thematic divisions and sub-divisions. A series of entries with biographies of famous people (*kokin*

¹⁷¹ Available through the National Diet Library Digital Collection: <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/898143>

meijin retsuden 古今名人列伝), for instance, is divided into politicians, scholars, poets, authors, etc. Another convenient finding-aid that was added was labels informing the reader of the information included on each page. Each of the three rows on every page had such a label outside the border. Although these finding-aids were not as convenient as the alphabetization of entries, information was undeniably much easier to locate in the *Meiji setsuyō daizen* than in many of the early modern *setsuyōshū*. Although the *Meiji setsuyō daizen* is illustrated, it is much more textually dense than earlier *setsuyōshū* and the majority of its pages contain only text or mostly text with only a small illustration.

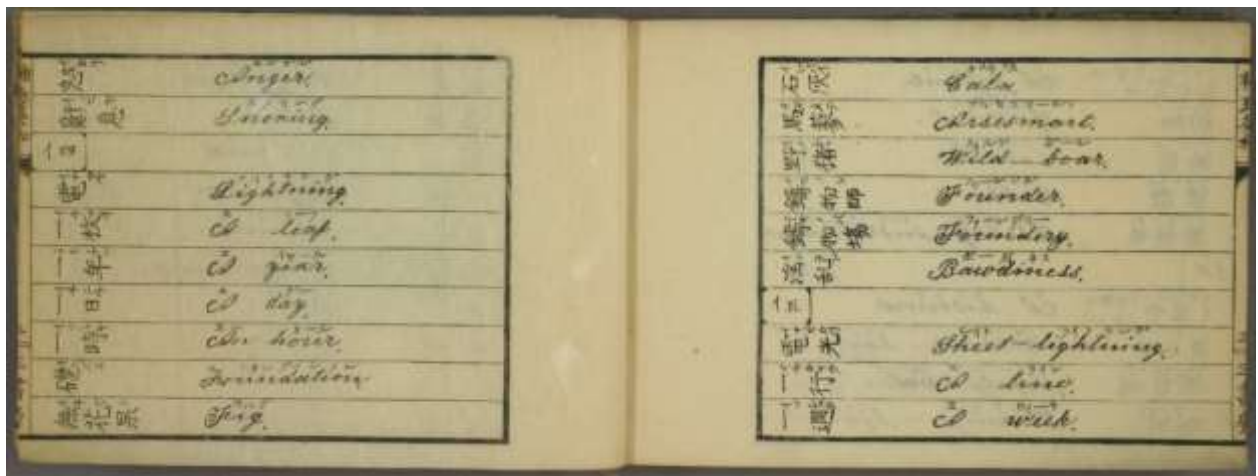


Figure 19: *Shūchin eiwa setsuyōshū* (1871)¹⁷²

¹⁷² http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko11/bunko11_a1544/index.html

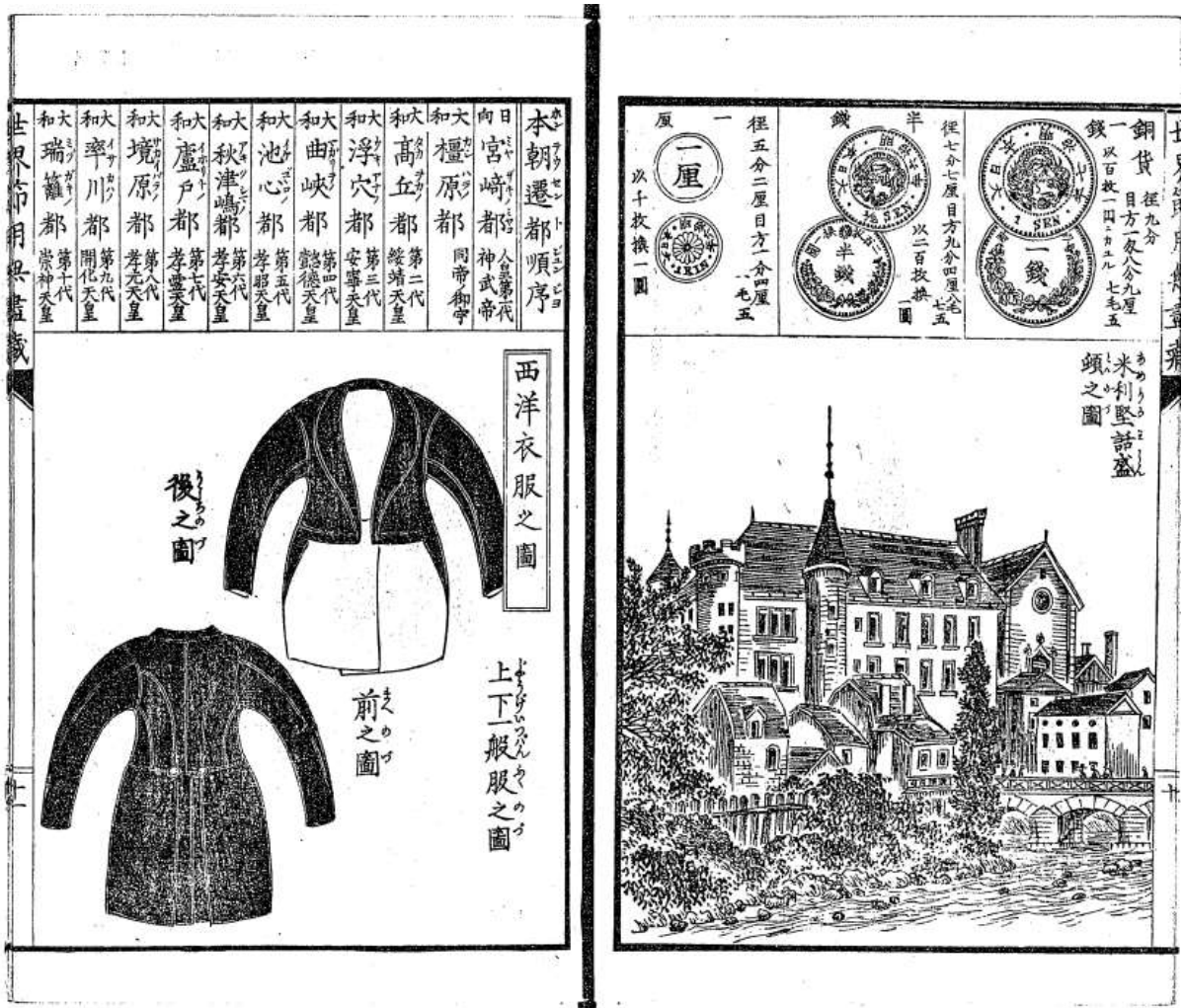


Figure 20: *Sekai setsuyō mujinzō* (1873)¹⁷³

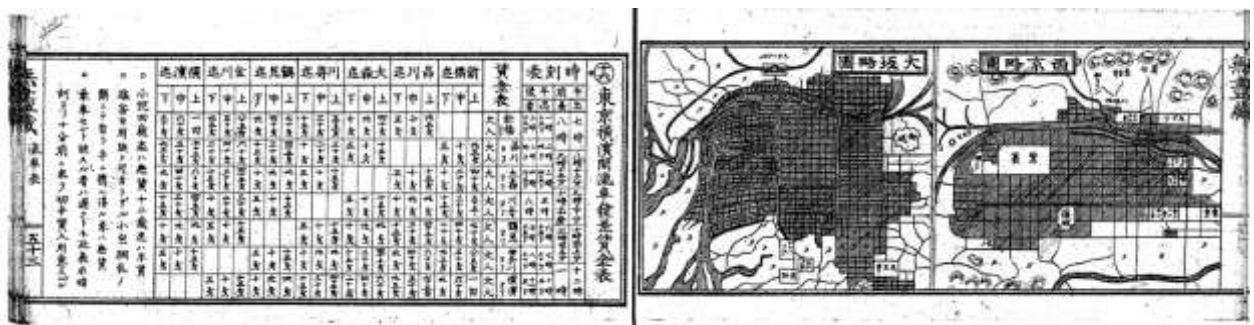


Figure 21: *Kaichū setsuyō mujinzō* (1879)¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Available through the National Diet Library Digital Collection: <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/897992>

¹⁷⁴ Available through the National Diet Library Digital Collection: <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/897455>



Figure 22: *Kaika setsuyō mujinzō* (1886)¹⁷⁵

Concluding remarks

This chapter employs a synchronic approach in order to reveal continuity and change in the *setsuyōshū* genre in the course of its history. This overview has shown not only the aspects that should be considered the standards of *setsuyōshū*, but also the internal variation among different *setsuyōshū*.

To make sense of the rich variation among *setsuyōshū*, it can be helpful to create some categories according to what is the main focus of a particular *setsuyōshū*. Broadly speaking, we can identify three different kinds of specialization or focus among *setsuyōshū* at different stages of the history of the genre. Although several *setsuyōshū* adhere to more than one of these specializations, they usually never focus on more than two. A *setsuyōshū* can have (1) a

¹⁷⁵ Available through the National Diet Library Digital Collection: <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/897446>

heavy lexical focus, with a large number of word entries and comments on meaning or on the etymological origins of the words; it can be focused on (2) having a dictionary that is more convenient and faster to use, such as *hayabiki*-style *setsuyōshū*; or the focus can be more on (3) information rich appendices that have nothing to do with the dictionary, such as for instance *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*.

As a genre, the *setsuyōshū* went through three major phases or transformations, which roughly follow the periodization scheme used in this chapter: *setsuyōshū* from the pre-modern period, the early modern period, and in the Meiji-period and beyond. In the pre-modern period *setsuyōshū* cannot really be considered as a genre at all, but rather as one style within the larger genre of dictionaries. Although there were numerous minor differences among *kohon setsuyōshū*, they must be considered to be merely different editions of the same work. It was first in the early modern period, when individual *setsuyōshū* began to take on distinctive characteristics, that we can talk of *setsuyōshū* as a genre. Although there was still a high degree of similarity between many different *setsuyōshū*, as they often included more or less the same contents, individual *setsuyōshū* also differentiated themselves from each other by using different titles, presenting the information in a different order, and using different illustrations. The main criterion for being considered a part of the genre was to include a *setsuyōshū*-style dictionary – typically an *igi-bunrui* type or a *hayabiki* type, but other variations were also possible. A *setsuyōshū* could also have additional encyclopedic content, but this was optional. The third transformation changed the meaning of the term *setsuyōshū* into a more general one: it now referred to books that included information on a wide variety of topics but did not necessarily include a dictionary. This is evident in some Meiji period *setsuyōshū* that lack a dictionary.

Chapter 4 – The *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*

In the previous chapter, the approach to *setsuyōshū* was predominantly diachronic, tracing the development of the genre from a bird’s eye view in order to highlight the dynamics of continuity and change over a long time period. The sources used were predominantly in digital form. In contrast, this chapter takes a synchronic and material approach by examining one specific *setsuyōshū* that I have had the opportunity to interact with physically. Although the benefit that digitization confers to researchers is immeasurable, there can be no doubt that something is lost between physical and digital copies. Many scholars have pointed out that the materiality of texts has great implications for their reception.¹⁷⁶ It follows that researchers need to come into physical contact with the material texts in order to fully appreciate and understand them. Taking advantage of more senses than sight alone, such as the tactile feel of the texture of the paper, the weight of the books, and even their smell, takes us one step closer to the experiences that the historical readers must have had.

This chapter will offer a better understanding of the *setsuyōshū* genre, specifically the large encyclopedic *setsuyōshū* from phase 4, by investigating bibliographic aspects, the introduction, and some of the contents. Additionally, the chapter is also an attempt to locate ordering principles within *setsuyōshū*. Since *setsuyōshū* are often labeled “household encyclopedias”, one would expect that they somehow try to organize knowledge and create a higher order, but was this really the case?

Two *setsuyōshū* in the University of Oslo Library

As mentioned previously, there are two *setsuyōshū* in the University of Oslo Library: one copy of *Dainippon eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849, referred to as *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* hereafter), and one of *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū* (1801). Unfortunately we do not know exactly how these *setsuyōshū* found their way to Oslo, but one possibility is that they were brought back from Japan by Adolf Mauritz Fonahn (1873-1940) who traveled to China and Japan during the

¹⁷⁶ For a good introduction to the materiality of texts, see for instance the chapter “Materialiteten” in Asdal et al., *Tekst og historie : å lese tekster historisk*, 135-73.

winter 1917-1918.¹⁷⁷ In general, woodblock printed books from the Edo period were not considered valuable by most Japanese after the Meiji Restoration and curious foreigners could purchase books at a very low cost. Consequently, many books found their way out of Japan and it is said that among about 500,000 surviving works from the period, only about a quarter of them are still in Japan while about half are in the USA, and about one fifth in Europe.¹⁷⁸ Fonahn was one of the first people involved in cataloguing books in the East Asian collection at the library, and the original catalogue cards for the two *setsuyōshū* bear the signature AF which is supposed to be his.¹⁷⁹ He also offered translations of the titles of the two *setsuyōshū* on the catalogue cards, and translated *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū* as *The Handbook of the Capital, Read by Everyone* and the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* as *Expanded Edition of Handbook for Eternal Generations*.¹⁸⁰ The books are classified on the cards as “Japanese illustrated family books.”¹⁸¹ This late history of the books, although far removed from their original contexts and intended markets, is an important aspect to explore, and as discussed in chapter 2 the survival of books is an important, although often neglected, element of the history of books.

Of the two *setsuyōshū* the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* is by far the one in better condition, while the *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū* is considerably worn down and many of the pages are difficult or impossible to read. It has been suggested that many of the books in the Japanese collection in the University of Oslo Library come from *kashihon* 'ya, lending libraries, and that they therefore show heavy signs of wear and tear from continuous use by a large group of people.¹⁸² The fact that it is in such good condition is one of the reasons why the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* was selected for this in depth look at one specific *setsuyōshū*. This particular *setsuyōshū* also seems to have been one of the more widespread versions, which is another

¹⁷⁷ Elisabeth Eide, Ane Husstad-Nedberg, and Naomi Magnussen, "Universitetsbibliotekets Østastatiske samling," in *Kunnskap - samlinger - mennesker: Universitetsbiblioteket og forskningen gjennom 200 år*, ed. Svein A. H. Engelstad and Signe Brandsæter (Oslo: Universitetsbiblioteket i Oslo, 2011), 148.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 149.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 145.

¹⁸⁰ “Hovedstadens haandbok, lest av alle” and “Foröget utgave av haandbok for evige generationer” respectively. Fohnan uses the titles of the title slip on the front covers, which is *Zōji eitai setsuyō* for the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*.

¹⁸¹ Digital representations of the original catalogue cards can be seen here:

<http://hki.uio.no/ipacoslo/catalog/no/bigimage?cn=o&lin=o2520634&rin=o2520772&css=10> (Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū), and <http://hki.uio.no/ipacoslo/catalog/no/bigimage?cn=o&lin=o2520634&rin=o2520773&css=10> (Eitai setsuyō mujinzō)

¹⁸² Eide, Husstad-Nedberg, and Magnussen, "Universitetsbibliotekets Østastatiske samling," 149.

good reason for selecting it for study. Since this particular *setsuyōshū* was found more frequently than others in collections scattered around Japan when conducting his research on the usage of *setsuyōshū*, Yokoyama Toshio came to the conclusion that the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* was one of the most, if not *the* most, popular of all *setsuyōshū*. Therefore, he concluded, this particular *setsuyōshū* must also be considered to be representative of the *setsuyōshū* genre.¹⁸³ This is also a question of survival. A large number of extant copies of a book is of course one indication of popularity in itself, but it does not automatically follow that these books were the ones that actually sold the most. It is possible that many smaller and cheaper *setsuyōshū* containing only a dictionary, for instance, sold in larger quantities than the larger and richly illustrated encyclopedic varieties, but that the latter ones held a higher status and were appreciated more by its users. Consequently, the larger illustrated *setsuyōshū* may have been handled better through several generations than cheaper ones with less aesthetic appeal, and would therefore also have a better chance of survival. Such an appreciation could also be considered a measurement of popularity, however, and we can safely assume that the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* was indeed a popular *setsuyōshū*.

It is hard to pick one single representative for a genre with so much internal variation, but the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* does follow the most prevalent “standards” and should therefore suffice to give a good idea of what an encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū* of phase 4 looks like.

***Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*: bibliographic and material aspects**

The *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* was first published in 1750 and was compiled by Kawabe Sōyō 河辺桑揚. It was later revised and expanded by Horii Gennyūsai 堀源入齋 and Horii Genpo 堀原甫 in 1831, and reissued in 1849 and 1864.¹⁸⁴ Regrettably, we do not have much information about the compilers, but the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books reveals that Horii Genpo also compiled/authored reading books and several *ōraimono*. There are quite a few differences between the different editions of the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*, especially between the 1750 edition and the remaining three. The original 1750 edition is so dissimilar that it should arguably be considered a completely different *setsuyōshū*. The three later editions are much more similar to each other, but the differences are still prominent. They

¹⁸³ Yokoyama, "The Illustrated Household Encyclopedias that Once Civilized Japan," 48.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 50.

have different introductions, some information is added while some is taken out, some illustrations are changed, and some entries are moved to different sections of the book. Some of these changes will be explored in this chapter.

The specific copy used for this study is as mentioned an 1849 edition. The full title of the *setsuyōshū* is (*Daikōeki shinkaisei*) *dainippon eitai setsuyō mujinzō (shinsō ryōten)* <大公益新改正>大日本永代節用無尽蔵<真草两点>. This can be translated as (*New and revised/for the public good*) *Eternal, Inexhaustible and Complete Storehouse for Occasional Use of Great Japan* (with multiple readings and both cursive and square renditions of characters). The phrases *daikōeki shinkaisei* and *shinsō ryōten* are called the *tsunogaki* 角書き (“horn-writing”) and *kutsugaki* 沓書き (“shoe-writing”) respectively.¹⁸⁵ These parts of the title are represented with smaller characters and sometimes in a different font in columns above and below the main part of the title. *Tsunogaki* and *kutsugaki* are written within brackets in transcriptions, but are not usually considered a part of the “uniform title” and not included when the book appears in lists and catalogues.¹⁸⁶ This complete title is the one that is found on the first page of the dictionary and is referred to as the *naidai* 内題 or “inner title”. It was common for books in early modern Japan to have more than one title, and the title in the introduction is *Dainippon eitai setsuyō mujinzō*, while the titles on the title slip on the front cover (*daisen* 題箋) and on the *hashira* 柱 on the leftmost and rightmost edges of the page (*hashira-dai* 柱題) both read *Zōji eitai setsuyō* 増字永代節用 (Eternal collection for occasional use with increased number of characters). Figure 23 shows the front cover with the *daisen* and the first page of the dictionary where the complete title including *tsunogaki* and *kutsugaki* can be found. On the left edge of the dictionary page the *hashira-dai* can also be spotted, although it is split in half vertically because it is written in the middle of the paper which is folded in half to form the page.

¹⁸⁵ *Kutsugaki* is not a widespread term, but was introduced by Kashiwabara Shirō because he found no existing term for it. Kashiwabara, *Kinsei no kokugo jisho setsuyōshū no furoku*, 42.

¹⁸⁶ Suzuki and Tinios, *Understanding Japanese Woodblock-printed Illustrated Books: A Short Introduction to their History, Bibliography and Format*, 72.

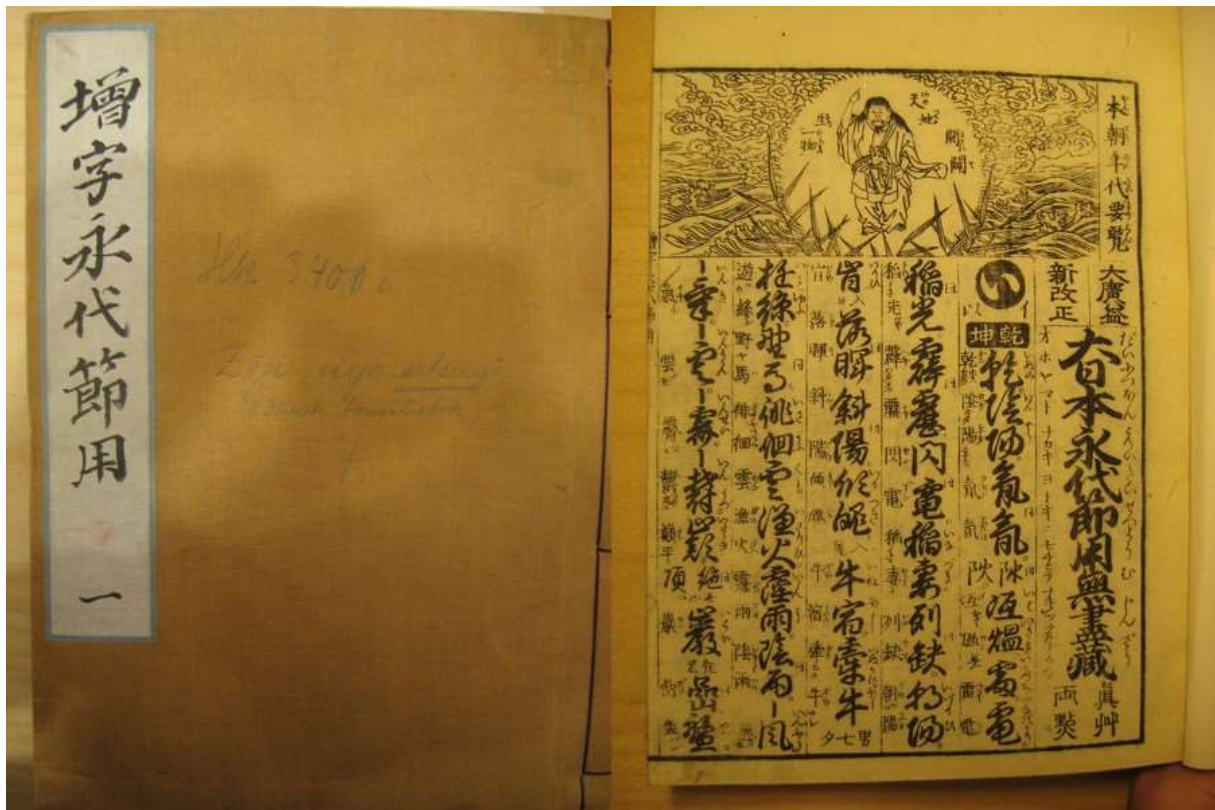


Figure 23: Front cover with *daisen* and first page of dictionary showing titles

The book is bound in three separate volumes, and it is hard to say whether it was originally bound like this because the covers seem to be of a later date than the *setsuyōshū* itself. It is possible that it originally came in a single large volume and that it was later separated into three smaller volumes. Not all copies of a certain book are necessarily bound in the same way or even bound in the same number of volumes. For instance, a copy of the 1831 edition preserved in the Hakodate City Central Library is bound together in one volume, while a copy in Satō Takahiro's own collection is bound in five separate volumes.¹⁸⁷ The 1849 edition held at the University of Oslo Library consists of 870 pages or 435 *chō* 丁. The pages are divided among the three volumes with 227 pages in the first, 300 pages in the second, and 343 pages in the third volume. The first volume corresponds to the *kantō* 巻頭, or the encyclopedic part before the dictionary. The dictionary itself starts on the first page of the second volume, and stretches almost to the very end of the last volume, leaving 30 pages for the *kanmatsu* 巻末. The *kashiragaki* 頭書 covers about a quarter of the dictionary pages,

¹⁸⁷ The Hakodate version is available digitally through the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books, while Satō's copy is available through his own website: <http://www1.gifu-u.ac.jp/~satopy/setsushokei.htm>

meaning that about 410 of the space on the pages is dedicated to encyclopedic content, which is almost half of the total.

The *setsuyōshū* is bound with a technique that is called *fukuro-toji* 袋綴じ (“pocket bound”) which was the most common technique used for books published in the early modern period. Using this technique, the printers would print two pages on the face of each paper sheet (*chō* 丁), fold them in the middle in such a way that the printed sides were facing outwards and the double edges were facing to the right. After stacking the papers on top of each other, the papers would be sewn together along the right edge in such a way that each page creates a pocket, hence the name “pocket-bound”. Because the individual pages of a page-spread consists of the “front” of one sheet and the “back” of another sheet, each double-page is made from one half of two individual blocks each.¹⁸⁸

The introduction to *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*

The *setsuyōshū* begins with a two-page introduction written by Hori Genpo. It is written in a kind of language that is common for writers of the *kokugaku* tradition: vernacular Japanese adorned with *makura kotoba* and exalting the divine nature of Japan. On the border surrounding the introduction there are colored illustrations of a *kirin* and a phoenix, coupled with text written in a mix of vernacular Japanese and *kanbun*. The pages are visually pleasing, and it is obvious that the makers spent energy on making the introduction pages decorative and impressive for the reader. Only a few pages in the beginning of the *setsuyōshū* are colored; 22 in total, all within the first 30 pages. Below is a full translation of the introduction:

Great Japan is the land of the gods and has its origins in honesty. In addition to this, it has the help of the two roads of Confucianism and Buddhism. Here [in this *setsuyōshū*], I have worked day and night to collect hundreds of thousands of characters, making the life of everyone in the four classes easier. Thus, at the beginning there are the definitions of time, celestial bodies, the four seasons, and gods and buddhas. In the middle, there are words on humanity, official positions, names,

¹⁸⁸ For more on *fukuro-toji* and other binding techniques, see Nakano, *Edo no hanpon: Shoshigaku dangi*, 71-96. For treatment in English, see Suzuki and Tinios, *Understanding Japanese Woodblock-printed Illustrated Books: A Short Introduction to their History, Bibliography and Format*, 59-61.

clothes and food, and language. In the end, you will find the numerous mountains and rivers, seas and lands, living things, and trees and plants. There is really no thing between heaven and earth that is not collected here and given characters to. All is collected in this book. Furthermore, hundreds of appendices that are useful in daily life are added, such as articles on loyalty and filial piety, the order of the four seasons, and etiquette and refinement. [This information] will be spread [by the help of this book] all the way from where the bird sings in the East to the unknown fires of Tsukushi, and I hope that it will forever and eternally be of great help to the ignorant. [This book] is truly a precious treasure, and the useful things for occasional use are inexhaustible. Therefore the name of this book is called *The Eternal, Inexhaustible and Complete Storehouse for Occasional Use of Great Japan*.

The introduction reveals some interesting points about what the producers, at least explicitly, thought about their book. One thing we notice is that the dictionary section of the *setsuyōshū* seems to be regarded as the most important. Not only does information about the dictionary come first, but the remaining parts are referred to as mere appendices (*furoku* 附録). On the one hand, that the dictionary is considered the most important part of *setsuyōshū* is hardly surprising, since it is after all the only thing that is common for (almost) all *setsuyōshū* and it is what the whole genre developed from. But on the other hand, so much time and effort seems to have been put into these appendices, that it is interesting to see them thought of as such. To this day they are still referred to as appendices, and it seems almost unfair to regard this information, which takes up a great deal of space in the *setsuyōshū*, as merely “extra”. It is quite possible that the users of *setsuyōshū* viewed it differently and actually considered the appendices to be the most interesting or important parts.



Figure 24: Introduction to *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849)

Another interesting point is about dissemination and intended readership. The target audience is clearly “everyone”, as the *setsuyōshū* is for “all of the four classes” (*shimin* 四民). The fact that the writers of the introduction address all four classes in such a way does not necessarily mean that “everyone” actually read their work. Likewise, in the West, as Carol Gluck points out, “although the French *encyclopédistes* of the eighteenth century had spoken broadly of “the people,” they did not sell to them.¹⁸⁹ The *setsuyōshū*, and the knowledge stored within, is also supposed to be spread from “where the bird sings in the East” (*tori ga naku azuma* 鶏が鳴くあづま) to “the unknown fires of Tsukushi” (*shiranu hi no tsukushi* しらぬ火の筑紫). *Tori ga naku* and *shiranu hi* are pillow words adorning the words coming after them. *Azuma* means east, but could also refer to Edo, while *Tsukushi* is an old name of Kyushu. This can be interpreted as meaning all of Japan, since it seems to be part of the explanation of the book’s title and this would correspond to the first part, *Dainippon* (Great

¹⁸⁹ Carol Gluck, “The Fine Folly of the Encyclopedists,” in *Currents in Japanese Culture: Translations and Transformations*, ed. Amy Vladeck Heinrich (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 227-28.

Japan). It has been shown that the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* did indeed spread to various geographical locations.¹⁹⁰

The introduction also gives us hints about some of the motivation behind creating the *setsuyōshū* and clues about a knowledge ideal. The knowledge within the *setsuyōshū* is of “help to the ignorant” (*dōmō no ichijo* 童蒙の一助). In other words, there is a problem (there are ignorant people/people without knowledge), and the *setsuyōshū* is there to amend that problem. This tells us that the makers, at least of this particular *setsuyōshū*, thought of the *setsuyōshū* as educational, and that the information within should be considered as important knowledge that would fill an existing gap in the populace. Here, and in the point about *setsuyōshū* being for everyone, Yokoyama finds support for his interpretation of *setsuyōshū* as a civilizing medium.

An earlier edition of the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1831) carries a different introduction, although it shares many aspects with the 1849 edition:

It is said in [*A new account of*] *tales of the world* that Kaku Ryū, also called Saji, on the seventh day of the seventh month in the middle of the day went out to his garden and laid there on his back. When people asked him why he was doing so, he replied: Today, people in the world are taking out their clothes and fabrics from storage and drying them in the sun. In our household we do not have a place for storage, and I only have many books stored in my belly and therefore I am drying these instead. Now, collected in this book, at the beginning there are characters for the sun and the moon, stars and heavenly bodies, the four seasons and gods and buddhas. Then there are characters for mountains and rivers, oceans and lands, living creatures, and grasses and trees. Furthermore there are names of official positions, clothes and food, and human relations, and also various other words that can be used easily by the four classes. There are hundreds and thousands of characters collected in here for everything between heaven and earth. Moreover, many useful appendices for everyday life are supplemented. When ignorant fellows from time to time lay eyes on this book it will be of great benefit, and it will turn folly into wisdom, much like Kaku Ryū and the books in his belly. It is truly an eternal and everlasting treasure, and the essential things for occasional use that are stored within are inexhaustible and complete.

¹⁹⁰ See for instance Yokoyama, "The Illustrated Household Encyclopedias that Once Civilized Japan," 59-65.

Therefore it is called *The Eternal, Inexhaustible and Complete Storehouse for Occasional Use*.

The first difference we notice is the brief anecdote of Kaku Ryū, which refers to the Chinese text *Shishuo xinyu* (*A new account of tales of the world*), which was compiled and edited around A.D. 430 by the Liu-Song Prince of Liu Yiqing (403-444) and his staff.¹⁹¹ Also here we see the same focus on exhaustiveness of information and the notion that the *setsuyōshū* has great potential for bringing about change. The knowledge contained within the *setsuyōshū* is clearly looked upon as important, and has the power to bring wisdom to the hitherto unknowledgeable masses.

The contents of *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*

In order to get a good overview of the contents of the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* and to appreciate the eclectic variety of the kinds of information included, an appropriate place to start is the table of contents. (See Table 5 for full overview and translation of the contents.) As seen in the table below, 153 different entries are included (the numbers are added for convenience and are not included in the original). As is the case in many other pages of the *setsuyōshū*, the table of contents is surrounded by a border of unrelated content, in this case text and illustrations explaining *jikkan* 十干 (the ten calendar signs or Heavenly Stems). Many *setsuyōshū* do not have a table of contents, something that can be somewhat puzzling, because the table of contents is the only kind of finding device that can be found within the encyclopedic parts of *setsuyōshū*. The table of contents tells the reader in which part of the *setsuyōshū* he or she can find any given topic, whether it is within the *kanshu* 卷首 (before the dictionary, often referred to as *kantō*), *kashiragaki* (above the dictionary), or *okugaki* 奥書 (after the dictionary, often referred to as *kanmatsu*), and also the order in which the topics appear. That is, however, the only information the reader gets, and there are no other finding devices such as pagination, so the reader must flip through the pages until the desired page is found. The pages, or rather each *chō*, are in fact numbered and the numbers are visible in the *hashira*, but this is not taken advantage of in the table of contents. These numbers are

¹⁹¹ Qian Nanxiu, *Spirit and Self in Medieval China: The Shih-shuo Hsin-yu and Its Legacy* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 1.

predominantly there as an aid for the binder to make sure that all the *chō* are in the right order. For the most part the table of contents gives the reader a rough idea of where information on a certain topic could be found, but the order of items in the table of contents does not always accurately correspond to that in the book. This is evident already in the very beginning of the book. According to the table of contents, the table of contents itself should come directly after the introduction, but in the book the pages corresponding to the fourth item of the table comes in between. Perhaps the reason for this was that the publishers or someone involved in production decided to shift content around after the woodblocks for the table of contents were already cut. It is important to note that this could also easily have been fixed using the *umeki* technique. Whatever the reason behind this inconsistency was, it is clear that the notion of perfect order was not a top priority. There might be some inherent logic in the structure of the contents in *setsuyōshū*, but the order and structure is not necessarily the same in different *setsuyōshū*, and although we will see instances where there appears to be some plan behind the order, most content seems in many cases to have been laid out more or less randomly. This suggests that one of the intended usages of *setsuyōshū* was not necessarily so much for consultation as it was for browsing and reading for leisure.

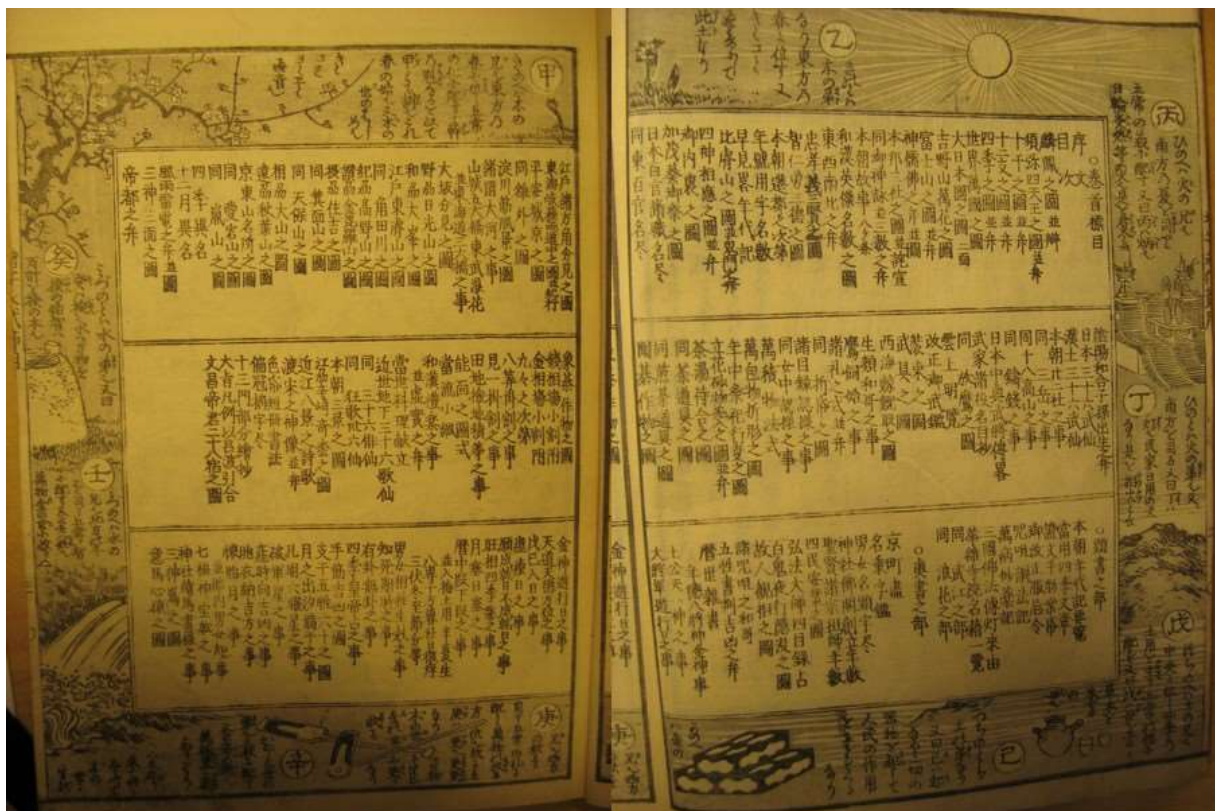


Figure 25: Table of contents in *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*

	卷首標目	The first part
1	序文	Introduction
2	目次	Table of contents
3	麟鳳之図並弁	Illustrations of the kirin and the phoenix with explanations
4	須弥四天王之図並弁	Illustrations of the four gods of Mount Sumeru with explanations
5	十干之図並弁	Illustrations of the ten calendar signs with explanations
6	十二支之図並弁	Illustrations of the twelve calendar signs with explanations
7	四季之図並弁	Illustrations of the four seasons with explanations
8	世界万国之図	Map of the world
9	大日本国之図二面	Map of Great Japan (two "pages")
10	吉野山万花之図	Illustration of the myriad of flowers on Mount Yoshino
11	富士山之図並弁	Illustrations of Mount Fuji with explanations
12	神儒仏 之弁並図	Explanations of Shinto, Confucianism and Buddhism with illustrations
13	本邦三社之図並詫宣	The three shrines of our country with "oracle?"
14	同御神詠並三數之弁	The divine poems of our country with explanations of the number three
15	本朝故事八ヶ条	Eight historical events of our country
16	和漢英俊名數之図	Illustrations of heroes of Japan and China
17	東西南北之弁	Explanations of the cardinal directions
18	忠孝義三賢之図	Illustrations of the three virtues loyalty, filial piety and righteousness
19	智仁勇三徳之図	Illustrations of the three virtues wisdom, benevolence and courage
20	本朝遷都之次第	The relocations of the capital in Japan
21	年號用字名數	Characters used in era names
22	早見畧年代記	Abbreviated chronicle chart
23	比叡山之図並鬼門之弁	Illustrations of Mount Hiei with explanations about <i>kimon</i>

		鬼門 (North-eastern direction considered to be unlucky)
24	四神相応之図並弁	Illustrations of <i>shijin-sōō</i> 四神相応 with explanations (cosmological principle of ideal topography corresponding to four gods)
25	御内裏之図	Illustrations of the imperial palace
26	加茂葵御祭之図	Illustrations of the Kamo hollyhock festival
27	日本百官諸職名尽	Complete list of all official titles
28	江戸諸方角分見之図	Map of Edo in all directions
29	東海岐蘇両道之図並紀行	Illustrations of the Kiso and Tōkai roads with traveler's journal
30	平安城京之図	Map of Kyoto
31	同雑外之図	Map of Kyoto's outskirts
32	諸国大河之事	The great rivers of all provinces
33	山城五大橋東武浪花並東海道三大橋之事	The five great bridges of Yamashiro and the three great bridges of Edo, Osaka, and the Tokaidō
34	大阪分見之図	Map of Osaka
35	野州日光山之図	Illustrations of Mount Nikkō in Shimotsuke province
36	和州大峯山之図	Illustrations of Mount Ōmine in Izumi province
37	江戸東睿山之図	Illustrations of Mount Tōei (Kan'eiji temple) in Edo
38	同角田川之図	Illustrations of the Sumida river in Edo
39	紀州高野山之図	Illustrations of Kōyasan in Kii province
40	讃州金毘羅山之図	Illustrations of Mount Konpira in Sanuki province
41	摂州住吉之図	Illustrations of Sumiyoshi in Settsu province
42	同箕面山之図	Illustrations of Mount Mino'o in Settsu province
43	同天保山の図	Illustrations of Mount Tenpō in Settsu province
44	相州大山之図	Illustrations of the Mount Daisen in Sagami province
45	遠州秋葉山之図	Illustrations of Mount Akiba in Tōtōmi province
46	京東山名所之図	Illustrations of famous places in Higashiyama in Kyoto
47	同愛宕山之図	Illustrations of Mount Atago in Kyoto

48	同嵐山之図	Illustrations of Arashiyama in Kyoto
49	四季異名	Different names for the four seasons
50	十二月異名	Different names for the twelve months
51	風雨雷電之弁並図	Explanations of wind, rain, lightning and thunder with illustrations
52	三神三面之図	Illustrations of the faces of three gods
53	帝都之弁	Explanations of the imperial capital Kyoto
54	陰陽和合子孫出生之弁	Explanations of giving birth in harmony with yin and yang
55	日本三十六武仙	Thirty-six great warriors of Japan
56	漢土三十六武仙	Thirty-six great warriors of China
57	本朝廿二社之事	The twenty-two shrines of our country
58	同三岳之事	Three peaks of our country
59	同十八高山之事	18 tall mountains of our country
60	同鑄錢之事	The coins of our country
61	日本中興武將傳畧	Abbreviated legend of the military commanders who restored Japan
62	武家諸役名目抄	Catalogue of the official titles of warriors
63	同放鷹之図	Illustrations of warrior falconry
64	雲上名覽	Names of court families
65	改正御武鑑	Revised mirror of warrior houses
66	装束之図	Illustrations of costumes
67	武具之図	Illustrations of warrior equipment
68	西海鯨鯢取之図	Illustrations on whaling on the western seas
69	生類和哥之事	Waka about living things
70	鷹飼始之事	On the beginnings of falconry
71	諸礼之式並弁	Guides to etiquette
72	同 折帋之図	Illustrations of origami
73	諸目録認様之事	On making lists and orders
74	同女中認様之事	On making lists and orders (explains the different ways for

		men and women)
75	万積物法式	The proper way of storing and stacking things
76	万包物折形之図	Illustrations of styles for wrapping things
77	年中祭礼行事之図	Illustrations of annual festivals and events
78	立花砂物拖入之図並弁	Illustrations of <i>rikka</i> and <i>sunamono</i> with explanations (a certain style of flower arrangement)
79	茶湯待合之図	Illustration of the teahouse
80	同茶道具之図	Illustrations of tea ceremony utensils
81	同煎茶道具之図	Illustrations of <i>sencha</i> 煎茶 tea ceremony utensils
82	圍碁作物之図	Strategies of <i>igo</i> 囲碁 with illustrations
83	象碁作物之図	Strategies of <i>shōgi</i> 将棋 (Japanese chess) with illustrations
84	錢相場小割附	Silver exchange rates
85	金相場小割附	Gold exchange rates
86	九々之次第	Multiplication table
87	八算掛割之事	Division on the abacus
88	見一掛割之事	Division at a glance
89	田地檢地積等之事	Calculations for measurement of farmland
90	能面之図式	Illustrations of <i>nō</i> masks
91	当流小謡	Contemporary <i>nō</i> songs
92	和漢禮楽之事 並虚實之弁	Japanese and Chinese etiquette and music with explanation of what is true and false
93	當世料理献立	Contemporary cooking menus
94	近世地下三十六歌仙	36 immortals of poetry in recent times (waka)
95	同三十六俳仙	36 immortals of poetry in recent times (haiku)
96	同狂歌卅仙	30 immortals of <i>kyōka</i> in recent times
97	本朝三景之図	Three famous beauty spots of Our Country
98	江州八景之詩歌	Poems about eight beauty spots of Ōmi province
99	渡宋之神像並弁	Explanations about deity images from Song (China)
100	色昏短冊書法	Paper dying methods

101	偏冠構字尽	Exhaustive list of all the kanji radicals
102	十三門部分絵抄	Illustrations and explanations of the 13 <i>mon</i>
103	大旨凡例以呂波引合	General remarks about the <i>iroha</i> syllabary
104	文昌帝君二十八宿之図	Illustrations of Bunshō Teikun and the 28 lunar mansions (of Chinese astronomy)
	頭書之部	The <i>kashiragaki</i>
105	本朝年代記要覽	Summary of the chronicles of our country
106	當用四季文章	Seasonal phrases for everyday use
107	證文手形案昏	Contracts and promissory notes
108	御改正服忌令	Instructions for mourning periods
109	咒咀調法記	Manual of magical formulas
110	万病妙薬記	Miracle cures for ten thousand ailments
111	三国仏法傳灯来由	The story of the transmission of the Buddhist teachings to the three countries
112	華雉寺院名籍一覽	List of temples in Kyoto
113	同 武江之部	List of temples in Edo
114	同 浪花之部	List of temples in Osaka
	奥書之部	The latter part
115	京町尽	Block names in Kyoto
116	名乗字鑑	List of characters for names
117	男女名頭字尽	Characters for names of men and women
118	神社仏閣創立年數	Years of establishment of shrines and temples
119	聖覽諸宗祖師年數	Years of founding of the various Buddhist sects
120	四民安業之図	Illustrations of safe occupations for the four classes
124	弘法大師四目錄占	Kōbō Daishi's shimokuroku divination
122	百鬼夜行隠没之図	Illustration of the hundreds of demons walking in the night hiding their tracks (in the text itself the title says 百鬼夜行)

		跡を隠す)
123	古人觀相之図	Illustrated guide to the physiognomy of legendary heroes (of China)
124	諸咒咀之和哥	Waka about various curses
125	五性書判吉凶之弁	Fortune telling based on the five phases of signatures
126	曆世新書	New text on the calendar
127	年徳八将神金神事	Info about Toshitoku, Hasshōjin, and Konjin
128	土公天一神之事	Info about Dokujin and Nakagami
129	大將軍遊行日之事	Info about the wandering days of Daishōgun
130	金神遊行日之事	Info about the wandering days of Konjin
131	天道天徳方位之事	On the directions of Tentō and Tentoku
132	戌巳入日之事	On entering days of Tsuchinoto and Tsuchinoe
133	瘟瘧日之事	On <i>unkōnichi</i> (day auspicious for taking a wife, adoption, and Buddhist memorial services, but inauspicious for moxibustion)
134	願成就不成就日之事	On <i>fujōjunichi</i> (inauspicious day) and days for fulfilling wishes
135	旺相四季塞之事	On <i>ōsō shiki fusagari</i> (a form of divination)
136	月塞日塞之事	About <i>tsukifusagari</i> and <i>hifusagari</i> (systems indicating directions to avoid according to the month and day)
137	曆中段下段之事 ¹⁹²	About the middle row and lower row in calendars
	並入梅土用半夏生	On <i>tsuyuirī</i> (entering the rainy season), <i>doiyō</i> (midsummer), and <i>hangeshō</i> (11 days after the summer solstice)
	八專十方暮社日彼岸	On <i>hassen</i> (a special interval of days in the calendar), <i>jippōgure</i> (another special interval of days in the calendar), <i>shajitsu</i> (the first <i>tsuchinoe</i> 戌 day after the spring and autumn equinox), and <i>higan</i> (the equinoctial week)
	三伏冬至節分等	On <i>sanpuku</i> (midsummer), <i>tōji</i> (winter solstice), <i>setsubun</i>

¹⁹² The following three rows belong to the same entry

		(last day of winter), etc.
138	男女相性生尅之事	Compatibility chart for men and women
139	知死期時之事	On knowing the day of death
140	有卦無卦之事	Style of divination based on the sexagenarian cycle
141	四季皇帝占之事	Four seasons emperor divination
142	手節吉凶之図	Illustrated guide to palmistry
143	支干五性六十之図	Chart of the five phases and the sexagenarian cycle
144	月之出汐満干之事	Waxing and waning of the moon and the ebb and flow of the tide
145	六曜星之事	On <i>rokuyosei</i> (labels in the calendar indicating the auspiciousness of days)
146	破軍星之事	On <i>hagunsei</i> (star (Alkaid) in the Ursa Major constellation)
147	産時向吉凶之事	Lucky and unlucky directions when giving birth
148	胞衣納吉方之事	Lucky directions for burying the placenta
149	懐胎月之事並胎内男女知事	Months for getting pregnant and on knowing the gender of the baby inside the womb
150	七福神宝船之事	About the treasure ship bearing the Seven Gods of Fortune
151	神社繪馬書様之事	Information about wishing plaques for shrines and how to write on them
152	三社蔦之図	Illustrations of the three ivy shrines
153	意馬心猿之図	Illustrations of the uncontrollable worldly desires and passions

Table 5: Contents of *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*

It can be helpful to divide such a diverse collection of information into categories in order to make it more manageable. Yokoyama Toshio, for instance, suggests dividing the content into two broad categories: one category which includes information that helps readers to orient themselves in the world, with for instance different kinds of maps, illustrations of and information about famous places, and guides to important roads; and another category with different kinds of information which was supposed to teach the reader proper civility in some shape or form. He further divides the civility category into three sub-categories: civility

towards other humans, civility towards material objects, and civility towards deities.¹⁹³ Some of the problems with interpreting everything through the lens of civility have already been discussed, but if we ignore its shortcomings for a moment, Yokoyama's categories do seem to encompass a large amount of the content found within the *setsuyōshū*. After all, much of the content tends to deal with place on the one hand and human beings, things, or the divine in some form on the other. There are, however, also many things that are not covered by these categories, for example practical information such as cures for ailments or guides on how to do basic calculations. This illustrates a general difficulty with attempting to condense such a large variety of information into meaningful categories and something might always be left out.

Yokoyama's categories worked for him in telling his story about the *setsuyōshū* predominantly as a civilizing medium, but in order to gain a more holistic view of the genre, the categories needs some revision. This could be done in any number of ways, but I have identified nine categories which should manage to encapsulate the variety of content in *setsuyōshū*. (Table 6) These categories might seem as if they are taken straight out of "a certain Chinese encyclopedia" discussed by Jorge Luis Borges and made famous by Foucault.¹⁹⁴ Although this choice might appear strange, there is a reason behind it. It will be increasingly clear throughout this chapter and the next that the level of ambition to create an order of knowledge in *setsuyōshū* was astonishingly low. Imposing an order in the form of categorization is therefore a little awkward, and in order to retain the haphazard and erratic nature of the contents it is appropriate to choose arbitrary categories.

	Type of information
1	Orientation in time and space
2	Various kinds of lists
3	Poetry
4	Longer explanatory texts and stories
5	Arts

¹⁹³ Yokoyama, "The Illustrated Household Encyclopedias that Once Civilized Japan," 50-51.

¹⁹⁴ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1970).

6	<i>Onmyōdō</i> theory and practice
7	Practical knowledge
8	Proper conduct
9	Language

Table 6: Suggestions for categorization of content

The first category, similar to Yokoyama's category, includes information which orients the reader in time and space. This includes information such as maps, information on famous places, historical chronologies, and ritual calendars. The second category consists of various types of lists, where we can find, for instance, catalogues of high-ranking samurai or members of the court, lists of temples and shrines and the years they were built, and an overview of the relocations of the capital. The third category consists of poetry. In the fourth category we find somewhat longer texts, such as stories about great heroes, explanations of weather phenomena, or on the origins of falconry. The fifth category includes information on various arts, such as ikebana, the tea ceremony, *go*, and *nō* theatre. In the sixth category there is information on *onmyōdō* or yin-yang thought, such as information on directional taboos or compatibility charts for men and women. The seventh category consists of practical knowledge on matters such as how to make calculations with and without the abacus, gold and silver exchange rates, and cures for various ailments. The eighth category consists of guides to proper conduct including etiquette and letter writing. The ninth and final category includes information about language, where we for instance can find the dictionary itself, lists of kanji radicals, and information on foreign languages.

As mentioned above, the information in *setsuyōshū* can be categorized in many different ways, but the main point here is to make it more manageable and easier to work with. There is also a great deal of overlap between categories, and many of the encyclopedic entries can potentially be grouped in more than one category. Much of the information, for instance, contains elements of yin-yang thought, but comes in the form of lists or longer explanatory texts. Two of the categories, numbers two and four, are based on how the information is presented while the remaining ones are thematic. This was done to minimize the number of categories. Examples with images from each of these categories are included below, although not all of them are discussed at length.

Orienting the reader in time and space

Invariably, one of the first things that the reader encounters when opening an encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū* from the second developmental phase and onwards is a map, or several maps. In the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* we also find maps within the first few pages, but the first two pages after the introduction offer something else. These pages present a creation story of the universe and how mankind relates to this universe. The borders surrounding the text show illustrations Mount Sumeru and of the four gods (*shitennō* 四天王) that reside there: *Jikokuten* 持国天, *Zōjōten* 增長天, *Kōmokuten* 広目天, and *Tamonten* 多聞天. Below is a full translation of the text:

Heaven is Yang. Located above, it covers [all]. This is the Virtue of the Father. Earth is Yin. Located below, it carries [all]. This is the Way of the Mother. In this manner, Yin and Yang react to each other and produce the Five Phases. As the *qi* returns to Heaven, the four seasons are set in motion. As [Yin and Yang] cover the Earth with forms, they give rise to man, beasts, fish, insects, plants, and trees. This is why Heaven and Earth are called the Great Father and Mother.

Man is made of the superior *qi* of the Five Phases, and is therefore called the Spirit of the myriad things. This is why obeying Heaven and Earth, Father and Mother is called filial piety, and why obeying Sun and Moon, Lord and Mistress is called loyalty.

Because man has received his nature from Heaven and Earth, all things between Heaven and Earth are present within man. The head of man is round because Heaven is round. Heaven has Sun and Moon; man has two eyes. Heaven has stars; man has teeth and nails. Heaven has wind and rain; man has joy and anger. Heaven has thunder; man has voice. Heaven has Yin and Yang; man has male and female. Heaven has four seasons; man has four limbs. Heaven has heat and cold; so has man. Heaven has day and night; man is awake or sleeps. Heaven has five tones; man has five viscera. Heaven has six scales; man has six entrails. Heaven has ten stems; man has ten fingers. Heaven has twelve branches; man has ten toes and two testicles (women have the placenta and the womb because they lack these). The year has twelve months; man has twelve joints. The year has 360 days; man has 360 bones.

Because earth has forms, man has footprints. Earth has twelve water conduits; man has twelve veins. Earth has high mountains; man has shoulders and knees. Earth has spring water; man has blood. Earth has plants and trees; man has hair and muscles. Earth has sand and stones; man has bones and flesh. Nothing that exists between Heaven and Earth is lacking in man.

When the sutras describe Mount Sumeru, everything they mention is present in the human body. When it is said that Trāyastriṃśa Heaven is at the top of Mount Sumeru, this refers to the heaven-bone of the human head. The Enseiju trees of Mount Sumeru are the hair that grows on man's round head. The deva king Taishaku is the forehead, and his Sudassî palace is the eyebrows, because the name of this palace refers to the "opening of the eyebrows in joy." The Hall of the Good Dharma is the Buddha mind that every human being is endowed with. On the four sides of Mount Sumeru dwell the deva kings Jikoku, Zōchō, Kōmoku and Tamon. Kōmoku is the eyes, Tamon the ears, and Zōchō the nose. The mouth is Jikoku, because it alone maintains (*ji*) the country (*koku*) of the body by means of food. The nine mountains surrounding Mount Sumeru are the shoulders, the elbows, the breast, the belly, the genitals, the knees, the back, the hips, and the buttocks. The eight oceans are the still waters of the eight states of consciousness within one's breast. The four continents are the four limbs.

In the poem of Mount Sumeru the north is called yellow; this is because dark yellow refers to the color of the night. The east is called white referring to the white color of dawn. The south is called blue in reference to the blue sky in the middle of the day, while the west is red because the light of the setting sun is of that color. All this describes [the colors of] day and night in this world. [Mount Sumeru, which is also known as] the mountain of the Road of Rebirth (Someiro no yama), is the sun that rises in the east and sets in the west, only to be "reborn" again in the east the following morning. Man, too, is born in the Yang of the east and dies in the Yin of the west, to be reborn again in the east. When one reflects upon this, one is struck by awe: indeed, man must practice the Way of Heaven and follow the pattern of Earth.

This text gives the reader a sense of place in cosmological space. One interesting aspect of the text is how it uses the three traditions of Confucianism, Buddhism, and yin-yang thought, quite similar to what we saw in the introduction above. As Elena Polovnikova points out,

illustrations of Mount Sumeru along with explanations appeared in several *setsuyōshū* early in the history of the genre, but she argues that these entries are substituted by world maps along with an expanding knowledge about the outer world among the common people. She also points out that the notion of Mount Sumeru and the Buddhist world-view that accompanied it was still an important part of the early modern imagination and that it appears in many other printed publications throughout the period.¹⁹⁵ This text and the adjoining illustrations in the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* show that there was room for Mount Sumeru and its world-view together with world maps, although its appearance was somewhat different from the early *setsuyōshū*.

As an interesting and puzzling side note, the same border used on this page was also used in the 1831 edition, however in that edition it was used on the pages of the introduction. When comparing these two borders, at first one notices the addition of some labels to the illustrations, but upon further scrutiny one realizes that while most parts of the illustration are virtually identical, the position of the four gods on the pages are reversed bottom to top. (Figure 26 and Figure 27) That the makers decided to reuse the border to surround a different text is perhaps not so perplexing; it was a nice border and they probably did not want it to go to waste even though they were getting rid of the previous introduction. The border did also fit the text thematically, since both the text and the illustrations deal with Mount Sumeru. Reusing parts and moving sections around was in general quite common.¹⁹⁶ But even if it might have been a simple job, reversing the position of these gods must have taken some degree of investment in time and labor, and for a result that would be almost negligible and of no significance to the reader. Seemingly insignificant changes such as these are hard to ignore when noticed, but the motivations of the makers will remain a mystery.

¹⁹⁵ Polovnikova, "Kinsei shomin no sekaizō: Setsuyōshū no sekaizu o chūshin ni," 65-66.

¹⁹⁶ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 52-54.



Figure 26: Introduction to the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1831)



Figure 27: Text orienting the reader in cosmological space in *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849)

The text becomes even more interesting, however, when considering its position in relation to the whole *setsuyōshū*. After this text, with the table of contents in between, comes a page-spread with illustrations and explanations of the twelve animals of the Chinese zodiac (*jūnishi* 十二支). This should be considered as a continuation of the orientation in cosmological space, since each of these animals also represents a direction in space. This is illustrated on the pages by assigning each animal to a direction on a compass wheel. Time in the Edo period was also measured with reference to these animals, so this contributes to a cosmological orientation in time as well. The border surrounding this page offers explanations of the four seasons, further amplifying the time aspect. The couple of page-spreads immediately following this one include maps, first a map of the world followed by a map of Japan. The arrangement of these pages is quite interesting, because it gives a sense of order in the otherwise seemingly disordered and random placement of information. What I mean by order here is that the spatial orientation moves gradually from macro to micro scale, from universal, mythical, and cosmological scale, via the global level, and down to the national. Following this, and spread throughout the *setsuyōshū*, we also move down to the local level with illustrations and information about various famous places throughout Japan, as well as maps of the three largest cities. This movement appears to be planned, and gives the reader a good sense of space and place. This particular kind of order is not universal for the *setsuyōshū* genre, however, and seems to be unique to the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*. In another popular large and heavily illustrated *setsuyōshū*, the *Edo daisetsuyō kaidaigura*, for example, we are first presented with a map of Ezo, Japan, Korea, and Ryūkyū, before a map of the world, followed by illustrations of various famous places in Japan in seemingly random order.

World maps

The earlier editions of *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* did not include world maps, and this was first introduced with the 1849 edition. The map is colored and each continent has its own color to set it apart from the others. The map is semi-accurate, but in addition to actual existing countries, the map includes some fanciful ones such as the land of giants (*chōninkoku* 長人国). (See Figure 28) According to Elena Polovnikova, the reason for this is that the map is based on a map by Matteo Ricci which also included these.¹⁹⁷ The map places Japan at the

¹⁹⁷ Polovnikova, "Kinsei shomin no sekaizō: Setsuyōshū no sekaizu o chūshin ni," 66.

center, reflecting the view that Japan was the center of the world. In the 1863 edition of the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*, the map is exchanged for a more updated world map with clear influences from *rangaku* 蘭学 (Dutch studies). The map is generally more accurate than the previous one and gives a more scientific impression. The map also covers two page-spreads, showing half of the globe on each and therefore suggesting the globular shape of the earth. One half shows North and South America while the other shows the remaining continents. (See Figure 29 and Figure 30) Polovnikova argues that these changes in maps reflect changes in how contemporaries perceived the world and what they knew about the outside world, but she questions whether they understood that the earth was a globe.¹⁹⁸

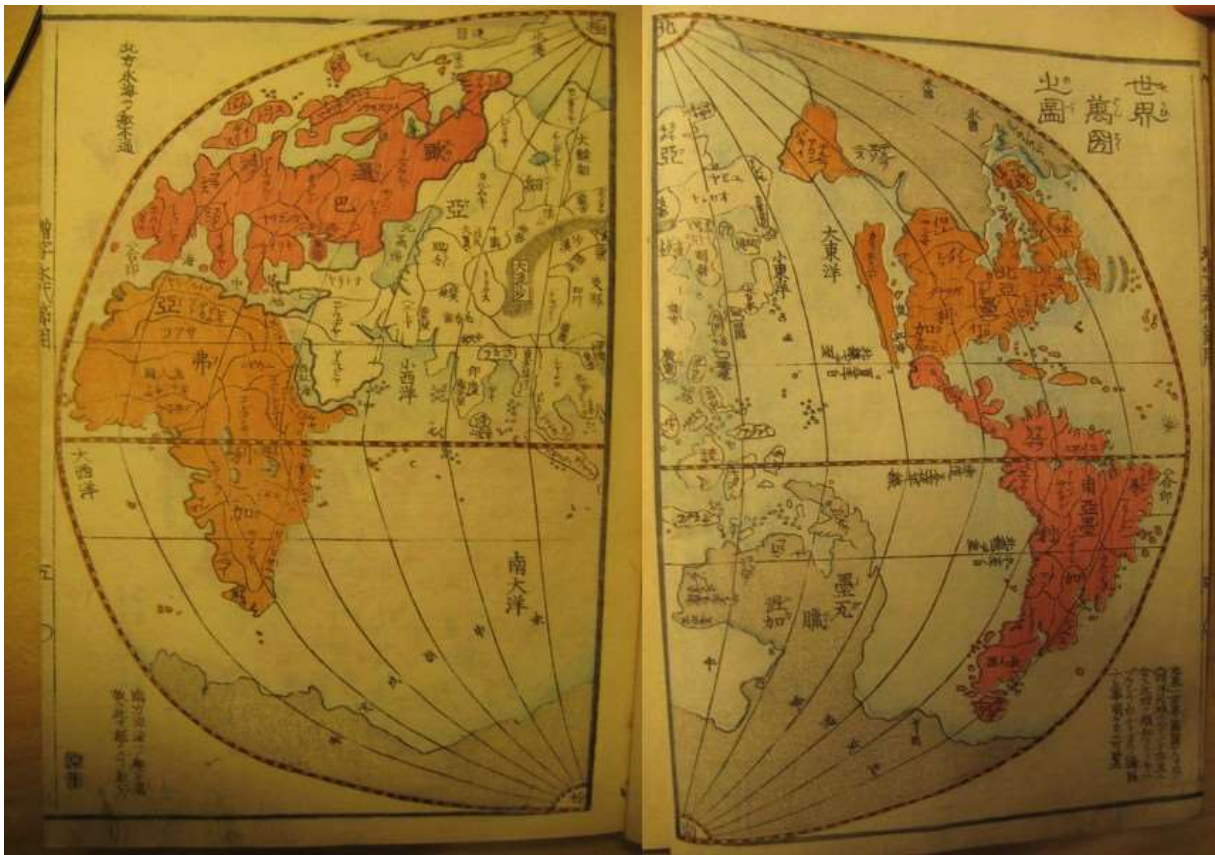


Figure 28: World map from *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849)

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 79.

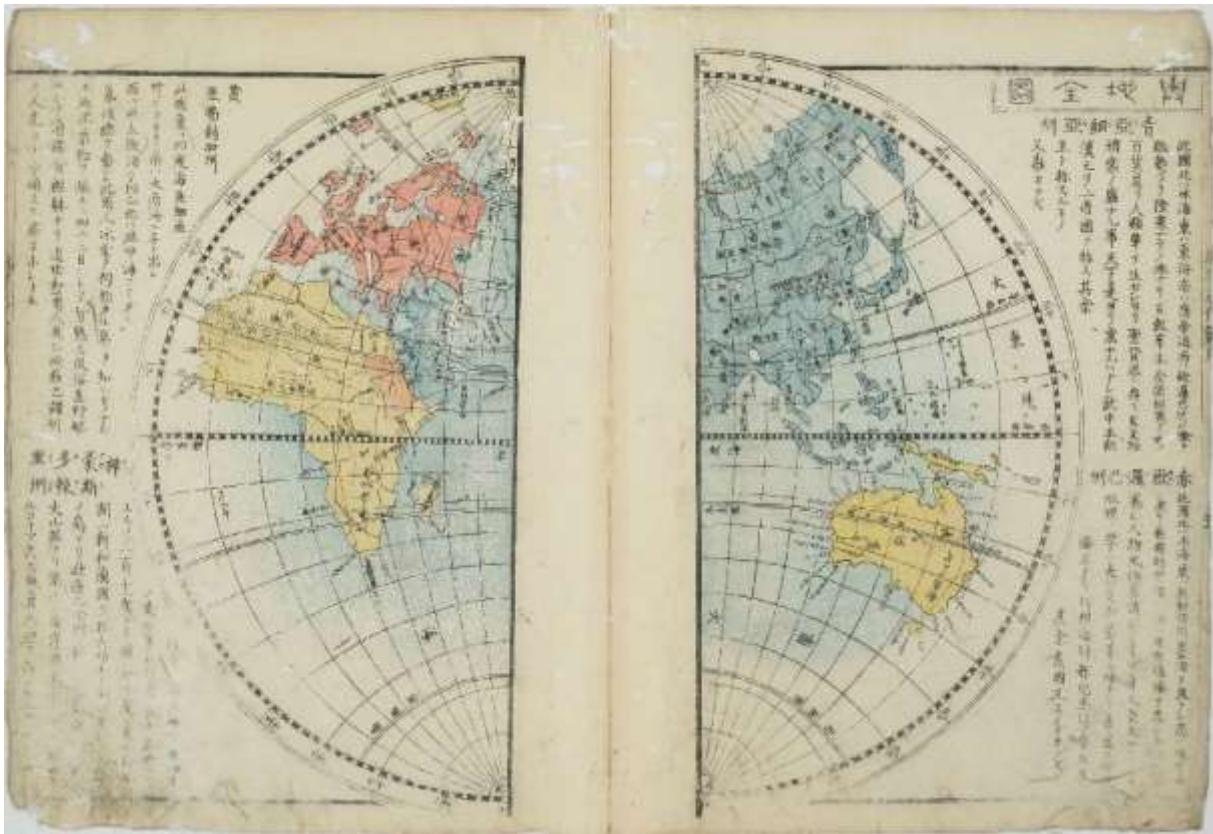


Figure 29: World map from *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1863), front

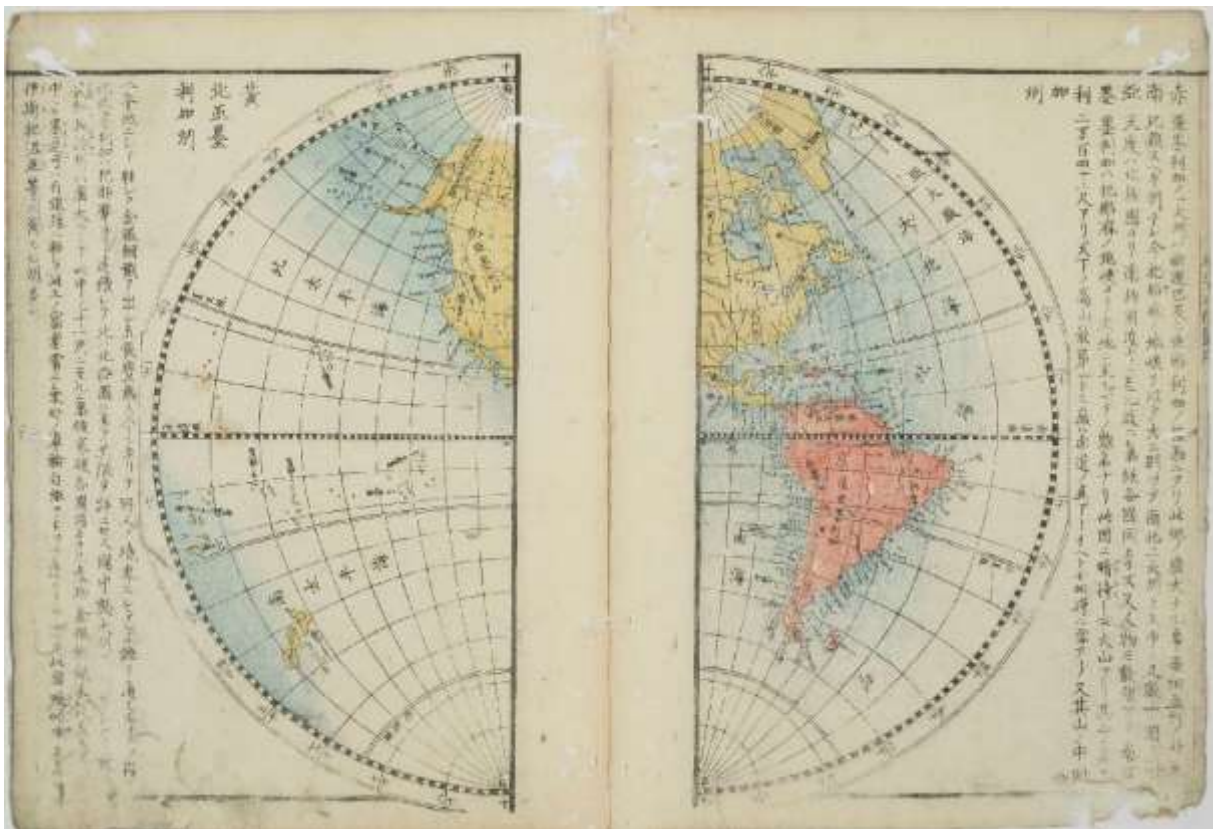


Figure 30: World map from *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1863), back

Map of Japan

The map included of Japan is also in color and spans three full pages and also shows some adjacent countries and islands on the following page. (See Figure 31) The map is fairly detailed and looks quite nice, but perhaps just as interesting as the map itself is the text accompanying it. It begins:

Looking through the history of the country, Great Japan has been referred to as for instance Toyoashi no Nakatsu Kuni, Mizuho no Kuni, Tamagaki no Uchitsu Kuni, Urayasu no Kuni, Kuwashihokotaru no Kuni, and Hotsuma Kuni. Because this Empire is ruled by the son (*miko no mikoto* 御子尊) of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami, it is said that the sacredness of this country exceeds that of all other countries.

The language here is fairly typical throughout the *setsuyōshū* and Japan is invariably referred to as a sacred country that is superior to all others. The text here is mirroring what we saw in the introduction, where it said that Japan is special compared to other countries because in addition to the two ways of Buddhism and Confucianism Japan also has Shinto.



Figure 31: Map of Japan in *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849)

A strong sense of national identity can be discerned throughout these texts, and famous places in Japan are also used to exalt Japan's superiority, such as for instance in the pages depicting Mount Yoshino:

Japan has many famous places, but as the Chinese *Yichu liutie* 義楚六帖 says, the sacred mountains of Fuji and Yoshino are something to be particularly envious of. This is because in contrast to our Empire (*mikuni* 皇国), other countries do not have cherry blossoms.¹⁹⁹

Interesting here is the point made about the source being Chinese, thus making this more than just a self-bragging statement.

Local space and armchair travel

Continuing with the movement from macro to micro the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* takes us to the local level of space. First it introduces several famous places, such as Mount Fuji and Mount Yoshino. These are among the few pages in the *setsuyōshū* that are awarded color. There are also a few entries about famous shrines and beautiful sceneries. A little bit further into the *setsuyōshū*, we also find city maps of the three largest cities: first Edo, then Kyoto, and finally Osaka. One might first think that the order of appearance of these three cities in the *setsuyōshū* is completely random, or that the order somehow reflects a perceived importance of the cities which would put the most important one first. In fact, the order of appearance is a bit more interesting than that. Between the maps of Edo and Kyoto we find a road map of the Tōkaidō, the most important of the roads in Japan at the time, which connected Edo and Kyoto. The road map spans over three page-spreads and depicts a bird's eye view of the areas which the road goes through with names of all of the stops along the way together with information about the distance between them. Between the map of Kyoto and Osaka, a page-spread containing an illustration and written information about the Yodogawa River is inserted. In essence, taken together these pages represent the route one would be most likely to choose if one were to travel between these cities. Some other early modern guidebooks such as many *dōchūki* 道中記 also start in Edo, while yet others such as the famous *Tōkaidō meisho zue* 東海道名所図会 travel in the other direction.

It is clear that although certainly possible, carrying the whole *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* around while traveling would be rather impractical, not to mention that there were an

¹⁹⁹ Steffen Remvik, "Space and Time in the Eitai Setsuyō Mujinzō : Collective identity and imagined community in early modern Japan" (University of Oslo, 2011), 67.

abundance of other more practical books or printed material available in the market to serve that purpose. This suggests that this part of the *setsuyōshū* is designed for armchair travel or “meta-travel” as Jilly Traganou calls it.²⁰⁰ The placement of the city maps and the insertion of the road map and information on the Yodogawa River made it easier for readers to imagine actually travelling these routes themselves. Traganou argues that the Tōkaidō and other important roads were instrumental in developing a national consciousness in early modern Japan, which by extension suggests that armchair travel via books also had some of the same effect.²⁰¹ Similar to the examples of spatial representation moving from macro to micro mentioned above, the order of local space laid out as a journey is not a universal aspect of *setsuyōshū*. In the *Yamato setsuyōshū shikkai daizen* (1826) 倭節用集悉改大全 for instance, the maps of the three cities comes first followed by a national map. The map of the world in this particular *setsuyōshū* does not appear until the very end of the *setsuyōshū*, after the dictionary itself. Interestingly, most of these maps are nearly the exact same maps that we find in the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* and other *setsuyōshū*. These intertextual relationships in maps between different *setsuyōshū* will be explored further in the next chapter.

Lists

There are many different lists in *setsuyōshū*, for instance lists of official titles, a list of the order of relocation of the capital, lists of era names, lists of great military commanders, lists of titles of different warrior positions (Figure 35), and lists of shrines and temples showing their location and providing some information on what can be found on the grounds. Figure 32 shows a part of the list of Buddhist temples in the *kashiragaki* above the dictionary.

²⁰⁰ Jilly Traganou, *The Tōkaidō Road: Traveling and Representation in Edo and Meiji Japan* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 26.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 210.



Figure 32: Dictionary with list of Buddhist temples in the kashiragaki of *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849)

One of the more comprehensive kinds of lists included in the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* is the *bukan* 武鑑, or military mirrors. These are catalogues of the ca. 260 *daimyo* in the country and include various information about their crests, the total worth of their domain measured in *koku*, and the route which they travel when going to Edo for alternate attendance. Such catalogues were published as books in their own right and they were quite popular, competition between publishers being quite fierce. As Mary Elizabeth Berry points out, the main target group for such catalogues was surely samurai, but that usage was clearly not exclusive to them. They were, for instance, indispensable to merchants who used them to identify their customers, but other commoners would use them to satisfy their curiosity and some would mark their copies showing who they had been able to spot.²⁰² Figure 33 shows the first page of the catalogue along with an equivalent catalogue listing members of the court.

²⁰² Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period*, 108.

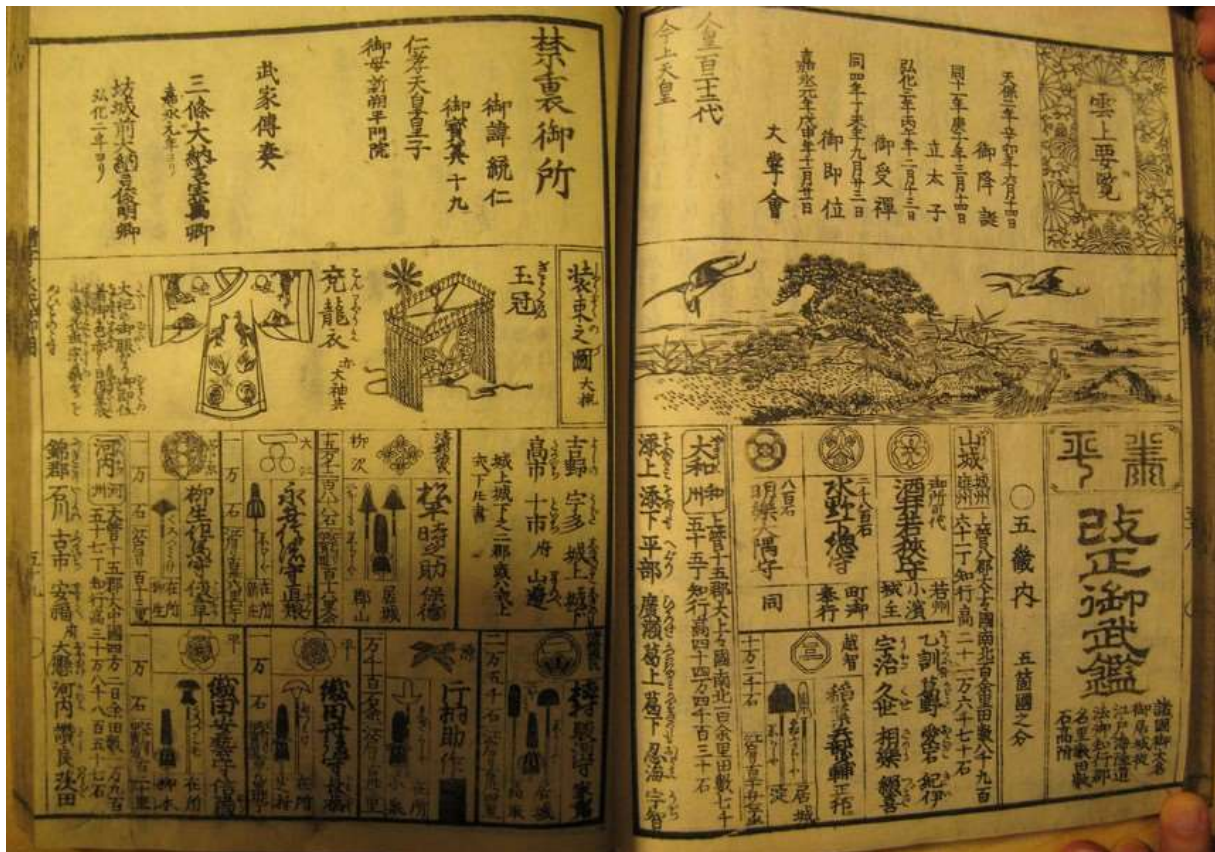


Figure 33: Catalogues of warriors and members of the court

Poetry

Poetry is scattered throughout the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*. Figure 34 shows three different entries which include poetry. The top row is part of a list of 36 *waka* poets while the bottom row is a list of 36 *haiku* poets. Each list includes one poem from each poet. Sections with illustrations and information about beautiful and famous scenery also invariably include poetry, such as the section in the middle of the pages showing illustrations of Matsushima. There are more random occurrences of poetry as well, such as the one seen in Figure 35. Here we see an illustration of samurai attempting to capture a falcon along with a poem by Yorimasa. This further exemplifies how certain parts of the *setsuyōshū* encourage browsing rather than a consultation based mode of reading. Although the entry appears in the table of contents as “Illustration of warrior falconry”, it is hard to imagine that a reader would have reason to come looking for this particular entry. Neither is there any hint in the table of contents that the reader would find a poem on this page. It is more likely that the reader would find it by happenstance, either by just browsing the pages of the book or when consulting the list of samurai roles filling the top half of the same pages.



Figure 34: Three different entries with poetry



Figure 35: List of samurai positions and illustration of falconry with poem

Stories and explanatory texts

Much of the information within the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* consists of fairly short passages of text and provides only limited information on a subject. There are some texts which are somewhat longer and which therefore encourage a more engaged mode of reading compared to the consultation-based reading of other entries. Two examples of such texts from early in the *setsuyōshū* are a tale about the two famous horses *Ikezuki* and *Surusumi* used by Sasaki Takatsune and Kashiwara Kagesue at the Battle of Uji, and another story with explanations of *fata morgana* and the nine sons of the dragon (*ryūkyūshi* 龍九子). One of the most peculiar aspects of these two stories is that neither of them appears in the table of contents at all. In other words, there is no other way for a reader to find them apart from browsing. Some other examples of explanatory texts include explanations of the cardinal directions and of weather phenomena (Figure 37 and Figure 38).



Figure 36: Story about *fata morgana* and the nine sons of the dragon

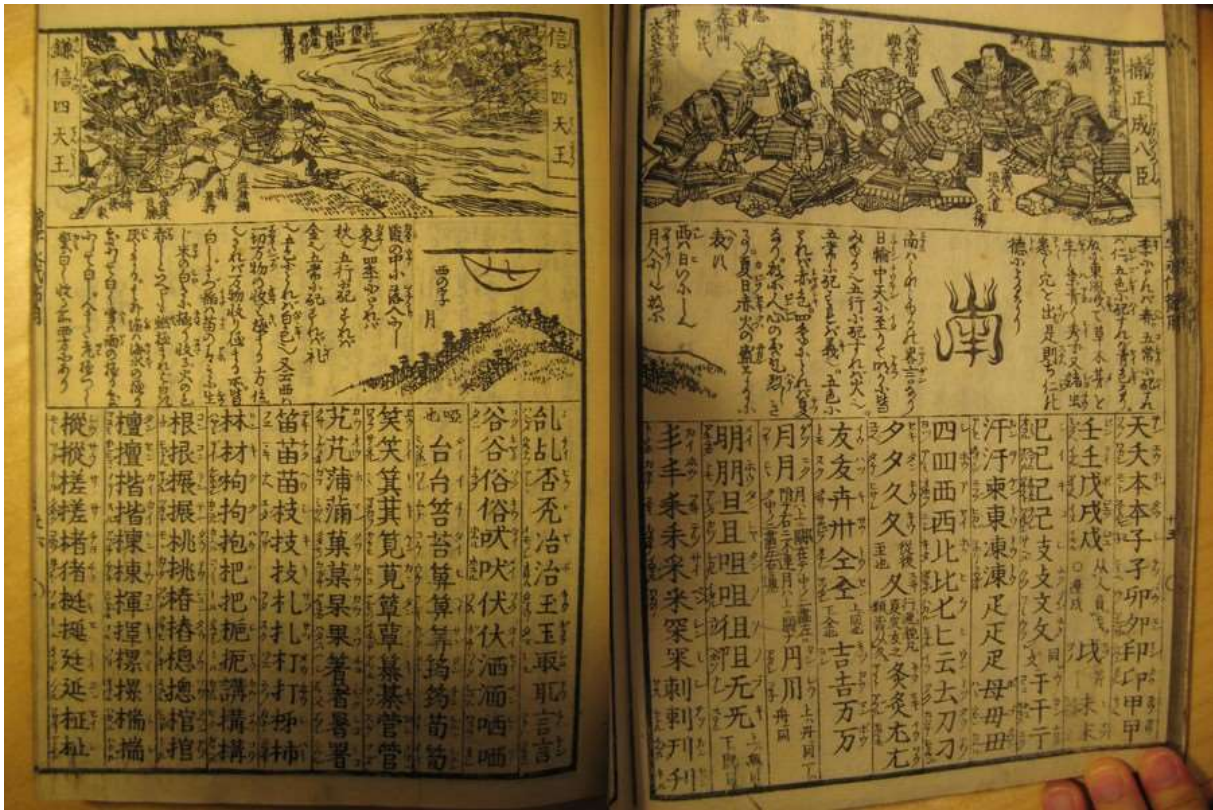


Figure 37: Explanations of cardinal directions (middle row)



Figure 38: Explanations of weather phenomena (top row)

Arts

Entries with information about various arts such as *nō* theatre, ikebana, sumo wrestling, and the tea ceremony (Figure 39) are also included in the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*. Common for all of these entries is that the information included is fairly limited and would be of little to no use to anyone with above average interest in any of these subjects. In other words, the model readers of these texts are clearly not experts, but rather amateurs or regular curious people.



Figure 39: Information about the tea ceremony and illustrations of tea utensils

Onmyōdō theory and practice

As often repeated throughout this thesis, one topic that saturates much of the encyclopedic content of *setsuyōshū* is what can be referred to as *onmyōdō* or “Way of yin-yang”, and the importance of this particular kind of information is also emphasized in the studies on usage of *setsuyōshū* by Yokoyama Toshio. Because of the obvious Chinese roots of the various beliefs

referred to as *onmyōdō* it is sometimes called the Japanese equivalent of Daoism. Most scholars nowadays, however, do not see this juxtaposition of *onmyōdō* and Daoism as fruitful, and rather consider *onmyōdō* as something constructed in Japan.²⁰³ What I consider *onmyōdō* here is anything related to the cosmological ideas of yin-yang duality and the five phases. One of the earliest researchers on the subject, Murayama Shūichi, considered *onmyōdō* to have been at its zenith during the Nara and Heian periods and slowly to have deteriorated thereafter until it reached its nadir in the early modern period.²⁰⁴ More recently, however, it has been argued that the early modern period should rather be considered the “golden age of *onmyōdō*” since it was in this period that the beliefs were disseminated into the everyday lives of common people.²⁰⁵ Although contemporaries themselves might not have actually labeled them as *onmyōdō*, many of these ideas were spread through the circulation of calendars. Unlike the Gregorian solar calendar, the calendar used in Japan until 1871 was of the lunisolar kind. The calendars included much information about lucky days and directions based on *onmyōdō* thought, but the information included was fairly brief and did not provide explanations on how to interpret the information, and the users would therefore have to find help for this elsewhere. Users could find help in a variety of printed materials, and among them were *setsuyōshū*.

One of the entries in the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* related to the calendar has the title *rekisei zassho kagami* 歴世雑書鑑. The table of contents actually has a different title referring to this entry (*rekisei shinsho* 歴世新書), further illustrating the discrepancies between the table of contents and the actual content. This section contains information on various directional gods (*hōijin* 方位神) and the benefits and taboos associated with these god. Gods included are the eight *hasshōgun* 八將軍, the benevolent *toshitoku* 年徳 and the ferocious *konjin* 金神. These gods travel around the sky and occupy different directions according to which year it is in the sexagenarian cycle. If observed diligently, these beliefs would have significant impact on people’s lives. For instance in the case of the god *hyōbi* 豹尾, one must be very careful to not urinate or defecate in the direction where he resides, and also make sure to not obtain new livestock from this direction. The *setsuyōshū* does not

²⁰³ Hayashi Makoto and Matthias Hayek, "Editors' Introduction: Onmyōdō in Japanese History," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 40, no. 1 (2013): 5.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁰⁵ Hayashi Makoto and Dylan Luers, "The Development of Early Modern Onmyōdō," *ibid.*

provide information on what would happen if one should violate this taboo. In the case of *konjin* we are provided with more information. The reader is instructed to avoid any form of building, moving house, taking wives or adopting family members, etc. to or from the direction which *konjin* is occupying at the moment. If this taboo is violated, *konjin* will hunt down and kill seven members of the household. Moreover, if there are not seven persons in the violator's household, *konjin* will continue his killing spree in the neighboring household.



Figure 40: Pages from *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849) showing information on *hōjin*

This would obviously have great ramifications for the daily lives of people and it would be very inconvenient if you were going to move house in a direction where *konjin* was currently staying. Potentially this meant that you would have to wait for up to a year to safely start the move. Fortunately, however, gods also travel on vacations. One of the following entries lists certain days of the year when *konjin* would travel to a different direction and stay there for a certain period. All one had to do was to plan accordingly and choose a day when *konjin* was absent in order to safely execute whichever activity was planned. Other notable examples include palmistry and divining luck based on signatures (Figure 41), and foreseeing compatibility between men and women based on the phase (or element) of the year they are born (Figure 42).



Figure 41: Palmistry (top-left) and divination based on signatures (middle-right)



Figure 42: Compatibility charts for men and women (bottom row)

Practical knowledge

Among more practical information in *setsuyōshū* we find manuals on how to do particular things, such as finding cures for various ailments, information on how to calculate exchange rates, and how to execute different kinds of calculations. Manuals for calculations include how to do basic arithmetic, both with and without the abacus, and how to calculate the area of rice fields (Figure 43).

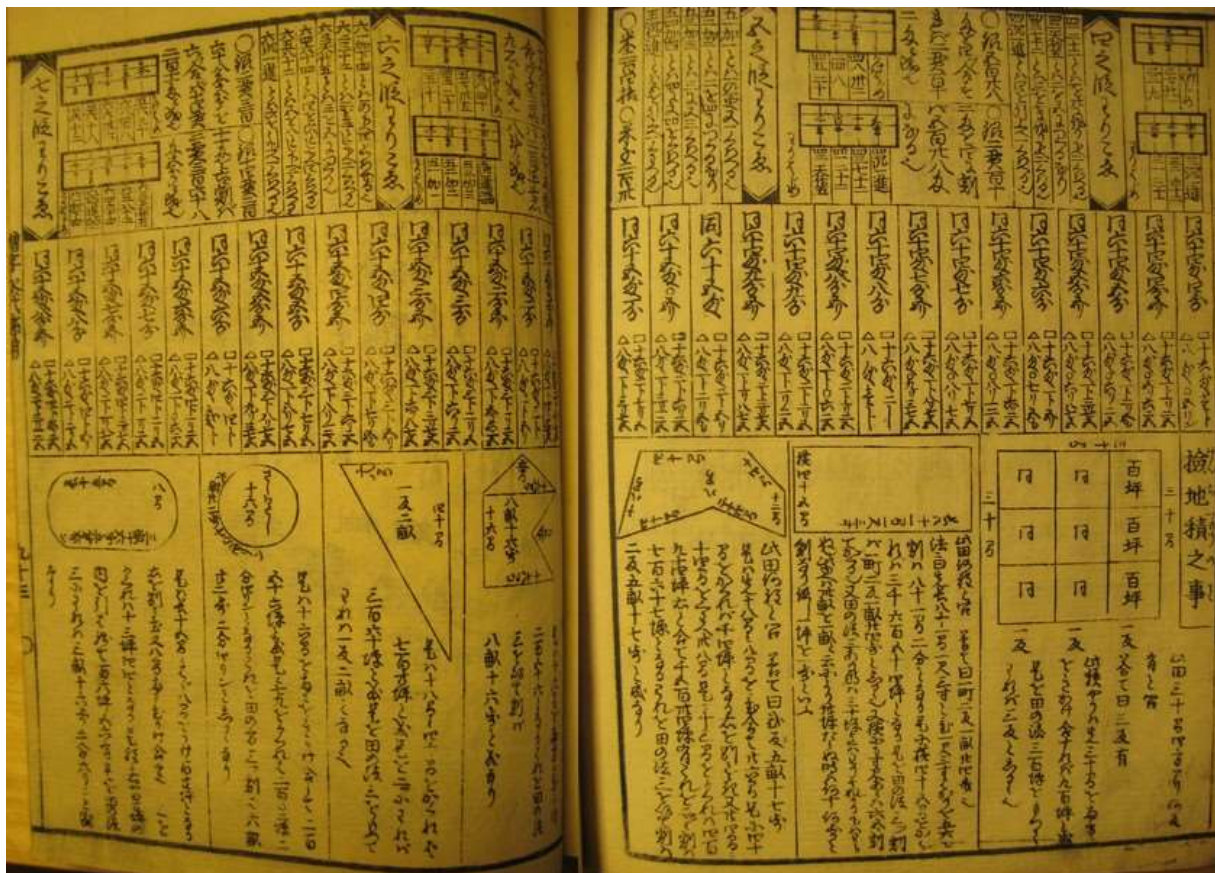


Figure 43: Manuals for various calculations in the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849)

Also included in the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* is a manual for magic spells (Figure 44). Here the reader could find helpful spells for a wide variety of situations: warding off sickness, assuring happiness in one's own marriage or relationship, bestowing unhappiness upon someone else's marriage, identifying a thief, stopping menstruation or triggering a late one, preventing or terminating pregnancy, and others. It is easy to sometimes assume a male person when envisioning the reader of *setsuyōshū*, even without obvious indications that this was the case, but here we see content that is clearly intended for a female audience.

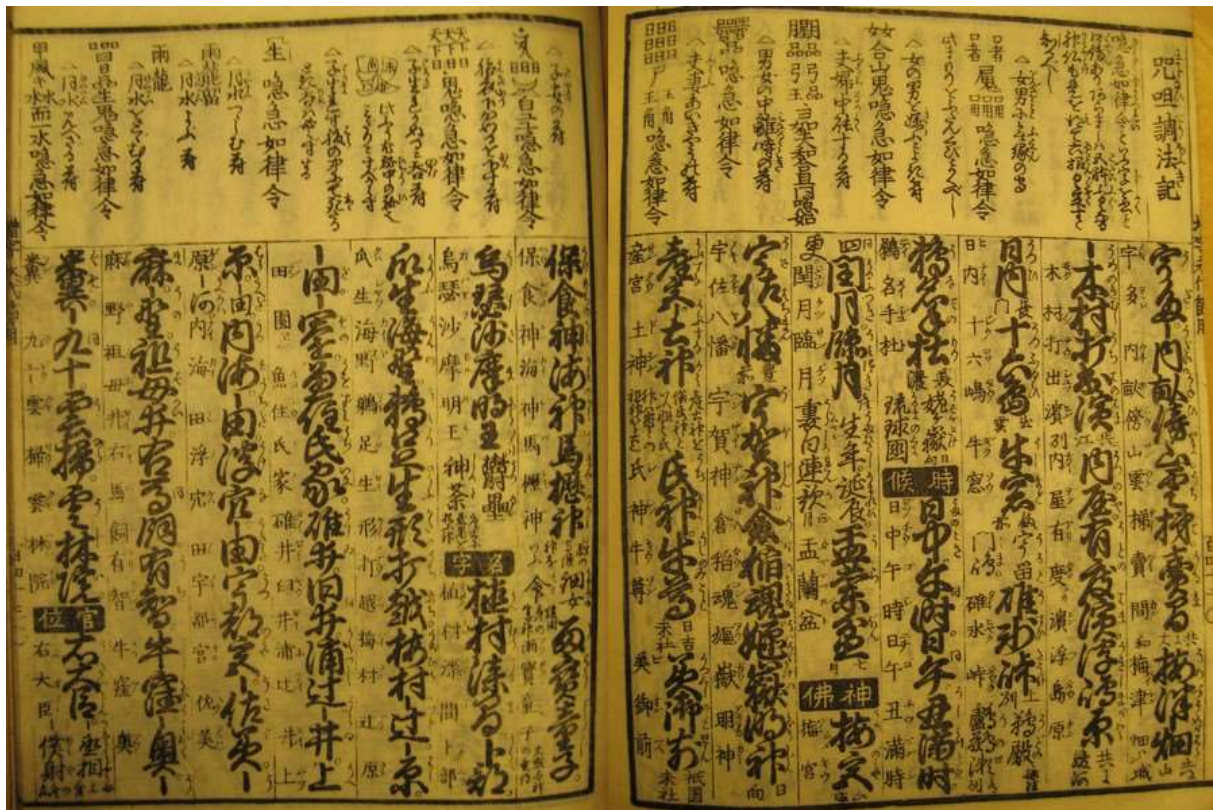


Figure 44: Manual containing various spells in *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849)

Proper conduct

Some of the most persistent types of information appearing in *setsuyōshū* are guides on how to behave properly. This includes proper letter writing and proper etiquette according to *Ogasawara-ryū*. Figure 45 shows the first two pages of the guide to etiquette. The guide includes advice on how to properly greet someone, how to peruse someone's sword, how to drink tea with finesse, how to pass along items on top of a fan, and how to properly open sliding doors. One of the more amusing examples is what to do if you have to blow your nose:

When blowing one's nose one should go to the neighboring room and do it there. At times one is unable to get up, one should face the lower seat and blow one's nose three times, first in a low tone, then a high tone, and again in a low tone.



Figure 45: Guide to etiquette in the style of Ogasawara-ryū in *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849)

Language

The last category to be discussed here contains information that is concerned with language. Here we find the dictionary itself, and also other entries such as lists of kanji radicals and lists of similar characters (see the bottom half of Figure 37). In some *setsuyōshū* we can also find information on foreign languages, and in the case of *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* we find an introduction to the Korean script (Figure 46).



Figure 46: Korean script (top row) in *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849)

Concluding remarks

One of the main objectives of this chapter has been to show the variety and range of information typically included in *setsuyōshū*. Although it would be impossible to touch upon every single entry in the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*, dividing the content into categories and providing many illustrations hopefully have accomplished this objective. The wide variety of information included in this *setsuyōshū* illustrates the compilers' ambition to collect as much knowledge as possible.

Another objective in this chapter has been to investigate whether the compilers had the ambition to organize and create an order of knowledge, in addition to just collecting it. It is clear that there are some organizational principles at play in different parts of the *setsuyōshū*. A prime example of this is the dictionary, which employs a very clear scheme for the organization of entries. Within certain encyclopedic entries we can also recognize a form of order. Lists, for instance, are probably the oldest and simplest way of organizing knowledge. Explaining reality through a cosmological system based on yin and yang and the five phases

can also be considered a form of organizing. A cluster of different related entries can also form some sort of order, such as the examples of orienting the reader in space moving from macro- to micro-level, or creating the opportunity for armchair traveling through the order in which information is presented. But such ideas of order are not implemented universally throughout the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* in particular, or throughout the *setsuyōshū* genre as a whole. Sometimes encyclopedic entries that are similar or related are grouped together on one page or in one section of the *setsuyōshū*, but in many other cases, pages or sections include entries that are not related at all.

Apart from such examples of order on a lower level, the *setsuyōshū* as a whole does not betray much of an effort to order knowledge according to some logical principle. The only proper finding mechanism the reader is presented with is a table of contents; yet the entries in this table of contents do not always correspond to the order in which the actual entries appear in the *setsuyōshū*. Sometimes the titles in the table of contents and the book itself differ, and some of the contents do not appear in the table of contents at all. It is safe to say that while the ambition to collect and store as much information as possible was high, the ambition to create order from this knowledge was surprisingly low.

Another observation we can make from this exploration of the contents of *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* is that the *setsuyōshū* encourages different modes of reading. Although the sophistication of finding mechanisms is quite poor, it remains evident that much of the information included was intended for consultation. The sections related to *onmyōdō* must have been consulted frequently by users in order to avoid breaking directional taboos. This is also reflected in the studies of Yokoyama Toshio which will be discussed in Chapter 7. Other sections of information contain texts that are longer and therefore require a more engaged mode of reading than mere consultation. When we add the fact that several of these texts can only be found by accident while browsing or looking for something else, it is apparent that the *Eitai setsuyōshū mujinzō* and other encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū* are designed for the dual purpose of reading and browsing for leisure on the one hand, and consultation for quick retrieval of information on the other.

When considering the wide variety of information that is available in *setsuyōshū*, it is natural to ask the question of the sources that the compilers gathered this information from. This is the topic of the next chapter, which explores intertextual relationships between *setsuyōshū* and other kinds of books.

Chapter 5: Setsuyōshū and intertextuality

The early modern Japanese book market and its publications were highly intertextual in nature. As noted in chapter 2, I here use the word intertextuality in a narrow sense, as defined Gérard Genette. As William Irwin has pointed out, the term intertextuality was originally coined by Julia Kristeva in the mid-sixties, but has since taken on a wide variety of different meanings.²⁰⁶ This plurality of usage has led some to call the term “underdetermined in meaning and overdetermined in figuration.” Consequently, the term has become so malleable that it seems as authors can define it in any way they choose.²⁰⁷

But rather than discarding the term as useless because of the variations in use, it will be helpful to envision a spectrum of various degrees of intertextuality. Common to all notions of intertextuality is that they highlight the interconnectedness of texts, and this interconnectedness can take different forms. It can for instance be intentional or accidental; obligatory or optional, meaning that knowledge or understanding of one text is necessary for comprehending another; or there can be varying degrees of similarity between texts. The aforementioned theorists, Kristeva and Genette, find themselves on different points in this spectrum. For Kristeva, all texts are intertextual and “any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another.”²⁰⁸ For Genette, on the other extreme, intertextuality refers to the notion of a “copresence between two texts or among several texts.”²⁰⁹ In other words, it is the actual presence of one text within another. Such a direct form of intertextuality was a common feature of many books in the early modern Japanese book market in general and of *setsuyōshū* in particular.

One of the reasons for this prevalence of intertexts in early modern Japanese books is the fact that woodblock printing was by far the dominant print technology, making it easier to make verbatim copies than with moveable print. If you would want to copy a text with moveable type, you would have to assemble the fonts from scratch, but with woodblock printing you could either re-use the woodblocks or, if that was not an option, you could employ the *kabusebōri* technique, using a printed page as the *hanshita* for a new block. Using this technique, one can easily copy an entire book, but it is also fairly simple to copy just a

²⁰⁶ William Irwin, "Against Intertextuality," *Philosophy and Literature* 28, no. 2 (2004): 227-28.

²⁰⁷ Graham Allen, *Intertextuality*, The new critical idiom (London: Routledge, 2000), 2.

²⁰⁸ Kristeva and Roudiez, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, 66.

²⁰⁹ Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, 8, 1.

small section of a text or an illustration. Jurgis Elisonas, for instance, has demonstrated how the makers of certain early modern guidebooks blatantly copied directly from other guidebooks. They re-used parts of illustrations and made them into new ones, sometimes even mismatching the texts and illustrations with the wrong places because the makers had never been there.²¹⁰ Another scholar who has explored intertextuality in early modern Japan is Franziska Ehmcke. Employing a broader notion of intertextuality, she has demonstrated how woodblock print artists made intertextual references to poems, stories, famous products, legends, and other prints depicting the Tōkaidō road.²¹¹

Intertextuality is by no means exclusive to early modern Japan and it is an important aspect of texts and literature independent of time and geography. The point here is not to argue that print culture in early modern Japan was necessarily any more intertextual than other print cultures, but to underline that it was a central feature also here, and that exploring this aspect can tell us much about how the world of books functioned. The *setsuyōshū* genre is a prime example of the intertextual nature of the early modern book market, and very little, if anything at all, of the information stored within the encyclopedic parts of any given *setsuyōshū* is actually original content. Therefore, the various informational contents of *setsuyōshū* should be considered more as snippets of information collected from other sources and compiled into a sort of information collage. What are the sources of the information and how do these intertextual relationships work? These relationships can be divided into three different categories: (1) intertextual relationships within the *setsuyōshū* genre itself; (2) between *setsuyōshū* and other genres of reference books, such as *chōhōki*, *kinmōzui*, or *ōraimono*; and (3) between *setsuyōshū* and other kinds of texts dealing with specific subjects, for instance maps or etiquette guides.

This chapter will highlight this intertextual aspect of the *setsuyōshū* genre by comparing some of the informational entries within certain *setsuyōshū* with texts in other books, but also between different *setsuyōshū*. The intention is to show that because the prevalence of intertexts is such a central feature of the genre, it is necessary to consider intertexts a vital part of the book-historical communication circuit of *setsuyōshū*.

²¹⁰ Jurgis Elisonas, "Notorious Places: A Brief Excursion Into the Narrative Topography of Early Edo," in *Edo and Paris: Urban Life & the State in the Early Modern Era*, ed. James L. McClain, John M. Merriman, and Ugawa Kaoru (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994).

²¹¹ Franziska Ehmcke, "The Tokaido Woodblock Print Series as an Example of Intertextuality in the Fine Arts," in *Written Texts-Visual Texts: Woodblock-printed Media in Early Modern Japan*, ed. Susanne and Sepp Linhart Formanek (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005).

Intertextual relationships between different *setsuyōshū*

With the exemption of cases where an entire *setsuyōshū* was blatantly pirated from another publisher and copied word for word, illustration for illustration, or where a publisher decided to re-publish an old edition and market it as a new one by for instance changing the title, new *setsuyōshū* never looked exactly like previous versions. Many did, however, look very similar and included much of the same information. This becomes increasingly true towards the end of the early modern period, when the encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū* became larger and included more information. Browsing any encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū* from the early modern period, one will find certain kinds of information, regardless of which specific *setsuyōshū* one has in one's hands. For instance, such a *setsuyōshū* will invariably find maps of the world, of Japan, and the three major cities. Usually one will also find illustrations of famous places and roads, information about famous warriors from both China and Japan, handy charts to aid you in calculation, guides to etiquette, and information about the lunar-solar calendar and various forms of divination based on *onmyōdō* thought. A quick look through the pages of Kashiwabara Shirō's great index of *setsuyōshū* encyclopedic contents also reveals that most articles appear in several *setsuyōshū*.²¹² Because so much of the information within any given *setsuyōshū* also appears in so many other places, *setsuyōshū* can be considered to be a fairly predictable genre. In the following I will introduce some examples that illustrate these intertextual relationships between different *setsuyōshū*.

Maps

As already mentioned on several occasions, maps were a common occurrence in encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū*, and examples of different maps in the 1849 edition of *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* were discussed in the previous chapter. Some of the exact same maps, however, also appear in other *setsuyōshū*. When comparing the maps included in the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* with those appearing in the 1826 version of *Yamato setsuyōshū shikkai daizen* 倭節用集悉改大全,²¹³ we notice that the maps of Edo, Osaka, and the Imperial Palace are almost identical. There are some very minute differences between the maps: some of the lines that are supposed to represent grasslands or hills are not positioned in the exact same

²¹² Kashiwabara, *Kinsei no kokugo jisho setsuyōshū no furoku*.

²¹³ *Setsuyōshū taikai*, vol. 63 (Ōzorasha, 1993).

location, and some of the boxes and labels are placed slightly differently. Consequently, these maps were not printed from the same set of blocks, but the *kabusebori* technique was used, or that the same original served as a template in both instances. The maps of Kyoto that appear in both *setsuyōshū* are quite similar and might therefore have had the same map for reference, but are also dissimilar enough to conclude that they were definitely not printed from the same woodblocks, nor that the *kabusebori* technique has been utilized. The colophon of the *Yamato setsuyōshū shikkai daizen* lists nine different publishers: one in Edo, two in Osaka, and six in Kyoto. In the colophon of the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*, we find eleven publishers listed: one in Edo and the remaining in Kyoto. Two of these publishers appear in the colophon of both *setsuyōshū*: Suwaraya Mohei 須原屋茂兵衛 in Edo and Katsumura Jiemon 勝村治右衛門 in Kyoto. The colophons also reveal that Inoue Jihei 井上治兵衛 was engaged in the carving of both *setsuyōshū*. The *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* employed five carvers for the woodblocks, while the *Yamato setsuyōshū shikkai daizen* was carved by Jihei alone. The two *setsuyōshū* do not share the same illustrator.

Similarly, the *Banpō setsuyō fūkigura* 万宝節用富貴藏 (1802),²¹⁴ *Taihō setsuyō jufukugai* 大豊節用寿福海 (1799),²¹⁵ and the *Shikai setsuyō kinshūnō* 四海節用錦繡囊 (1734)²¹⁶ share the same city maps. There are some minor differences between the different versions, which makes it unlikely that the maps came from the same woodblocks and more likely that the *kabusebori* technique was used here as well. The colophons of the *Banpō setsuyō fūkigura* and the *Taihō setsuyō jufukugai* reveal that both *setsuyōshū* had the same illustrator, which could have explained the similarities between the maps had it not been for the existence of the same maps in the *Shikai setsuyō kinshūnō*. It has not been possible to ascertain the details about publishers or illustrators of this *setsuyōshū* because of its poor state and the complete lack of colophons in the copies I have been able to peruse, but because of the gap in time between publication of the books, it is unlikely that the *Shikai setsuyō kinshūnō* had the same illustrator as the other two. The quality of the colophons in the facsimiles of *Banpō setsuyō fūkigura* and *Taihō setsuyō jufukugai* is also not very good, but it seems that they do not share any publishers with each other. It is clear, however, that Katsumura Jiemon, who was involved with the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* and the *Yamato setsuyōshū shikkai daizen*, is also listed in the colophon of *Banpō setsuyō fūkigura*. These

²¹⁴ *Setsuyōshū taikai*, vol. 51 (Ōzorasha, 1993).

²¹⁵ *Setsuyōshū taikai*, vol. 49 (Ōzorasha, 1993).

²¹⁶ Available through the Tokyo Gakugei Daigaku Repository: http://library.u-gakugei.ac.jp/orai/f011_083.html

were just a few examples of *setsuyōshū* that include the same maps: many other *setsuyōshū* share these same maps or have other maps that also appear in other *setsuyōshū*. The *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū* (1801), for instance, includes the same city maps as the *Shikai setsuyō kinshūnō*, *Banpō setsuyō fūkigura*, and *Taihō setsuyō jufukugai*, but does not share any of the publisher.

In some of these cases publishers appear in more than one colophon, which could indicate that one of the reasons for the same map being used in different places was that whoever published the *setsuyōshū* also had the publishing rights (*hankabu*) to the maps. If that was the case, what was the benefit of publishing different *setsuyōshū* carrying much of the same content? Would this not make the publishers spend time and resources only to end up competing against themselves? As mentioned before, being listed in the colophon did not necessarily mean that a particular publishing house was involved in the production of a book. Suwaraya Mohei, for instance, was in all likelihood the most active of all publishers in the second half of the early modern period and appears in the colophons of an astounding number of books. As Peter Kornicki observes, however, in most cases he was most likely included in the lists as a distributor.²¹⁷ But even if we take Suwaraya Mohei and Katsumura Jiemon to be the actual publishers of the two *setsuyōshū* that they were involved with, and not just distributors, most of the *setsuyōshū* discussed above were produced by different publishers.

Sword catalogs

Many *setsuyōshū* contain catalogs of sword blades and information on their inscriptions and makers (*meizukushi* 銘尽). In Kashiwabara Shirō's catalog of *setsuyōshū* content, 20 different *setsuyōshū* are listed as having this entry. Visually they are all very similar. Mostly, they show illustrations of the sword tang (*nakago* 茎, the part of the blade covered by the handle, where the sword smith inscribed his name), but sometimes also the blade itself is shown. Because of the degree of similarity between the illustrations, all of them probably share the same source. Some of them, however, are more similar than others, such as the entries in *Bankoku tsūyō yōjisen* 萬国通用要字選 (1742, Figure 47)²¹⁸ and *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū* (1801, Figure 48). At first glance these entries appear to be identical, but upon closer scrutiny

²¹⁷ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 210-12.

²¹⁸ <https://ir.u-gakugei.ac.jp/images/EP20001580/kmview.html>

one can notice some minor differences. First of all, the title is different: *Meizukushi hidden horimino no shidai* 銘盡秘伝彫物之次第 in the *Bankoku tsūyō yōjisen* and *Meizukushi hidden horimono zu* 銘盡秘伝彫物図 in the *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū*. Furthermore, the first page of the entry in *Bankoku tsūyō yōjisen* contains one blade more than its counterpart in the *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū*, with the result that the last blade on the pages in *Bankoku tsūyō yōjisen* appears first on the next page in *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū*. There are also some very small changes in the design of a few of the blades and some small changes in the text accompanying some of the illustrations. Evidently, the entries in the two *setsuyōshū* are not printed using the same woodblocks, but are more likely a result of *kabusebori*. None of the publisher or distributors in the colophon of either *setsuyōshū* is listed in the colophon of the other book, making it unlikely that the reason why the exact same text was used in both *setsuyōshū* was that the publishers had the publishing rights for the sword catalogs. Nearly six decades separate the publication of these two *setsuyōshū*, and it is possible that the *hanmoto* had changed hands at some point during this period, but it is more likely that this is just an example of blatant plagiarism.



Figure 47: Sword catalog (top row) in *Bankoku tsūyō yōjisen* (1742)

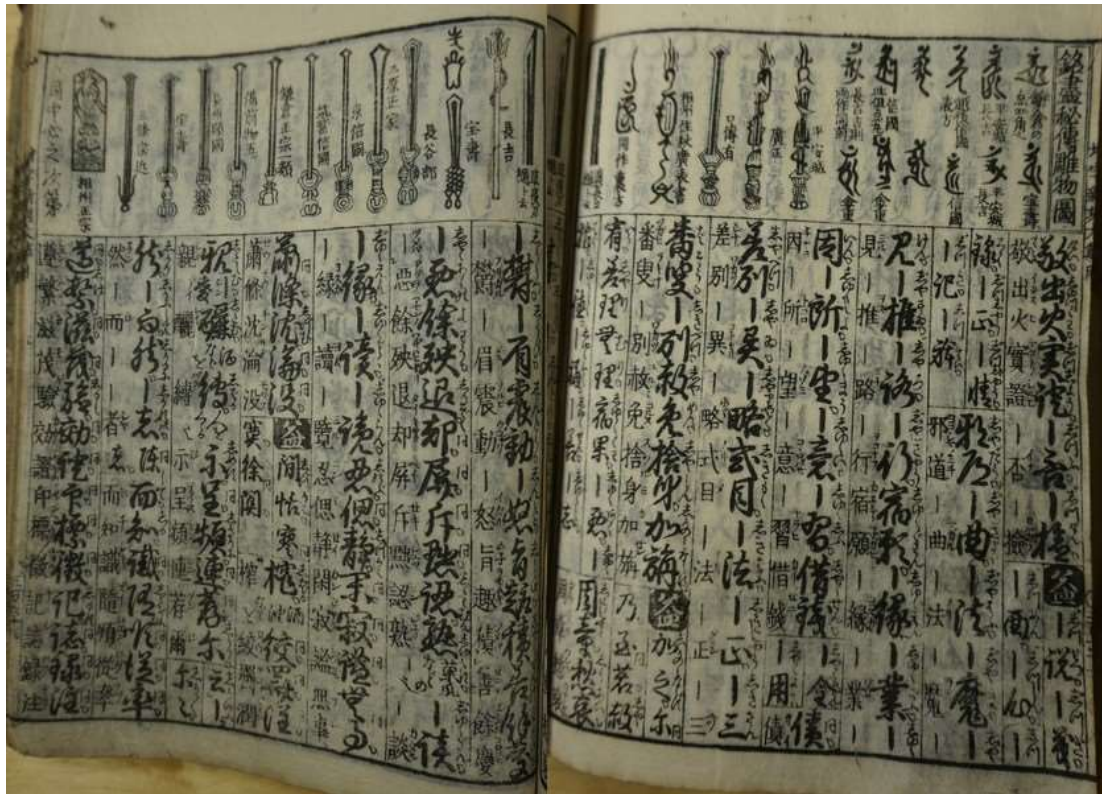


Figure 48: Sword catalog (top row) in *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū* (1801)

The game of Go

Another common occurrence in *setsuyōshū* are positional studies of the board game *go*. According to the catalog of Kashiwabara Shirō, 51 of the 306 *setsuyōshū* he indexed included this sort of information.²¹⁹ These *setsuyōshū* present different simple positional studies and offer the best move with a small explanation. This information is somewhat similar to chess puzzles often found in newspapers today. The number of included positions is usually in the range of four to seven. One thing that is interesting is that the included problems are repeated in many different *setsuyōshū*. I compared the go problems of six different *setsuyōshū*, and of the seven problems included in *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* for instance, at least two also appeared in all of the five other *setsuyōshū* I sampled. The accompanying annotations are also for the most part identical. Figure 49 below shows the first problem as it is presented in the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* and the same problem from three other *setsuyōshū*. The texts accompanying the illustrations are all identical: “When the black player plays move 1 (as marked in the diagram with the stone marked with the number 1) in the middle corner (part of the board), white dies.” (中角くろの一手にて白しぬるなり)

²¹⁹ Kashiwabara, *Kinsei no kokugo jisho setsuyōshū no furoku*, 138-40.

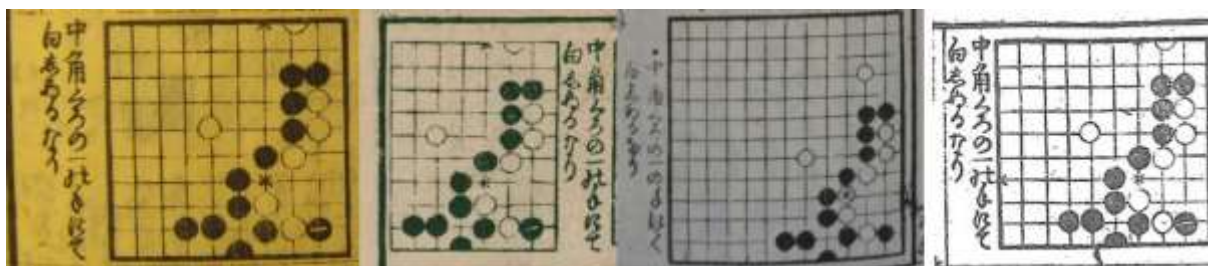


Figure 49: A go problem in different *setsuyōshū*. From left to right: *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849), *Hayabiki daisetsuyōshū* (1771), *Banpō setsuyō fūkigura* (1802), *Yamato setsuyōshū shikkai daizen* (1826)

Considering the nearly endless positional possibilities in the game of *go*, it is rather peculiar that we find the same problems repeated over and over again in *setsuyōshū*. The entries in five of the six sampled *setsuyōshū* bear the title *Igo tsukurimono shō* 囲碁作物抄, while the title in *Hayabiki daisetsuyōshū* reads *Igo tsukurimono*. This suggests that the entries are all lifted from the same book. *Igo tsukurimono* was an alternative title of a book about *go* called *Meiseki godenki* 名石碁伝記, but this was first published in 1780, later than the earliest example in *setsuyōshū*.²²⁰

Many books about *go* were published in the early modern period, and these contained many more problems than the *setsuyōshū*. Consequently, even if it is possible that the compilers merely used the same original source for reference when they compiled their *setsuyōshū*, it is more likely that the compilers were actually lifting this section from previously published *setsuyōshū* because so many present identical positions.

***Setsuyōshū* and other genres of encyclopedic reference books**

In addition to the *setsuyōshū* genre, there were other popular types of encyclopedic reference books that were comparable to *setsuyōshū*. Among such books we find titles labeled as *ōraimono* 往来物, *ōzassho* 大雑書, and *chōhōki* 重宝記.²²¹ *Ōraimono* can be translated as

²²⁰ Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books

²²¹ For an introduction to various household encyclopedias in the early modern period, see Kinski, "Treasure Boxes, Fabrics, and Mirrors: On the Contents and the Classification of Popular Encyclopedias from Early Modern Japan."

“literature of correspondence” and is a genre designed to teach letter writing.²²² *Ōzassho*, translated as “great book of miscellany”, are books dedicated to cosmology and divination and much of the content overlaps with *setsuyōshū*, although the *ōzassho* are narrower in focus.²²³ *Chōhōki* are also similar to *setsuyōshū*, both in terms of content and presentation, but lack a dictionary.²²⁴ As Kaji Kōsuke observes, referring to the similarity of content between the genres, *setsuyōshū*, *ōraimono*, and *chōhōki* “share roughly the same world view”.²²⁵ The boundaries between these genres are in many cases quite vague. There are, for instance, *setsuyōshū* which have the word *chōhōki* in their title, such as *Daikōeki jizukushi chōhōki kōmoku* 大広益字尽重宝記綱目 (1693) which is a *gōrui*-style *setsuyōshū* (See Table 2). Furthermore, although this categorization is of more recent times, many of the *setsuyōshū* in the repository of Tokyo Gakugei University are labeled as *ōraimono*.²²⁶ *Ōraimono* is also one of the sub-categories in the big collection of *chōhōki* edited by Nagatomo Chiyoji.²²⁷

One interesting example that illustrates the similarities between *chōhōki* and *setsuyōshū* can be found in the *Daizōho bandai chōhōki*.²²⁸ Apart from the lack of a dictionary, there is very little distinguishing this *chōhōki* from an encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū*. You find the typical etiquette guides from Ogasawara-ryū, information and illustrations about famous warriors, a historical chronology, lists of samurai professions, divination based on signatures, calendrical information, compatibility charts for men and women, guides for choosing auspicious characters for names, information on the game of *go*, guides on writing letters, and more. This resemblance to *setsuyōshū* in the case of *Daizōho bandai chōhōki* is not accidental, and in fact this *chōhōki* is directly linked with a *setsuyōshū*. According to the commentary about the *chōhōki* in *Chōhōki shiryō shūsei*, (which includes a facsimile) it is in

²²² For more on this genre, see Markus Rüttermann, "What does “Literature of Correspondence” Mean? An Examination of the Japanese Genre Term *ōraimono* and its History," *ibid*.

²²³ For more information about *ōzassho*, see Yokoyama, "Even a Sardine's Head Becomes Holy: The Role of Household Encyclopedias in Sustaining Civilisation in Pre-industrial Japan." and "On the Civilising Role of *Ōzassho*, the Household Encyclopedia for Divining in Premodern Japan."

²²⁴ For thorough treatment of this genre, see Nagatomo Chiyoji, *Chōhōki no chōhōki: Seikatsushi hyakka jiten hakkutsu* (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2005).

²²⁵ Quote found in Satō, "Setsuyōshū to kinsei shakai," 140.

²²⁶ For an example of this, see for instance the label on the front cover of *Daidai setsuyōshū banjikai* 大大節用集萬字海 (1768): <http://hdl.handle.net/2309/9276>

²²⁷ Nagatomo Chiyoji, *Chōhōki shiryō shūsei: Ōraimono hen*, vol. 6 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 2005).

²²⁸ Facsimile found in *ibid*.

fact a verbatim copy of the *Bansei hayabiki setsuyōshū* 万世早引節用集 (1863) minus the dictionary.²²⁹

Unfortunately there is no colophon in the facsimile of the *Daizōho bandai chōhōki*, and there is also no introduction, so we do not know who actually published it or owned the rights to the woodblocks. Neither does it appear in the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books under that title. It is possible that it was published by the *hanmoto* of the *Bansei hayabiki setsuyōshū* itself, which according to the colophon of the 1863 edition was Oda Ujikura, while the actual production of the books was done by a Yoshidaya Bunzaburō.²³⁰ Perhaps they had reasons to believe that the main thing the consumers were after was the various informational contents and not the dictionary itself, and therefore they did not want to spend unnecessary paper, wood, ink, and labor on producing the dictionary; or maybe they were trying to tap into slightly different markets for readers with different needs by publishing parts of the *setsuyōshū* as an independent work, and thereby save expenses by not having to start working on a new *chōhōki* from scratch. Another possibility is that the *hankabu* had been bought over by a different publisher, and this publisher decided that the encyclopedic content was the most interesting or would generate the most profit. Or, the publisher wanted it to appear as a completely new book on the market. If that is the case, however, they did a poor job, because on the outer edges of the pages it clearly says *hayabiki zōji* 早引増字, “fast searching, more characters” – a clear reference to the dictionary that is no longer part of the book. This paratextual element is referred to as the *hashira-dai* 柱題, or “pillar title”, and it is one of several possible forms of titles for early modern books.²³¹ A third possibility is that whoever published this *chōhōki* did not have the rights to publish it at all, and that it is an outright pirated work. Although, as discussed in the next chapter, there were systems in place to prevent piracy and plagiarism in the early modern period, it was certainly not unheard of. Without further information, we can only speculate as to who published this book and what their motivations were, but it is interesting to see that the dictionary section of the *setsuyōshū* was discarded to produce this *chōhōki*. This might be an indication that this kind of dictionary was becoming less appealing to consumers, or at least that this was the perception of the

²²⁹ Ibid., 567.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Suzuki and Tinios, *Understanding Japanese Woodblock-printed Illustrated Books: A Short Introduction to their History, Bibliography and Format*, 78-80.

publishers. We see further indications of this a few decades later when *setsuyōshū* without a dictionary began to appear, such as the *Meiji setsuyō daizen* (1894) discussed in chapter 3.

Although the *Daizōho bandai chōhōki* was clearly a stripped down version of the *Bansei hayabiki setsuyōshū*, there were also many *chōhōki* that were compiled in their own right. Many of these were specializing in a particular field, such as calendrical matters, calculation and measurements, farming, cooking, or etiquette. Some were also more comprehensive and sought to be all-inclusive.²³² Contrary to *setsuyōshū*, which ceased being published early in the Meiji period, *chōhōki* continued to be produced into the twentieth century.²³³ Despite the obvious similarities in content between many *setsuyōshū* and *chōhōki*, it is quite surprising that there was not a single extant record of a copyright dispute between publishers of these two genres.

***Setsuyōshū* and other types of texts**

Many of the typical encyclopedic entries in *setsuyōshū* typically existed as (parts of) books or other printed material in their own right. Printed maps existed outside of books, and the maps appearing in *setsuyōshū* were probably copied from elsewhere. The sword catalogs mentioned above also had their own books dedicated only to this topic, and the same thing goes for manuals of go. Texts taken from elsewhere were often put into *setsuyōshū* in abbreviated form; the original from which the go problems were taken consisted of more than seven problems, for instance. There are, however, also examples where a complete text is copied and used as an entry in *setsuyōshū*. An example of this can be found in entries that contain the entire *Ono no Takamura utajizukushi* 小野篁歌字尽, which according to Kashiwabara's catalog appears in 24 of the different *setsuyōshū* he had surveyed. Figure 50 below shows the appearance of *Ono no Takamura utajizukushi* in the *kashiragaki* of *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū*.

²³² For a complete overview of all different types of *chōhōki*, excerpts and transcriptions, and comprehensive tables with information such as publishing years, see Nagatomo, *Chōhōki no chōhōki: Seikatsushi hyakka jiten hakkutsu*.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 324-25.

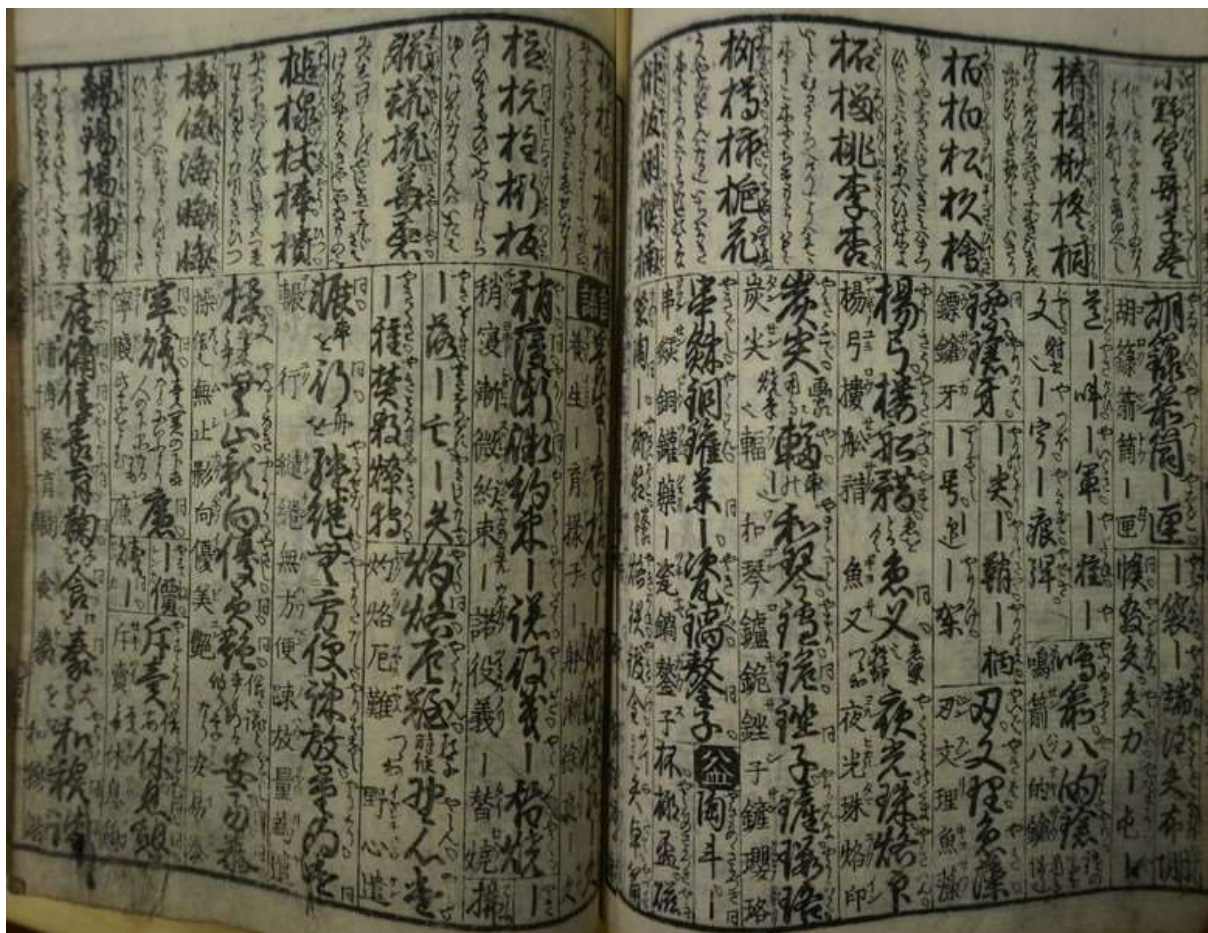


Figure 50: *Ono no Takamura utajizukushi* (top row) in *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū* (1801)

Ōraimono is another example of texts that were included in their entirety in some *setsuyōshū*. In the *Edo daisetsuyō kaidaigura* 江戸大節用海内蔵 (1863), for instance, we can find five different *ōraimono* appearing consecutively in the *kashiragaki*.

Historical chronologies

One type of appendix that appears in many *setsuyōshū* is a historical chronology (*nendaiki* 年代記). These are usually placed in the *kashiragaki* above the dictionary, sometimes starting from the first page of the dictionary, and sometimes further back. But there are exceptions: in the *Edo daisetsuyō kaidaigura* for instance, the chronology can be found among the encyclopedic contents in front of the dictionary. Among the *setsuyōshū* surveyed in Kashiwabara's catalog, 90 of the titles include such a historical chronology.²³⁴ There can be no doubt that the different *setsuyōshū* either used the same source or took inspiration from

²³⁴ Kashiwabara, *Kinsei no kokugo jisho setsuyōshū no furoku*, 724-27.

each other, because the contents and the visual style of the articles are strikingly similar. The illustrations included are obviously made by different illustrators, but the chosen motifs are the same. Figure 51 below shows examples of the historical chronologies in the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849) and the *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū* (1801). The illustrations depict Kuninotokotachi no Mikoto 国常立尊 as the first deity to appear in the cosmogony.

These historical chronologies on *setsuyōshū* are nothing less than condensed versions of chronologies found elsewhere. A close look at the *Shinpo Yamato nendai kōki eshō* 新補倭年代皇紀繪章 (1692, Figure 52)²³⁵ reveals that this book closely resembles the chronologies presented in *setsuyōshū*. Although there are a lot more illustrations within this book, all of the motifs that are present within the *setsuyōshū* are represented here. These chronologies are ultimately based on the much earlier chronicles *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, but the visual similarities indicate that the actual chronicles in *setsuyōshū* derive from the *Shinpo Yamato nendai kōki eshō* or other books like it.



Figure 51: The first page in the historical chronologies appearing in *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū* (1801) and *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849)

²³⁵ Available at Waseda Kotenseki Sōgō Database:

http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/ri04/ri04_00923/index.html



Figure 52: *Shinpo nendaiki eshō* (1692)

Interestingly, the first recorded incident (that we know about) of a copyright complaint pertaining to encyclopedic content of *setsuyōshū* dealt with the rights to such a chronology. A record from the *Kamikumi sumichō hyōmoku* 上組濟帳標目 (Kyoto guild records) dated the 26th day of the ninth month in Genroku 13 (1700) reveals that the publisher Igaya Kyūbei complained that his *Nendaiki eshō* had been copied in a *setsuyōshū* called *Shinpan setsuyōshū* 新板節用集 by the publisher Kagiya Zenbei. Igaya is also listed in the colophon of the *Shinpo Yamato nendai kōki eshō*, so this might very well be the same work despite the different titles.²³⁶ Strangely, although he was apparently guilty, Kagiya did not have to remove everything he had copied but only 60% of it.²³⁷ This and other copyright cases will be discussed further in the next chapter.

²³⁶ As discussed in the previous chapter about *setsuyōshū* titles, early modern books frequently had more than one title.

²³⁷ Satō, "Kinsei setsuyōshū hanken mondai tsūran: Genroku - Genbun-kan."

Borderless intertextuality

All of the examples above dealt predominantly with intertextual relationships between texts within the borders of Japan, but there were intertexts that extended beyond Japan as well. When it comes to the international transmission of books in pre-Meiji times, Japan was more a receiver than a transmitter, and the majority of books that found their way to Japan were Chinese and Dutch books. Historically the transmission of Chinese texts to Japan has played a vital role in the formation of Japanese book culture, and ultimately much of the content within *setsuyōshū* had its origins in China.²³⁸ In the following, two examples of international intertextuality will be briefly discussed: one European and one Chinese.

Balloon

Intertextual elements can also appear in more subtle ways. On a double-page spread in *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū* (1801) depicting a world map, illustrations of several ships are scattered around the sea. There is a Dutch ship, a Korean ship, and different Chinese ships. All the ships are labeled with tags that identify their origins, but one of them is different: the ship in the upper left corner of the map, in an area depicting Europe, is labeled “flying ship”. It looks a lot like a normal ship, but with a big balloon and a sail instead of just a sail. No further explanation about this peculiar ship is given in the *setsuyōshū*, and readers may have thought this small illustration was merely a product of the illustrator’s or the compilers’ imagination. At least for a modern reader, such a premature conclusion may seem attractive, not least because the illustration appears on a map where many fanciful countries are mixed in with real and existing ones, such as the Land of Dwarves, the Land of People With One Eye, and the Land of Demons.

However, this flying ship was not an original creation of the illustrator or the compiler (nor are the fantastic lands, for that matter, as they are intertextual artifacts themselves); it is clearly taken from somewhere else. Two other books, the *Gaikoku heidan* 外国兵談 (1786)²³⁹ by Hayashi Shihei 林子平 (1738-1793) and the *Kōmō zatsuwa* 紅毛雜話 (1787)²⁴⁰ by

²³⁸ On the transmission of texts to and from Japan, see Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 277-319.

²³⁹ <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2575501>

²⁴⁰ http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/wo07/wo07_01526/index.html

Morishima Chūryō (1754-1808), both carry illustrations of the same sort of flying ship. The three illustrations are remarkably similar, and the ones from *Kōmō zatsuwa* and *Gaikoku heidan* are almost identical in size, presentation, and details. Either one of these books could have been the source of inspiration for the illustrator of the *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū*, or he may have drawn on an entirely different book altogether. That is, after all, beside the point, and my intention here is not to reach a final conclusion about the definite source of a text or an illustration, but to expose some of the intertextual relationships at play. In fact, the ultimate source is not any of these two books; to find it, we need to travel at least as far as Paris where Antoine Joseph Gaitte had made a virtually identical illustration few years earlier.²⁴¹ It is likely that his drawing is the true original, which was transmitted to Japan through Dutch books and emulated by others.

But again, that is beside the point. What this example illustrates is how far the intertextual relationships extended. Note that these are not just similar illustrations of the same motif, but virtually the same illustration, redone by different hands. The intertextual nature of *setsuyōshū* extended far beyond the national borders, and although the “information” about this flying ship was no longer as fresh as it was in the *Gaikoku heidan* and the *Kōmō zatsuwa* when it appeared in the *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū* some fifteen years later, it is not unlikely that it still appeared novel and exotic to many readers.



Figure 53: Left: Flying ship in the *Gaikoku heidan*.²⁴² Right: Flying ship in the *Kōmō zatsuwa*.²⁴³

²⁴¹ <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41512396v>

²⁴² <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2575501>

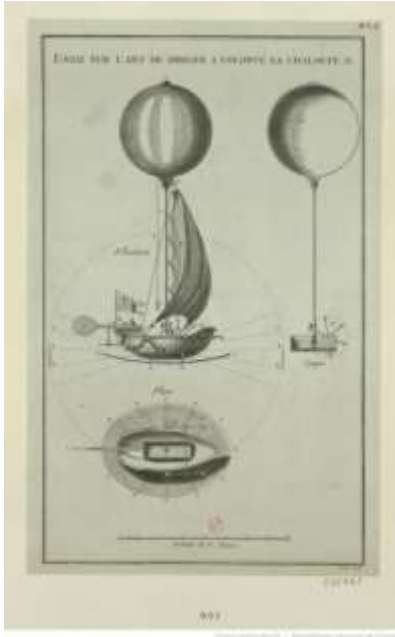


Figure 54: Illustration by Antoine Joseph Gaitte²⁴⁴



Figure 55: Illustration from the *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū*

***Leishu*: a possible Chinese inspiration**

In China reference books have long history, and these may have had a significant impact on the development of encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū*. These reference books are referred to as *leishu* 類書 (Jap: *ruisho*), which literally means “rubricated books” but is usually translated as “encyclopedias”. These *leishu*, similarly to *setsuyōshū* and other early modern Japanese reference books, do not consist of original texts, but for the most part contain material gathered from other sources. *Leishu* varied in size and purpose. Some were used as study tools and collected the knowledge necessary to become an official, while others targeted the non-elite and contained practical knowledge for commoners.²⁴⁵ These *leishu* for commoners are usually called *riyong leishu* 日用類書 “rubricated books for everyday use” (usually translated as “household encyclopedias”), and invariably include “sections on popular superstitions with instructions, for example, on how to select lucky days for different kinds of activity.”²⁴⁶ One of the more popular *riyong leishu* was the *Wanbao quanshu* 萬寶全書 (1793, Figure 56). It contains information on a variety of subjects, such as explanations of weather phenomena,

²⁴³ http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/wo07/wo07_01526/index.html

²⁴⁴ <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41512396v>

²⁴⁵ Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual*, Revised and enlarged. ed., vol. 52, Harvard-Yenching Institute monograph series (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 601-02.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 608.

information about cosmology and divination, and board games such as go. As can be seen in Figure 56 the information is presented in a similar manner to *setsuyōshū*, with the pages divided into several rows.

Like many other Chinese books, these popular rubricated books also found their way to Japan, and they were actually “most eagerly preserved in the collections of Japanese *daimyo*.”²⁴⁷ Consequently they have been thoroughly studied by Japanese scholars.²⁴⁸ Although *setsuyōshū* as a genre is indigenous to Japan, it is not unlikely that the addition of encyclopedic entries was inspired by *leishu*. A proper comparative study has never been done, and is also beyond the scope of this thesis, but due to the similarities of content and presentation of the material this is a possibility that should not be neglected for too long.

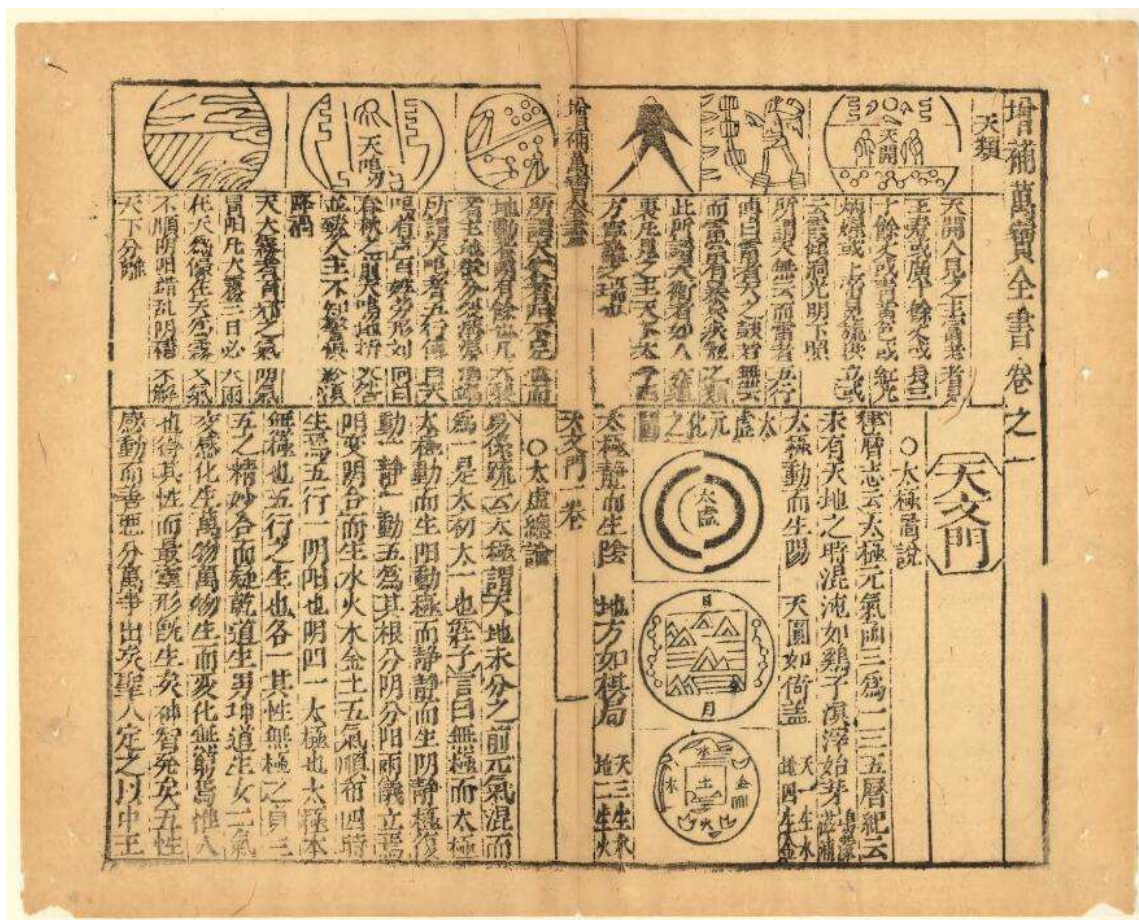


Figure 56: *Zengbu wanbao quanshu* (1793)²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ Joseph P. McDermott, "The Proliferation of Reference Books, 1450-1850," in *The Book Worlds of East Asia and Europe, 1450-1850: Connections and Comparisons* (Hong Kong University Press, 2015), 271.

²⁴⁸ Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual*, 52, 52. For a comprehensive study of *leishu* in Japanese, see Tadao Sakai, *Chūgoku nichiyō ruishoshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 2011).

²⁴⁹ <http://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/1896942>

Concluding remarks

It is clear that *setsuyōshū* as a genre contained a very high degree of intertextuality. Much of the information stored within any particular *setsuyōshū* can often be found also in other *setsuyōshū* and in books of other genres. Although the information and the way in which it is presented is not always 100% identical, it is clear that different publications must have shared the same source, or that they copied directly from each other. When discussing the encyclopedic kinds of *setsuyōshū*, this direct form of intertextuality is at the very heart of the genre and it is therefore important that intertexts are included in a book-historical communication circuit of the genre. Although recovering the original sources and tracing how particular snippets of information found their way into *setsuyōshū* would be an interesting project, this has not been my goal here. Rather, I have limited myself to presenting some examples to illustrate that such intertextuality is a core characteristic of the *setsuyōshū* genre.

In the previous chapter, we saw that there was little or no ambition to organize and create order in the knowledge included in *setsuyōshū*; the ambition was to collect rather than to organize. In this chapter it also became clear that compilers of *setsuyōshū* did not seek to be innovative or to present new and updated information when it came to the encyclopedic entries. This was not because of a lack of an idea of progress or improvement, since many introductions to *setsuyōshū* includes variations on the claim that “this particular *setsuyōshū* is better than previous ones, because new words have been added and mistakes corrected.” Such introductory statements are always aimed at the dictionary, however, and compilers’ claims about the appendices rarely go beyond “here you find everything you can imagine.”

The high degree of intertextuality in *setsuyōshū* can in many cases be attributed to the fact that the rights to books cited in *setsuyōshū* were owned by the same publisher. Suwaraya Mohei, for instance, who appears in the colophon of many *setsuyōshū*, is known for accumulating the *hankabu* of many of the *bukan* (military mirrors) that existed in the market, and eventually he came close to achieving a monopoly.²⁵⁰ This could very well be the reason why *bukan* appear in so many *setsuyōshū*. In many other cases, however, such an explanation cannot apply since completely different publishers were involved in the production of the books.

When we see how publishers rather shamelessly copied content from books published by others, it is natural to pose the question whether this triggered copyright disputes, and if so,

²⁵⁰ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 211.

how such cases were dealt with. This is the main focus of the next chapter, where copyright disputes are the central issue.

Chapter 6: Publishers of *setsuyōshū* and publisher guilds— copyright disputes involving *setsuyōshū*

This chapter will examine *setsuyōshū* through its producers and their relationships with the book publisher guilds, two crucial actors in the book-historical communication circuit. This will be done by investigating copyright disputes and other cases recorded by the book publisher guilds. What can these records tell us about how the publishers themselves thought of their *setsuyōshū*? What roles did copyright disputes play in the formation of the *setsuyōshū* genre? What were considered the most important aspects of *setsuyōshū*? Considering the pervasive cut-and-paste mentality of publishers of encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū* outlined in the previous chapter it is natural to assume that there would be many instances of copyright disputes surrounding content. But was this really the case?

Copyright disputes

Because the contents of *setsuyōshū* were to a large extent taken from other sources, it is natural to question how notions of copyright apply to this genre of texts. The idea of copyright was a new thing in early modern Japan, and there are no kinds of legislations or any recorded copyright disputes from before the seventeenth century.²⁵¹ Complaints from publishers about copyright infringements were handled by the bookpublishers' guilds (*hon'ya nakama*) on a case-by-case basis. If the matter could not be resolved by the guilds, the case could be taken to the city commissioners (*machi bugyō*). The idea of copyright in early modern Japan differs from how we normally perceive it today in multiple ways. Not least, it had a material dimension that is unfamiliar to us. Copyright belonged to the owner of the physical woodblocks. This right to the woodblocks was referred to as *hankabu* 板株 (a woodblock stake). There was one exception to the necessity for the physical blocks to be present, and this was when they had been lost in fire. In such cases, the *hankabu* would still be retained and then referred to as *yakehan* 焼板 (burnt woodblocks).²⁵² The *hankabu* could be bought by other publishers or could be transferred from one publisher to another as a result of a dispute.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 242.

²⁵² Hashiguchi, *Zoku wahan nyūmon: Edo no hon'ya to hon zukuri*, 154.

It could also be confiscated for a period of time by a publisher or a guild as a form of punishment, then referred to as *tomeita* 留板 (confiscated woodblocks).²⁵³ This was almost like a hostage situation, and the confiscation was to ensure that no new printed copies could be made or changes made to the woodblocks without consulting those who held the *tomeita*.

There were several possible outcomes of copyright disputes. The cases recorded in the *Kamikumi sumichō hyōmoku* (records of the Kyoto guild) between Genroku 7 (1694) and Kanpō 3 (1743) were handled in fourteen different ways. They are as follows: (1) all of the infringing content had to be cut from the woodblocks; (2) only a portion of the infringing content had to be removed; (3) something needed to be changed or corrected, for instance the title of a book; (4) printing was allowed without paying a fee; (5) the rights to print (*hankabu*) were transferred to the plaintiff; (6) the printing rights were transferred to the plaintiff via purchase; (7) the *gyōji* (guild manager) bought the rights and it became the *hankabu* of the guild; (8) the case was resolved by payment or fine; (9) the work of the infringing party became part of *aiaiban* 相合板,²⁵⁴ which means that the plaintiff obtained a portion of the rights to the work that was causing the problem; (10) the problematic work became *aiaiban* with payment; (11) the problematic work became *aiaiban* without payment; (12) the woodblocks of the work causing a problem were destroyed (*zeppan* 絶板), and thereby also the rights to print and sell were lost; (13) there was a stop in sales; and (14) there was a stop in sales for only a portion of the work.²⁵⁵

To repeat what was briefly mentioned in chapter 2, most copyright infringements fell into one of two categories: *jūhan* 重版 or *ruihan* 類版. *Jūhan* was the most serious, and referred to cases where an entire text was copied with no or only small changes, while *ruihan* was somewhat more ambiguous and referred to cases where a book was too similar to a previous work. This could be the case where only parts of books were copied, or where the plot was too similar, but complaints of *ruihan* infringement could also be because of similarities in the overall design of the books, or even because the title was too similar.²⁵⁶ As we will see, there are examples of all of these types of copyright disputes involving

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ In general, *aiai* refers to the practice of publishers cooperating with production of books, and each publisher holds a portion of the *hankabu*.

²⁵⁵ Summarized in Matsuda Miyuki and Kusaka Yukio, "Kyōto hon'ya nakama kiroku "Kamikumi sumichō hyōmoku" no bunseki," *Bulletin of Buddhist Cultural Institute, Ryukoku University* 44 (2005): 289.

²⁵⁶ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 242-51.

setsuyōshū, and a considerable portion of them were the result of someone copying the layout and design of a *setsuyōshū*, or by emulating the organization of the dictionary.

There were two main ways in which a book could become involved in a copyright dispute. A dispute could occur when one publisher filed a complaint about another publisher to the guild; or one could get into trouble through the procedures all publishers had to go through in order to publish books. While the actual procedures varied slightly between the cities, they can be summarized as follows: The publisher who has a new work he wants to publish prepares three copies of a manuscript which he sends to the manager (*gyōji*, written as 行事 in Edo and Kyoto, 行司 in Osaka) of the guild together with an application for permission to publish. The manager scrutinizes the manuscript, referred to as *tanehon* 種本 or *kōhon* 稿本, to check whether the content is infringing upon the *hankabu* of another publisher and whether it violates censorship rules. If the manager did not see any problems with the manuscript, it was then sent via the town elders (*machidoshiyori* 町年寄) to the city commissioners (*bugyōsho* 奉行所) for further approval, and with the authorization of the *bugyōsho* the *gyōji* issued a stamp of approval to the publisher. The approval was recorded in the records of the guild and the publisher then received the *hankabu* rights to the work. The publisher could then commence with carving the blocks and proceed with printing and selling the books. The publisher paid a processing fee to the guild, and complimentary printed copies were also sent to the town elders and city commissioner's office. These copies were referred to as *agehon* 上げ本. The permission to print and sell the books was given for the city where the application was made, but often applications were sent to the guilds in other cities for approval there as well. If the *gyōji* suspected that the work of the applicant infringed upon someone else's *hankabu*, he would send a copy of the manuscript to the person who owned this *hankabu*. In the event that this person claimed that the applicant was infringing upon his *hankabu*, this was referred to as *sashikamae* 差構 (“problematic”) and it could delay the publishing of the book for as much as a year, even when in the end it was decided by the guild (or the city commissioner's office if the dispute could not be settled by the guild) that there was no problem after all.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ Hashiguchi, *Zoku wahan nyūmon: Edo no hon'ya to hon zukuri*, 155-56. For information on the topic in English, see Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 182.

The publisher guilds were diligent record keepers, and fortunately some of their records still exist today. However, many more have been lost, and the existing records very often do not give sufficient information to allow us to understand the issues that were at stake. For instance, as discussed above, *setsuyōshū* could have more than one title, and titles could also change over time. In the records of the guilds, titles are often also abbreviated, further increasing the challenge of ascertaining which *setsuyōshū* they refer to. In some of the cases which offer very limited information it is possible to make educated guesses, but in other cases there is simply not enough information to determine what book was being discussed or what was the issue, so we must simply acknowledge their existence and move on. The surviving records involving *setsuyōshū* have been conveniently collected and published in a series of six articles by Satō Takahiro, as mentioned in the introduction. Satō’s collection spans most of the early modern period, with the first case being recorded in Genroku 6 (1694) and the last one in Meiji 3 (1870). The sources from which he gathered the cases are listed in Table 7 below, divided by city. Not all of the cases are in fact copyright disputes per se; some are merely records of meetings where a *setsuyōshū* has been discussed, or of the administrative procedures to be followed when a publisher applied for permission to publish or to change something in an existing work. The collection has a total of 122 cases.

Kyoto	Edo	Osaka
上組諸証文標目 <i>Kamikumi shoshōmon hyōmoku</i>	割印帳 <i>Wariinchō</i>	出勤帳 <i>Shukkinchō</i> 差定帳 <i>Sashisadamechō</i>
上組濟帳標目 <i>Kamikumi sumichō hyōmoku</i>		鑑定録 <i>Kanteiroku</i> 裁配帳 <i>Saibaichō</i>
上組重板類板出入濟帳 <i>Kamikumi jūhan ruihan deiri sumichō</i>		備忘録 <i>Bibōroku</i> 仲間触出留 <i>Nakama furidashi todome</i>
板行御赦免書目 <i>Hankō goshamen shomoku</i>		公用窺之控 <i>Kuyō ukagai no hikae</i>

Table 7: Sources used for Satō's collection of *setsuyōshū* copyright cases

In his articles, Satō presents the cases in chronological order. While he states that there were no particular reasons for where he chose to divide the articles apart from attaining a

convenient number of cases for each individual article, the divisions also highlight some changes that happened over time. He sorts the cases into eight different categories in addition to one unknown category, as listed below in Table 8. Some of the categories are self-explanatory, while others need some clarification. The “appendix” category refers to all cases where there is some problem relating to the contents of the non-dictionary appendices of *setsuyōshū*. The “dictionary” category refers to problems where the content of the dictionary is too similar or identical to an existing work in terms of word-entries. Cases in the “finding mechanism” category concern the method used for looking up entries. Since the finding mechanism is a vital part of the dictionary, I have chosen to treat the last two categories as one theme. In the “format” category we find cases that revolve around the material form of the *setsuyōshū*, such as its size and format, while the “layout” category refers to cases concerning the visual character of the books, such as lines to divide certain parts of the text. These two categories will be treated as one theme. “*Jūhan*” refers to verbatim plagiarized copies. In the “taboo” category we find cases where the officials, typically guild managers or town elders, suspected or feared that some of the content might offend city officials, the shogunate, or the court. The “administrative process” category, which will not be treated in this thesis, does not necessarily involve problematic cases, but merely records of the day-to-day business of the guilds handling applications, such as when a publisher wants to change the title of a *setsuyōshū* or alter the contents. Cases in the “unknown” category have too little information to determine what the issue is, and will not be discussed here. Adding the totals of each category together gives a sum of 135 rather than 122; this is due to the fact that in some cases, the issue related to more than one of the categories. While Satō treats the subject chronologically, I have opted to approach the cases thematically. Within each theme, the cases will be treated in more or less chronological order.

	1688- 1740	1752- 1771	1772- 1800	1801- 1817	1818- 1843	1848- 1870	Total
Appendix	9	9	1	1	4	0	24
Dictionary	2	1	3	1	1	0	8
Finding mechanism	1	7	2	4	4	6	24
Format	1	6	2	1	0	0	10

Layout	1	2	4	3	2	0	10
Jūhan	0	3	3	5	6	4	21
Taboo	0	1	1	1	4	2	9
Administrative process	0	0	0	0	8	2	10
Unknown	2	7	3	4	2	1	19

Table 8: Categories of copyright disputes by year

Cases revolving around *setsuyōshū* appendices

The first copyright dispute that involves appendices in *setsuyōshū* was recorded by the publishers' guild in Kyoto in the *Kamikumi sumichō hyōmoku* 上組濟帳標目 on the 26th day of the 9th month of Genroku 13 (1700).²⁵⁸ The records refer to the involved *setsuyōshū* as *Shinpan setsuyōshū* 新板節用集; this is probably an abbreviation of the actual title that remains unknown or it just refers to a *setsuyōshū* that was new in the market. The publisher of the *setsuyōshū* is listed as Kagiya Zenbei 鍵屋善兵衛. The work that was being infringed upon is listed as *Nendaiki eshō* 年代記絵抄, published by Igaya Kyūbei 伊賀屋久兵衛. We have already seen in chapter 3 that *nendaiki* were frequently a part of *setsuyōshū*, so it is not surprising to find a copyright case involving such texts. Interestingly, although it appears evident that Kagiya was guilty in publishing content that he did not have the rights to, he only had to erase 60% of the pirated text, and not everything. In other words, Kagiya was allowed to keep printing and selling books that had content infringing upon another publisher's copyright, albeit less than half of the original material. This seems to have been a relatively standard outcome of many disputes handled by the guilds: such disputes tended to end with a compromise that was deemed acceptable to all parties involved.

Some years later, in 1708, a similar case was recorded in the same source. Murakami Kanbei 村上勘兵衛 and Suzuki Tahei 鈴木太兵衛 complained that content in the *Bannen setsuyō jikan taisei* 万年節用字鑑大成 published by Kichimonjiya Ichibei was infringing on publications identified as *Gyochō kirikata* 魚鳥切形 (How to cut fish and fowl) and *Ryōri*

²⁵⁸ For an in depth look at this resource, see Matsuda and Kusaka, "Kyōto hon'ya nakama kiroku "Kamikumi sumichō hyōmoku" no bunseki."

kondate 料理献立 (how to set up a menu) respectively. Satō conjectures that this refers to content from *Ryōri kirikata hidenshō* 料理切方秘伝書 and *Edo ryōrishū* 江戸料理集. What is interesting about this case is that Kichimonjiya had to erase all of the infringing content from the woodblocks and not just a portion of it, as Kagiya had to do. This highlights another important aspect of many of the cases recorded by the guilds: inconsistency. The cases were dealt with on a case-by-case basis and there was no uniform punishment for similar cases. There are several possible reasons for this. The position of *gyōji* rotated among members of the guilds and each *gyōji* could choose to deal with problems differently. It is also possible that whoever had the position at the time had either a good or a bad relationship with the parties involved, which then affected the outcome. Some publishers were involved in trouble more often than others, and this must surely have affected their relationships with the guilds and other publishers negatively.

Another early example involving an appendix in a *setsuyōshū* was recorded on the 9th month of Genroku 16 (1703). The records state only that the book that was under suspicion for infringement was “a *setsuyōshū*”, and do not specify the actual title. The publisher of this *setsuyōshū* was the same Kagiya Zenbei as in the example above. The complaint came from the Osaka publisher Fujiya Chōbei 藤屋長兵衛, who held the rights to what the records call *Edo kagami* 江戸鑑, which is probably a generic term and not a complete title. Fujiya complained that his material appeared in an appendix in Kagiya’s *setsuyōshū*. The *gyōji* in Kyoto informed Fujiya that because the contents of the *Edo kagami* and the appendix were already existing “from before” (古来より), they could be used freely. The phrase “from before” here implies the material was published sometime in the period before copyright protection began, which was in 1698.²⁵⁹ Publishers who had published books prior to this would not have received the documentation to prove that they had the rights to the material, and there were no guild records to prove such rights either. It is interesting to see that, at least in this case, pre-1698 material was considered free of copyright. This probably contributed in some degree to solidifying the standard of encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū* in terms of contents, because publishers were able to pick and choose from the same pool of texts when compiling their versions. It is, however, also important to consider that this was an inter-city case between Osaka and Kyoto. While the guilds in the different cities often cooperated with each other, they were separate entities. It is possible that the complaint was taken less seriously

²⁵⁹ Satō, "Kinsei setsuyōshū hanken mondai tsūran: Genroku - Genbun-kan."

because it came from someone outside the Kyoto guild, and we can assume that the guild would rather protect its own members than to give in to the demands of outsiders.

Cases revolving around the format and layout of *setsuyōshū*

An interesting example recorded on the 2nd day of the 4th month of Hōei 6 (1709) tells us how the publisher Itamiya Mohei 伊丹屋茂兵衛 had filed a complaint about a work called *Jirin setsuyōshū* 字林節用集. Itamiya accused the publishers Kichimonjiya Ichibei, Kashiwaraya Seiemon, and Tsurugaya Kyūbei of stealing the three-row design in the dictionary section of his own *setsuyōshū*. As we have seen earlier, the dictionary section of *setsuyōshū* frequently had a row called *kashiragaki* above the dictionary, so that the dictionary section would consist of two rows. Itamiya had created a new format of three rows. As a result of this complaint, the offenders could no longer carve new blocks of the *Jirin setsuyōshū*, and Itamiya Mohei acquired exclusive right to produce books of the three-row type. It was further decided that nobody would be allowed to make four or five-row books, probably as a measure to prevent similar problems from arising in the future. As a compromise, the publishers of *Jirin setsuyōshū* were allowed to keep printing the work until the woodblocks were worn out.²⁶⁰

Cases involving the dictionary of *setsuyōshū*

There were quite a few cases where the dictionary, either the content itself (i.e. the words listed) or the organization system of the dictionary, was at the center of the dispute. These cases were, however, dominated by a single publisher and his associates. In the historical overview of *setsuyōshū* (Chapter 3) we saw that there were many attempts to improve the structure of the dictionary and make searching for words more efficient. The publisher who had the rights to the most popular of these, the *Hayabiki setsuyōshū*, was Kashiwaraya Yozaemon 柏原屋与左衛門, and as will become apparent, he worked hard to make sure that he would remain the champion in the market by exercising his copyright. The first recorded instance where Kashiwaraya defended his monopoly on the *Hayabiki setsuyōshū* was recorded between the first and the fifth month of Hōreki 3 (1753), the year after this *setsuyōshū* was first published. The records are sparse, but Satō conjectures that this first case

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

was probably about the physical format, possibly the size of the book, rather than the organization system of the dictionary. It is included in this section because it was the first recorded case involving the *Hayabiki setsuyōshū*.

The first case where we can be more certain that Kashiwaraya complained about the organization system of the dictionary in someone else's *setsuyōshū* was recorded as having started between the first and the fifth month of Hōreki 12 (1762) and ended on the tenth day of the first month of 1763, meaning that the case took between seven and twelve months to process. While the details are sparse, we know that the book that caused the problem was *Anken setsuyōshū* 安見節用集, published by Nukada Shōzaburō 額田正三郎 in Kyoto, and that the case ended with Kashiwaraya buying the rights to the woodblocks. The next similar case, recorded as starting in the eighth month of Hōreki 12 and concluded on the eleventh month the year after, was handled a bit differently. Maekawa Rokuzaemon in Edo had published a *setsuyōshū* with the title *Hayaji nijū kagami* 早字二重鑑 in two versions, one with block style characters and another with cursive characters. This dictionary used almost the same finding mechanism as the *hayabiki setsuyōshū*, but, as the title suggests, it ordered the entries after the first two *kana* instead of just the first. This could actually be seen as an improvement, and Kashiwaraya more than likely saw it as a threat to his dominance of the market. The case ended with Maekawa's blocks for both versions being destroyed (*zeppan*).

Another case which almost ended in *zeppan* was recorded between around the first and fifth month of Meiwa 4 (1767) and the twelfth month of Meiwa 6 (1769). The case involved several publishers in Kyoto who had published an *aiai-bon* with the title *Bandai setsuyō jirinzo* 万代節用字林蔵. The case was taken to the *bugyōsho* in Kyoto and the woodblocks were condemned to *zeppan*; this appeared to be the end for the *Bandai setsuyō jirinzo*. In the following month the offenders were also thrown out of the guild, but they were allowed back in after a sincere apology. In Meiwa 5 (1768), however, the publishers of the *Bandai setsuyō jirinzo* asked for the order to destroy the blocks to be revoked. Interestingly, Kashiwaraya himself also sent a letter to the *bugyōsho* in Osaka and asked that the woodblocks be returned to the publishers and that the continued production of *Bandai setsuyō jirinzo* would be accepted, provided that the dictionary was changed to avoid the *hayabiki* method for looking up words, and provided that he could keep two *tomeita*. It seems evident that some sort of deal was made between Kashiwaraya and the publishers of the infringing book, although there is no record of this. It is not unlikely that the "sincere apology" is more aptly described as a bribe.

Similar to the case with *Hayaji nijū kagami* above, there were several cases where Kashiwaraya went after publishers who had made *setsuyōshū* that did not emulate the exact same mechanism as the *hayabiki* style, but were nevertheless arguably similar. One example is the *Kōeki kōbun setsuyōshū* 広益好文節用集 published by Akitaya Ihei 秋田屋伊兵衛. This *setsuyōshū*, already mentioned in chapter 3, employed three different ordering principles in the dictionary. First, it was ordered in the *iroha* order (*bu*); then the words were separated into two groups based on whether the word had an odd or an even number of *kana*; and finally the words were ordered according to semantic categories (*mon*). Although the sources do not explicitly state that it was the finding mechanism that was the cause of the dispute, this is highly likely. Despite the mechanics being somewhat dissimilar, Kashiwaraya probably went after it on the grounds that there was counting of *kana* involved. Kashiwaraya also brought action against the publishers of the *Gabiki setsuyōshū taisei* 画引節用集大成. As mentioned in chapter 3, this *setsuyōshū* also employed a finding mechanism with three levels of ordering principles. The two first levels were similar to a *gōrui*-style *setsuyōshū*, with semantic categories (*mon*) first and the *iroha*-order (*bu*) second. As a third ordering principle, the total number of *katakana* strokes used in the word was used. The results of the dispute are unknown, but the colophon of a later edition of the *Gabiki setsuyōshū taisei* (1792) bears the names of Kichimonjiya Jirōbei and Maegawa Rokuzaemon, which implies that Kashiwaraya was not successful in obtaining the rights to it or stopping the sales and production of it. It is also possible, however, that Kichimonjiya and Maegawa had somehow obtained the rights from Kashiwaraya at some point. There are many cases where the publisher who files a complaint was not successful in stopping their competitors completely, and this might not have been the main objective either. Books that were under scrutiny could be delayed and publishers not allowed to print or to sell for a very long time. Publishers such as Kashiwaraya knew this, and it is likely that many would try to exploit the system so as to put obstacles in the way of their competitors.

Another interesting example was recorded as finished the nineteenth day of the ninth month of the first year of Tenmei (1781). The case involved three different *setsuyōshū* on the infringing side, with one of them being the *Anken setsuyōshū* which was mentioned towards the beginning of this section and had caused trouble in 1762. It seems that although Kashiwaraya had obtained the rights to this *setsuyōshū*, Nukada continued to publish and/or sell it. The other two *setsuyōshū*, also mentioned in chapter 3, came from unknown publishers and were titled *Nijibiki setsuyōshū* 二字引節用集 and *Go-onbiki setsuyōshū* 五音引節用集.

As we have seen, the *Nijibiki setsuyōshū* placed the entries in the *iroha*-order first according to the first *kana*, and secondarily according to the last *kana* of the word. The *Go-onbiki setsuyōshū* used almost the same approach, but used the *go-on* order instead of the *iroha*-order in the second level of ordering. It seems that neither of these two used the number of *kana* in the listed word as a finding mechanism, so Kashiwaraya most likely made the case that the others infringed upon his *hanken* because he had obtained the rights to the *Anken setsuyōshū*. What is puzzling about this case is that although Kashiwaraya bought the *hangi* of the infringing *setsuyōshū* from their publishers, the records also state that he was not allowed to sell these *setsuyōshū*. This means that he must have bought them solely for the purpose of getting rid of the competition, since he could never hope to get a direct return on his investment. Another strange thing about this case is that after Kashiwaraya had obtained the rights to these three *setsuyōshū*, despite the fact that he was not allowed to publish them, he included a brief advertisement for all three of these in the back of *Hayabiki setsuyōshū*. As Satō also conjectures, the reason for doing this must have been to show the world that he had the rights to these books and therefore also the finding mechanisms they employed, since he was not able to demonstrate this by having the actual physical books.²⁶¹ By doing this he might have been able to discourage others from creating new *setsuyōshū* with new finding mechanisms.

Another case was recorded between the seventh month of Bunka 1 (1804) and the third month of Bunka 2 (1805) and the problematic *setsuyōshū* was *Chōhan kanabiki setsuyōshū* published by Harimaya Gohei 播磨屋五兵衛 from Osaka and Zeniya Chōbei 錢屋長兵衛 from Kyoto. This *setsuyōshū* employed three levels of approaches in its finding mechanism: first the *iroha*-order, then in two categories of either odd or even *kana*, and lastly after the total number of *kana* in the listed word. As a result of this case, the *setsuyōshū* is made an *aiaiban* 相合板, or shared work, with Kashiwaraya owning 60% of the rights. The ratio later becomes changed to 50/50 with a “gift” of 200 printed books given to Kashiwaraya. And then later, again, the ratio is changed and Harimaya’s share drops to a stunningly low 5%. Harimaya was also thrown out of the guild, but was accepted back after issuing an apology. This illustrates Kashiwaraya’s relentlessness in going after other publishers in his quest for dominance of the market.

²⁶¹ "Kinsei setsuyōshū hanken mondai tsūran: An'ei - Kansei-kan."

Although Kashiwaraya was the one that most often was prosecuting other publishers, there was also one instance where he was on the receiving end of a dispute. In this case, which was recorded in Hōreki 14 (1764), Kichimonjiya Ichibei and Sakaiya Seibei of Osaka who were the publishers of a *setsuyōshū* titled *Senkin yōji setsuyō taisei* 千金要字節用大成 brought a dispute against Kashiwaraya and his *Hayabiki setsuyōshū* into action. The details are unclear as to what exactly the problem was, but the final result of the dispute was that Kashiwaraya had the rights to publish small format *hayabiki setsuyōshū*, while Kichimonjiya and Sakaiya had the rights to publish books in a larger format. This case illustrates not only how important format was in the notion of copyright, but also how a seemingly powerful publisher such as Kashiwaraya and his otherwise ostensibly strong claim to copyright of the *hayabiki* style could be vulnerable through other, possibly unexpected methods.

***Jūhan* cases**

Kashiwaraya with his *Hayabiki setsuyōshū* was also the plaintiff in the vast majority of the recorded *jūhan* cases. The first *jūhan* case involving *Hayabiki setsuyōshū* was recorded in Meiwa 6 (1769). The details are unclear and it is unknown where the pirated edition was published or by whom. In general many of these cases have very few details recorded, which might be because some of the pirated editions were published by non-members of the guild. Some of the cases which we have more information about, however, reveal interesting aspects of the popularity of *hayabiki setsuyōshū* and the severity of punishment one was at risk of receiving if bold enough to engage in the publishing of pirated works.

An interesting case which illustrates the grand scale of some pirating operations was recorded as being processed between the ninth day of the fifth month and the twenty eighth day of the eighth month of An'ei 4 (1775). The perpetrators were two publishers from Edo: Maruya Genroku 丸屋源六 who published and Urokogataya Tōhachi 鱗形屋藤八 who was selling a *jūhan* of *Hayabiki setsuyōshū* under the title *Shinzō hayabiki setsuyōshū* 新增早引節用集. The case was settled by the perpetrators giving Kashiwaraya the 71 woodblocks (which probably yielded 4 *chō* each) and 2800 printed books. 600 books were already sold, which show us that Maruya and Urokogataya printed an atypically large number of books in one go. One of the advantages of woodblock printing technology is that it is easier to print on demand and only print a smaller number at a time rather than estimating the market and printing a lot

in one go. This underscores just how big the demand for *hayabiki* style *setsuyōshū* was, both that they could print such a big number and expect to sell them, and that they were willing to take such a big risk. Perhaps the objective was to print as many as possible in a short amount of time and get rid of the woodblocks since it might be harder to prove that a work is pirated just from looking at the copies. This kind of strategy was not unheard of; according to Kornicki, the publisher of a work titled *Taihei gishinden* 太平義臣伝 told the author of the work that although the book would surely be banned because of its content, they could still print a large number of copies quickly and earn a good profit.²⁶² Even if that was the plan, Maruya and Urokogataya did not get rid of the woodblocks in time and were caught. Satō points out that Urokogataya was a veteran in the printing industry, and that the fact that a long standing member of the guild would undertake such risk further accentuates the chance for profit by engaging in piracy, at least of the *Hayabiki setsuyōshū*.

Urokogataya and Maruya seem to have gotten away with their piracy fairly unscathed apart from having to part with the blocks and the printed copies. Many others who engaged in such activity were not as lucky, and it did not bode well for other members of the Urokogataya line when they were involved in another *jūhan* case either. In a case that was recorded between the fifth month of An'ei 6 and the fourteenth day of the first month the following year, a publisher named Tokubei 徳兵衛 who published a pirated edition of the *Hayabiki setsuyōshū* had his property confiscated and was banished from Edo. Urokogataya Sonbei, who was involved in sales of the pirated work, had to pay a fine of 20 *kanmon*, while Urokogataya Yoei and Jihei who were also selling the books, and Ihei who carved the blocks were put in manacles for 100 days. It is interesting to see the differences in the level of punishment compared to the previously discussed case, which highlights yet again how cases were dealt with individually without standard guidelines. It is possible that the members of the Urokogataya line were punished more severely in this case because their store name had already been involved in a *jūhan* case.

Another case where the punishment was somewhat severe was recorded as being processed between the second month of Bunka 7 (1810) and the first month of Bunka 10 (1813), and the culprits of this case were Sakuraiya Uhei 桜井屋卯兵衛 from Osaka and Tamaya Yūzō 玉屋祐藏 from Kyoto. As a result of this case, Tamaya got his sign taken down, or in other words, lost his right to do business, and was put in manacles. Sakuraiya,

²⁶² Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 336.

who only had received a certain number of books from Tamaya as down payment on some debt, and otherwise seems to be uninvolved with the pirating operation, got the remainder of the books and the profits of sold books confiscated. What is particularly interesting about this case is that Tamaya was actually commissioned to make a *jūhan* of the *Hayabiki setsuyōshū* by a merchant from Kai named Asahina Ogiemon 朝比奈荻右衛門. Asahina was a merchant with a *goshuin* 御朱印, which meant that he had the license to engage in trade anywhere he liked. Together with the *setsuyōshū*, Asahina wanted Tamaya to make a book with excerpts from popular puppet theatre books and a *jūhan* of *Dōchū hitori annai* 道中独案内. Asahina might have been above the law in this case because of his *goshuin*, but Tamaya and Sakaiya were evidently not under the same protection. Nevertheless, the fact that Tamaya is commissioned from someone outside of the publishing industry further exemplifies the popularity of and demand for the *Hayabiki setsuyōshū*.

Interestingly, several of the *jūhan* cases involved pirating operations outside of the three biggest cities as well. The records for most of these cases are very limited, and it seems as if they were processed without much trouble and usually would end with the *hangi* being confiscated and turned over to Kashiwaraya. The first case was recorded as finished the second month of Meiwa 8 (1771) where a Shirokiya Yohei 白木屋与兵衛 had made a pirate edition in Shinshū (present day Nagano prefecture). It was followed by similar cases in places like Sendai, Nagoya, Aizu, Fushimi, and Kōshū (present day Yamanashi prefecture). One of the larger cases recorded happened between the seventh month of Tenpō 8 (1837) and the third month of Tenpō 11 (1840) in Nagoya. The problematic works are listed as *Iroha setsuyōshū taisei* いろは節用集大成, *Hayabiki kohon* 早引小本, *Hayabiki daisetsuyōshū* 早引大節用集, and *Kaihō setsuyōshū* 懷宝節用集 by different publishers in Owari. The piracy conducted there was of a grand scale, although it is unclear if it was a joint operation between different publishers or if it was one or more publishers working independently. Although some of these are listed as *jūhan*, they actually tried to improve upon the existing work rather than just copying it. For example the *Kaihō setsuyōshū* used the *sangiri yokohon* format but copied the words of *Hayabiki setsuyōshū*. In other words, they made a smaller more portable *hayabiki setsuyōshū*. The *Iroha setsuyōshū* copied the words from *Wakan onshaku shogen jikō setsuyōshū* 和漢音積書言字考節用集 but added *kazubiki* as an additional ordering principle. The publishers in towns outside of the big cities probably felt that they were taking less of a risk than publishers engaging in piracy in the big cities because the guilds had less

direct control, and perhaps there were also many publishers who got away with publishing pirated *setsuyōshū*. Nevertheless, the publishers involved in this case got caught, and it ended with Kashiwaraya obtaining the printing blocks.

Interestingly, the pirated *setsuyōshū* from Owari found its way to the bigger cities as well and was being sold by publishers there. A case recorded between the fourth and tenth month of Tenpō 10 (1839) reveals that Akitaya Hikosuke 秋田屋彦助 and Tsurugaya Tameshichi 敦賀屋為七 were selling the *Kaihō setsuyōshū* in Osaka. As punishment, both of them were exiled from the guild. They were, however, accepted back in after Kashiwaraya hands in a statement to the guild saying that the perpetrators had “apologized”. A similar thing had taken place in the case discussed above involving the *Bandai setsuyō jirinzō* which had been condemned to *zeppan*, but was appealed by the publishers and retracted when Kashiwaraya sent a statement to the *bugyōsho* stating that the publishers should be forgiven. These events open up for interesting questions about what is happening behind the scenes in the publishing world, and there are probably deals being made that are not reflected in the records. The same pirated *setsuyōshū* was also being sold in Kyoto, and was recorded in a case between the seventh month of Tenpō 10 (1839) and the fourth month of Tenpō 12 (1841). The publishers who were selling the *Kaihō setsuyōshū* were Hishiya Chihei 菱屋治兵衛 and Ebisuya Ichiemon 夷子屋市右衛門. Despite being virtually the same problem, the guild in Kyoto dealt with it differently than the guild in Osaka in the previous case, and they chose to give the two publishers a fine of 3 *kanmon* instead of exiling them from the guild. This was not in line with the thinking of the guild in Osaka, and although they reluctantly accepted it as a special case, it is recorded in their records that even if similar cases should appear in the future they should not be punished by giving a fine and this case should not be used as precedent.

Cases concerning violation of taboos

As previously mentioned, the publishing industry was to a large extent allowed to operate without interference from the *bakufu* as long as the guilds managed to self-supervise and prevent undesirable books from being published. The *bakufu* did, however, pass down some guidelines in the form of edicts that the publishers were expected to follow. One such edict, issued in Edo in 1673 and described by Kornicki, stated that one had to obtain permission

from the *bugyōsho* prior to publishing materials in the following categories: (1) “anything concerning *kōgi* 広義; this meant in practice anything concerning the shogun and the Bakufu and their politics;” (2) “anything that might cause inconvenience to people; this does not, of course, mean ‘any’ people but in practice daimyo and other high-ranking samurai;” and (3) “anything *mezurashii*, that is, rare or unusual; this refers to scandals and sensational events, such as revenge killings.”²⁶³ There are a few instances where *setsuyōshū* published material that impinged on the first of these categories, or at least were under suspicion for having done so, but as far as we know this never resulted any major problems for the publishers involved.

The first such case we know about was recorded sometime late in Genbun 5 (1740) and the problematic work was *Shinra banshō yōjikai* 森羅万象要字海²⁶⁴ published by Itamiya Mohei 伊丹屋茂兵衛. Though details are lacking, the problem seems to be that the *gyōji* was worried about the contents in templates for official contracts which contained examples from the court and the Tokugawa family and therefore asked someone for advice. There is no information about the results, but Satō mentions that there seems to be no changes made to later editions, so probably nothing happened at all. If nothing else, it shows that the *gyōji* did take these matters seriously and made investigations when they had suspicions.

Another case, recorded on the seventh month of Hōreki 5 (1755) involved a *Bunkai setsuyōshū* published by Sakaiya Seibei 堺屋清兵衛 and Kichimonjiya Ichibei 吉文字屋市兵衛 in Osaka. Upon applying for permission to publish, the *bugyōsho* inquired about the fact that the *setsuyōshū* included a *bukan* 武鑑, or Military Mirrors. These “mirrors” contain detailed information on military officials and their retinue, and it is therefore not surprising that it could raise questions. The *guild* re-checks the *setsuyōshū* and replies to the *bugyōsho* that there are numerous *bukan* existing in the book market already and re-applies for permission. The outcome of this case is not recorded, but according to the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books an extant copy of an 1819 edition exists, so permission to publish was granted in the end, although it is possible that it was published without a *bukan*. Considering the proliferation of *bukan* in both *setsuyōshū* and in standalone books, however, it is rather likely that it was allowed.

²⁶³ Ibid., 334.

²⁶⁴ Digital copies of two different editions of this work is available through the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese books, although at least one of them list different names in the colophon.

The next case was recorded on the ninth month of Hōreki 6 (1756), when the *bugyōsho* were concerned about the violation of taboos in the *Onna setsuyō moji bukuro* 女節用文字袋 which included a collection of family crests. Among the crests was the hollyhock crest of the Tokugawa family which was the cause for concern they asked for it to be removed. Akitaya complied and removed the crests whereupon he got permission to print. Following this case, 13 other books also removed the crests.

The last problems which will be discussed here revolved around the dictionary and a problematic word listed there. Recorded during the ninth and tenth month of Tenpō 3 (1832) when Eirakuya Tōshirō 永樂屋東四郎 who had published *Hayaji setsuyōshū* 早字節用集 in Owari was applying together with Kawauchiya Tasuke 河内屋太助 in Osaka to be allowed to sell the book in Osaka. Upon scrutiny by the officials in Osaka a problematic word in the dictionary is identified and they asked that it be removed before selling it could be approved. The records do not say what word was the problem, but based on knowledge of the next case and by comparing two extant books, Satō came to the conclusion that it must be the word Tōshōgū 東照宮, which is the name of the shrine where Tokugawa Ieyasu is enshrined. In one of the editions the word appears, but in a later one the word is replaced by another. The next case was recorded on the eighth month of Tenpō 12 (1841) when Kashiwaraya wanted to re-publish the *Iroha setsuyōshū taisei* to which he had obtained the rights in a dispute four years earlier. When the application was processed, the *sōdoshiyori* (Osaka equivalent to *machidoshiyori*) asked the *nakama gyōji* if there were any previous examples of the word appearing in dictionaries. The *gyōji* replied that it already existed in some works and mentions some examples, but his *setsuyōshū* was nevertheless amended before he re-published it. Satō observes that in a surviving copy of one of the pirated *Iroha setsuyōshū taisei* published in Owari, the word Tōshōgū indeed appears in the dictionary, but in an edition published by Kashiwaraya after he had obtained the rights to the book, however, the exact spot where the word Tōshōgū appears is changed for *Dōrokujin* 道陸神. Upon checking a few other *setsuyōshū* dictionaries, I found that the word does not appear in any of the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* copies I perused (1831, 1849, and 1864). It does, however, appear in the 1849 edition of the *Taisei musō setsuyōshū* and the 1863 edition of the *Edo daisetsuyō kaidaigura*, so it seems that the avoidance of this word was not strictly enforced. It was somewhat random events that led to this word becoming a problem, and yet again we see the case-by-case practice of the book industry.

Concluding remarks

The copyright disputes reveal interesting details about both *setsuyōshū* and the publishing industry, some more surprising than others. One of the less surprising observations is the near absence of interference from the government, because this confirms our knowledge about the autonomy of the publishing industry. In those few cases where a problem did arise, it seems that it was the result of an attitude that it was best to err on the side of caution, and there were no major consequences. Some of the investigations into possible violations of taboos were instigated by the *gyōji* of the guilds and not by the political authority.

Copyright disputes were instrumental in the emergence of certain standards for the *setsuyōshū* genre. If Kashiwaraya had not been so aggressive in his efforts to stop other publishers from creating new and possibly better finding mechanisms, there might have been a much greater variety of dictionaries under the *setsuyōshū* label. The *hayabiki* style of *setsuyōshū* was indeed faster and easier to use than the standard *iroha igi-bunrui* type *setsuyōshū*, but books such as the *Hayaji nijū kagami*, with its ordering of words based on the first two *kana*, were even more practical. By discouraging the development of new finding mechanisms, Kashiwaraya made sure that he remained dominant in the market. The standard design of the dictionary pages in encyclopedic style *setsuyōshū* could not be easily substituted with experimental designs after Itamiya Mohei had won his case against the publishers of *Jirin setsuyōshū*.

It is interesting to note that some disputes were handled differently despite their similarity on the surface. This tells us that they were handled on a case-by-case basis and that there was no uniform set of guidelines for the guilds to follow, but we are also left with the strong impression that there was a lot more going on behind the scenes. While all the publishers were competitors in the market, it is likely that some were friends, while others were enemies. This must have been an important factor for how aggressively opponents would act in these disputes, and it would also have played an important role in how the *gyōji* handled each case. As mentioned, the position of *gyōji* circulated among the members of the guild, and whoever was *gyōji* at a specific time may have treated friends and foes differently.

Corruption seems to have been the norm in judicial matters in the early modern period. Buyō Inshi, the author of *Seji kenbunroku* 世事見聞録 (*Matters of the World: An Account of What I Have Seen and Heard*, 1816), had many things to say about the improper and corrupt ways lawsuits were handled at the time. Although modern historians have pointed out that

Buyō's views were not necessarily "objective, balanced, or even true", he also has a lot of knowledge about different aspects of society, such as lawsuits, which extends "beyond what one would expect of an elite samurai". This has lead researchers to believe that "he may well have had connection with one of the protolawyers who unofficially assisted plaintiffs bringing suits in shogunal courts".²⁶⁵ Consequently, although in many instances Buyō's account should probably be taken with a grain of salt, considering the minute details with which he describes the processes of lawsuits, we should trust these to a reasonable degree. The lawsuits he describes are those that are handled by government officials, but it is reasonable to assume that there are many similarities with the cases which were handled only by the guilds without reaching the government officials.

According to Buyō, lawsuits at the time when he was writing were never so much about who was right and who was wrong, but who would win these cases boiled down to who was the most "stubborn and selfish one" at the disadvantage of the losing "good-natured or timid party".²⁶⁶ The officials who handled the cases were not really interested in making decisions on who was right or wrong in most cases, and rather pushed for the involved parties to reach private settlements.²⁶⁷ He further laments the corruption of the officials handling the cases, and states that "bribes are a standard accompaniment to the hearing of a lawsuit."²⁶⁸ Although there is not much evidence for this, it seems that the way Buyō describes what was going on behind the scenes in lawsuits at the time also was the reality of how copyright cases were handled by the guilds.

Apart from being a testament to the popularity of *hayabiki* style *setsuyōshū*, the fact that they were illegitimately printed and sold outside of the three major cities also raises the question of whether there were many more instances of *setsuyōshū* piracy operations conducted by provincial publishers and to what degree they were successful. According to Peter Kornicki, provincial publishers only got in trouble when they tried to distribute their publications in other cities.²⁶⁹ Although the examples above illustrate that this was not always the case, it must have been true to a certain extent and publishers outside of the publishing

²⁶⁵ Mark Teeuwen and Kate Wildman Nakai, eds., *Lust, Commerce, and Corruption: An Account of What I Have Seen and Heard, by an Edo Samurai* (New York: Columbia University, 2014), 3.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 212.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 211-14.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 217.

²⁶⁹ Peter F. Kornicki, "Provincial Publishing in the Tokugawa Period," in *Japanese Studies*., ed. Yu-Ying Brown, British Library Occasional Papers (London: The British Library, 1990), 188.

centers undeniably had more freedom because they were not continuously under the watchful eyes of the guilds. Considering that the provincial publishers clearly were aware of the popularity and profitability of *setsuyōshū*, the question arises whether they also engaged in the production and distribution of their own original *setsuyōshū*. Sometimes the names of provincial publishers appear in the colophons of *setsuyōshū*, but usually they were only responsible for distribution and not for production. This was the case with, for instance, the Nagoya publisher Eirakuya Tōshirō who appears in the colophon of the *Edo daisetsuyō kaidaigura*. There are known instances of other types of reference works, such as *chōhōki* and *ōraimono*, being published in Sendai, so it is not unlikely that also *setsuyōshū* were produced outside the three cities.²⁷⁰

The most surprising observation from these disputes is that so few of them revolved around the copying of content in the appendices. As seen in Table 8, Satō categorized 24 of the cases as dealing with appendices, but many of these are actually cases dealing with taboos and are therefore counted twice. Moreover, in many of the cases placed in this category, the records offer too little information to be sure whether the problem concerned the appendices. There are also no cases involving *chōhōki*, *ōraimono*, or other content-driven reference works. This indicates that the actual contents of the appendices were not necessarily very important to the publishers, and it suggests that the knowledge they contain was considered to be public and free for everyone to use. Because the content was not considered important by the publishers, it becomes even harder to accept the *setsuyōshū* as civilizing mediums as argued by Yokoyama. To the publishers, the *setsuyōshū* were first and foremost money-makers, and in order to stay ahead in a cutthroat commercial world it was more important to fight for their rights to certain layouts and formats. The presentation of content was more important than the actual content.

Of course, the publishers' perceptions of *setsuyōshū* were not the only perspective on this genre, and it is important to also explore *setsuyōshū* from the readers' point of view. In the next chapter we move one step further along the book-historical communication circuit and take a look at the reception of *setsuyōshū* by the people who bought, used and read them.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 193.

Chapter 7: Reception of *setsuyōshū*

In this chapter we will consider the final step in the book-historical communication circuit and investigate the readers of *setsuyōshū*. Judging by the number of extant *setsuyōshū*, it is fairly safe to assume that many people owned one or came in contact with one. Yokoyama Toshio stated that “at least one copy was indispensable in each of the approximately 60,000 households that constituted the lower reaches of local administration, whether in villages or in towns.”²⁷¹ Kornicki reiterates this and points out that the “*Setsuyōshū* were one of the mainstays of the publishing industry and were probably the most likely book to be found in a house of a few books.”²⁷² Kashiwabara Shirō is slightly more conservative in his analysis, and limits the usage of *setsuyōshū* to a level of society which he calls “the elite of the ruled”, by which he means persons who had responsibilities in managing others, such as village headmen and heads of households.²⁷³ He believed this was due to the fact that much of the information within *setsuyōshū* deals with household matters important for *managing* a household, such as choosing good characters for names and compatibility charts for men and women (important for choosing good subjects for marriage). Although he is in all likelihood correct that this was a common usage of *setsuyōshū*, he does not give any reasons for excluding other users. Hisoka Miho also comments on Kashiwabara’s analysis, and argues that the number of surviving copies is too large for the user base to be limited only to this group,²⁷⁴ and as we shall see later, Yokoyama Toshio’s studies also indicate a larger user base. At any rate, the consensus among most scholars who touch upon the subject seems to be that *setsuyōshū* were relatively popular books and had a wide reader base. But *who* were the readers of *setsuyōshū*? *What* were they reading or what did they expect to get from a *setsuyōshū*? *Where* and *when* did they read or consult *setsuyōshū*? And perhaps even more challenging, *why* and *how* were these books used?

²⁷¹ Yokoyama, "Even a Sardine's Head Becomes Holy: The Role of Household Encyclopedias in Sustaining Civilisation in Pre-industrial Japan," 48.

²⁷² Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 248.

²⁷³ Kashiwabara, *Kinsei no kokugo jisho setsuyōshū no furoku*, 94.

²⁷⁴ Hisoka, "Kinsei setsuyōshū ni okeru kyōyō no shintō: Kashiragaki to furoku o chūshin ni," 311.

Five steps toward a history of reading (*setsuyōshū*)

Some of the questions above pose less of a problem than others, but they are all challenging, not the least because of the scarcity of sources that reveal information about the matter. It was, after all, not so common to keep detailed records of one's reading experiences and habits, and those records that do exist do not necessarily give much information. In his 1986 article *First Steps Toward a History of Reading*, Robert Darnton suggests five approaches which he considers to be useful in outlining a history of reading and are also helpful regarding the readers of *setsuyōshū*. This thesis will predominantly be utilizing steps two, three, and four, while the fifth step is considered briefly and the first step is only discussed in a brief introduction.

The first approach deals with ideals and conceptualizations of reading and could be studied through contemporary descriptions of reading in for instance “fiction, autobiographies, polemical writings, letters, painting and prints”.²⁷⁵ Darnton draws briefly upon different examples that highlight historical attitudes towards reading in the West, many of which can be used comparatively for reading in Japan. He highlights, for instance, what was considered the “art of reading” by some, which “involved washing the face with cold water and taking walks in fresh air as well as concentration and meditation.”²⁷⁶ Similarly, as Kornicki points out, Kaibara Ekken (1630-1714) provided instructions on proper reading in his *Wazoku dōjikin* 和俗童子訓 (1710) where he points out that “[r]eaders should wash their hands beforehand, adopt a reverent attitude, kneel formally before their desk with good posture and place the book properly on the desk in front of them.”²⁷⁷ Another interesting aspect of the history of books and reading is the notion of information overload and the shift from intensive to extensive modes of reading. The advent of a commercial printing industry made exponentially more books available than before and hardly anyone could ever dream of consuming everything that was available. Ann Blair has shown how various forms of compilations and reference books were used in order to cope with this sensation of overabundance and overload,

²⁷⁵ Robert Darnton, "First Steps Toward a History of Reading," *Australian Journal of French Studies* 51, no. 2-3 (2014): 165. The original article was published in 1986, but republished here with a new foreword in 2014.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 166.

²⁷⁷ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 261.

predominantly in a Western context.²⁷⁸ In early modern Japan, too, there was a sensation of information overload,²⁷⁹ and the popularity of *setsuyōshū* and other kinds of reference books was undoubtedly in part a result of this.

The second approach suggested by Darnton is to examine how people actually read, or more precisely how people learned how to read. In order to know who actually read and consulted *setsuyōshū*, it is important to know who were actually able to read them. Literacy and the consequences this has for the reception of *setsuyōshū* will be discussed in more detail below.

The third approach deals with actual reader experiences and relies on extant records such as diaries and autobiographies. As lamented above, there are not many sources that reveal information about actual reading experiences relating to *setsuyōshū*. But there are a few such metatextual sources, ranging from small anecdotes to diaries to narratives about castaways, and it is important to use these sources for what they are worth and try to glean from them as much about the readers and their perceptions of *setsuyōshū* as possible. In addition to looking at such sources in this chapter, we will also take a look at a more hands-on approach to *setsuyōshū* usage, namely in discussing the study of usage conducted by Yokoyama Toshio.

The fourth approach comes in the form of literary theory, more specifically as what is often referred to as reader-response theory or aesthetics of reception and focuses on the reader in the text in the form of an implied or model reader. Some of the theoretical implications of this will be given more attention below.

The fifth and final approach focuses on the book as a physical object and that the material aspects of books can in many ways influence the way in which they are read. Darnton asserts that “bibliographers have demonstrated that the typographical disposition of a text can to a considerable extent determine its meaning and the way it was read”.²⁸⁰ Later in this chapter we will examine the different paratextual elements appearing in *setsuyōshū* and what they can possibly tell us about how they were read. The fourth and the fifth approach are closely related in the way they are used in this thesis, since paratexts are used predominantly to reveal information about the model reader.

²⁷⁸ Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2010).

²⁷⁹ See for instance Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 260.

²⁸⁰ Darnton, "First Steps Toward a History of Reading," 173.

Model readers and intended readers

The section above indicates that there exist different kinds or forms of readers. When discussing the readers of books we generally tend to picture actual persons who actually consumed the books, and it is important to try to identify these actual readers. But perhaps equally important is the reader that exists within the text: the implied or the model reader(s), which belongs to the fourth approach suggested by Darnton. This model reader does not necessarily overlap with the *intended* reader, whom the author of the book envisioned reading the book when he was writing it. They might, however, in some cases reflect the same reader, such as when the author explicitly states who the book is meant for in an introduction or when the titles of the books indicate their target audience. The model reader also changes over time. With a considerable degree of certainty we can establish that a Norwegian PhD-student was not in the intended audience for the 1849 edition of *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*, but we can say that said PhD-student is a model reader for it in 2017. A model reader is always present within the text and changes over time.

According to Umberto Eco, at the bare minimum any sort of text produces its model reader through “the choice (i) of a specific linguistic code, (ii) of a certain literary style, and (iii) of specific specialization-indices”.²⁸¹ Furthermore, many texts also explicitly address themselves towards certain readers by stating so in the introduction, titles, or otherwise, while some texts produce their model readers by “implicitly presupposing a specific encyclopedic competence.”²⁸² In other words, the text assumes that there is a competent reader on the receiving end. As for linguistic competence, then, the model reader corresponds to what I refer to as the potential reader below. On the other hand, the text also contributes to generating competent readers. Eco himself mainly highlights how a text can produce encyclopedic competence,²⁸³ but this holds true for other forms of competence as well. Linguistic competence, for instance, is arguably improved upon by the activity of reading itself. In a way, the *setsuyōshū* genre is a prime example of this, since it includes a dictionary and a dictionary is per definition a tool for improving language competence, but the texts

²⁸¹ Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts*, Advances in semiotics (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 17.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Ibid.

outside of the dictionary build competence as well. Like most other texts aimed at a popular market in the early modern period, many or most of the kanji appearing in the texts are glossed with *kana*-readings, so assuming that the reader has *kana*-literacy, kanji-literacy is also being generated or improved.

In addition to the actual and model readers, it is also important to consider who could possibly read the *setsuyōshū*, what I will call the *potential* reader. This is in line with the second approach proposed by Darnton and will be discussed before we go into greater detail about what different sources can tell us about the actual and model readers.

Literacy and potential readers of *setsuyōshū*

In order to understand who could possibly have been able to read and consume *setsuyōshū* we need to know more about who were able to read in general. Detailed statistics on who could read and write in early modern Japan do not exist, but there has been some advancement in research on the subject and the consensus among scholars seems to be that literacy rates advanced steadily throughout the period. Satō Takahiro points out that in early modern society many were dependent on being able to read and write to make a living because of the “rule by letters” attitude employed by the Tokugawa bakufu, and that in such a society the *setsuyōshū* became indispensable tools for an increasing number of people.²⁸⁴ He is most likely referring to people who are directly involved in politics or some form of bureaucracy, but extending beyond these, who could actually read in the early modern period? The early modern period is, of course, a fairly long period of time, and even if we had good numbers on literacy levels, they would certainly differ throughout the period. Peter Kornicki has stated that it “is undoubtedly the case that literacy rates in Japan in the mid nineteenth century were high by contemporary world standards”²⁸⁵ and just by looking at the incredible number of books published in the early modern period, it becomes clear that Japan had indeed become a nation of readers. The writings of visitors to Japan in the early modern period also testify to the high levels of literacy at the time, such as those of Vasily Golovnin, who was held captive in Japan between 1811 and 1813, who wrote that “there is no person who cannot read or

²⁸⁴ Satō, "Setsuyōshū to kinsei shakai," 136.

²⁸⁵ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 30.

write.”²⁸⁶ “No person” here is obviously an exaggeration, but Golovnin’s account indicates that most of the people he met were literate and that he was impressed by this. Early Meiji-period visitors from the West had very similar impressions: an American missionary named Henry Faulds who visited Japan in the 1880s, for instance, stated that also “the smallest peasant farmers can nearly all read, write, and keep accounts”; and another Westerner, a zoologist named Edward Sylvester Morse stated that “there is no illiteracy in Japan”. Rubinger insists that these observations are quite clearly exaggerated and that they probably say more about “the observers’ bias than about the Japanese reality”.²⁸⁷ While we should not take such observations at face value and that they are most likely considerably exaggerated, it is unlikely that they would say such things without any basis in reality and without observing something that would foster such beliefs.

Levels of literacy were most likely much higher in the cities than in rural areas and in the Genroku era urban literacy developed quickly, for three main reasons according to Rubinger:

First was the development of a merchant class that required literacy to negotiate economic transactions at local, regional, and ever-expanding national systems of exchange. Second was the emergence of large publishing industries in the cities, catering to a composite audience of samurai, merchants, and priests who were reading and writing both for vocational needs and for pleasure. Third was the establishment of private academies, both religious and secular, in large cities, teaching not only basic reading and writing but also various ethical systems and practical knowledge of an advanced sort.²⁸⁸

Although the cities had the highest levels of literacy, Rubinger has argued that levels might have been relatively high also in rural areas. The rural elite, village headmen and heads of families had responsibilities that required high levels of functional literacy, but literacy extended further than that. Based on documentation of ordinary farmers’ participation in complaints to the authorities about unfair treatment by their village headmen, among other

²⁸⁶ William McOmie, ed. *Foreign Images and Experiences of Japan: Vol. 1 First Century AD to 1841* (Folkestone, Kent: Global Oriental, 2005), 417.

²⁸⁷ Richard Rubinger, "From "Dark Corners" into "The Light": Literacy Studies in Modern Japan," *History of Education Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (1990): 605.

²⁸⁸ *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan*, 82.

things, he argues that maybe as much as 50 or more percent of the farming population had high levels of functional literacy as early as in the seventeenth century.²⁸⁹

Education also played a major role in spreading literacy, especially from late in the eighteenth century and onwards. Whereas prior to that, education was for the most part a privilege available to samurai and more wealthy urban commoners,²⁹⁰ the nineteenth century saw an emergence of schools available for everyone regardless of social rank.

Literacy levels were more than likely much higher for men than for women, and research has also “overwhelmingly privileged the male experience”.²⁹¹ The subject of female literacy has gotten much more attention in recent years, and scholars have made it quite clear that many women knew how to read and write in the early modern period. One very clear indicator that many women knew how to read is that many books specifically targeted a female audience. Such women specific books were being published as early as 1650 and book publisher catalogues had their own categories of books for women.²⁹² It is therefore clear that the publishers perceived a commercial market consisting of female readers already at the beginning of the early modern period when the commercial printing industry was still in its infancy. As will be discussed later, there were also *setsuyōshū* which were explicitly reaching out to a female audience. Although gender seems to have been an important factor for being able to join a literate society, what was probably more important was geography.²⁹³

It is also important to bear in mind that literacy is not a binary system where every single individual falls into the category of either literate or illiterate, but that it is rather a spectrum of varying degrees of literacy. In order to be able to read everything that was written in the early modern period, an individual would of course have to be able to read all the *kana*. He also would also need extensive knowledge of *kanji*, both written in their cursive and square styles. Aside from the writing system itself, this person would also need to be able to read the various written forms that were common at the time, which includes the standard

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 41.

²⁹⁰ Conrad Totman, *Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 429.

²⁹¹ Peter F. Kornicki, Mara Patessio, and Gillian Gaye Rowley, "Introduction," in *The Female as Subject: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Japan*, ed. Peter F. Kornicki, Mara Patessio, and Gillian Gaye Rowley (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, 2010), 2.

²⁹² Peter F. Kornicki, "Women, Education, and Literacy," *ibid.*, 25.

²⁹³ Anne Walthall, "Women and Literacy from Edo to Meiji," *ibid.* (Ann Arbor, MI), 215.

everyday language, but also other forms such as *kanbun* and *sōrōbun* 候文.²⁹⁴ In order to be able to read most popular books, however, such a high degree of literacy would not be necessary because they are written in the Japanese that was standard at the time, although the various genres often had their own peculiarities language wise. Moreover, *furigana* for a large number of the *kanji* was provided in many cases. In other words, it was possible to get quite far with *kana*-literacy and only rudimentary knowledge of *kanji*.

As for *setsuyōshū*, many of the books contain only a dictionary, while the bulk of the pages in the encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū* are also dedicated to the dictionary. The dictionary was used for looking up *kanji*, so it goes without saying that we can assume that the users at the very least had attained a level of literacy where they are in need of looking up characters. That is, they are in need of looking up how to *write* the characters, because it is impossible to find any character unless you already know the reading. It is also possible to look up other readings of characters, provided you know the main reading under which the character is listed. The language of the encyclopedic appendices in *setsuyōshū* has a level of difficulty that is very similar to other popular books at the time. *Kana*-literacy is of course a mandatory skill for being able to read the contents as well as some knowledge of *kanji*, but many of the *kanji* appearing have been glossed with *furigana*. There are also many instances of shorter passages written in *kanbun*, where understanding of *kundokuten* 訓読点 would be necessary.²⁹⁵ Some introductions to *setsuyōshū* are also written in *kanbun*.

Although literacy levels are indeed very important when discussing the usage of books, it is important to remember that it is not necessarily a prerequisite to know how to read in order to have access to the contents of books. Reading out loud for others was not uncommon,²⁹⁶ and as the example from *Nanpyōki* below suggests, this could also have been the case for *setsuyōshū*. The encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū* are also richly illustrated, and it would not be farfetched to say that people who were not able to read could also have an enjoyable experience browsing *setsuyōshū*. This hypothetical illiterate person could also ask someone else in the household who could read to explain what the texts accompanying the illustrations he found interesting were saying. There is of course also a trickle-down effect,

²⁹⁴ *Sōrōbun* refers to a form of written language used in letters and official documents. It can be described as a hybrid between Japanese and Chinese.

²⁹⁵ *Kundokuten* are marks used in *kanbun* in order to help the reader turn classical Chinese into Japanese word order.

²⁹⁶ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 34.

where persons who had read the material spread it to others. In other words, the information of *setsuyōshū* could become accessible in a number of ways for those people who did not read them directly themselves.

Accessibility

Just as it was important to ask who were able to access the contents of *setsuyōshū* linguistically, in order to form an idea of the potential reader, it is also important to question who could possibly have actual physical access to the material books. One question that seems natural to ask is that of price: how much did a *setsuyōshū* copy cost? The prices of books in the early modern period were fairly high compared to consumer prices in general,²⁹⁷ and *setsuyōshū* were no different. According to Yokoyama Toshio, one copy of an encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū* would cost the buyer around one *ryō* 両, which was equivalent to the cost of one year's supply of rice for one person.²⁹⁸ Ascertaining prices of books in the early modern period can be challenging, if not at times impossible. For instance, for the books that we do have price information about from bookseller's catalogues, it is important to know that prices varied according to different factors, such as the quality of the paper and whether or not there were any transportation costs. Moreover, we cannot be sure if the price refers to the retail price or the wholesale price.²⁹⁹ With these challenges in mind, Satō Takahiro has surveyed several different sources and found the prices of some *setsuyōshū*. He also took into account the sizes of the books, and has recalculated the prices according to the amount of paper used. Moreover, he "translated" the prices into modern Japanese prices (per 2002).³⁰⁰ Some of his data is compiled in Table 9 below.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 186.

²⁹⁸ Yokoyama, "Some Notes on the History of Japanese Traditional Household Encyclopedias," 249.

²⁹⁹ Laura Moretti, "The Japanese Early-Modern Publishing Market Unveiled: A Survey of Edo-Period Booksellers' Catalogues," *East Asian Publishing and Society* 2, no. 2 (2012): 220-21.

³⁰⁰ Satō, "Kinsei Setsuyōshū no kakaku."

Title	Year	Price (<i>monme</i>)	Price per 100 folios (<i>monme</i>)	Price today (YPY)
<i>Shinsō nigyō setsuyōshū</i> 真草二行節用集	1665	2	0.8	7150
<i>Zōho nigyō setsuyōshū</i> 増補二行節用集	1676	6	3.7	21450
<i>Shinkan setsuyōshū taizen</i> 新刊節用集大全	1680	13	2.7	46475
<i>Jirin shūha (gōrui setsuyōshū)</i> 字林拾葉 (合類節用集)	1680	7	1.9	25025
<i>Kōeki nigyō setsuyōshū</i> 広益二行節用集	1686	7	2.5	25025
<i>Kashiragaki taieki setsuyōshū mōmoku</i> 頭書大益節用集綱目	1690	4	3.3	14300
<i>Daikōeki setsuyōshū</i> 大広益節用集	1693	2.8	4	10010
<i>Wakan onshaku shogen jikō setsuyōshū</i> 和漢音釈書言字考節用集	1766	29	7.4	69000
<i>Daidai setsuyōshū manjikai</i> 大大節用集万字海	1768	5	4.3	13425
<i>Hyakuman setsuyō hōraizō</i> 百万節用宝来蔵	1769	5.5	4.7	14767.5
<i>Renjō daisetsuyōshū yakōshu</i> 連城大節用集夜光珠	1769	5	4	13425
<i>Shinsen seijitsū</i> 新撰正字通	1769	3	12.8	8055
<i>Bunkan setsuyō tsūhōzō</i> 文翰節用通宝蔵	1770	3.4	3.8	9129
<i>Hayabiki daisetsuyōshū</i> 早引大節用集	1771	7.2	5.5	19332
<i>Kōeki kōbun setsuyōshū</i> 広益好文節用集	1771	6.5	6.2	17452.5
<i>Kōeki kōbun setsuyōshū (thin paper)</i> 広益好文節用集 (薄)	1771	9.5	9	25507.5
<i>Daikōeki jizukushi chōhōki mōmoku</i> 大広益字尽重宝記綱目	1781	2.8	3.6	7518
<i>Shorei setsuyōshū yōjikai</i> 書礼節用集要字海	1797	3.8	5	13585
<i>Taisei seijitsū</i> 大成正字通	1802	9.5	7.2	22500
<i>Zōho kaisei/hayabiki setsuyōsū</i> 増補改正／早引節用集	Unknown	2.8	6.1	7518
<i>Zōji hyakubai/hayabiki setsuyōshū</i> 増字百倍／早引節用集	Unknown	5.2	5.9	13926

Zōho kaisei/Hayabiki setsuyōshū 増補改正／早引節用集	Unknown	2.5	6.2	8937.5
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Table 9: *Setsuyōshū* prices

This would clearly be affordable for some, but many may have found it to be above their means. However, much in the same way as literacy was not an absolute requirement for access to the contents of *setsuyōshū*; economic affluence was not necessarily an absolute requirement for having access to the books either. One possibility was to borrow *setsuyōshū* through lending libraries called *kashihon'ya*. As previously mentioned, these lending libraries were not typical libraries as we have today where books can be borrowed for free, but were rather book renting services. Although a fee was required to borrow the books, it was an affordable option for many who could not or would not pay the full retail price for books. *Kashihon'ya* might have been the primary source for reading material for the majority of the reading population in the early modern period, and there were around eight hundred *kashihon'ya* operating in Edo in the Tenpō era (1830-1844).³⁰¹ On a flyer advertisement for a bookshop called Hon'ya Tahei, which was operating both as a used-book shop and as a lending library, *setsuyōshū* is among the kinds of books that are listed as available. In fact, *setsuyōshū* is the first one on the list.³⁰²

Geographical availability is also an important factor. *Setsuyōshū* and books in general were in no doubt easier to purchase in the three largest cities than elsewhere, but there were also local retail booksellers in smaller towns, although there have been few studies on these so far.³⁰³ There were other ways in which books found their ways from the cities to the outskirts as well. Samurai, for instance, frequently brought back to their domains various consumer goods from Edo and other places they were traveling through while on alternate attendance duty (*sankin kōtai* 参勤交代) in Edo. One of the consequences of the alternate attendance system was an impressive cultural flow, running perhaps strongest from Edo to the countryside, but as Constantine Nomikos Vaporis has argued, the cultural exchange brought about by this system was much more complex and was not unidirectional. Rather than such an unidirectional paradigm, he argues that cultural exchange “consists of a number of currents by

³⁰¹ Peter F. Kornicki, "The Publisher's Go-between: Kashihonya in the Meiji Period," *Modern Asian Studies* 14, no. 2 (1980): 331.

³⁰² The flyer is available at the Waseda Kotenseki Sōgō Database:

http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko10/bunko10_08034_0006/index.html

³⁰³ Kornicki, "Provincial Publishing in the Tokugawa Period," 190.

means of which people, ideas, and material goods and other culture flowed between the roughly 250 domains and the center Edo, from the domains to the cities of Osaka and Kyoto, and from local area (domain) to local area, sometimes directly and sometimes via the center (Edo)”.³⁰⁴ Among the consumer goods that were caught in this flow one could invariably find books.³⁰⁵ Although more careful scrutiny of the records left behind by samurai on their activity and purchases during *sankin kōtai* would be necessary for verifying this, it is very likely that *setsuyōshū* were also invariably caught in this flow. Moreover, *kashihon'ya* and book peddlers selling books were also active in the provinces, and at least in some instances they covered fairly large areas.³⁰⁶ The fieldwork of Yokoyama Toshio discussed above also testifies to the large geographical spread of *setsuyōshū*. Although geography did play a factor in accessibility to *setsuyōshū* and other books, there were several systems in place to facilitate their spread.

Another option was to borrow the *setsuyōshū* from an acquaintance or from someone in the local community. To repeat what has already been mentioned above, according to Yokoyama Toshio, “at least one copy [of *setsuyōshū*] was indispensable in each of the approximately 60,000 households that constituted the lower reaches of local administration, whether in villages or in towns.”³⁰⁷ Yokoyama further explains that although not everybody had direct access to such books, everyone knew who in the local community owned a copy, and could request information from the *setsuyōshū* whenever they wanted. The books were, as he phrases it, “open access”.³⁰⁸ And although members of some households had strict instructions to never let the *setsuyōshū* leave the house,³⁰⁹ there are, as we will see below, records of people borrowing *setsuyōshū* from others, and even copying it.

³⁰⁴ Constantine Nomikos Vapouris, *Tour of Duty: Samurai, Military Service in Edo, and the Culture of Early Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 205.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 212.

³⁰⁶ Rubinger, *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan*. p. 97-98. Kornicki, "Provincial Publishing in the Tokugawa Period," 190. Katsuhisa Moriya, "Urban Networks and Information Networks," in *Tokugawa Japan: The Social and Economic Antecedents of Modern Japan*, ed. Nakane Chie, Conrad Totman, and Oishi Shinzaburō (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1991), 117.

³⁰⁷ Yokoyama, "Even a Sardine's Head Becomes Holy: The Role of Household Encyclopedias in Sustaining Civilisation in Pre-industrial Japan," 48.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 53.

With these thoughts about who could possibly have read *setsuyōshū* in mind, we can now begin to investigate readers of *setsuyōshū* more specifically and look at model and intended readers of *setsuyōshū*.

Model and intended readers of *setsuyōshū*

In this part of the chapter we will continue with an abstract notion of the reader and investigate who the intended and model readers of *setsuyōshū* were. To repeat what was said above, the model and intended readers are not necessarily the same although they sometimes overlap. Two viable approaches when searching for them are through paratexts and through content. We will briefly look at paratexts before we turn to content of *setsuyōshū* to see what they can reveal about readership.

Paratexts

As mentioned in chapter 2, paratexts can be divided into two categories: peritexts and epitexts, where peritext refers to paratexts that are adjoined to the main text, such as titles, introduction, or prefaces, while epitexts are indirectly linked with the main text, for example advertisements. We will first look at an advertisement, which is a form of epitext referred to by Genette as “the publisher’s epitext”, before turning to introductions and titles.

Advertisement

Beginning in the early eighteenth century publishers started to put advertisements in the back of their books, advertising for other books available in their catalogue,³¹⁰ and we have already encountered one such advertisement for the *Gabiki setsuyōshū* in chapter 3. The content of the advertisement itself for *Gabiki setsuyōshū* did not reveal much about intended readership, but since it appeared in a book about poetry it is reasonable to assume that it was intended for users interested in composing poetry. Often these advertisements took the form of catalogues containing several books (*zōhan mokuroku* 蔵版目録), which was the case with the advertisement for the *Gabiki setsuyōshū*, but sometimes only a single book was advertised such as in the example below. Advertisements such as these may give us valuable information

³¹⁰ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 189.

about who were the target audience for *setsuyōshū*. In the back of a copy of *Kannonkyō hayayomi eshō* 観音経早読絵抄 (1739), a small printed version of a sutra in an easy-to-read format, this advertisement for a *setsuyōshū* can be found:

Midashi ebiki setsuyō taizen 見出絵引節用大全

This *setsuyōshū* takes what was already available from old (i.e. in older *setsuyōshū*) and uses a new and rare design to represent all kinds of different things between heaven and earth that children and young girls' eyes have already gotten used to with pictures, such as grasses and trees, fish and fowl, insects and animals, draperies and foods, and tools and instruments. Using these pictures, one can find the character one is looking for. It is truly a free and unrestricted book that is unparalleled in our whole country and should be a leader among the *hayabiki* and should really be praised and admired.³¹¹

The advertisement does not directly state that it is made for children, but that it is based on illustrations of things that children has already gotten used to seeing and thereby also suitable even for children. The introduction to this book also uses similar language, and states that it makes the Kannon sutra so easy to read, by adding illustrations and hiragana, that even women and children can read it. In both instances, it is probably more likely that whoever wrote the introduction and the advertisement wanted to convey that the contents were so easily accessible that just about anybody could find a use for it, rather than to imply that the target audiences were only women and children.

According to the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books, another title for the *Midashi ebiki setsuyō taizen* is *Ebiki setsuyōshū* 絵引節用集. A 1796 edition of *Ebiki setsuyōshū* is available in the *Setsuyōshū taikai*,³¹² and it is hard to imagine how this *setsuyōshū* dictionary is any more kid-friendly, or even user-friendly, than standard *setsuyōshū* dictionaries. The only difference from a standard *setsuyōshū* dictionary is that instead of headlining the semantic categories (*mon*) with text, it uses illustrations for each category. These illustrations are sometimes quite ambiguous, such as one the illustrations used for the category usually called *shitai* 支体, which contains words related to the body.

³¹¹ *Kannonkyō hayayomi esho*, University of Oslo Library

³¹² *Setsuyōshū taikai*, vol. 48 (Ōzorasha, 1993).

The illustration shows a woman who seems to be applying medicine to the back of a half-undressed man. It is hard to fathom how this would be helpful for quick retrieval of a word. To further complicate things, different illustrations are used for the same categories throughout the *setsuyōshū*. This indicates that selling this *setsuyōshū* as more convenient in use than other *setsuyōshū* is more of a marketing trick than anything else.

Introductions

Introductions may also reveal information about who were the intended users of *setsuyōshū*. In chapter 4 we looked at the introductions to the 1831 and the 1849 editions of the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*. Both of these introductions were quite similar their conception of an audience. The 1831 edition stated that it “can be used easily by the four classes” and that “when ignorant fellows from time to time lay eyes on this book it will be of great benefit, and it will turn folly into wisdom”. Similarly, the 1849 edition stated that the *setsuyōshū* would be “making the life of everyone in the four classes easier” and that it would be of “great help to the ignorant”. These passages indicate that the producers of these *setsuyōshū* intended for them to be used by “everybody”, although predominantly by the unlearned.

Earlier *setsuyōshū* display much of the same sentiments. The introduction to the *Manbai setsuyō jiben* 万倍節用字便 (1726) states that “[this *setsuyōshū*] is not for the learned. It is made to be easy for the ignorant beginner.”³¹³ The *Yamato setsuyō shikkai bukuro* 倭節用悉改囊 (1762) refers to itself as an “illustrated book with everything to the left and to the right of the ignorant beginner”.³¹⁴ In one more example, the introduction to the *Wakan setsuyō musōnō* 倭漢節用無双囊 (1784) declares that “when ignorant people open up this treasure bag and gaze within this book, folly turns to wisdom”.³¹⁵

Titles

Another kind of paratextual element that can give us hints about who were the intended users of *setsuyōshū* is titles. Books in the early modern period could have more than one title,

³¹³ Takanashi, "Kinsei setsuyōshū no jo, batsu, hanrei (1)," 52.

³¹⁴ "Kinsei setsuyōshū no jo, batsu, hanrei (2)," 21-22.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

because the title on the cover and the title used inside the book often differed. Publishers frequently changed the titles of books as well, often in the event of purchasing the rights to a work from a different publisher. To further complicate the matter, records of the guilds often used abbreviated forms of the titles when referring to specific books, making it hard to ascertain which book is actually referred to. Nevertheless, most *setsuyōshū* titles were fairly generic and did not reveal much about the possible readers, but some titles were explicitly targeting specific parts of the population. The *Otoko setsuyōshū nyoī hōju taisei* 男節用集如意宝珠大成, which was compiled by Yamamoto Tsunehika 山本序周 and published in 1716 specifically targets men. Although the title suggests that this was made for men, there is not much else in this *setsuyōshū* that makes it stand out compared to other *setsuyōshū*. Published decades later (1743) and compiled by the same person as the *Otoko setsuyō*, the *Onna setsuyōshū keshibukuro kahō taisei* 女節用集罌粟囊家宝大成 was explicitly targeting women. As discussed earlier, there were many books published specifically for women in the early modern period, and this shows that this also extended to *setsuyōshū*. In contrast to the *Otoko setsuyōshū*, the *Onna setsuyōshū* goes further than being for women in name only and includes many appendices that are clearly intended for a female audience.

Two other *setsuyōshū* titles that indicate intended usage are the *Terako setsuyō kintai kagami* 寺子節用錦袋鑑 (1751) and the *Shibai setsuyōshū* 戲場節用集 (1801). The *Terako setsuyō kintai kagami* may have been used in *terakoya* schools to teach children reading and writing. In the beginning of the *setsuyōshū* there are small bite-size stories with accompanying illustrations. The dictionary of this *setsuyōshū* is simpler than the standard *iroha-igibunrui*-style dictionary and only orders the entries in the *iroha*-order (*bu*) without semantic categories (*mon*). Furthermore, the characters are only written in cursive and only include one reading for each character. Based on the content and the simplicity of the dictionary, it seems plausible that they were used for teaching as the title of the work suggests. Unfortunately there is no introduction providing us with more information in this *setsuyōshū*. The *Shibai setsuyōshū* is an encyclopedic style *setsuyōshū* with information on things related to the theatre world. The dictionary in this *setsuyōshū* is fairly short and contains theatre related words. It uses the *gōrui*-style dictionary and divides the entries into only five semantic categories (*kenkon*, *jinrin*, *ishoku*, *kisai*, *gengo*). Consequently, it is apparent that the intended users of this *setsuyōshū* were people who were interested in theatre.

These examples show us that there was a rich variety in both intended users and usage of *setsuyōshū*. Because of the varieties of such specialized *setsuyōshū*, and also because of the

rich variety of different “general” *setsuyōshū* such as those surveyed in chapter 3, it is important to separate *setsuyōshū* on the level of genre from individual *setsuyōshū* when discussing model readers and usage.

Contents

As discussed above a model reader is always present in the text. We can formulate an image of the model reader by asking the question “who would have interest in reading this?” This is what Kashiwabara did when he asserted that the users of *setsuyōshū* must have been what he called “the elite of the ruled”, i.e. people with responsibilities for managing a household. This conclusion was based on the contents of *setsuyōshū*. While they do indeed often include information that would be useful for such persons, there is a lot of content that points in different directions as well. One example of this, already mentioned in chapter 4, is entries that list various spells. Many of these spells are dealing with matters exclusive to women, such as menstruation and pregnancy. It is difficult to imagine how this would fit into Kashiwabara’s “elite of the ruled” category of users. In more general terms, as illustrated in the chapters on *setsuyōshū* content, there is a lot of content that goes beyond the responsibilities of someone who managed other people. While some of the content would necessarily only be interesting to one group of readers, much of the content could interest anyone who knew how to read.

This illustrates an important point. It does not make much sense to talk of model readers on the level of individual *setsuyōshū*, because the content included is too diverse and sometimes too general. Consequently, we can only look for model readers on the level of each individual encyclopedic entry. With these observations in mind, we can now turn to more concrete evidence of actual usage.

Actual usage - the studies of Yokoyama Toshio

Some space will be devoted here to the studies of usage of *setsuyōshū* conducted by Yokoyama Toshio. As already mentioned, his work is the most significant that is available in a western language. Judging from the reference lists of major works dealing with books and print culture of early modern Japan, he has also more or less single-handedly brought

setsuyōshū to the attention of Western readers. Although some criticism has been directed at certain parts of his approach throughout this thesis, it is important to acknowledge some of the more useful aspects of his work. His focus was not solely on what he called “the civilizing aspects of *setsuyōshū*”; he was also interested in their usage. The method he used for studying *setsuyōshū* usage was original and creative, and it revealed some interesting details about what kind of information *setsuyōshū* users were interested in.

Beginning in the early 1980’s, Yokoyama has strived to locate extant copies of *setsuyōshū* and also *ōzassho*, which as we saw in a previous chapter share much informational content between them. During his work to locate these books, and visiting the homes or institutions in which they were located to peruse the books and to listen to any stories the owners might have about the *setsuyōshū*, he started to notice darkish patterns that had taken shape on the bottom of the books. These patterns would be visible on the bottom edge of the book when the book was closed. They had resulted from the accumulated particles of dirt and spittle that the users had unknowingly left there when their fingers were touching the pages they were reading or consulting. From one or just a few consultations of the book there would be no such pattern emerging, but through numerous consultations spanning over several generations, a significant amount of dirt would accumulate. This makes it possible to study which pages were most frequently used, which in turn gives us valuable information about what kind of information they were interested in.

In 1988, Yokoyama teamed up with a computer scientist and devised a method for studying these patterns of usage more systematically. For the study he focused on copies of the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* and collected 64 extant copies from a total of 14 different prefectures. Although his samples included copies of three different editions (1831, 1849, and 1864), sticking with one particular *setsuyōshū* made it more practical to compare patterns. High quality pictures of the bottoms of the books were taken under set conditions, then these pictures were scanned focusing on the central zone, and finally the data from the scans were converted into graphs which expressed the relative darkness of the lines along the y-axis, and the position in the book of that particular page along the x-axis. This created simple and visual information as to what pages were most frequently used in any particular copy and made it easy to compare between different copies.

Based on the shapes of the graphs that were produced, the 64 individual cases were divided into groups of other *setsuyōshū* with similar patterns. They used a different number of groups (9, 5, 3, and 2) depending on the level of variance that would be accepted. A complete

overview of these groups is not necessary here, but the results revealed that there was a large degree of variety in the way in which users read and interacted with the *setsuyōshū*. Some copies indicated a higher frequency of usage of the dictionary than other pages, while others showed conspicuous wear and tear on pages containing information on Buddhist sects and temples. The most interesting result, however, was that consultation of pages containing information relating to yin-yang thought and practice seemed to stand out above the others.

Equally interesting as the results of the experiment is the information about the owners of the *setsuyōshū* he studied and the stories they had to tell about them. Among the 64 different copies that were used for the project, 25 have no information about the previous owners and had been acquired by public libraries or private collectors, but the remaining 39 were still in the hands of the descendants of their former users.³¹⁶ Although he does not offer a complete list of all copies that can be traced back to their previous owners, he informs us that they had belonged to a considerably diverse group of people. He mentions that some were owned by various members of the court, including the *outadokoro* 御歌所 (The Imperial Poetry Bureau), the noble Saionji family, and the Imperial Household Agency; some were owned by samurai of varying pedigree, one by an express messenger of low status while another by an upper class samurai; some were owned by farming families such as a family of a former village headman in a village in Uji hills; one by the house of a scholar in Chinese classics; some were owned by fief schools; others by artisans or merchants, such as a family who specialized in making sliding doors and another who were tatami dealers.³¹⁷ However, the most important insight that can be gathered from this is that the owners of the *setsuyōshū* copies he encountered came from surprisingly varied backgrounds, both socially and geographically.

Many of the present-day owners also told Yokoyama stories about what the *setsuyōshū* had meant to their predecessors. For instance, he was told in Noma that the women of the families used *setsuyōshū* and *ōzassho* to aid them in the management of the families' shipping businesses,³¹⁸ and he was also often told that the fathers in previous generations had told their sons and grandsons to never let the *setsuyōshū* leave the house.³¹⁹ Although certain

³¹⁶ Yokoyama, "The Illustrated Household Encyclopedias that Once Civilized Japan," 57.

³¹⁷ Ibid., 60.

³¹⁸ "Even a Sardine's Head Becomes Holy: The Role of Household Encyclopedias in Sustaining Civilisation in Pre-industrial Japan," 51.

³¹⁹ Ibid., 53.

setsuyōshū might not have left the house, the knowledge in the books was often available to more people than just members of the household. Yokoyama instructs us that “[t]he ownership of those books was, according to my survey, in most cases public knowledge. Everyone in a local community knew that a certain house had one such copy. Although few people had direct access to the copy, anyone in the community could request information from the book whenever necessary.”³²⁰

Although Yokoyama’s approach was both novel and interesting, it is not without problems. One problem is the sample size. On the one hand analyzing 64 books in this fashion is impressive work, but on the other hand the number is not really high enough to produce significant results. Furthermore, and Yokoyama briefly discusses this himself, there is no guarantee that the most frequently consulted pages reflect the user’s most favorite interests or most important day-to-day concerns. As Yokoyama points out, the information within *setsuyōshū* concerning the tea ceremony for instance would be too shallow for anyone with a very deep interest in it, and with their own knowledge surpassing the information on the subject in the *setsuyōshū*, they would also more than likely own books and manuals that covered it in much greater detail. The section of *setsuyōshū* dealing with the tea ceremony would therefore most likely be untouched by such a person, despite the fact that this was one of his dearest interests.³²¹ This point extends to the non-specialist as well, as he or she might have had other books available that better covered any given subject than what the *setsuyōshū* did or that presented the information more conveniently.

Another problem is related to the kind of information that is available on the pages of *setsuyōshū*. As we saw in chapter 4, the content of encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū* can be divided into two broad categories: (1) consultation based and (2) reading based information. Some of the information in *setsuyōshū* consists of longer texts or narratives describing a person, a place, a phenomenon etc., which one can easily imagine that a single user might have only read once and then never visited that page again. Other information is of the kind that we can imagine a single user revisiting over and over again for consultation purposes. Much of the information relating to *onmyōdō* thought, which was central in Yokoyama’s results, is of such a kind. Information on how to choose auspicious days to undertake a certain kind of activity, for example, is something that was likely to be consulted frequently, rather than reading about the origins of falconry where one reading might have been sufficient.

³²⁰ Ibid., 48.

³²¹ "The Illustrated Household Encyclopedias that Once Civilized Japan," 56.

Consequently, pages with consultation based information would naturally accumulate a higher amount of dirt than those pages that were more reading-orientated. Accordingly, it cannot necessarily be concluded that the marks of usage on the pages unambiguously represent the user's interests. Rather, the patterns reveals more about how the consultation-based sections of the *setsuyōshū* were used than how they were used in general.

Still, it is hard to pinpoint the exact information the users were after even if we could estimate with some degree of certainty what pages were consulted more frequently than others. The reason for this is the format of the pages, where many of the pages are divided into two or more sections which include often completely unrelated information. A couple of pages in the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849), for instance, have a section describing the origins of falconry in the top row, and have illustrations of and information on whaling below. Both have something to do with animals, but that is as far as the similarities go. Another place in the same *setsuyōshū*, divided into three sections in this instance, has information on coinage in the top row, pregnancy in the middle row, and a collection of 36 great Chinese warriors in the bottom row (See Figure 57). In cases such as this, of which there are many, it is impossible to tell which one of the sections the user was after when visiting the page.



Figure 57: Image from the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* depicting a page with three sections of unrelated information

One final problem to be mentioned here is the possible identities of the users leaving the marks. It is entirely possible that a certain subgroup of users would have dirtier fingers than others. We could imagine that children, for instance, would be more prone to engage with the books with dirty hands, while adults might have taken a more reverent attitude towards the books when using them, more in line with the admonitions of Kaibara Ekken mentioned above which included washing of one's hands. Yokoyama's results could therefore be based on the overrepresentation of one or a few sub-groups of users.

Although there are a few problems and lingering questions with Yokoyama's studies, they undeniably offer some insights into the usage and reception of *setsuyōshū*. The fact that the results with only some degree of reliability reveal the frequency of usage of consultation based information means that we must be aware that it is important to separate these two kinds of information within *setsuyōshū*. And, to be fair, when considering much of the *onmyōdō* related information which was conspicuous in the results of Yokoyama, very often all of the information on a particular page was related to this. The results are therefore still of some value, and as mentioned above, some of the more interesting details of his research do not come through the attempts at doing so-called "hard science", but rather through his interactions with the descendants of the owners of the *setsuyōshū* and the stories they could tell about the previous owners, their perceptions of *setsuyōshū* and their usage.

While Yokoyama based his assumptions about the perceptions of *setsuyōshū* on interviews with modern descendants of the original users of the books, we will now turn to other, mostly contemporaneous, sources that may reveal details about the usage and perceptions of *setsuyōshū*.

Metatexts

One useful approach for investigating the reception of *setsuyōshū* is through metatexts. I consider any text that mentions or comments on *setsuyōshū* as a metatext of *setsuyōshū*. This means that we have already encountered metatexts of *setsuyōshū* in the form of copyright disputes. Following this definition, advertisements could also be thought of as metatexts, but the advertisements for *setsuyōshū* discussed earlier were considered to be epitextual paratexts. The distinction is that the paratexts are connected with the intentions of authors, editors, publishers, or anyone else involved in the production and distribution of the book, while metatexts reflect the readers' perspective. In this section, different metatexts will be explored

in order to obtain information about how the *setsuyōshū* may have been read or used, and how people may have perceived them. We will start with a few somewhat vague examples from anecdotes and poetry and finish with some more concrete examples of usage.

Anecdotes and poetry

A person says: “A *hayabiki setsuyōshū* is really a handy thing. By quickly consulting it, you can easily find whichever figure you are looking for.”

A country bumpkin then says: “Oh, can you please show me?”

“What figure are you looking for?”

“Well, I misplaced a hundred *shi-mon* coins somewhere, could you find out where?”

This small anecdote, which comes from an early modern collection called *Kotoshi warai* 今歳笑 (1779),³²² is supposed to be humorous and might need some explanation. The anecdote revolves around a pun on the Japanese word *ji* 字, which the translated word “figure” is trying to convey. The most typical meaning of *ji* would of course be “character” as in a *kanji*, which is also the meaning the first speaker is trying to convey. The second speaker, the country bumpkin, however, is interpreting *ji* as referring to “coins”.³²³ What can this brief joke tell us about *setsuyōshū*? If we assume that the first speaker is a city person, since the second speaker is clearly defined as a country person, we might glean from the conversation that *setsuyōshū* were well known in the city, while less so in the countryside which therefore made this amusing misunderstanding possible. This is, however, also assuming that the conversation actually took place which is unlikely. It is more likely just a made up conversation made to poke fun at the assumed ignorance of people in the countryside. Satō makes a similar remark when looking at a different metatext related to *setsuyōshū*, a *haikai* which says:

一村で物知と成節用集

³²²This collection, among many others, is collected in Miyao Shigeo, *Edo kobanashi shū*, vol. 1, Tōyō bunko (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1981), 155.

³²³ Because Japanese coins had four kanji characters on one face, one *ji* sometimes referred to one fourth of a *mon* (2.5 *rin*), but it was also sometimes used as referring to one *mon*. *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. “*ji*”.

In the village
the knowledgeable person
is the *setsuyōshū*

According to Satō, there are too many unknown factors to tell us anything of value and it is probably written only with the intention to be humorous by ridiculing country people, and therefore not necessarily based on actual usage of *setsuyōshū* in the countryside.³²⁴ While it is true that we cannot draw any solid conclusions based on this poem, Satō's view seems overly pessimistic. There are three possible interpretations of the poem. First it could be interpreted as saying that people in the countryside are not knowledgeable and therefore the *setsuyōshū* is the most knowledgeable "person", or alternatively people in the countryside have only the level of knowledge equivalent to a *setsuyōshū*. One interpretation reveals mockery of village people, and the other mockery of *setsuyōshū*. A third interpretation is more in praise of *setsuyōshū*. In the village there are no teachers in the form of "knowledgeable persons" and one must therefore turn to the *setsuyōshū* for learning. It is, however, the mockery of either people in the countryside or of the *setsuyōshū* that seems the more likely interpretation.

Similarly, this *senryū* from 1760 pokes fun at *setsuyōshū* and the knowledge that is learned from it:

節用でちぎれちぎれの躰がた
Taught by *setsuyōshū*
my manners consists of
bits and pieces³²⁵

This example, however, reveals slightly more information about the perception of *setsuyōshū* than the previous examples and illustrates how at least some users thought of the information within *setsuyōshū* as random and haphazard.

A parody of *setsuyōshū* (hypertext)

³²⁴ Satō, "Mura no setsuyōshū: Nōson no moji seikatsu to renkan shiron."

³²⁵ Translation made by Yokoyama, "Even a Sardine's Head Becomes Holy: The Role of Household Encyclopedias in Sustaining Civilisation in Pre-industrial Japan," 54.

It seems that *setsuyōshū* commonly found itself on the receiving end of ridicule and satire, and there was even a parody made of the genre (which is actually a hypertext and not a metatext according to Genette’s transtextuality, but for thematic purposes it fits well here).³²⁶ This parody, made by the prominent writer of light literature Shikitei Sanba was titled *mura usoji zukushi* and was published in 1806.³²⁷ The title of the book, which has been translated as *Ono no Bakamura’s Complete Dictionary of Lies*,³²⁸ is a spoof of *Ono no Takamura utaji zukushi*.³²⁹ The “dictionary” part in *Ono no Bakamura usoji zukushi* is more similar to that book than to *setsuyōshū* dictionaries as well, but the other content is clearly emulating the encyclopedic content of *setsuyōshū*. The *tsunogaki* that appears above the title in the table of contents also reads *dōge setsuyō* 道外節用 (Silly [collection for] occasional use). The part that corresponds to the dictionary is full of made up characters and nonsensical phrases, and the “encyclopedic” part includes parodies of the shōgi instructions, the guide to abacus calculation, parts on physiognomy, guides to etiquette, and much more. As we saw in chapter 5, the title that is being parodied, *Ono no Takamura utaji zukushi*, appears as an appendix by itself in at least 24 *setsuyōshū* (reprints included), with the earliest being *Kashiragaki zōho daisetsuyōshū* (1698) and the latest *Taisei musō setsuyōshū* (1849).³³⁰

³²⁶ For information on humor in general in the early modern period, see Howard Hibbett, *The chrysanthemum and the fish: Japanese humor since the age of the Shoguns* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2002).

³²⁷ The book is available in digital form via the Waseda Kotenseki Database at: http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/he13/he13_00983/index.html . For transcriptions, commentary, and more comparisons to *setsuyōshū*, see Mikio Takahashi, *Edo no warau kateigaku* (Tokyo: Fuyō shobō shuppan, 1998).

³²⁸ Robert W. Leutner, *Shikitei Sanba and the Comic Tradition in Edo Fiction*, vol. 25, Harvard-Yenching Institute monograph series (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1985), 71.

³²⁹ A digital version of the book can be found via the Waseda Kotenseki Database: http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko31/bunko31_e1775/index.html

³³⁰ Kashiwabara, *Kinsei no kokugo jisho setsuyōshū no furoku*, 216.



Figure 58: Guide to bad manners from *Ono no Bakamura usoji zukushi* (1806)³³¹

***Setsuyōshū*: a pillow book?**

Another anecdote where *setsuyōshū* is an important part of the story can be found in *Chūgoku shōwasen: Edo kobanashi to no majiwari* 中国笑話選 江戸小咄との交わり:

In a Confucian scholar's place, there was another Confucian scholar who was a freeloader. He went out every day and came back around noon and went to his room and told an apprentice "go fetch me a book". The apprentice came back with a book, but the freeloader said it was too low. The apprentice then fetched some Chinese classics, but the freeloader said it was too low. The apprentice then brought some historical texts, but it was still too low. The apprentice gave up and said "Chinese classics and historical books would be great for most scholars, and if that is too low for you, you must be a great scholar. What sort of book would be good for you, sir?" "Oh,

³³¹ http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/he13/he13_01995/index.html

no.” said the freeloader, “I’m just taking a nap and need something for a pillow; even a *setsuyōshū* would do.”³³²

Although this story is meant to be comical and absurd, it does nevertheless reveal an important aspect of the perception of the social standing of *setsuyōshū*. The whole point of the story revolves around the perception of *setsuyōshū* as a “low” and uncultivated form of book. How widespread this perception was remains to be seen, but the very existence of this story presupposes such a perception.

Clearly the metatexts referred to above all have the goal of being entertainment and might not reflect real life events. And although they might not tell us much about actual real life usage of *setsuyōshū*, we should not discount them as completely useless, because at the very least they all tell us that the *setsuyōshū* genre was familiar enough to people that you could make humor out of them. Humorous effect would be impossible without a widespread and high degree of familiarity with the genre. Metatexts connected to *setsuyōshū* do not exist in abundance, either, so it is important to look at as many as possible and glean from them whatever is possible. Taken together they form an image of the perceptions of *setsuyōshū* and how they were used.

Eating *setsuyōshū*

Another strange story involving *setsuyōshū* can be found in an essay written by Sasukida Kyūkin (1877-1945) in the column series *Chabanashi* 茶話 published in *Ōsaka mainichi shinbun* in 1916:

The other day I wrote about Nishoyori Seisai 西依成齋 who still wanted to chase girls when he was 73 years of age. He was born into a poor peasant family in Kumamoto. Every day his parents got up bright and early and went to work in the fields with the night-soil buckets on their backs. He was being raised in such an

³³² Shigeo Matsueda, *Chūgoku shōwasen: Edo kobanashi to no majiwari*, Tōyō bunko (Tokyo 1994).

environment, but instead of helping out in the fields, he rather spent all of his day chewing on Confucian books. His father rebuked him constantly, and when he finally managed to drag him out to the sweet-potato fields, before anyone could notice Seisai had, just like a little weasel, slipped away from the fields and returned back home. Especially since they were poor farmers, his father had no time for flowers that bore no fruit and eventually threw Seisai out of the house.

Seisai cried and cried as he left the house, but not before he had managed to grab and stuff a *setsuyōshū* in his pocket. When I say *setsuyōshū* there are many young people today who might not understand what I'm talking about. We live in a world where a student asked his teacher in history class "if the revenge of the 47 samurai happened in Kyoto or Tokyo", so I'd better explain that *setsuyōshū* was something like what a small encyclopedia is today.

Seisai embraced his *setsuyōshū* and crept up like a dog under a small local shrine. Then, he started reading and memorizing the *setsuyōshū*, and then he tore out the pages he had already learnt and ate them. Memorizing books makes one hungry, so the *setsuyōshū* became a substitute for rice. And then, after not even ten days had passed he had eaten the whole *setsuyōshū*.

When Yoshida Dayū died, Haiya Shōeki thought that burying her bones in a grave was a waste, even at the risk of his own life he mixed her bones with alcohol and drank it all. But, it is better not to imitate this. If you swallow one of today's books your head will hurt and you will hurt your stomach.³³³

Seisai is not the only one who apparently had a hunger for *setsuyōshū*, and a similar story can be found in *Ishikawaken shi* 石川県史 (*The History of Ishikawa Prefecture*):

Adachi Kōnosuke, real name Kanritsu, was the second son of Nakanomiya Gozaemon, a retainer of Tsuji Hiranosuke. Kōnosuke was an extremely diligent and hardworking man. He started out as a servant in the household of a retainer of the Segawa family. One time around New Year's, his master ordered him to record the names of the New Year's visitors. But Kōnosuke was not able to write the names, so he left the job to the other servants. Because of this, the other servants bullied and abused him for being illiterate. Kōnosuke could not suppress his anger and shame, and he went straight to

³³³ All of the Chabanashi stories are available digitally here: <http://plaza.rakuten.co.jp/amizako/diaryall/>

town and bought an *Iroha setsuyōshū*. Every night he perused and studied it, and when he had committed the characters to his memory, he tore the pages out and swallowed them, and in the end he had memorized the whole volume. He later became a student at the school of the Confucian scholar Iguchi Wataru who worked for the domain where he studied Chinese classics. In the Tempo era he was adopted by the *ashigaru* Adachi Rokurō and he succeeded his family line.³³⁴

The notion of eating *setsuyōshū* is fascinating, especially since it appears in two different stories. But both stories reveal a couple of interesting details. Nishoyori Seisai (1701-1797) was born into a poor rural family in the region of Tamana in Higo province, although he later became an accomplished scholar specializing in Chinese studies and poetry.³³⁵ Despite being poor, they could apparently afford to spend money on a *setsuyōshū*. Since Sasukida explains *setsuyōshū* as encyclopedias, it seems that the one owned by Seisai's family was more than just a dictionary-style *setsuyōshū*. The *setsuyōshū* was apparently not the only book in the family's library either, since he was constantly "chewing on" Confucian books.

Kōnosuke, on the other hand, was a lower ranked samurai who also ended up as a scholar. He was able to purchase the *setsuyōshū* while he was still a servant, and probably also quite young. We do not know whether the *setsuyōshū* he bought was purely a dictionary or if it had additional content, but the story is more focused on his memorizing of characters than the story of Seisai. It is also quite interesting that this story about learning from the *setsuyōshū* in the case of Kōnosuke is considered important enough to mention. While the main element of the story about Seisai is the eating of *setsuyōshū* (even the title of the story is *Eating setsuyōshū*) and it might have been selected as a topic in *Chabanashi* based primarily on its bizarreness, the case of Kōnosuke might be considered to have appeared in a more serious source and the eating *setsuyōshū* episode is merely a brief note used to illustrate Kōnosuke's character. Kōnosuke could have chosen to buy any other kind of dictionary, and considering that Seisai's family seemed to have at least a few books, he could have chosen something else as well, but both ended up with *setsuyōshū*. This is a testament to their popularity and importance, also regardless of whether the stories are true or not.

³³⁴ Available online through Ishikawa Prefecture Library: <https://trc-adeac.trc.co.jp/WJ11E0/WJJS06U/1700105100/1700105100100030?hid=ht030662>

³³⁵ Anna Beerens, *Friends, Acquaintances, Pupils and Patrons: Japanese Intellectual Life in the Late Eighteenth Century: a Prosopographical Approach* (Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 120. In Beerens' biographical records the social status of Seisai at birth is listed as "unknown".

A parallel can be drawn between these two stories and the story of Kaku Ryū which we encountered in the introduction to the 1831 edition of *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*. As we remember, instead of airing books and fabrics on the seventh day of the seventh month like most people, he was lying down with his belly out for airing, because that was where all his books were stored. It is clear that there was a notion about a strong connection between the body and books or knowledge, and in line with the first step towards a history of reading as Darnton suggested, this can reveal important information about the “ideals and assumptions underlying reading in the past.”³³⁶ We have similar metaphors in the West today, which is the reason why it was possible to translate the part of the story about Seisai where he was “chewing on books” directly because there is a high degree of equivalence between the words used in the two languages. Darnton pointed out that “eighteenth century readers attempted to “digest” books, to absorb them in their whole being, body and soul.”³³⁷ We still “digest” books today, we “consume” them, and we even “devour” them.

The metatexts discussed so far have had a varying degree of ambiguity and have been in need of interpretation and guesswork. The following two metatexts, although they still need some interpretation, are more concrete in their descriptions of *setsuyōshū* and how they were used. First we will look at the diary of Shibata Shūzō before we turn to a story of castaways who used *setsuyōshū*.

The diary of Shibata Shūzō (1820-1859)

Shibata Shūzō was born in Shukunegi in Sado, present day Niigata prefecture, and was the first born son of a village headman who was in the business of drying fish. Already as a young boy he had fallen in love with reading books, and also enjoyed copying from books, both text and illustrations. At the age of 16 he started learning painting and seal carving, and later went to Edo to study cartography. In Edo he also started learning Chinese and Western medicine and he opened up a medical practice when he returned home. Although he started practicing medicine, he still had a keen interest in cartography and is known for creating several maps. As his diary also reflects, he was fond of drinking, and it has been speculated that his early death might have been caused by his penchant for alcohol.

³³⁶Darnton, "First Steps Toward a History of Reading," 165.

³³⁷ Ibid., 166.

In his diary, which is available through Tōyō bunko, he diligently recorded many aspects of his daily life, among them his relationships with books. Among the books he writes about is a *setsuyōshū* he refers to as *Tokai setsuyō* 都会節用. Most likely this is referring to the *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū* published in 1801. In the diary he tells us about how he got his hands on the book and tells us what he did with it.

Tenth month, first day. Clear weather

There are repairs being conducted on the *Iwayadō* 窟堂, and I rest in town. There is a *nenbutsu* in *Iwayadō*, and I am treated to food and drinks by *Hōjūin*. Shōzō comes. From him I borrow *Tokai setsuyō*. Hikokuni comes and asks for the reply letter from Aikawa, Tanaka, and Nakaakitarō. I copy from the *Tokai setsuyō*. I play in Kangiin. Hiraisama and Denji with others are going the same way so we visit *Iwayadō* together. I buy some fish from Yazaemon, and we drink together at Hiraisama's place. In the evening, I copy from the *Tokai setsuyō*.

The first entry was translated in full to give the feeling of the day-to-day nature of the entries. The copying continues for almost 26 days straight before he hands it back to Shōzō, only interrupted by a few days where he is either too busy, due to having many patients or customers or even the outbreak of a fire, or due to being too busy out drinking with friends.³³⁸

Unfortunately Shūzō did not leave any hints which reveal whether he copied the entire *setsuyōshū*, encyclopedic appendices included, or if he only copied the dictionary section. The 1801 edition of *Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū* is 718 pages long and Shūzō had a total of 24 copying sessions which means that he would have to copy roughly 30 pages each session. Given that copying books was a lifelong pastime for him it is reasonable to assume that he had acquired the skill to copy at a high pace, so it is not outside the realm of possibility that he did copy the entire book.

This is of course only a single occurrence, and it is difficult to say whether copying *setsuyōshū* like this was a widespread practice, but copying books one did not have in one's

³³⁸ Tanaka Keiichi, *Shibata Shūzō nikki 2: mura no yōgakusha*, Tōyō bunko (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1996), 109-17.

collection was fairly common.³³⁹ Given the commonality of the practice, it is not unlikely that many others also were copying from *setsuyōshū*. The motivations for making a manuscript copy of a printed book could vary; maybe one did not have the economical means to acquire a copy for oneself, or maybe the book was hard to come by due to its being rare or even banned.³⁴⁰ Shūzō, however, was not poor, and the *setsuyōshū* in question was neither rare nor banned, so it is more likely that he was doing it for his own pleasure and perhaps also using it as a form of studying the material.

Shūzō unfortunately does not mention anything about his thoughts on the contents of the *Tokai setsuyō*, or any clues to how he was using it or what for. Later in the diary, however, there is a brief passage referring to another *setsuyōshū* that is of some interest. On the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of the first year of Kaei (1848), after some day-to-day activities and drinking he reads in the *Nihon gaishi* and *Gōrui setsuyō* and other books. 夜『日本外史』及『合類節用』等を見る。³⁴¹ Since he only refers to the *setsuyōshū* in question as *gōrui setsuyō*, it is impossible to know whether this is a pure dictionary or if it has additional appendices. Either way he seems to be reading it for pleasure and not using it as a mere reference tool. That is particularly interesting if this *gōrui*-style *setsuyōshū* is a pure dictionary, since one would not normally expect a dictionary to be used as reading material.

Nanpyōki

Another interesting metatext found in a book titled *Nanpyōki* 南瓢記, is a chapter on the actual usage of *setsuyōshū*. *Nanpyōki* is a book in five volumes published by Shihō Ken in 1798 and belongs to a genre of books called *hyōryūki* 漂流記, or “records of castaways”. This particular *hyōryūki* tells the story of a crew who are met by a terrible storm at sea which takes them to Annam, or present day Vietnam. On the surface, the text presents itself as fiction, because at the end of the five volumes, the narrator reveals that the story in *Nanpyōki* came to him in a dream, but as Michael Wood speculates, this could merely be an attempt to circumvent censorship and there is little reason to doubt that this is an actual account of a

³³⁹ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, 103. For a more detailed account of manuscript culture in the early modern period, see "Manuscript, Not Print: Scribal Culture in the Edo Period," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 32, no. 1 (2006).

³⁴⁰ "Manuscript, Not Print: Scribal Culture in the Edo Period," 30.

³⁴¹ Tanaka, *Shibata Shūzō nikki 2: mura no yōgakusha*, 123.

castaway crew. The book was also prohibited the year after it was published, which fortifies the assumption that the text is not fictitious.³⁴² In the following I have included the translation of the chapter that tells us about the *setsuyōshū*.

Captain John Doe came to this country and passed away at the beginning of spring. Later, five more of us also passed away. We spent our days thinking about both the happy and the sad memories. When the captain was back in Japan last year, he bought two new *setsuyōshū*. One was titled *Wakan setsuyō musōnō* 倭漢節用無双囊, and the other *Daidai setsuyō manjikai* 大大節用万字海. He always kept them in the boat and read in them day and night. This time as well, when we left from Ishi no Maki, unexpectedly got swept away by the storm and drifted ashore, he had brought these two books. Although he died in this country, these two books became a memento for the future. When we first drifted ashore in the small village in Saizan, at times when we could not write the square style of characters, we used the books to look up the headword, and via the cursive style wrote and showed them the square style of the character. Therefore, these books were very useful and of great assistance. We were very grateful for these books. While staying at the inn at the castle as well, while we still did not know the language, we were always looking up characters in the books and showing them to each other. The official interpreters also found the books curious, and time and time again asked to borrow it and read it joyfully. In the back of *Wakan setsuyō*, there are compatibility charts for men and women with illustrations, and when they saw the styles and manners of the women of our country, they laughed merrily. They were also amazed when they saw the stories about the hundred warriors of our country at the beginning of the book. Also, everybody admired that we have two sounds for each character. The officials told the palace about this book, and they asked if we could please offer this as a gift to the king before we set sail home. Therefore, granting this wish, we brought it at the time of the farewell party at the palace and it became an important treasure for Annam for a long time. Because the owner of the book died and was buried in this country, we found it curious that the book also would stay in the same country. The other book, *Daidai setsuyō*, was brought to Saho in Shinchō, and here also the officials wanted the book and it became a treasure in this

³⁴² Michael S Wood, *Literary Subjects Adrift: A Cultural History of Early Modern Japanese Castaway Narratives, ca. 1780-1880* (ProQuest, 2009), 152.

country. The virtue of characters is truly shining over the entire world, and it is a grateful thing that they are passed along also to foreign countries.³⁴³

As mentioned, we can assume that this story is in fact an account based on actual events, but even if it is merely a fictional account, the story about the *setsuyōshū* is both realistic and plausible, and can still tell us interesting things about the genre. The information about how the *setsuyōshū* is used for communication between languages and for sharing Japanese culture with foreigners is of course very interesting, but this was probably a very special case and does not represent typical usage of *setsuyōshū*, although we could imagine other sailors ending up in similar situations if they had *setsuyōshū* on their boats and drifted ashore in foreign lands. There are other observations to be made from this story that are likely to be more telling. First of all, it is very interesting that the sailor purchases two different *setsuyōshū*, especially because, according to Satō, the dictionary sections of the two *setsuyōshū* are not that different.³⁴⁴ This is very interesting because it implies that the sailor must have bought them first and foremost for the different encyclopedic content and the different illustrations in the two books rather than for linguistic purposes. He also seems to have specifically requested (*kaimotome* 買求め) these two *setsuyōshū*, implying that he had already gained knowledge about the two titles before he set out to purchase them, and further that both had desirable elements that would not be satisfied by obtaining only one of them. He was also reading in them “day and night”, which shows that they were clearly used for an engaged mode of reading and probably read for leisure.

Another interesting, slightly more subtle, observation relates to the language used in the text. In the Japanese text corresponding to “He always kept them in the boat and read in them day and night”, the word I have chosen to translate as “read” here is the Japanese word *nagameru* which can usually be translated as “to view; to gaze at”. However, the character which is used is 詠 (usually read *yomu*), which might best be translated as “to recite” or “to proclaim”, and is a word most commonly used pertaining to composing and reading poetry. It is of course impossible to know why the writer chose this character when writing the text, or if he even consciously chose it for any specific effect, but it appears somewhat peculiar that this character is used in this context. Maybe the writer chose the character to imply the double

³⁴³ The *Nanpyōki* is available digitally at the Waseda Kotenseki Sōgō Database:

http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/ru07/ru07_03062/index.html

³⁴⁴ From Satō Takahiro’s homepage: <http://www1.gifu-u.ac.jp/~satopy/rekishi.html>

meaning that he was also composing poetry using the *setsuyōshū*. Or maybe the sailor actually read from the *setsuyōshū* out loud for his crew. The practice of reading out loud was quite common in the early modern period, and considering the relationship the crew seems to have had to the *setsuyōshū* it does not seem unlikely. Unfortunately, there are no other hints in the text to whether this choice of character has any significance at all, but it is nevertheless an interesting idea.

Concluding remarks

In this chapter the readers of *setsuyōshū* have been explored which completes the book-historical communication circuit for *setsuyōshū*. Taking inspiration from the five steps toward a history of reading recommended by Robert Darnton, the reader of *setsuyōshū* was examined from different approaches. We first looked at who could potentially have had access to and the ability to read *setsuyōshū* and saw that many would have had the ability to both read and access them. Then it was explored what paratexts and contents can tell us about intended and model readers of *setsuyōshū*. It was shown how the producers were explicitly targeting “everyone”, while focusing more on the “unlearned”. Some of the variation in the genre was also highlighted, showing how some *setsuyōshū* were targeting a more narrow section of the market. The contents of *setsuyōshū* point in different directions and indicate a diverse audience. We saw how the studies of Yokoyama Toshio can tell us how the *setsuyōshū* were actually used, and also learned about some of his interactions with the people who own the *setsuyōshū* today and what their stories can tell us about how the *setsuyōshū* were used in the past. Finally we looked at several metatexts where *setsuyōshū* feature to some degree.

Details about how people read and used *setsuyōshū* are hard to come by, and it is important to collect as much information as possible and try to extract whatever we can from it. Individually, each of the approaches used and the texts explored in this chapter only provide a blurred image of how *setsuyōshū* were used, but when they are considered as a whole we can get one step closer to understanding their reception. Until more details are uncovered, many of the questions asked at the beginning of this chapter will regrettably remain unanswered, but when considered together, the approaches used in this chapter reveal a large variety of users, of usage, and of perceptions of *setsuyōshū*.

Conclusion

Some of the previous research on *setsuyōshū* has focused on interpretations of how *setsuyōshū* influenced society. The most notable proponent of such an interpretation is Yokoyama Toshio, who dedicated much of his work to showing how the *setsuyōshū* “civilized Japan”. In this thesis, I have challenged such an interpretation and suggested a new and alternative approach for researching *setsuyōshū*. I contend that one of the main problems with previous approaches is that they are based on an implicit model of communication where the communication flows in only one direction: from the *setsuyōshū* to the readers. Such a model conceals the complexities of the production, distribution, and reception of *setsuyōshū*. *Setsuyōshū* are also often talked about as if they belong to a homogeneous genre, frequently referred to as “household encyclopedias”. Generalizing about the genre is convenient at times, but it also obscures the variation within the genre and how it changed over time. The new approach used in this thesis in an attempt to remedy these shortcomings has been two-fold: viewing the *setsuyōshū* through the concept of genre, and employing a book-historical communication circuit inspired by Robert Darnton in place of the one-way communication model mentioned above. This approach tells a different story about *setsuyōshū* than one that focuses on the notion “civilizing books”. Before spelling out my conclusions, I will summarize each chapter and the most important findings.

Summary

After introducing my two-pronged approach in chapter 2, I explored the *setsuyōshū* through the concept of genre. The genre-approach was further divided into two parts: one that used a diachronic perspective and surveyed how the genre developed throughout its history, and a synchronic perspective that examined one particular *setsuyōshū* in more depth. The historical overview in chapter 3 explored the history of the genre from its beginnings to the last *setsuyōshū* published, but focused most of the attention on *setsuyōshū* in the early modern period. The development of *setsuyōshū* in the early modern period was divided into four phases. This overview highlighted how certain standards of the genre emerged, and that there was a wide variety within the genre. This variety demonstrates that the publishers were eager to experiment with different styles and formats, and also with the way they presented the

content. From the historical overview we can also identify a three-step evolution of *setsuyōshū*: before 1600, *setsuyōshū* had not yet crystallized into a genre and the word referred only to a certain kind of dictionary within the larger genre of dictionaries; then in the seventeenth century, *setsuyōshū* becomes a genre and individual *setsuyōshū* embody distinctive characteristics but still include a dictionary; and in the Meiji period, the word *setsuyōshū* takes on a more general quality and refers to both dictionaries and encyclopedic reference works that do not necessarily contain a dictionary.

In chapter 4, I examined the *setsuyōshū* genre through the synchronic perspective by taking an in-depth look at the *Dainippon eitai setsuyō mujinzō* (1849) kept at the University of Oslo University Library. One of the objectives of this chapter was to show the variety and eclectic nature of the content typically included in an encyclopedic-style *setsuyōshū*. An exploration of the content revealed that while it is possible to discern some semblance of order on a lower level, the producers or compilers of this *setsuyōshū* had little to no ambition to create order in the knowledge contained in the work. This absence of order is most clearly reflected in the paucity of reference aids to help the reader find particular entries in the *setsuyōshū*. The work had a table of contents, but there was no pagination, the table did not always correspond to the actual position of the content in the book itself, and some of the content did not appear in the table of contents at all. This stands in stark contrast to Western encyclopedias, where order is a central principle. Although it is evident that some of the content of *setsuyōshū* was intended for consultation purposes, the disorganized nature of the entries and the lack of finding-aids invites browsing and reading for leisure as a secondary mode of reading.

Chapter 5 bridged the gap from the genre approach to viewing *setsuyōshū* through the book-historical communication circuit. The content of *setsuyōshū* was still a central theme in this chapter, but the focus was on where the content came from and explored the contents through the concept of intertextuality. As a result of the explorations in this chapter, it became evident that information included in *setsuyōshū* was routinely taken from somewhere else, both from other *setsuyōshū* and from books in other genres. Because of this, it is clear that in order to understand the *setsuyōshū* genre we must also understand these intertextual relationships. Consequently, intertexts must also be integrated into the book-historical communication circuit when using the circuit as a tool for understanding *setsuyōshū*. In addition to highlighting various intertextual relationships between *setsuyōshū* and other texts, the explorations in this chapter also revealed that in addition to the lack of ambition to create

an order of knowledge, there was also little ambition to be innovative and provide updated information in the encyclopedic sections of *setsuyōshū*. A sharp contrast can be discerned here between publishers' disinterest in being innovative with the encyclopedic contents, and their enthusiasm for innovation in creating novel layouts and formats as shown in chapter 3. Clearly, presentation was valued more highly than content.

Because of the copy-paste mentality that seemed to have been prevalent among the publishers of *setsuyōshū*, it was natural to ask whether this was considered piracy and whether there were any legal bounds restricting this practice. This was one of the questions tackled in chapter 6, which zoomed in on two important actors in the book-historical communication circuit, the publishers and the guilds, and focused on copyright disputes. These copyright disputes revealed that, although a few instances occurred, the copying of content caused surprisingly few problems. In general, publishers seem to have been much more protective of their rights to certain layouts and formats, especially of the dictionary section. This further substantiates the claim based on observations from the preceding chapter, that the presentation of content was more important to the publisher than the content itself. Moreover, these disputes also had a significant impact on the development of the genre. Publishers fought hard for their rights to certain layouts, formats, and dictionary types, and this contributed to solidifying certain elements of the genre. If the publishers had not succeeded in preserving their monopolies on certain formats, we might have seen even more variation in the genre. Furthermore, these copyright disputes invite suspicion that there is much more going on behind the scenes than what the sources explicitly reveal. Cases are openly handled on a case-by-case basis, which could be the result of a variety of factors. But the way some publishers always seem to emerge victorious from their disputes, and the way in which cases were handled in general, invites suspicion about a publishing world ruled by power and corruption.

Chapter 6 completed the book-historical communication circuit by turning our attention to the last actors of the circuit, the readers of *setsuyōshū*. Sources revealing how *setsuyōshū* were used and read are not easy to come by, but by using some of the “five steps toward a history of reading” suggested by Robert Darnton, it was possible to formulate some suppositions on who read the *setsuyōshū* and how. By looking at who would have had linguistic access to the *setsuyōshū* in the form of literacy skills, and by examining who would have had physical access to the books by looking at prices and dissemination through other means than sales, a very rough idea of the potential reader was formed. Based on this, it seems plausible that many had access to *setsuyōshū* in some way or other. I also briefly

discussed the intended and model readers of *setsuyōshū* by looking at paratexts and content. Introductions to *setsuyōshū* in general explicitly express that the books are intended to be used by everybody, but there are also examples of titles of *setsuyōshū* that indicate a specific audience. The contents also reveal different model readers. While some content suggests a model reader who has responsibilities for other people, like Kashiwabara suggests, there is also content that targets more specific readers, such as women. But ultimately, the content of most *setsuyōshū* is too general to assume one specific model reader. The producers were probably accurate in their statement that the *setsuyōshū* were intended for “everybody”. The reader was also approached in more concrete terms, and some more tangible evidence of readership was explored. The results of Yokoyama Toshio’s fascinating method for analyzing actual usage of *setsuyōshū* revealed that it is possible to expose which parts of the *setsuyōshū* were consulted more frequently. A key word here is “consulted”: the point was made that Yokoyama’s method only tells us about consultation, not browsing and reading for leisure. His interviews with the current owners of *setsuyōshū* indicated that previous owners had great respect for their *setsuyōshū* and considered them family treasures. In my final attempt to identify the readers I looked at different metatexts that mention *setsuyōshū*. Poetry and anecdotes reveal a perception of *setsuyōshū* as unsophisticated, boorish, and something to be ridiculed, while stories and diaries show how *setsuyōshū* was used as a learning tool, was “read in day and night”, and frequently borrowed and copied. Individually, each approach and element in this chapter tells a different, sometimes contradicting, story about how *setsuyōshū* were used and by whom. As a whole, they reveal that the *setsuyōshū* were used by a diverse audience in a wide variety of ways, and that people had different perceptions of what the *setsuyōshū* were.

If we now return to Yokoyama’s interpretation of *setsuyōshū* as books that “civilized Japan”, how plausible is such an interpretation? It is useful here to consider this question from the perspective of three levels: the overarching level of the *setsuyōshū* genre as a whole, the level of each individual work, and the level of each individual entry included in a *setsuyōshū*. From the level of genre, Yokoyama’s thesis appears overly reductive because there is too much variation among the different *setsuyōshū*. Many *setsuyōshū* are only dictionaries, and do not even contain the encyclopedic content that Yokoyama considers civilizing. The *setsuyōshū* are not homogeneous, and we can therefore not consider them as a singular body of texts that civilized Japan. On the level of individual *setsuyōshū*, there is also too much internal variation for the different works to point towards a unified goal or offer a coherent

representation of what is supposed to be “civility”. As we have seen, there is no proper order of the content and the publishers considered the content to be less important than other aspects of their *setsuyōshū*, such as layout and format. Considering this lack of interest in the content, it is clear that publishers did not have an agenda of “civilizing” their readers. At the lowest level of each individual entry we could perhaps surmise that the selection of content reflects an idea about “civility”, but in order to argue in such a manner, it would be necessary to know who read what and how. The readers, however, were too diverse, used the *setsuyōshū* in too many different ways, and had too many different perceptions of *setsuyōshū* for the genre to have had one single function in society or to have reflected one particular worldview.

If the *setsuyōshū* were not books that civilized early modern Japan, what were they? It should be clear by now that *setsuyōshū* did not have a singular purpose or one particular kind of significance to its readers. Based on the findings in this thesis, however, it is possible to make some generalizations. For the publishers, the *setsuyōshū* were first and foremost moneymakers. This is evident in the vigor with which they protected the rights to their own works, and also in the grand scale of piracy operations. The *setsuyōshū* business was a profitable one. For readers (although admittedly the evidence is circumstantial and scanty), the *setsuyōshū* were sources for quick retrieval of certain kinds of information, and also for browsing and reading for leisure. For some, the *setsuyōshū* served as an authority, while for others, they represented collections of outdated information for the uncultured and were not to be taken seriously.

Suggestions for further research

As the first comprehensive study of the *setsuyōshū* in English, this thesis has covered much uncharted territory. There is, however, equally much left undone. Each of the actors in the book-historical communication circuit and their relationships to *setsuyōshū* can be explored further. A systematic study of the transmission of publishing rights would reveal much both about the *setsuyōshū* genre and about the publishing industry. As mentioned, the records of copyright disputes leave us with a strong suspicion of clandestine deals and power relationships that would be interesting to examine further. A systematic analysis of colophons and further examination of guild records may provide us with some answers as to how these power relationships worked and what kind of strategies certain publishers used to gain such power.

There is still much to be said about the readers of *setsuyōshū*. Surely, there must exist many more metatexts that deal with *setsuyōshū*. Locating and examining such metatexts would be very beneficial for improving our understanding of the genre. There are alternative approaches that were not pursued in this thesis, too, such as examining marginalia left behind by readers. Many *setsuyōshū* have scribbles and notes on many of their pages, which may tell us something about how the *setsuyōshū* were used and what for.

More in-depth studies of individual *setsuyōshū* are also necessary. Although I have aspired to give a broad and inclusive treatment of *setsuyōshū* in this thesis, many *setsuyōshū* are left unmentioned, and most have only received perfunctory treatment. More in-depth studies will uncover interesting characteristics of individual *setsuyōshū* and provide fertile ground for comparative studies. For example, it would be interesting to see if other *setsuyōshū* attempted to create order on a lower level similar to the examples discussed from the *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō*.

Comparative studies between *setsuyōshū* and other genres are also necessary, and more comprehensive comparisons than cursory ones conducted in chapter 5 would tell us much about the intertextuality of these books and the book world in general. Comparison across borders is also an alluring avenue that should be explored, and it would be interesting to see how much impact for instance *leishu* and other popular genres outside Japan had on the development of *setsuyōshū*.

Parodies have been briefly mentioned in this thesis, and it would be interesting to pursue these further. *Ono no Bakamura usoji zukushi* (1806) has figured at various points in this thesis, but there are others, such as the (*Nannyo kaigyoku*) *Reikai setsuyōshū* <男女懷玉> 礼開節用集 (year unknown), which is a *shunga* 春画 (erotic book) parody.³⁴⁵ Examining such parodies more closely would be rewarding in itself just for their humor and frivolousness, but they could also provide insights into the expectations contemporaries had of the *setsuyōshū* genre.

Another topic that was only briefly touched upon but deserves more attention is the question of authority. The studies of Yokoyama suggest that *setsuyōshū* were well-respected

³⁴⁵ Digitally available through the Enpon Shiryō Database hosted by Nichibunken: <http://kikyo.nichibun.ac.jp/index.cgi> (registration necessary). Professor Andrew Gerstle has kindly informed me that there are more extant *shunga* parodies of *setsuyōshū* as well, but I have not had the opportunity to peruse any of them thus far.

books that carried a certain degree of authority. First of all, if possible, we should investigate whether this was really the case, then secondly how this authority was generated.

With such a diverse genre as *setsuyōshū*, with its many variations and usages, the possibilities for interesting angles to pursue appear almost endless. Considering its popularity and its importance to the publishers, it is perplexing that it has remained neglected by Western scholars for such a long time. With the new approaches suggested in this thesis, hopefully the *setsuyōshū* will emerge from the shadows and more scholars will take more than a fleeting interest in them.

Glossary of Japanese terms

<i>aiai</i> 相合	Several publishers cooperating to publish a book. Such a book is referred to as <i>aiaiban</i> 相合板 or <i>aiaiban</i> 相合本.
<i>baren</i> 馬棟	The disk-shaped tool used to rub the paper on a woodblock when printing
<i>bu</i> 部	The level of the finding mechanism in <i>setsuyōshū</i> that sorts the entries according to the <i>iroha</i> -order. The first ordering principle in standard <i>setsuyōshū</i> dictionaries.
<i>chō</i> 丁	The designation commonly used for pages in woodblock printed books. One <i>chō</i> refers to one paper, thus the recto and the verso of one leaf of paper
<i>chōai</i> 丁合	The work of assembling printed pages and making them ready for binding.
<i>chōhōki</i> 重宝記	A genre of reference books popular in the early modern period which in many ways were similar to the non-dictionary section of <i>setsuyōshū</i> . Some were generic in scope, but many were dealing with a specific topic such as agriculture, etiquette, or medicine to name just a few.
<i>furigana</i> 振り仮名	Kana next to kanji used for indicating pronunciation
<i>furoku</i> 付録	Appendix. In the context of <i>setsuyōshū</i> these could hold a large variety of different information. The <i>furoku</i> often took up a big portion of the total amount of pages.
<i>gojūon-order</i>	A way of ordering the <i>kana</i> .
<i>gōrui setsuyōshū</i> 合類節用集	A type of <i>setsuyōshū</i> dictionary that is similar to a standard <i>setsuyōshū</i> , but has the ordering principles reversed. It starts with semantic categories (<i>mon</i>) and is followed by the <i>iroha</i> -order (<i>bu</i>).
<i>hangi</i> 板木	Woodblocks
<i>hangiya nakama</i> 板木屋仲間	Block carvers guild
<i>hankabu</i> 板株	A woodblock stake. Rights to print a work by having ownership of the woodblocks.

<i>hanmoto</i> 板元	The publisher who owns the <i>hankabu</i> . Publishers listed in a colophon are not necessarily <i>hanmoto</i> , and are often only people with the right to sell a book in a certain city.
<i>hanshita</i> 板下	A manuscript copy of the text used for tracing when carving the woodblock for the text.
<i>hanshitagaki</i> 板下書き	Copyist. Also called <i>hikkō</i> 筆耕
<i>hashira</i> 柱	Vertical column in the middle of a printed sheet. The <i>hashira</i> is therefore appears on the rightmost and leftmost edges of the page when the sheet is folded.
<i>hashira-dai</i> 柱題	Version of the title appearing in the <i>hashira</i>
<i>hayabiki setsuyōshū</i> 早引節用集	A style of <i>setsuyōshū</i> dictionary that abandons the semantic categories (<i>mon</i>) and orders its entries first after the <i>iroha</i> -order, and secondarily after the total number of <i>kana</i> in the word.
<i>hon'ya nakama</i> 本屋仲間	Associations of publishers which existed in the three largest cities Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto. Membership was a prerequisite for being allowed to publish.
<i>horishi</i> 彫師	Block carver
<i>hikkō</i> 筆耕	Copyist. Also called <i>hanshitagaki</i> 板下書き
<i>honbun</i> 本文	Main part of the text. In <i>setsuyōshū</i> this usually refers to the dictionary.
<i>hyōshiya</i> 表紙屋	Cover maker
<i>inyō gogyō</i> 陰陽五行	Yin and yang and five phase cosmology (metal, wood, water, fire, and earth)
<i>iroha-order</i>	The pre-modern Japanese “ABC’s”. It was the most common way to order the <i>kana</i> until the <i>gojūon</i> order replaced it in most contexts.
<i>jūhan</i> 重板	A verbatim pirated edition of a book. The most severe level of copyright infringement.
<i>kabu nakama</i> 株仲間	Guilds with members holding membership “stocks” or <i>kabu</i> 株
<i>kabusebori</i> 被せ彫り	A technique for making new woodblocks for an existing

	book. A printed book is used as <i>hanshita</i> , the manuscript that the carver uses to trace when the woodblocks are made.
<i>kanbun</i> 漢文	A system of annotation used for making classical Chinese readable in Japanese
<i>kantō</i> 卷頭	The beginning of a book (or scroll). In <i>setsuyōshū</i> it refers to the section preceding the dictionary
<i>kaisho</i> 楷書	Square style of handwriting.
<i>kashiragaki</i> 頭書	A row above the dictionary in <i>setsuyōshū</i> which contains content unrelated to the dictionary.
<i>kohon setsuyōshū</i> 古本節用集	<i>Setsuyōshū</i> from before the early modern period and the advent of commercialized print. These circulated in manuscript form and were reserved for a literate elite.
<i>kundokuten</i> 訓読点	marks used in <i>kanbun</i> in order to help the reader turn classical Chinese into Japanese word order
<i>kutsugaki</i> 沓書き	Literally “shoe-title”. Part of the title appearing in smaller character below the main title.
<i>leishu</i> 類書 (jap. <i>ruisho</i>)	Chinese “rubricated books”, usually translated as “household encyclopedias”. Shares similarities with <i>setsuyōshū</i> .
<i>machi bugyō</i> 町奉行	City commissioner
<i>machidoshiyori</i> 町年寄	Town elders
<i>mon</i> 門	Semantic categories where entries are ordered in semantic groups. The secondary ordering principle in standard <i>setsuyōshū</i> dictionaries.
<i>onmyōdō</i> 陰陽道	“The Way of Yin and Yang”. A traditional Japanese cosmology focusing on the Chinese concepts yin and yang, the five phases (<i>gogyō</i>), and the various combinations of those.
<i>ōraimono</i> 往来物	
<i>ruihan</i> 類板	A level of copyright infringement which can be caused by many different forms of infringement, such as emulating a title, using the same type of finding

	mechanism or ordering principle in the dictionary, or even using the same format as another book. Less severe than <i>jūhan</i> .
<i>ryō</i> 両	Old unit of currency
<i>ryōten</i> 両点	Referring to <i>setsuyoshu</i> dictionaries which include both the <i>kun'yomi</i> and the <i>on'yomi</i> of the entries, (usually) displayed with <i>hiragana</i> and <i>katakana</i> respectively. Sometimes more than two readings are included
<i>sashikamae</i> 指構	Term used in guild records when there was a problem with a printed book, or a book that was going to be printed.
<i>shinsō nigyō</i> 真草仁行	Referring to <i>setsuyōshū</i> dictionaries which include both the cursive and square style for the characters.
<i>shōgi</i> 将棋	Japanese style of chess
<i>sōrōbun</i> 候文	Old epistolary style used in letters and many official writings
<i>sōsho</i> 草書	Cursive style of handwriting.
<i>surishi</i> 刷師	Printer
<i>tomeita</i> 留板	Confiscated woodblocks
<i>umeki</i> 埋木	Technique for replacing a section of a woodblock with a new piece of wood.
<i>zeppan</i> 絶板	Not to be confused with the modern meaning of the word <i>zeppan</i> , which means ‘out of print’, this refers to a form of punishment to publishers and means that the woodblocks of a work was to be destroyed, usually by fire.

Setsuyōshū and other primary sources mentioned in the text

万代節用字林蔵	<i>Bandai setsuyō jirinzō</i> (1766)
万国通用要字選	<i>Bankoku tsūyō yōjisen</i> (1742)
万宝節用富貴蔵	<i>Banpō setsuyō fūkigura</i> (1802)
万宝節用集	<i>Banpō setsuyōshū</i> (1694)
万世早引節用集	<i>Bansei hayabiki setsuyōshū</i> (1863)
長半仮名引節用集	<i>Chōhan kanabiki setsuyōshū</i> (1804)
大大節用万字海	<i>Daidai setsuyō manjikai</i> (1757)
大広益字尽重宝記綱目	<i>Daikōeki jizukushi chōhōki kōmoku</i> (1799)
大節用文字宝鑑	<i>Daisetsuyō moji hōkan</i> (1756)
大增補万代重宝記	<i>Daizōho bandai chōhōki</i> (Year unknown)
絵引節用集	<i>Ebiki setsuyōshū</i> (1796)
江戸大節用海内蔵	<i>Edo daisetsuyō kaidaigura</i> (1863)
永代節用無尽蔵	<i>Eitai setsuyō mujinzō</i> (1831, 1849, 1864)
永代節用大全無尽蔵	<i>Eitai setsuyō taizen mujinzō</i> (1749)
画引節用集大成	<i>Gabiki setsuyōshū taisei</i> (1792)
外国兵談	<i>Gaikoku heidan</i> (1786)
五音字引節用集	<i>Go-on jibiki setsuyōshū</i> (1781)
五音引節用集	<i>Go-onbiki setsuyōshū</i> (Year unknown)
合類節用集	<i>Gōrui setsuyōshū</i> (1680)
早引万代節用集	<i>Hayabiki bandai setsuyōshū</i> (1850)
早引大節用集	<i>Hayabiki daisetsuyōshū</i> (1771)
早引節用集	<i>Hayabiki setsuyōshū</i> (1752)
早字二重鑑	<i>Hayaji nijū kagami</i> (Year unknown)
いろは節用集大成	<i>Iroha setsuyōshū taisei</i> (1827)
字彙節用悉皆蔵	<i>Jii setsuyō shikkai gura</i> (1763)
字林節用集	<i>Jirin setsuyōshū</i> (Year unknown)

懷宝数引節用集	<i>Kaihō kazubiki setsuyōshū</i> (1844)
開化節用無尽蔵	<i>Kaika setsuyō mujinzō</i> (1886)
冠附青とくさ	<i>Kamurizuke aotokusa</i> (1784)
観音経早読絵抄	<i>Kannonkyō hayayomi eshō</i> (1739)
頭書大成節用集	<i>Kashiragaki taisei setsuyōshū</i> (1691)
頭書増補二行節用集	<i>Kashiragaki zōho nigyō setsuyōshū</i> (1670, 1679)
大広益字尽重宝記綱目	<i>Kōeki jizukushi chōhōki kōmoku</i> (1693, 1705, 1723)
広益好文節用集	<i>Kōeki kōbun setsuyōshū</i> (1771)
紅毛雑話	<i>Kōmō zatsuwa</i> (1787)
万倍節用字便	<i>Manbai setsuyō jiben</i> (1726)
明治節用大全	<i>Meiji setsuyō daizen</i> (1894)
名石碁伝記	<i>Meiseki godenki</i> (1780)
南瓢記	<i>Nanpyōki</i> (1798)
二字引節用集	<i>Nijibiki setsuyōshū</i> (1781)
女節用文字袋	<i>Onna setsuyō moji bukuro</i> (1762)
女節用集罌粟囊家宝大成	<i>Onna setsuyōshū keshibukuro kahō taisei</i> (1743)
小野のばかむら嘘字尽	<i>Ono no Bakamura usoji zukushi</i> (1806)
小野篁歌字尽	<i>Ono no Takamura utajizukushi</i>
男節用集如意宝珠大成	<i>Otoko setsuyōshū nyoī hōju taisei</i> (1716)
蘭例節用集	<i>Ranrei setsuyōshū</i> (1815)
礼開節用集	<i>Reikai setsuyōshū</i> (Year unknown)
蠡海節用集	<i>Reikai setsuyōshū</i> (1750)
世界節用無尽蔵	<i>Sekai setsuyō mujinzō</i> (1873)
千金要字節用大成	<i>Senkin yōji setsuyō taisei</i> (1764)
節用集	<i>Setsuyōshū</i> (1556)
戯場節用集	<i>Shibai setsuyōshū</i> (1801)

四海節用錦繡囊	<i>Shikai setsuyō kinshūnō</i> (1734)
新補倭年代皇紀繪章	<i>Shinpo Yamato nendai kōki eshō</i> (1692)
森羅万象要字海	<i>Shinra banshō yōjikai</i> (1740)
新撰部分節用集	<i>Shinsen bubun setsuyōshū</i> (1759)
真草二行節用集	<i>Shinsō nigyō setsuyōshū</i> (1638, 1639)
新增早引節用集	<i>Shinzō hayabiki setsuyōshū</i> (Year unknown)
新增節用無量藏	<i>Shinzō setsuyō muryōzō</i> (1737)
袖珍英和節用集	<i>Shūchin eiwa setsuyōshū</i> (1871)
大豊節用寿福海	<i>Taihō setsuyō jufukugai</i> (1799)
大魁節用悉皆不求人	<i>Taikai setsuyō shikkai fukyūjin</i> (1706)
大極節用国家鼎宝三行綱目	<i>Taikyoku setsuyō kokka teihō sangyō kōmoku</i> (1690)
庭訓往来絵抄解	<i>Teikin ōrai eshokai</i> (1826)
寺子節用錦袋鑑	<i>Terako setsuyō kintai kagami</i> (1751)
都会節用百家通	<i>Tokai setsuyō hyakkatsū</i> (1801)
和漢音積書言字考節用集	<i>Wakan on shakusho genjikō setsuyōshū</i> (1717, 1766, 1818, 1840, 1846, 1856, 1861)
倭漢節用無双囊	<i>Wakan setsuyō musōnō</i> (1784)
萬寶全書	<i>Wanbao quanshu</i> (1793)
和俗童子訓	<i>Wazoku dōjikun</i> (1710)
倭節用悉改囊	<i>Yamato setsuyō shikkai bukuro</i> (1762)
倭節用集悉改大全	<i>Yamato setsuyōshū shikkai daizen</i> (1826)

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