

Ernest Satow's Japanese Book Collection
at Cambridge University Library

Sharaku
and the Origins of the
Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō
Manuscript

Noboru Koyama
Translated by Ian Ruxton

Copyright Noboru Koyama and Ian Ruxton, 2022. All rights reserved.

This book is published by Ian Ruxton through Amazon Kindle Direct Publishing (Amazon KDP).

ISBN: 9798361579617 ([hardcover](#))

ISBN: 9798360513285 ([paperback](#))

A [Kindle ebook](#) is also available.

Imprint: Independently published

First published November 1, 2022.

Ian Ruxton's videos about Ernest Satow (YouTube playlist)

<https://youtube.com/playlist?list=PL1rGaUCE7Td1jnQ089v6WKmJI8z4Vgxvw&si=O-9NjnZFjsNih0f2>

Contents

Illustrations	vi
Translator’s Acknowledgements	xxiii
Introduction (Peter Kornicki)	xxiv
Foreword (Hashigaki)	1
The Interface of Life and Books	1
Handwritten Manuscripts (<i>Shahon</i>)	2
Japanese Swordsmen (<i>Kenjutsuka</i>)	2
Fujikawa Ken and Fujikawa Hiroshi	4
What we know from limited information	5
Complimentary copies of books (<i>kenpon</i>)	7
The Works and Manuscripts of Fujikawa Tadashi and Fujikawa Ken	11
Swordsmanship and Scholarship (<i>Kenjutsu to Gakumon</i>)	12
Swordsmen in the Bakumatsu and Early Meiji periods	16
Preface (Joshō)	18
Provenance and the problem of a “gap”	18
Satow’s “disposal of his collection”	19
Sharaku and <i>Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō</i>	21
Satow, Anderson and...	24
Edmond de Goncourt	25
Chapter One - Ukiyoe Ruikō	29
What is the manuscript of <i>Ukiyoe Ruikō</i> ?	29
<i>Ukiyoe Ruikō</i> comes into existence	30
Changes in the <i>Ukiyoe Ruikō</i>	31
Saitō Gesshin (1804-1878)	32
Analyzing the <i>Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō</i>	34
The <i>Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō</i> edited by Tatsutaya Shūkin	38
Biographical sketch of Honma Kōzō (1842-1909)	39
Who was the real publisher of <i>Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō</i> ?	44
Ernest Hart’s Lecture about Japanese Art	47
<i>Ukiyoe Ruikō</i> and Hayashi Tadamasa	49
Printed and Published books after the <i>Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō</i>	51
The <i>Ukiyoe Ruikō</i> which crossed over to France	53
The <i>Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō</i> edited by Ryūtei Tanehiko III	55
Hayashi Tadamasa and Sharaku, and Instigator X	58

Chapter Two - How Satow acquired the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*

60

- Satow's manuscript copy of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in his former collection 60
- The Four Manuscripts 61
- Shiraishi Mamichi (Satow's librarian, *toshogakari*) 63
- Shiraishi Senbetsu 67
- Miyamoto Koichi (1836-1916) 70
- Sakata Morotō (1810-1897) 72
- Sekine Shisei (1825-1893) 76
- The 'Sekine Bunko' 78
- Sekine Shisei and Saitō Gesshin seen from the latter's diary 81
- Memories of Sekine Shisei and Saitō Gesshin 84
- Comparing the Four Manuscripts with Books in Other Collections 86
- The Collections of Sekine Shisei and Sakata Morotō 86
- Chart of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* according to Collectors and Lineages 87
- Iwademo no Ki* 88
- Ukiyoeshi no Den* 90
- Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* 92
- Ukiyoe Kō* 93
- The Stamps (*inki*) of *Ukiyoe Kō* 95
- Shinobu Gusa* 97
- Tamagawa no Zu* 99
- The *Tamagawa no Zu* and *Shinobu Gusa* in the Catalogue of Satow's Collection 102
- The purchase of Sekine Shisei's former collection and the possibility of 'screening' 104

Chapter Three - Ernest Satow builds his Book Collection

107

- Buying Books from People 'Outside the Ring' of Book Dealers 107
- Buying Books from Shiraishi Senbetsu and Mamichi 108
- Rinchi Sōsho series and the stamp (*inki*) 'Shiraishi shozō' 111
- Shiraishi Mamichi's Role and the *Kanwa* Thesaurus 115
- Shiraishi Mamichi and Satow's Romanized Text 117
- Becoming a Friend of Philippe Burty 119
- The Collection of Nordenskjöld 120
- Burty, Satow and Anderson 122
- Anderson's Essay and Romanization 123
- Joint Production of a Book about Art 126
- Satow and Anderson go Book-hunting in Kansai 128
- Satow's Purchases of Ancient Editions of Books 129
- Théodore Duret the art critic (1838-1927) 132

Chapter Four - The Movements of Satow's Book Collection and the Catalogues he made

134

- The Movements of Satow's Book Collection 134
- The 15 Catalogues of Satow's Collection at Cambridge University Library 136
- The Brown Catalogue of the Collection (*Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku*) 139
- The Blue-Grey Catalogue (*Usuzumi-iro Zōsho Mokuroku*) 141

Flow Chart (<i>Zushi</i>) of Satow's Collection	142
The Catalogues of Satow's Book collection at the Yokohama Archives of History	145
<i>Zōsho Mokuroku</i> (D)	146
<i>Zōsho Mokuroku</i> (B) and <i>Zōsho Mokuroku Zen</i> (C)	147
The Other Catalogues	147
Investigating Books relating to Art through the <i>Zōsho Mokuroku Zen</i> (C), <i>Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku</i> and <i>Usuzumi Iro Zōsho Mokuroku</i>	149
Chapter Five – Anderson and Satow	153
The Movements of Anderson and Satow	153
Anderson's Movements	155
Satow's situation	159
The <i>Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō</i> entered in Anderson's <i>Descriptive and Historical Catalogue</i>	161
Japanese Documents in the <i>Descriptive and Historical Catalogue</i>	163
Analysis of the 68 items according to Year of Collection	165
Investigating the Japanese Works of Reference using Satow's Collection Catalogue	168
How the <i>Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō</i> was used in the <i>Descriptive and Historical Catalogue</i>	172
Hokusai in the <i>Descriptive and Historical Catalogue</i>	174
Anderson's Assessment of Sharaku	177
Chapter Six	179
Anderson's Death and Satow's Ukiyoe Collection	179
Satow's Donation and his Visit to Cambridge	182
The Gift of <i>Gunsho Ruijū</i> and the Reading of Shinmura Izuru	185
Japanese Language Education and Japanese Studies at Cambridge University	186
The <i>Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō</i> is republished in <i>Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō</i>	188
Microfilms, Publication of Cambridge University's Collection Catalogue and Making it Open to the Public through Digitalization	189
Postscript (<i>Atogaki</i>)	192
Bibliography	197
1. Ukiyoe Ruikō	
2. Saitō Gesshin	
3. Ukiyoe and Others	
4. Cambridge University Library, Aston, Satow, Siebold Collection	
5. Ernest Satow	
6. William Anderson	
7. Japonisme, Edmond De Goncourt, etc.	
8. Satow's Librarians, Book Collectors, Bibliophiles, etc.	
9. Fujikawa Seisai Fushi, Gekkenkai, Makuratchi [McClatchie], etc.	
Index	205

Illustrations

(in the order in which they appeared in the Japanese book with additions)



1 – Cover of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*

(Reproduced by kind permission of Cambridge University Library)

Cambridge University Digital Library

<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PR-FJ-00961-00095/5>

○ 寫樂

江戸寛政年中

俗稱 登夜半高 右江戶八丁堀住 阿波屋の能役者

号東洲糸

豪舞妓没者の似形顔字とあり川中舟車んとて認めぬ
さぬ此書も七〇六長巻也これに「五年あゝ」止む 彰考

二〇〇〇 僅日半 年解行との

五代目 白猿 栗田布 右京子布 半四布 弟 忠 富十布

彦治 物五布 鬼治 仲美 の形と出ず小画知り小

雲女を招くものあり

2 – Entry about Sharaku in *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*
(Reproduced by kind permission of Cambridge University Library)
Cambridge University Digital Library
<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PR-FJ-00961-00095/104>



3 - A portrait by Sharaku: Ōtani Oniji III in the Role of the Servant Edobei, *nishiki-e* colour print, 1794 (public domain)



4 – Ernest Mason Satow in 1869 (public domain)

静のよめ賤の男賤の女いんげん并いっしょにありてよめ想又海文のいとあみ市仲の老翁
 群集のよめ物見世出陣今と異るはこれとまじり奈ぞい今杯あぶら
 は仇指野流の世もよめある源氏市の画容を大和人物と喝き賤竹筒朴乃
 染を雜人形或は源世人物と喝きされ各はるをい源画師倭画師ともち
 千中よ山の絵師花も絵師花も絵師花も絵師花も絵師花も絵師花も絵師花も絵師花も
 唐画もい梅画也蘭画行画山ありて人物をい花もい花もい花もい花もい花もい花もい花も
 筆も枯傷ありのい俗も本絵師へ壁画は家末高の人ありとも規則は叶
 されは市画は源末画は花もい花もい花もい花もい花もい花もい花もい花もい花もい花も
 け畫の濃淡をい畫位を定む是を辨けい花もい花もい花もい花もい花もい花もい花もい花も
 なくともすれは古人の粉本もい花もい花もい花もい花もい花もい花もい花もい花もい花も
 不絶より已画方かかると圖を巧筆法をよの習ありとも古人の繪物を

sketches
 or tracings

5 – English note ‘sketches or tracings’ in Satow’s handwriting at the top of a page of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*

(Reproduced by kind permission of Cambridge University Library)

Cambridge University Digital Library

<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PR-FJ-00961-00095/15>

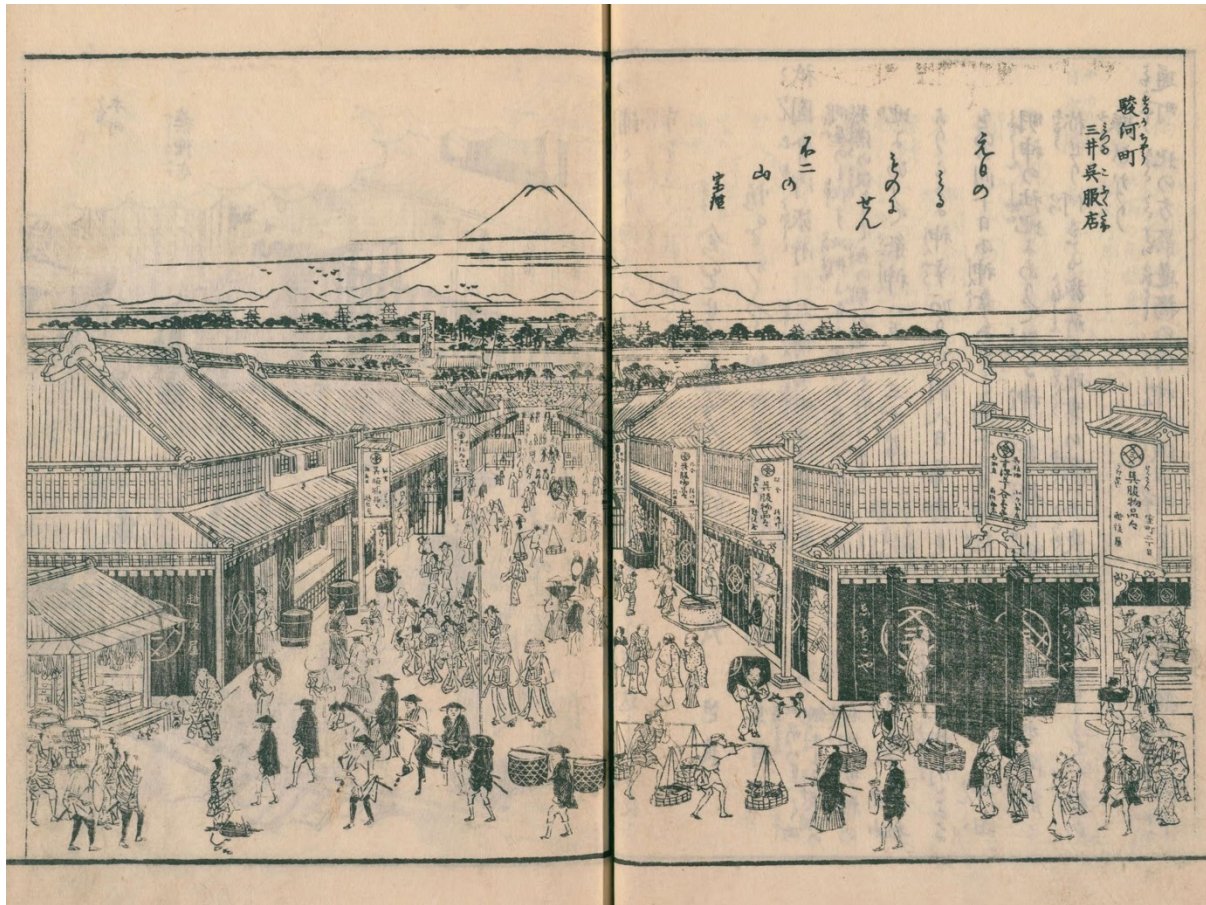


6 – Edmond de Goncourt (public domain)

I regret that I did not
know sooner that you were
engaged upon your important
task as I could have sent
you a copy of the "Sketches of
Rinks" which I have lately
transferred to the British Museum.
Mr. Erskine also has a copy
with the warmest congratulations.
Believe me truly
William Anderson.

NEW YORK
JAN 10 1855

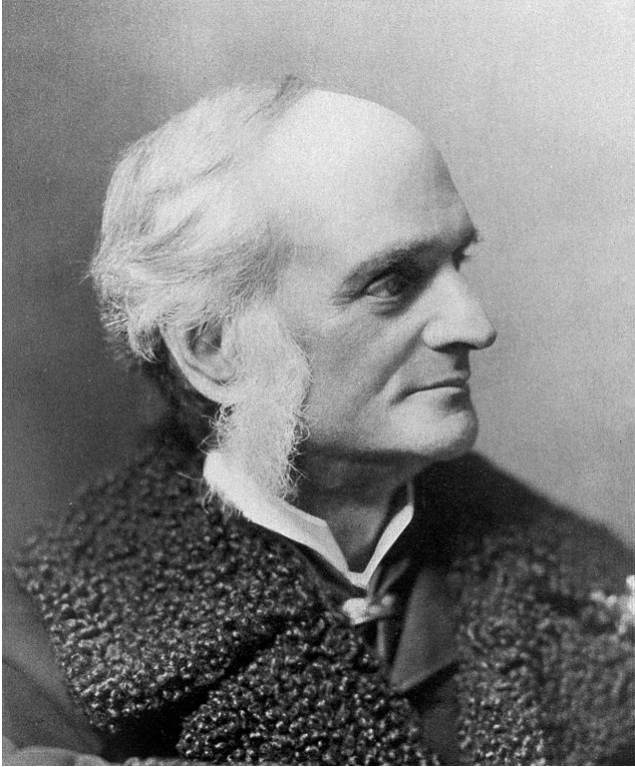
7 – Part of a letter from Anderson to Goncourt (Bibliothèque nationale de France)



8 – One page of *Edo Meisho Zue* depicting Suruga-chō and Mount Fuji (public domain)



9 - Honma Kōzō
Shōnai Nippōsha, *Kyōdo no Senjin*, *Senkaku 63* (written by Tamura Kanzō)



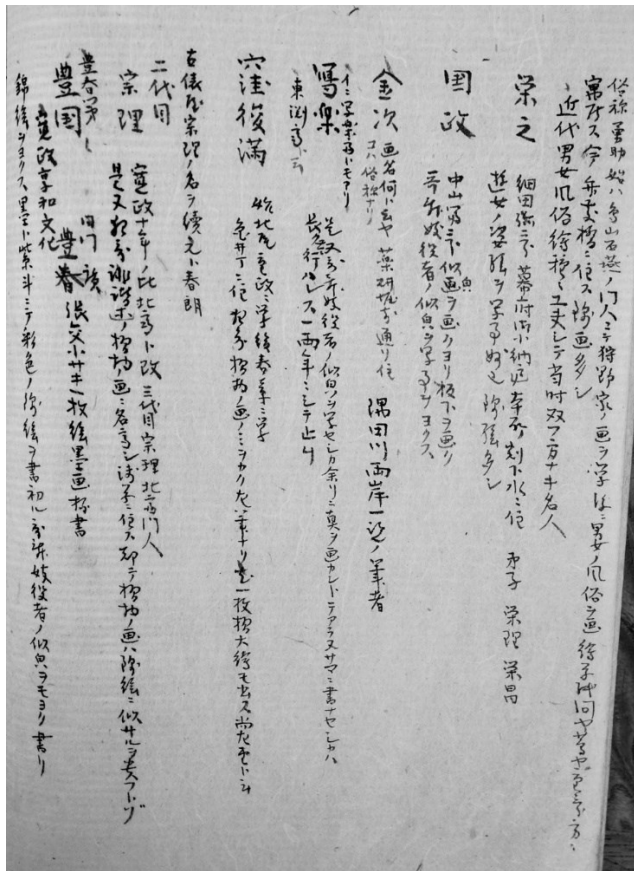
10 - Ernest Hart (public domain)



11- Hayashi Tadamasa (public domain)



12 – Sakata Morotō (from Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Bunsho Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998)



13 – Entry about Sharaku in *Ukiyoshi no Den* [FJ.961.95(2), 6 (back of folio 3)]
(Reproduced by kind permission of Cambridge University Library)

淳世繪類考附録追考三冊と冊中にて香花室先生の宛本ありしこと
 彰考と附録と毎原邦教の本とて寫し追考ハ京傳の自書の本
 として寫しし詔書なりといふこといさあ附録所し先生も京傳と
 見えぬといふのゆゑ抄の上より或るもの説くまのを書かす猶補い
 正字と朱字とてあるを筆しとしし其後とてし本文のはり
 書ありし眞假名もくもららるるをよむべきの爲に付し物しぬ

兩山本

天保四年癸巳冬
 弘化元年甲辰
 漢高英身抄補
 秋後月日号増補

14 – Part of *Yūsandō Shikigo* supplement in *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*
 (Reproduced by kind permission of Cambridge University Library)
 Cambridge University Digital Library
<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PR-FJ-00961-00095/211>



15 – The first part of *Shinobu Gusa* ('Materials which may help us remember past events'. Lit. 'Grass of Memory')

(Reproduced by kind permission of Cambridge University Library)

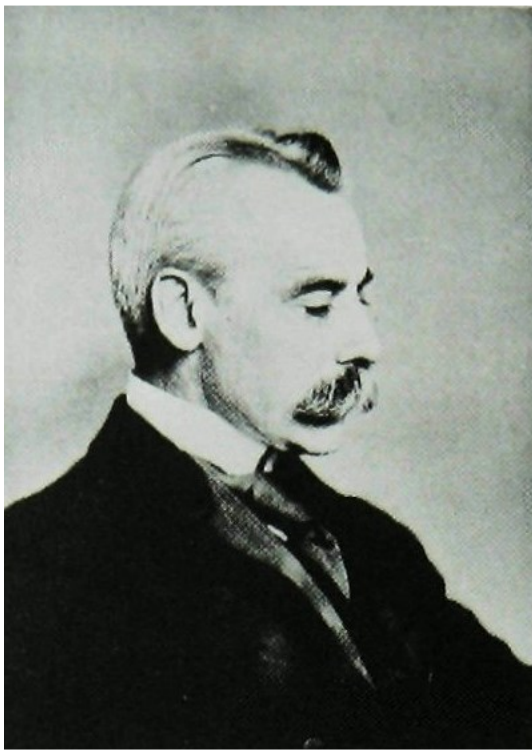
Cambridge University Digital Library

<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-FJ-01000-00016/2>

<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-FJ-01000-00016/3>



16 – Philippe Burty (public domain)



17 – William Anderson
(*Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society*, London Vol. 4)

DESCRIPTIVE AND HISTORICAL CATALOGUE
OF
A COLLECTION
OF
JAPANESE AND CHINESE PAINTINGS
IN THE
BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY
WILLIAM ANDERSON, F.R.C.S.

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE TRUSTEES.

LONDON:
LONGMANS & CO., PATERNOSTER ROW; D. QUARITCH, 15, PICCADILLY;
TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL.
1886.

20 – Title Page of *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum* (public domain)

numerous and important specimens to the Chinese section, the Hon. James St. Vincent de Saumarez, Mr. Satow, Mr. Charles H. Bead, and Mr. E. Gilbertson.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The following is a list of the principal books referred to in the compilation of the Catalogue. Most of these volumes may be seen in the collection of Japanese and Chinese literature in the Museum.

1. Books containing lists of artists :—

- Honchō gwa-shi.* 6 vols. 1693. A list of Japanese artists by Kano Yeinō. The last volume contains many reproductions of seals and signatures.
- Mas-pō zen-sho.* 14 vols. 1694. A portion of the work is devoted to short notices of Japanese and Chinese painters, and includes many copies of seals and signatures.
- Kō-chō mei-gwa shiū.* 5 vols. 1818. Notices of Japanese painters.
- Gwajō yōriaku.* 2 vols. 1850. Notices of Japanese painters. The second and more useful volume refers chiefly to the artists who worked after the middle of the last century.
- Ukiyo yē riu-kō.* MS. Revised edition, 1844. A valuable account of the artists of the popular school.
- Sho-gwa shiū-ran.* 1836. An imperfect and ill-arranged list of Chinese and Japanese painters and calligraphists.
- Sho-gwa kai sui.* 3 vols. 1883. Engravings from sketches by modern Japanese artists, with short biographical notices.
- Sho-gwa zen shō.* 10 vols. c. 1862. Copies of seals of Japanese painters, &c.
- Kun in hō-shō.* 1810. Copies of seals of Japanese and Chinese painters and calligraphists, with supplement.
- Gwa-kō sen-ran.* 6 vols. 1740. Reproductions of celebrated pictures, including also a genealogical table of the artists of the Kano school and many reproductions of seals and signatures.
- Gwa-jin riaku nempio.* 1882. A list of Japanese artists, chronologically arranged.
- Gen-Min-Sei sho-gwa roku.* 1841. A list of Chinese artists of the Yuēn, Ming, and Tsing dynasties.

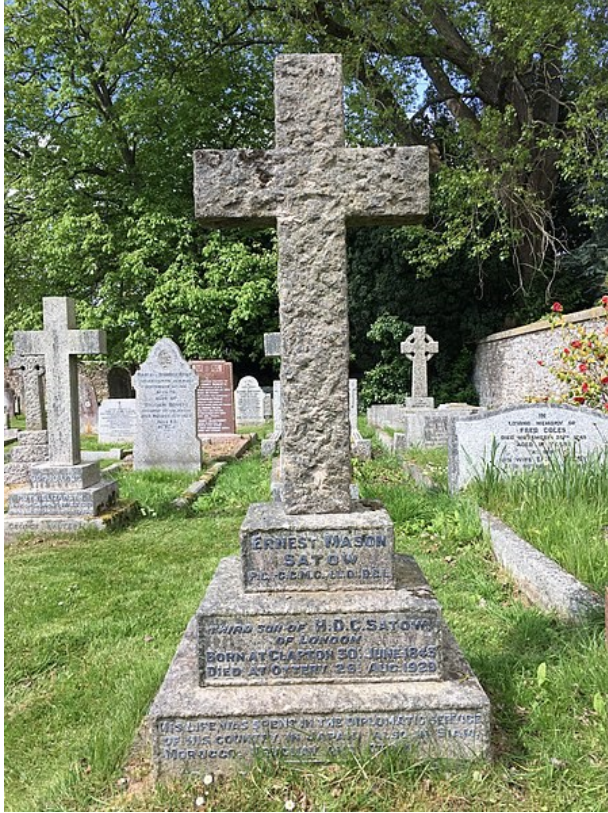
2. Books containing illustrations of familiar legendary, historical, and other motives :—

- Kokon Bushido édzukushi.* 1685. Scenes in the lives of famous warriors. Illustrated by Hishigawa Moronobu.
- É-hon Hō-kan.* 10 vols. 1688. Miscellaneous legends. Illustrated by Hasegawa Toūin.

21 – The *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* as it appears in Anderson's *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum* (public domain). It is the fifth book from the top.



22 – The Crown Prince (later Emperor Shōwa) visits Cambridge University Library in 1921. (*Kōtaishi Denka Go-toō Kinen Shashinchō*, Vol.9, Osaka Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1921.) This is now the Gonville and Caius College library.



23 – Sir Ernest Satow’s grave at Ottery St Mary, Devon (public domain)

The screenshot shows the Cambridge Digital Library website. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the University of Cambridge logo and links for 'Study at Cambridge', 'About the University', and 'Research at Cambridge'. Below this is a search bar containing the text 'Zoho Ukiyoe'. The main content area is titled 'Browse our collections' and features a section for 'Japanese Works'. This section includes a quote: "Pleasure is when you understand all by yourself a book that people find impenetrable" by Tachibana Akemi (1812-1868), translated by Haruo Shirane. Below the quote is a small image of a person in traditional Japanese attire. To the right, there is a list of books with titles like 'Dalungataya Sōshin Bishamontenō Kuyōhō (FG.710.129)' and 'Zenzai Dōji Enyu (FG.710.133)', each with a 'more' link. The page also features a pagination control showing '1 2 3 4 ... 60'.

24 – Cambridge Digital Library web page for Japanese works
<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/japanese/1>

Translator's Acknowledgements

My first translation from Japanese, published in 2004, was of a book by Noboru Koyama titled in English *Japanese Students at Cambridge University in the Meiji Era (1868-1912): Pioneers for the Modernization of Japan*. It has been a great pleasure to work on another of his books, and I must first thank him most sincerely for agreeing to this translation, and for his help in its preparation, particularly in the reading of Japanese names, book titles and the more difficult quotations in old Japanese. Personal names are given in the Japanese order, family name before given name.

My sincere thanks are also due to Professor Peter Kornicki, known internationally for his scholarship on the history of the book in Japan, for his excellent introduction and many helpful comments on readability.

Images credited to Cambridge University Library are reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

The original title of this book in Japanese was 'A-nesuto Satou to Zōsho no Yukue: *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* no raireki wo megutte' (Ernest Satow and the fate of his book collection: concerning the provenance of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*). It was published by Bensei Shuppan (Tokyo) in November 2020. I have published this translation through Amazon Kindle Direct Publishing (Amazon KDP), and all errors are mine.

Ian Ruxton

Emeritus Professor of English

Kyushu Institute of Technology

26 October 2022

Introduction

Noboru Koyama has written many books exploring some of the byways of Anglo-Japanese relations. They include a study of the British royal family's fascination with Japanese tattoos, which reveals that King George V had himself tattooed while he was in Japan as young man, and an examination of the earliest international marriages between Japanese and foreigners. In 2018 he published *Sensō to toshokan: Eikoku kindai Nihongo korekushon no rekishi* (War and libraries: the history of the modern Japanese-language collections in Britain) which draws on his long experience to tell the story of how British libraries acquired collections of modern Japanese books in the postwar years.

In this book he turns his attention to Cambridge University Library, where he worked tirelessly for many years as the Japanese Librarian. Towards the end of the book he briefly outlines the growth of the Japanese collection in the twentieth century, but his focus is rather on Ernest Mason Satow (1843-1929), whose name is much better known in Japan than in Britain. Satow first reached Japan in 1862 as a student interpreter in the British Consular Service, which at the time was separate from the Diplomatic Service. During his twenty years in Japan he became one of the few Europeans with proficiency both in the spoken and the written languages. He then transferred to the Diplomatic Service and after service in Bangkok, Montevideo and Morocco he returned to Japan as Minister in 1895. He was succeeded by Sir Claude MacDonald in 1900, who was the first to enjoy the title of Ambassador to Japan when the status of the post was raised in 1905.

Koyama's real focus is not on the collection as a whole but rather on a small number of manuscripts dating from the end of the Edo period (1600-1868) which were acquired in Japan by Satow and which ended up in Cambridge University Library in 1911. At first sight this may seem somewhat strange: after all, it was during the Edo period that commercial publishing developed rapidly and led to the production of a vast range of woodblock-printed books. However, Koyama is right to highlight the continuing importance of manuscripts in Japanese book culture. Manuscripts continued to be produced for a variety of reasons, including the avoidance of censorship, a preference for handwritten calligraphy on fine paper, and a desire to keep some forms of knowledge private.

Satow was an avid book-collector and amongst his acquisitions were a number of manuscripts on Japanese art. He also bought ukiyoe from Hayashi Tadamasu (1853-1906), the famous art dealer who was based in Paris. These purchases were at least partly connected with an unfulfilled plan Satow had for a book on Japanese art to be written jointly by him and by William Anderson (1842-1900), who went out to Japan in 1873 as professor of anatomy and surgery at the new Imperial Naval Medical College and formed an important collection of Japanese art. Most of Anderson's collection ended up in the British Museum, and Satow, too, sold his collection of ukiyoe to the Museum, including twenty-five prints by Sharaku and twenty-four by Utamaro.

Sharaku is the most enigmatic of ukiyoe artists. He was active only for a short period, 1794-95, and his identity remains unknown. The most important source on Sharaku is a study of ukiyoe artists compiled by the antiquarian Saitō Gesshin (1804-1878), which bears the title *Zōho ukiyoe ruikō* and which only survives in the form of numerous manuscript copies. According to *Zōho ukiyoe ruikō*, Sharaku's real name was Saitō Jūrōbei and he was a Noh actor in the service of the Awa domain in what is now Tokushima Prefecture in Shikoku. It has not yet proved possible to confirm this and there are many alternative theories about Sharaku's true identity.

The copy of *Zōho ukiyoe ruikō* written in 1844 in Saitō Gesshin's own hand is one of the books which Satow acquired in Japan and its importance lies in the fact that it differs from other manuscripts, which are all secondary copies. In this book Koyama explores in meticulous detail the origins of *Zōho ukiyoe ruikō*, which was partly based on biographies of ukiyoe artists by popular writers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries such as Ōta Nanpo, Santō Kyōden and Shikitei Sanba. He makes good use of Saitō Gesshin's diary, which has now been published, and notes that Satow acquired at least twelve more items from Gesshin's collection, which are all now in Cambridge University Library. He also traces the presence of *Zōho ukiyoe ruikō* in the writings of Satow's librarian, Shiraishi Mamichi (1848-1880), and in the many extant catalogues of Satow's collection now held either in Cambridge University Library or Yokohama Archives of History.

In translating this book into English, Ian Ruxton has applied his own extensive knowledge of Satow's life, diaries and letters. This translation will inevitably be of great value to collectors and scholars of ukiyoe, who will be glad to have access to the results of Koyama's indefatigable researches in English. At the same time, it is an important addition to our knowledge of Satow as a Japanologist. Ruxton deserves our heartfelt thanks for having laboured to make a difficult text accessible in English.

Peter Kornicki

Emeritus Professor of Japanese

University of Cambridge

24 September 2022

Foreword (*Hashigaki*)

As an Introduction (*makura*) to the Main Theme, here are some preliminary observations about Swordsmen (*kenkyaku*) and Manuscripts (*shahon*).

The Interface of Life and Books

The period of time which passes while people are alive is expressed by the word “life”. In the same way “books” also proceed along an axis of time. Writing, printing, publishing, buying, collecting, becoming part of a library, and reading is the chronological order in which books move through time. Life and books are mingled together in various forms in the flow of time. In some cases, books occupy an important part of life. Collecting books and creating libraries are probably the most typical relationships between people and books. Collections (libraries) in which the name of the collector is appended by an “ex libris” stamp sometimes reveal to us the most interesting episodes involving that kind of person and his involvement with books.

Japan’s modernization began with the opening of the country (*Kaikoku*) and the Meiji Restoration (1868) and the beginning of the Meiji period (1868-1912) was a period of turmoil. By the time the social changes of the first half of the Meiji period had to some extent settled down, many of the books and records which had been accumulated by collectors and others in the Edo period (1600-1868) had moved. The libraries of samurai who had a deep academic knowledge and scholars, merchants and others who liked books had in many cases been broken up.

When the Meiji period began, the world changed. There was a paradigm shift, and books themselves began to change in form completely, from Japanese to Western bookbinding. New printing technologies were also introduced. The era of Japanese books was coming to an end.

In the previous period they had probably taken a leading role, but when the Meiji period came the samurai families who lost their fiefs which were their source of income let go their curios, swords, armour and helmets which had been passed down from generation to generation, together with their precious book collections. The samurai were originally military men, but during the prolonged peace which was the Edo period they became bureaucrats. For samurai families good writing became an important professional skill, and as a result there were many samurai who left a legacy of written works. Here I will introduce that kind of learned samurai.

In this new era when the leading roles had changed (at the start of and in the early Meiji period), Ernest Satow, a collector of rare Japanese books, made his appearance. Satow was a British diplomat and Japanologist in the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the 20th century. His life and Japanese books (ancient or antique books) intersected.

In this book I want to focus on Satow’s life and its intricate connection with the collection of ancient Japanese books (*Wakosho*) which he assembled. But before that I would like to give a simple explanation of pre-modern Japanese books. If ancient Japanese books are understood to some degree, Satow’s intentions and difficulties in attempting to collect them should become somewhat clearer.

Handwritten Manuscripts (*Shahon*)

First, it is probably necessary to indicate that the status of Japanese books (*wahon*) in the Edo period was very different to their status in the present day. There are various possible reasons for this. This topic has the potential to become a very large one, which cannot easily be exhausted in a limited number of pages. But here I would particularly like to highlight the problem of handwritten manuscripts. In the Edo period there were still many manuscripts in circulation, and there were also many people who prepared handwritten manuscripts. Handwritten books occupied an important position in book collections, just the same as printed books (*kanpon*). Yet nowadays, unless there is a special reason, hardly anybody copies out books by hand.

In the Edo period, if a person could read and write, it was quite common for that person to copy out books in longhand. Furthermore, regarding the content also, it was often not merely a question of making a copy, but there were many people employed in writing their own manuscripts. Even in a case where the greater part of a volume was simply another person's data and merely hand-copied, this was recognized as a book prepared by the writer-copier. Among the ancient or early Japanese books (*Wakosho*) collected by Satow, there were many manuscripts of this kind (*shahon*). In this book the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Enlarged and revised edition of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*) by Saitō Gesshin (1804-1878) is of course also a manuscript. In the Edo period the importance of manuscripts in libraries (book collections) was very great, in a way which we cannot imagine in the present day.

Japanese Swordsmen (*Kenjutsuka*)

In the late Edo period and the *Bakumatsu* (the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate, 1853-67), even samurai (*bushi*) who taught swordsmanship as a family business wrote out many long manuscripts. There were swordsmen who produced a large quantity of manuscripts (*shahon*). Introducing swordsmen and their many manuscripts is the main object of this Foreword. It will become a bit longer, but as an "introductory section" for the subject of this book I would like to mention the manuscripts of a master of martial arts (*bugeisha*), a father and his son. In terms of *rakugo* (comic monologues) this is the '*makura*' (literally 'pillow', an introductory part to put the audience at their ease). Please bear with me as I talk for a little while about swordsmen and manuscripts.

The manuscripts copied by the swordsman father and son changed libraries a few times, but eventually found a resting place at the Library of the Grand Council of State (*Dajōkan Bunko*). The Library of the Grand Council of State was renamed the Library of the Cabinet (*Naikaku Bunko*), and in later years the collection of that library was absorbed into the National Archives of Japan. Nowadays those manuscripts are mostly held there, but there are exceptions: two works (ten volumes) are held at the Historiographical Institute (*Shiryō Hensanjo*) of the University of Tokyo. In any case, I was very surprised at the large number of manuscripts authored by the swordsman father and son.

In fact I was researching some documents collected by Ernest Satow relating to art in connection with the writing of this book, and in those I found many documents relating to the ancient customs, ceremonies and laws of samurai families (*buke kojitsu*). In the process of investigating those documents, I encountered the works and collections of Fujikawa Tadashi

(1791-1862, also known as Seisai/Sadachika/Ōhachirō/Yajirōemon) and his son Fujikawa Ken (also known as Hiroshi/Norichika/Tarō/Kōtarō), and that is why I want to introduce them and their manuscripts in this Foreword.

The Fujikawa family is the house which promoted the Fujikawa style of swordsmanship called the “Jikishin Kageryū Fujikawa ha”. The “Jikishin Kageryū” is a prestigious school which produced great numbers of swordsmen in the Bakumatsu and Meiji periods. The founder was the very famous swordsman of the Edo period, Fujikawa Chikayoshi. His adopted son (*yōshi*) Fujikawa Chikanori died prematurely, so his grandson Chikatsune (Yahachirō) became his heir. Fujikawa Chikatsune was one of the three great swordsmen of the Jikishin Kageryū style, together with Inoue Denbei (1783-1838) and Sakai Ryōsuke (1792-1837).

But Chikatsune was weak due to illness, so he handed over as head of the family to his younger brother Sadachika. This was Fujikawa Seisai who appointed Chikatsune’s son Norichika as his successor. From the point of view of bloodlines, Fujikawa Ken (Norichika) was Fujikawa Seisai’s nephew, but in fact (and on the family tree) he was regarded as Seisai’s son. It is said that Seisai sent his real son out of the family to become an adopted son (*yōshi*) in another family.¹ Fujikawa Tadashi (Seisai) and Fujikawa Ken were ‘father and son’, but that was the true situation.

To make matters even more complicated, in the Meiji period a “Fujikawa Hiroshi” appeared. In various literature it is written that the Jikishin Kageryū Fujikawa school was inherited by Fujikawa Tadashi (Seisai), then Fujikawa Ken and then Fujikawa Hiroshi.² At first, I believed that Hiroshi was the younger brother of Fujikawa Ken. But they were one and the same person. In fact, in about 1872-3 (Meiji 5-6) Fujikawa Ken changed his name to Hiroshi. 1872 was the year when modern family registration (*Jinshin koseki*) began, and Fujikawa Ken probably took this opportunity of a new registration to change his name to Fujikawa Hiroshi.

As stated above, I came across Fujikawa Tadashi and his adopted son Ken in connection with materials collected by Satow relating to art. The Cambridge University collection of early Japanese books (*Wakosho*) is called the Aston, Satow and von Siebold collections, and of these Satow collected more than 70%. Among the *Wakosho* collected by Satow there are some very interesting manuscripts including scrolls about *buke kojitsu*, the customs of samurai families. These were handed down by the Doi family, Doi Toshiyuki (Chikara) and his son (Toshitsune) who were *buke kojitsuka* (scholars of *buke kojitsu*) and *hatamoto* (vassals). Thereafter these were inherited by the Fujikawas (Fujikawa Tadashi and his adopted son Ken) from the Doi family. The Fujikawas, like the Doi, received the learning about *buke kojitsu* of the master Ise Sadatake (1718-1784). In fact, Doi Toshiyuki passed it on to his pupil Fujikawa Tadashi, and after his death they passed to Fujikawa Ken (Hiroshi), and in the early Meiji period into the hands of Satow.

Yūsoku kojitsu is the scholarly study of ancient “precedents” in terms of ceremonies, laws, customs, manners etc., and is broadly divided into *buke kojitsu* (precedents for samurai) and *kuge kojitsu* (precedents for court nobles). Naturally for scholars of *Yūsoku kojitsu* written documents

¹ Kishi Daidō, *Numata no Rekishi to Bunkazai: Toki-shi no Jidai*, Jōmō Shinbunsha Shuppankyoku, 2006, p.123.

² Ishigaki Yasuzō, *Jikishin Kageryū Gokui Denkai*, Shimazu Shobō, 2001. ; Karukome Yoshitaka, *Jikishin Kageryū ni Kansuru Kenkyū*, Tsukuba Daigaku Hakushi Ronbun [Univ. of Tsukuba, Ph.D Thesis], 2013.

(manuscripts) recording ancient customs and precedents were extremely important. Among these there were manuscripts amounting to treasured family heirlooms. It was quite natural that some of these manuscripts should have remained in the Doi family which had studied *buke kojitsu* and in the family of Doi Toshiyuki's pupil Fujikawa Tadashi. Satow collected these in the early Meiji period, and at the end of the period donated them to Cambridge University Library.

Fujikawa Ken and Fujikawa Hiroshi

Fujikawa Tadashi (Seisai) died in 1862 (Bunkyū 2) at the age of 71 (or 72 by *kazoedoshi*, counting time in the womb as one year). It was about six years before the Meiji Restoration. Regarding Tadashi's heir (nephew), Fujikawa Ken, there are not many materials remaining. In the autumn of 1871 (Meiji 4) at some time between August and December he was employed at the Foreign Office (*Gaimushō*) in the 13th grade.³ In March 1872 (Meiji 5) he was promoted to *Gon no shōroku* [Deputy]⁴ but in July or August he left the Foreign Office for employment in the Tokyo branch office of the *Kaitakushi* (Hokkaido Development Commission).⁵

The circumstances of Fujikawa Ken being employed at the Tokyo branch office of the *Kaitakushi* which was organized by Enomoto Takeaki (1836-1908) were that the latter had been taken prisoner after the Hakodate War, but he was released under an amnesty in 1872. It seems likely that Enomoto Takeaki had some influence in the employment of Fujikawa Ken. Enomoto was a childhood friend of Tanabe Taichi (1831-1915), the shogunal vassal and diplomat active in the Bakumatsu and Meiji periods, and had studied Confucianism under his father Tanabe Sekian (1781-1857). As will be mentioned again later, Tanabe's swordsmanship teacher was Fujikawa Ken, and it was probably by arrangements made between Enomoto and Tanabe that Fujikawa was able to work at the *Kaitakushi*. The name 'Fujikawa Hiroshi' is written in the 'Register of Employees for January Meiji 6' (revised pocket-sized version).⁶ His rank was that of a minor official.

What is confusing is that Fujikawa Ken changed his name in 1872 to Fujikawa Hiroshi. But he did not work for a long time at the *Kaitakushi*. In 1873 (Meiji 6) he was again employed at the Foreign Office.

The name Fujikawa Hiroshi appears as a 13th grade official in the Register of Foreign Office Employees for March of Meiji 7 (1874).⁷ He also appears in Nishimura Juntarō (ed.), Register of

³ *Shokuinroku: Meiji 4nen 12gatsu: Shokanshō Kan'inroku (Shūchin) Aratame* (URL: <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/das/image/F0000000000000067320>).

⁴ *Shokuinroku: Meiji 5nen 5gatsu: Kan'in Zensho Aratame (Gaimushō)* (URL: <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/das/image/F0000000000000067325>).

⁵ Fujikawa Ken Saiyō no Ken [Meiji 5nen 8gatsu 7nichi], Hokkaido-ritsu Monjokan Digital Archives, Boshō/05716 (URL: <http://www.pref.hokkaido.lg.jp/sm/mnj/digital/k-kobunroku/boshō05716.htm>).

⁶ *Shokuinroku: Meiji 6nen 1gatsu: Shūchin Kan'inroku Aratame* (URL: <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/das/image/F0000000000000067339>)

⁷ *Shokuinroku Meiji 7nen 3gatsu Gaimushō Shokuin Ichiranhyō* (URL: <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/das/image/F0000000000000067347>).

Officials, Meiji 7, revised monthly.⁸ This is Fujikawa Ken. This name is recorded in the Register of Officials until October of 1876 (Meiji 9).⁹ In January 1877 (Meiji 10) the system of officials at the Foreign Office was reformed, and the number of officials was reduced. It is likely that Fujikawa Hiroshi (Ken) also left the Foreign Office at that time. Thereafter his name does not appear in the Register of Officials. So he probably worked at the Foreign Office for a total of five years.

The reason why Fujikawa Ken (Hiroshi) came to work at the Foreign Office was as follows. The collection of documents on diplomatic history called the *Tsūshin Zenran* was being assembled under the responsible departments of the Foreign Office: the Editing section, the Record Editing section and the Recordkeeping section. Tanabe Taichi was the section chief of the Editing section with the job title of *gihan*, and was the first head of the Recordkeeping section. By the way, Tanabe's successor as head of Recordkeeping was Miyamoto Koichi (1836-1916) who will be introduced later. Tanabe and Miyamoto were two former shogunal vassals who became high officials of the Foreign Office and were involved in the early stages of the preparation of the *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran* [continuation of *Tsūshin Zenran*]. When he was a boy Tanabe's swordsmanship teacher had been Fujikawa Ken.¹⁰ Tanabe strongly recommended Fujikawa to the Foreign Office as the editor of *Shoka Sakuron*, *Bikin Suchi* etc. emphasizing his great ability for the work.¹¹

One more important point regarding Fujikawa Ken (Hiroshi) was his colleagues at the Foreign Office. It will be explained in detail later, but Satow's librarian Shiraishi Mamichi worked together with Fujikawa at the Foreign Office. Satow collected the manuscripts of *buke kojitsu* (precedents for samurai) which had been handed down to the Fujikawa family. It seems likely that Satow's managing to obtain the Fujikawa collection has some connection with Shiraishi Mamichi and Fujikawa Ken (Hiroshi) working together at the Foreign Office. Moreover, they were both dismissed from the Foreign Office at the same time.

What we know from limited information

There are few documents relating to Fujikawa Ken (Hiroshi). Here, using the clues provided by the limited information, I wish to investigate the situation of Fujikawa Ken in the early Meiji period. There are only two books which have collected references about Fujikawa Ken: Saitō Akinobu's *Jikishin Kageryū Kenjutsu Gokui Kyōju Zukai* (1901) and Kishi Daidō's *Numata no Rekishi to Bunkazai – Toki-shi no jidai – zoku* (2006). According to Kishi Daidō's book, Fujikawa Chikatsune's son Fujikawa Norichika (Ken) was at first called Kōtarō and in 1840 (Tenpō 11) when he was 21 years old he was interviewed by the head of the Numata clan Toki Yorikatsu and in the following year changed his name to Tarō.¹² From this information it is clear that Fujikawa Ken was born in 1820 (Bunsei 3).

⁸ Kan'inroku (Meiji 7nen Maitsuki Kaisei), Nishimura Shuppankyoku, 1874, p.9.

⁹ Kan'inroku (Meiji 9nen 10gatsu), Nishimura Shuppankyoku, 1876, p.8.

¹⁰ Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998, p.212.

¹¹ Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998, p.212.

¹² Kishi Daidō, *Numata no Rekishi to Bunkazai: Toki-shi no Jidai*, Jōmō Shinbunsha Shuppankyoku, 2006, p.122.

The author of the former book, Saitō Akinobu, was a swordsman of the *Jikishin Kageryū* school. His teacher was Fujikawa Seisai (Tadashi). There is also a theory that it was Fujikawa Ken. Saitō writes the following about the last years of Fujikawa Ken:

Although Fujikawa Tarō [Fujikawa Ken] had closed his business [*dōjō*] in Meiji 6 [1873, but actually in Meiji 9, 1876] because of the Edict Banning the Wearing of Swords [*Haitō Fukoku*], he opened his swordsmanship *dōjō* again in about Meiji 16 [1883] in Kanda Awaji-chō on the advice of people surrounding him. Gradually former pupils who had heard of it came to join his *dōjō* from all directions. Some joined his *dōjō* themselves, and others encouraged their children to join. His former leading pupils were pleased to help Fujikawa Ken, but unfortunately he died of illness at the age of 64 in the following year, Meiji 17 [1884].¹³

From what Saitō has written here we know that Fujikawa Ken reopened his swordsmanship training school (*kenjutsu no dōjō*) in the early years of the Meiji period (1868-1912), after he left the Japanese Foreign Office. Saitō also states that Fujikawa Ken died at the age of 64 in 1884 (Meiji 17). Working back from these facts, he would have been born in 1821 (Bunsei 4). It is almost the same as the information in Kishi Daidō's book. So Fujikawa Ken was either born in 1820 or 1821 (Bunsei 3 or 4).

Furthermore, according to my brief investigations, there are few newspaper articles about Fujikawa Ken (Hiroshi). There were only two articles in the *Yomiuri* newspaper. The first was in the *Yomiuri Shinbun* of 8 September 1883 (Meiji 16) as follows:

Fujikawa Hiroshi [Ken], who is the legitimate successor of the *Jikishin Kageryū* residing in Honjo Ishihara-chō [in Tokyo] is planning to display the exquisite skill of the *Jikishin Kageryū* and allow everybody to see it at Yuinenji temple, in Shitaya Minami Inari-chō from 10 o'clock in the morning on the forthcoming 16th of September.¹⁴

From the above quotation, in 1883 (Meiji 16) Fujikawa Hiroshi apparently presided over everyone in a display of 'exquisite skills' (*myōgikijutsu*). The author Saitō agrees that he was the successor as head of the orthodox *Jikishin Kageryū* style and reopened the *dōjō* in the same year.

Furthermore, in the *Yomiuri Shinbun* newspaper of December 26th there was an article about martial arts (*bugei*) and education. It was reported that the *Taisō Denshū Jo* [The School for Gymnastics] founded by the Meiji Government was looking into the possibility of using *kenjutsu* and *jūjutsu* in education, and to do this had observed the two martial arts several times, and interviewed their representatives, who were described in the following way:

The following people are experts of Japanese swordsmanship [Kendō, Kenjutsu] and Jūdo [Jūjutsu] : Fujikawa Hiroshi (*Jikishin Kageryū Kenjutsu*), Sekiguchi Jūshin (*Sekiguchiryū Jūjutsu*), Chiba Kazutane (*Ittōryū Kenjutsu*), Tamiya Tomoyoshi (*Tamiyaryū Iaijutsu*), Chiba Koretane (*Hokushin Ittōryū Kenjutsu*).¹⁵

¹³ Saitō Akinobu, *Jikishin Kageryū Kenjutsu Gokui Kyōju Zukai*, Iguchi Kaishinrō, 1901, pp.27-28.

¹⁴ *Yomiuri Shinbun*, Meiji 16nen 9gatsu 8nichi.

¹⁵ *Yomiuri Shinbun*, Meiji 16nen 12gatsu 26nichi.

As can be understood from this quotation, Fujikawa Ken (Hiroshi) was the representative of the Jikishin Kageryū school of swordsmanship, and he was observed and interviewed by the *Taisō Denshū Jo*.

Regarding information about Fujikawa Ken (Hiroshi), letters from his swordsman colleagues are useful. Yamaoka Tesshū (1836-88), the former shogunate vassal who was active in the early Meiji period as a politician and swordsman in 1885 (Meiji 18) inherited the Ittōryū school of sword fighting from Itō Ittōsai (1560-1653) and opened the 'Ittō Shōden Mutō ryū' school. Two years before this on September 4, 1883 (Meiji 16) Tesshū sent a letter to Fujikawa Hiroshi, requesting to be taught the essential points of the Jikishin Kageryū style.¹⁶ At that time Tesshū treated Fujikawa Hiroshi as the head of the Jikishin Kageryū Fujikawa school.

In fact, after that Tesshū sent another letter to Fujikawa Hiroshi. There was a man called Mikawayama Kōsaborō (1823-1889) who liked swordsmanship. He is quite well-known for burying the dead of the *Shōgitai*, elite samurai troops of the Shogunate. In 1884 (Meiji 17) it is said that Kōsaborō visited swordsmanship masters at their *dōjō* (training schools) and chatted of this and that. The masters found this very valuable, as they could learn what was happening at other *dōjō*. Kōsaborō visited Yamaoka Tesshū and told him that there was various kinds of "confusion" at Fujikawa Hiroshi's *dōjō*, i.e. the Jikishin Kageryū Fujikawa school.

Hearing this, Yamaoka Tesshū sent a letter in January 1884 (Meiji 17) to Fujikawa Hiroshi telling him that 'your *dōjō* has existed for many generations and should continue forever in your house' and 'I am praying that your [Jikishin Kageryū Fujikawa] style will prosper'.¹⁷ Tesshū, on hearing that the Jikishin Kageryū Fujikawa school with its great history was in difficulties, wrote to encourage Fujikawa Hiroshi, the *dōjō* master, to do his best to ensure the survival of the school and the style it promoted. Unfortunately Fujikawa Hiroshi was ill and passed away in that same year.

Summarizing the limited information about Fujikawa Ken (Hiroshi), the situation after the Meiji Restoration was apparently as follows: when the Meiji period began, the swordsmanship *dōjō* could not sustain itself financially, so he was forced to eke out a living working as an official in the Foreign Office (*Gaimushō*) and elsewhere. After he left the Foreign Office he reopened the *dōjō* but he soon fell ill and passed away. As a result, the family line of the Jikishin Kageryū Fujikawa school was broken with the death of the head of the family.

Complimentary copies of books (*kenpon*)

Now let us return to the main topic of manuscripts. Here I would like to explain just how many manuscripts were written in the Edo period. Moreover, even swordsmen who managed *dōjō* created many manuscripts. As a method of investigating this matter I want to discuss the problem of the Fujikawa family's complimentary copies of books.

After the Meiji Restoration books etc. were donated to the new government. These were kept at the *Dajōkan* (Grand Council of State). In 1873 (Meiji 6) a fire broke out at the Imperial Palace and the building containing the *Dajōkan* burnt to the ground. As a result, many records and documents were lost. In the same year the *Dajōkan Seiin* (Head Office of the Grand Council of

¹⁶ Ishigaki Yasuzō, *Jikishin Kageryū Gokui Denkai*, Shimazu Shobō, 2001, p.100.

¹⁷ Ishigaki Yasuzō, *Gekkenkai Shimatsu*, Shimazu Shobō, 2001, pp.53-54.

State) issued an official notice to the prefectures recommending the donation of written materials, books etc.¹⁸ The people were encouraged to donate books in their keeping to the government. The Governor of Tokyo metropolis (later prefectural governor) Kusumoto Masataka (1838-1902) may have been especially keen on this project. As will be stated later, when he was working in the Foreign Office as a Secretary (*Gaimu Taishō*) he summoned Sakata Morotō (1810-97) from Kyushu to work on the compilation and editing of the *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran* (Full record of Foreign Office Correspondence).

On receiving the official notice of the *Dajōkan*, Fujikawa Hiroshi twice – in 1876 and 1877 (Meiji 9 and 10) – donated books written by Fujikawa Tadashi and Fujikawa Ken and their collections to the Tokyo prefectural government. In the case of the 1876 donation, Fujikawa Hiroshi clearly recorded that it included the notes and collection of his late father Fujikawa Yajirōemon. It also included his own writings (as Fujikawa Ken), but he made no mention of these. Of course the final destination of the documents was not the Tokyo prefectural government, but the national government (*Dajōkan*). The Tokyo prefectural government was merely the office where the donations were received.

In respect of the donations from Fujikawa Hiroshi, money in the form of an Imperial gift was paid. In the case of the 1876 (Meiji 9) donation, for 127 donated volumes (in fact it was 128), 13 yen was granted. 13 yen in today's monetary values amounts to 70,000 yen, so it was not a particularly large amount. In the case of the 1877 (Meiji 10) donation, for 78 donated volumes (in fact 120 volumes) a reward was paid in the form of an Imperial gift, but the amount is unclear. It is probable that at the time the new Meiji Government did not have much money to spare for acknowledgment of donations and donated books.

In fact the clue which enabled me to realise that 'Fujikawa Ken' and 'Fujikawa Hiroshi' were one and the same person was contained in Fujikawa Hiroshi's request to donate a collection. In the holdings of the National Archives of Japan (*Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan*) there is a file entitled "Tokyo Fu Shizoku Fujikawa Ken Kennō Negaiide ni tsuki Ukagai" (Concerning the Request to Donate from Fujikawa Ken, Samurai of Tokyo Prefecture) and therein is the "Zōsho Kennō Negai" (Request to Donate a Collection) written in Fujikawa Ken's own hand.¹⁹ In that document together with the name "Fujikawa Hiroshi" [藤川寛] there is a seal "Fuji Ken" [藤憲]. That is how it became clear to me that Fujikawa Hiroshi's former name was Fujikawa Ken. His name at the time was Fujikawa Hiroshi, but the seal was in his former name, Fujikawa Ken. Furthermore, I compared the Request to Donate in Fujikawa Hiroshi's handwriting, and the handwriting of Fujikawa Ken in the documents written by him. They were very similar. So, this was the point at which I realized that they were the same person.

It is probably from the time before Fujikawa Hiroshi made his donation to the Tokyo prefectural government, but Fujikawa Ken (Hiroshi) also contributed books in his own hand to his place of employment, the Foreign Office. The reason we know this is that the works written by Fujikawa Ken and held in the National Archives of Japan (Cabinet Office Library) are recorded as having

¹⁸ Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan, *Kōjō Enjō Kiroku Shōshitsu ni tsuki On-tasshi Negai Ukagaisho Tōsha Sashiidasubekimune Shō-fuken eno Tasshi* (Kō 00733100).

¹⁹ Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan, *Tōkyō-fu Shizoku Fujikawa Kan Zōsho Ken'nō Negaiide ni tsuki Ukagai* (Kō 01935100).

come there via the Foreign Office, and also from the 'ex libris' seal of "Fujikawa Ken" ('Kōgyō no Yoryoku Seishin Shoshū') attached to the books in the collection.

The following is a list of the books donated by Fujikawa Hiroshi/Ken.

- A. List of Donations by Fujikawa Hiroshi to the Tokyo Prefectural Government (July 27th of Meiji 9 [1876]) [and from the Tokyo prefectural government to the Historiographical Office of the Grand Council of State, *Dajōkan*]²⁰
1. Fujikawa Tadashi, *Bunsei Zakki* [Miscellaneous Notes on the Bunsei era, 1818-30], 4 volumes.
 2. Fujikawa Tadashi, *Tenpō Zakki* [Miscellaneous Notes on the Tenpō era, 1830-44], 56 vols.
 3. Fujikawa Seisai, *Izushi Kibun* [Strange stories of the Izushi clan], 6 vols.
 4. Fujikawa Tadashi (ed.), *Ōshi Kokuon hen* [Records of Famines and Farmers' Riots], 8 vols.
 5. Fujikawa Tadashi (ed.), *Enzoku Sōranki* [Records of the Rebellion of Ōshio Heihachirō], 5 vols.
 6. Fujikawa Tadashi (ed.), *Kōka Zakki* [Miscellaneous Notes on the Kōka era, 1844-48], 13 vols.
 7. Fujikawa Seisai, *Kaei Zakki* [Miscellaneous Notes on the Kaei era, 1848-54], 10 vols.
 8. Fujikawa Seisai (ed.), *Ansei Zakki* [Miscellaneous Noted on the Ansei era, 1854-60], 16 vols.
 9. Takeo Zenchiku [1782-1839], *Bakufu Soinden*, [Records of Tokugawa Family's Prosperity], 7 vols.
 10. Takeo Zenchiku, *Bakufu Rijoden*, [Records of Tokugawa Family's Widows], 3 vols.

[Total: Ten collections of manuscripts/books, 128 volumes]

The above ten collections of 128 volumes were all manuscripts transcribed by Fujikawa Tadashi (Seisai). Of the ten collections, the last two are held at the Historiographical Institute (*Shiryō Hensanjo*) of the University of Tokyo, and they are not part of the National Archives of Japan (Cabinet Office Library, *Naikaku Bunko*). When the *Shūshikyoku* (*Shūshikan*) was abolished, its work was transferred to Tokyo University's Historiographical Institute, and those two collections were probably also transferred. Both collections bear the seal 'Fujikawa Collection' on them. Furthermore, the author of both collections is Takeo Tsugiharū (Zenchiku), but these are manuscripts transcribed by Fujikawa Tadashi. They are not manuscripts written by Takeo Tsugiharū. As for the remaining eight collections, these are all most probably works by Fujikawa Tadashi in his own hand.

However, as regards the *Kaei Zakki*, on the cover the title 'Fujikawa Hiroshi Zakki' is written. As already mentioned above, the name 'Fujikawa Hiroshi' was used from 1872 (Meiji 5) onwards. From this we know that this title was assigned after that date. Also, in *Tokyoshishi Kō* [A History

²⁰ Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan, Tōkyō-fu Shizoku Fujikawa Kan Zōsho Ken'nō Negaiide ni tsuki Ukagai (Kō 01935100).

of Tokyo City] the document is named ‘Fujikawa Hiroshi Zakki’²¹ and it is possible that instead of *Kaei Zakki* the book was called ‘Fujikawa Hiroshi Zakki’. It is moreover possible that Fujikawa Ken (Hiroshi) may have assisted with the transcription.

With regard to the *Tenpō Zakki*, *Kōka Zakki* and *Kaei Zakki*, these are also held at Yale University in America.²² These were probably collected by the academic and librarian Asakawa Kan’ichi (1873-1948). He may have transcribed copies from the manuscripts held in the National Archives (Cabinet Office library).

B. List of Donations by Fujikawa Hiroshi to the Tokyo Prefectural Government (November 18th of Meiji 10 [1877]) [and from the Tokyo prefectural government to the Historiographical Office of the Grand Council of State, *Dajōkan*]²³

1. Narushima Motonao (proofread), *Kaisei Mikawa Gofudoki*, [Revised Gazetteer of Mikawa Area] 42 vols.
2. Narushima Motonao (proofread), *Kaisei Mikawa Gofudoki*, [Revised Gazetteer of Mikawa Area] 22 vols.
3. Arai Hakuseki, *Shinrei Kukai* [New Annotations of Ordinances] (including Bunbyō Goseijō narabini On’uta, Bunbyō Goigon, Bunbyō Gokomei, Bunbyō Goirei, Bunbyō Godenryaku), one vol.
4. Shionoya Tōin, *Heitei Kyōkairoku*, [Records of Lessons], one vol.
5. Kōno Tsūshin, *Ruikō Shikan*, [Directories of Samurai?] two vols.
6. Fujikawa Ken (ed.), *Kenka Ruihen*, one vol.
7. *Oranda Hongokusen Torai Tenmatsuki*, [Visits of Dutch Ships] one vol.
8. *Oranda Kinginzu*, [Illustrations of Dutch Gold and Silver Coins] one vol.
9. *Naganuma Tansai Sensei Denki*, [Biography of Naganuma Tansai] (including *Minagawa Ninsai Sensei Jiseki* [Achievements of Minagawa Ninsai]) one vol.
10. Fujikawa Seisai, *Seisai Zuihitsu* [Essays by Seisai], 15 vols.
11. Fujikawa Ken, *Chōbō Tsuitōoroku*, [Records of Punitive Attacks against Chōshū and Bōshū] 24 vols.
12. Fujikawa Ken, *Jōya Seiranki*, [Suppression of Rebels in Jōshū and Yashū] nine vols.

[Total: 12 collections of manuscripts/books, 120 volumes]

The above 12 collections of 120 volumes are all manuscripts. Both collections of the *Kaisei Mikawa Gofudoki* were transcribed by Fujikawa Tadashi. In this list 1 through 5, 8 and 10 are manuscripts transcribed by Fujikawa Tadashi. No. 10, *Seisai Zuihitsu* was a manuscript penned by Fujikawa Seisai. These seven collections amount to a total of 84 volumes. The remaining five

²¹ *Tōkyōshishi Kō*, Shigai-hen 43, Tōkyō-to, 1956, pp.60-62.

²² Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo hen, *Yēru Daigaku Shozō Nihon Kanren Shiryō: Kenkyū to Mokuroku*, Bensei Shuppan, 2016, pp.360-361.

²³ Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan, *Tōkyō-fu Shizoku Yajima Takanori Hoka Hitori yori Shūshikan e Shoseki Ke’nō Negai no Gi Shōkai* (Kō 02142100).

collections (36 volumes) are manuscripts transcribed by Fujikawa Ken. Of these five, three were authored by Fujikawa Ken: *Kenka Ruihen*, *Chōbō Tsuitōroku*, and *Jōya Seiranki*.

- C. Donation of a Collection by Fujikawa Hiroshi in Meiji 12 (1879) via the Ministry of Home Affairs and later to the Cabinet Office Library (held at the National Archives of Japan) consisting of Manuscripts written and edited by Fujikawa Tadashi

Seisai Sōsho ‘Seisai Series’ (edited by Fujikawa Seisai, proofread by Fujikawa Hiroshi)
[One collection, 16 volumes]

- D. Donation of a Collection by Fujikawa Ken via the Ministry of Home Affairs and later to the Cabinet Office Library (held at the National Archives of Japan) consisting of Manuscripts written and edited by Fujikawa Ken.

1. *Kōhi Yōryaku*, [A Summary of Virtuous Expansion] 14 vols.
2. *Kōka Fukkohen*, [Restoration of Japanese Imperial Regime] seven vols.
3. *Jintai*, [A Pile of Dust], one vol.
4. *Bunkyū Zakki*, [Miscellaneous Notes on the Bunkyū era, 1861-64], two vols.
5. *Genji Manroku*, [Miscellaneous Notes on the Genji era, 1864-65], one vol.
6. *Keiō Manroku*, [Miscellaneous Notes on the Keiō era, 1865-68], 10 vols.
7. *Meiji Manroku*, [Miscellaneous Notes on the Meiji era, 1868-], one vol.
8. *Jutsudō Sōsho*, [A Series of Katayama Jutsudō (1810-1840)], 10 vols.

[Total: Eight collections of manuscripts/books, 46 volumes]

Of the eight works by Fujikawa Ken listed here, apart from the *Bunkyū Zakki*, the handwriting or calligraphy in six of them can relatively easily be identified as being in Fujikawa Ken’s handwriting. The *Bunkyū Zakki* was produced quite early, and the features of the handwriting are not so striking. In Fujikawa Ken’s collection there is often an ‘ex libris’ seal (‘Kōgyō no Yoryoku Seishin Shoshū’), and this is also the case with the *Bunkyū Zakki*. Also, in the case of *Jutsudō Sōsho* the elements of a compilation may be strong.

The Works and Manuscripts of Fujikawa Tadashi and Fujikawa Ken

In the previous section the donations were divided into four groups (A, B, C, D) and the original writings and manuscripts of Fujikawa Tadashi (Seisai) and Fujikawa Ken held now in the National Archives of Japan and the Historiographical Institute of Tokyo University were listed. The total amounts to 31 collections comprising 310 manuscripts. If these writings are divided between Fujikawa Tadashi and Fujikawa Ken, they appear as follows:

- Fujikawa Tadashi:
Manuscripts authored by him – 10 collections, 149 volumes.
Other manuscripts – 8 collections, 79 volumes.
Total: 18 collections, 228 volumes.
- Fujikawa Ken:

Manuscripts authored by him – 11 collections, 80 volumes.
Other manuscripts – 2 collections, 2 volumes.
Total: 13 collections, 82 volumes.

In the present day in the National Archives of Japan alone the manuscripts of Fujikawa Tadashi and Ken (father and son) amount to 300 volumes. We may conclude that the two swordsmen transcribed an incredibly large number of manuscripts, including their own.

In fact, the father Tadashi and son Ken authored even more writings than these. I would like to refer simply to these here. This will only be an estimate of the great number of their writings – and we can say that they both wrote a very large number. Apart from their own authored works, they also probably transcribed a very large number of manuscripts of others. A huge number of manuscripts remain.

First, Fujikawa Tadashi authored titles as follows: *Reiken Ryakkai* [A Brief Explanation of “Spiritual Sword”] (one volume), *Seisai-Sensei Nagatsuki Monogatari* [September Tales of Master Fujikawa Seisai] (one volume), *Yumi no Seisho* [Regulations of Archery] (one volume), *Komato no Koto* [About Small Targets] (one volume), *Hikime Meigen Ikō* [A Study of Twanging Bows] (one volume), *Hiya no Densho* [Books on Fire Arrows] (one volume), *Yazoroe no Zushiki* [Illustrations to Line-up Arrows] (one scroll), *Yoroi Hitatare no Densho* [Books on Armour and Costumes] (one volume). The authorship is credited to Seisai, but it may include works copied from other books.

On the other hand, Fujikawa Ken authored *Gaikōben* [Why Do We like Disputes?] (one volume) and as a revised book *Renpei Jikki* [A Manual for Training Soldiers], six volumes. They are both connected with military training. *Shoka Sakuron* [Strategies of Various Thinkers] and *Bikin Suchi* [Memorandum on Reserves] can also be included in his oeuvre. *Renpei Jikki* was published in 1844 (Kōka 1) as a Chinese book. The author was Qi Jiguang (1528-88). It was Fujikawa Ken who proofread and corrected it. Fujikawa Ken seems to have been an expert in Chinese classics, and he collected the Chinese book *Heiroku* [Bing-lu, Military Records] (14 volumes selected by He Rubin) in manuscript form. Nowadays Fujikawa Ken’s collection is held by Tsinghua University in China.²⁴ It is clear that this was Fujikawa Ken’s former collection from his ‘ex libris’ seal (‘Kōgyō no Yoryoku Seishin Shoshū’) attached to the books in the collection.

Swordsmanship and Scholarship (*Kenjutsu to Gakumon*)

At the start of the Meiji period the *Gekkenkai* (Kendō Association) began the business of putting on fencing bouts for show. The following reason is given for the birth of the *Gekkenkai*. It was a way for the swordsmen to earn a living.

In those days [Bakumatsu and early Meiji period] when a swordsman was born, scholarship took second or third place behind *kendō* if a man was to inherit the title of head of the family. Then the edict prohibiting swords [*Haitōrei*] was promulgated, *kendō* suddenly declined and learning (scholarship) offered a way of making a living in another direction, but many of the swordsmen were unlearned and could not even write their names properly. So their lives

²⁴ Qinghua Daxue Tushuguan Cang Shanben Shumu, Qinghua Daxue Tushuguan, 2003, p.455.

became wretched, or they became rickshaw pullers or grooms, and many of them barely managed to avoid starvation.²⁵

From the above it is clear that swordsmen had first to pour all their energies into *kendō*, and the reality was that scholarship was neglected. Swordsmen like Fujikawa Tadashi and Ken who produced many manuscripts were certainly an exception to the rule. As he continued with his education while training as a swordsman, Fujikawa Ken (Hiroshi) was able to earn a living at the Foreign Office after the Meiji Restoration by editing and compiling diplomatic documents. Moreover, the fact that Fujikawa Ken donated some of his works to the Foreign Office suggests that these manuscripts had some direct connection with the work of compilation.

Regarding the fact that Fujikawa Tadashi (Seisai) had written many works including *Tenpō Zakki*, his son Fujikawa Hiroshi (Ken) commented as follows in the postscript of *Seisai Sōsho* (Seisai Series):

In the time when he was not engaged in the family business of instruction, he had the habit of reading official histories and answering questions from his pupils and comrades, day and night unceasingly, about the good and bad points of weapons, the origin of ancient events, various theories and the main points of weapons etc. He collected these day by day, month by month and year by year, until he finally could make a book of them.²⁶

Summarizing the above quotation, in his spare time when he was not involved in the family business of teaching swordsmanship, Seisai made a daily lesson of perusing official and private history books. His followers and supporters knew that he was familiar with historical records, and day and night questioned him about the merits and demerits of weapons and the origin of historical events etc. Accordingly, to prepare for the questions of his pupils, Seisai daily collected notable historical events, miscellaneous theories, the main points of weapons etc. and recorded them every month, accumulating them over months and years, and finally making them into a book.

I have already referred above to how Fujikawa Tadashi studied *buke kojitsu* (samurai customs etc.) from a father and son, Doi Toshiyuki and Doi Toshitsune. It was no doubt precisely in cases where he had to explain the merits and demerits and key features of weapons to his followers that the accomplishments and knowledge of *buke kojitsu* were most useful. Starting with the *Tenpō Zakki*, most of Fujikawa Tadashi's main works are manuscripts transcribed from records and documents. One might even say that, rather than authored works, they are closer to compilations. In the postscript written by Fujikawa Hiroshi there is some explanation of how Fujikawa Ken produced the abovementioned authored works. It may only be to a limited extent, but we can get some understanding of Fujikawa Tadashi's situation.

One of Mori Ōgai's historical novels is *Gojiingahara no Katakiuchi* [Vengeance in Gojiingahara Field] and it is based on the historical document *Yamamoto Fukushūki* [The Revenge of Yamamoto] in manuscript form. The document which Ōgai used (*Yamamoto Fukushūki*) is now preserved in Tokyo University Library's Ōgai Papers. In fact, there is also a historical record (document) about *Gojiingahara no Katakiuchi* in Fujikawa Tadashi's *Tenpō Zakki*. All of the fifth

²⁵ Ishigaki Tatsuo, *Kashima Shinden Jikishin Kageryū Gokui*, Ishigaki Tatsuo, 1935, p.196.

²⁶ Minami Kazuo, 'Bunsei Zakki, Tenpō Zakki, Kaidai', *Bunsei Zakki*, Kyūko Shoin, 1983, pp.3-4.

volume of *Tenpō Zakki* is taken up by “Sakai Utanokami Kerai Yamamoto Uhei Musume Riyo narabini Yamamoto Kurōemon Oya no Katakiuchi Ikken [The Case of Yamamoto San’uemon’s Vengeance by Yamamoto Uhei, a Retainer of Sakai Utanokami, His Sister Riyo and His Uncle Yamamoto Kurōemon].

Sakai [Utanokami]’s retainer (*kerai*) Yamamoto San’uemon was killed by Kamezō, a servant of San’uemon. It is a tale of Yamamoto San’uemon’s revenge, carried out by his son Uhei, his daughter Riyo and younger brother Yamamoto Kurōemon. In the first part of the fifth volume of *Tenpō Zakki* there is an essay about the ‘Origin’ [*Yurai*] of that revenge. Ogata Tsutomu (1920-2009) compared the ‘Origin’ written in the *Tenpō Zakki* and *Yamamoto Fukushū Ki* and stated that they were related as follows:

Regarding the ‘Origin’ it [*Yurai* in *Tenpō Zakki*] is not as detailed as the *Fukushū Ki* [in *Yamamoto Fukushū Ki*] but the essentials are the same, especially in respect to explaining the start of the incident, and in parts they are even identical, which hints at a close connection between them.²⁷

As can be understood from the above quotation, both books are very similar in their accounts. Probably the person who obtained the *Yurai* developed it somewhat and then wrote it in the *Yamamoto Fukushū Ki*. The *Yurai* was probably written first.

In fact, in the *Yurai* of *Tenpō Zakki* a preface is included, which contains very interesting information. In the preface the names ‘Hirotaka’ (Yashiro Hirotaka, 1758-1841) and ‘Fujikawa Tadashi’ (Fujikawa Tadashi) appear. From this preface, it becomes clear how *Yurai* was created.²⁸

First, the act of vengeance was carried out on August 7, 1835 (July 13 of Tenpō 6) in Gojiiingahara in Edo. Then the *Yurai* was created in the middle of July in Tenpō 6, directly after the act was performed. In the next month [August] 10th Yashiro Hirotaka borrowed the book *Yurai* donated by Yamamoto Kurōemon, transcribed it, and included it in his unrecognized library. Yamamoto Kurōemon was one of the people involved in the revenge. *Yurai* was probably written by people involved in the incident. On the next day at Yashiro Hirotaka’s meeting place, Fujikawa Tadashi then borrowed it secretly and made a copy of it. This copy of *Yurai* was made not even a month after the incident had occurred.

As we know from the preface of *Yurai*, Fujikawa Tadashi through the intermediary of Yashiro Hirotaka and other acquaintances acquired the records, historical documents and other information and copied them, leaving them to posterity as his own manuscript (authored work). Yashiro Hirotaka was an official of the Shogunate (a ‘gokenin’, a lower-ranking vassal, and ‘yūhitsu’, a private secretary) and a book collector, and well-known as a scholar of *Kokugaku* (ancient Japanese literature and culture) and *buke kojitsu*. It is said that Hirotaka’s unofficial library amounted to 50,000 volumes. Hirotaka had much intercourse with intellectuals of the time and was ‘a central figure of Edo cultural circles in the early 19th century’.²⁹ One member of these cultural circles was Fujikawa Tadashi. Through his acquaintance with cultural circles which

²⁷ Ogata Tsutomu, *Ōgai no Rekishi Shōsetsu: Shiryō to Hōhō*, Iwanami Shoten, 2002, p.180.

²⁸ *Tenpō Zakki*, Vol.5, Sheets 7-8.; Ogata Tsutomu, *Ōgai no Rekishi Shōsetsu: Shiryō to Hōhō*, Iwanami Shoten, 2002, p.180.

²⁹ Ujii Mikito, ‘BunseiZakki, Kōken Zakki hoka Ezu Saimoku’, *Kita no Maru*, No. 39, p.20.

included Yashiro Hirotaka, Fujikawa Tadashi was probably able to gain access to records and historical documents of the Shogunate.

Fujikawa Tadashi also wrote about the Ōshio Heihachirō incident (*Enzoku Sōran Ki*). This included historical documents relating to the Shogunate. He was able to acquire precious records like *Enzoku Sōran Ki* from people he knew in his cultural circles, and transcribe them as his works.

Now let us return to the topic of the methods which Fujikawa Tadashi used to instruct his pupils about swordsmanship (*kenjutsu*). Seisai [Tadashi] closely investigated the books etc. which had been handed down to the Fujikawa family, and it is said he initiated followers with the *hōjō* (first principles, i.e. the important and elementary form of the Jikishin Keiryū style), various forms of methods, spirit etc. Regarding that point Saitō Akinobu in his book already mentioned refers to it in this way:

In the place of this teacher he [Fujikawa Tadashi] carefully checked any unclear points in the books handed down by the founder of this style, and deeply studied the first principles and various forms, spirit etc. and applied these to fencing bouts, assembled the pupils and explained them, and taught the advantages and disadvantages of using them in the field of battle.³⁰

From what Saitō Akinobu has written here, it is clear that Fujikawa Tadashi made use of documents, records and books in his teaching of swordsmanship (*kenjutsu*). Using books and other literature he was able to give his pupils a thorough grounding in the skills required for swordsmanship.

While Fujikawa Tadashi continued the “business of teaching” he was able to study further in the field, and continue to write and transcribe. Using the literature freely, his sincere teaching of his followers was born of an excellent attitude. Saitō Akinobu who was one of his followers also states that his eyes were extraordinary. It is said that there were golden rings round the pupils of the eyes of Fujikawa Seisai.³¹ The same as his teaching of swordsmanship, his eyesight was out of the ordinary. But it is unclear to what extent this helped with his swordsmanship.

Just like Seisai, his heir Fujikawa Ken deepened his scholarship while continuing to be an instructor of *kenjutsu*, and wrote many books as his legacy. He not only continued his father’s ‘work’ but also passionately studied the Ogino style of gunnery (*hōjutsu*) and acquitted a licence in that study.³² It is said that he also became a gunnery instructor.

Shimizu Masanori (Sekijō) [1766-1848] was a military tactician and Confucianist who studied at the Naganuma military academy founded by Naganuma Tansai (1635-1690). When Fujikawa Ken published *Renpei Jikki* [Military Drill Manual] (a Chinese book, in Kanbun) which was proofread by Fujikawa Ken, Shimizu Masanori contributed a ‘jo’ [preface] to the book. In Shimizu’s preface, he praised Fujikawa Ken highly.

Fujikawa Ken was not just a man of talent in swordsmanship but also in military tactics. He may have been aware that gunnery was a method of military tactics. That is the reason why he learned both.

³⁰ Saitō Akinobu, *Jikishin Kageryū Kenjutsu Gokui Kyōju Zukai*, Iguchi Kaishinrō, 1901, pp.20-21.

³¹ Saitō Akinobu, *Jikishin Kageryū Kenjutsu Gokui Kyōju Zukai*, Iguchi Kaishinrō, 1901, pp.20.

³² Kishi Daidō, *Numata no Rekishi to Bunkazai: Toki-shi no Jidai*, Jōmō Shinbunsha Shuppankyoku, 2006, p.123.; *Numata-shi Shi*, Shiryō-hen 2, Numata-shi, 1997, p.968.

As already mentioned, Fujikawa Ken's 'ex libris' seal was 'Kōgyō no Yoryoku Seishin Shoshū'. I may not be fully understanding this seal, but I feel I can at least offer an interpretation of 'Kōgyō no Yoryoku'. 'Kōgyō' does not merely refer to instruction in swordsmanship, but probably includes the teaching of gunnery and military tactics. In the seal as applied to Fujikawa Ken's book collection 'Kōgyō no Yoryoku' [lit. spare capacity after teaching swordsmanship] also probably refers to his leisure activities (books and transcriptions). For Fujikawa Ken, written works may have symbolised a separate world to his main business. But whatever is the case, as can be seen from 'Kagaku Kyōgyō no yoka' [In spare time left over from family business and teaching] (Fujikawa Tadashi) and 'Kōgyō no Yoryoku' (Fujikawa Ken), neither father nor son lacked for effort outside their main business. It can be said that both men left excellent legacies of achievement apart from in the field of swordsmanship.

Swordsmen in the Bakumatsu and Early Meiji periods

In the previous section 'Gojiingahara no Katakiuchi' was mentioned, which became well-known in Mori Ōgai's novel of that title. In fact, there was one more incident which was also called 'Gojiingahara no Katakiuchi'. The very famous swordsman of the Bakumatsu Inoue Denbei was assassinated in 1838 (Tenpō 9), and his nephew and followers carried out their own revenge in 1846 (Kōka 3) at Gojiingahara. As previously mentioned, Inoue Denbei together with Fujikawa Chikatsune (Yahachirō, Seisai's elder brother, Ken's real father) and Sakai Ryōsuke were called the three excellent swordsmen and students of Fujikawa Chikayoshi's Jikishin Kageryū school. It is also well known that Inoue Denbei appears as a swordsman in anecdotes told by Shimada Toranosuke of the Jikishin Kageryū Shimada school. Shimada Toranosuke (1814-1852), along with Otani Nobutomo (1798-1864) of the Jikishin Kageryū Otani school, and Ōishi Susumu (1798-1863) of the Ōishi Shinkageryū, was one of the three great swordsmen of the Bakumatsu. It was Inoue Denbei who brought about the opportunity for Shimada Toranosuke to become a pupil studying under the master swordsman Otani Nobutomo.

In 1854 (Ansei 1) the Treaty of Peace and Amity was concluded between Japan and America which opened the country of Japan. In 1858 (Ansei 5) the Treaty of Amity and Commerce was concluded. In order to ratify this, in 1860 (Man'en 1) the Bakufu sent a mission to America in the *Kanrin Maru*. The captain of the *Kanrin Maru* was Katsu Kaishū (1823-1899), and the inspector (overseer) of the mission sent to America was Oguri Tadamasa (1827-1868). Oguri was in the Bakumatsu period a central figure promoting Japan's modernization from the Shogunate side, and the Japanese writer Shiba Ryōtarō (1923-96) called him 'The Father of Meiji'.³³ Oguri's swordsmanship teacher was Fujikawa Tadashi. Just before he departed for America, Oguri received from Fujikawa Tadashi full recognition of his mastery of, and initiation into, the Jikishin Kageryū.³⁴ Before his departure on the first official visit to a foreign country after the opening of the country, Oguri formally received initiation (permission to practice) into the Jikishin Kageryū from the master.

Katsu Kaishū's father Kokichi was from the Otani family, while Kaishū on the family tree was a cousin of Otani Nobutomo and also a cousin by blood. Since he was a child, he had studied the

³³ Shiba Ryōtarō, *"Meiji" to iu Kokka*, Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1989, p.29.

³⁴ Ryūsen Shōshi, 'Shigai Shiden Kengō Hiwa', *Bungei Shunjū*, Vol.7, No.5, pp.63-67.

Jikishin Kageryū style under Nobutomo's disciple Shimada Toranosuke, and received full initiation into the style. Furthermore, Kaishū's niece married the master swordsman of Bakumatsu and the Meiji era Sakakibara Kenkichi (1830-1894). Together with Yamaoka Tesshū already mentioned, and the spearmanship (*Jitokuinryū*) master Takahashi Deishū (1835-1903), Katsu Kaishū was one of the 'Three Shū of the Bakumatsu' (shogun's vassals with the character Shū 舟 in their given names). Not only Katsu Kaishū, but many people who were active in the Bakumatsu and Meiji periods learned the martial art of swordsmanship. It was through swordsmanship training that they improved their characters. For example, Sakamoto Ryōma studied at the Chiba dōjō founded by Chiba Shūsaku Narimasa (1794-1856) in Edo and was appointed to the Military List of the Hokushin Ittōryū. Kido Kōin (Takayoshi) and Itō Hirobumi and others learned the Shintō Munenryū style. Swordsmanship may be an important key to understanding the Bakumatsu and Meiji Ishin. In the battle between the pro-Shogunate *Shinsengumi* and the samurai (*shishi*) aiming to bring down the Shogunate, swordsmanship was a manifestation of power.

Ernest Satow left Japan for his first home leave in 1869 (Meiji 2). He had stayed in Japan for more than six years. Katsu Kaishū gave Satow his short sword as a parting gift.³⁵ Then in 1878 (Meiji 11) Kaishū created the printed *Bōyūchō* [Notebook of Deceased Friends] and distributed it to friends and acquaintances. He gave a copy to Satow also. In the *Bōyūchō* mutual friends of the two men were included. When he abandoned his Japan research, Satow gave Katsu Kaishū's short sword to an acquaintance in Bangkok.³⁶ The *Bōyūchō* remained in Satow's book collection, and it is now in the holdings of Cambridge University Library. This is an example of a book enduring for a longer time than a sword.

In this Foreword, as a clue to discovering what kind of things books of the Edo era were, I have taken the example of the manuscripts of Fujikawa father and son of the Jikishin Kageryū Fujikawa school. The late Edo period and Bakumatsu were periods when disturbances were beginning. In these periods swordsmen wrote many manuscripts. Fujikawa Tadashi and Ken of the Jikishin Kageryū have left a legacy of many manuscripts in their own handwriting. It is only one part of Fujikawa Tadashi's (Seisai's) book collection, but several items remain in the library of Cambridge University. I wanted to make this historical fact widely known at the start of this book.

I have indicated that there were many manuscripts in the book collections of the Edo period, but manuscripts themselves include various troublesome problems not found in woodblock printed books. We can get a glimpse of these through the manuscript dealt with in this book, *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* by Saitō Gesshin.

³⁵ Hagiwara Nobutoshi, *Kikoku: Tōi Gake 8 – Ānesuto Satō Nikki Shō*, Asahi Shinbunsha, 2008, p.52.

³⁶ Hagiwara Nobutoshi, *Rinichi: Tōi Gake 14 – Ānesuto Satō Nikki Shō*, Asahi Shinbunsha, 2008, p.354. See Satow's diary entry for 1885: "Jan. 16. Khun Ann dined. Gave him the wakizashi [Japanese short sword 脇差] I had mounted in 1871. The blade was a present fr[om]. Katsu Awa no Kami." Ian Ruxton, (ed.), *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Mason Satow, 1883-1888: A Diplomat In Siam, Japan, Britain and Elsewhere*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2016, p.146.

Preface (*Joshō*)

Provenance and the problem of a “gap”

In English there is a word ‘provenance’ which originates from the French language. It signifies the changes in the history, pedigree or lineage, source and collector of works of art, valuable books and documents. This book is the story of the manuscript (*kōhon*) titled *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* written by Saitō Gesshin, and of Ernest Satow who acquired the manuscript in Japan. In a broad sense it is an inquiry into, and a greatly expanded discussion of, the provenance of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō is an important historical document for researching *ukiyo-e*, and in particular the famous but mysterious *ukiyo-e* print designer Sharaku.³⁷ It is always quoted in support of the theory that Sharaku was the Noh actor Saitō Jūrobei, who was in the employ of the Awa (Tokushima) domain. The British diplomat and Japanologist Ernest Satow, was an outstanding collector of antique Japanese books (*Wakankoshō*), and in his collection of Japanese books Saitō Gesshin’s *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was included.

Also Yura Tetsuji (1897-1979) published *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Gabundō, 1979) which took the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* as its original text, and in the preface he admirably stated that Gesshin had ‘not created a compilation, increased the supplementary notes, added illustrations and attempted to complete the book, but had caused the handwritten manuscript to be exported overseas as it was, where it came into the possession of Cambridge University Library and was preserved there’ as *Ukiyoe Ruikō*.³⁸ As will be stated in detail in the next chapter, there are many copies of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, but the compiled and edited edition is the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

In fact, between Saitō Gesshin’s *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and the leading Japanologist Ernest Satow, when looked back on historically a strange ‘gap’ (*zure*) appears. It may be better to speak of a slight discrepancy between them. Expressing the matter figuratively, it may be a kind of misalignment of buttons. I am at a loss to express it accurately in words, but provisionally I will call it a ‘gap.’ To express this ‘gap’ in slightly more concrete terms, it first arose between Satow and Sharaku’s *Nishiki-e* [coloured woodblock prints] and got wider between Satow and the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. At any rate, there was some kind of ‘gap’ there.

The gap between Satow and Sharaku’s *Nishiki-e* arises from the point that Satow was a former collector of the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* which was indispensable for research into Sharaku, and at the same time was an important collector of Sharaku’s *ukiyo-e* woodcut prints. Satow appears not to have realized the importance of the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* in his collection when he was collecting Sharaku’s *Nishiki-e*. This was, in a sense, an ‘irony’ of history. The ‘gap’ between Satow and the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* lies in the problem of its use, or lack of it. In fact, it was buried in his collection and we may conclude that it was hardly used at all. The consequence of Satow’s acquisition of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was that the manuscript was partially included in the research into Japanese art of the collector of artwork William Anderson (1842-1900), a British medical doctor. At least

³⁷ Tōshūsai Sharaku (東洲齋 写楽) was a Japanese *ukiyo-e* print designer, known for his portraits of kabuki actors. His true name and dates of birth and death are unknown. His active career as a woodblock artist spanned only ten months, 1794-5.

³⁸ Yura Tetsuji (ed.), *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Gabundō, 1979, p.3.

the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* did make a great contribution to Anderson's research into Japanese art history.

It may also be necessary to pay some attention to the way that the knowledge contained in the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* passed via Anderson to other British collectors of ukiyoe, for example Edward Fairbrother Strange (1862-1929).³⁹ Strange collected ukiyoe at the South Kensington Museum (now called the Victoria and Albert Museum), and wrote and published books with titles like 'Japanese Illustrations' [*Nihon no Zuhān*] and 'Japanese Woodblock Prints' [*Nihon no Hanga*].

In 1886 (Meiji 19) Anderson published *A Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum* in London, and in this he used *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* as an important work of reference. But after this Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was in a sense buried in Satow's book collection. It was reprinted in 1963 (Showa 38) and 1964 (Showa 39) in *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō* [Documents and Research into Modern Art and Literature], a regularly published periodical (magazine), but it was not fully introduced. The main reason for this was that in the mid-1880s (the latter half of the Meiji 10s), Satow almost completely abandoned his Japan research, including that relating to art. In order to build up his career as a British diplomat, he gave up his Japanology. As an expression of his resolve, Satow parted with his extensive Japanese book collection, which he had until then frantically assembled. Among the books he got rid of Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was included. As a result of Satow giving up his Japan research, *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was buried in his former collection and was hardly used.

Satow's "disposal of his collection"

After Satow finished working in Japan at the end of 1882, from his new diplomatic post at Bangkok in Thailand (Siam) he broke up his collection of antique Japanese books (*Wakankosho*), sending some to Britain and some to Japan, thus disposing of many of them. In this book this will sometimes be referred to as 'disposal of (Satow's) collection' (*zōsho shobun*). This is because even items which were first dispersed and kept safely were in the end 'disposed of' (donated). Part of Satow's collection in the 'disposal of collection' was given to the British Museum or close friends and acquaintances such as Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935). He also sent a large number to his friend living in London, Frederick Victor Dickins (1838-1915). Dickins arranged for them to be stored in a warehouse in London for Satow, who was working overseas as a diplomat. Satow never made further use of the books stored on his behalf by Dickins in London, but by chance when he was at home on leave, he was able to transfer them to his fellow Japanologist William George Aston (1841-1911). From this situation it will be clear that Satow's division and disposal of his collection was part of his larger plan to abandon research about Japan, and reflects his strong determination to pursue his career as a diplomat.

The phrase 'disposal of collection' includes various nuances. It seems that Satow himself avoided the use of the word 'disposal'. After he had served in Japan (1895-1900) and then China (1900-06) as Minister, and had retired from the Diplomatic Service, he met with Valentine Chirol

³⁹ Allen Hockley, *The Prints of Isoda Koryūsai: Floating World Culture and its Consumers in Eighteenth-Century Japan*, University of Washington Press, 2003, p.23; Edward F. Strange, *Japanese Illustration: A History of the Arts of Wood-Cutting and Colour Printing in Japan*, George Bell and Sons, 1897, pp. xviii-xix.

(1852-1929), the director of the foreign department of the influential *Times* of London. Satow recorded the following in his diary for January 29, 1907 (Meiji 40):

Chirol says people declare that I have washed my hands of the Far East, & even got rid of my books; I replied that I had certainly not done the latter, tho' I had given away my Japanese library when I left in 1882, but I did not wish to have anything to do with the China & Japan Societies, for if I opened my mouth on Far Eastern Affairs I should get into hot water.⁴⁰

Regarding the treatment of Satow's Japanese books, 'disposal' (*shobun*) can be thought to include donations. Satow himself may not have considered his donations to be a disposal. At least in his diary Satow does not use the word. But in substance this can be called a 'disposal of collection'. Even donations to friends can be regarded as a disposal of a collection.

Satow's 'disposal of collection' was of a large number of books, not a trivial amount. In that situation Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was lost in Satow's former book collection which was sent to England. In other words, after Satow's collection was broken up and disposed of, it did not receive much attention. It was buried in the huge volume of Satow's former collection. Dickins who had stored Satow's collection for him in London in 1880 (Meiji 13) produced an English translation of Hokusai's *Fugaku Hyakkei* (One Hundred Views of Mount Fuji) etc. and presumably had a strong interest in ukiyoe and Japanese art, but probably did not venture to inspect his friend's collection in detail. Did he in fact know that in Satow's collection which he was looking after the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was included?

Satow's colleague in Japanology W.G. Aston, after he retired from the British Foreign Office, had continued researching into Things Japanese at Seaton, a coastal town in the Eastern part of the county of Devon. The greater part of Satow's collection which had been sent to Dickins and stored by him in London was donated to Aston. It does not seem that Aston who made use of Satow's former collection in his home at Seaton paid any more special attention than Satow or Dickins to the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. He probably cast an eye over it, but did not express any particular interest in the description of Sharaku contained therein. After Aston's death in 1911 the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, together with the rest of Satow's former collection and Aston's own collection, was added to the collection of Cambridge University Library.

Satow disposed of his collection by donating it to friends and the British Museum, but of course he did not let go of all his Japanese books. He kept a few for himself, for example *Edo Meisho Zue* (An Illustrated Guide of Famous Places in Edo). The work of production of this book was inherited by Saitō Gesshin from his grandfather and father, and he completed it as a 'family business' (*kagyō*). It remained in Satow's possession even after the disposal of his collection, as did *Hokusai Manga* (Sketches by Hokusai). He probably had several sets of this work, but kept the best one for himself. Satow had a special emotional attachment to *Hokusai Manga*, and he continued to keep them together with his ukiyoe woodblock prints (*Nishiki-e*).

Satow may have had a special attachment to the *Edo Meisho Zue* which was compiled by the outstanding researcher and writer Saitō Gesshin. He probably considered it to be an important

⁴⁰ Ian Ruxton (ed.), *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, 1906-1911*, Lulu.com, 2015; Satow Papers PRO 30/33 16/10.

topographical description of Edo. He must have thought it too precious, with its illustrations inserted by Hasegawa Settan (1778-1843) to give away to friends or libraries. Moreover, Satow evaluated Saitō Gesshin highly as a compiler. He collected almost all of Gesshin's published works (*hanpon*, books printed from woodblocks). Of course, he also realized that *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was a work written by Saitō Gesshin.

Sharaku and *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*

Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* is always mentioned as a document in connection with Sharaku. One of the main art museums and museums in which Sharaku's works are held is the British Museum, and in fact the centre of the collection there is the ukiyoe woodblock prints (*Nishiki-e*) collected by Ernest Satow. The items collected by Satow represent a world-leading collection⁴¹ and the greatest prints of Sharaku therein have no rival anywhere in the world.⁴² There are some scholars of the opinion that the woodblock prints (*Nishiki-e*) by Sharaku collected by Satow are the British Museum's greatest ukiyoe collection.⁴³ It may even be the case that Satow was the greatest collector of Sharaku's work. If that is true, as already indicated, there may be a slight historical irony to be detected in that fact.

To show just how important Satow's collection of Sharaku's *Nishiki-e* is, one example may be given: the exhibition held in November 2019 (Reiwa 1) at the Edo-Tokyo Museum titled 'Special Exhibition Five Ukiyo-e Favorites: Utamaro, Sharaku, Hokusai, Hiroshige, and Kuniyoshi'. For that exhibition Sharaku's works were loaned from the main museums and art museums abroad and in Japan, and from the collections of individuals, amounting to a total of 81 exhibits. Of these the largest number (20 items) were from the British Museum, and of those 16 were items collected by Satow. In particular it is possible to regard Sharaku's ukiyoe woodblock print masterpieces as having been borrowed from Satow's collection.

However, it is still quite unclear why Ernest Satow was in a position to collect Sharaku's most important works. First, it is not known when Satow collected Sharaku's *Nishiki-e*. He probably collected them in Japan. In the same way that Sharaku himself is a mysterious ukiyoe master, the circumstances in which Satow collected his works are also unknown. As when solving the mystery of Sharaku himself, if we seek to assume or guess the situation regarding Satow's Sharaku collection, the problem is different depending on whether it was created before or after the 'disposal of collection'. If Satow began collecting Sharaku's work at a time when he was not particularly famous, we can say that Satow's judgement was very discerning, and this is proof that he had a very keen eye. But it may be the case that it was after the 'disposal of collection'. If that were true, it must have been created when Satow was working as Minister to Japan (1895-

⁴¹ Lawrence R. H. Smith, 'History and Characteristics of Ukiyo-e Collection in the British Museum' (Introduction, English Supplement), *Hizō Ukiyoe Taikan 1* (Daiei Hakubutsukan 1), Kōdansha, 1987. (Smith was Keeper of the new Department of Japanese Antiquities at the British Museum in 1987, Senior Keeper in 1995, retired in 1997.)

⁴² Laurence Binyon, *A Catalogue of Japanese & Chinese Woodcuts Preserved in the Sub-Department of Oriental Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, Longmans, 1916, p.vi.

⁴³ John Hatcher, *Laurence Binyon: Poet, Scholar of East and West*, Clarendon Press, 1995, p.78.

1900). So, while residing in Japan as the British Minister, he secretly collected famous works of Sharaku.

At the end of Chapter Three of this book the preface will be quoted of a catalogue prepared by the French art critic Théodore Duret (1838-1927) for the French National Library recording collected works which he had donated.⁴⁴ In that preface Duret states that Satow began collecting antique Japanese books and woodblock prints on the instructions of Anderson.⁴⁵ The time period was the three years from when Anderson left Japan in 1880 (Meiji 13) until Satow left Japan to return to Britain on leave at the end of 1882 (Meiji 15). According to Duret, during that time Satow was probably collecting ukiyoe woodblock prints in Japan. So, did Satow collect *Nishiki-e* by Sharaku at that time? This would seem to have been an ideal time to have collected Sharaku's *Nishiki-e*.

We may tentatively conclude that Satow from the start of 1880 until the end of 1882, at the same time as he was collecting picture books (*ehon*) and art books (*bijutsusho*), was also collecting ukiyoe woodblock prints (*hanga*). This much seems certain. But there was no direct connection in Satow's Japan research between his acquisition of Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* for his research into ukiyoe and his ukiyoe collection, including Sharaku's *Nishiki-e*. At least there are no academic papers or essays (*ronbun*) which combine these two things.

Satow engaged in research on Japan in various fields, but he never produced any well-summarized research into *Nishiki-e* in the form of something like an essay. At the end of an 1882 essay titled 'On the Early History of Printing in Japan' in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*⁴⁶, Satow did refer to block printing and pictorial wood-engraving, but as regards art he did not step beyond the field of printing. It may be that Satow was surprisingly cautious about art in the form of ukiyoe.

It seems likely that Satow read *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* together with William Anderson in Japan. Or it may be more accurate to state that Satow read and comprehended the text, and then explained it to Anderson. It is only in one place in the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, but English has been inserted. It indicates that a copy ('sketches or tracings') has been made. This seems to have been written by Satow with a pencil.

However, there is no evidence that Satow when he made use of the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* paid any special attention to the identity of Sharaku. But it is a little difficult to assert this with any finality. There remains a possibility that Satow concentrated on the part of the book in which 'there were portraits of kabuki actors by Sharaku, but he could not capture their true essence and produced deformed versions. He briefly published them, but gave up after one or two years.'⁴⁷ It may be that Satow was very interested in this aspect of Sharaku's work, and that this had some connection with Satow's collecting of *Nishiki-e* by Sharaku.

⁴⁴ Théodore Duret; Bibliothèque nationale, Département des Estampes, *Livres & albums illustrés du Japon*, Paris, 1900.

⁴⁵ Ōshima Seiji, *Japonisumu: Inshōha to Ukiyoe no Shūhen*, Bijutsu Kōronsha, 1980, p.198.

⁴⁶ Ernest Satow, 'On the Early History of Printing in Japan' (Read 15 December 1881), *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* Volume 10, pt. 1, (May 1882), pp. 48-83.

⁴⁷ Itasaka Gen, Tanamachi Tomoya, 'Kaigai Shiryō Shōkai - Gesshin Kōhon Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō 2', *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō* 3, 1964, p.114.

In later years, in the process of researching the true identity of Sharaku, Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* has received a lot of attention, but in fact this was after *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was reprinted and introduced as a document in an academic periodical in 1964 (Showa 39). Although Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* did not contain everything about Sharaku, this was continued in a book which will be introduced later, the *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* by Tatsutaya Shūkin. But that Sharaku was none other than the Noh actor Saitō Jūrobei of the Awa (Tokushima) troupe was first written in Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Then it was reprinted and published in the 1960s, and from that time researchers into Sharaku began to pay attention to this book.

For example, Yura Tetsuji has already been mentioned as the editor of *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō* (1979) which is a work referred to in the reprint of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* published in the academic periodical. Furthermore, in *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō* there is a reprint of part of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, but Yura Tetsuji supports the theory that Sharaku was Hokusai, so he did not copy the part of Gesshin's book containing the theory that Sharaku was Saitō Jūrobei. As can be seen from the editorial policy of Yura Tetsuji's *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō*, in the several *Ukiyoe Ruikō* manuscripts, Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* has been considered the first and most fundamental text, and it was apparently the basis of the *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

Before returning to the topic of Satow's book collection, I should like to point out that, as in the case of Tatsutaya Shūkin's *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* has been the source text of several *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Even if it had been lost in some substantial collections of Japanese books (*Wakansho*) created by foreigners, Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and the information it contained about Sharaku was to some extent known by people connected with ukiyoe. The situation is quite complicated, and includes some difficult problems.

There may not have been many manuscripts which were mere transcriptions of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, but it seems that the existence of the manuscript of the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* written by Saitō Gesshin was relatively well known by experts in the fields of ukiyoe and Japanese art. Among overseas researchers also, the title *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was apparently quite well known through the British Museum catalogue edited by Anderson. For example, with regard to Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, the manuscript of Tatsutaya Shūkin's *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* has already been mentioned. In the foreword of his *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* (the title of the manuscript at the time of publication) Tatsutaya mentions the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Tatsutaya Shūkin borrowed in his *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* from *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and produced his work based on it. He also added the word *Shin* (New) to it. But there are certain substantive differences reflected in the difference in title between the manuscript and the published book.

Tatsutaya Shūkin's manuscript title was originally *Shin Zō Ukiyoe Ruikō* and it was published in 1889 (Meiji 22) as a printed reprint. But when it was published, the title was changed to *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. The publisher may have wanted to emphasize that this new publication was a further enlarged edition of Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. As a result, Tatsutaya Shūkin's *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* became the first printed and published *Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

This printed book *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was circulated not only inside Japan but also overseas. It may be that the publisher assumed from the beginning that the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* would go overseas. In any case, Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* became known abroad, not merely through Anderson's British Museum Catalogue, but as a printed book with the title *Ukiyoe Ruikō* and furthermore through Tatsutaya Shūkin's *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

Also, the description of Sharaku which appeared in Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was reproduced almost entirely in Tatsutaya Shūkin's *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. A book was published in Germany in 1910 (Meiji 43) in German by Julius Kurth (1870-1949) titled *Sharaku*⁴⁸ which made use of the printed reprint of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and clarified Sharaku's identity. Through Kurth's publication of *Sharaku* the ukiyoe master was fully introduced for the first time, and his name became known throughout the world. The book was also reimported into Japan, and his fame spread instantly throughout Japan. Satow's collection of Sharaku's works of course preceded his being made famous worldwide by Kurth.

Satow, Anderson and...

From the 1870s to the first half of the 1880s, Satow was very active in publishing the results of his Japanology,⁴⁹ mostly in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan, founded in 1872. At that time, it can be said that Satow, who was one of the pioneers of Japanology, was a kind of all-rounder in his Japan research. But he did not write or publish any essays on the subject of ukiyoe. At the end of his essay 'On the Early History of Printing in Japan' of 1882 (Meiji 15), Satow referred to the close connection in Japan between the history of woodblock prints and the printing of books, but he did not go so far as to discuss ukiyoe woodblock prints (Nishiki-e). It is a pity that he did not touch a little more on the problems of ukiyoe etc. in his essays. It may be that Satow's cautious character held him back from entering the field of art proper.

Ernest Satow had a plan to write and publish a book about Japanese art together with William Anderson, who was one of the pioneers overseas of research into Japanese art. Anderson resided in Japan in the early Meiji era as an 'o-yatoi gaikokujin' (employed foreigner), a medical doctor. At that time, he collected a large number of Japanese artworks. His collection of Japanese art was later absorbed into the British Museum, and it was the start of the Museum's collection of Japanese art. But not all of Anderson's collection was taken into the Museum. Many pieces were transferred to the collections of friends such as Ernest Hart. Ironically, Anderson's collection of woodblock prints was transferred into Ernest Hart's collection.

William Anderson came to Japan in 1873 (Meiji 6), and stayed in Japan for six years. Satow came to Japan in 1862 (Bun'yū 2), and stayed in Japan after Anderson left, but he went home on leave in 1875 (Meiji 8) and was away from Japan for a while, so in fact the period when Satow and Anderson were able to work together on research of Japanese art was approximately from 1877 (Meiji 10) until 1882 (Meiji 15) when Satow left Japan. Of course, after that time Satow met Anderson in London and elsewhere, and it is likely that he continued to support Anderson. As a preeminent collector of Japanese books, he probably helped Anderson to obtain *Wakansho* (books in Japanese and Chinese characters) and documents about art.

Ukiyoe Ruikō is the basic text regarding ukiyoe masters, and from the late Edo period until about the middle of the Meiji period it was used in manuscript form. The number of manuscripts was

⁴⁸ Julius Kurth, Sadamura Tadashi (transl.), Gamō Junjirō (transl.), *Sharaku*, Adachi Hanga Kenkyūjo, 1994.

⁴⁹ See Ian Ruxton, 'E.M. Satow's Early Publications: A Founding Father of Modern Japanology', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, fourth series, volume 11, 1996, pp. 151-167. Read by the author on YouTube: <https://youtu.be/7Rf84px5j1>

very large. Also, including the history of transcription, the classification of manuscripts is very complicated. *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Tatsutaya Shūkin's *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*) was published in 1889 (Meiji 22). Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was in a sense a manuscript compilation of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, but the manuscript was not published. Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was created as a transcribed book, but the manuscript itself of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was never directly published as a woodblock print. It seems likely that the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* remained as a manuscript written in Saitō Gesshin's own hand and in his possession until his death in 1878 (Meiji 11). The story of Ernest Satow and the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, which is the central theme of this book, begins at this point.

This book investigates the provenance of the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, and seeks to do so by focusing on the relationship between Ernest Satow and the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. The central period under investigation, as already mentioned, begins with the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* coming into Satow's possession after Saitō Gesshin's death. To be specific, the period of investigation of the provenance will start from the time when the book left the creator Saitō Gesshin's possession, passing through the collection of the outstanding collector of Japanese books Ernest Satow, until finding its ultimate resting place in the Cambridge University Library. Of course, as prehistory it is intended to refer in a simple way to the problems connected with the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* which was handed down in manuscript form. But as a proportion of the total book, parts relating to Ernest Satow, including problems of the collection, constitute a very high percentage.

Edmond de Goncourt

Of all the countries of Europe and America, France was the first country where ukiyoe woodblock prints (*Nishiki-e*) became popular. First, it was France where ukiyoe provided the opportunity for the fashion of Japonaiserie (Japonisme) to begin. Of course, the French 'japonisants' (Japanologists) were very interested in *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, the basic text for ukiyoe research. The French writer and art critic Edmond de Goncourt (1822-1896) is also famous as a collector of ukiyoe and other Japanese works of art, and with the cooperation of Hayashi Tadamas (1853-1906) and others published *Utamaro* in 1891 (Meiji 24)⁵⁰ and *Hokusai* in 1896 (Meiji 29).⁵¹ As can be understood from these publications, Goncourt was an important pioneer of ukiyoe research.

In both *Utamaro* and *Hokusai* Goncourt refers to *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. As for which manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* was used by him, this will be explained in detail in Chapter One. It was edited by Ryūtei Tanehiko III (the novelist Takabatake Ransen, 1838-1885), and titled *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō* [Enlarged and Revised *Ukiyoe Ruikō*], the Tanehiko edition. There were two copies of this manuscript, both in the former collection of Hayashi Tadamas. In the first part of the main text of *Utamaro*, Goncourt explains *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in the following way. When he was writing *Utamaro* it seems Goncourt made partial use of a translation by Hayashi Tadamas of *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Tanehiko edition) which was in Hayashi Tadamas's collection.

⁵⁰ Edomon Do Gonkūru [Edmond de Goncourt], Oki Yukiko (transl.), *Utamarō*, Heibonsha, 2005.

⁵¹ Edomon Do Gonkūru [Edmond de Goncourt], Oki Yukiko (transl.), *Hokusai – Jūhasseiki no Nihon Bijutsu*, Heibonsha, 2019.

Ukiyoe Ruikō is the only directory of ukiyoe school artists starting with Hishikawa Moronobu [1618-1694], and even though it is still not printed and published, it is an important document which has been communicated to Japanese collectors by transcriptions.⁵²

Edmond de Goncourt writes here that *Ukiyoe Ruikō* is unpublished, but Tatsutaya Shūkin's *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* had already been published in 1889 (Meiji 22). Regardless of whether it was a manuscript or a published book, Goncourt was clearly aware that *Ukiyoe Ruikō* was an important work of reference.

After *Utamaro* was published in 1891 (Meiji 24) Goncourt received a letter dated February 22, 1892 (Meiji 25) from Dr. Paul Michaut, a Frenchman working at a hospital in Yokohama.⁵³ In the letter Michaut offered his support for Goncourt's ukiyoe research. He told Goncourt that he could assist him because he had a command of Japanese. At that time Goncourt had already published *Utamaro* and was planning to publish *Hokusai*, so he immediately accepted Michaut's proposal and requested that he translate into French the descriptions etc. of Hokusai in *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. With the help of a certain Japanese named Urakami (or Murakami?) Michaut translated those parts and offered them to Goncourt.

Of course, with regard to the translation of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* from Japanese, Goncourt had until that time relied on the assistance of Hayashi Tadamasa. That was the case when he published *Utamaro*. Regarding research into Hokusai, the reason why Goncourt asked Michaut for a partial translation of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* lay in a certain degree of estrangement between him and Hayashi Tadamasa at that time. The reason for the chilling of their personal relations lay in a complicated problem regarding the collection of documents about Hokusai. Others, including the ukiyoe art dealer Samuel Bing (1838-1905) and Iijima Kyoshin (1841-1901) the author of the *Life of Katsushika Hokusai*, were involved in that problem. Hayashi Tadamasa was connected with Bing, Kyoshin and Goncourt.

Anyway, in his preparations for writing *Hokusai*, Goncourt received assistance with the translation from Michaut. Goncourt wrote the whole story of Michaut and the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* first in the *Echo de Paris* newspaper of June 7, 1892⁵⁴ and then published the whole article unedited as the preface to *Hokusai* in 1896 (Meiji 29).⁵⁵ This process is described in the preface to *Hokusai*.

Goncourt sent a letter to William Anderson in connection with the publication of *Hokusai*, and when *Hokusai* was published in 1896 (Meiji 29) he presented a copy of the book to Anderson. Now in the French National Library (Bibliothèque nationale de France, BnF) in Edmond de Goncourt's papers there are two letters from Anderson to Goncourt. There are none from

⁵² Edmond de Goncourt, *Utamaro: le Peintre des Maisons Vertes*, Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1891, p.2.

⁵³ Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *Japon Rêvé: Edmond de Goncourt et Hayashi Tadamasa*, Hermann, 2001.

⁵⁴ Edmond de Goncourt, 'Hokusai', *L'Écho de Paris*, 7 Juin 1892, p.1.

⁵⁵ Edmond de Goncourt, *Hokusai: L'art Japonais au XVIII Siècle*, Ernest Flammarion-Eugène Fosquelle, 1896, pp.5-7.

Goncourt to Anderson. Of the two letters to Goncourt, one is dated October 29, 1895 (Meiji 28).⁵⁶ It is the answer to a letter from Goncourt to Anderson about Hokusai's works held in Britain.

The second letter from Anderson is dated February 25, 1896 (Meiji 29)⁵⁷ and includes his thanks for the copy of *Hokusai*. Goncourt sent a letter in the previous year to Anderson dated October 29, 1895 (Meiji 28) but thereafter he seems to have lost Anderson's address, and in a letter to Hayashi Tadamasu dated February 19, 1896 (Meiji 29) he asks for the London addresses of Anderson and Ernest Hart.⁵⁸ Goncourt appears to have sent the copy of *Hokusai* to Anderson as soon as he received his address. In the letter of February 25, 1896 (Meiji 29) Anderson gives an outline of the research into Hokusai conducted by himself, the American archaeologist Edward Sylvester Morse (1838-1925) and the Japanologist Frederick Victor Dickins (1838-1915). In the postscript to this letter, Anderson mentions that he has presented to Goncourt through his friend Ernest Hart who was probably visiting Paris at the time, the sketchbook of Hokusai which had been in the possession of the late Baron Leighton (Frederick Leighton, the famous British painter, 1830-1896). Anderson also encloses an extract from an essay of his own about his Hokusai research. This was a quotation about Hokusai from a paper published in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan in 1878 (Meiji 11) titled 'A History of Japanese Art'. (*Transactions* vol. 7, part 4, 1879.)

In his letter in English to Goncourt of February 25, 1896 (Meiji 29) there is a very interesting point referring to the *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. In the main text of this letter at the end, Anderson writes as follows:

I regret that I did not know sooner that you were engaged upon your important task as I could have sent you a copy of the "Ukiyo ye Ruiko" which I have lately transferred to the British Museum. Sir Ernest Satow also has a copy.

A simple interpretation of Anderson's letter is as follows. Anderson had recently (probably in 1894) donated (or sold?) a copy of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* to the British Museum. Apart from this copy, Ernest Satow had one more copy of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in his collection.

In his letter Anderson refers to two manuscript copies of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. One was used by him, or at least in his collection, and the other was in the collection of Ernest Satow. This is quite baffling for me, and I have difficulty in understanding it. It is surely the case that these two manuscripts of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* are in fact both of Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. The two manuscripts *Ukiyoe Ruikō* must be Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Gesshin's personal manuscripts), one being the original and the other being its copy. The manuscript in Satow's collection was the original written by Saitō Gesshin, the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* in three volumes. This is the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*

⁵⁶ Journal et correspondance des frères Edmond et Jules Huot de Goncourt. XIXe siècle. II Correspondance, classée par ordre [...] (Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. NAF 22450).

⁵⁷ Journal et correspondance des frères Edmond et Jules Huot de Goncourt. XIXe siècle. II Correspondance, classée par ordre [...] (Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. NAF 22450).

⁵⁸ Jovanni Peterunorri [Giovanni Peternolli], Kodō Eiko (transl.), 'Edomondo Do Gonkūru [Edmond de Goncourt] ate no Hayashi Tadamasu Mikan Shokan ni tsuite (Shōzen)', *Ukiyoe Geijutsu*, No. 63 (1980), p.13.

now in Cambridge University Library. It is the original of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. There is no doubt about this.

The problem is in respect of the other copy of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. It is probably a transcribed copy of the original *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* held at Cambridge University Library. Anderson states in his letter to Goncourt that he has transferred it to the British Museum. In that case, what happened to the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (the copy of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*?) which Anderson states that he transferred to the British Museum in 1894 (Meiji 27)? If Anderson really transferred it to the British Museum, it should still be there today, but to my knowledge it does not exist. This part of the story is an unsolved mystery. Could it perhaps be the case that the item which Anderson says he transferred to the British Museum was not a transcription of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* but something like an abridged English translation of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*? Did such a simplified version of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* exist? At any rate, this part of Anderson's letter remains a mystery.

It is also a little difficult to understand why Anderson brought up the subject of the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* at this point. If we read Goncourt's *Utamaro* or *Hokusai*, it is clear that Goncourt consulted the *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, so why at this point in time is Anderson regretting that he did not send a copy of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* to Goncourt? Of course, it is quite possible that Goncourt had several copies of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. It is also quite easy to understand that Anderson wanted to help Goncourt with his work. Was this why he brought up the topic of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, as a kind of symbol of his desire to assist? The reference to the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* in Anderson's letter remains a mystery which this book will not solve.

Chapter One – *Ukiyoe Ruikō*

What is the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*?

Ukiyoe Ruikō ('Various Thoughts on Ukiyoe') is a historical record presenting the results of investigation into the life stories, careers, ancestry, reviews etc. of ukiyoe artists, and is a basic document of ukiyoe research. It may be correct to call it a directory (*meikan*) of ukiyoe artists. In 1941 (Shōwa 16) Nakada Katsunosuke (1886-1945) published *Ukiyoe Ruikō* and in the foreword he wrote the following about it:

Ukiyoe Ruikō is the sole authority for ukiyoe research, providing many clues for researchers, and is an indispensable reference document.⁵⁹

This was Nakada's opinion in 1941, but the importance of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* for ukiyoe research has not diminished since then.

Until 1889 (Meiji 22), when *Ukiyoe Ruikō* was published as a movable type printed book (*Katsuji honkoku bon*), it was circulated and used in manuscript form. Before that it was not published as a printed book. As a result, the number of manuscripts of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* was very large. Nakada Katsunosuke expressed it thus: 'There were almost countless manuscripts with no limit.'⁶⁰

Kitakōji Ken (1912-1991) published a series in 41 parts titled *Ukiyoe Ruikō Ronkyū* [A thorough discussion of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*] from 1971 (Shōwa 46) to 1975 (Shōwa 50) in an art periodical titled *Hōshun*. In the series of essays there are several reprints of manuscripts of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. In an essay published in 1972 (Shōwa 47) Kitakōji Ken writes that he himself had sight of 118 copies of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*.⁶¹

Nakashima Osamu (1948 - ?) who made a comprehensive study of the manuscripts of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* confirmed a total of 83 copies.⁶² He further estimated that there were probably another 83 or so which he had not been able to confirm.⁶³ If we take into consideration the many manuscripts seen by these researchers (Kitakōji and Nakashima), the total number of manuscripts may amount to many more than 100. The number of manuscripts of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* is certainly not small.

However, it is not only the number of manuscripts of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, but also the complex process of transcription which mean that the lineage of transcribed books is also complicated. This is particularly the case with early transcriptions. Furthermore, in later years even though new documents were not added, the order of insertion of the original documents was changed. So even if the manuscript has the same title of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, there are differences in the main text, and we can say that the content changed over time. It was not the case that the history of the process of transcription of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* was a mere repeated copying word for word of the main text.

⁵⁹ Nakada Katsunosuke, (Ed. & Revised by), *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Iwanami Shoten, 1941. p. 3.

⁶⁰ Nakada Katsunosuke, (Ed. & Revised by), *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Iwanami Shoten, 1941. p. 5.

⁶¹ Kitakōji Ken, 'Ukiyoe Ruikō: Ronkyū 12', *Hōshun*, No.211 (1972), p. 4.

⁶² Nakashima Osamu, *Ukiyoe Ruikō Seiritsu Hensenshi no Kenkyū*, Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan, 2004. p.33.

⁶³ Nakashima Osamu, *Ukiyoe Ruikō Seiritsu Hensenshi no Kenkyū*, Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan, 2004. p.36.

These transcribed books can be included in the broad category of manuscripts of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. However, the content of these transcriptions can vary depending on their lineage, whether extra documents have been added, the method of compilation and editing etc. In the words of Nakada Katsunosuke, these ‘variations’ in manuscripts broadened endlessly. Moreover, there are cases where not only the main text but also the titles of the manuscripts are different. In many cases these manuscripts have tentatively been treated as part of the group of manuscripts titled *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. But regarding the titles of individual manuscripts, they were not necessarily all titled *Ukiyoe Ruikō* or of titles of that derivation, for example *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* or *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō*. For this reason, even when the title is different, judging from the content there are several manuscripts in existence which belong to the broad category of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

***Ukiyoe Ruikō* comes into existence**

Including the problem of transcriptions, the process of the establishment of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, its changes and evolution etc., is extremely complicated. The complex situation regarding the establishment of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* can be tentatively summarized as follows. First, as regards the main text the satirical ‘tanka’ poet Ōta Nanpo (1749-1823) in about 1798 prepared notes (called *Ukiyoe Ruikō*) of the names of ukiyoe artists. It was originally Ōta Nanpo who gave the work the title *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. This *Ukiyoe Ruikō* has come to be referred to as the *Gen Ruikō* (original text or Urtext).

Furthermore, Ōta Nanpo in about 1800 (Kansei 12) copied and added as an appendix to *Ukiyoe Ruikō* the *Kokon Yamato Ukiyoe Shikei* (The Ancient and Modern Lineage of Japanese Ukiyoe) written by Sasaya Kuninori (commonly called Shinshichi), and bound these together as one volume. At this stage the *Kokon Yamato Ukiyoe Shikei* was added to the Urtext of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Sasaya Kuninori (Shinshichi) was the master of a kimono embroidery shop (*nuihakuya*) in Honshirogane-chō at Nihonbashi and he knew a lot about ukiyoe artists. Sasaya’s *Kokon Yamato Ukiyoe Shikei* was called ‘Shikei’.

The popular fiction writer and ukiyoe artist Santō Kyōden (1761-1816) edited *Ukiyoe Ruikō Tsuikō* [Additional Notes on *Ukiyoe Ruikō*] and published it in 1802 (Kyōwa 2). Ōta Nanpo had added Sasaya Kuninori’s *Shikei* to his *Gen Ruikō* and combined them, but in 1818 (Bunsei 1) he further added Santō Kyōden’s *Ukiyoe Ruikō Tsuikō*. This is normally referred to as ‘Tsuikō’. At this stage Ōta Nanpo’s *Gen Ruikō*, Sasaya Kuninori’s *Shikei* and Santō Kyōden’s *Tsuikō* were all bound together in one volume. This is referred to as ‘Sanbu’ or ‘Sanbusaku’ (Three works).

Then in 1821 (Bunsei 4) the popular comic writer Shikitei Sanba (1776-1822) added the ‘Hoki’ (Supplementary Notes) to the three works of the *Sanbu*. Of course, at this stage Sanba’s *Hoki* was not added to all the manuscripts, there were some which were not enlarged in this way.

Nakashima Osamu examined many manuscripts of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* and in ‘Ukiyoe Ruikō Seiritsu, Hensenshi no Kenkyū’ [Research into the Creation and History of Changes of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*] in Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan Henshū 2 [Ōta Memorial Museum of Art ed. 2] distinguished in the history of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* between the ‘Seiritsushi’ [History of Creation] and ‘Hensenshi’ [History of Changes]. If we follow the distinction made by Nakashima Osamu in his writing, we can regard the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* as having been created when the *Sanbu* (the three works by Ōta Nanpo, Sasaya Kuninori and Santō Kyōden) was combined with Shikitei Sanba’s *Hoki*. There is also the view that the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* was already created at the point when the *Sanbu* was formed, before the addition

of the *Hoki*. Whichever is the case, we can regard the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* as being created with the addition of the *Hoki* to the *Sanbusaku*.

Changes in the *Ukiyoe Ruikō*

For the time being the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* was complete, but the additions and supplements to the book continued. The manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* moved to the stage of what is called the 'Hensenshi' (History of Changes) by Nakashima Osamu. In 1833 (Tenpō 4) the ukiyoe artist Keisai Eisen (1790-1848) using the name 'Mumeiō' added *Yamato Eshi Ukiyoe no Kō* and *Azuma Nishikie no Kō*, to produce *Mumeiō Zuihitsu* [Essays by Mumeiō]. This is usually called the 'Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō' or 'Eisenbon' (Eisen's book).

By the appearance of Eisen's edition of the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (*Mumeiō Zuihitsu* or *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō*) the manuscript can be said to have entered a new stage. Until then it had developed so to speak by the addition of new documents without any changes to them. The art historian Suzuki Jūzō (1919-2010) described this as 'assembling by additions' (*fuka shūgō keitai*).⁶⁴ Eisen when adding new sections followed a system of reorganization by dismantling and reshuffling.⁶⁵ In the case of Eisen's *Ukiyoe Ruikō* the main organizing historical document was the abovementioned *Sanbu*, but it is said that using this 'he produced a completely new and reorganized biography of ukiyoe artists'.⁶⁶ So at the stage where Eisen intervened, the method of editing *Ukiyoe Ruikō* changed.

Regarding this point Yura Tetsuji, who researched the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* and published *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō* which was centred on Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, wrote in his book as follows:

Ukiyoe Ruikō was at first a list of artists' names and some random notes which occurred to [Ōta] Nanpo, but then it became Hōkai's book with predetermined articles classified in fixed columns, and its format was edited.⁶⁷

The above quotation mentions 'Hōkai's book' which is Eisen's book in the collection of Ishizuka Hōkaishi. This was the manuscript which Saitō Gesshin borrowed when he created *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, and is *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō* (*Mumeiō Zuihitsu*).

The evolution of the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* changed at the Eisen book stage with a change in the method of compilation, and thereafter the changes in the Eisen book became the centre of the manuscript's development. As already mentioned, Saitō Gesshin enlarged the *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō* (one of the Eisen books) and created the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. And based on Gesshin's *Zōho*

⁶⁴ Suzuki Jūzō, 'Shisei Airoku Hachijūyon: Ukiyoe Ruikō, Shisei Airoku Hachijūgo: Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō, Shisei Airoku Nihyakusan: Ukiyoeshi Ryakuden Kaisetsu', *Sekine Bunko Senshū*, Series 1, Supplement 2, 1984, p.40.

⁶⁵ Suzuki Jūzō, 'Shisei Airoku Hachijūyon: Ukiyoe Ruikō, Shisei Airoku Hachijūgo: Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō, Shisei Airoku Nihyakusan: Ukiyoeshi Ryakuden Kaisetsu', *Sekine Bunko Senshū*, Series 1, Supplement 2, 1984, p.40.

⁶⁶ Nakashima Osamu, *Ukiyoe Ruikō Seiritsu Hensenshi no Kenkyū*, Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan, 2004. p.202.

⁶⁷ Yura Tetsuji, *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Gabundō, 1979. p.354.

Ukiyoe Ruikō various books in the same series were produced with titles such as *Shin Zō Ukiyoe Ruikō*, *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō*.⁶⁸

Eisen's manuscript's lineage partially branched off, but through Saitō Gesshin's manuscript it developed further. It is intended to comment later on the stream of books derived from *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Next, I would like to comment on Saitō Gesshin who compiled the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, and on the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* itself.

Saitō Gesshin (1804-1878)

Saitō Gesshin was born in 1804 (Bunka 1) in Edo, and died in 1878 (Meiji 11) in Tokyo (formerly Edo). He was 74 years old when he died (75 by *kazoedoshi*). Gesshin gives a strong impression of a man of culture in the late Edo and Bakumatsu periods, and in his last ten years he absorbed the atmosphere of the Meiji period. 'Gesshin' was the name he used in his authored works, but he also used Tekisō and Hakusetsudō. He was usually called Ichizaemon and his real name was Yukinari. Gesshin's house was an old one in Edo for generations, the house of the Kusawake village headman. Gesshin like his grandfather (Yukio) and father (Yukitaka) before him was the headman of Kanda Kijichō. He continued in this role after the Meiji Restoration. In 1869 (Meiji 2) the headman system was abolished, but thereafter Gesshin worked until 1876 (Meiji 9) as an official of Tokyo-fu (Tokyo prefecture) – as *soetoshiyori*, *kochō* and *toshiyori* – and died two years later.

Gesshin studied Chinese classics (*Kangaku*) from Hio Keizan (1789-1859), Japanese literature and culture (*Kokugaku*) from Ueda Hachizō, and painting from Taniguchi Gessō (1774-1865). After that, while working as a village headman, he was active as man of letters and historian. He wrote many literary works. Among these the best known are *Edo Meisho Zue* (seven rolls, 20 volumes), *Bukō Nenpyō* (main part 8 rolls, sequel 4 rolls), *Tōto Saijiki* (4 rolls), *Seikyoku Ruisan* (5 rolls, 6 volumes) and *Hyakugi Jutsuryaku* (10 compilations). Also, there are works like *Bukō Hengaku Shū* which is a collection of paintings by Gesshin himself.

The compilation of *Edo Meisho Zue* [Illustrated Guide of Famous Places of Edo] was begun by Saitō Chōshū (Yukio), the grandfather of Saitō Gesshin (Yukinari). His father Saitō Kansai (Yukitaka) continued the work, and it was finally completed by the grandson Gesshin. It was a family undertaking over three generations.

The illustrations were the responsibility of the late Edo period artist Hasegawa Settan (1778-1843). In *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Yura Tetsuji writes that 'Gesshin conducted a thorough survey of all the famous places of Edo, as regards the temples and shrines he checked their history and donations of framed pictures (*hōgaku*), votive pictures (*ema*), epitaphs (*hibun*) etc. and wrote about them.'⁶⁹ Of course, Gesshin inherited the accomplishments of his grandfather and father, and learning from his father Kansai's way of doing things he completed the *Edo Meisho Zue*. The method of investigation (survey) was not limited to Saitō Gesshin, but was probably a tradition of the Saitō family.

Bukō Nenpyō is a topography (regional history, *chishi*) of the events of Edo edited in chronological order, from the time when Tokugawa Ieyasu entered Edo castle in 1590 (Tenshō

⁶⁸ Nakashima Osamu, *Tōshūsai Sharaku Kōshō*, Sairyūsha, 2012. p. 327.

⁶⁹ Yura Tetsuji, *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Gabundō, 1979. p.370.

18) until 1873 (Meiji 6). The main part of the book was published in 1850 (Kaei 3), and the sequel in 1882 (Meiji 15). The sequel was published about four years after Saitō Gesshin's death. In the 1800 (Kansei 12) section of the *Bukō Nenpyō* there is an article titled 'Ukiyoe Ruikō naru'.⁷⁰ At this point in time Gesshin was probably aware that *Ukiyoe Ruikō* was more or less complete. It is a useful article for considering how to view Gesshin's *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. 1800 was also the year when Ōta Nanpo added his *Gen Ruikō* to Sasaya Kuninori's *Kokon Yamato Ukiyoe Shikei* to produce one volume. In Gesshin's very last years he wrote *Hyakugi Jutsuryaku* and in that also there is an article related to *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. In the first part of the book there is a section titled 'Ukiyoe', at the very end of which the following is written:

Sasaya Kuninori had a kimono embroidery shop in Honshiroganechō [in Edo], and he produced *Ukiyoe Kō* from Ōta Nanpo's work to which was added work by [Santō] Kyōden, [Shikitei] Sanba and an old man Nanpo, and in the Tenpō era the ukiyoe artist Keisai Eisen made further revisions, but both manuscripts were unpublished.⁷¹

What is very interesting in the description of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in the *Hyakugi Jutsuryaku* is first that the title is 'Ukiyoe Kō', so Gesshin seems to have assumed that there were two versions of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, one by Sasaya Kuninori and another by Keisai Eisen, and neither was published. These points seem to have some connection with the manuscripts of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* which Gesshin himself possessed.

Saitō Gesshin possessed the manuscripts of both the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and the *Ukiyoe Kō* (*Ukiyoe Ruikō*). But there are unclear points regarding the latter. Ernest Satow acquired both of these *Ukiyoe Ruikō* manuscripts, and they are now preserved in Cambridge University Library. Regarding the latter there seem to be complicated questions which will be described later.

Returning to Gesshin's works, he also compiled the *Tōto Saijiki* which recorded the annual events of Edo, and the *Seikyoku Ruisan* [Encyclopedia of Musical Theatre Performances] which investigated the songs used in *jōruri* tales and puppet plays. Hasegawa Settan and Hasegawa Settei were responsible for the illustrations. This father and son team were important illustrators for Gesshin's works, and he maintained a close relationship with them.

Saitō Gesshin also kept a diary which spans 45 years, with 36 volumes extant. In 'Saitō Gesshin's Diary' his collecting of ukiyoe in the Bakumatsu and Meiji periods, and after the Meiji Restoration his enthusiastic purchase and collection of photographs is recorded. With regard to the collection of ukiyoe 'from the Bakumatsu to the early years of Meiji it is an extremely precious document for our understanding'.⁷² Also Gesshin's diary is a precious source of information regarding the collection of photographs. From February 1874 (Meiji 7) until December 1875 (Meiji 8) Gesshin collected 615 photographs.⁷³ He also attracted much interest as a photograph collector in the early Meiji years.

⁷⁰ *Edo Sōsho*, Vol. 12, Edo Sōsho Kankōkai, 1917. p.193.

⁷¹ *Shin Enseki Jisshu*, Vol.3, Kokusho Kankōkai, 1913. p. 69.

⁷² Nagata Seiji, *Shiryō ni yoru Kindai Ukiyoe Jijō*, Sansaisha, 1992. p.17.

⁷³ Ogawa Naoto, 'Meiji Chūki made no Shashinho Kokyaku to Shashin Shūshūka Saitō Gesshin: Shashin no Taishūka no Uketeronteki Ichi Kōsatsu', *Masu Komyunikēshon Kenkyū*, Vol.82 (2013). p 261.

Ernest Satow had in his collection almost all of Saitō Gesshin's books (books printed from woodblocks, *hanpon*). In particular regarding the 20 volumes of *Edo Meisho Zue* he bought them at a relatively early stage in the building of his own collection, and kept them until 1913 (Taishō 2) when he donated them to Cambridge University Library. They were not included in the 'disposal' of Satow's collection and we may conclude that Satow was particularly attached to them.

According to the catalogue of Satow's collection, when he bought the *Edo Meisho Zue* the price was 150 *mon-me*.⁷⁴ Since the unit of currency was the *mon-me*, we can guess the period of the purchase. He must have acquired the *Edo Meisho Zue* before the *Shinka Jōrei* [New Currency Act] or immediately after it. The *Shinka Jōrei* was established in 1871 (Meiji 4). It is not clear how much 150 *mon-me* would be in today's currency, but it may be about 500,000 yen. The *Edo Meisho Zue* was an expensive book.

Analyzing the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*

Regarding the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* held at Cambridge University Library, in the next chapter it is intended to quote from the description of the catalogue contained in Hayashi Nozomu and Peter Kornicki (eds.), *Early Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library: A Catalogue of the Aston, Satow and Von Siebold Collections*. Here I would like to examine the main text of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

At the beginning of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Saitō Gesshin writes the following in the introduction (preface). It allows us to understand the process by which the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was created and how he went about it. This may be thought to correspond with what Gesshin writes in *Hyakugi Jutsuryaku* about there being two manuscript versions of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, one edited by Sasaya Kuninori and the other edited by Keisai Eisen.

Ukiyoe Ruikō was compiled by Sasaya Kuninori and Santō Kyōden with notes added by Shikitei Sanba.

The appendix (Kansei 12 [1800]) was compiled by Kuninori with notes by Sanba.

The addition (Kyōwa 2 [1802]) was compiled by Kyōden with notes by Sanba.

The above three parts (Sanbu) were collected by Ōta Shokuzan sensei at the beginning of Bunsei [1818] and he added notes.

The Sanbu entered the collection of Suishōshi, which was kept at Ikkeishi and Kataoka Isseishi borrowed it from Ikkeishi and copied it. Since Kataoka brought it to me [Saitō Gesshin], I made a separate book [a copy] in the summer of Tenpō 1 (1830) (half paper, 30 chō).

The Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō was written as completed by Mumeiō [Keisai Eisen], in the winter of Tenpō 4.

It seems that the Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō was completed by the ukiyoe artist Keisai Eisen, and that he made the three parts into one and that he made two volumes, adding a missing part.

⁷⁴ *Zōsho Mokuroku Zen* (Takeda-ke Monjo [Takeda Family Documents] in the possession of the Yokohama Archives of History).

Although the text is unskillful, we can see the labour of compilation at once. We appreciate his sincere intention. Borrowing this book [Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō] from Kamakuraya Hōkai in Toshima-cho, I have supplemented it and named it 'Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō'. However, it is far from complete. So I only wait for additions and cuttings from the people who are interested in this field.

Edo, Kanda

In the spring of Tenpō 15 (1844) Saitō Gesshin shiki (own writings) ⁷⁵

I wish to add a commentary on this introduction (preface) of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

First, the introduction of the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was constructed in two parts. The first part was created independently of the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* by Saitō Gesshin, and was based on the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* which he possessed. In other words, Gesshin made a copy from Suishōshi's collection of the manuscript made by Kataoka Isseishi (Kataoka Hiromitsu?) in the summer of 1833 (Tenpō 4) and kept it as his own manuscript, and the first part of the introduction was a description of the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

This manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* was constructed of three parts – the *Gen Ruikō*, *Shikei* and *Tsuikō* – and was in the possession of Suishōshi. The book was borrowed by Hanabusa Ikkeishi who was a painter in the Hanabusa style. Kataoka Issei borrowed Suishōshi's book from Hanabusa Ikkei and made a copy of it. Saitō Gesshin borrowed that copy from Kataoka Issei and in the summer of 1833 made a copy of it.

In the second part of the introduction to *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* the following is explained. First, the ukiyoe artist Keisai Eisen (Mumeiō) in the winter of 1833 (Tenpō 4) compiled the second volume called *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō*. The collector and historical researcher Ishizuka Hōkaishi (alias Kamakuraya Jūbei'ei or Shūkodō) collected and kept it in his collection. Gesshin borrowed *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō* from Ishizuka Hōkaishi, made further additions to it, and in 1844 (Kōka 1) wrote out the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

Nakashima Osamu who investigated many manuscript copies of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* stated that he was unable to confirm any extant copy of *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō* (*Mumeiō Zuihitsu*, Essays by Mumeiō) borrowed by Saitō Gesshin from Ishizuka Hōkaishi.⁷⁶ The lineage of manuscripts collected by Keisai Eisen are called 'Eisenbon' (Eisen books). Nakashima included the following in Eisenbon: *Ukiyoe Ga Ranshō* (held at Tokyo National Museum), *E Ruikō Zen* (held at Tokyo Prefecture Central Library), *Mumeiō Zuihitsu* (held at Tenri Library, a Miura book) etc. These manuscripts have in common that they have biographies of the ukiyoe artists, they give consideration for space to the artists, and they have illustrated columns, which causes Nakashima to surmise that originally the Eisen books were intended for publication as woodblock prints.⁷⁷ In other words, Nakashima imagines that the books in the Eisen lineage were created from the beginning with the intention of publication.

⁷⁵ Itasaka Gen and Tanamachi Tomoya, 'Kaigai Shiryō Shōkai: Gesshin Kōhon Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō [1]', *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō*, No.2 (1963). p. 122.

⁷⁶ Nakashima Osamu, *Tōshūsai Sharaku Kōshō*, Sairyūsha, 2012. p. 326.

⁷⁷ Nakashima Osamu, *Ukiyoe Ruikō Seiritsu Hensenshi no Kenkyū*, Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan, 2004. p.229.

Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was reproduced in 1963 (Shōwa 38) and 1964 (Shōwa 39) in the regular publication (periodical) *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō* [Documents and Research into Modern Art and Literature], and when the whole content was introduced by Itasaka Gen he assumed that 'from the blank spaces left for the insertion of illustrations etc., it appears that [Gesshin] began to write it with a view to publication'.⁷⁸ With regard to this Nakashima wrote 'the blank spaces for the insertion of illustrations were not added by Gesshin when he expanded the work, but they were already in *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō* when he borrowed it from Ishizuka Hōkaishi'.⁷⁹ Regarding the empty spaces in *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* Nakashima and Itasaka expressed differing opinions. Itasaka's introduction will be mentioned again in the final chapter.

Let us return to the introduction of Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Why did Gesshin in the first half of his introduction refer to one more *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in his own collection? The origin of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* is complicated. Probably in order to show that *Ukiyoe Ruikō* was made of three parts he referred to one more *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in his library. However, it is likely that for other *Ukiyoe Ruikō* manuscripts, for example the *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō* etc., there were similar descriptions. Gesshin may have rewritten the description to be appropriate for the manuscripts in his collection.

There is one more point of interest in the first half of Saitō Gesshin's introduction to the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. It concerns the appendices. The *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* consists of three volumes, and at the end of the third volume, after the ukiyoe artists are described, there are the following appendices: *Ukiyoe Ruikō Iwaku* ["Ukiyoe Ruikō Says", a citation from *Ukiyoe Ruikō*], *Dō Furoku no Kanmatsu* [an End Part of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*'s Supplement], *Dō Tsuikōbatsu* [End Notes of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*], *Ukiyoe Hinmoku* [Types or Kinds of *Ukiyoe*], *Tōtogūji Gaku Ryakki* [Short Accounts of Framed Pictures of Temples and Shrines in Edo].

Why did Gesshin include these in the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*? Apart from the *Tōto Gūji Gaku Ryakki* all of these appendices seem to be related to the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* which was also in Gesshin's collection. It is intended to explain this matter later. But the *Tōto Gūji Gaku Ryakki* contains the draft of *Bukō Hengakushū* [Collections of Hengaku in Edo, Hengaku is Framed Pictures in Landscape Format]. Why did he include this draft in the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*? It is very hard to understand.

Saitō Gesshin himself drew *Bukō Hengakushū* (self-drawn book) and after his death it passed into the collection of the collector Sekine Shisei (1825-1893). Thereafter Yasuda Zenjirō (the second, 1838-1921) bought *Bukō Hengakushū* from Sekine Shisei and absorbed it into his collection called Matsuneya Bunko. Then in 1923 (Taishō 12) very sadly Gesshin's *Bukō Hengakushū* was lost in the flames of the Great Kanto Earthquake, together with the other books in the Matsuneya Bunko.

As stated above, the man of letters and historical researcher Saitō Gesshin borrowed Keisai Eisen's *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō* from the book collector and historical researcher Ishizuka Hōkaishi, added to it and in 1844 (Kōka 1) wrote out the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. But at this point in time Gesshin did not consider the manuscript to be the final one and he wrote 'this is still not complete and

⁷⁸ Itasaka Gen and Tanamachi Tomoya, 'Kaigai Shiryō Shōkai: Gesshin Kōhon Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō [1]', *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō*, No.2 (1963). p. 121.

⁷⁹ Nakashima Osamu, *Ukiyoe Ruikō Seiritsu Hensenshi no Kenkyū*, Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan, 2004. p.228.

more like an enthusiast's anthology'.⁸⁰ From this we know that Gesshin 'as a custom of the time, when requested, loaned the manuscript and allowed it to be copied.'⁸¹ From the description in Saitō Gesshin's introduction we can note the possibility that transcriptions of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* were produced.

For example, Sekine Shisei in 1868 (Keiō 4, Meiji 1) borrowed *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* from Saitō Gesshin, and produced a written copy of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. However, he did not simply copy the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, but abridged one part and added another part. It could not be said to be a mere copy of Gesshin's book. Shisei's manuscript was tentatively given the name *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, but it was also sometimes called *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō* and even abbreviated to *Shisei Zōhobon*. Regarding Sekine Shisei's written copy of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* more will be said later.

Moreover, it has already been mentioned in the preface to this book that in 1868 (Keiō 4, Meiji 1) Tatsutaya Shūkin compiled a manuscript called *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* based on Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. It is not clear what kind of person Tatsutaya Shūkin (or Tatsuta Shūkin) was. In the *Kokusho Sōmoku-roku (Hoteiban)* [General Catalogue of National Books, expanded and revised edition, 1989] there is an entry for Tatsutaya Mahito. In *Mukashi Banashi Shita Kiri Suzume* [The Fable of the Tongue-cut Sparrow] published in 1865 (Keiō 1) is written in the author's part 'Tatsutaya Mahito ho' [assisted by Tatsutaya Mahito].⁸² It is not clear whether Tatsutaya Shūkin and Tatsutaya Mahito were the same person, or if they were not, what the relationship between them was.

Tatsutaya Shūkin's manuscript was published in 1889 (Meiji 22) with the title *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* in a transcribed and reprinted edition. The *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was the first modern publication of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in book form. It was published and sold by a bookshop named Isandō, so it is sometimes called an 'Isandō book'. It is said that this printed book was also sent overseas.

The title *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* gives the impression that it was a newly supplemented version of Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Indeed, Tatsutaya Shūkin's manuscript, the same as Sekine Shisei's manuscript, was not a mere copy of Saitō Gesshin's manuscript. It included abridgements, additions and changes. As can be seen from the examples of these manuscripts, there were not many manuscripts which were straightforward copies of Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Nakashima Osamu who investigated the manuscripts of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* commented 'Of all the extant manuscripts of the Gesshin books (*Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*) which I was able to check, not many were straight copies of the original.'⁸³

Tentatively here the manuscripts of Sekine Shisei and Tatsutaya Shūkin have been included as part of the lineage of manuscripts from Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. The published book created from Tatsutaya Shūkin's manuscript will be mentioned later. Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was mentioned as 'the original book' in many manuscripts and published books of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, on which they depended. As previously stated, there may have been some manuscripts which were straight copies of Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, but the number was not large.

⁸⁰ Itasaka Gen and Tanamachi Tomoya, 'Kaigai Shiryō Shōkai: Gesshin Kōhon Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō [1]', *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō*, No.2 (1963). p. 122.

⁸¹ Yura Tetsuji, *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Gabundō, 1979. p.368.

⁸² *Kokusho Sōmoku-roku*, Hotei-ban, Iwanami Shoten, 1990. p.614.

⁸³ Nakashima Osamu, *Ukiyoe Ruikō Seiritsu Hensenshi no Kenkyū*, Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan, 2004. p.205.

Also, regarding the title of the published book *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and its variant *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* were used. This historical circumstance gives the impression that from the Meiji period onwards generally the original text (*honbun*) of Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* had already been thoroughly researched.

However, it can be said that until Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was reproduced and introduced in full in 1963 (Shōwa 38) and 1964 (Shōwa 39) in the regular publication (periodical) *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō*, the original text was almost unknown by general researchers and readers. After it was reprinted in 1963 and 1964, it at last became accessible to researchers who could make use of it. Again, the publication of Yura Tetsuji's *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō* which was compiled based on Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* contributed to the latter becoming widely known.

At any rate, before its reprint and introduction, the existence and title of Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* may have been relatively well known, but it seems probable that there were not many experts, in particular ukiyoe researchers, who actually investigated the written copy (manuscript). The only two people who clearly did have sight of the manuscript were Ernest Satow and William Anderson. Part of the reason for this may be that after Saitō Gesshin's death, at a relatively early stage, the manuscript passed into the hands of foreigners and went overseas. This circumstance relates to the main theme of this book, namely the provenance of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

The *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* edited by Tatsutaya Shūkin

Next, I would like to explain the situation of the publication of Tatsutaya Shūkin's transcribed and reprinted *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. In the introduction of this book the following is recorded in the name of Tatsutaya Shūkin (with suitable punctuation marks added). The printed book (*katsujibon*) is a reprint of Tatsutaya Shūkin's manuscript.

In Kōka 1 [1884] Saitō Gesshin [pen name Hakusetsudō] supplemented *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō* [which had been compiled by Keisai Eisen] again and titled it *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Although Gesshin supplemented and corrected and also added notes on upper spaces of pages, there were some omissions and some parts of Gesshin's book were in disorder and troublesome. Therefore, I have moved part of the genealogy to the beginning of the book and have supplemented some omissions and have retitled it *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.⁸⁴

Tatsutaya Shūkin first refers to Saitō Gesshin enlarging *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō* (*Mumeiō Zuihitsu*) and in 1844 (Kōka 1) producing *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Then in the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* Gesshin revises Eisen's *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō* and in the top column of the main text he makes some additions, and separately notes that there are some omissions. Tatsutaya also states that the content of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* is confused, and there are parts which are troublesome to read. So he slightly revises the structure of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, placing the 'family tree' (*keifu*) of ukiyoe artists at the beginning, adding certain omissions, and thus producing a *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. As can be seen from the above quotation, Tatsutaya Shūkin's *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was not a mere copy of Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

⁸⁴ Tatsutaya Shūkin, *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Suhara Tetsuji, 1889. [Preface] pp.1-2.

The above quotation from the introduction to Tatsutaya Shūkin's *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* explains its structure. But regarding the title, the situation was different. For the transcribed and reprinted book quoted above, the title was *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, but for the original manuscript prepared by Tatsutaya Shūkin it was *Shin Zō Ukiyoe Ruikō*. When Tatsutaya Shūkin's manuscript was published, 'ho' was added to the title. This change of title also became the cause of some misunderstanding regarding the manuscripts of Saitō Gesshin and Tatsutaya Shūkin.

With the sequence explained above, Tatsutaya Shūkin's manuscript was published in 1889 (Meiji 22) as the transcribed and reprinted *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* book. This was the first modern publication of a transcription of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. According to the production notes (*okuzuke*) of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, the author and publisher was the Yamagata prefecture samurai Honma Mitsunori, the publisher was Suhara Tetsuji, the printer was Kurata Sennosuke, and the binder and wholesale outlet was Isandō. Isandō was Suhara Tetsuji's bookshop, so he was responsible for publication, binding and sales. Honma Mitsunori was stated to be the author and publisher, but in fact Tatsutaya Shūkin was the author, so it may be better to describe Honma Mitsunori as editor and publisher.

Honma Mitsunori was the eldest son of Honma Kōzō and in 1889 (Meiji 22) opened a dental practice in Tokyo's Koishikawa ward at Suwa-chō, but two years later he returned to his hometown (*furusato*) called Sakata in Yamagata prefecture on the coast.⁸⁵ Honma Mitsunori was the first person to qualify as a dentist in Yamagata prefecture by passing the examination.⁸⁶ The publication of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* coincided with the time when Honma Mitsunori opened his dental practice in Koishikawa, Tokyo.

So according to the production notes, the two people who were directly connected with the publication of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* were Honma Mitsunori and Suhara Tetsuji of Isandō. But in fact, the person who actively advanced the publication of the book in 1889 was Honma Kōzō.⁸⁷ It can be stated definitively and beyond doubt that he was the central figure and prime mover. Below I will give the reasons for stating this, but first I will introduce him.

Biographical sketch of Honma Kōzō (1842-1909)

Honma Kōzō led a life full of ups and downs from the Bakumatsu (1853-67) until the Meiji period (1868-1912). In the Bakumatsu he studied gunnery, and he was an expert in swordsmanship and the *shuriken* (throwing star). He also experienced travel overseas around the age of 30 in the early Meiji period for one year, which had a great influence on him. I want to introduce his very interesting life, based on the following sources: *Shinpen Shōnai Jinmei Jiten*, Tamura Kanzō's *Sakata Kikiaruki Zoku*, *Sakata Kikiaruki Zoku Zoku* and *Sakata Shishi* (last volume, revised edition).

Honma Kōzō (Tomosaburō) was born in Sakata as the second son of Honma Kōwa in 1842 (Tenpō 13). His father was the fifth generation of the wealthy Honma merchant family of Sakata, and the younger brother by blood of the head of the family Honma Kōki. In his youth Kōzō went to Edo and studied Japanese, Chinese and Western learning, and swordsmanship and was also known as a master of the *shuriken* (throwing star). He entered the Nirayama juku (school) of

⁸⁵ Takada Kakō, ed., *Yamagata-ken Shōnai Jitsugyōka-den*, Jitsugyō no Shōnaisha, 1911. p.196.

⁸⁶ *Sakata-shi shi*, Kaitei-ban, Vol.2, Sakata-shi, 1995. p.718.

⁸⁷ *Sakata-shi shi*, Kaitei-ban, Vol.2, Sakata-shi, 1995. p.1009.

Egawa Tarōzaemon, and studied gunnery from the very famous gunnery instructor Takashima Shūhan (1798-1866). It is said that Kōzō became the head of the Egawa juku. He appears to have been quite tall. In his later years he is described as ‘having a pure white head of hair, a high forehead, and being tall in stature with a cultivated white beard.’⁸⁸

There is a very interesting story about Kōzō’s swordsmanship. In 1870 (Meiji 3) when he was 29 years of age, he had a fight with five samurai of Lord Hachisuka, the end of which was as follows: Kōzō killed two of them, wounded two and the fifth ran away after losing four fingers of one hand.⁸⁹ We may conclude that Kōzō was a very skillful swordsman.

Thanks to the head of the Honma family, Honma Kōbi (1836-1913), who performed the distinguished service of donating war funds to the Shōnai domain, in 1864 (Genji 1) Honma Kōzō was granted samurai status. After serving as the domain’s chief representative (*torishimariyaku*) in Edo, in 1868 (Keiō 4) he joined the domain’s warship *Kishō Maru* as the person responsible for gunnery. Furthermore, when 704 men of the Shōnai domain returned home to Sakata from Ezo (Hokkaido) in the steamer of the arms dealer Edward Schnell (1830-1911), Kōzō used the war funds provided by the Honma family to conclude a contract with Schnell for the purchase of small arms and ammunition.⁹⁰ Regarding the weapons which Kōzō bought at that time from Schnell, the Shōnai domain samurai received them in Yokohama and sent them back to Sakata. As for the kind of small arms which he purchased, they included 600 ‘Sharbis’ [Sharps?] rifles, 300 ‘Minigale’ [Minié?] rifles, 10 ‘bispols’ [pistols?], seven bugles, five nautical charts of Japan, five barrels of gunpowder etc.⁹¹ It is said that the cost was 34,000 ryo.⁹² Kōzō who was head of the Nirayama juku used the financial assistance provided by the Honma family to purchase modern weapons from a foreign arms dealer. He showed considerable skill in acquiring these weapons.

There was a ‘sequel’ (*gojitsudan*) to the story of Honma Kōzō purchasing weapons for the Shōnai domain from Schnell. The payment was in fact a little more complicated. This situation became clear in the first year of the Meiji Restoration (1868) in what was perhaps Japan’s first consular trial.

Kōzō (Tomosaburō) and Schnell concluded a contract for the purchase of weapons on 10 September 1868 (24 July of Keiō 4). On the very next day the army of the new Meiji Government landed at Niigata. The Shōnai daimyo’s minister based in Edo under the *sankin kōtai* system Ishihara Kuraemon Shigetomo (1827-1868), on his way back from Niigata to the Shōnai domain bearing the contract (order), met with the army of the new government and was killed. The contract which was in Ishihara’s breast pocket was immediately sent to the Grand Council of State (*Dajōkan*) in Kyoto.

The new government which had got hold of the contract in October of Meiji 1 (1868) took Schnell to the consular court. In other words, they appealed to the Dutch consul to punish Schnell for selling weapons to the Shōnai domain, which was on the enemy side in the Boshin War (1868-1869). Through the consular court they demanded that Schnell return his 25% deposit (\$13,032

⁸⁸ Sorimachi Shigeo, (ed.), *Shimi no Mukashigatari*, Meiji Taishō-hen, Yagi Shoten, 1990. p.573.

⁸⁹ Tamura Kanzō, *Sakata Kikiaruki ZokuZoku*, Sakata Kikiaruki-kai, 1995. p.265.

⁹⁰ *Shinpen Shōnai Jinmei Jiten*, Shōnai Jinmei Jiten Kankōkai, 1986. p.573.

⁹¹ *Sakata-shi shi*, Kaitei-ban, Vol.2, Sakata-shi, 1995. p.25.

⁹² Tamura Kanzō, *Sakata Kikiaruki ZokuZoku*, Sakata Kikiaruki-kai, 1995. p.265.; *Yamagata-ken Dai Hykka Jiten*, Yamagata Hōsō, 1983. p. 862.

in Western money) to the government.⁹³ This was despite the fact that the Netherlands had been one of the five countries signatory to the Ansei Five-Power Treaties and it was required to be neutral in the Boshin War. On that occasion the government side produced Honma Tomosaburō's (Kōzō's) tender and purchase order.⁹⁴

In the consular court it was argued successfully by Schnell that the contract for sale or purchase of the weapons had not been created, also that he had not received the deposit, and the Japanese side were unable to prove that the payment had actually been made to Schnell. For these reasons the Dutch consul rejected the appeal. It was unclear if Honma Kōzō's tender was evidence of the payment, and he (Honma) answered that he had entrusted the deposit and the purchase order to the daimyo's minister of the Shōnai domain who had been killed. In the end Kōzō's tender was not sufficient evidence of a contract.⁹⁵

In fact, there was a sequel to the case between Schnell and the Japanese Government. In 1872 (Meiji 5) Schnell sued the Japanese Government for damages. He claimed for damages sustained in the Hokuetsu War (the Boshin War in Niigata prefecture) and for recompense for selling and delivering arms to the Aizu and Yonezawa domains. There were various complications in this case also, but in the end the new government made an 'ex gratia' payment to Schnell.⁹⁶ Regarding the payment and sale of the weapons some lack of clarity remained.

After the Meiji Restoration, Honma Kōzō experienced travel overseas. He was about 30 years old and he expanded his knowledge of the world. It was about one year after the fight described above. In September 1872 (Meiji 5) Kōzō left Japan heading for Europe. In the group which he joined were the aristocratic priest (*monshu*) Ōtani Kōei (1852-1923) of Higashi Honganji temple in Kyoto, Narushima Ryūhoku and others (a total of five connected with Higashi Honganji), Inoue Kowashi (1844-1895), Kawaji Toshiyoshi (1834-1879), Numa Morikazu (1844-1890), and eight men connected with the Ministry of Justice (*Shihōshō*).⁹⁷

In January 1873 (Meiji 6) the Iwakura Mission (Iwakura Tomomi, Kido Kōin/Takayoshi, Ōkubo Toshimichi and others) was in France inspecting observatories, courts and jails in Paris and elsewhere. At that time Honma Kōzō was inspecting these facilities together with the main members of the Mission.⁹⁸ When the Iwakura party stayed in Paris, Kōzō and others joined in their activities.

In July 1873 Kōzō completed his overseas travel and returned to Japan.⁹⁹ While he was abroad it is said that he met a very wealthy American who wanted to adopt him.¹⁰⁰ It is not certain whether they became acquainted in Paris or elsewhere in Europe, or whether Kōzō met the millionaire when he was on his way back to Japan via America. Anyway, Honma Kōzō had the precious experience of travelling abroad in the early Meiji period.

⁹³ *Dai Nihon Gaikō Monjo*, Vol.1, No.2, Nihon Kokusai Kyōkai, 1936. pp.185-188.

⁹⁴ *Dai Nihon Gaikō Monjo*, Vol.2, No.1, Nihon Kokusai Kyōkai, 1936. pp.785-787.

⁹⁵ *Dai Nihon Gaikō Monjo*, Vol.2, No.3, Nihon Kokusai Kyōkai, 1939. pp.21-23.

⁹⁶ Itō Shin'ya, 'Meiji Zenki ni okeru Nihon no Kokka Baishō, 1', *Refarensu*, No.563 (1997). p.68.

⁹⁷ *Shin Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei*, Meiji-hen, Vol.5 (Kaigai Kenbunshū), Iwanami Shoten, 2009. pp.252-253.

⁹⁸ Tamura Kanzō, *Sakata Kikiaruki ZokuZoku*, Sakata Kikiaruki-kai, 1995. p.265.

⁹⁹ Tamura Kanzō, *Sakata Kikiaruki ZokuZoku*, Sakata Kikiaruki-kai, 1995. p.265.

¹⁰⁰ *Yamagata-ken Dai Hyokka Jiten*, Yamagata Hōsō, 1983. p. 862.

As stated above, when Kōzō went to Europe in 1872 (Meiji 5) he accompanied Kawaji Toshiyoshi and others. Kawaji was the person who founded the police force. Based on this connection, on the invitation of Kawaji who was the first Chief of Police (Superintendent-General), Kōzō began to work in the Police Department, and did so for eight years. In 1877 (Meiji 10) he was officially appointed as a first-grade officer of the Police Department, and he left as a fifth-grade superintendent in 1885 (Meiji 18).¹⁰¹ Kōzō worked in the foreign section of the Headquarters of the Police Department. This is presumably because he had travelled overseas, and he was well suited to the nature of the work which required someone who was very good at English and other foreign languages.

Kawaji Toshiyoshi went again to Europe in 1879 (Meiji 12) to observe the police system. Hayashi Tadamasu (1853-1906) who had in 1878 (Meiji 11) been sent to the Paris Exposition (World Fair) as a member of the export company Kiritsu Kōshō Gaisha and had stayed on in Paris after leaving the company, worked as interpreter for Chief of Police Kawaji and Deputy Chief of Police Sawa Tadashi.¹⁰² Kawaji soon returned to Japan because he fell ill, but Hayashi Tadamasu accompanied Sawa Tadashi and others on his inspection tour of Europe's police forces. Later Hayashi would become an art dealer, but at this time he became acquainted with senior police officers.

Honma Kōzō's overseas trip had a great impact on his life. Of course, at the beginning of the Meiji period only a few Japanese were able to travel overseas, but Kōzō was one of those lucky few. According to the Yomiuri Shinbun newspaper Kōzō was always nicknamed 'Yōroppa' (Europe).¹⁰³ When he worked at the Police Department, he often brought up the subject of 'Yōroppa' which is how he earned the nickname from work colleagues, and after he left the police and carried on a moneylending business, he had the habit of frequently mentioning Europe, so he was called 'Kane-kashi Yōroppa' (Moneylending Europe). Then when he was elected a *daigishi* (Member of the Japanese Diet/Parliament) it is said that he was nicknamed 'Yōroppa Daigishi'. In short, he always had the nickname 'Yōroppa' attached to him.

Honma Kōzō worked in the foreign section of Headquarters of the Police Department until 1885 (Meiji 18). In 1892 (Meiji 25) he became a candidate for the Rikken Kaishintō (Constitutional Reform Party) and was elected to the House of Representatives (the lower house). Then from 1894 (Meiji 27) Kōzō apparently lived in the Koishikawa area of Tokyo and ran a business selling curios and objets d'art, devoting himself to buying and selling hand-painted ukiyoe etc.¹⁰⁴

However, it seems that before that, in other words when he was working at the Police Department, Kōzō was dealing in works of art. Regarding the connection between Honma Kōzō and works of art, there is the following statement in *Sakata Shishi* [The History of Sakata city] (revised edition):

From the time when he was working for the Police Department and as a member of the House of Representatives until his old age, Kōzō himself dealt in a huge number of

¹⁰¹ Tamura Kanzō, *Sakata Kikiaruki ZokuZoku*, Sakata Kikiaruki-kai, 1995. p.265.

¹⁰² Kigi Yasuko, *Hayashi Tadamasu: Ukiyoe o Koete Nihon Bijutsu no Subete o*, Mineruva Shobō, 2009. pp. 50-51.; Kigi Yasuko, *Hayashi Tadamasu to Sono Jidai: Seikimatsu no Pari to Nihon Bijutsu (Japanisumu)*, Chikuma Shobō, 1987. p.37.

¹⁰³ *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 23 April 1892 (chōkan), p.1.

¹⁰⁴ Nagata Seiji, *Shiryō ni yoru Kindai Ukiyoe Jijō*, Sansaisha, 1992. p.122.; Tamura Kanzō, *Sakata Kikiaruki Zoku*, Sakata Kikiaruki-kai, 1990. p.276.

high quality artworks, e.g. of the Kanō [early Edo] and Maruyama Shijō [late Edo] schools, the Southern school of Chinese painting (*Nanga*), Western-style paintings by Shiba Kōkan [1747-1818] and others, hand-painted pictures by Hokusai [1760-1849], woodblock prints (*hanga*), and he also became a patron of the maverick painters of the early and mid-Meiji periods such as Kikuchi Yōsai [1788-1878], Shibata Zeshin [1807-1891] and Kawanabe Kyōsai [1831-89].¹⁰⁵

As can be seen from the above, Honma Kōzō handled a wide range of artworks, and with regard to ukiyoe, particularly hand-painted pictures by Hokusai, he was a leading collector.

Ukiyoe trading company Gankōdō's Takeda Yasujirō reminisces in about 1887 (Meiji 20) in the following way about Honma Kōzō as a collector of hand-painted ukiyoe.

A rich man called Honma Kōzō from Dewa province [now Yamagata and Akita prefectures] – so rich that there might be a song 'Not as rich as Mr. Honma' – of a branch of the Honma family, loved hand-painted ukiyoe. When he was young, Kōzō went to study in America. With the intention of learning foreign culture thoroughly for his future, it is said that he walked throughout America and France. In America, he noted that Japanese woodblock prints (*hanga*) and hand-painted ukiyoe were very popular. This seemed interesting to him, and he remembered that there were such paintings at his home, but when he returned to Japan he discovered that they had completely vanished. After that he lived in Tokyo at Sekiguchi Suidōchō in Koishikawa, and sometimes he visited his uncle (Yoshida Kinbei'ei of Genrokudō, called 'Yoshikin') and bought ukiyoe, all hand-painted. He especially loved Hokusai. [Part omitted] Hokusai's prints were greatly praised overseas, and Honma Kōzō knew this, having heard lectures about Hokusai abroad. So he concentrated on collecting hand-painted ukiyoe by Hokusai.¹⁰⁶

From Takeda Yasujirō's reminiscences, it is clear how Honma Kōzō began to collect ukiyoe, particularly Hokusai's paintings done in his own hand.

In 1892 (Meiji 25) Japan's first ukiyoe exhibition was held in Ueno, Tokyo by the very famous ukiyoe dealer Kobayashi Bunshichi (1861-1923) and the catalogue for this exhibition included a preface written by Hayashi Tadamasu. It is said that Kōzō exhibited 13 works including hand-painted ukiyoe by Hokusai, Western style paintings etc.¹⁰⁷ It is also said that Kōzō had in his collection hand-painted works by Hokusai which are now held at the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington D.C., including the masterpieces *Gyofu Shōfu Zu* ['Fisherman and Woodcutter'], *Kiseru motsu Bijin Zu* ['Beautiful Woman holding a Tobacco Pipe'] and *Fugaku Fue wo fuku Dōji* ['Boy playing Flute with Mount Fuji'] etc.¹⁰⁸ These works passed later into the hands of the famous art collector Charles Lang Freer (1854-1919), sold by the likes of Kobayashi Bunshichi.

Honma Kōzō dealt with ukiyoe and other artworks, and it seems probable that his opportunity to enter the field of dealing in curios and objets d'art (art dealing) was greatly dependent on his

¹⁰⁵ *Sakata-shi shi*, Kaitei-ban, Vol.2, Sakata-shi, 1995. pp.1008-1009.

¹⁰⁶ Sorimachi Shigeo, Ed., *Shimi no Mukashigatari*, Meiji Taishō-hen, Yagi Shoten, 1990. pp.572-573.

¹⁰⁷ *Sakata-shi shi*, Kaitei-ban, Vol.2, Sakata-shi, 1995. p.1009.

¹⁰⁸ Nagata Seiji, *Shiryō ni yoru Kindai Ukiyoe Jijō*, Sansaisha, 1992. p.122.

travelling overseas and working in the Police Department. Apart from ukiyoe, he apparently also sold paintings etc. which were very popular among foreign collectors, in particular works by Kikuchi Yōsai, Shibata Zeshin and Kawanabe Kyōsai. This point also suggests connections between Kōzō and overseas clients.

Above I wrote that Honma Kōzō ran a business selling curios and objets d'art (artworks) from 1894 (Meiji 27), but in fact he was probably dealing in ukiyoe and other Japanese art before that time. He had experience of travelling abroad and had contact with foreigners when he worked in the foreign section of Headquarters of the Police Department, so he must have known very early that ukiyoe and other Japanese art had a very high reputation among foreigners. Furthermore, the Police Department was the office charged with supervising second hand stores and curio shops, so this work experience must have been another advantage for Kōzō. Then his friendship with the art dealer Hayashi Tadamasu (1853-1906) must have contributed greatly to his own business as an art dealer. In fact, his becoming acquainted with Hayashi may well have been the spur to his entering the art business. However, it is not clear how Honma Kōzō and Hayashi Tadamasu first became friends.

Honma Kōzō worked for the Police Department for eight years from 1877 (Meiji 10). In the Police Department he probably met Suhara Tetsuji of the Isandō bookshop. Suhara acted as the bookshop (*goyōshomotsushi* or *goyōshorin*) for the Police Authority of the Ministry of the Interior and for the Police Department, and was involved in police-related publications. And furthermore, he was not merely a bookseller, but also dealt in curios and objets d'art. It is likely that Honma Kōzō and Suhara Tetsuji became acquainted through the police and art dealing.

In this book we are concentrating on Honma Kōzō's involvement with the publication of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. In particular we are focusing on the connection between Kōzō and art. Apart from the art world, Kōzō was active in the Police Department, moneylending and as a member of the Diet. It is also said that as an important person in his home town, he contributed greatly to the modernization of Sakata city. He established a courthouse and a bank in Sakata, and introduced electric light. After he returned from his overseas travels in 1873 (Meiji 6), in 1875 (Meiji 8) he got into a dispute with his elder brother Honma Mitsusada over the succession to the head of the family Honma Kōbi, but this was later settled peacefully.¹⁰⁹ When Honma Kōzō returned to his hometown in 1909 (Meiji 42) to visit his elder brother who had fallen ill, he (Kōzō) died suddenly.¹¹⁰ He was 67 years old when he died (68 by *kazoedoshi*, the Buddhist method of counting). Kōzō lived through the Bakumatsu, Meiji Restoration (*Meiji Ishin*) and the Meiji period, and survived the many ups and downs of the time.

Who was the real publisher of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*?

Whose plan was it to publish the first printed edition of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*? At this point I want to return to this question. In this book I have already stated my hypothesis that it was Honma Kōzō. Below I will give the basis for this guess. First, in the appendix (*furoku*) of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, the name of the author-cum-publisher is given as Honma Mitsunori, but it is said that Honma Kōzō used the name of his eldest son.

¹⁰⁹ *Shinpen Shōnai Jinmei Jiten*, Shōnai Jinmei Jiten Kankōkai, 1986. p.573.

¹¹⁰ Tamura Kanzō, *Sakata Kikiaruki ZokuZoku*, Sakata Kikiaruki-kai, 1995. p.266.

At the time when *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was published, Honma Mitsunori had opened a dental practice in Tokyo. It may be that Honma Kōzō had some reason for not using his own name, and for using his son's name instead. The same thing applies to the appendix of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Why did Kōzō avoid using his own name? This is a mystery. Was it perhaps because he was working at the Police Department?

Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō was published in 1889 (Meiji 22), but a similar thing occurred in the following year, 1890 (Meiji 23). Once again, Honma Kōzō published using the name of his eldest son, this time the title being *Kikuchi Yōsai Ō Zufu* [Illustrated Reference Book of the Old Painter Kikuchi Yōsai (1788-1878)].¹¹¹ It is a publication of copies and scaled-down drawings of Kikuchi's works by his pupil Matsumoto Fūko (1840-1923). Why did Kōzō not use his own name but that of his eldest son? The strange thing is that this book, like *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, was published in the following year under a different name, that of Ōkura Magobei (1843-1921). It seems that one year later Kōzō assigned the publishing rights to Ōkura Magobei.

At the start of the appendix to *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, there is a preface in the name of Suhara Izō. It seems that he was the author of that preface, in other words Suhara Tetsuji of Isandō. But if we examine the content of the preface, the probability that it was actually written by Honma Kōzō is high. Again, he was writing under the name of another person instead of his own. It seems likely that Suhara Tetsuji of Isandō just lent his name to Honma Kōzō, the same as Honma Mitsunori.

In the printed version of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, apart from the main text (*honpen*) there are, surprisingly, two appendices included. One of these is *Gesakusha Ryakuden* [Biographical Sketches of Novelists] which includes *Gesaku Rokkasen* and *Gesakusha Shōden*, both contained in *Enseki Jusshu* which was edited by Iwamoto Kattōshi (Darumaya Sahichi). *Gesakusha Ryakuden* contains *Gesaku Rokkasen* and *Gesakusha Shōden* together. Why were these two put together in one volume? Was it connected with the pictures (*sashie*)? *Gesaku Ryakuden* is an appendix, but the number of pages is more than the main text. The second appendix (described as a 'furoku') is an 'Extract from a Lecture by Ernest Hart on Japanese drawings and paintings as Works of Art'.

In the printed version of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, why were appendices added to the main text? It was perhaps the case that the publisher (Honma Kōzō) judged that the main text (*Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*) was not enough to be published on its own, and so he added the appendices to enlarge the volume. It may also have been important that self-portraits were included in the *Gesaku Rokkasen*. However, the number of novelists included in the *Gesaku Rokkasen* was not many, so this was why the *Gesakusha Shōden* was added.

Furthermore, Ernest Satow had possessed a manuscript copy of *Gesaku Rokkasen* in his former collection, which is now held at Cambridge University Library. In some (very few) of Satow's 'ex libris' books, there are notes in pencil, and it seems that he did read or peruse *Gesaku Rokkasen*. How did it come into his possession? When he was building his collection, he seems to have acquired the *Gesaku Rokkasen* at a relatively early stage.

What is very interesting about the copy of *Gesaku Rokkasen* held by Cambridge University Library is the seal in the book, which is 鼓腹庵 [*Ko Fuku An*]. During the Bakumatsu the Western scholar Yanagawa Shunsan (1832-1870) published a book of Japanese arithmetic (*Wasansho*)

¹¹¹ Kikuchi Yōsai, Matsumoto Fūko (Copier), *Kikuchi Yōsai Ō Zufu*, Honma Mitsunori, 1890.

titled *Sanpō Chinsho* [Rare Book of Arithmetic] under the pen name Sharakusai Tōjin, and it is possible that 鼓腹庵 was his seal. So was this copy of *Gesaku Rokkasen* formerly in Yanagawa Shunsan's collection? Furthermore, as a variant of or similar name to 'Tōshūsai Sharaku' there is the name 'Sharakusai'. Is there some connection between the Sharaku in *Sharakusai* [写楽斎] and the Sharaku in *Sharakusai Tōjin* which is written 洒落斎 唐人? And does 'Tōjin' [唐人] in this case mean 'foreigner'? Either way, I would like to know the route by which Satow acquired a copy of *Gesaku Rokkasen*.

Moreover, in the early Meiji period Takabatake Ransen [Ryūtei Tanehiko III] (1838-1885) was active and in his former collection was the manuscript *Gesaku Rokkasen* which was the original text for *Ansei Sannen Kattōshi jo*.¹¹² Ransen's former collection is now in the library of Kansai University. Takabatake Ransen [Ryūtei Tanehiko III] will be referred to again in connection with *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

When Honma Kōzō published *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* it seems that the only appendix which he added at first to the main text was Iwamoto Kattōshi's *Gesakusha Ryakuden*. After that, when in the final stages of publication, Kōzō happened to acquire a copy of an extract of Ernest Hart's lecture (appendix). It seems likely that he added that extract to the printed book *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* at that stage. But the important thing about the addition of Ernest Hart's lecture extract to *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* is that Hart's lecture was thought to have relevance to *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, which is why Honma Kōzō in his capacity as publisher added it. If there had been no perceived connection, there would have been no point in adding it.

Ernest Hart's lecture extract was inserted as an appendix to *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. In the first part of that appendix, as previously mentioned, a 'preface' was inserted. In that preface the circumstances of how the lecture extract was included are recorded. The date of the preface is given as May 1889 (Meiji 22), early summer (*shoka*). I shall comment on this date later. The author of the preface is given as Suhara Izō, in other words Suhara Tetsuji. But on careful examination of the content of the preface, it seems probable that the real author was Honma Kōzō. At least it can be assumed that it was not Suhara Izō. According to the publication data of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* it was printed in 1889 (Meiji 22) on June 5th, and published on June 10th, just one month after the preface was written.

According to the preface of the appendix, "Suhara Izō" (Honma Kōzō) had finished the work of compilation of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and was just about to publish it when a friend brought a book to his notice in which Ernest Hart's lectures about the history of Japanese art were contained. At the time when "Suhara" (Honma) read it, Hart's detailed history of Japanese art had just been completed. In contrast, Japan's situation in this field (i.e. promoting Japanese art) was very disappointing. This is why "Suhara" (Honma) greatly admired Hart's work. So he states that he extracted that part of the lectures (the third one) and inserted it as an appendix in the printed version of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

The part of the preface which is of interest is where it is stated that he (Honma Kōzō) perused an English book brought to him by a friend, and extracted Hart's third lecture to make an appendix. It may be that Suhara Tetsuji was able to understand English to some extent, but it is inconceivable that his command of English was such that he could in a short time make an extract

¹¹² Takagi Gen, 'Takabatake Ransen no Jidai', *Shin Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei*, Meiji-hen, 1 (Kaika Fuzokushi Shū), Iwanami Shoten, 2004. P.439.

from the English essay. On the other hand, Honma Kōzō had the experience of travel overseas, working in the foreign section of the Police Department (the police authority of the Ministry of the Interior), and he could easily read the English book and make an extract of part of it. Later I shall comment on the nature of this book and the identity of the friend who brought the book to his attention.

Ernest Hart's Lecture about Japanese Art

Now I would like to explain the content of Ernest Hart's lecture on Japanese art, and the process by which the Japanese language translation (extract) from it came to be included in the published book *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

Ernest Hart was a medical doctor, and for many years the editor of the British Medical Journal (BMJ). The BMJ continues in circulation nowadays, and Hart was a well-known editor. Hart and William Anderson were friends, and the latter was also a medical doctor. They were both involved in medical education in London and worked as teaching staff at medical schools. Furthermore, they were both former pupils of the City of London School before they trained as doctors.

When Anderson sold his collection of Japanese art in 1882 (Meiji 15) or more precisely at the end of 1881 (Meiji 14) to the British Museum, he did not sell his entire collection to the museum. The part not bought by the British Museum was bought by Ernest Hart. This was the start of Hart's collection of Japanese art in 1882 which he later developed. It seems probable that the British Museum's acquisition of Anderson's collection concentrated on paintings and pictures, but Hart bought the rest. Thus the ukiyoe woodblock prints (Nishiki-e) which Anderson had collected were not acquired by the British Museum, but purchased by Hart. Thereafter Hart rapidly expanded his collection, and by the end of the 19th century he was the leading collector of Japanese art in Britain.

Regarding the ukiyoe woodblock prints (Nishiki-e) in the Anderson collection, from a newspaper article in *The Times* of December 25, 1907 ('Acquisitions at the British Museum Print Room') we know the following.¹¹³ When the British Museum purchased the greater part of the Anderson collection, Anderson appears to have excluded the ukiyoe woodblock prints. Thus the British Museum did not acquire any of his ukiyoe woodblock prints. However, the museum did buy the ukiyoe hand-painted with their own hand by Hokusai and others. The greater part of the ukiyoe woodblock prints in the Anderson collection were purchased by Hart. Some of these prints were later acquired by the British Museum from Hart's widow after his death. This will be explained in detail later.

Hart's collection consisted of ukiyoe woodblock prints etc. and included many areas of Japanese art. The two Japanese who helped him expand it were Hayashi Tadamasa (1853-1906) and Wakai Kanesaburō (1834-1908). Hayashi was the subordinate and junior (*kōhai*) of Wakai in a trading company which exported Japanese art overseas called the Kiritsu Kōshō Gaisha. Hayashi Tadamasa was from 1878 (Meiji 10) resident in Paris, and travelled in many parts of Europe. In 1885 (Meiji 18) he resided in London, and assisted in the cataloguing and putting in order of the Japanese works of art at the British Museum and the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum). It was probably on the advice or recommendation of Anderson that

¹¹³ 'Acquisitions at the British Museum Print-Room', *The Times*, 25th December 1907. P.10.

Hayashi was employed by both museums for a short time. In the South Kensington Museum, he corrected the labels on Japanese works of art, and to check them he was employed at the museum for two weeks.¹¹⁴

And then in the following year (1886, Meiji 19) Hayashi Tadamasasa came again to London to assist Ernest Hart in the exhibition of his Japanese artworks.¹¹⁵ When a lecture series was organized about Hart's Japanese artworks, at the lecture hall an exhibition of Japanese art was also held, organized by Hayashi Tadamasasa. He also assisted in the production of the classified catalogue of the exhibition. Furthermore, in the catalogue to help students of Japanese art he added a guide/index (*shihyō*) including reviews, explanations and opinions. It is likely that he not only assisted with the exhibition, but also helped Ernest Hart with the content of the lecture. In the same year (1886) Hayashi set up his base in Paris as an independent dealer in Japanese art. Anderson, Hart and others were his important customers in London.

In Britain from the middle of the 18th century there existed an academic society called 'The Society of Arts', based in London. In 1908 (Meiji 41) it was granted a royal charter by the British royal family and the name changed to 'The Royal Society of Arts'. Ernest Hart gave three lectures in a series to the society in May 1886 (Meiji 19) about Japanese art. The main text of Hart's lectures was published in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* in October 1886. There were many editions of the Society's journal.

The main text of Hart's lectures which appeared over many editions of the *Journal of the Society of Arts* and the catalogue of the exhibition were republished together in a booklet ('book') in 1887 (Meiji 20). When they were republished in addition an index was added of the artists' names, marks and signatures – of course prepared by Hayashi Tadamasasa. Since he had collaborated in the preparation of Hart's lecture and the catalogue, he probably received a complimentary copy of the booklet from Hart. Indeed, he may have received several copies. Then on his return to Japan at some point he must have shown the booklet to Honma Kōzō. As will be stated in detail later, Hayashi Tadamasasa returned to Japan in 1886 (Meiji 19) after eight years abroad, but very soon he left again for America. In the summer of 1888 (Meiji 19) he again returned to Japan, and this time he stayed until May of the following year. It must have been during this second return to Japan that he showed the republished booklet of Hart's lecture and the catalogue to Honma Kōzō. And it can be presumed that it was at this time that Kōzō began to be involved in the export of Japanese artworks (*ukiyo*e etc.) overseas like Hayashi.

Furthermore, Hart's lecture was translated into Japanese, and its insertion into the published version of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was referred to even in a British newspaper article.¹¹⁶ It was written by a person who had no knowledge at all of Japanese, so that *Ukiyoe Ruikō* was written 'Ukiyorinko-'. 'Ukiyoe' became 'Ukiyo' and 'Ruikō' became 'Rinko-'. Again, separately from its inclusion in *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Hart's lecture was translated by the Cabinet's Official Gazette Translation Section (Naikaku Kanpōkyoku Honyakuka) as *Nihon Bijutsu Shinsetsu* ['A new theory of Japanese art'], and published in 1887 (Meiji 20) in the Cabinet's Official Gazette. The translation was probably undertaken at the recommendation of Hayashi Tadamasasa. Also in the

¹¹⁴ ED 84/208 (V & A Collections, Employment of experts and professional assistance for special tasks).

¹¹⁵ 'Japanese Exhibition', *Journal of the Society of Arts*, April 30, 1886. p.645.

¹¹⁶ 'The Pottery of Old Japan', *The British Mercury and Daily Post*, 29th February 1892. p.3.

Yomiuri Shinbun newspaper in December of the previous year a summary of Hart's lecture had been published.

It is unclear where and how Honma Kōzō and Hayashi Tadamasu first became acquainted. They may have got to know each other through the Police Department. They had also in common that they had both travelled to France. It is possible that Hayashi Tadamasu, before he went to France for the first time, met Honma Kōzō in Japan and asked him various things about Paris etc. At any rate, it seems clear that Kōzō's involvement with Japanese art such as ukiyoe was greatly influenced by his own experience of travel abroad, but the fact of Hayashi Tadamasu's being in the art dealing trade was probably another major factor. Honma Kōzō no doubt had Hayashi's example in mind, and this caused him to become a collector and dealer in ukiyoe, particularly those drawn by the artists in their own hand. Hayashi Tadamasu, when collecting ukiyoe and Japanese works of art, also may have received assistance from Honma Kōzō who was working in the Police Department.

Here I would like once more to summarize Hayashi Tadamasu's attitude with regard to *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Hayashi was living in Paris when in 1886 (Meiji 19) he crossed over to Britain and assisted Hart with his lecture and the accompanying exhibition. Again in 1886 (Meiji 19) William Anderson's two great works, *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue etc.*¹¹⁷ and *Pictorial Arts of Japan*¹¹⁸ were published. Anderson was an important customer for Hayashi Tadamasu. As will be stated afterwards, Anderson's *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* included reference works in Japanese. Among these the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was included as an important source for ukiyoe research in manuscript form. Later I will indicate the ways in which Anderson and Satow made use of Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

***Ukiyoe Ruikō* and Hayashi Tadamasu**

Perhaps he had felt it slightly for some time before, but at the latest by the middle of the 1880s Hayashi Tadamasu realized that the document (manuscript) called *Ukiyoe Ruikō* was important and that he should by all means obtain a copy. Then he actually did obtain one. With regard to the type of manuscript, an explanation will be given later.

Hayashi Tadamasu returned to Japan in 1886 (Meiji 19) after eight years overseas. In September of the same year he went to America, and after that he returned to Paris. In the summer of 1888 (Meiji 21) Hayashi Tadamasu again returned to Japan, and stayed there until in May 1889 (Meiji 22) he left Japan, heading for the World Fair in Paris where he was an inspector. Probably from the summer of 1888 until May of the following year he was looking for a manuscript copy of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in Japan. Or perhaps he had obtained a copy before that time and it was already in his possession. If he had acquired it, he may have had a manuscript copy made. Anyway, he did in fact acquire *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, and possessed several manuscript copies.

It is to some degree necessary to consider the possibility that Hayashi Tadamasu had already seen the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in London in 1886. This is because the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* is mentioned in Hart's lectures, and naturally Hart, Anderson and Hayashi Tadamasu would have shared information.

¹¹⁷ William Anderson, *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*, London, 1886.

¹¹⁸ William Anderson, *Pictorial Arts of Japan*, London, 1886.

Again, as will be mentioned later, in Anderson's *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum* published in the same year, Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* (manuscript) was cited as a reference work.

Of course, the greatest problem is how Anderson made use of Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, and if Anderson had an original or a copy (manuscript?) in his possession in London, it is conceivable that Hayashi Tadamasā also perused it.

Also, Hayashi Tadamasā's acquaintance Honma Kōzō was looking for *Ukiyoe Ruikō* and before that time had already acquired a manuscript (written copy) of Tatsutaya Shūkin's *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Kōzō published it in June 1889 (Meiji 22) as a printed book. He also acquired a copy of *Gesaku Rokkasen* which contained portraits of ukiyoe painters. With regard to what happened to *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* after that, this will be explained later.

As mentioned in the Preface, Edmond de Goncourt published *Utamaro* in 1891 (Meiji 24), and *Hokusai* in 1896 (Meiji 29). These books are Goncourt's great masterpieces on ukiyoe. He was an important customer of Hayashi Tadamasā, and Hayashi had supported him by translating Japanese sources and helped him with his research into Japanese art. Goncourt could not read Japanese, so in order to use Japanese sources he relied on cooperation from Hayashi Tadamasā. The state of their relationship is recorded in their exchange of letters and Goncourt's diary. Anyway, the background to Goncourt's being able to publish *Utamaro* and *Hokusai* was Hayashi Tadamasā's cooperation with the translation of Japanese sources.

Ukiyoe Ruikō is of course an important documentary source for research into Utamaro and other ukiyoe painters. As mentioned in the Preface, Goncourt was also well aware of this. In the first part of *Utamaro*, just before the part already quoted in the Preface, Goncourt writes the following. It is the part where he mentions Utamaro's place and year of birth.

He [Utamaro] according to recent research was born in Musashi no Kuni (Kawagoe) in 1754. He was not born in Edo, as stated in Santō Kyōden's handwritten *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, as revised by Shikitei Sanba, Mumeiō, Saitō Gesshin and Ryūtei Tanehiko.¹¹⁹

As we know from the above quotation, Goncourt clearly referred to the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* with help from Hayashi Tadamasā and others. Then the next question is which manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* did Goncourt refer to? The answer is contained in Goncourt's own statement.

Goncourt mentions the following people as having been involved in the revision of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*: Santō Kyōden, Shikitei Sanba, Mumeiō (Keisai Eisen), Saitō Gesshin and Ryūtei Tanehiko. Among those listed it is strange that Ryūtei Tanehiko is included, and as the last person. The reason why he was included is that Goncourt, in other words Hayashi Tadamasā, was using the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* edited by Ryūtei Tanehiko III (Takabatake Ransen) called *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō* (the 'Tanehiko book').

Furthermore, in his *Hokusai* published in 1896 (Meiji 29) in the same way the people involved with *Ukiyoe Ruikō* are listed, but Santō Kyōzan (1759-1858) the younger brother of Santō Kyōden

¹¹⁹ Edmond de Goncourt, *Utamaro: Le Peintre Des Maisons Vertes*, Bibliotheque-Charpentier, Paris, 1891. pp.1-2.

is included.¹²⁰ With this it is clear that the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* which Goncourt was using was indeed the one edited by Ryūtei Tanehiko III (Takabatake Ransen) called *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Tanehiko book). This is because Santō Kyōzan was only involved in the one edited by Takabatake Ransen.

In any case, at the time when Goncourt's *Utamaro* was published in 1891 (Meiji 24), or strictly speaking by about 1890 (Meiji 23) Hayashi Tadamasu already had a copy of the *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Tanehiko book) edited by Ryūtei Tanehiko III (Takabatake Ransen), and the information about ukiyoe painters in that Tanehiko book had been shared by Hayashi Tadamasu with Goncourt. Taking this situation into consideration, from Goncourt's statement, we can conversely guess the lineage of the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* which Hayashi Tadamasu possessed in his collection. Through this kind of process, it has become possible to determine the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* used by Goncourt and possessed by Hayashi Tadamasu.

Goncourt exchanged letters with Hayashi Tadamasu, and in the letter dated 2 August 1895 (Meiji 28) from Goncourt to Hayashi, there is a reference to Honma Kōzō.¹²¹ The content of the letter was that Goncourt needed a 'descriptive commentary' of a Hokusai hanging scroll (*kakemono*) done in the artist's own hand. Goncourt was probably looking for a descriptive commentary to include in his book *Hokusai* to be published the following year. And in the book, there is such a commentary.

Regarding the 'descriptive commentary' of Hokusai's hanging scroll, Hayashi Tadamasu requested Wakai Kanezaburō (1834-1908) to do it by letter. At that time Goncourt attached various conditions. Goncourt was looking for a person in Japan other than Honma Kōzō or an art museum which held Hokusai's scrolls for a 'descriptive commentary', and that was the premise on which Goncourt made his request to Hayashi. In this part of the letter Goncourt made a point of mentioning Honma's name. The reason for this was that Goncourt was well aware that Honma Kōzō possessed many of Hokusai's hanging scrolls, so perhaps he already had received a 'descriptive commentary' of Honma Kōzō's artworks. Perhaps either by introduction of Hayashi Tadamasu or by a direct exchange of letters, he had already managed to get in touch with Honma Kōzō. Goncourt was in contact with Honma Kōzō, and he may have already bought artworks from him.

Let us now return the discussion to the printed book of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. In the 'preface' to the appendix of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, 'Suhara' (Honma Kōzō) writes that the third day of Hart's lectures (the lecture about painting) depends greatly on *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, but how did he form this opinion? This was probably based on information shared with Honma by his friends Anderson and Hayashi Tadamasu.

Printed and Published Books after the *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* edited by Tatsutaya Shūkin

Next let us summarize the situation regarding *Ukiyoe Ruikō* after the publication as a printed book of Tatsutaya Shūkin's *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* (the Isandō book). First, the copyright in the

¹²⁰ Edmond de Goncourt, *Hokusai: L'Art Japonais Au XVII Siècle*, Ernest Flammarion-Eugène Fosquelle, 1896. p.6.

¹²¹ Koyama Burijitto [Brigitte Koyama-Richard], Takatō Mako and Miyake Kyōko (transl.), *Yumemita Nihon: Edomon do Gonkūru to Hayashi Tadamasu*, Heibonsha, 2006. p.179.

Isandō book published in 1889 (Meiji 22) had already passed in the following year to Nishimura Roppei of Banshōdō. Nishimura changed the cover and the publication date, and published it again under the same title of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* in April 1890 (Meiji 23). The publishers were Hakubunkan and Shunyōdō.¹²² This was a republication of the Isandō book of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, and this is why it is often called a re-launch (*saihan*) of the Isandō book.

Moreover, in 1891 (Meiji 24) *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was published as a volume in the series *Kinkō Bungei Onchi Sōsho* (*Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and *Ki no Yukari*, a combined volume). This is usually called the Onchi book. It was published by Hakubunkan. The title is the same as that of Saitō Gesshin's manuscript namely (*Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*) but it is said that the manuscript was in the lineage of Keisai Eisen's *Mumeiō Zuihitsu* (*Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō*).¹²³

The manuscript was not Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. The Onchi book had the same title, but the manuscript is said to be of the lineage of Keisai Eisen's *Mumeiō Zuihitsu* (*Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō*).

Furthermore, in the Onchi book (*Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*) a synopsis is included which explains how the Onchi book came about as follows. First, it states that this book is a compilation of the manuscripts of several enthusiasts (*kōzuka*). Saitō Gesshin's book *Ukiyoe Ruikō* received various additions and insertions, and the name was changed to *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. But Gesshin's book also had various errors and omissions at the transcription stage. That is why the editor of the Onchi book collected several manuscripts of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and produced the Onchi book (*Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*).

But in fact the basis of the Onchi book (*Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*) is not Saitō Gesshin's book *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* but Keisai Eisen's *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō* (*Mumeiō Zuihitsu* [Essays by Mumeiō]). Yet the title of the Onchi book is the same as Saitō Gesshin's manuscript *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, so the editor of the Onchi book may have overstated the connection between the two. The Onchi book was in the direct lineage of the Eisen book. Of course, Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was an expanded version of Eisen's *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō*, which makes the connection between the Onchi book and Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* like that of brothers, not that of parent and child.

In 1928 (Shōwa 3) the *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was published as part of Part II, Volume 6 of *Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei*. This was like the *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* published in 1889 (Meiji 23) in that an appendix was included, the *Gesakusha Ryakuden*. But the 'Extract from a Lecture by Ernest Hart on Japanese drawings and paintings as Works of Art' was omitted.

We have assumed that the real publisher of the *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* in 1889 (Meiji 22) was Honma Kōzō, but this conclusion can also be reached by what happened after the publication of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. The copyright in the *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* published through Isandō in 1889 passed in the following year to Nishimura Roppei of Banshōdō. Nishimura was originally from Echigo (Gōnōshima) but had opened a bookshop in Niigata. Then one of the publishers of the republished *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was Hakubunkan, which was a publishing company founded by Ōhashi Sahei (1836-1901) from Nagaoka in Echigo. It seems likely that Honma Kōzō from a Sakata merchant family would have known a publisher from Echigo. Again, the other publisher was Shunyōdō Bookshop, founded by Wada Tokutarō who had been a former

¹²² Nakashima Osamu, *Ukiyoe Ruikō Seiritsu Hensenshi no Kenkyū*, Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan, 2004. p.202.

¹²³ Nakashima Osamu, *Ukiyoe Ruikō Seiritsu Hensenshi no Kenkyū*, Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan, 2004. p.208.; Suzuki Jūzō, 'Ukiyoe Ruikō', *Nihon Koten Bungaku Dai Jiten*, Iwanami Shoten, 1983. pp.261-262.

policeman.¹²⁴ He seems to have been connected with the police, as was Isandō. He was probably an acquaintance of Honma Kōzō who had worked at the Police Department.

Honma Kōzō, Nishimura Roppei and Ōhashi Sahei were all from the Japan Sea coast, Dewa or Echigo provinces. Likewise, Hayashi Tadamasu was also from the Japan Sea coast, Echū Takaoka. It may be that the close geographical proximity of their origins helped to bring Honma and Hayashi together more intimately. Also, Honma Kōzō's base Sakata was in Yamagata prefecture, which was a different prefecture to Echigo (Niigata prefecture) and Echū Takaoka (Toyama prefecture), but if we consider transportation from the Japan Sea in the Edo era, these areas must have had close relations between each other.

The *Ukiyoe Ruikō* which crossed over to France

As stated above, there was an appendix (*furoku*) included in the *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* published by Honma Kōzō, and according to the 'preface' of that appendix, when Kōzō had finished the compilation of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and was about to publish it, a friend brought Ernest Hart's book to him. Of course, this friend was Hayashi Tadamasu. He had returned to Japan in the summer of 1888 (Meiji 21) and left Japan in May of the following year (1889, Meiji 22), to work as an inspector at the Paris World Fair. Since the date of the 'preface' of the appendix of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* is the early summer of May 1889, as already mentioned, this confirms the hypothesis that the friend of Honma Kōzō was indeed Hayashi Tadamasu.

Hayashi Tadamasu left Japan heading for France in May 1889 (Meiji 22), but we have no way of knowing what he thought of Honma Kōzō's *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, or how he may have been involved in its publication. It would be good to have this information, but there is almost nothing to go on.

While Hayashi Tadamasu was staying in Japan, it may be the case that he tried to obtain a manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. And as will be stated later, he did indeed obtain a *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Tanehiko book). Whether Honma Kōzō was taught this by Hayashi Tadamasu or whether he realized it himself is not clear, but he seems to have considered like Hayashi that in order to investigate ukiyoe, a manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* was necessary. And Kōzō was in fact able to obtain a manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, for example Tatsutaya Shūkin's *Shin Zō Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Using this he published *Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

What kind of clues did Honma Kōzō use to search for a manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*? When Kōzō published *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, he added as an appendix the *Gesakusha Ryakuden*. The *Gesakusha Ryakuden* was included in the *Enseki Jisshu* edited by Iwamoto Kattōshi (Darumaya Sashichi, 1841-1916) and comprised the *Gesaku Rokkasen* and *Gesakusha Shōden*. Kōzō, in addition to Tatsutaya Shūkin's *Shin Zō Ukiyoe Ruikō*, had acquired the *Gesaku Rokkasen* and *Gesakusha Shōden*.

It may be that, with the cooperation of Iwamoto Kattōshi who managed an antiquarian bookshop, Honma Kōzō obtained a manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, namely Tatsutaya Shūkin's *Shin Zō Ukiyoe Ruikō*. And it may also have been through this situation and relationship that *Gesakusha Ryakuden* was included as an appendix in *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

¹²⁴ Iwamoto Yonetarō, 'Meiji Shonen no Furuon'ya', *Hon'ya no Hanashi*, 1981. p.77.

However, in 1868 (Keiō 4, Meiji 1), Darumaya Goichi (1817-1868) died, and the Darumaya business was inherited by the second son of his second wife, Iwamoto Tetsunosuke. Darumaya Goichi's adopted son Iwamoto Kattōshi called himself Fumiya Sanji, and managed an antiquarian bookshop business separate to Darumaya, and it is said 'he really didn't like wishy-washy books in the so-called Darumaya style'.¹²⁵ In that case, Honma Kōzō may have obtained *Shin Zō Ukiyoe Ruikō*, *Gesaku Rokkasen*, *Gesakusha Shōden* etc. by another route. It is not clear to what extent Fumiya Sanji (Iwamoto Kattōshi) was involved, but it is more than possible that Honma Kōzō acquired *Shin Zō Ukiyoe Ruikō*, *Gesaku Rokkasen*, and *Gesakusha Shōden* from antiquarian book businesses such as Darumaya and Fumiya.

One more question is what happened to the manuscript of Tatsutaya Shūkin's *Shin Zō Ukiyoe Ruikō* after Honma Kōzō used it to publish *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*? Of course, it is very likely that Kōzō continued to keep it in his collection. Another possibility is that it went from Kōzō to Hayashi Tadamasu and then overseas, for example to France. Of course, after the publication of *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* it was probably not necessary for anyone to acquire the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, but it is likely that there were several collectors in France who would have sought to acquire such a manuscript. Christophe Marquet (1965 -) of the French National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations states that 'in the dawn of the study in France of Japanese art history which was the latter half of the 19th century', the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* was a very influential work for French collectors and researchers. According to Marquet's research 'there were at least two manuscripts of the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* which had crossed over to Paris by the end of the 19th century'.¹²⁶ One of these is currently held in the library of the Museum of Decorative Arts in Paris. It is the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* manuscript which was formerly in the collection of Samuel Bing (1838-1905). It is said to include self-portraits of ukiyoe artists and *gesakusha* (fiction writers). It was edited on or after Meiji 10, and Bing acquired it in 1891 (Meiji 24). The self-portraits of ukiyoe artists and *gesakusha* may have some connection with *Gesaku Rokkasen*.

One more *Ukiyoe Ruikō* manuscript is currently held at the library of the Guimet Art Museum. This is Tatsutaya Shūkin's *Shin Zō Ukiyoe Ruikō*. It is in the same lineage as the manuscript used by Honma Kōzō when he published the *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. I would like to know the circumstances under which the Guimet Art Museum acquired this manuscript of the *Shin Zō Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

In fact, the manuscript of the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* which is held at the library of the Guimet Art Museum (Tatsutaya Shūkin's *Shin Zō Ukiyoe Ruikō*) was used for the translation of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* into French. A Japanese named 'Kawamura Sirō' translated it into French, and a manuscript of almost 400 pages was created, but it was never published.¹²⁷ The French manuscript appears to have been used a great deal. Kawamura Shirō worked at the Guimet Art Museum for eight years from 1886 (Meiji 19) until 1894 (Meiji 27) and was apparently involved in the translation of various

¹²⁵ Iwamoto Yonetarō, 'Meiji Shonen no Furuon'ya', *Hon'ya no Hanashi*, 1981. pp.68-69.

¹²⁶ Christophe Marquet, '19-seiki Kōhan no Furansu ni okeru Nihon Bijutsu Shigaku no Reimeiki: "L'Art japonais" oyobi *Ukiyoe Ruikō* to "Histoire de l'art du Japon"', *Hikaku Nihongaku Kenkyū Sentā Kenkyū Nenpō*, No.4 (2008). p.77.

¹²⁷ Christophe Marquet, '19-seiki Kōhan no Furansu ni okeru Nihon Bijutsu Shigaku no Reimeiki: "L'Art japonais" oyobi *Ukiyoe Ruikō* to "Histoire de l'art du Japon"', *Hikaku Nihongaku Kenkyū Sentā Kenkyū Nenpō*, No.4 (2008). p.78.

documents.¹²⁸ Kawamura Shirō stayed in Paris from 1893 (Meiji 26) until 1894, and together with Doki Hōryū (1854-1923) of the Shingon sect of Buddhism produced a French edition of *Shido Inzu* ('Si-dou-in-dzou'), regarding the gestures of the officiant in the mystic ceremonies of the Tendai and Shingon sects.¹²⁹

The *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō* edited by Ryūtei Tanehiko III (Takabatake Ransen)

Next, I would like to discuss the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* edited by Ryūtei Tanehiko III (Takabatake Ransen) called *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō* (the 'Tanehiko book') and mentioned by Goncourt in his *Utamaro*. Taking into consideration that Goncourt's *Utamaro* was published in 1891 (Meiji 24), Hayashi Tadamasasa must have already collected the Tanehiko book (*Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō*) in 1890 (Meiji 23). Hayashi Tadamasasa must have used it to help Goncourt in his writing of *Utamaro*.

Furthermore, in the preface of this book, it was stated that Goncourt referred to a translation of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in his *Hokusai*. In other words, when Goncourt published *Hokusai* in 1896 (Meiji 29) in that preface he referred to the translation from Japanese to French offered to him by the French doctor Paul Michaut working in a hospital in Yokohama regarding references to *Hokusai* in the *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. From the fact that the version of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* also included the names of Ryūtei Tanehiko and Santō Kyōzan, it is clear that it was a Tanehiko book (*Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō*). Thus when Goncourt wrote his two great works, *Utamaro* and *Hokusai*, the version of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* used was the Tanehiko book (*Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō*).

Regarding the manuscript in Hayashi Tadamasasa's former collection of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* edited by Ryūtei Tanehiko III (Takabatake Ransen) called *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō*, nowadays two copies are extant. One is the *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō* held by the Maeda family of the Kaga domain in the Sonkeikaku Bunko.¹³⁰ The other is held in the Yokohama Central Library as *Ukiyoe Ruikō* ('Yokohama *Zōtei* book'), and is from the former collection of Kojima Usui. According to Nakashima Osamu who investigated the Yokohama manuscript, although it is written in a different hand to the Kaga manuscript, the content is virtually the same, and they both have the seal (ex libris mark) of Hayashi Tadamasasa.¹³¹ The Yokohama book, according to the former collector Kojima Usui, was among the picture books and Nishiki-e colour prints when Hayashi Tadamasasa's house was auctioned off. Since both 'books' bear the collector's seal of Hayashi Tadamasasa, and they are almost the same, it seems correct to call them both Tanehiko books.

It may be supposed that Hayashi Tadamasasa first acquired the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* edited by Ryūtei Tanehiko III (Takabatake Ransen) called *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō*. After that he requested someone else to produce an exact copy of the contents of the manuscript. As a result, there are now the two manuscripts, the Kaga 'book' and the Yokohama 'book'. However, the authors of the manuscripts are different. Both manuscripts are formerly from Hayashi Tadamasasa's collection.

¹²⁸ Christophe Marquet, '19-seiki Kōhan no Furansu ni okeru Nihon Bijutsu Shigaku no Reimeiki: "L'Art japonais" oyobi *Ukiyoe Ruikō* to "Histoire de l'art du Japon"', *Hikaku Nihongaku Kenkyū Sentā Kenkyū Nenpō*, No.4 (2008). p.78.

¹²⁹ Okuyama Naoji, 'Meiji Indo Ryūgaku Gakusei no Kōdō to Shisaku: Koizumi Ryōtai to Yoshitsura Hōgen no Taiken', *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū*, Vol.6 No.1. p.8.

¹³⁰ Uchida Chizuko, *Sharak Kō*, San'ichi Shobō, 1993. pp.62-63.

¹³¹ Nakashima Osamu, *Ukiyoe Ruikō Seiritsu Hensenshi no Kenkyū*, Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan, 2004. p.264.

Later I will introduce the preface and postscript, but in the preface of the Yokohama manuscript there is ‘Ryūtei Tanehiko Ki’ and in the postscript ‘Meiji 13, January, Ryūtei Master’. Again, in another place there is ‘died Meiji 19, November’ in an entry about Toyokuni IV (a minor artist, not the famous Utagawa Toyokuni also known as Kunisada and Toyokuni III, 1786-1865). This meant that Kojima Usui regarded this Tanehiko book (Yokohama manuscript) with great suspicion. This is because the first generation Ryūtei Tanehiko died in Tenpō 13 (1842), the second Tanehiko (Ryūtei Senka) in Keiō 2 (1866) and the third Tanehiko (Takabatake Ransen) in Meiji 18 (1885) so ‘Meiji 13, January, Ryūtei Master’ must be the third Tanehiko, but he could not have written anything in Meiji 19.¹³²

However, the Yokohama manuscript (Tanehiko book) according to Kojima Usui ‘is not a complete forgery... for though it is not written in Tanehiko’s hand, even if we calculate this to be the case, it has a certain value as having the name of a Tanehiko book’.¹³³ The preface and postscript of this book are quoted below, from Nakashima Osamu’s book. Inserted words are indicated with square brackets.

The *Ukiyoe Ruikō* was compiled by Sasaya Shinshichirō and Santō Kyōden with insertions by Shikitei Sanba. The appendix was compiled by Kuninori [Shinshichirō] in Kansei 12 [1800] with insertions by Sanba, and the postscript (*tsuikō*) created in Kyōwa 2 [1802] also had insertions by Sanba. The *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō* was compiled in the winter of Tenpō 4 [1833] by Mumeiō, with further additions by Gesshinshi in the first year of Kōka [1844] and renamed the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. But some parts were still lacking, so Kyōzan Ō supplemented *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and kept it secretly and did not tell it to other people. Someone asked to borrow it from Kyōzan earnestly, made a copy and kept it. Seeing the book after I borrowed it from him, I think it is revised and corrected well. Although I have added a little about matters since the Ansei era [Kyōzan Ō died in Ansei 5, 1858] I have kept all the parts. If you find mistakes, I wish you to correct them.

Described by Ryūtei Tanehiko

To the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* compiled by Santō Momoki Ō [Santō Kyōzan] I added only two or three parts and a few corrections. I wish the people who are interested in the same field to supplement it.

Meiji 13, January, Ryūtei Master¹³⁴

The preface etc. of the Tanehiko book (*Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō*) resembles the preface of Tatsutaya Shūkin’s *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. As indicated by the former collector Kojima Usui, the *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō* and the *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* ‘as regards the *Ruikō* [main text] and the appendix, were created by Sasaya Kuninori and Santō Kyōden with insertions by Sanba, with an addition [postscript] by Kuninori also with insertions by Sanba, and to these three parts there were further notes added to the book collected by Ōta Shokuzan at the start of the Bunsei era (1818-30) and

¹³² Kojima Usui, *Shosai no Gakujin*, Shomotsu Tenbōsha, 1934. p.269.

¹³³ Kojima Usui, *Shosai no Gakujin*, Shomotsu Tenbōsha, 1934. p.270.

¹³⁴ Nakashima Osamu, *Ukiyoe Ruikō Seiritsu Hensenshi no Kenkyū*, Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan, 2004. p.265.

the *Zoku Ruikō* with editing by Mumeiō Eisen is approximately the same.¹³⁵ The above contains many quotations, and it may be a little difficult to understand, but in short as Kojima Usui states there are parts of the two books which are identical.

Again as regards the Yokohama book (Tanehiko book) according to the investigation by Nakashima Osamu, this book is a 'Shūkin book (in the lineage of Tatsutaya Shūkin's *Shin Zō Ukiyoe Ruikō*) with many additions and a very interesting manuscript, acquired by various people who added a new preface in place of the old, and a postscript, and the reputable art dealer Hayashi Tadamasu added his seal and probably produced a number of copies.'¹³⁶ In other words we can say that the Yokohama book (Tanehiko book) is the *Shin Zō Ukiyoe Ruikō*, but with some changes and additions to the manuscript.

Nakashima Osamu refers to the Yokohama book (Tanehiko book) together with others in the lineage of Tatsutaya Shūkin's *Shin Zō Ukiyoe Ruikō*, for example the Tokyo National Museum's Yokose book (*Ukiyoe Ruikō*) and the Tenri Library's book (Tenri book, *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō*). This is a very interesting point. Nakashima Osamu suggests that the Yokohama book (Tanehiko book) is a greatly expanded version of the Yokose book, and is the original text for the Tenri book. The Tenri book was created by Bai Fū Shi (Hyōdō Baifū), and Nakashima guesses that Bai Fū Shi was the compiler of the Yokohama book (Tanehiko book).¹³⁷ But the problem is, who exactly was Bai Fū Shi? I think that Hayashi Motoharu (1858-1903) may have been one possible candidate, but this is not yet confirmed.

Above I have indicated that the manuscript *Gesaku Rokkasen* now held by Kansai University Library was the original text of the *Ansei Sannen Kattōshi jo* which was formerly in the collection of Takabatake Ransen (Ryūtei Tanehiko III). And that Takabatake Ransen was the author of *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō* (in the former collection of Hayashi Tadamasu), that the *Gesaku Rokkasen* is included in Honma Kōzō's *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and that these three people (Takabatake, Hayashi and Honma) had some kind of connection between them. Probably Bai Fū Shi (Hyōdō Baifū) who prepared *Shin Zō Ukiyoe Ruikō* had some connection with Takabatake Ransen and an ukiyoe artist. I guess that the ukiyoe artist was Hayashi Motoharu.

So, from talk of the manuscript of the Yokohama book (Tanehiko book) and its compilers, let us return to the preface of the Tanehiko book (*Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō*). Above I have quoted from the beginning of Edmond de Goncourt's book *Utamaro* where he refers to *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. At that time, he stated that *Ukiyoe Ruikō* was a handwritten manuscript prepared by Santō Kyōden which was then revised by Shikitei Sanba, Mumeiō, Saitō Gesshin and Ryūtei Tanehiko.¹³⁸ If we list up the people mentioned in the preface to the Yokohama book (Tanehiko book) in order they are Sasaya Shinshichirō, Santō Kyōden, Shikitei Sanba, Mumeiō, Santō Kyōzan and Ryūtei Tanehiko. Apart from Sasaya Shinshichirō and Santō Kyōzan, these are all mentioned by Goncourt. What is particularly important is the last-mentioned Ryūtei Tanehiko. Santō Kyōzan is not mentioned by Goncourt in his *Utamaro* but he is accurately mentioned in *Hokusai*.

¹³⁵ Kojima Usui, *Shosai no Gakujiin*, Shomotsu Tenbōsha, 1934. p.267.

¹³⁶ Nakashima Osamu, *Ukiyoe Ruikō Seiritsu Hensenshi no Kenkyū*, Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan, 2004. p.266.

¹³⁷ Nakashima Osamu, *Ukiyoe Ruikō Seiritsu Hensenshi no Kenkyū*, Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan, 2004. pp.268-271.

¹³⁸ Edmond de Goncourt, *Outamaro: Le Peintre Des Maisons Verte*, Bibliotheque-Charpentieraris, 1891. pp.1-2.

From the main persons mentioned in the preface to the Yokohama book (Tanehiko book) and those quoted by Goncourt, we can guess that Hayashi Tadamasa had two copies of *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō* in his collection, and that he gave the information contained in them to Goncourt for the writing of his *Utamaro*. Why did he have two copies in his collection? Perhaps he had one copy in Tokyo, and one in Paris.

So, at what point in time did Hayashi Tadamasa acquire the *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Tanehiko book)? In the book it is stated that Toyokuni IV died in February 1886 (Meiji 19), so the *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō* was published in 1887. Hayashi Tadamasa returned to Japan in the summer of 1888, and in May 1889 he went to Paris to work as an inspector at the World Fair. He probably acquired the *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō* while he was in Japan, leaving one copy in Japan and taking the other with him to Paris. It was probably this second copy which allowed him to give useful information to Goncourt.

However, in the preface to *Hokusai* Goncourt expresses his gratitude to Dr. Paul Michaut who worked in a Yokohama hospital for his translation into French from the *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō* of the part relating to Hokusai, so it may be difficult to confirm where the two copies of *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō* were. Goncourt was in Paris, Hayashi Tadamasa was coming and going between France and Japan, while Paul Michaut worked in Yokohama but returned to France and visited Goncourt. This complicated situation makes it difficult to ascertain the whereabouts of both copies.

Hayashi Tadamasa and Sharaku, and Instigator X

In this chapter I have referred to various problems relating to *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, but at the end I must mention the one which is most concerning about Sharaku. I want to discuss the topic of how the longing for Sharaku's works overseas, particularly in France, was answered.

As Suzuki Jūzō states in his book *Sharaku* (Kodansha, 1966), the American art historian Ernest Fenollosa in his *Catalogue of the Ukiyoe Exhibition at Ikaō Onsen* (1898) introduces Sharaku in the following way. The catalogue was edited by the ukiyoe art dealer Kobayashi Bunshichi (1861-1923) and was published from his shop Hosūkaku.

No. 191 Sharaku. Print.

Large Head of an Actor in Female part. About Kuansei 6th (1794).

Sharaku was a wild genius who appeared during Kuansei. His ugliness was so intense that he must have appealed to but a limited class. American collectors hate him. Some French collectors, however, are ready to extol him as one of the greatest Ukiyoe [sic] artists. His is the deification of ugliness, and so decadent of the decadents.¹³⁹

The most interesting point about Ernest Fenollosa's comment here is that American collectors hate Sharaku, but some French collectors praise him as one of the greatest ukiyoe artists. From his catalogue published in 1898 we know that at the end of the 19th century, Sharaku's reputation in America was low, but in France he was considered a great ukiyoe painter alongside Hokusai and Utamaro.

¹³⁹ Kobayashi Bunshichi, Ernest Fenollosa, *Catalogue of the Ukiyoe Exhibition at Ikaō Onsen from April 15th to May 15th 1898*, Kobayashi Bunshichi, 1898. p.99.

In the December 1985 edition of *Rekishi Dokuhon* there was a special feature: 'Find the mysterious ukiyoe artist Sharaku!' In that special feature the author Tomita Yoshikazu wrote in an essay 'Mysterious person Hayashi Tadamasu – instigator of the Sharaku boom. There were many ukiyoe artists around Tadamasu, the man who took Sharaku's paintings overseas.'¹⁴⁰ According to Tomita's article, 'The large number of Sharaku's works appearing in Europe was the result of Hayashi's exporting activity, and as a result by the beginning of the 20th century there were no Sharaku works in Japan'. In other words, by the end of the 19th century many of Sharaku's works had been exported to France and elsewhere by Hayashi Tadamasu.

Tomita Yoshikazu's article develops further as follows. Apart from Sharaku's first major printing of 28 works, he guesses that an instigator X close to Hayashi Tadamasu employed ukiyoe artists working in the Utagawa Toyokuni style, and sold their works overseas. In Tomita's article he suggests Kobayashi Bunshichi as a candidate for instigator X, but if it was not him, it may have been Honma Kōzō. Or it may have been a third person in addition to these two.

In the preface I mentioned that Ernest Satow collected Sharaku's work. It is quite unclear how or why Satow began to collect Sharaku's masterpieces, but the possible periods of collection were the three years from about 1880 to the end of 1882, and the years when he was British Minister in Japan from 1895 to 1900, and probably he mainly collected them in Japan.

However, it is only a guess, but if we consider Hayashi Tadamasu's role in selling Sharaku's woodblock prints overseas, it is possible that Satow may have acquired some Nishiki-e (coloured prints) from that source.

The London auctioneer Sotheby's in 1911 from January 24th to 27th (four days) offered for auction the collected artworks of four collectors which had been ukiyoe prints in the former collection of Hayashi Tadamasu.¹⁴¹ Hayashi Tadamasu died in 1906, and the four collectors who had bought ukiyoe prints from him were A.C. Tyler, Ernest Satow, R.S. Miller and Samuel Tuke. At the time of the auction, it was made clear that they were from the former collection of Hayashi Tadamasu. Sotheby's also produced a catalogue of the auction, which included Satow's works. From this catalogue, it is clear that Satow did purchase ukiyoe from Hayashi Tadamasu. So it is therefore quite possible that he bought Sharaku's works from Hayashi also.

¹⁴⁰ Tomita Yoshikazu, 'Giwaku no Hito Hayashi Tadamasu • Sharaku Būmu no Shikakenin: Sharaku-e o Kaigai ni Mochidashita Tadamasu no Shūi ni wa Tasū no Ukiyoeshi ga Ita', *Rekishi-dokuhon*, No.419 (1985).

¹⁴¹ *Catalogue of the Private Collection of an Importer of Japanese Products Comprising Valuable and Important Japanese Colour Prints ...*, Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, 1911.

Chapter Two – How Satow acquired the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*

Satow's manuscript copy of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in his former collection

In this chapter I will investigate the circumstances of how Ernest Satow acquired Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Of course, it would be very easy and ideal if there was a memorandum of when Satow purchased *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and something like a receipt. But as far as I have been able to ascertain, this kind of direct evidence is not available. As the next best method, I will investigate the circumstances of the time when Satow is thought to have acquired the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, and using this indirect evidence get close to the situation of that time.

This chapter will focus on the people who were involved in Satow's book collection. I want to approach Satow's book collecting from the point of view of the people around Satow who were librarians, book lovers and book collectors, and their collections. At the end of this chapter, I want to investigate Satow's acquisition of documents from Saitō Gesshin's former collection and consider his acquisition of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* from that angle, but I also intend to consider Satow's acquisition of the collection of the book collector Sekine Shisei. Not merely considering the people around Satow and the collectors connected with them, I will also take a brief look at the content of the collections themselves.

The collectors who appear to have had something to do with Satow's building of his collection seem to have collected many materials about ancient customs, rules, precedents etc. (*yūsoku kojitsu*), especially those of the samurai (*buke kojitsu*), and they were very interested in them. This is because when investigating Satow's collected documents we often end up with the former collections of such documents.

In the Bakumatsu and early Meiji periods, so-called *buke kojitsuka* (collectors of *buke kojitsu*) could quite easily obtain documents which had been handed down for many years. It seems likely that at that time, particularly from about Meiji 10 (1877) or after that, Satow's collected documents included ones collected by these former *buke kojitsuka* collectors.

Now I want to return the discussion to a matter directly connected with *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. In fact, Ernest Satow collected at least two copies of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* apart from Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. In total he had three manuscripts of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, which are now held at Cambridge University Library. As regards the circumstances of their acquisition, the three were probably connected. So if we investigate the process of how the other two manuscripts were acquired, the purchase of the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* may become clearer.

In researching how Satow acquired Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, there is one more useful manuscript apart from the two *Ukiyoe Ruikō* manuscripts already mentioned. This is the manuscript of Kyokutei Bakin (1767-1848). Cambridge University Library holds Bakin's *Iwademo no Ki* in its collection of Satow's books. This is an essay written by Bakin about Santō Kyōden. The manuscript held at Cambridge is not written by Bakin himself, but is a transcribed copy.

The circumstances of how Satow acquired Kyokutei Bakin's *Iwademo no Ki* are helpful, albeit in an indirect way, in the investigation of the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* manuscripts. Regarding the reason for these manuscripts being taken into Satow's collection, we may guess that it was similar for all four manuscripts.

The Four Manuscripts

Next, I would like to introduce the four manuscripts. First, I will quote from the Catalogue of the Cambridge University Library where these manuscripts are held. They are recorded in *Early Japanese books in Cambridge University Library: A catalogue of the Aston, Satow and von Siebold collections* edited by Nozomu Hayashi and Peter Kornicki. I quote them here by their catalogue number, with other numbers and information omitted:

2119 *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* [Gedai, outer title], 3 volumes including Supplements (*Ukiyoe Hinmoku, Tōto Gūji Gaku Ryakki...*)

Ōta Nanpo (original author), Saitō Gesshin (editor).

Kōka 1[1844] manuscript (copied by the editor)

Notes: • [1] reprinted in Yura Tetsuji's *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

• [2] There is a handwritten note which says the book was copied in Spring of Tenpō 15 [1844= Kōka 1] at the beginning. At the end of Volume 3, there is a note which was written in Kōka 1[1844] and it says the book was enlarged & revised by Saitō Gesshin. The book was supplemented by Sayaya Kuninori, Santō Kyōden, Shikitei Sanba, and also was supplemented further by Ikeda Eisen and enlarged & revised by Saitō Gesshin.

• [3] Inki [seals or stamps of ownership]: "Saitō Bunko", "Edo Saitō-shi", "Saitō-shi", "Gesshin", "Kimura Yū" [?], "Hakusetsudō"

• [4] There is a written note in English. ¹⁴²

2117 *Ukiyoe Kō* [Gedai, outer title] One Volume with supplement (Extracts from "Tankai" of Aikawa Kazumasa [Tsumura Sōan?])

Manuscript (copied in the latter part of Edo Period)

Inki [seals or stamps of ownership]: "Nishiyama Shooku", "Shisei Zō" and one seal which is unreadable. ¹⁴³

2120 *Ukiyoeshi no Den*

Manuscript, copied in Meiji 9 [1876] by Shiraishi Chōkō.

Under the inner title [Naidai], there is note which says it imitates an essay by "Fuji no Ya".

Is this revised copy of 2117? There is a written note at the end which says this book is a copy of Chikuin-ō's book (Spring, Meiji 9[1876]).

Inki [seals or stamps of ownership]: "Shiraishi Shozō". ¹⁴⁴

1312 *Iwademo no Ki*

Kyokutei (Takizawa) Bakin

¹⁴² Nozomu Hayashi & Peter Kornicki, *Early Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library: A Catalogue of the Aston, Satow and von Siebold Collection*, Cambridge University Press, 1991. p.319.

¹⁴³ Nozomu Hayashi & Peter Kornicki, *Early Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library: A Catalogue of the Aston, Satow and von Siebold Collection*, Cambridge University Press, 1991. p.319.

¹⁴⁴ Nozomu Hayashi & Peter Kornicki, *Early Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library: A Catalogue of the Aston, Satow and von Siebold Collection*, Cambridge University Press, 1991. p.319.

Manuscript, copied in Meiji 8 [1875] by Shiraishi Chōkō.

This is a copy of Sakata Morotō's book. There are corrections in red ink.

Also, the following was written by hand at the end of the book:

- Nagai Jussoku's own note says: he copied the book in the middle of August of Bunkyo 2 [1862] borrowing it secretly from Mr. Kawatake.
- Saitō Gesshin's note says: he copied the book borrowing it from Mr. Nagai.
- Tatsuta Karyū's note says: he copied the book in the middle ten days of March of Keiō 4 [1868] borrowing from Saitō Gesshin.
- This "Iwademo no Ki" was copied by "an elegant writer" who lived near Iwashimizu Shrine [Kuramae Shrine] in Asakusa borrowing it from his friend, Sakata-ō. Since it was written hastily, it would be better revised. This copy was made in the middle of autumn of Meiji 8 [1875].
- This was a book in Shiraishi Chōkō's collection – Shiraishi Chōkō was Satow's librarian.
- Inki [seals or stamps of ownership]: "Shiraishi Shozō"¹⁴⁵

In the *Early Japanese books in Cambridge University Library*, 'Shiraishi Shozō', 'Shiraishi Chōkō' and 'Shisei Zō' are mentioned. Above I stated that I want to approach Satow's book collecting from the point of view of the people around Satow who were librarians, book lovers and book collectors, and their collections. These people include Shiraishi and Shisei.

In the second half of this chapter, I intend to compare the four manuscripts in Satow's former collection with those in other collections. This may be regarded as the highlight (*medama*) of this chapter. But in order to understand this comparison it is not only the manuscripts, but knowledge is also required about the people who transcribed them and the collectors. First, I will start by introducing the people connected with the building of Satow's collection. I will introduce five people: Shiraishi Mamichi, Shiraishi Senbetsu, Miyamoto Koichi, Sekine Shisei and Sakata Morotō. By explaining about them beforehand, it will be easier to understand the connections between the four manuscripts and the building of Satow's book collection.

Shiraishi Mamichi, after working in the Foreign Office, became Satow's librarian (*toshogakari*). Shiraishi Senbetsu was Mamichi's father, Miyamoto Koichi was a high official in the Foreign Office, and Sekine Shisei and Sakata Morotō were book collectors. Sakata compiled *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran* in the Foreign Office, and was the superior of Mamichi. Regarding the last two collectors (Sekine and Sakata), their connection with Ernest Satow was an indirect one through the collections. It may be the case that Satow directly purchased books from Sekine Shisei. Later I will talk about other collectors apart from Sekine Shisei, Sakata Morotō, Shiraishi Senbetsu or Senbetsu and his son Mamichi, such as Saitō Gesshin, Ōtsuki Joden and others. They may have been connected to a very loose group of collectors. Of course, in speaking of a group or network, it probably means nothing more than that they were acquaintances and associates. Their common link was simply that they were all book collectors. It is likely that they were further linked by acquisitions of documents from former *buke kojitsuka* collectors.

After Saitō Gesshin's death Satow bought his book collection, yet it seems that before he did this the book collector Sekine Shisei had the pick of the collection and sifted through it

¹⁴⁵ Nozomu Hayashi & Peter Kornicki, *Early Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library: A Catalogue of the Aston, Satow and von Siebold Collection*, Cambridge University Press, 1991. p.319.

(*furuiwake*). Sekine Shisei frequently borrowed from Saitō Gesshin's collection and created manuscripts from it, and this is how he came to screen the collection. Of course, the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was one of the documents in Saitō Gesshin's collection, but it somehow escaped Sekine Shisei's screening. This is why Satow was able to acquire Saitō Gesshin's manuscript.

Shiraishi Mamichi (Satow's librarian, *toshogakari*)

Shiraishi Mamichi was born in 1848 (Kaei 1),¹⁴⁶ and died on May 21, 1880 (Meiji 13). He was 33 years old by the *kazoedoshi* Buddhist counting system (counting one year in the womb, newborns being one year old) when he died. Regarding the year of his birth, there are documents which suggest it was one year earlier, but his career as recorded in Foreign Office documents states that he was 24 years old in 1871 (Meiji 4) by *kazoedoshi*, which confirms the year of his birth as 1848.¹⁴⁷

In the *Shinshū Hirata Atsutane Zenshū* [New Edition of Hirata Atsutane's Complete Works] in a separate volume there are *Seishichō* [A register of oaths] and *Monjin Seimei Roku* [A record of full names of pupils]. Hirata Atsutane and his successor Hirata Kanetane had pupils at their private school called Ibukinoya. We know this from the *Seishichō* and the *Monjin Seimei Roku*.

Shiraishi Mamichi entered the Ibukinoya in May 1870 (Meiji 3). His age according to the *Seishichō* at that time was 23¹⁴⁸ and in the *Monjin Seimei Roku* it was 24.¹⁴⁹ Both of these are by the *kazoedoshi* system. By working backwards, he was either born in 1847 (Kōka 4) or 1848 (Kaei 1). According to the Foreign Office record already mentioned, it was 1848, so I will take that to be the correct year in this book. Regarding the year and date of his death I will refer later to an entry in Ernest Satow's diary.

As regards the name Mamichi, Shiraishi had other names such as Kichirō and Mikaguri. His father was Shiraishi Senbetsu. Kichirō was one of his father's names. On his father's retirement in June 1868 (Keio 4) Mamichi became the head of the family. In October 1870 (Meiji 3) he was appointed a supernumerary first secretary at the Foreign Office with jurisdiction over 15 koku.¹⁵⁰ It seems that Shiraishi Chōkō was another name of Shiraishi Mamichi. This may have referred to the Sumida river in Tokyo.

Mamichi's appointment to the Foreign Office was at the recommendation of the former Shogunate retainer Miyamoto Koichi and Tanabe Taichi.¹⁵¹ There may also have been involvement of his father Senbetsu. Mamichi's section at the Foreign Office was engaged in editing and compiling the *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran*, the former diplomatic records of the shogunate.

¹⁴⁶ Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998. p.226.

¹⁴⁷ Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998. p.261.

¹⁴⁸ 'Seishichō 8', *Shinshū Hirata Atsutane Zenshū*, Bekkan, Meicho Shuppan, 1981. p.208.

¹⁴⁹ 'Monjin Seimeiroku 6', *Shinshū Hirata Atsutane Zenshū*, Bekkan, Meicho Shuppan, 1981. p.459.

¹⁵⁰ Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998. p.226.

¹⁵¹ Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998. p.226.

His father Shiraishi Senbetsu had been a magistrate for foreign affairs (*gaikoku bugyō*) and a Niigata magistrate and was familiar with these documents, which may also have helped Mamichi to secure the position.¹⁵²

Returning to Shiraishi Mamichi's career, in June 1868 he was 21 by *kazoedoshi* when he became head of the family, and in May 1870 he entered Ibukinoya. In October of that year he was appointed to the Foreign Office and worked there until January 1877. So he worked at the Foreign Office for more than six years, and from August 1877 he began to work as Satow's librarian.

Checking the Foreign Office employee records, the following becomes clear. Shiraishi Mamichi's name appears in December 1871¹⁵³ and in February of the following year as a secretary of the 14th grade.¹⁵⁴ However in May 1872 there is an entry indicating that Shiraishi Mamichi, 14th grade, registered in Suruga in Shizuoka prefecture from August.¹⁵⁵ The reason for this description of him as a person registered in Suruga (Shizuoka prefecture) is that he was a former low-ranked retainer of the Shogunate, and after the Meiji Restoration the former retainers were all transferred to Suruga (Shizuoka prefecture). But he stayed there only for a short time.

Mamichi was appointed in October 1870 as a supernumerary first secretary, and in August of the following year was probably promoted to the 14th grade. His work was probably the compilation of the *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran*. After that in July 1876 he was promoted to 13th grade, and officially appointed a member of the compilation team.¹⁵⁶ Before that the team had been Sakata Morotō, Koike Setsuzō, Miyamoto Kōfū, and Katsurano Susumu, but Koike resigned in 1875, so Mamichi took his place.

Shiraishi Mamichi's rank of 14th grade was the second from the bottom rank in the Foreign Office register. But what about the ranks of Sakata Morotō, Miyamoto Koichi and Tanabe Taichi?

For example, in the Register of Foreign Office Employees printed on March 5 of Meiji 7 (1874), Sakata Morotō was listed as a *Gon no Dairoku* (8th grade equivalent or between 8th and 9th grade), Miyamoto Koichi was a *Daijō* and Tanabe Taichi was at the 4th grade.¹⁵⁷ *Daijō* was one grade above the 4th grade. In other words, apart from Mamichi they were all high officials. In Sakata's case he was probably a specialist high official.

Regarding the editing of the *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran*, I shall refer to it when I introduce Sakata Morotō below, but the connection with Mamichi is as follows. In January 1877 (Meiji 10) when the Foreign Office ranking system for officials was revised, the roles of Sakata Morotō, Miyamoto

¹⁵² Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998. p.227.

¹⁵³ *Shokuinroku: Meiji 4nen 12gatsu: Shokanshō Kan'inroku (Shūchin) Aratame* (URL: <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/das/image/F0000000000000067320>).

¹⁵⁴ *Shokuinroku: Meiji 5nen 2gatsu: Kan'inroku Aratame (Gaimushō)* (URL: <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/das/image/F0000000000000067330>).

¹⁵⁵ *Shokuinroku: Meiji 5nen 5gatsu: Kan'in Zensho Aratame (Gaimushō)* (URL: <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/das/image/F0000000000000067325>).

¹⁵⁶ Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998. p.226.

¹⁵⁷ *Shokuinroku Meiji 7nen 3gatsu Gaimushō Shokuin Ichiranhyō* (URL: <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/das/image/F0000000000000067347>).

Kōfū, Katsurano Susumu and Shiraishi Mamichi were all abolished.¹⁵⁸ It is likely that Mamichi left the Foreign Office at this point. He had only just been appointed formally to the compilation team six months previously.

Regarding the compilation of the *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran* after Shiraishi Mamichi left the Foreign Office, only Sakata Morotō was appointed at the first grade and continued the work. Miyamoto Kōfū and Katsurano Susumu returned to their former work, and Yoda Morikatsu was added to the team.¹⁵⁹ Yoda Morikatsu was the last Kanagawa magistrate (bugyō) and had prior experience of editing the *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran*. In the end only Mamichi was dismissed from the work of compilation. This may be because he was the youngest and the last to join the compilation team.

After Shiraishi Mamichi left the Foreign Office, he became Ernest Satow's secretary (in substance his librarian). Probably this was through the good offices of his superior at the Foreign Office Miyamoto Koichi. Ernest Satow completed almost two years of leave (furlough) and returned to Japan in February 1877 (Meiji 10) and returned to Tokyo in March. From August 6, 1877 Mamichi began to work in Satow's house as secretary (librarian).¹⁶⁰

Satow noted in his diary for that day: 'My new secretary Shiraishi Mamichi came to work for the first time today. He appears a quiet, modest young man, with a great fund of erudition, and is very oriental in his looks.'¹⁶¹ On the same day his father Shiraishi Senbetsu (Chiwaki) visited Satow's house. He probably came to check out his son's new workplace. After that Satow and Shiraishi Senbetsu read the *Ise Monogatari* and other classics for three hours.

Shiraishi Mamichi while he was working as Satow's librarian succumbed to tuberculosis. It is not clear when he fell ill. In his diary entry for July 16, 1879 Satow wrote the following. It was almost two years since Mamichi had begun to work as Satow's librarian.

Poor Shiraishi has had an attack of haemoptysis [coughing up blood]; he is evidently consumptive, and I am afraid will not live long.¹⁶²

After this Shiraishi Mamichi's condition improved slightly, and in the following year on May 12, 1880 (Meiji 13) Satow wrote in his diary: 'Shiraishi better'.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998. p.227.

¹⁵⁹ Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998. p.227.

¹⁶⁰ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.273.

¹⁶¹ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. pp.273-274.

¹⁶² Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.403.

¹⁶³ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.433.

However, only nine days later on May 21st at 2pm Shiraishi passed away in Satow's home at 2 pm.¹⁶⁴ He was buried the next day and Satow paid for the funeral (20 yen) and paid his wages for the last month.¹⁶⁵

Shiraishi Mamichi's father Senbetsu hinted that he wanted to succeed his son in the post of Satow's librarian, and Satow's friend Suzuki Matoshi had recommended a pupil of his own to fill the vacancy, but Satow did not feel anyone would be as good as Shiraishi Mamichi 'who was so entirely satisfactory' and he did not fill the vacancy.¹⁶⁶

I feel a degree of discomfort at the idea that Shiraishi Senbetsu should have proposed to take his son's place as librarian at his funeral, but while Mamichi was alive he probably assisted him as librarian, so the proposal may have been made in that context. Senbetsu himself may have enjoyed lending a hand with Satow's book collecting. After Mamichi's death, the post remained vacant for at least one and a half years. Eventually in about March 1882 a man called 'Kahawi' [Kawai?] was employed as Mamichi's successor. At least his name appears as the new librarian in Satow's diary for March 13, 1882.¹⁶⁷

It is not clear what education Mamichi received apart from at the Ibukinoya, but he does seem to have received a proper education. In a letter sent to his friend F.V. Dickins in 1879, Satow evaluates Shiraishi Mamichi highly. He praises him thus: 'He is the first Japanese of real learning that I ever met.'¹⁶⁸

Regarding the end of Shiraishi Mamichi, I feel some doubt about why he died in Satow's house. Was he living in the house while working as Satow's librarian? Did he not have his own house? It is also said that the funeral took place in Satow's home. In Meiji 10-11 (1877-8) Shiraishi Mamichi made a request to Tokyo prefecture to change the size of his house (i.e. enlarge it). Is there some connection with this?

The reason why I am investigating the place where Shiraishi Mamichi resided when he died is connected with his 'ex libris' stamp (*zōshoin*). The Shiraishi father and son (Senbetsu and Mamichi) had probably amassed a decent size of collection, and it is marked with the ex libris stamp 'Shiraishi collection'. Of course, they must have shared the books in the collection. It is hard to believe that the son treated all the books in the collection as belonging only to him. Taking into account the situation when he died, it is probably more accurate to state that the collection was mostly assembled by his father Senbetsu. Furthermore, the Shiraishi family book collection probably goes back to Mamichi's grandfather Jūdayu (Yoshirō). Anyway, I shall have more to say about the 'Shiraishi collection' ex libris stamp later.

¹⁶⁴ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.435.

¹⁶⁵ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.435.

¹⁶⁶ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.435.

¹⁶⁷ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.485.

¹⁶⁸ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.122.

Shiraishi Senbetsu

Shiraishi Senbetsu (Chiwaki) was Shiraishi Mamichi's father. He had various names including Chūdayū, Katsutarō, Yoshirō/Kichirō, Shimaoka, and as an official title Shimofusa [Shimōsa] no Kami. His pen names (gō) included Senbetsu, Imayōo etc. Senbetsu was born in 1817 (Bunka 14) and died in 1887 (Meiji 20). He was 70 years old when he died. He was seven years younger than Sakata Morotō, and eight years older than Sekine Shisei.

He was probably born into the house of a vassal of the shogunate (*Gokenin*). His grandfather Shiraishi Chūdayū was an officer of building (*fushinyaku*), and his father Shiraishi Jūdayū (Yoshirō) was a chief accountant, and was promoted to *hatamoto* (vassal of the Shogun).¹⁶⁹ When Senbetsu became head of the Shiraishi family, it already had *hatamoto* status.

In the late Edo period when academic tests began to test the scholarship of vassals, Senbetsu's father Shiraishi Jūdayū (Yoshirō) distinguished himself as one of the best three in the seventh test in Bunsei 1 (1818).¹⁷⁰ He passed the test, and so the family gained promotion to *hatamoto* status.¹⁷¹ Ōta Nanpo (Naojirō) who has already been mentioned in the manuscripts of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* passed the second round of the same test in Kansei 6 (1794), and Miyamoto Koichi and his father Miyamoto Kyūhei passed the 15th and 13th rounds in Ansei 3 (1856) and Kōka 5 (1848) respectively.¹⁷²

The name of Shiraishi Senbetsu does not appear in the list of successful candidates in the examinations, but like his father he appears to have proceeded smoothly in the course of *hatamoto*. It is not clear whether he took the academic test. Even without this evidence, he succeeded in entering the class of vassals. He was probably an able *hatamoto* and continued to win promotion.

In 1843 (Tenpō 9) Shiraishi Senbetsu became head of the family, and in 1851 (Kaei 4) he became a prefectural governor (*daikan*). In 1859 (Ansei 6) he was appointed head of the board of magistrates of foreign affairs (*gaikoku bugyō*), in 1864 a Kanagawa magistrate, and in 1865 a magistrate of foreign affairs. Then he was appointed to the post of Niigata magistrate.¹⁷³ As prefectural governor he worked at Dewa no Kuni (now Yamagata and Akita prefectures) from 1851 until the following year, and then for three years as a high official at Ikuno Ginzan (Ikuno Silver Mine) in Tanba province.

Senbetsu's writings and diary from his time as a *daikan* are held as the Shiraishi Diaries (*Shiraishi Nikki*) at the Kanō Bunko database in Tōhoku University library. Also, his diary as a magistrate of foreign affairs *Bakumatsu Gaikoku Bugyō Shiraishi Chūdayū Nikki* (three volumes) is held at the National Diet Library and Nagoya University library. His writings (*wakashū*, collected poems) from his time as an official at the Ikuno Silver Mine are held at Notre Dame Women's University library.

¹⁶⁹ *Kanseifu Ikō Hatamoto-ke Hyakka Jiten*, Vol.3, Tōyō Shorin, 1997. p.1382.

¹⁷⁰ 'Shōhei Gakka Meiroku', Ōkubo Toshiaki and Edo Kyūji Saihōkai, ed., *Edo*, Vol.2, Bakusei Part 2, Rittaiisha, 1980. p.111 & p. 116.

¹⁷¹ Ishii Kō, 'Nihon no Jinji Seisaku no Kigen: Edo Bakufu Kōki Gokenin no Jinzai Tōyō to Shōshin', *Hokkai Gakuen Daigaku Gakuen Ronshū*, No.156 (2013), p.13.

¹⁷² 'Shōhei Gakka Meiroku', Ōkubo Toshiaki and Edo Kyūji Saihōkai, ed., *Edo*, Vol.2, Bakusei Part 2, Rittaiisha, 1980. p.104.

¹⁷³ *Kanseifu Ikō Hatamoto-ke Hyakka Jiten*, Vol.3, Tōyō Shorin, 1997. p.1380.

There are also his documents relating to *Yūsoku kojitsu*. In short Shiraishi Senbetsu, while he was a high shogunate vassal, was an able writer, and knew a lot about *waka* (poetry), arts and the classics.

By the US-Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1858, Niigata port was one of five ports to be opened. To prepare for this, the Shogunate in 1865 transferred Shiraishi Senbetsu from Kanagawa, where he was a foreign magistrate, to Niigata with the same role. In 1867 when the British Minister Sir Harry Parkes did a tour of inspection of Niigata and Hokuriku, Ernest Satow accompanied him. Parkes went to Niigata to assess its suitability as an open port. At that time Parkes and Satow met Shiraishi Senbetsu who was the Niigata magistrate. Satow writes the following about their meeting in *A Diplomat in Japan*:

After we had waited for a few minutes the governor came in; he proved to be Shiraishi Shimōsa no Kami, an old acquaintance of mine when he held a similar post at Yokohama in 1864 and 1865. In those days we used often to have serious disputes about the claims of British subjects against defaulting Japanese merchants and questions of customs' duties, but I found him now in quite a different mood. He was very polite and cheery, and alluded with regret to the ridiculous arguments which in former days under a different régime he had been obliged to maintain against me. Now that the foreign ministers had visited the Tycoon at Ozaka all was to be changed, and our intercourse was to be really friendly.¹⁷⁴

Shiraishi Senbetsu when he had been Kanagawa magistrate had had many serious disputes with Satow and others, but at Niigata in the year before the Meiji Restoration he seems to have had a softer and more relaxed attitude.

In 1867 the Shogunate, in order to prepare for the opening of the ports, called the deputy foreign magistrate Kasuya Yoshiaki to Niigata and recalled Shiraishi Senbetsu from Niigata to Edo.¹⁷⁵ But while Shiraishi was at Edo, the opening of Niigata was postponed. In January 1868 when Shiraishi arrived back in Niigata from Edo, the Boshin War (1868-9) had already begun, and the army of the new Meiji government had begun its advance on the Hokurikudō. Shiraishi was ordered by the army to surrender to the Takada clan at Takada in Niigata. He did not surrender, giving illness as the reason, and sent Tanaka Kentaro of the Niigata magistrate's office instead.¹⁷⁶ At that time Tanaka was ordered by the new Meiji government army to present documents regarding the jurisdictional area of Niigata. Tanaka and Shiraishi wanted to receive instructions from the Shogunate about this, so in April 1868 they went to Edo.¹⁷⁷ After that, Senbetsu never returned to Niigata as foreign magistrate. In Edo Shiraishi was told by the Shogunate to obey the imperial edict (the order of the new Meiji government army) to submit the documents relating

¹⁷⁴ Ernest Satow, *A Diplomat in Japan: the Inner History of the Critical Years in the Evolution of Japan when the Ports were Opened and the Monarchy Restored, Recorded by a Diplomatist who Took an Active Part in the Events of the Time, with an Account of His Personal Experiences during that Period*, Seeley, Service, 1921, p.232.

¹⁷⁵ *Niigata Shishi*, Tsūshi-hen 3, Kindai (Jō), Niigata-shi, 1996. p.12.

¹⁷⁶ *Niigata Shishi*, Tsūshi-hen 3, Kindai (Jō), Niigata-shi, 1996. p.12.

¹⁷⁷ *Niigata Shishi*, Tsūshi-hen 3, Kindai (Jō), Niigata-shi, 1996. p.12.

to the jurisdiction of Niigata to the army. He did as ordered, and in the following month of May 1868 he resigned as magistrate.¹⁷⁸ After that Senbetsu also gave up his position as head of the Shiraishi family to his son Mamichi.

Shiraishi Senbetsu was a vassal of the Shogun (hatamoto), but as has already been mentioned he was a scholar of Japanese literature and culture (Kokugakusha) and also a poet. In the Meiji era he also became a journalist. He is mentioned in the *Kokugakusha Denki Shūsei* [Biographies of Kokugaku Scholars].

[Chiwaki] learned composition of poems from Ajiro Hironori, Hanagaki Yukikuni, Ōkuni Takamasa and others and liked to compose poems in “Imayō”(ancient verse) style. So, he was named “Imayō Okina”(an old man of Imayō). Also he was good at calligraphy.¹⁷⁹

At the beginning of the Meiji era ‘after working at the Foreign Office, a museum etc. he became the editor-in-chief of the *Iroha Shinbun* newspaper, and later librarian at the Ministry of the Imperial Household.’¹⁸⁰ The Foreign Office work, as we have seen, included cooperation with the *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran* compiled by Sakata Morotō. Senbetsu, apart from his work at the Foreign Office, worked at the Museum (the predecessor of the Tokyo National Museum, a kind of administrative office?) and the library of the Imperial Household. Senbetsu’s work at the Foreign Office may have been a factor in his son Mamichi entering the Foreign Office.

Regarding Shiraishi Mamichi’s successor as Satow’s librarian, I have referred to Satow’s friend Suzuki Matoshi, but it may be the case that Shiraishi Senbetsu or he and his son had some role in introducing Satow and Suzuki. Senbetsu may have worked with Matoshi in the Imperial Household or the Museum. Satow and Suzuki Matoshi may have become acquainted through someone connected with the Ibukinoya, for example Miyamoto Koichi. Suzuki Matoshi was a pupil at the Ibukinoya school, and Miyamoto Koichi was a distant relative of Hirata Kanetane.

Shiraishi Senbetsu received the support of Kurimoto Joun, editor-in-chief of the *Yūbin Hōchi Shinbun* and a former vassal of the shogunate, and in December 1878 (Meiji 11) he published the *Azuma Shinbun* newspaper, and in the following year (December 1879) changed its name to the *Iroha Shinbun*.¹⁸¹ The *Iroha Shinbun* was a “ko Shinbun” newspaper which in the early Meiji era produced entertaining articles for the common people. (*ō Shinbun* lit. big newspapers dealt with political topics, and *ko Shinbun* meant small newspapers.)

The managing editor of the *Azuma Shinbun* and its successor the *Iroha Shinbun* was Shiraishi Senbetsu, but Kanagaki Robun and his son were assistants and chief editors.¹⁸² In the following year (January 1880) Robun became the president of the printing company Kyōbunsha and took over the running of the *Iroha Shinbun*.

¹⁷⁸ *Niigata Shishi*, Tsūshi-hen 3, Kindai (Jō), Niigata-shi, 1996. p.12.

¹⁷⁹ *Kokugakusha Denki Shūsei*, Zoku-hen, Kokuhon Shuppansha, 1935. p.284.

¹⁸⁰ *Dai Nihon Jinmei Jisho*, Shintei-ban, Vol.2, Dai Nihon Jinmei Jisho Kankōkai, 1937. p.1323

¹⁸¹ JACAR : C09113095300 ; Tsuchiya Reiko, *Taishūshi no Genryū: Meijiki Shō Shinbun no Kenkyū*, Sekai Shisōsha, 2002. p.154.

¹⁸² Tsuchiya Reiko, *Taishūshi no Genryū: Meijiki Shō Shinbun no Kenkyū*, Sekai Shisōsha, 2002. pp.154-155.

As can be seen from the above, Shiraishi Senbetsu's role at the *Iroha Shinbun* was a limited one. Shiraishi and Kanagaki Robun were comrades and colleagues in a new newspaper business. Kanagaki was 12 years younger than Shiraishi. What kind of relationship did they have, Senbetsu as the elite former shogunate official, and Robun as the town merchant and cheap fiction writer? Kanagaki Robun had close relations with Sekine Shisei through book collections etc.

Shiraishi Senbetsu was a vassal of the Shogunate, a Kokugaku scholar, poet, journalist etc., but he was also a book collector. It is likely that 'Shiraishi Shozō' was the ex libris stamp of the Shiraishi father and son (Senbetsu and Mamichi), but the stamp probably indicates Senbetsu's collection more than his son's. It might also represent books collected by Senbetsu's father Jūdayū (Yoshirō).

Miyamoto Koichi (1836-1916)

Miyamoto Koichi's given name may be read in two ways: 'Okazu' and 'Koichi'. In Satow's diary 'Okazu' is written, but in this book we will use 'Koichi'. Miyamoto Koichi's role was to liaise between Ernest Satow and the Shiraishi father and son (Senbetsu and Mamichi). It seems likely that he introduced them to Satow. As mentioned above, Satow had already met Senbetsu several times in the Bakumatsu period when he was a Kanagawa and Niigata magistrate. Furthermore, Miyamoto Koichi was also connected to the meeting of Sakata Morotō and the Shiraishi father and son. Probably Miyamoto Koichi introduced Shiraishi Senbetsu to the compiler of the *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran* who was Sakata Morotō. Shiraishi Senbetsu had been a foreign magistrate and a Niigata magistrate in the Bakumatsu period, so he was very useful to the compiler of the *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran*. Also, Shiraishi Mamichi had worked in the Foreign Office under Sakata Morotō.

As already stated, Shiraishi Mamichi found employment at the Foreign Office thanks to the recommendation of Miyamoto Koichi and Tanabe Taichi.¹⁸³ Of these two, Taichi was several years older than Koichi. Also as regards the academic entrance test (*gakumon ginmi*), their parent Miyamoto Kyūhei had taken the 13th test in Kōka 5. Koichi passed the test eight years later, the 15th one in Ansei 3 (1856). It is rare that the Miyamoto father and son should have the same qualification.

Tanabe Taichi went overseas twice in the Bakumatsu period, and also joined the Iwakura Mission in the early Meiji period, so he had abundant overseas experience. Meanwhile in the Foreign Office only just established, Miyamoto Koichi and Tanabe Taichi were colleagues with the same background as former vassals of the Shogun. For example, regarding the Head of the Record Keeping Department which was charged with the compiling of the *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran*, the first Head was Tanabe Taichi, then it was Miyamoto Koichi, and then Tanabe took it over again.¹⁸⁴ They took it in turns. It was these two men who recommended Shiraishi Senbetsu's son and heir Mamichi to the Foreign Office.

Again, as regards the history of the administration of diplomacy, Tanabe Taichi and Miyamoto Kochi are interesting since their careers span the period of the change from Bakumatsu to Meiji

¹⁸³ Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998. p.226.

¹⁸⁴ Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998. pp.223-224.

Restoration, from vassals of the Shogunate to diplomatic officials. Of course, Tanabe had the more brilliant career, but Miyamoto's career is also interesting. The same as Tanabe Taichi, Miyamoto Kochi worked in the Bakumatsu as a Kanagawa (and foreign) magistrate, and in the Foreign Office in the Meiji era, and contributed to the smooth transition between the two administrations.

In the Bakumatsu period Miyamoto Kochi worked as the head of the Kanagawa magistrates office, and after the Restoration in the Tokyo prefectural government (the predecessor of the Foreign Office) as a diplomat, and in 1869 after the Foreign Office was founded in various roles in the Foreign Office, and finally as a senior diplomatic secretary (*Gaimu Daishokikan*).¹⁸⁵ After that he left the Foreign Office and worked as an official in the Chamber of Elders (*Genrōin*) and was appointed by Imperial nomination to the House of Peers. He is one of the former vassals of the Shogunate whose career advanced most smoothly as a Meiji official. He also contributed to the promotion of the unrecognised good deeds of the *Shōgitai* group of elite Shogunal infantry.

Miyamoto Koichi was born in 1836 (Tenpō 7) and died in 1916 (Taishō 5) at the age of 80. He was, like Shiraishi Jūdayū (Yoshirō), his father Miyamoto Kyūhei and Tanabe Taichi successful in the academic test to enter the Shogunate administration. These people had been capable officials in the Shogunate. In the case of his father Kyūhei, he was not a high official and did not advance very far. He may have been more of a scholar. Koichi's mother, Kyūhei's wife, was the niece of Hirata Kanetane, the heir of the Kokugaku scholar Hirata Atsutane. Koichi also had connections with the Ibukinoya private school (*shijuku*) run by the Hirata family. For example, it was Koichi who introduced Shiraishi Mamichi to the Ibukinoya.

In 1877 when he returned to Japan from his leave, Satow was probably looking for a librarian (secretary). Since Satow knew Miyamoto Koichi from his work at the Foreign Office, he may have asked him to introduce a suitable person. Koichi introduced Shiraishi Mamichi who had left the Foreign Office and Satow employed him. Or perhaps Koichi asked Satow to employ Mamichi. Either way, Shiraishi Mamichi began to work in Satow's house as his librarian in August 1877 (Meiji 10).

Librarian is one case, but whenever Satow wanted to employ a Japanese he seems to have asked Miyamoto Koichi. He wrote in later years in his diary when he was British Minister:

5 [Oct. 1895]

Drove with Miss Lowther to gardens at Somei and Sugamo. Came across Itō Koyemon, who supplied trees for the Legation grounds in 1875 – having been recommended by Miyamoto Koichi.¹⁸⁶

In 1875 Satow had employed a gardener (*uekishi*) on the recommendation of Miyamoto Koichi of the Foreign Office. That is presumably why he employed Shiraishi Mamichi as his librarian on the recommendation of Koichi.

¹⁸⁵ *Kokushi Dai Jiten*, Vol.13, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1992. p.505. ; Tanaka Masahiro, *Bakumatsu Ishinki no Shakai Henkaku to Gunzō*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2008. p.2007.

¹⁸⁶ Ian Ruxton, *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Tokyo (1895-1900): a Diplomat Returns to Japan*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2010. p. 26.

Sakata Morotō (1810-1897)

Sakata Morotō was born on November 8, 1810 (Bunka 7) in Chikuzen no kuni (now Fukuoka prefecture), Kurate-gun, Nogata-chō as the second son of a doctor.¹⁸⁷ His character was calm, strong (manly), and he had spirit. From his childhood he liked scholarship, and in his youth he left his home to study in Nagasaki.¹⁸⁸ Later he entered the family of the Akitsuki clan member Sakata Moroyasu as an adopted heir (*yōshi*) where he was first called Morochika, but in 1859 (Ansei 6) when the head of the Akitsuki clan Kuroda Nagayoshi was appointed Ōmi 近江 no kami, he changed his name from Morochika 諸近 to Morotō 諸遠.¹⁸⁹ (He gave up the character 近 out of respect for the clan chief. Also, 近 means “near” and 遠 means “far”. So 遠 is the antonym of 近.)

In 1837 (Tenpō 8) Morotō was ordered to work as a *gorikushi* [a foot soldier?] of the Akitsuki clan. In 1839 he took over as head of the family from his adoptive father, was paid an extra income, and became a *gorikushi*.¹⁹⁰ Since he had knowledge of *Yūsoku kojitsu* (ceremonies and customs of the Court, nobility, samurai etc.) in 1846 he was appointed to a suitable post relating to etiquette within the clan, and promoted in 1850.¹⁹¹ In 1852 he was ordered to Edo, promoted again, and in the following year was ordered by the clan to treat etiquette (*shitsuke*) as his family business (*kagyō*).¹⁹²

Summarizing the above process, Morotō inherited the title of family heir of an Akitsuki clan member, and was appointed to quite a low rank (*gorikushi*) in the clan, but because he knew a lot about *Yūsoku kojitsu* he was given a role (*shitsuke* and *kirokushinan*) connected with that at the same time. His first official post may have been as a *kirokugata* (keeper of records).

Later Morotō worked at the Foreign Office, but in his personal curriculum vitae submitted to the Foreign Office it is stated that for 22 years from 1837 to 1858 he worked in the Akitsuki clan as a keeper of records and instructor of archery on horseback.¹⁹³ The titles given him (*rikushi kogashirakaku kirokugata* and *shitsuke shinan*) probably signified this work.

In 1852 (Kaei 5) when he proceeded to Edo he was 43 years old by *kazoedoshi*, but it seems likely that he had already studied *Yūsoku kojitsu* in Edo before that. In 1852 he was probably sent by the Akitsuki clan to Edo to further deepen his knowledge of *Yūsoku kojitsu*. But it can be guessed that he had already studied the subject at Edo at an earlier stage.

Three years later in 1855 (Ansei 2) he was ordered by the clan to go with a new job title once more to Nagasaki, where he made the acquaintance of Hirano Kuniomi (1828-1864).¹⁹⁴ In Hirano

¹⁸⁷ Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998. p.240.

¹⁸⁸ *Asakura-gun Kyōdo Jinbutsushi*, Fukuoka-ken Asakura-gun Kyōikukai, 1926. p.49.

¹⁸⁹ *Asakura-gun Kyōdo Jinbutsushi*, Fukuoka-ken Asakura-gun Kyōikukai, 1926. p.50.

¹⁹⁰ *Asakura-gun Kyōdo Jinbutsushi*, Fukuoka-ken Asakura-gun Kyōikukai, 1926. p.50.

¹⁹¹ *Asakura-gun Kyōdo Jinbutsushi*, Fukuoka-ken Asakura-gun Kyōikukai, 1926. p.50.

¹⁹² *Asakura-gun Kyōdo Jinbutsushi*, Fukuoka-ken Asakura-gun Kyōikukai, 1926. p.50.

¹⁹³ Imai Shōji, 'Zoku Tsūshin Zenran to Sakata Morotō', *Nihon Rekishi*, No. 173(1962). p.80.; Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998. p.241.

¹⁹⁴ *Asakura-gun Kyōdo Jinbutsushi*, Fukuoka-ken Asakura-gun Kyōikukai, 1926. p.50.

Kuniomi's biography it is stated that Morotō studied *Yūsoku kojitsu* in Edo for 20 years, and records him in this way:

He came to Edo and studied *Yūsoku kojitsu* from three famous scholars (Matsuoka Yuki-yoshi, Kurihara Ryūan and Hanawa Jirō), and also studied horseback archery for 20 years, winning high praise for his achievements. In 1855 he left Edo and returned to the Akitsuki clan as a *kanjōgata* and was sent again to Nagasaki where he met Kuniomi and taught him.¹⁹⁵

According to this Hirano Kuniomi biography from about 20 years prior to his leaving Edo in 1855, in other words in the Tenpō era, he had studied from famous scholars of *Yūsoku kojitsu* and *Kokugaku* and accumulated knowledge of the subject. This was before his coming to Edo in 1852.

Hirano got to know him in Nagasaki where he had been sent to work with the relatively low rank of *kanjōgata* and learnt many things from him. In fact Morotō's contact with Hirano Kuniomi and members of other clans in Nagasaki later became a problem for him.

In the *Asakura gun Kyōdo Jinbutsushi* [Biographies of People from Asakura gun] it is stated that Morotō studied the imperial learning (*Kōgaku*, studies about the Imperial history of Japan?) from Matsuoka Akiyoshi and his son Yuki-yoshi¹⁹⁶ and in the *Akitsuki Shikō* [History of Akitsuki] from Matsuoka Tokikata and his son Yuki-yoshi.¹⁹⁷ Furthermore both books state that the scholastic lineage of the Matsuokas was directly descended from Hanawa Hokiichi, and that Morotō told this scholastic lineage to Hirano Kuniomi. It seems that Morotō in Edo studied *Yūsoku kojitsu* from three generations of the Matsuoka family from the Kurume clan – Tokikata, Yuki-yoshi and Akiyoshi. But Matsuoka Akiyoshi was much younger than Morotō and the Asakura history may have confused the grandson Akiyoshi with the grandfather Tokikata.

Matsuoka Tokikata had studied *Kokugaku* from Hanawa Hokiichi (1746-1821) who had founded the *Wagaku Kōdansho* as an educational and research institute for the study of *wagaku* and was its president. Matsuoka had also studied from very famous *Yūsoku kojitsu* scholars such as Takakura Nagamasa (*Kuge kojitsu*) and Ise Sadaharu (*Buke kojitsu*), and had set up his own Matsuoka line of *Yūsoku kojitsu*. Tokikata's scholarly works include *Ikkai Benzu*, *Shōzoku Shikibun Zue* etc. Ise Sadaharu was the grandson of Ise Sadatake and had inherited the family headship from him. Ise Sadatake was the top researcher into *Buke kojitsu* (customs etc. of the samurai) and the author of many works such as *Teijō Zakki*, *Anzai Zuihitsu* etc.

Matsuoka Yuki-yoshi was Tokikata's son, and he inherited the Matsuoka style of *Yūsoku kojitsu* study. He also studied the Takakura style of *Kuge kojitsu* and the Ogasawara style of *Buke kojitsu*. Yuki-yoshi was critical of scholarship and learning purely on paper. He produced armour and revived the ancient samurai custom of the hunting of dogs (*inu ō mono*). His works include the *Kōmatsu Nikki*. Matsuoka Akiyoshi was Yuki-yoshi's son, and like his father and grandfather was active in the field of *Yūsoku kojitsu*. After the Meiji Restoration he worked in various posts including professor at the Normal School for Women, the Office of Japanese Classics Research (*Kōten Kōkyūsho*), Tokyo University etc. and he helped compile *Koji Rui-en*.

¹⁹⁵ Hirano Kuniomi *Denki oyobi Ikō*, Hakubunsha Shoten, 1916. p.29.

¹⁹⁶ *Asakura-gun Kyōdo Jinbutsushi*, Fukuoka-ken Asakura-gun Kyōikukai, 1926. p.50.

¹⁹⁷ Tashiro Masae, *Akizuki-shi Kō*, Akizuki-shi Kō Kankōkai, 1951. p.118.

Kurihara Ryūan who was mentioned in the quotation above from Hirano Kuniomi's biography is the same person as the *Buke kojitsu* scholar Kurihara Nobumitsu. He studied *Yūsoku kojitsu* from Yashiro Hirokata (1758-1841) and helped to compile Hirokata's *Kokon Yōran*. Also Hanawa Jirō is Hanawa Hokiichi's heir (fourth son) Hanawa Tadatomi, and as a Kokugaku scholar he inherited the work of the *Wagaku Kodansho*. It is said that Hanawa Tadatomi was murdered during the Bakumatsu period by Itō Hirobumi and Yamao Yōzo.

As we know from the fact that Morotō worked in the Akitsuki clan as a keeper of records and instructor of archery on horseback, he studied from very famous *Yūsoku kojitsu* and Kokugaku scholars such as Matsuoka Tokikata and his son Yuki-yoshi, Kurihara Nobumitsu, Hanawa Tadatomi and others, and he already knew a lot about *Yūsoku kojitsu* from his time as an Akitsuki clan member. He was probably also proficient with the handling of records. His works include *Shōgun Ke Shōzoku Kō* [Thoughts on the Costumes of the Shogunal Family].

Anyway, in later years Morotō was able to work in the Foreign Office, and his knowledge of *Yūsoku kojitsu* and the handling of records must have stood him in good stead. He already had a high reputation for these things during his time as an Akitsuki clan member. Since he had these achievements behind him, when he entered the Meiji era it can be easily imagined that he had a strong interest in the literature of *Buke kojitsu*.

Hirano Kuniomi was a Fukuoka clan member. He studied *Buke kojitsu* in 1855 and 1856 in Nagasaki from Sakata Morotō, and in 1857 he submitted his written report to the head of the clan Kuroda Nagahiro [Hirano made direct appeal to Nagahiro in front of his palanquin] and was ordered to stay at home.¹⁹⁸ Probably this is why the Akitsuki clan which was a branch of the Fukuoka clan got to hear of Morotō's intercourse with samurai of other clans (Hirano Kuniomi) and so in 1857 he was dismissed from his post at Nagasaki and retired at Akitsuki in 1858.¹⁹⁹ After he was dismissed from his post, Morotō opened a school (juku) for the study of *Buke kojitsu*. Kuniomi entered Morotō's juku in 1857, and in the spring of the following year he began to research *Buke kojitsu* under Morotō.

In the Edo period in Nagasaki there was the Nagasaki Magistrates Court (*Bugyōsho*). After the Meiji Restoration the work of the Court was passed to the Nagasaki Assembly, Nagasaki Court, Kyūshū Chinbu Nagasaki Governor's Office, and then to Nagasaki prefecture (*fu* and then *ken*). This happened in a very short time from 1868 until the middle of 1869. In that period the organisation name went through a dizzying number of changes. Sawa Nobuyoshi was appointed by the new Meiji government as Kyūshū Chinbu Governor and Head of Foreign Affairs and Head of the Nagasaki Court simultaneously. After that he became Nagasaki Prefectural Governor etc. In other words, through all these changes in organisation from Nagasaki Bugyōsho to Nagasaki prefecture, Sawa Nobuyoshi was head of all the organisations.

In April 1868 Sakata Morotō was appointed to the Kyūshū Chinbu Nagasaki Governor's Office as a specialist of *Yūsoku kojitsu*, and after that he worked in all the successor organisations until Nagasaki prefecture (*ken*) was created by administrative reform in September 1869.²⁰⁰ During this time in Nagasaki we can say that Sakata Morotō worked for Sawa Nobuyoshi as a *Yūsoku*

¹⁹⁸ *Hirano Kuniomi Denki oyobi Ikō*, Hakubunsha Shoten, 1916. p.32.

¹⁹⁹ *Asakura-gun Kyōdo Jinbutsushi*, Fukuoka-ken Asakura-gun Kyōikukai, 1926. p.50.

²⁰⁰ Imai Shōji, 'Zoku Tsūshin Zenran to Sakata Morotō', *Nihon Rekishi*, No. 173(1962). p.80.

specialist. Then in 1869 Sawa Nobuyoshi became the first head of the newly created Foreign Office.

After that in October 1870 Sakata Morotō worked by order at the Akitsuki clan office, then in January 1871 he was appointed to the Foreign Office as a secretary.²⁰¹ When he began working at the Foreign Office he was 61 years old. As will be stated below, Sakata Morotō worked for 17 years at the Foreign Office, until 1888. He was clearly a very unusual employee in the Foreign Office because of his great age.

It is unclear how it came about that Sakata Morotō was invited to work at the Foreign Office.²⁰² However Tanaka Masahiro guesses that he was recommended by the former Ōmura clan member Kusumoto Masataka and approved by Sawa Nobuyoshi.²⁰³ Kusumoto was a Nagasaki court judge who worked for Sawa when he was Governor of Nagasaki prefecture (*fu*), and by Sawa's recommendation after the Foreign Office was created he was appointed a Chief Secretary. During the Nagasaki period Sakata Morotō worked as an assistant of Kusumoto. Sawa who had been a colleague of Hirano Kuniomi seemed to consider that Sakata had been Hirano's teacher and this may have been a factor. [Hirano had a violent death before the Meiji Restoration]. Sakata Morotō was already advanced in age, but with the recommendations of Chief Secretary Kusumoto Masataka and the Foreign Secretary Sawa Nobuyoshi he was able to work at the Foreign Office.

In May 1870 at the Foreign Office an Archives section (*Bunshoshi*) was established, and the ranks of the staff members were decided including *Gon no Daisuke*.²⁰⁴ Sakata Morotō was appointed first as a *Bunsho Gon no Daisuke* [archivist], and proceeded to become *Gaimu Gon no Daisuke* then *Gaimu Ittō Sakan*. When Morotō's main work at the Foreign Office which was compiling the chronology of *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran* was completed, his reward was recommended to his superiors. Sakata Morotō's main achievement at the Foreign Office was of course the compilation of *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran*, but it did not stop there. Apart from that he was involved in the compilation of many other documents and volumes, and these were included in his achievements.²⁰⁵ He also contributed to the collection of documents on the Ogasawara islands.

Regarding diplomatic documents exchanged between Japan and foreign countries, the ones exchanged between 1859 and 1860 were compiled as the *Tsūshin Zenran* under the foreign magistrates such as Hirayama Seisai (1815-90). The main people who did the compiling were Tanabe Taichi and Hirosawa Shinichiro. In particular Tanabe Taichi (1831-1915) had an important role. The *Tsūshin Zenran* was completed in 1862. After that there were further compilations and additions, which made the grand total of 320 volumes (*kan*). In principle the *Tsūshin Zenran* was compiled and complete before the Meiji Restoration.

Following on from the *Tsūshin Zenran* the part from 1861 onwards was compiled. So the Foreign Office compiled the *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran* from 1861 to 1868, adding various sections and in

²⁰¹ Imai Shōji, 'Zoku Tsūshin Zenran to Sakata Morotō', *Nihon Rekishi*, No. 173(1962). p.80.

²⁰² Imai Shōji, 'Zoku Tsūshin Zenran to Sakata Morotō', *Nihon Rekishi*, No. 173(1962). p.80.

²⁰³ Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998. pp.242-244.

²⁰⁴ Gaimushō Hyakunen-shi Henshū linkai, ed., *Gaimushō no Hyakunen*, Vol.1, Hara Shobō, 1969. p.57.

²⁰⁵ Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998. pp.244-246.

chronological order. The chronology (*Hennen no bu*) of the *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran* was started in 1871 and completed in 1879. After that the classified section (*Ruishū no bu*) etc. were added and the *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran* amounted in total to 1,784 volumes.

The person responsible for compiling the *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran* was Sakata Morotō. After the *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran* chronology was completed in 1879, in the following year (December 1880) he retired at his own request (“*igan men honkan*”, “*Negai ni yori Honkan o Menzu*”) from the post of ‘honkan’ (official) but he continued to work at the Foreign Office until 1888.²⁰⁶ But he may have held an honorary post with no duties from 1885.²⁰⁷ He died in 1897 (Meiji 30).²⁰⁸ He was 87 years old (88 by *kazoedoshi*) at the time of his death.

Sakata Morotō’s former collection of 15,000 books (‘Sakata bunko’) was absorbed into the Nanki bunko collection founded by Tokugawa Yorimichi (1872-1925), the former head of the Kishū clan. After the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923 the Nanki bunko collection was donated to Tokyo University, so now Morotō’s collection is held at the Tokyo University library. This library has four manuscripts: the Sakata and Nakahara versions of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Sekine Shisei’s *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and *Iwademo no Ki*. There were already two copies of *Iwademo no Ki* in the Nanki bunko. They may both be from Sakata Morotō’s former collection. One of them is the original of the one held at Cambridge University.

Sekine Shisei (1825-1893)

Sekine Shisei was born in Edo’s Kayaba-cho in 1825 (Ansei 8). He was 21 years younger than Saitō Gesshin (1804-1878). During the Bakumatsu period Sekine worked as a *uo goyōtashi* [an official of the fish providers or purveyors] for the Shogunate. As will be stated later this is connected with *Onaya* fish shop. After the Meiji Restoration he collected rare and sought-after books, calmly living free from worldly care. This is why Sekine Shisei was able to collect books, investigate drama, and furthermore publish books in these fields, and became well known for this. Examples of his works are *Shisei Airoku*, *Meijin Kishinroku*, *Tōto Gekijō Enkakushi*.

The Kokubungaku scholar Sekine Masanao was his eldest son, and the drama and art critic Sekine Mokuan was his second son. Masanao also knew a lot about *Yūsoku kojitsu* and wrote several books: *Shōzoku Katchū Zukai*, *Kyūden Chōdo Zukai*, *Yūsoku Kojitsu Jiten* and others.

Sekine Shisei’s life overlapped partly with the long-lived ukiyoe artist Hokusai (1760-1849). They met two or three times. Iijima Kyoshin in order to write his *Life of Katsushika Hokusai* asked old people about Hokusai. At that time (Meiji 23, 1890) the old people were Yomono Umehiko, Tsuyuki Kōshō, Sekine Shisei and a certain Tosaki (Tosaki Bunshi?).²⁰⁹

As for Sekine Shisei, Iwamoto Yonetarō wrote in an article that he was the grandson of the antiquarian bookseller Darumaya Goichi (Iwamoto Goichi). Goichi’s adopted son, Iwamoto Kattōshi’s son Iwamoto Yonetarō wrote in an article about Meiji antiquarian bookshops the

²⁰⁶ Imai Shōji, ‘Zoku Tsūshin Zenran to Sakata Morotō’, *Nihon Rekishi*, No. 173(1962). p.80.

²⁰⁷ Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998. p.244.

²⁰⁸ Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998. p.248.

²⁰⁹ Iijima Kyoshin, *Katsushika Hokusai Den*, Iwanami Shoten, 1999. p.25.

following memory. Including Sekine Shisei's role as customer and close friend of the bookseller Darumaya, it is rather long, but I wish to quote it here. There was a time when Sekine Shisei often frequented Darumaya Goichi's shop:

Of the customers who came to the shop [Darumaya], around half of them were Darumaya Goichi's friends, such as Ryūtei Senka [1804-1868] who became Ryūtei Tanehiko II, Karashiya Ishizuka Hōkai [1799-1862, Karashiya was the name of his shop], Miyagi Gengyo [1817-1880], Kanagaki Robun [1829-1894], Sekine Shisei [1825-1893] and others. Since Sekine Shisei is mentioned in Mr. Saitō [Saitō Kenzō II, owner of Rinrōkaku]'s talk, I would like to talk about him. Sekine was a brother of the owner of a sake shop located in front of the First High School [Ichikō] in Hongō. The sake shop, which was called "Takasakiya", was very sumptuous. He may be a great uncle of the current owner of the shop. Before the Meiji Restoration [1868], around the Man'en and Bunkyū Eras [1860-64], Sekine was the uncle of the owner of "Takasakiya" and he was a playboy and waster. Then, he started to work for one of fish wholesalers [actually "Onaya", the office which supplied fish to Edo Castle or the Shogunate] in Nihonbashi as a bookkeeper. In Rakugo [comic stories], a young playboy who was disowned by his rich father was likely to be looked after by tradesmen such as carpenters and plasterers who worked for the young playboy's father. In this situation, a young playboy would be encouraged to work in order to return to his father's house. He had to show his good intentions to his father. [Usually a young playboy's caretaker encouraged him to work.] So, Sekine started to work for a fish wholesaler [actually "Onaya"] as a bookkeeper. Since bookkeeping work was over before lunch time and he was free in the afternoon, Sekine came to Darumaya [which was located in Nihonbashi] and partially he was enjoying himself at the shop. He borrowed books from Darumaya and wrote a voluminous book titled *Shisei Airoku*. When Sekine was working at a fish wholesaler which was called "Osakanaya" [it meant "Onaya"], he was called "Shō-san" of "Onaya" [Shō was a part of Sekine Shisei's name and "Onaya" was the office which supplied fish to Edo Castle or the Shogunate Government].²¹⁰

In the above quotation from Iwamoto Yonetarō's article, we can learn various things about Sekine Shisei who often frequented Darumaya's shop. First, among Darumaya's customers there were Ryūtei Senka (the second Ryūtei Tanehiko), Ishizuka Hōkaishi (Kamakuraya Jūbei, Shūkodo), Miyagi Gengyo (an ukiyoe artist), Kanagaki Robun (gesakusha, novelist), Sekine Shisei and others. While they were book collectors, they were also Darumaya Goichi's friends.

Regarding Darumaya Goichi's friends including Sekine Shisei, Iwamoto Yonetarō writes the following in a collection of Darumaya's posthumous manuscripts. The content is similar to the above quotation, but it is interesting to note that Saitō Gesshin's name appears:

Ichio [or Ichi-ō] [Darumaya Goichi] had many friends, particularly close friends were Sasagurien Chihogi [1804-1858], Ryūtei Senka [1804-1868], Nakagawa Kakai, Heitei Ginkei, Miyagi Gengyo [1817-1880] and others. Sekine Shisei was working for "Onaya" as a bookkeeper and came to Darumaya and borrowed books from the shop and copies those books patiently. Also, Kanagaki Robun, Shinratei Banshō III and others came to Darumaya to learn from Goichi.

²¹⁰ Iwamoto Yonetarō, 'Meiji Shonen no Furuhon'ya', *Hon'ya no Hanashi*, Seishōdō, 1981. pp. 80-81

Apart from that, it was said that Yamazaki Yoshishige, Ishizuka Hōkaishi, Saitō Gesshin and others came to Darumaya too, but remaining letters prove that those people up to Shinratei Banshō really came to Darumaya [There are no letters which indicate that Yamazaki Yoshishige, Ishizuka Hōkaishi, Saitō Gesshin came to Darumaya, but it was said they came].²¹¹

In the above quotation from the ‘Anecdotes’ of the collection of Darumaya Goichi’s posthumous manuscripts titled *Kawara no Hibiki – Shinobugusa* the friends mentioned include Sasagurien Chihogi (bookseller, kyōka poet), Nakagawa Kakai (kyōka poet), Heitei Ginkei (gesakusha novelist), the third Shinra Banshō (kyōka poet), Yamazaki Yoshishige (essayist) and Saitō Gesshin.

From the two quotations above we know that Sekine Shisei was born the second or third son of the Takasakiya sake shop in Hongō, with a pastime of writing at which he was skillful. He kept the accounts for the fish shop Onaya which supplied Edo castle, and at a place called Yokkaichi on the opposite bank to the riverside fish market there was an old bookstore named Darumaya which he frequented, borrowing books and copying out manuscripts. And at the Onaya fish shop where he kept the accounts, there were many playboys (*dōrakumono*). For Sekine who was good at writing, bookkeeping at the Onaya fish shop was probably a very convenient job.

At the antiquarian bookshop Rinrōkaku, Saitō Kenzō II also knew of Sekine’s habit of book collecting. He quotes from the first generation (his father). His mention of Sekine was also included in the above quotation from Iwamoto Yonetarō.

Sendai [the first-generation Saitō Kenzō, the owner of “Rinrōkaku” bookshop] said Sekine Shisei was “Shichibei”, “Onaya”, but I [Saitō Kenzō II] could not understand what these names meant. As for “Onaya” of the Tokugawa period, I was told this: the officers of “Onaya” came to the fish market to take anything they liked, even things fish merchants kept separately for themselves, and they even made good excuses not to offer money. Sekine Shisei behaved similarly and he took any books he liked, even books arranged to be sold previously, or books reserved for special reasons. That was the reason why he was called “Onaya”. I do not know the reason exactly, but I have heard that.²¹²

From the above quotation from Saitō Kenzō II, the second-generation owner of Rinrōkaku, we can learn a little more about Sekine Shisei’s work in the Bakufu era, and about him as a book collector. He was sometimes really pushy as a collector.

The ‘Sekine Bunko’

After the Meiji Restoration Sekine Shisei collected rare books and lived well, but he also lived by selling his books. His collection was inherited by his eldest son Masanao, and after father and son died it was left to the Sekine family. The books collected by Shisei and Masanao are called the ‘Sekine Bunko’. Sekine’s grandson, Masanao’s second son Sekine Toshio published the catalogue

²¹¹ Iwamoto Goichi, ‘Kawara no Hibiki: Shinobugusa’, *Hon’ya no Hanashi*, Seishōdō, 1981. p.201.

²¹² Sorimachi Shigeo, (ed.), *Shimi no Mukashigatari*, Meiji Taishō-hen, Yagi Shoten, 1990. pp.133-134.

(mokuroku) of the Sekine Bunko.²¹³ This *Sekine Bunko Mokuroku* contains books which used to be in the collection, though they are not part of it now. Sekine Toshio states the following in the commentary of the catalogue.

[Compared to my father Sekine Masano], my grandfather Sekine Shisei was certainly or more appropriately a book collector. According to Dr. Koike Tōgorō, in the Bakumatsu there were three great collectors of soft materials [*nanpamono*, literature of soft topics]. They were Darumaya Goichi (Taikadō, a tobacco merchant), Karan [Kitao Shigemasa?] who was a Kabuki actor according to Dr. Koike and Sekine Shisei, my grandfather. Dr. Koike said that he had seemed to have a lot of books and that there were books with his ownership stamp all over the world today. [Part omitted] I wonder why there are so many books with Sekine Shisei's stamp outside our home and I think the reason is as follows. There were books which my grandfather himself relinquished during the time when he lived by selling his property after the Meiji Restoration. Also, there were books he allowed to be lent out and did not request to return since he was generous and became acquainted with many people. Finally, there were books which my uncle Sekine Mokuan borrowed from my father for his writing, and then he let them flow out from him.²¹⁴

From this quotation the following is clear. First, Sekine Shisei in the Edo era was one of the three big collectors of *Nanpa Bungaku*. But the three collectors were active in slightly different periods. Darumaya Goichi was active in the late Edo period particularly the Bakumatsu, Karan in the late Edo period and Sekine Shisei in the Bakumatsu and Meiji periods.

It may be possible to say that Darumaya Goichi and Sekine Shisei in the Bakumatsu were collectors in the same generation. Darumaya was seven years older than Sekine. From two documents already quoted (Goichi's grandson's memoirs etc.), Sekine frequented Darumaya's bookshop and borrowed 'rare books' of which he seems to have produced copies. However, Darumaya Goichi passed away just before the Meiji Restoration in 1868 at the age of 51 (52 by *kazoedoshi*). So, in the Meiji era Sekine Shisei was the only major collector of 'Nanbungaku' literature.

The interesting thing about Sekine Toshio's commentary is that the cause of Sekine Shisei's collection being reduced was that at first after the Meiji Restoration it was sold off to meet his living expenses. So after the Meiji Restoration Sekine Shisei did continue to collect rare books, but at the same time sold them to make ends meet. It may be that quite a lot of rare books passed through his hands in this way. So his collecting of rare books had something to do with his living.

In Sekine Toshio's commentary, Koike Tōgorō says that Sekine Shisei's collection is all around the world. He is probably referring to the parts of the collection in the Cambridge University Library. As will be mentioned in the final chapter, Koike probably heard this from the Kokubungaku scholar Itasaka Gen. Koike may also have known that some parts of the collection were in Paris.

²¹³ Sekine Toshio, *Sekine Bunko Mokuroku*, Kyōiku Shuppan Sentā, 1983.; Sekine Toshio, 'Sekine Bunko Mokuroku, [1&2], 3-7', *Atomi Gakuen Tanki Daigaku Kiyō*, Nos. 5, 9-13 (1967-1976).

²¹⁴ Sekine Toshio, *Sekine Bunko Mokuroku*, Kyōiku Shuppan Sentā, 1983. p.2

In connection with the Sekine Bunko, I want here to refer to a book by Saitō Gesshin written in his own hand. In the catalogue of the Sekine Bunko, there is a list or catalogue titled “Meika Sōkō Shorui Kōsei Kakiire Tōsha Shorui” [famous writers’ drafts, proofreading documents, notes, mimeographed materials, etc.] at the beginning. The list (or catalogue) is actually two sheets of photographs.²¹⁵

This list (or catalogue) refers to 90 documents. Of these 24 are of antique printed books. The remaining 66 are handwritten books, manuscripts etc. Of these 66, the largest number are handwritten by Saitō Gesshin. Below are the seven manuscripts by him which are contained in the list.

[Meika Sōkō Shorui Kōsei Kakiire Tōsha Shorui]

- * Tekisō Manpitsu
- * Tekisō Zassan
- * Shizu no Odamaki
- * Kumo no Itomaki
- * Kumo no Itomaki Shūi
- * Bukō Nenpyō Sōkō Zanketsu
- * Kyōho Edo Nenkan

From this list of seven manuscripts we can see that in Sekine Shisei’s collection of handwritten books and manuscripts, Saitō Gesshin’s was the largest number, and next was the waka poet Katō Eno (1693-1785) with six. This reflects the connection between Shisei and Gesshin in the Bakumatsu and early Meiji period.

I want to refer to one more point concerning the Sekine Bunko catalogue and Saitō Gesshin’s book collection. In the catalogue there is the *Edo Chirihroi Shū* manuscript. The catalogue entry is as follows:

The *Edo Chirihroi Shū* manuscript (author already unknown in 1768). [Purchased?] in 1868. Copies of five books in one volume from Hōkaishi’s collection (with notes by [Ryūtei] Tanehiko [1783-1842] and [Kita] Seiro [1765-1848]). There is a note [*shikigo*] that Saitō Gesshin purchased it in July of Keiō 4 [1868]. There are many seals of ownership such as Nanpo Bunko [library of Ōta Nanpo].²¹⁶

The interesting thing about this *Edo Chirihroi Shū* manuscript is the editor’s note that Saitō Gesshin bought it in July of Keiō 4 (1868). He bought a copy from Ishizuka Hōkaishi’s collection, and it appears finally to have been absorbed into Sekine Shisei’s collection. Anyway, Sekine Shisei had several items from Saitō Gesshin’s former collection. I want to focus on this point.

²¹⁵ Sekine Toshio, *Sekine Bunko Mokuroku*, Kyōiku Shuppan Sentā, 1983. Kantō(the opening page of the book).

²¹⁶ Sekine Toshio, *Sekine Bunko Mokuroku*, Kyōiku Shuppan Sentā, 1983. p.6.

Sekine Shisei and Saitō Gesshin seen from the latter's diary

Next, in connection with the seven documents in the Sekine Bunko catalogue which were handwritten by Saitō Gesshin, I want to investigate the relations between Sekine Shisei and Saitō Gesshin based on entries in the latter's diary. From the diary we can know their relationship and the borrowing of books between their collections. But the diary does not pick up everything, since the part from 1871 to 1873 is missing. That part no longer exists.

First, according to the diary entry for November 25 of Keio 2 (1866), on that day Sekine took one sea bream (tai) and six dory (hōbō) and visited Saitō Gesshin's home.²¹⁷ It was his first visit to Saitō Gesshin. At that time Saitō Gesshin happened to be away from home so they could not meet, but we can say their relations began from this point.

In fact the entries in Saitō Gesshin's diary regarding Sekine Shisei can broadly be divided into two types. One is about presents which Sekine brought or sent to Saitō Gesshin. The other is about written materials which Sekine borrowed from Saitō Gesshin. In short, their relationship was that the younger man (Sekine) sent presents to the older man (Saitō), and in return he was allowed to borrow manuscripts and books from Saitō.

The presents were from the riverside market where Sekine worked, and before the Restoration almost all the presents were fish. But after the Restoration they changed to orizume (packed food), yōkan (sweet bean jelly) and sake. Listing all the presents chronologically from Saitō Gesshin's diary, they are as follows:

Keio 2 (1866): sea bream (tai), dory, flounder (karei), halfbeak (sayori)

Keio 3 (1867): flounder (hirame), sea bream (tai), tai, horse mackerel (aji), shrimp (ebi), box of sugar

Keio 4/Meiji 1 (1868): tuna (katsuo), wafer cake filled with bean jam (monaka), high grade sake (bishu)

Meiji 4-6 (1871-3): diary missing

Meiji 7 (1874): yōkan (sweet bean jelly)

Meiji 8 (1875): Voucher for three large (1.8L) bottles of sake (isshōbin)

On the other hand the entries regarding books borrowed by Sekine Shisei from Saitō Gesshin are as follows. (Note that several names are used to refer to Sekine.)

Keio 2 (1866)

November 28th

On Sakana Yakusho Kakiyaku Shichirōbei [Sekine Shisei] came and borrowed eight volumes of my books.²¹⁸

['On' is the honorific, 'Sakana Yakusho' is the office which supplied fish to the Shogunate, and 'Kakiyaku' (or 'Shoyaku') means secretary.]

²¹⁷ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.8, Iwanami Shoten, 2011. p.379.

²¹⁸ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.8, Iwanami Shoten, 2011. p.380.

This was the day when Sekine and Saitō Gesshin first met. Sekine borrowed eight volumes. Three days previously Sekine had brought sea bream (tai) and six dory (hōbō) to his house, so that had an effect.

Keio 3 (1867)

February 13th

In the morning On Sakana Yakusho Shichibei [Sekine Shisei] came and returned two books.²¹⁹

April 18th

On Sakana Yakusho Shichibei [Sekine Shisei] sent me a sea bream, ten horse mackerel (aji) and some shrimp, returned six books and borrowed six more.²²⁰

August 27th

On Sakana Yakusho Shichibei [Sekine Shisei] came and borrowed five volumes of Sōko (Suiyosōko) and two volumes of Shinobugusa.²²¹

This entry states that Sekine borrowed five volumes of *Suiyosōko* and two volumes of *Shinobugusa*. Sōko is *Suiyosōko*. It was a Japanese bound book (waseibon) of several volumes in which Gesshin recorded various things. It is now held in the National Diet Library. *Shinobugusa* is a kansubon scroll which I will explain later.

November 16th

Komagome On Sakana Yakusho Kakiyaku Shichibei [Sekine Shisei] came and borrowed seven volumes.²²² [Komagome or Hongō is the place in Tokyo where Sekine Shisei lived.]

Meiji 2 (1869)

November 23rd

While I was out, Komagome Shichibei [Sekine Shisei] came and returned books.²²³

Meiji 7 (1874)

November 21st

Matsuya [sake shop] Kōnenshi [Sekine Shisei] came, bringing bean jelly. He borrowed eight books.²²⁴

²¹⁹ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.9, Iwanami Shoten, 2013. p.16.

²²⁰ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.9, Iwanami Shoten, 2013. p.33.

²²¹ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.9, Iwanami Shoten, 2013. p.71.

²²² *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.9, Iwanami Shoten, 2013. p.94.

²²³ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.9, Iwanami Shoten, 2013. p.248.

²²⁴ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.10, Iwanami Shoten, 2016. p.84.

December 29th

Kōnenshi [Sekine Shisei] came to return books.²²⁵

Meiji 8 (1875)

February 7th

In the evening Kōnen [Sekine Shisei] came and borrowed *Bukō Nenpyō* Kōhen and *Rikaku Fūgo*.²²⁶

This means that Sekine borrowed the latter part of the manuscript of *Bukō Nenpyō* and the *Rikaku Fūgo*. According to the next entry, we know that Sekine returned the *Bukō Nenpyō*.

February 28th

While I was out, Kōnenshi [Sekine Shisei] came to return the *Bukō Nenpyō*.²²⁷

May 17th

After lunch I went to Hongō 4-chome to Matsuya [sake shop] Sekine Shichibei [Shisei], but he was out. *Hōei Kyōgen* out.²²⁸

This means that Saitō Gesshin took *Hōei Kyōgen* and other books to Sekine's house and loaned them, though he happened to be away from home at that time.

November 17th

Kōnenshi [Sekine Shisei] came from Hongō and borrowed *Manpitsu*.²²⁹

This means that Sekine borrowed *Tekisō Manpitsu*. Gesshin wrote it himself and it is in the Sekine Bunko catalogue. From this we know that Sekine collected Saitō Gesshin's handwritten *Tekisō Manpitsu* (Random Jottings). This amounts to 30 volumes and he could not make copies since he borrowed them for a short time, so probably he acquired them after Saitō Gesshin's death. Now this book is in the National Diet Library.

From the above Saitō Gesshin's diary entries we know that he was the senior collector (senpai) of Sekine Shisei, and before the Meiji Restoration as he was working at the accounts of Onaya in the fish market, Sekine frequently brought delicious fish to Saitō Gesshin. In return he was able to borrow books from Gesshin's collection, and probably prepared manuscripts from them. After the Restoration Sekine's connection with the fish market was broken off, so the presents changed from fish to other things. Since Sekine's family were sake merchants, high-grade sake was included in the presents.

²²⁵ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.10, Iwanami Shoten, 2016. p.92.

²²⁶ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.10, Iwanami Shoten, 2016. p.105.

²²⁷ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.10, Iwanami Shoten, 2016. p.110.

²²⁸ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.10, Iwanami Shoten, 2016. p.127.

²²⁹ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.10, Iwanami Shoten, 2016. p.171.

Memories of Sekine Shisei and Saitō Gesshin

It was probably through their book collections, but Sekine Shisei had relations with Kawatake Mokuami (kabuki dramatist, 1816-1893), Ishizuka Hōkaishi, Iwamoto Kattōshi, Konakamura Kiyonori, Ōtsuki Joden, Kanagaki Robun and others. Of these, Ishizuka Hōkaishi and Kanagaki Robun have already appeared in this book as close friends of Darumaya Goichi, while Iwamoto Kattōshi was Darumaya Goichi's adopted son. What is really important in connection with the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* manuscript is the connection between Sekine and Ōtsuki Joden (1845-1931). Ōtsuki Joden was a scholar and author, an intellectual who was active in many fields. His main works include *Shinsen Yōgaku Nenpyō* and others, but he also knew a lot about Japanese music and there are books of his such as *Zokkyoku no Yurai* and *Bugaku Zusetsu*. Saitō Gesshin had also compiled a book about Japanese music titled *Seikyoku Ruisan*, so their interests overlapped in the field of music. Regarding their ages, Sekine Shisei was about 20 years older than Ōtsuki. Also Ōtsuki Joden had written *Edo Fukushoku Shidan* [A History of Edo Fashion] so he had some connection with *Yūsoku kojitsu*.

Also, as regards the last years of Sekine Shisei, Tsubouchi Shōyō's book *Shitsumei tōji no Bakin to Sono Katei no An'un* which is a collection of magazine articles is useful. Tsubouchi met Sekine in 1885 or 1886 when Sekine was in his sixties and describes his appearance. He describes Sekine as being 70 years old, but since he was born in 1825 at that time he was 61 or 62 years old. Tsubouchi frequently visited Sekine, so he heard a lot about Gesshin:

I occasionally visited Sekine Shisei who was said to be the most knowledgeable person about the history of popular literature, theatre, red-light districts and firemen at that time. He was the father of Dr. Sekine Masanao (1860-1932) and Sekine Mokuan (1863-1923), and he was around 70 years old at that time, but seemed to be full of vigour. He continued compiling with devotion almost every day from morning to evening. When he felt very tired, he went to a narrow or small second-hand bookshop and sat in front of the shop, and he talked about various old books or gossip or other topics without any restraint, keeping company with the agreeable owner of the bookshop. The bookshop was located beside Yakushi (the healing Buddha) on the street of "Izukura Yokomachi" which was very narrow and was not connected in a straight line to the slope in Hongo. One of Sekine Shisei's methods to keep his health was to spend time chatting.²³⁰

We can learn various things from Tsubouchi's memoirs. First, the above was just after he had published his novel *Tōsei Shosei Katagi* and he writes 'My new knowledge of the history of Tokugawa art and literature was greatly increased under the patronage of Sekine Shisei. I first learned of the existence of *Iwademo no Ki* and *Kumo no Itomaki* thanks to him.'²³¹ He learned a lot about *gesaku* novels etc. from Sekine Shisei. The *Iwademo no Ki* which he mentions is one of the books which we are using in this book to investigate Satow's book collecting.

Sekine Shisei is famous as a drama researcher, particularly of kabuki. It may be that he developed a particular interest in kabuki when he was working at Onaya in the fish market. The connection between riverside fish markets and kabuki has always been a deep one. The fish

²³⁰ Tsubouchi Shōyō, 'Shitsumei Tōji no Bakin to Sono Katei no An'un', *Kaizō*, No.1(3 April 1919), p.116.

²³¹ Tsubouchi Shōyō, 'Shitsumei Tōji no Bakin to Sono Katei no An'un', *Kaizō*, No.1(3 April 1919), p.116.

market had strongly supported Ichikawa Danjūrō IX (the ninth Ichikawa Danjūrō, 1838-1903). Danjūrō had worked to improve kabuki and emphasised its historical morality through 'Katsurekimono' (living history plays). That is why he assembled scholars with knowledge of *Yūsoku kojitsu* and formed a study group (kyūkokai) in about 1883. One of the members of the study group was Sekine Shisei. He had a deep connection with *Yūsoku kojitsu*. In fact his eldest son Sekine Masanao was an important scholar of *Yūsoku kojitsu* .

In the final part of the introduction of Sekine Shisei, I want to introduce Ōtsuki Joden's memory of Saitō Gesshin. This was connected with Sakata Morotō's working at the Foreign Office. It happened in 1877 (Meiji 10) when Sekine Shisei accompanied Saitō Gesshin on a visit to Ōtsuki Joden's house.²³² The approximate ages of those connected with the story at the time were as follows: Gesshin was 73, Sekine was 52, and Joden was 32. Gesshin died in the following year.

Since the coming of Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry's 'Black Ships' (*Kurofune*) in the Bakumatsu period (in 1853 and 1854), there had been discussions about opening ports (*kaikō*) and expelling foreigners (*jōi*), and Japan had been thrown into chaos. Saitō Gesshin had organized these events into a chronology. He called this 'Kyōkō Kiji'. In total it amounted to 50 volumes. Gesshin wanted to donate these 50 volumes to the government, probably for their value as diplomatic documents. He may have realised that he did not have long to live.

When Gesshin visited Joden's house, he told his intention to Ōtsuki Joden and Sekine Shisei. That may have been Gesshin's purpose in visiting Ōtsuki Joden. Joden agreed to be the intermediary, and the 50 volumes were donated to the Foreign Office. The Foreign Office in gratitude to Gesshin gave him several gold [coins?]. Gesshin was delighted about that. In the 50 volumes which he presented to the Foreign Office the document included *Enkai kibun* (40 volumes) and *Shōhaku Sōhitsu* (21 volumes). These two documents were later transferred from the Foreign Office to the Cabinet Office archives. Now they are held in the National Archives of Japan. Considering the point that Ōtsuki Joden was the intermediary by whom Gesshin's books were donated to the Foreign Office, it is probable that Joden and Sakata Morotō of the Foreign Office already knew each other.

Regarding the above story, according to the research of Tanaka Masahiro, it is recorded in the following way in the Foreign Office archives.²³³ On August 11, 1877 (Meiji 10) Gesshin requested permission to donate the *Enkai kibun* (40 volumes) and *Shōhaku Sōhitsu* (21 volumes). Gesshin had recorded all that he had heard in the years when the foreigners began intervening. The Foreign Office Records Section considered that it was a mixture of precious and useless items, but that it would be useful in compiling old records.

Saitō Gesshin's donation of books is related to the donations mentioned in the foreword of this book. In particular it is similar to the case of Fujikawa Ken. As stated above, in 1873 after the building containing the *Dajōkan* (Grand Council of State) burnt down, contributions of documents to the new government were encouraged. Gesshin's and Fujikawa Ken's donations were part of this.

It is clear from Ōtsuki Joden's memory of Saitō Gesshin's donation of books that the collectors and book lovers Saitō Gesshin, Sekine Shisei, Ōtsuki Joden, Sakata Morotō and others had

²³² Ōtsuki Joden, 'Saitō Gesshin Den', *Fūzoku Gahō*, No.61 (30 November 1893). p.2.

²³³ Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998. pp.391-392.

connections through their collections. This must have influenced their transcriptions and borrowing of books.

Comparing the Four Manuscripts with Books in Other Collections

As already mentioned, Saitō Gesshin in the preface to *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* refers to two manuscripts of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. One of these is the base text for *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. It is Eisen's *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Mumeiō Zuihitsu). It was compiled by Eisen in 1833 (Tenpō 4). Gesshin borrowed it from Ishizuka Hōkaishi. The other is the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* which in the summer of 1833 Gesshin produced as a manuscript and took into his collection. What happened to it thereafter seems to be a complicated problem.

At this point I want to suggest that there is some connection between Satow's formerly collected *Ukiyoe Kō* in Cambridge University Library and Saitō Gesshin's *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Indeed, they might actually be the same thing. The situation may be a little complicated, but I believe this to be the case. As will be stated below, there is no absolute proof, but there seem to be good grounds for this belief. In this complicated situation, it seems that Sekine Shisei borrowed the book and took it into his collection. Moreover, *Ukiyoe Kō* like *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* seems to have been written in Gesshin's own hand.

This book, as a way of investigating how Ernest Satow acquired Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, is focusing on four manuscripts. Comparing the four manuscripts of four collectors including Gesshin and Satow, I wish to investigate how Satow purchased Gesshin's manuscript.

The Collections of Sekine Shisei and Sakata Morotō

In this chapter I have introduced five relevant people: Shiraishi Mamichi, Shiraishi Senbetsu, Miyamoto Koichi, Sekine Shisei and Sakata Morotō. Of these five, the last two have no direct connection with Ernest Satow, and are only linked to him through their collections and Satow's. Satow never had any close relations with Sekine and Sakata.

Here I would like to introduce their collections.

Sekine Shisei

Ukiyoe Ruikō (Shisei Airoku 84)

Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō (Shisei Airoku 85)

Ukiyoeshi Ryakuden (Shisei Airoku 203)

Iwademo no Ki

Sakata Morotō

Ukiyoeshi no Den [*Ukiyoe Ruikō*] (Sakata bon F30-96)

Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō (Shisei Zōhobon F30-118)

Ukiyoe Ruikō (Nakahara bon F30-117)

Iwademo no Ki

First I would like to explain the references above after the titles. The numbers after Shisei Airoku were attached to Sekine Shisei's manuscripts in his collection. They are convenient when

distinguishing the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* manuscripts in Sekine Shisei's collection. 'Shisei Airoku' means that they are handwritten manuscripts in his collection.

'Sakata bon' and 'Nakahara bon' means the books are part of Sakata (Nakahara) Morotō's collection. The numbers thereafter were added by Tokyo University Library as reference numbers. 'Shisei Zōhobon' means the book is an original manuscript of the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* from Sekine's former collection, or a copy of it. *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Shisei Airoku 85) is also a 'Shisei Zōhobon'. It is the original 'Shisei Zōhobon'.

Chart of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* according to Collectors and Lineages

In this chapter I am introducing four manuscripts (*Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, *Ukiyoe Kō*, *Ukiyoeshi no Den* and *Iwademo no Ki*) and five people who collected them. The last two mentioned (Sekine Shisei and Sakata Morotō) are directly involved as collectors with the four manuscripts.

Next I would like to create a chart showing the collections of these two and the collections of Ernest Satow and Saitō Gesshin. Satow, Gesshin, Shisei and Morotō who all had the four manuscripts in their collections, the types of manuscripts and lineage etc. are all to be put in one chart. This should make the connections a little easier to understand.

The title is 'Chart of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* according to Collectors and Lineages'. The four manuscripts are in Satow's collection *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, *Ukiyoeshi no Den* and Bakin's manuscript *Iwademo no Ki*.

Apart from the following classification of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (three kinds of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*), in order to classify *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, different classifications have been used by others, for example Nakashima Osamu in his *Ukiyoe Ruikō Seiritsu, Hensenshi no Kenkyū* has a total of eight classifications.²³⁴ So, this classification of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* is just one example.

Referring to this chart I want to explore the transcription of manuscripts. Of course they are not all clear. There are many unclear parts. I want to explain the parts that are clear. Focusing on *Ukiyoe Ruikō* and *Iwademo no Ki* I will look at the transcriptions. I will begin with *Iwademo no Ki*.

²³⁴ Nakashima Osamu, *Ukiyoe Ruikō Seiritsu Hensenshi no Kenkyū*, Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan, 2004. p.40 & p.200.

Chart of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* according to Collectors and Lineages

<u>Manuscript</u>	<u>Satow</u>	<u>Saitō</u> <u>Gesshin</u>	<u>Sekine</u> <u>Shisei</u>	<u>Sakata</u> <u>Morotō</u>
<i>Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō</i> Lineage	<i>Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō</i>	<i>Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō</i>	<i>Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō</i> (Shisei Airoku 85)	<i>Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō</i> (Shisei Zōhon bon F30-118)
<i>Ukiyoe Kō</i> and similar books	<i>Ukiyoe Kō</i>	<i>Ukiyoe Ruikō</i> (<i>Ukiyoe Kō</i> ?)	<i>Ukiyoe Ruikō</i> (Shisei Airoku 84)	<i>Ukiyoe Ruikō</i> (Nakahara bon F30-117)
<i>Ukiyoeshi no Den</i>	<i>Ukiyoeshi no Den</i>		<i>Ukiyoeshi Ryakuden</i> (Shisei Airoku 203)	<i>Ukiyoeshi no Den</i> (Sakata bon F30-96)
<i>Iwademo no Ki</i> (reference document)	<i>Iwademo no Ki</i> (former Shiraishi collection)	<i>Iwademo no Ki</i>	<i>Iwademo no Ki</i> (former Kanagaki Robun collection)	<i>Iwademo no Ki</i> (Two copies?)

Iwademo no Ki

As we know from the Cambridge University Library catalogue of Japanese books, Ernest Satow's former manuscript of *Iwademo no Ki* was a copy done by Shiraishi Chōkō from the manuscript in Sakata Morotō's collection. Satow purchased that copy by Shiraishi. As for the copying process, since Shiraishi made a copy, first Nagai Jūsoku made a copy from Kawatake's collection, Saitō Gesshin prepared the manuscript, Tatsuta Karyū made a copy and prepared the manuscript. Then Sakata Morotō made a further copy. The transcription process in order was therefore: Kawatake to Nagai Jūsoku to Saitō Gesshin to Tatsuta Karyū to Sakata Morotō to Shiraishi.

Was the 'Mr. Kawatake' in fact Kawatake Mokuami? In that case, he was Sekine Shisei's acquaintance. And who was Tatsuta Karyū? Is there some connection with Tatsutaya Shūkin mentioned in the previous chapter, or is it just a coincidence in the reading of 'Tatsuta' and they had absolutely no connection? Various questions come to the surface. In the postscript of *Iwademo no Ki* was the person who lived near to the Iwashimizu Hachimangū shrine at Asakusa Kuramae in fact Tatsuta Karyū? At this stage these points are unclear.

Shiraishi Chōkō is probably either Shiraishi the father or the son, although it could of course be a third person. If that is the case it is probably a relative, since the characters for the family name

are the same. But it seems likely from the calligraphic style of the manuscript now in the Cambridge University Library to have been Shiraishi Mamichi.

In the postscript of the *Iwademo no Ki* held at Cambridge University Library it is stated that the manuscript was borrowed by Shiraishi Mamichi from Sakata Morotō and produced on August 15, 1875 by the lunar calendar. Mamichi refers to Sakata Morotō as ‘waga-tomo Sakata-ō’ (my friend old Sakata) but Sakata was his superior and 37 or 38 years older than him. Would Shiraishi Mamichi really describe his superior in that way? Maybe Shiraishi Senbetsu could refer to Sakata in that way.

Again, from what is written in the *Iwademo no Ki* in Sakata Morotō’s former collection it is clear that Saitō Gesshin also had a manuscript of *Iwademo no Ki*. As will be stated later, Satow acquired two copies of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* from Saitō Gesshin’s former collection. When Gesshin created *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* as his basic text he used *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō* but he did not use the other *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, and this requires explanation which will be given later. Satow acquired the *Iwademo no Ki* from Shiraishi. At that point the question arises what happened to Saitō Gesshin’s *Iwademo no Ki* (copied in Bunkyo 2 by Gesshin from Nagai Jūsoku’s collection). This point too is unclear.

Sekine Shisei also had *Iwademo no Ki* (manuscript) in his collection, but this was the copy written by Kanagaki Robun.²³⁵ Shisei does not seem to have borrowed Gesshin’s book and made a copy. But it is possible that Kanagaki Robun made his copy from Shiraishi. Robun and Shiraishi Senbetsu worked together at the *Iroha Shinbun* newspaper. They certainly knew each other. Again, as I have already quoted Tsubouchi Shōyō’s story (memory) of Sekine Shisei, Tsubouchi seems to have learned from Shisei of the existence of *Iwademo no Ki* and *Kumo no Itomaki*.²³⁶ Sekine Shisei’s copy of *Iwademo no Ki* also influenced Tsubouchi Shōyō.

Furthermore, the collector Hayashi Wakaki writes in his book ‘one handwritten copy of *Iwademo no Ki* by Sekine Shisei’ was exchanged for a bag of chopsticks with Yasuda.²³⁷ This means that the *Iwademo no Ki* copied by Sekine Shisei himself was bought by Yasuda Zenjirō II and Hayashi Wakaki acquired it from him.

Iwademo no Ki is quite a short work, so it must have been easy to make many copies. Sekine may have had many copies. The same thing may apply to the Shiraishi father and son (Senbetsu and Mamichi). Apart from the copy which they handed over to Satow, they may have kept another copy.

Summarizing the situation of the copies made of *Iwademo no Ki*, it is as follows:

1. Kawatake – Nagai Jūsoku – Saitō Gesshin – Tatsuta Karyū – Sakata Morotō – Shiraishi – Satow
2. Kanagaki Robun – Sekine Shisei.

²³⁵ Sekine Toshio, *Sekine Bunko Mokuroku*, Kyōiku Shuppan Sentā, 1983. p.25.

²³⁶ Tsubouchi Shōyō, ‘Shitsumei Tōji no Bakin to Sono Katei no An’un’, *Kaizō*, No.1(3 April 1919), p.116.

²³⁷ Hayashi Wakakichi, *Shōhon Wakaki Bunko Shūtoku Shomoku*, Sishōdo Shoten, 1999. p.196.

Ukiyoeshi no Den

In addition to the *Iwademo no Ki*, Satow also acquired the *Ukiyoeshi no Den* manuscript from Shiraishi father and son, or from Mamichi the son who was his librarian. First, Shiraishi father and son or Mamichi borrowed the manuscript of *Ukiyoeshi no Den* from Sakata Morotō, and Mamichi prepared a copy of the manuscript. That is the copy which is now in Satow's former collection, in the Cambridge University Library. These things are clear from the imprint (*inki*), the postscript (*okugaki*) and the calligraphic style (*shotai*).

This manuscript has the imprint 'Shiraishi collection'. And in the postscript is written 'Copied in Meiji 9 from the collection of Chikuin'ō'. It is not certain that Chikuin'ō was Sakata Morotō but it is probably him. Mamichi borrowed Sakata Morotō's manuscript in the spring of Meiji 9 (1876) and made a copy. And the calligraphy appears to be that of Shiraishi Mamichi. Morotō's pen name was Kōin [which indicates bamboo grove] and Chikuin'ō means an old man who lives in the shade of bamboo and both words "Kōin" and "Chikuin'ō" are related too. So, Shiraishi Senbetsu or Mamichi borrowed the manuscript from Sakata Morotō and then made a copy of it.

The original manuscript of *Ukiyoeshi no Den* was by Sakata Morotō, and is called a Sakata book with reference F30-96. The Sakata book along with the Sakata bunko entered the Nanki bunko, and after the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, the Nanki bunko was donated to Tokyo Imperial University Library, so now it is held by Tokyo University Library. The Sakata book was copied or made imitating "Fuji no Ya zuihitsu" (an essay by Fuji no Ya).

Fuji no Ya was active as a satirical tanka poet (*kyōkashi*) in the Bakumatsu and Meiji eras, and his full name was Fuji no Ya Takamine (1831-1900). He was a tobacconist in the Honjo area of Edo. He was born in 1831 (Tenpō 2) and died in 1900 (Meiji 33). He was 21 years younger than Sakata Morotō, 14 years younger than Shiraishi Senbetsu, and six years younger than Sekine Shisei.

As a relatively old version of the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* there is the Jingū bon (book from the Jingū bunko) by Kondō Seisai. The Jingū bunko is the library of Ise Shrine. Yura Tetsuji, the compiler of *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō* investigated the Jingū book and the Sakata book in the Tokyo University Library. In *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō* Yura Tetsuji notes that 'the Sakata book, of all the currently existing *Ukiyoe Ruikō* books, along with the Jingū book, is the oldest form and the most precious'.²³⁸ The Jingū book is the *Ukiyoe Kōshō* (a type of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*) which is included in *Zoku Kiki Mama no Ki* in the Jingū bunko. [*Ukiyoe Kōshō* is a part of *Zoku Kiki Mama no Ki*.]

Regarding the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* manuscript on which Kondō Seisai made notes, the similarity with the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* which used the *Koga Bikō* [Notes on old paintings] as a source has been indicated.²³⁹ The *Koga Bikō* was compiled by Asaoka Okisada (1800-1856) and is a large directory of painters. It is thought to be the source of the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* manuscript which has no direct connection with *Ukiyoeshi no Den*, they do appear to be similar.

With regard to writing about Sharaku, as already mentioned in the preface of this book, Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* is an important reference book (manuscript). But there are several other manuscripts of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* which are also useful. One of these is the original text (*genpon*),

²³⁸ Yura Tetsuji, *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Gabundō, 1979. p.344.

²³⁹ Tsuruoka Akemi, 'Fenollosa no Ukiyoe-kan to "Koga Bikō"', *Genpon "Koga Bikō" no Nettowāku*, Shibunkaku, 2013. Pp.367-369.

of the *Ukiyoeshi no Den* held at Cambridge University Library, which is the Sakata book (F30-96) held at Tokyo University Library. The point of interest in the Sakata book is written in red ink 'I ni Sharakusai to mo ari', and between the entry for [Utagawa] Kunimasa and Sharaku there is another comment in red ink 'gamei nan to iu' and 'zokumei Kinji Yagenbori Fudōmae dōri Sumidagawa Ryōgishi Ichiran no hissha.'²⁴⁰ 'I' refers to a different book and it means that Sharaku was called Sharakusai in a different book. Also, we can understand that Sharaku lived in Yagenbori and that he was called Kinji.

In the Cambridge University Library copy of the Sakata book which is quite faithful, very similar annotations can be found. So, the Cambridge copy of *Ukiyoeshi no Den* is virtually identical to the Sakata book.

In the above Chart of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* according to Collectors and Lineages, where the line *Ukiyoeshi no Den* meets the column Sekine Shisei, I have included *Ukiyoeshi Ryakuden* as a reference document. This book was started in 1881 and the compilation was finished in 1885. When it was created, five manuscripts of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* were consulted. The five manuscripts may have included Sakata Morotō's *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (F30-96), in other words *Ukiyoeshi no Den*. That is why I have included *Ukiyoeshi Ryakuden* (Shisei Airoku 203) as a reference document in the chart.

Ukiyoeshi Ryakuden was a manuscript, but the development of it was necessary, and other works depended on it, including *Ukiyoe Gajinden* (1899), *Ukiyoe Meika Shōden* (1900) and *Ukiyoe Hyakkaden* (1925). The first two of these were produced by Sekine Shisei's second son Sekine Mokuan and *Ukiyoe Hyakkaden* was published by his eldest son Sekine Masanao.

In the foreword of *Ukiyoe Hyakkaden* the way it came about is explained as follows:

Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō was completed in Tenpō 4 [1833] and its compiler was Mumeiō, a hermit who lived in "Shigure no Oka". He was Keisai Eisen himself who lived in Negishi at that time. Then, Saitō Gesshin also added some parts to the book. My late father [Sekine Shisei] borrowed it from Saitō Gesshin and copied it by hand and kept it at home. He wrote that it was done in Spring of Keiō 3 [1867]. This biography ("Ukiyoe Hyakkaden") was based on those people's works [Mumeiō's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* (*Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō*), Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and Sekine Shisei's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*], and that of Takabatake Ransen, but I [Sekine Masanao] have removed unnecessary parts and have added and complemented new and latest artists and completed the book in Spring of Meiji 18 [1885].²⁴¹

In the foreword by Sekine Masanao, the origin of *Ukiyoe Hyakkaden* and *Ukiyoeshi Ryakuden* are explained. In the above quotation Takabatake Ransen (Ryutei Tanehiko III) appears. In the previous chapter I referred to the *Zōtei Ukiyoe Ruikō* edited by Ryutei Tanehiko III in the former collection of Hayashi Tadamasu, but there is an interesting point when considering the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. It may be important to note that Takabatake Ransen was in a position to have access to the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

In the above Chart of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* according to Collectors and Lineages, I have listed for reference the manuscripts and books which have a direct or indirect connection to *Ukiyoeshi no*

²⁴⁰ Uchida Chizuko, *Sharaku Kō*, San'ichi Shobō, 1993. p.44.

²⁴¹ Sekine Shisei, *Ukiyoe Hyakkaden*, Rokugōkan, 1925. [Hashigaki] p.2.

Den. And returning to the problem of transcription, I want to summarize the situation, focusing only on *Ukiyoeshi no Den*.

Fujinoya Takamine to Sakata Morotō to Shiraishi to Satow

Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō

The process by which *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* in Saitō Gesshin's former collection was transcribed was as follows. Saitō Gesshin's manuscript was purchased by Ernest Satow. Sekine Shisei borrowed *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* from Gesshin, and in 1868 created *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. This is called the 'Shisei Zōho bon'. As previously stated, there are many points of difference with Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

Sekine Shisei's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Shisei Airoku 85) or 'Shisei Zōho bon' was copied by Ōtsuki Joden. This copy was borrowed by Sakata Morotō who transcribed a copy in Atami in 1886.²⁴² This is the manuscript held at Tokyo University Library as *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Shisei Zōho bon, F30-118). The manuscript in Sakata Morotō's collection is a copy of Shisei's manuscript, so it was not a straight copy of Gesshin's manuscript. Sakata Morotō and Ōtsuki Joden may have made faithful copies of it, but the book in Shisei's collection was not a straight copy of the book in Gesshin's collection.

However, at Tokyo University Library there are two *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* manuscripts: one was made by Sakata Morotō who copied Shisei's manuscript, and there is another one. This is called 'Tōdai Gesshin bon' (three volumes) in Nakashima Osamu's book *Ukiyoe Ruikō Seiritsu, Hensenshi no Kenkyū*. According to Nakashima's research, the 'Tōdai Gesshin bon' (F30-629) is 'a very faithful copy of the original Gesshin Zōho bon.'²⁴³ It is a different manuscript to Sekine Shisei's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* with all its changes and omissions, copied by Ōtsuki Joden and ending up as Sakata Morotō's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

Tokyo University Library has various versions of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* including the Sakata bon (F30-96, *Ukiyoeshi no Den*), the Nakahara bon (F30-117), Shisei Zōho bon (F30-118, *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*), Gesshin bon (F30-629, *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*), Seishū bon (F30-557, *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*) etc. After the Great Kanto Earthquake Tokyo Imperial University Library bought the Seishū bunko collection. Also, the Sakata bon, Nakahara bon, Shisei Zōho bon etc. were absorbed in to Tokyo Imperial University Library's collection.

Summarizing the transcription and movement of the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* it is as follows:

1. Saitō Gesshin to Satow
2. Saitō Gesshin to Sekine Shisei to Ōtsuki Joden to Sakata Morotō

²⁴² Suzuki Jūzō, 'Shisei Airoku Hachijūyon: Ukiyoe Ruikō, Shisei Airoku Hachijūgo: Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō, Shisei Airoku Nihyakusan: Ukiyoeshi Ryakuden Kaisetsu', *Sekine Bunko Senshū*, Series 1, Supplement 2, 1984, pp.54-55.

²⁴³ Nakashima Osamu, *Ukiyoe Ruikō Seiritsu Hensenshi no Kenkyū*, Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan, 2004. p.248.

Ukiyoe Kō

In the above Chart of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* according to Collectors and Lineages, the most troublesome part is the reference to *Ukiyoe Kō* and similar books. In particular there are many uncertainties about *Ukiyoe Kō*, and also some baffling parts. Here I will concentrate on what is known and things which can probably be ascertained. I shall leave the unclear parts unexplained.

What is clear regarding transcriptions is the connection between the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in Sekine Shisei's former collection (Sekine Airoku 84) and in Sakata Morotō's former collection (Nakahara bon F30-117). Morotō borrowed Shisei's book and created the Nakahara book. Strictly speaking, Ōtsuki Joden copied Sekine's book, and Morotō copied Joden's book. The Nakahara book is from the former Sakata bunko, and is now in Tokyo University Library.

Suzuki Jūzō wrote a commentary about the three copies of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in Sekine Shisei's collection in *Sekine Bunko Senshū* Part 1, Supplement 2 (commentary). The title of his essay was 'Sekine Airoku 84 *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Sekine Airoku 85 *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Sekine Airoku 203 *Ukiyoeshi Ryakuden Kaisetsu*'.

In that commentary Suzuki refers to the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in the preface of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. It is very useful in checking '*Ukiyoe Kō* and similar books', so I want to use Suzuki's commentary to explain the situation.

In the commentary Suzuki states his belief that Sekine Shisei's *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Airoku 84) and Saitō Gesshin's *Ukiyoe Ruikō* are copies, one of the other. Gesshin's *Ukiyoe Ruikō* is in the chart. Suzuki thought that since Sekine Shisei borrowed and copied Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* for his collection, in the same way he borrowed Gesshin's *Ukiyoe Ruikō* and created Shisei Airoku 84.

Gesshin's *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, according to the preface of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, was copied by Gesshin in the summer of 1833 from a book in the collection of Kataoka Isseishi. Kataoka's book was itself a copy from the collection of Suishōshi borrowed from the painter Hanabusa Ikkei. In fact, Suzuki had in his possession the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* of the sculptor Takamura Kōun. This manuscript (Suzuki Jūzō kazōbon) was formerly in the collection of Suishōshi and borrowed and copied from Hanabusa. Suzuki Jūzō guesses that Gesshin's *Ukiyoe Ruikō*'s 'parent book' (*oyabon*) was his own Suzuki Jūzō kazōbon (Kataokabon). In the postscript (*shikigo*) Suzuki guesses that Gesshin transcribed the Kataokabon.

Since Suzuki Jūzō writes a commentary about the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in Sekine Shisei's former collection (Shisei Airoku 84), of course he compared the manuscripts of Sekine and the Kataokabon. The books are similar, but there are parts missing in Shisei's book. In fact, in the Nakaharabon of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* the same parts are missing. Again, in the Nakaharabon there is the postscript which Nakahara (Sakata) Morotō copied from Ōtsuki Joden when he borrowed the manuscript at Atami in 1886.²⁴⁴ Furthermore, as we know from other manuscripts of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Joden copied Shisei's book from his collection.

Regarding the connection between the copies, it can be guessed that the 'parent book' of the Nakahara book is Shisei's *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Shisei Airoku 84). Therefore, it seems clear that the Nakahara book of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* is a copy of Sekine Shisei's *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Shisei Airoku 84).

²⁴⁴ Suzuki Jūzō, 'Shisei Airoku Hachijūyon: *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Shisei Airoku Hachijūgo: *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Shisei Airoku Nihyakusan: *Ukiyoeshi Ryakuden Kaisetsu*', *Sekine Bunko Senshū*, Series 1, Supplement 2, 1984, p.47.

So, what is the connection between Shisei's *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Shisei Airoku 84) and Suzuki Jūzō's kazōbon (Kataokabon)? And what is the connection between Shisei's book and Gesshin's *Ukiyoe Ruikō*? Suzuki Jūzō guessed that Gesshin's *Ukiyoe Ruikō* had as its 'parent book' Suzuki Jūzō's kazōbon. In that case the Suzuki Jūzō kazōbon (Kataokabon) and Gesshin's *Ukiyoe Ruikō* must be almost the same thing.

Suzuki comments as follows about the relationship between Shisei's *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Shisei Airoku 84) and Gesshin's *Ukiyoe Ruikō*:

I [Suzuki Jūzō] have collated the kazōbon (Kataokabon) *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in my own collection and this *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Shisei Airoku 84). My *Ukiyoe Ruikō* seems to be the parent book of Saitō Gesshin's *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Although the structure of both books is almost the same, there are so many differences in details, such as substitute characters. Now I do not think that the book which Shisei's book is based on is Gesshin's book.²⁴⁵

From the above partial quotation, it seems that the relationship between Shisei's *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Shisei Airoku 84) and Gesshin's *Ukiyoe Ruikō* is not one of a copy, one of the other. But certainly the books are similar. I respect Suzuki Jūzō's opinion, but it seems to me that Shisei's *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Shisei Airoku 84) was based on Gesshin's *Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

In Suzuki Jūzō's kazōbon (Kataokabon) and Shisei's *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Shisei Airoku 84), *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Ota Nanpo), *Kokon Yamato Ukiyoe Shikei* (Sasaya Kuninori) and *Ukiyoe Ruikō Tsuikō* (Santō Kyōden) are taken all together as the 'Sanbu' (three works), with Shikitei Sanba's notes added. Furthermore, there is the postscript of Yūsandō. This is why Suzuki Jūzō considers both books to be manuscripts of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in the lineage of Yūsandō.²⁴⁶

In the same way Suzuki Jūzō also regards Gesshin's *Ukiyoe Ruikō* as a copy of the Suzuki Jūzō kazōbon (Kataokabon), and also in the lineage of Yūsandō.²⁴⁷

In the aforementioned chart there is 'Ukiyoe Kō and similar books' with three manuscripts and Suzuki Jūzō's kazōbon (Kataokabon) is probably a copy of Yūsandō's *Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

Of the four manuscripts designated 'Ukiyoe Kō and similar books' the remaining one is *Ukiyoe Kō*. Now in Cambridge University Library in Satow's former collection there is one manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

That *Ukiyoe Kō* consists of the Sanbusaku, in other words the 'Genruikō' (original) of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, the 'Shikei' of *Kokon Yamato Ukiyoe Shikei* and the 'Tsuikō' of *Ukiyoe Ruikō Tsuikō*, together with Sanba's notes. As already mentioned about Gesshin's *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, *Ukiyoe Kō* is probably a manuscript copy of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in the Yūsandō lineage, but the problem is that there

²⁴⁵ Suzuki Jūzō, 'Shisei Airoku Hachijūyon: Ukiyoe Ruikō, Shisei Airoku Hachijūgo: Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō, Shisei Airoku Nihyakusan: Ukiyoeshi Ryakuden Kaisetsu', *Sekine Bunko Senshū*, Series 1, Supplement 2, 1984, pp.44-45.

²⁴⁶ Suzuki Jūzō, 'Shisei Airoku Hachijūyon: Ukiyoe Ruikō, Shisei Airoku Hachijūgo: Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō, Shisei Airoku Nihyakusan: Ukiyoeshi Ryakuden Kaisetsu', *Sekine Bunko Senshū*, Series 1, Supplement 2, 1984, p.41.

²⁴⁷ Suzuki Jūzō, 'Shisei Airoku Hachijūyon: Ukiyoe Ruikō, Shisei Airoku Hachijūgo: Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō, Shisei Airoku Nihyakusan: Ukiyoeshi Ryakuden Kaisetsu', *Sekine Bunko Senshū*, Series 1, Supplement 2, 1984, p.41.

is no postscript (*shikigo*) by Yūsandō. There are also other parts missing. Normally in a Yūsandō version of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* there is a Kansei 12 (1800) text *Kyōkaen* by Ōta Nanpo, a Kyōwa 2 (1802) *Santōan* by Santō Kyōden etc. These are missing from *Ukiyoe Kō*.

However, in Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* as appendices there are *Ukiyoe Ruikō Iwaku*, *Dō Furoku no Kanmatsu*, *Dō Tsuikōbatsu*, *Ukiyoe Hinmoku*, *Tōto Gūji Gaku Ryakki*. Apart from the *Tōto Gūji Gaku Ryakki* the missing parts from the Yūsandō version of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* are included as appendices in the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. The *Dō Furoku no Kanmatsu*, the *Kyōkaen* and the *Tsuikō* by Santō Kyōden are included in the postscript of Yūsandō.

In fact, the *Ukiyoe Kō* was even a little more complicated. That was connected with the stamp (*inki*) of the *Ukiyoe Kō*. I will talk about this problem later. The parts missing from *Ukiyoe Kō* are included as appendices in the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, but the troublesome part is that one part of an appendix is included in the *Ukiyoe Kō*. In short, it seems that the *Ukiyoe Kō* was produced in two stages. At first the first two *chō* (pages) were not included. It seems that they were added later.

When *Ukiyoe Kō* was first produced, it lacked the appendices of the separate book *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. So *Ukiyoe Kō* did not include *Dō Furoku no Kanmatsu*, *Dō Tsuikōbatsu*, and *Ukiyoe Hinmoku*. Saitō Gesshin may have read the Yūsandō book including these appendices, or borrowed the manuscript. Then he added the parts missing from the *Ukiyoe Kō* as appendices to the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Then Gesshin or someone else added the first two pages to *Ukiyoe Kō*. This is only my guess, but if it is right, then it is easy to understand the condition of the *Ukiyoe Kō* in Cambridge University Library. It is not easy to judge whether Gesshin or someone else added the first two pages.

The Stamps (*inki*) of *Ukiyoe Kō*

The stamps (*inki*) of *Ukiyoe Kō* are mysterious. Of the *Ukiyoe Kō* held at Cambridge University Library, excluding the stamp of the library itself, there are a total of four stamps. There are two on the first page, 'Nishiyama Shooku' and 'Shisei Zō', and on the third page also two, 'Inbunmishōin' which means an unrecognizable stamp and 'Nishiyama Shooku'. Of course, it is unclear whose stamp is 'Inbunmishōin'. It may be that somebody intentionally made it unclear, but that is also uncertain.

Regarding the stamps being in two places, it seems to have some connection with the missing parts of *Ukiyoe Kō* as a *Ukiyoe Ruikō* manuscript of Yūsandō lineage, which were included as appendices (*furoku*) in the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. On the first two pages of *Ukiyoe Kō* the *Ukiyoe Ruikō Iwaku* and *Ukiyoe Hinmoku* are published, which were appendices to *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. In the case of *Ukiyoe Hinmoku* the latter part is abridged. On the first two pages, apart from this, in the same way as the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* manuscript of Yūsandō lineage, there are the names Iwasa Matabei and Hishikawa (Kichibei) Moronobu. The part with these two names is published in *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* specially as appendices. Of course, they were also included in the main text of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, so it was not necessary to include them in the appendices. But as for including them on the first two pages, there may have been a more complicated reason, but nowadays we do not know it.

It may be that when Saitō Gesshin first created the *Ukiyoe Kō*, he started from the third page, in other words from 'Hanabusa Itcho Shikie batsu [epilogue]'. This title was probably not included. And then at the first stage of creating *Ukiyoe Kō* at the first part on page 3, the stamps

‘Inbunmishōin’ and ‘Nishiyama Shooku’ were included. Then the present first two pages were added, with the stamps ‘Nishiyama Shooku’ and ‘Shisei Zō’. Then on the back of the second page the title ‘Hanabusa Itcho Shikie batsu’ was added.

Of the four stamps on *Ukiyoe Kō*, two of them are ‘Nishiyama Shooku’. Whose collector’s mark is this? And why does it appear in two places? Is the owner of the ‘Nishiyama Shooku’ stamp connected with the addition of the first two pages? If we take it literally, this stamp is the collector’s mark of a person called ‘Nishiyama’. This makes me think of the ‘Suienbon’ manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* whose lineage included the collector Toba Nishiyama.

It may be correct to consider the lineage of the ‘Suienbon’ *Ukiyoe Ruikō* manuscript as in the same group as the Yūsandō lineage manuscripts. The ‘Suienbon’ have Suien’s postscript (*shikigo*), while the Yūsandō books have Yūsandō’s postscript. ‘Suien’ is Hachiya Suien. ‘Suienbon’, for example the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* held at the Tōkyō Bunkazai Kenkyūjo (National Research Institute for Cultural Properties) has a postscript in which is written ‘This blue book was collected and completed by Toba Nishiyama and was copied from Suzuki Hakutō.’²⁴⁸ In other words this ‘Suienbon’ had a note about it being a blue book, and being completed by Toba Nishiyama. And it was probably a copy of a book held by Suzuki Hakutō.

There seems to be some connection between the postscript of the ‘Suienbon’ which noted it is collected by Toba Nishiyama and the stamp ‘Nishiyama Shooku’ in the *Ukiyoe Kō*. But at the moment it is unclear what the connection may be. And there is one more confusing thing about ‘Nishiyama’. The Nishi of Nishiyama (西) resembles the Yū (酉) of Yūsandō. Yūsandō was a man in the Bunsei era (1818-30) called Yūsandō Yasujiro. And as regards 酉山 there was also a famous collector called Ōkubo Yūzan (大久保 酉山). Probably there is no direct connection between these. Anyway, ‘Nishiyama Shooku’ remains unclear.

I have already written that *Ukiyoe Kō* was probably handwritten by Saitō Gesshin, but here I would like to talk a little more about the problem of the handwriting (*hissekki*). To determine the handwriting is very difficult, and I am not sure, but I believe that at least the greater part of *Ukiyoe Kō* was written by Saitō Gesshin. The reason for this is that we know that the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was handwritten by Saitō Gesshin, and we can compare the handwriting in the two books. In addition to this, various books handwritten by Saitō Gesshin have been put into digital format and published on the internet, so it is also possible to compare those with *Ukiyoe Kō*. The conclusion is that it is very likely that *Ukiyoe Kō* was handwritten by Saitō Gesshin.

Next, in the *Ukiyoe Kō*, the Aikawa Masakazu Tankai Nukigaki [extract] is attached. I want to explain this. Aikawa Masakazu was a poet of the Edo era, and a Kokugaku scholar whose real name was Tsumura Sōan. ‘Tankai’ was miscellaneous writings of what he had seen and heard. Saitō Gesshin happened to have a chance to read the ‘Tankai’ and copied various things from it. The reason why the ‘Tankai’ extract was added to the *Ukiyoe Kō* is that part of the extract was titled ‘Hanabusa Itchō’. Of course, Hanabusa Itchō was a painter included in the *Ukiyoe Kō*, and it includes ‘Hanabusa Itchō Shikie batsu’. That is why Gesshin included the ‘Tankai’ extract in *Ukiyoe Kō* as an appendix.

I also want to talk about the problem of the number of pages (*chō*). In the preface (*jobun*) of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* Saitō Gesshin states that he created the manuscript by transcribing Kataoka Isseishi’s manuscript in 1833 (Tenpō 4). The number of *chō* (pages, 1 *chō* consists of 2 pages) was

²⁴⁸ Kitakōji Ken, ‘Ukiyoe Ruikō: Ronkyū 12’, *Hōshun*, No.211 (1972), p. 4.

30. However, the number of chō (pages) of *Ukiyoe Kō* was 34, a little more. If we assume that the first two pages were added later, then the original version of *Ukiyoe Kō* had 32 chō (pages). From the viewpoint of chō (page numbers) also, the possibility remains that *Ukiyoe Kō* was the manuscript from which Gesshin created the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in 1833.

As stated above, there are various things which are hard to understand about the *Ukiyoe Kō* held at Cambridge University Library. As regards manuscripts produced in the Bakumatsu and early Meiji period, of course we cannot understand everything nowadays. Mysterious matters are hard to avoid. As regards the *Ukiyoe Kō* and the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* referred to by Gesshin in the preface of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, it is possible that they were the same thing.

Why in the *Ukiyoe Kō* does Gesshin not state that he borrowed the book collected by Suishōshi from Kataoka Isseishi? Gesshin treated *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and *Ukiyoe Kō* as one set, and he had written this in the preface to *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* so did he perhaps think it unnecessary to repeat this? One more thing which concerns me is the point that on the first page there is Sekine Shisei's stamp 'Shisei Zō'. It may be that the mysteries of *Ukiyoe Kō* have something to do with Sekine Shisei.

In fact, I believe that Sekine Shisei holds the key to this problem. Probably the fact that the *Ukiyoe Kō* acquired by Satow and the manuscript of the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* mentioned by Saitō Gesshin in the preface to *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* are nowadays not identical, is evidence of Sekine Shisei's deep involvement in the matter. Sekine Shisei borrowed manuscripts from other collectors, and when he created his own books for his collection, he did not merely make straight copies, but added his own abbreviations, changes and additions.

Furthermore, after Saitō Gesshin's death, when his collection was put on sale, Sekine Shisei must surely have been consulted by Gesshin's family. It would have been easy for Shisei to acquire any of Gesshin's books. In cases where he had already borrowed books from Gesshin and created his own transcribed books, he did not need to purchase those books. The *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* is an example of this. But in the case of the *Ukiyoe Kō*, the situation seems to have been a little more complicated. Unfortunately, it does not seem to be clear at the present time.

Shinobu Gusa

In this chapter until now I have discussed Satow's librarian, bibliophiles and collectors and their collections, including the acquisition of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. I have thus attempted to understand Satow's way of collecting books. Now I would like to change the angle of inquiry, and approach the problem from Satow's acquisition of documents formerly in the collection of Saitō Gesshin.

Among the documents now held at Cambridge University Library there are at least 12 items thought to have been formerly in Saitō Gesshin's collection. They are all in Ernest Satow's former collection now. Two of these are the aforementioned *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and *Ukiyoe Kō*. Regarding the latter there is no conclusive proof, but the evidence suggests it is Saitō Gesshin's. The remainder are the two scrolls *Shinobu Gusa* and *Tamagawa no Zu*, and eight books as follows: one *Mukashi Otoko Imayō Sugata* (Ise Monogatari), four *Ukiyo Zōshi* [Books of the floating world] (*Kōshoku Fumi Denju*, *Takasago Ōshimadai*, *Chūkō Nebiki no Kadomatsu*, *Morihisa Konote-gashiwa*), one *Yomihon* (Imayō Shinwa) and two books about comic tanka [*Kyōka Gazō Sakusha Burui* and *Rōeidai Kyōkashū*].

Apart from the two scrolls *Shinobu Gusa* and *Tamagawa no Zu*, the other eight items (books) all have the stamp 'Saitō bunko' so it is clear they are from Saitō Gesshin's former collection.

In Saitō Gesshin's former collection I want to focus on the documents connected with art which Satow collected from 1877 and particularly from 1879. So here I will focus on the two scrolls *Shinobu Gusa* and *Tamagawa no Zu*. Of course, the remaining items certainly also have some connection with art. First there are the two items regarded as *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Then in the four *Ukiyo Zōshi* there are many illustrations, and in one of the tanka books (*Kyōka Gazō Sakusha Burui*) there are also some illustrations.

But from the viewpoint of documents related to art the most important documents are the *Shinobu Gusa* probably edited and compiled by Saitō Gesshin and drawn by Hasegawa Settei (1813-82), and the *Tamagawa no Zu* which is thought to have been in Saitō Gesshin's collection. So, I will focus on these two items.

First, the *Shinobu Gusa* appears as follows in the Cambridge University Catalogue of old Japanese books:

122 *Shinobu gusa*

Compiled in Tenpō 14 [1843] by Saitō Gesshin

Scroll. Bunka-Tenpō.

In February of Tenpō 14 Saitō Gesshin wrote the preface in his own hand.

33 documents.²⁴⁹

I have omitted the details of the 33 documents as they are complicated. There are some interesting items among them.

Next, I would like to add an explanation of *Shinobu Gusa*. It is not written in the catalogue entry, but Cambridge University Library holds one scroll, the first of what was originally two scrolls. How do we know this? In the scroll held by Cambridge is written 'kami' 加美 indicating the first scroll of two. There are also the following entries in Saitō Gesshin's diary. The last entry has already been quoted above when I introduced Sekine Shisei.

Tenpō 14 (1843)

January 29th I ordered Shinpachi of Kiji chō to make scrolls of collected sheets and the cost is 1 bu 2 shu.²⁵⁰

Tenpō 14

February 17th In the evening Shinpachi brought [or completed?] two scrolls of *Shinobu Gusa*.²⁵¹

Keio 3 (1867)

²⁴⁹ Nozomu Hayashi & Peter Kornicki, *Early Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library: A Catalogue of the Aston, Satow and von Siebold Collection*, Cambridge University Press, 1991. pp.104-105.

²⁵⁰ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.3, Iwanami Shoten, 2001. p.72.

²⁵¹ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.3, Iwanami Shoten, 2001. p.76.

August 27th Sekine Shisei came and borrowed five volumes of Sōko and two volumes of Shinobugusa.²⁵²

I will now give a simple explanation of these entries.

First, Shinpachi of Kiji-chō was a person who did picture framing for Saitō Gesshin. Kiji-chō was where Gesshin lived and he was the headman (*nanushi*) of that and the surrounding area. Shinpachi is described in more detail in Saitō Gesshin's diary entry for Kaei 1 (1848) on April 13th: 'I ordered Shinpachi of Kiji-chō to mount "Kanjin Nō" painting scroll.'²⁵³

Gesshin ordered framing of picture scrolls of Kanjin Nō from Shinpachi in Kiji-chō. This may have been Gesshin's *Kōka Kanjin Nō Emaki*.

Furthermore, as we can see from the entries for January 29th (Tenpō 14) and August 27th (Keiō 3) *Shinobu Gusa* was originally two scrolls. Probably it was 'kami' and 'shimo'. Satow acquired the first scroll (kami). It is unclear what happened to the second scroll.

Again, as regards the entry for August 27th (Keiō 3) Sekine Shisei borrows five volumes/scrolls of Soko and two scrolls of *Shinobu Gusa*.

In the 33 items which comprise *Shinobu Gusa* are included picture scrolls by Shiba Kōkan, and prints of Torii Kiyonaga's paintings and Ryūkyūjin Gyōretsu (Okinawa processions) etc. Regarding Shiba Kōkan's scrolls appearing as the preface of *Shinobu Gusa*, Gesshin explains it after the preface in the following way.

First, when the scroll was made there was no preface. At that time by chance Kottōya antique shop acquired Shiba Kōkan's picture scrolls. This was probably the Kottōya which Gesshin frequented.

In the picture scrolls there were the *Tsurezuregusa* [Essays in Idleness by Kenkō] in 74 stages. In Kōkan's scrolls human beings run around like ants busily working, but the fruits of their labours are only old age and death. Gesshin clearly thought this matched the mood of *Shinobu Gusa* and immediately bought Kōkan's scrolls from the Kottōya and added them as a preface to *Shinobu Gusa*.

At Cambridge University Library there are three items which as scroll books are similar to *Shinobu Gusa*. They are 'Hanjimonō', 'Fumoto no Chiri' and 'Ryūkyūjin Gyōretsu'. They are all in Satow's former collection. They are scrolls compiled by Doi Toshitsune from the former collection of the Doi family. I will refer to them again later.

Tamagawa no Zu

Next, I will introduce the scroll book from Satow's former collection called *Tamagawa no Zu*. The entry for this item in the Cambridge catalogue of old Japanese books is as follows:

2179 Tamagawa no Zu. Pictures by Hasegawa Settei.
Published in Bakumatsu.
Picture scroll book (Kansubon).

²⁵² *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.9, Iwanami Shoten, 2013. p.71.

²⁵³ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.4, Iwanami Shoten, 2003. p.169.

Stamp. 「書看石頭齋下水絹入大海為波濤」²⁵⁴

Regarding the stamp in the similar *Chōfu Tamagawa Sōzu*, it probably means as follows.

‘You can see water under rock resembles a head and its water eventually moves to the sea and becomes waves’.²⁵⁵

There is a connection between the *Tamagawa no Zu* in the Cambridge University Library and the *Chōfu Tamagawa Sōzu* which is also called the *Chōfu Tamagawa Gazu*, and *Chōfu Tamagawa Ezu*. The Education Committee of Tama city, the National Diet Library and Waseda University Library all have copies.

The *Chōfu Tamagawa Sōzu* was published in 1845. It contains a preface by Aizawa Tomonushi and ‘Chōfu Tamagawa Ezu no Ben’, and pictures by Hasegawa Settei of the Tamagawa River from source to mouth (23 prints).

Aizawa Tomonushi was the village headman of a village called Sekido-mura halfway down the river who wanted to investigate the flow of the Tama river from source to mouth, and did so while making sketches of it. The pictures are based on his rough sketches, which the painter Hasegawa Settei turned into more elegant clean copies. *Chōfu Tamagawa Sōzu* was published by Aizawa Tomonushi. He was active in the field of flower arrangement.

Hasegawa Settei was an artist active in the Bakumatsu and early Meiji period. He was born in 1813 (Bunka 10) and died in 1882 (Meiji 15) at the age of 69 (70 by *kazodoshi*). Compared with Saitō Gesshin he was nine years younger, and since Gesshin died in 1878 he died four years later. Settei’s father was active as an artist in the late Edo period, and his name was Hasegawa Settan (1778-1843). He achieved a high reputation for illustrating the *Edo Meisho Zue* (seven scrolls, 20 volumes) which was created by Gesshin’s father, grandfather and himself.

Hasegawa Settei with his father Settan drew the illustrations for the *Tōto Saijiki* (four scrolls, five volumes) edited by Saitō Gesshin. Settei was also responsible for the illustrations for *Seikyoku Ruisan* (five scrolls, six volumes) edited by Saitō Gesshin. As we can see from their doing the illustrations for Saitō Gesshin’s works, Hasegawa Settan and Settei (father and son) were on intimate and friendly terms with Saitō Gesshin. In the *Saitō Gesshin Nikki* diary their names also appear often. Moreover, Gesshin’s daughter Kisa became a pupil of Hasegawa Settei.²⁵⁶

According to the *Saitō Gesshin Nikki* diary, in 1844 and 1845 (Kōka 1, 2) Gesshin was buying illustrations. Of course, he may have acquired illustrations at other times, but since *Chōfu Tamagawa Sōzu* was published in 1845, I have concentrated on that period. Gesshin bought 15 illustrations on December 7 of Kōka 1 (1844).²⁵⁷ He also bought 16 or 15 illustrations on February 26 of Kōka 2 (1845).²⁵⁸ Gesshin who published *Edo Meisho Zue* etc. was probably interested in illustrations published as prints.

Again, in the *Saitō Gesshin Nikki* diary around the same time there were entries about lining the back of picture scrolls. For example, in Kōka 2 on January 19th ‘Spent the whole day lining picture

²⁵⁴ Nozomu Hayashi & Peter Kornicki, *Early Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library: A Catalogue of the Aston, Satow and von Siebold Collection*, Cambridge University Press, 1991. p.326.

²⁵⁵ Imao Keisuke, *Tamagawa Ezu: Konjaku: Genryū kara Kakō made*, Keyaki Shuppan, 2001. p.112.

²⁵⁶ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.4, Iwanami Shoten, 2003. p.27.

²⁵⁷ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.3, Iwanami Shoten, 2001. p.203.

²⁵⁸ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.3, Iwanami Shoten, 2001. p.219.

scrolls.’²⁵⁹ These picture scrolls may have something to do with the *Tamagawa no Zu* picture scroll book in Satow’s former collection at Cambridge University Library. But whether he made the scrolls or not, Gesshin seems to have lined the pictures to preserve them. For example, again in *Kōka* 2 on January 19th we can find ‘Lined the prints from various countries’ in his diary.²⁶⁰ And on February 4th of the same year ‘Bought scrolls.’²⁶¹

When Saitō Gesshin lined prints etc. it is not clear from his diary whether he did it himself or, as in the case of *Shinobu Gusa* entrusted the work to a specialist such as Shinpachi of Kiji-cho. Perhaps he did both. But in the case of the entry for January 19th (‘Spent the whole day lining picture scrolls.’) it seems pretty clear that he did it himself.

Returning to the *Tamagawa no Zu* held in Cambridge University Library, it is a scroll book, but it is a little different from the *Chōfu Tamagawa Gazu* held in the National Diet Library and the *Chōfu Tamagawa Ezu* held in Waseda University Library. The point of difference is that there are some parts missing from the *Tamagawa no Zu*. The missing parts are the preface written by Aizawa Tomonushi and the *Chōfu Tamagawa Ezu no Ben*. Also, there are some prints missing from the Tamagawa River series, so the final number of prints is short.

The *Chōfu Tamagawa Sōzu* consisted of 23 prints in total. These prints sketched the river from the source to the mouth at Haneda-mura village. However, the *Tamagawa no Zu* held in Cambridge University Library does not have the last five prints. Strictly speaking, it lacks five and one-third prints. In the last print (the 18th) the river runs past only three villages (Unane, Kuji and Kamata). There are three villages which are not included (Ōkura, Futago and Seta).

The part downstream of these villages is missing. In modern terms, it finishes before the Tokyū Den’en Toshi railway line crosses the Tamagawa River. It is not clear why this part was omitted. Did Saitō Gesshin who had compiled *Edo Meisho Zue* consider that it was not necessary? Or did he miscalculate the total length of the scroll?

Tsukuba University Library also has the *Chōfu Tamagawa Sōzu*. It is not a picture scroll book (*kansubon*) but a Japanese book (*wassōbon*) with temporary binding (*karitoji*). The first page is stuck to the front cover, as is the last page to the back cover. Like the *Tamagawa no Zu*, this book is missing the preface written by Aizawa Tomonushi and the *Chōfu Tamagawa Ezu no Ben*. But unlike the *Tamagawa no Zu* held at Cambridge, there are no missing prints of the Tamagawa river from source to mouth, so there are 23 in total.

Regarding the Cambridge copy of *Tamagawa no Zu* the following possibility may be guessed. Hasegawa Settei and Saitō Gesshin became close friends through *Tōto Saijiki*. Gesshin acquired several prints of the Tamagawa river which Settei had prepared for the *Chōfu Tamagawa Sōzu*. He may have bought them, or Settei may have given them to him as a present. *Chōfu Tamagawa Sōzu* was published by Aizawa Tomonushi in 1845 (*Kōka* 2), so Gesshin was probably able to acquire the prints in the early part of 1845.

After Saitō Gesshin acquired the series of prints drawn by Hasegawa Settei of the Tamagawa River from source to mouth, he probably made a scroll (*makimono*) and did the lining (*urauchi*) himself. The entry in his diary of January 19th of *Kōka* 2 ‘Did lining for picture scroll’ may refer to the *Tamagawa no Zu* held at Cambridge University Library. Since he did not have all of the 23

²⁵⁹ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.3, Iwanami Shoten, 2001. p.213.

²⁶⁰ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.3, Iwanami Shoten, 2001. p.220.

²⁶¹ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vol.3, Iwanami Shoten, 2001. p.221.

prints, he did not ask a professional picture framer like Shinpachi to do the job, but prepared the scroll by doing the lining himself.

After Saitō Gesshin died in 1878, *Tamagawa no Zu* and *Shinobu gusa* together with *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and *Ukiyoe Kō* and other items from his collection were put up for sale, and by chance Satow, who was frantically collecting art documents and related literature in connection with the art book he was writing with Anderson, purchased them and they became part of his collection. Did he buy the items from a regular bookshop, or through an intermediary outside the book business ('outside the ring')? This is unclear. The latter possibility seems more likely. Also, the putting up for sale of Gesshin's collection may have been done by a friend of his, such as Sekine Shisei.

Regarding this point I shall quote from a letter sent by Satow to F.V. Dickins in the following chapter.

The *Tamagawa no Zu* and *Shinobu Gusa* in the Catalogue of Satow's Collection

Regarding the *Tamagawa no Zu* there is one more mysterious point. It is related to the catalogue of Ernest Satow's collection. In Chapter Four I will talk in detail about the catalogue, but within it there is a catalogue which I shall provisionally call 'The brown catalogue'. The brown catalogue has the largest number of items (documents). In 1885 Satow is disposing of his collection of old Japanese books (*wakankosho*) from his Bangkok posting, and this catalogue most clearly reveals the state of the collection immediately before it was disposed of. The brown catalogue is simply given the title 'Collection Catalogue'. There are many catalogues in Satow's collection with the same title. That is why I am using the term 'brown catalogue' which comes from the colour of the cover. Please see Chapter Four for further details.

Regarding the brown catalogue one more point must be added. As stated above the brown catalogue has the largest number of items of all the catalogues of Satow's collection. It expresses clearly the high point of his collection in terms of volume. It also reveals the final state of his collection before it was disposed of. However, it does not show all of his collection. Again, I shall explain in the fourth chapter, but before he disposed of and broke up his collection when he was in Bangkok, he picked out the most precious old editions and sold them to the British Museum. And even excluding these books, the brown catalogue still does not reveal the whole collection which was sent from Thailand to England and Japan. In Bangkok Satow produced a catalogue with a very long title: 'Satō Zōsho no uchi Gesaku Share oyobi Chūbon Zuihitsu Gūgen no Tagui narabini Kokushoku Chitsuirī nado no Shoseki Mokuroku'.

If we add this catalogue to the brown catalogue, we can get a rough idea of the full extent of his collection.

The important point about the two catalogues mentioned above is, to repeat, that they comprehensively include all the collection just before it was disposed of in 1885. The catalogue with the long title (*Satō Zōsho no* etc.) was created in 1885. And as already mentioned in this book, before that for several years Satow had intensively increased his book collection, including art-related books. And the items collected in this period when Satow was positively collecting and buying books are only in these two catalogues, the brown catalogue and the catalogue with

the long title. As will be stated later, the art-related documents collected in later years are only in these two catalogues, particularly the brown catalogue.

Satow produced several other catalogues apart from these two. Some of them were produced quite early. If we compare the early catalogues with these two catalogues, we can to some extent plot the period when Satow made his acquisitions. This method is also useful for investigating the period of acquisition of the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruiko*, the main title of this book.

Let us now return to the topic of *Tamagawa no Zu*. 'Tamagawa no Zu' was the name given to the document in the Cambridge catalogue of early Japanese books. In the brown catalogue it goes by a different name: 'Musashi Tamagawa Suigen oyobi Ryōgan no Zu' (Editors, Artists, Time of Print are unknown, 1 volume).

At least this is probably the same document. The troublesome point is that in the same brown catalogue there is *Kamata mura ni itaru Tojo Emakimono* (Hasegawa Settei, one scroll). This also is the *Tamagawa no Zu*. The *Tamagawa no Zu* is literally the picture scroll (*emakimono*) which goes as far as Kamata-mura village. The same document is thus recorded under two different names in the brown catalogue. When the title or name of the document are unclear, for example in the case of *Tamagawa no Zu*, this kind of thing can happen. The volume of the collection is large, so Satow and his secretary could not grasp the full extent of it. There are double entries, but anyway the *Tamagawa no Zu* appears in the brown catalogue. It does not appear in earlier catalogues. So *Tamagawa no Zu* had probably been purchased no earlier than two or three years before Satow disposed of his collection in 1885.

By the way, *Shinobu Gusa* is also included in the brown catalogue. However, it is included as a scroll book (*kansubon*) under a different title: 'An Assortment of Old Printed Ranking Charts, Advertising Fliers, etc.'

And there are similar *kansubon* at Cambridge University Library: 'Hanjimonō', 'Fumoto no Chiri' and 'Ryūkyūjin Gyōretsu'. These three scroll books like *Shinobu Gusa* are included in the brown catalogue. *Hanjimonō* and *Ryūkyūjin Gyōretsu* have the same titles, but *Fumoto no Chiri* is under the title 'Kohan Sugoroku'. These three scroll books, like *Shinobu Gusa* and *Tamagawa no Zu* were probably acquired some years before 1885, in fact two or three years before.

The examples of the *kansubon* *Shinobu Gusa* and *Tamagawa no Zu* show us that the two catalogues can help us to investigate the period when Satow acquired them. So if we look at the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruiko*, and the related works *Ukiyoeshi no Den*, *Ukiyoe Ko* and *Iwademo no Ki* we get the following results. These are all included in the brown catalogue, but not in any other catalogue. The *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruiko* (manuscript, three volumes), *Ukiyoeshi no Den* (manuscript, one volume) are included under their titles. The *Iwademo no Ki* is included as 'Iwadenmo no Ki' (manuscript, one volume). The *Ukiyoe Ko* is included as *Ukiyoe Ruiko* (manuscript, one volume) even though the titles are different. I will discuss this in a later chapter.

Cambridge University Library has at least 12 items from Saitō Gesshin's former collection. I have already stated that of these 12, *Shinobu Gusa*, *Tamagawa no Zu*, *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and *Ukiyoe Kō* are included in the brown catalogue. In fact, the remaining eight are either included in the brown catalogue or the catalogue with the long title, *Satō Zōsho no* etc. *Imayō Shinwa*, *Kyōka Gazo Sakusha Burui*, and *Rōeidai Kyōkashū* are included in the former (brown) catalogue. The remaining five are in the latter catalogue. They are

Mukashi Otoko Imayō Sugata,
Kōshoku Fumi Denju,

Takasago Ōshimadai,
Chūkō Nebiki no Kadomatsu,
Morihisa Konote-gashiwa

Of the five items in the catalogue with the long title, *Satō Zōsho no* etc. the last four are tagged by Aston as follows. I will explain simply about Aston's tags in the next chapter, but after Aston received many books from Satow, he added these tags to Satow's former collection and to his own. According to Aston's tags, these four items each consist of five volumes bound as one, include illustrations and are clothbound.²⁶²

In this chapter I am talking about documents in the former collection of Saitō Gesshin which are now held at Cambridge University Library. They are all part of Satow's former collection. But not all of Saitō Gesshin's former books collected by Satow have ended up in the Cambridge University Library. Some were taken into the British Museum. These books from Satow's former collection in the British Museum are now either in the British Library (the former library of the British Museum) or the British Museum (as constituted after the British Library split away in 1973). The British Library has the *Ressen Zusan*. The former British Museum had two *Ressen Zusan*. One of these is now at the British Museum, and the other is at the British Library. When the British Museum and British Library separated in 1973, one document was moved from the former British Museum Library (now the British Library) to the British Museum. I will explain this in more detail later, but the *Ressen Zusan* now held at the British Library is from Saitō Gesshin's former collection. Probably Satow purchased it together with the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruiko* and other books in Saitō Gesshin's collection and donated them all to the British Museum. The reason we know the *Ressen Zusan* is from Saitō Gesshin's former collection is that it has Saitō Gesshin's ex libris stamp 'Edo Saitō Shi' [Mr. Saitō, Edo].²⁶³ This ex libris stamp confirms that the book is from Saitō Gesshin's former collection, as it does in the case of Cambridge University Library.

The purchase of Sekine Shisei's former collection and the possibility of 'screening'

In the first half of this book, Sekine Shisei was introduced as a collector with a deep connection with Saitō Gesshin. According to the Cambridge catalogue of early Japanese books, there are now at least 22 items from Sekine Shisei's former collection at the Cambridge University Library. They all have the 'Shisei Zo' ex libris stamp (ink). Sekine Shisei's grandson Sekine Toshio notes in the commentary section of the *Sekine Bunko Mokuroku* catalogue that after the Meiji Restoration Shisei let go of many of his books in order to make a living, so it is not strange that Ernest Satow would have acquired them in the early Meiji period. I will explain in detail in the next chapter, but when Satow collected books, he did not buy from the usual bookshops, but sought to buy rare books from people outside the bookselling business. It may be that the collector Sekine Shisei was such a person.

²⁶² Torao Tatsuya, 'Kenburijji Daigaku Zō "Asuton Washo Mokuroku" ni tsuite 4', *Kagoshima Daigaku Hobungakubu Kiyō Jinbun Gakka Ronshū*, No.63. p.59 & pp.62-63.

²⁶³ Murakado Noriko, '19seikimatsu ni okeru Nihon Bijutsushi Shiryō Shūshū no Nettowāku, Wiriamu Andāson Kyūzū Wakansho o Chūshin ni', *Kajima Bijutsu Zaidan Nenpō*, No.27 (2009). p.228.

Listing up the 22 documents in the Cambridge catalogue, they are as follows. They are classified as Jōruri-related (seven items), Kabuki-related (11 items) and Miscellaneous (four items). They are all either entered in the brown catalogue or the catalogue with the long title, *Sato Zosho no* etc. All items except the miscellaneous items which are in the brown catalogue are in the latter catalogue. I have also added the different titles (including different characters) used in the Cambridge catalogue where applicable. (In some cases, romanized titles look the same.)

Jōruri-related

- * *Harada no Jirō Tanenao*, “Satsu”, (*Harada Jirō*)
- * *Bontenkoku*, “Satsu”
- * *Shin Taishokukan Mizu Karakuri*, “Satsu”, (*Shin Taishoku*)
- * *Hyakunichi Soga*, “Satsu”,
- * *Hiragana Taiheiki*, “Satsu”, (*Hiraga[na] Taiheiki*)
- * *Shinjū Nimai Ezōshi*, “Satsu”
- * *Shokatsu Kōmei Kanae Gundan Ezukushi*, “Satsu”

Kabuki-related

- * *Naniwa Mukashi-gatari Sanban Tzuzuki*, “Satsu”, (*Naniwa Tachigiki Mukashi-banashi*)
- * *Yarō Nigiri Kobushi*, “Satsu”, (*Kohan Shibai Kyōgen*)
- * *Keisei Asamagatake*, “Satsu”, (*Keisei Asa[maga]take*)
- * *Isshin Onna Narukami*, “Satsu”, (*Onna Mikado Aigo no Waka*)
- * *Bontengoku Takarabune*, “Satsu”
- * *Aikyō Sumidagawa*, “Satsu” (*Aikyō Sumidagawa*)
- * *Keisei Chihiro no Umi* “Satsu”, (*Keisei Chihiro no Umi*)
- * *Keisei Sanshō Dayū*, “Satsu”, (*Keisei Sanshō Dayū*)
- * *Keisei Sanshō Dayū*, “Satsu”, (*Keisei Sanshō Dayū*)
- * *Keisei Futagamiyama*, “Satsu”, (*Keisei Futagamiyama*)
- * *Edo Soga*, “Satsu”, (*Edo Soga*)

Miscellaneous

- * *Edo Hōgaku Anken no Zukan*, “Cha”, (*Edo Hōgaku Ankenzu*)
- * *Hōei Bukan Taisei*, “Cha”, (*Hōei Kobukan*)
- * *Ukiyoe Kō*, “Cha”, (*Ukiyoe Ruikō*)
- * *Ouma-jirushi*, “Cha”

Of the above 22 items the *Ukiyoe Kō* is the same as the one I have already introduced in this chapter. This manuscript is entered in the brown catalogue as *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (one volume).

The fact that these 22 documents are only entered in either the brown catalogue or the catalogue with the long title, *Satō Zōsho no* etc. indicates the period in which they were acquired. They were probably purchased two or three years before Satow disposed of and broke up his collection in 1885.

As stated above, while Saitō Gesshin was alive, Sekine Shisei often borrowed his books, including those in his own hand, and made his own copies (manuscripts). *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* is an example of this. After Saitō Gesshin died it seems likely that when his collection was put up for sale, his next of kin consulted Sekine Shisei. So Shisei probably had first pick of the collection.

Shisei had no need to choose the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* of which he already had made his own copy. Ernest Satow probably acquired Gesshin's former collection after Sekine Shisei had chosen the books which he wanted for himself. This is how Satow managed to acquire the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. It is clear that Satow managed to acquire at least 13 books of Gesshin's former collection, including the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

So, what is the connection between the books which Satow purchased from Gesshin's former collection, and the 22 books which he purchased from Sekine Shisei's former collection? Of course, there is no direct documentary evidence or proof, but it seems they were at least linked in time. I will discuss this in a later chapter.

Chapter Three – Ernest Satow builds his Book Collection

Buying Books from People ‘Outside the Ring’ of Book Dealers

Following on from the previous chapter, I want to continue with the circumstances of how Ernest Satow acquired Saitō Gesshin’s *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. In Chapter Two I focused on the people around Satow – librarians, bibliophiles and book collectors – and their collections. I referred to the fact that those bibliophiles and book collectors were connected with *buke kojitsu* (samurai customs, history, precedents etc.). I also looked briefly into the fate of the collections of Sekine Shisei and Saitō Gesshin.

In this chapter I will focus on the period in which Ernest Satow enthusiastically collected documents related to Japanese art, in connection with William Anderson’s research into Japanese art. Satow bought *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* as part of his interest in Japanese art. I also want to pay attention to the period in which Saitō Gesshin’s collection was put up for sale. He died on March 6, 1878.²⁶⁴ Sometime after that, at most one year later, his collection was put up for sale. It must have included Saitō Gesshin’s *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Bearing in mind these points I want to concentrate on the period during which Satow collected books related to art.

However, first in connection with the previous chapter I want to look at the methods and processes which Satow used to acquire *wakansho* (Japanese books) and documents related to art. And in this connection, I also want to touch on the matter of how William Anderson collected documents and books for his research into Japanese art. Satow’s collection was related to Anderson’s research.

On September 11, 1881 Satow wrote a letter from Japan to his friend F.V. Dickins in England. In this letter Satow refers to his building a collection of books about Japan, and he reports as follows to Dickins. I want to focus on Satow’s method of acquiring ancient books etc.

...you know I am making a library of books about Japan, modern, as well as ancient. The prices of the very old ones are becoming exorbitant, and I cannot help thinking that they are raised because the booksellers know I am buying. Now and then however I get hold of a bargain from some man outside the ring. [part omitted] In picture books I have been rather fortunate, in getting some of over 2 centuries, and I have bought quantities of the novels of the second half of the 17th century, which are rather rare.²⁶⁵

In the above quotation Satow not only refers to how he acquires books, but also to several other interesting matters. I wish to comment on these.

First, it is necessary to observe that Satow was buying a very large number of books. At that time, he was building the greatest library (collection) of books in Japanese. His method of purchase is explained in his letter to Dickins. Normally he bought old books from antiquarian booksellers. These booksellers brought books to Satow’s house, and they knew that Satow would certainly buy books which caught his eye in their shops. In short, they regarded Satow as an

²⁶⁴ *Saitō Gesshin Nikki* 10, Iwanami Shoten 2016, p.218.

²⁶⁵ Ian Ruxton (ed.), *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters To W.G. Aston And F.V. Dickins: The Correspondence Of A Pioneer Japanologist From 1870 To 1918* (p. 139). Lulu Press (Lulu.com). 2008.

excellent customer. This caused Satow to express discontent that they were raising the prices. It is not clear just from the above letter how Satow was buying old books from the booksellers. It is only a guess that he was buying books at the bookshops or from booksellers who brought books to him.

The most interesting point about Satow's creation of a collection is that as one way of obtaining old books he did not use the booksellers but obtained them from people 'outside the ring' of the booksellers. This point may be the reason he was able to acquire Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

As stated above, there is no memorandum by Satow or receipt, so we cannot be sure nowadays how Satow acquired the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. But we know from the examples in the previous chapter of *Ukiyoeshi no Den*, *Ukiyoe Kō* and *Iwademo no Ki* that he may have bought it from 'some man outside the ring' of booksellers. But this is only a possibility, and we have no proof. Moreover, the man (or men) outside the ring of booksellers may have been a book collector (collectors), and may even have had close relations with the booksellers. As we know from the friendships of Darumaya Goichi, in the Bakumatsu and early Meiji period there was not such a clear distinction between collectors and bookshops, particularly bookshops selling rare and precious antiquarian books. The antiquarian booksellers themselves were also collectors and bibliophiles. The boundary between collectors and rare bookshops was not well defined.

In the letter from Satow to Dickins quoted above, Satow refers to picture books and novels. Of course, 'picture books' (*ehon*) are documents relating to art, but novels (*shosetsu*) also included illustrations (*sashie*), so Satow may have regarded novels also as relating to art in the wider sense. In the case of woodblock prints (*seihan*) there was not really a necessity to make a special distinction between them.

According to the letter to Dickins, Satow had acquired quite a number of picture books, and a large number of novels. I would like to focus here on the novels especially. Satow also collected large numbers of novels from the Edo period. It is not clear from the letter exactly how he acquired picture books and novels, but from the context of the letter it seems that he got them from 'some man outside the ring' of booksellers. Yet there is no proof regarding this point.

Regarding the identity of the man or men 'outside the ring', there are various possible candidates. The first two are the Shiraishi father and son (Senbetsu and Mamichi) from the previous chapter. Before that there were the collectors Sekine Shisei and Sakata Morotō. In particular I would like to focus on the role of Sekine Shisei. His connections also extended to Saitō Gesshin's former collection. This is one of the key points (*ganmoku*) of this book.

The point in common to some extent between the bibliophiles and collectors – the Shiraishi father and son, Sakata Morotō and Sekine Shisei – was *Yūsoku kojitsu* (ancient customs) and in particular *buke kojitsu* (customs of the samurai) and I want to concentrate on this. These people had an incredible fascination with *Yūsoku kojitsu*.

Buying Books from Shiraishi Senbetsu and Mamichi

Now I would like to talk about the books and documents which Satow acquired from Shiraishi Senbetsu and Shiraishi Mamichi. In the previous chapter, I discussed the manuscripts from Satow's former collection now in the Cambridge University Library, the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, *Ukiyoe Kō*, *Ukiyoeshi no Den* and *Iwademo no Ki*. Of these four manuscripts, Satow purchased the

Ukiyoeshi no Den and *Iwademo no Ki* from the Shiraishis, father and son. He did not buy them from the usual bookshops. It was probably similar in the case of the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* and *Ukiyoe Kō*, however there is no clear proof of this. When Saitō Gesshin's bereaved family put his book collection up for sale, did they consult Sekine Shisei and others who were collectors and former friends of Gesshin?

Apart from the *Ukiyoeshi no Den* and *Iwademo no Ki*, if we look in detail at the Cambridge catalogue of early Japanese books, it seems that the number of documents which Satow may have acquired from Shiraishi Mamichi is very large indeed. I would like to introduce some of these.

First, there is *Kōko Nichiroku*. This was a book from the mid-Edo period commenting on antiques written by Tō Teikan (1732-1797). Of course, Tō Teikan was an important researcher of Yūsoku kojitsu and *Kōko Nichiroku* was a representative work in that field. In the book was Iwasa Matabei's abbreviated biography, and it was also in *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Iwasa Matabei (1578-1650) was an artist of the early Edo period, and he may be considered to be the founder of ukiyoe. The quoted entry from *Kōko Nichiroku* is found not only in *Ukiyoe Ruikō* but also in Satow's former books the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, *Ukiyoe Kō* and *Ukiyoeshi no Den*. In these manuscripts is written 'Tō Teikan *Kōko Nichiroku* Miyu' [See Tō Teikan's *Kōko Nichiroku*] so it was natural that a collector interested in *Ukiyoe Ruikō* would also want to have *Kōko Nichiroku* in his collection.

Satow collected both *Ukiyoe Ruikō* and *Kōko Nichiroku*. In the Cambridge University Library collection of Satow's books *Kōko Nichiroku* is included as a woodblock printed book with 'Satō zōsho' [薩道藏書 Satow collection, 'ex libris' stamp] and immediately below it 'Shiraishi shozō' [白石所藏 Shiraishi collection, stamp]. From this it is clear that Satow bought this book from the Shiraishis, father and son. He must have bought it from his librarian, Shiraishi Mamichi.

However, the primary reason why Satow collected the *Kōko Nichiroku* may not be related to *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Again, in the case of *Kōko Nichiroku* the fact that it was in the Shiraishi collection is also important. In 1879 (Meiji 12) in the Asiatic Society of Japan Satow proposed a transliteration of the Japanese syllabary, expressing historic kana in romanized form. See his 'Transliteration of the Japanese Syllabary' in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society for that year.²⁶⁶ At the end of this essay, several charts and illustrations were included. One of these is a katakana chart. In the footnotes to the essay, Satow refers to this chart. 'See the Dehaboñ edition of the Yeñgishiki, and the 好古日録 (*kauko jitsu roku*), p.39.'²⁶⁷ Indeed the *Kōko Nichiroku* does have an entry 'Kanamei' [Kana names] on that page, and shows the katakana used before the 47 katakana characters were determined.

For Satow to propose a romanized transliteration of historically used katakana, he must have begun to study the liturgical texts (*norito*) of the *Engishiki* (an early book about laws and customs, mostly completed in 927 A.D.) with Shiraishi Mamichi. Satow studied the problem of the use of katakana from Shiraishi Mamichi and others, and from his understanding of the history of kana usage was able to propose a new romanized transliteration. From Satow's connection with his librarian Shiraishi Mamichi we can see why he would have had the *Kōko Nichiroku* in his collection, as it had been in the Shiraishi collection.

²⁶⁶ Ernest Satow, 'On the Transliteration of Japanese Syllabary', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol.7 (1879). pp.234-273.

²⁶⁷ Ernest Satow, 'On the Transliteration of Japanese Syllabary', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol.7 (1879). p.244.

The Cambridge University Library has two editions of the *Gyōki Shikimoku*. They are both manuscripts. It is a fairly short text about the monk Gyōki in *kanbun* (classical Japanese). The interesting point about the two editions at Cambridge are that the title of one of them is 'Gisen Gyōki Shikimoku'. The *Gisen Gyōki Shikimoku* was the manuscript handwritten by Satow's librarian Shiraishi Mamichi. The acquisition of both texts is explained in the postscript (*okugaki*) of *Gisen Gyōki Shikimoku*.

The two entries for the two editions of *Gyōki Shikimoku* in the Cambridge catalogue of early Japanese books are as follows:

303 Gyōki Shikimoku

[Meiji] copy

This book according to the postscript of 304 was copied by a certain old man and presented to Satow.²⁶⁸

304 Gyōki Shikimoku

[Meiji] copy

The outer title is *Gisen Gyōki Shikimoku*. Copied from 303. Postscript of the manuscript: 'As for this book [*Gyōki Shikimoku*], since Mr. Satow, an Englishman heard of it in a previous year and he wanted to have it, one day, I [Shiraishi] went to a bookshop in Nishikubo which I frequented in order to look for it. When I asked the owner of the shop for *Gyōki Shikimoku*, there was an old man who had come to the shop to buy books, and he had heard of it. He said that fortunately he had made a copy of the book, borrowing it from his friend the other day, and he promised to bring a [second] copy of *Gyōki Shikimoku* to the shop on another day. This is why Mr. Satow has acquired this book. Who was the old man? He looked like a Samurai, but he did not give his name to me [Shiraishi]. It is regrettable for me not to know who he was.'

[The text of the book (*Gisen Gyōki Shikimoku*) and the postscript were written by the same person and they seemed to be written by Shiraishi Chōkō.]²⁶⁹

From the above entries, the origin of the two editions of *Gyōki Shikimoku* in Satow's former collection at Cambridge University Library is clear.

In other words, when at Satow's request Shiraishi Chōkō [Mamichi] looked for *Gyōki Shikimoku* in a bookshop, by chance a certain old man who was a customer in that shop said that his friend had it in his collection, and he would make a copy of it and bring it, and a few days later he brought 303 to the shop. Then Shiraishi Chōkō [Mamichi] made a copy of it which is 304.

In the quotation from the Cambridge catalogue of early Japanese books, the second *Gyōki Shikimoku* (the one whose full title is *Gisen Gyōki Shikimoku*) was handwritten by Shiraishi Chōkō. In the catalogue Shiraishi Chōkō is the same person as Shiraishi Mamichi, so it was he who handwrote the manuscript.

²⁶⁸ Nozomu Hayashi & Peter Kornicki, *Early Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library: A Catalogue of the Aston, Satow and von Siebold Collection*, Cambridge University Press, 1991. p.125.

²⁶⁹ Nozomu Hayashi & Peter Kornicki, *Early Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library: A Catalogue of the Aston, Satow and von Siebold Collection*, Cambridge University Press, 1991. p.125.

Rinchi Sōsho series and the stamp (*inki*) 'Shiraishi shozō'

Above I referred to Tō Teikan's book *Kōko Nichiroku* in Satow's former collection at Cambridge University Library as having the stamp (*inki*) 'Shiraishi shozō' [白石所蔵], meaning it was from the Shiraishi collection. In fact, in Satow's former collection there are several books with the same stamp. Of course, the Shiraishi stamp in those old Japanese books (*wakankosho*) is not limited to Satow's collection at Cambridge. The same stamp can be seen at several other libraries. For example, at Tokyo University Library and the library of the Faculty of Literature of the same university there are a total of four such items. Also, at the National Diet Library there are the *Rinchi Sōsho* ('Sōsho' means series) and the *Rinchi Sōsho Gaishū* and in those series the same 'Shiraishi shozō' stamp can be seen.

As I mentioned in the foreword to this book, Yashiro Hirotaka (1758-1841) was an expert in *kojitsu* (ancient customs) and *kōshō* (historical investigation) and he was a very famous collector in the late Edo period. He studied Kokugaku from Hanawa Hokiichi (1746-1821) and Matsuoka Tokikata (1764-1840), and assisted with the compilation of *Gunsho Ruijo*. Matsuoka Tokikata was very famous as a *Yūsoku kojitsuka*, while at the same time Hanawa Hokiichi was famous as the founder of the Wagaku-Kōdansho [Institute of Lectures of Japanese Classics], a major educational institute. Also, by order of the Shogunate, Yashiro Hirotaka was involved in the editing of *Kokon Yōran Kō*, *Kansei Chōshū Shokafu*, *Shūko Jisshu* etc.

Hirotaka was originally a private secretary of the Shogunate and a calligrapher. His huge collection was called the 'Shinobazu bunko', and after his death it was handed over to the former head of the Awa (Tokushima) clan Hachisuka Narimasa (1795-1859) and added to the Awa bunko. Hirotaka's collection was kept on the banks of the Shinobazu pond in the Ueno area of Edo, hence it was called the Shinobazu bunko.

Yashiro Hirotaka was a pupil of Ise Sadaharu, a *Yūsoku kojitsuka* of the Ise style. Ise Sadaharu (1760-1813) had inherited the title of head of the family Ise Sadatake (1717-1784), a great expert in *buke kojitsu*, and was the eldest son of Sadatake's son. Hirotaka learned *buke kojitsu* from Sadaharu, so he had a great knowledge of *buke kojitsu*. This is also reflected in his collection. Matsuoka Tokikata had also studied *Yūsoku kojitsu* under Ise Sadaharu. Hirotaka was taught by Matsuoka.

As already mentioned, the National Diet Library holds the manuscript *Rinchi Sōsho* series (Parts 1-43) and the *Rinchi Sōsho Gaishū* series (Parts 1-19). Putting them together, they amount to 62 parts in total. The manuscripts in each series might be thought to be from Yashiro Hirotaka's former collection (since 'Rinchi' was Hirotaka's pen name). However, it is clear that many manuscripts were added after Hirotaka's death. In that case it is impossible to regard it as Hirotaka's collection. Of course, in both series the stamp 'Shinobazu bunko' does appear, so there are quite a few manuscripts which were collected by him. This may be why both series include the name 'Rinchi', to emphasize the association with Yashiro Hirotaka. But both series were organized into their present state after Hirotaka's death, probably during the Meiji period.

According to the National Diet Library's holding *Tosho Kōnyū Seikyū Bo* [List of Books Purchased (Meiji 26-29) (Tokyo Library)] in January 1895 (Meiji 28) the Tokyo Library purchased *Rinchi Sōsho* and according to *Kōnyū Shoseki Shomei Daika Meisaisho* (Meiji 32-33) (Imperial Library) [List of Prices of Purchased Books] 20 yen was paid for it in May 1899 (Meiji 32). It was paid to Isobe

Tarōbei of Kōji-machi 4-chōme. The Tokyo Library was renamed the Imperial Library (Teikoku Toshokan) in 1897 (Meiji 30).

These documents of the Tokyo Library (Imperial Library) probably refer to both the *Rinchi Sōsho* and the *Rinchi Sōsho Gaishū* series. The purchase of the *Rinchi Sōsho* including the *Rinchi Sōsho Gaishū* was ordered by Nakane Shukuji. We know this because in the first part of *Rinchi Sōsho* there is a doubt entered in a note by Nakane as to the series name.

The seller of *Rinchi Sōsho*, Isobe Tarōbei II of Bunshōdō, a bookshop which also did publishing, also had connections with Shiraishi Senbetsu, the editor-in-chief of the *Iroha Shinbun* newspaper. From this we can imagine that Isobe and Shiraishi were acquaintances. Shiraishi died in 1887 (Meiji 20). Also, there are many stamps of the former collector Aoki Nobutora in the *Rinchi Sōsho*. Aoki Nobutora died in 1886. Tokyo Library (Imperial Library) bought the *Rinchi Sōsho* manuscripts from Isobe Tarōbei of Bunshōdō, including not only the ‘Shinobazu bunko’ stamp of Yashiro Hiroataka, but also the Shiraishi and Aoki stamps.

The *Mukyūkai Kannarai bunko* is based on Inoue Yorikuni’s former collection. It also holds the original manuscripts of *Rinchi Sōsho* in Yashiro Hiroataka’s own handwriting (25 scrolls) but I have not checked them. The connection between the *Mukyūkai Kannarai bunko* manuscript and that of the National Diet Library has not been investigated. It may only be that the name of the series is the same.

The National Diet Library’s *Rinchi Sōsho* and the *Rinchi Sōsho Gaishū* series have got many volumes or parts or “shū”s and each volume or part or “shū” contains several manuscripts. Checking the number of manuscripts, the *Rinchi Sōsho* (Parts 1 to 43) contains a total of 242 manuscripts. The *Rinchi Sōsho Gaishū* (Parts 1 to 19) contains 102 manuscripts. Of the 242 manuscripts in the *Rinchi Sōsho* at least 43 bear the ‘Shiraishi shozō’ stamp and one has ‘Shiraishi bunko’. So, of the total number of manuscripts, more than 18% bear the Shiraishi stamp.

Of the 102 manuscripts in the *Rinchi Sōsho Gaishū* (Parts 1 to 19), we cannot determine how many have the ‘Shiraishi shozō’ stamp, but we can obtain the data of how many parts (Shū) have the stamp. Of the 19 parts, at least 15 contain at least one manuscript with the ‘Shiraishi shozō’ stamp. There are only four parts which do not have the stamp at all.

From the above we know that in both the *Rinchi Sōsho* and the *Rinchi Sōsho Gaishū* series taken together, the ‘Shiraishi shozō’ stamp appears many times. The stamp indicates a document in the collection of Shiraishi father and son (Senbetsu and Mamichi). Furthermore, among these are documents clearly copied by Shiraishi Mamichi. In the 25th part of the *Rinchi Sōsho* is included the *Ryōkan Waka narabini Shishū*. From the penmanship and editor’s notes it is clear that Shiraishi Mamichi transcribed this manuscript in 1871 and 1872. In particular there is a note which confirms that he borrowed the *Ryōkan Wakashū* from his colleague at the Foreign Office Miyamoto Kōfū and on the night of February 10th in Meiji 5 (1872) he made a copy. Miyamoto Kōfū was working at the Foreign Office under Sakata Morotō on the compilation of the *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran*. He was Mamichi’s senior (senpai).

Again, in the *Rinchi Sōsho Gaishū* (Part 19) there is a manuscript called *Gaikōben* [Why do we like Disputes?] which has the Shiraishi shozō stamp. It is a former document from the Shiraishi family collection. According to the preface this manuscript was copied by the military scientist and swordsman Fujikawa Ken in the autumn of 1849 (Kaei 2) when external forces were pressing on Japan in the Bakumatsu period and it explained coastal defence. This work has already been introduced in the foreword.

As stated in the foreword, at the Foreign Office Shiraishi Mamichi and Fujikawa Ken (Hiroshi) were colleagues for about five and a half years (from autumn 1871 to January 1877). Probably they knew each other very well.

The reason why I am mentioning Fujikawa Ken (Hiroshi) and his colleague at the Foreign Office Shiraishi Mamichi at this point is that Satow's collection included documents from the former collection of Fujikawa Seisai, the father of Fujikawa Ken. When investigating the source of Satow's collection deeply, the Fujikawa family's former collection provides various interesting information.

In the previous chapter when discussing Saitō Gesshin's *Shinobu Gusa* (kansubon, scroll book) from his former collection, I mentioned that the Cambridge University Library has similar scroll books such as 'Hanjimonō', 'Fumoto no Chiri' and 'Ryūkyūjin Gyōretsu'. These were collected and edited in the Bunsei era (1818-30) by Doi Toshiyuki, and were in the Doi family collection. They were probably made into a scroll by his son Doi Toshitsune (1848-1893), were all later taken into Satow's collection, and are now precious documents held by Cambridge University Library.

Again, as part of Satow's collection Cambridge University Library holds *Kodai Buki no Zu* [Drawings of Ancient Weapons], *Yoroi Odoshige Sodegata*, *Jinbaori Zu* and *Yoshiie Ason Yoroi Chakuyō no Shidai*. In the *Kodai Buki no Zu* there are many documents written by Fujikawa Yajirōeimon (Fujikawa Seisai/Tadashi). It also includes Doi Toshiyuki's edited *Yagoshirae no Sho*. In the documents of *Kodai Buki no Zu*, 'Seisai shozō', 'Sada Fuji', 'Fujikawa' and other stamps are included. This makes it clear that in the *Kodai Buki no Zu* several manuscripts were from the former collection of Fujikawa Seisai.

Yoroi Odoshige Sodegata was a manuscript edited by Doi Toshiyuki, and it bears the stamp 'Fujikawa zōsho'.

Jinbaori Zu has a note from which we know that it was a manuscript copied by Fujikawa Seisai, and it bears the stamp 'Fujikawa zōsho'.

Yoshiie Ason Yoroi Chakuyō no Shidai was Ise Sadatake's manuscript, and it has a note dated October 26 of Bunsei 11 and the stamp 'Fujikawa zōsho'. Fujikawa Seisai transcribed this manuscript and took it into his collection.

Based on the above seven collected manuscripts, I want to focus on the 'human beings' and the 'flow of collected documents.'

First, as regards *Yūsoku kojitsu* and particularly *buke kojitsu*, Ise Sadatake and his grandson Ise Sadaharu were important scholars and maintained a school.

Doi Toshiyuki was a pupil of Ise Sadatake and his grandson Sadaharu. At the same time, he was a *shoinban* [a high-class officer, a member of the Shogun's bodyguard] and a *hatamoto* with an income of 400 koku. His son was Doi Toshitsune (Shichitarō) and his grandson was Doi Hachitarō. Doi Toshitsune was an expert in *buke kojitsu* and inherited the family business from his father, but his grandson Doi Hachitarō worked as a swimming instructor at the Kōbusho military academy founded in 1854. It is not clear whether he inherited the family business, but he probably did not. In 1868 he passed the headship of the family to his son and heir Doi Jūtarō and retired. [These names indicate 7 (shichi), 8 (hachi) and 10 (jū)].

Doi Jūtarō had a younger brother whose name was Doi Nobuo. In 1871 he studied Western mathematics. The Doi family began to study western learning in the Meiji period.

I have already mentioned that Fujikawa Seisai studied under Ise Sadatake, and Doi Toshiyuki and Toshitsune also studied under him. The business of the Doi was transferred to Fujikawa

Seisai during the Bunsei era (1818-30).²⁷⁰ At that time the Doi family collection of documents was passed to Fujikawa Seisai, and after Seisai's death it seems very likely that it was passed to his son Fujikawa Ken (Hiroshi). As already mentioned, Fujikawa Seisai was a master of the "Jikishin Kageryū" style of swordsmanship, with as many as 5,000 pupils. He was very famous as a swordsman (*kenjutsuka*).

The 'Hanjimonō', 'Fumoto no Chiri' and 'Ryūkyūjin Gyōretsu' were all compiled by Doi Toshitsune and later passed to the Fujikawa family (Seisai and Ken), and thereafter came into Satow's possession. Regarding the *Yoroi Odoshige Sodegata* edited by Doi Toshiyuki, it passed to his son Toshitsune, and then to his pupils Fujikawa Seisai and Ken in the Fujikawa family, and then it was acquired by Satow. Regarding the *Kodai Buki no Zu* including *Yagoshirae no Sho* it bears the signature (*kaō*) of the Doi family, father and son. The Doi family were also connected with *Kodai Buki no Zu* since it was included in their former collection of documents.

The *Yoroi Odoshige Sodegata* was a very colourful manuscript about decorative armour. The interesting point about this manuscript is that it is also included in the Sekine family collection (Sekine Shisei and his son Masanao) and is in the catalogue of the Sekine bunko.²⁷¹ Moreover, Sekine Masanao who researched *Yūsoku kojitsu* and particularly *buke kojitsu* refers to Doi Toshiyuki's *Yoroi Odoshige Sodegata* in his own book *Shōzoku Katchu Zukai*.²⁷² How did he come by that manuscript? He probably inherited it from his father Sekine Shisei.

From the above explanation the process (flow) should be clear how documents passed from the collections of the *buke kojitsu* families (Doi and Fujikawa), were taken into Satow's collection, and finally came to be held at Cambridge University Library. However, regarding the way in which documents moved from Fujikawa Ken (Hiroshi) to Satow's collection, it is easier to understand if we factor in the involvement of Satow's librarian Shiraishi Mamichi and his father Senbetsu. Fujikawa Ken was Shiraishi Mamichi's superior at the Foreign Office, and they certainly knew each other well. Also, since Fujikawa Ken was the swordsmanship teacher of the Shogunal vassal Tanabe Taichi, it is clear that Shiraishi Senbetsu and the Fujikawa family also may have known each other.

Regarding *Rinchi Sōsho* and the *Rinchi Sōsho Gaishū* and the Shiraishi collection stamp (Shiraishi shozō), the connection may be easier to understand if the following point is borne in mind. First, the Shiraishis father and son made a collection and stamped it with 'Shiraishi shozō'. The *Rinchi Sōsho* and the *Rinchi Sōsho Gaishū* connected with Yashiro Hirotsuka had the stamp on some (quite a few) of its manuscripts. Considering this situation, including the Shiraishis there must have been some kind of loose grouping of bibliophiles and collectors interested in *Yūsoku kojitsu* and particularly *buke kojitsu* in the first ten years of the Meiji period. And from this grouping Satow's book collection was increased considerably. The group may have been connected with the Shiraishis, Sakata Morotō and Fujikawa Ken (Hiroshi).

²⁷⁰ Kikkawa Hitoshi, ed., *Matsubara Sukehisa Ō*, Kikkawa Hitoshi, 1910. p.5.

²⁷¹ Sekine Toshio, *Sekine Bunko Mokuroku*, Kyōiku Shuppan Sentā, 1983. p.34.

²⁷² Sekine Masanao, *Shōzoku Katchū Zukai*, Vo.2, Rokugōkan, 1900. p.104.

Shiraishi Mamichi's Role and the *Kanwa* Thesaurus

Returning to the topic of Satow's librarian Shiraishi Mamichi, his role was not merely to collect books for Satow's collection, if necessary to make copies of manuscripts, and produce a catalogue of the collection. He also made a *Kanwa* (Chinese-Japanese) thesaurus for Satow. Satow wrote a letter to Dickins dated April 22, 1879 (Meiji 12) as follows:

My man [Shiraishi Mamichi] is still working at collecting materials for the great Sinico-Japanese Thesaurus, but he has not arranged more than one half; the number of boxes of slips, about 20 inches long, is several tens already. I have lately got hold of a man with many original ideas upon Shintau, an especially about the myths, which he explains in a way that just suits the European sense. We are working through the norito [祝詞 Shintō rituals] together, and intend afterwards to gut the mythological books of all that is interesting in them. He also knows no end of Buddhism. He is the first Japanese of real learning that I ever met.²⁷³

From this quotation we can see that Shiraishi was not merely engaged collecting books or preparing a catalogue for Satow's collection. He was also engaged in other work.

Furthermore, Shiraishi knew a lot about Shintō myths, and Satow studied the norito [Shintō rituals] with him. He also told Dickins about this in this letter. The results of his study of the norito were published by Satow in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan. He translated the norito from the *Engishiki* Volume 8 and published an essay (*ronbun*) in three parts on 'Ancient Japanese Rituals'. They were published from 1879 to 1881 in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan.²⁷⁴

Satow's study of the norito with Shiraishi is also reflected in an article for the *Westminster Review* titled 'The Mythology and Religious Worship of the Ancient Japanese'.²⁷⁵ Shiraishi had a deep knowledge of Buddhism, and Satow evaluated him highly as 'the first Japanese of real learning' that he had met. I have already quoted this part in Chapter Two where I introduced Shiraishi Mamichi.

With regard to Shintō, before he employed Shiraishi Mamichi, Satow seems to have employed Wada Shigeo as a teacher. For example, in a letter which Satow wrote to W.G. Aston dated September 17, 1879 he referred to 'my Shintō teacher'.²⁷⁶ Of course, this was before Satow employed Shiraishi. It seems likely that Wada Shigeo was employed by Satow as his Shintō teacher, particularly on the works of Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843), before he employed Shiraishi to help him study the norito.

²⁷³ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.122.

²⁷⁴ Ernest Satow, 'Ancient Japanese Rituals- Part I-III', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol.7 (1879), pp.95-126, pp.393-434, Vol.9 (1881), pp.183-211.

²⁷⁵ Ernest Satow, 'The Mythology and Religious Worship of the Ancient Japanese', *The Westminster Review*, Vol.110 No.1 (July 1878), pp.27-57.

²⁷⁶ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.13.

Next, I would like to explain about the Chinese-Japanese thesaurus which Shiraishi produced, using documents held in the at Cambridge University Library.

First, Cambridge University Library does hold a copy of what appears to be the thesaurus. Anyway, it is a document from Satow's former collection. Next, I would like to quote the entry for this document from the Cambridge catalogue of early Japanese books. For reference, I will also introduce related documents.

523 Setsuyōshū harikomi chō [provisional title] (It is known that there is one volume.)
Early Meiji period.

Back title LETTER BOOK. In a western style notebook 1. Shinsō Nigyō Setsuyōshu 2. Wagyoku hen (?). Cuttings arranged in i-ro-ha order. Prepared by Satow or Aston. Only from 'i' to 'ka'.²⁷⁷

524 Wagyoku hen harikomi cho. (It is known that there are 2 volumes.)
Early Meiji period.

Back title CHINESE-JAPANESE DICTIONARY. In a western style notebook, cuttings pasted in alphabetical order from KUAI to ZUI. Using a separate original to 523. At end of scroll list of kanji according to radicals. Original unknown for both documents. Either Satow or Aston prepared this.²⁷⁸

[Reference documents]

522 Hiramajibiki Shūi from ka to kaz.
Bakumatsu Meiji. Copy.
Probably copied for Satow.
All completed by [Shiraishi Chōkō].²⁷⁹

509 Wakun no Shiori (separate book). Edited by Tanigawa Kotosuga.
Bakumatsu Meiji. Copy.
Manuscript of Wakun no Shiori first part, from ma to o.
Probably copied and compiled for Satow by [Shiraishi Chōkō].²⁸⁰

Next, I would like to give a simple explanation of these documents.

The first two items (523 and 524) are both parts of the Chinese-Japanese thesaurus which Shiraishi Mamichi was preparing. The other two items (522 and 509) are reference documents in connection with the work of preparation. 509 is a separate book, the *Wakun no Shiori* (45 scrolls

²⁷⁷ Nozomu Hayashi & Peter Kornicki, *Early Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library: a Catalogue of the Aston, Satow, and von Siebold Collections*, Cambridge University Press, 1991. p.148.

²⁷⁸ Nozomu Hayashi & Peter Kornicki, *Early Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library: a Catalogue of the Aston, Satow, and von Siebold Collections*, Cambridge University Press, 1991. pp.148-149.

²⁷⁹ Nozomu Hayashi & Peter Kornicki, *Early Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library: a Catalogue of the Aston, Satow, and von Siebold Collections*, Cambridge University Press, 1991. p.148.

²⁸⁰ Nozomu Hayashi & Peter Kornicki, *Early Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library: a Catalogue of the Aston, Satow, and von Siebold Collections*, Cambridge University Press, 1991. p.147.

in first part, 30 in second part). Regarding 523 and 524 the Cambridge catalogue of early Japanese books cannot decide who prepared them, Satow or Aston. However, as we know from Satow's letter to Dickins already quoted, the preparation of the Chinese-Japanese thesaurus was Satow's project. Aston had nothing to do with it.

Regarding documents 523 and 524 the interesting part is that Aston left a comment in a tag on 523. Aston's tags were added after he received many books from Satow's collection, and they were added to Satow's former collection as well as Aston's collection. Aston's tags in the Cambridge University Library collection include his opinions and understanding.

Aston added the following simple comment regarding these two documents:

A Chinese Jap. Dictionary. Cut up and pasted into a book in iroha order. The intention was to write in the English translation, but this was not carried out.

2 vols. 8 X 13 Sharply bound in hide.²⁸¹

In Aston's comment he shows his confusion about the number of volumes. This is because he put the comment about 523 and 524 on 523. He treated both documents as one, and commented on them both. He must have regarded the two documents as one set.

Shiraishi Mamichi's involvement in the project of the Chinese-Japanese thesaurus was in a broad sense intended to support Satow's research into Japan. It may also have been closely connected with Satow's research into the norito and the Shintō religion. It was probably also connected with the problem of the use of kana, and with Satow's proposal for transliteration of Japanese into romanized text (romaji).

Shiraishi Mamichi and Satow's Romanized Text

As already suggested, in the Chinese-Japanese (*Kanwa*) thesaurus project one more important point is that in February 1879 Satow read a paper to the Asiatic Society of Japan titled 'On the Transliteration of the Japanese Syllabary' and it was published in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Volume 7 of the same year.²⁸² Satow's proposal of romanized text including phonetic kana was based on the historic use of kana. Shiraishi's thesaurus and documents were intended to provide a convenient way to find historic kana use. This historic use of kana was the basis on which Satow's proposal for romanization rested.

Satow's romanization based on the historic (official) use of kana was based on his research into Kokugaku and further developed from this. What is really interesting is the period when Satow changed his system of romanization from the one used when he produced jointly with Ishibashi Masakata the *English-Japanese Dictionary of the Spoken Language* (Trubner & Co, London, 1876) to the one based on the historic use of kana. This change overlapped with the time when Satow started to study the norito with Shiraishi Mamichi.

²⁸¹ 'Catalogue of W. G. Aston's Collection of Japanese Books Volume 2', *Kenburijji Daigaku Toshokan Shozō Ānesuto Satō Kanren Zōsho Mokuroku*, Vol. 5, Yumani Shobō, 2016. p.433.

²⁸² Ernest Satow, 'On the Transliteration of Japanese Syllabary', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol.7 (1879). pp.234-271.

Satow's change to a system of romanization depending on the historic use of kana was probably made under the influence of Shiraishi Mamichi. Influenced by scholars of Kokugaku, when the Meiji period began, a process started of the historic use of kana spreading into the arts and sciences, and education. Satow learned this from Shiraishi, and probably decided to apply this principle to the problem of romanization. Furthermore, as will be stated later, there was also some connection between the problem of romanization and William Anderson.

Satow began to use the system of romanization depending on the historic use of kana in January 1878. In his diary he uses it in the first entry for the year, January 9th. For example, hitherto he had written 'Shintō' but from this date he writes 'Shintau' (Shiñtau or Shiñ-tau). The following is from his entry for that day:

I have at last got to work at an article for the Westminster [Review], the subject of which is the Shintau religion, as we find it in the norito, and I shall also make a paper for the Asiatic Society [of Japan] out of one of them, the praying for harvest.²⁸³

When Satow went home to England on leave he went via Paris. There he met the editor of the Westminster Review, Dr. Chapman, in September 1876. Chapman probably asked him to contribute something to the Westminster Review after he had returned to Japan. Or perhaps Satow proposed an article to Chapman. Then he wrote 'The Mythology and Religious Worship of the Ancient Japanese', sent it to Chapman, and it was published in the July 1878 edition of the periodical.²⁸⁴

Apart from the article in the Westminster Review, Satow translated the norito (*Engishiki* Volume 8, 'Norito') into English and published it in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan. He first read before the Society and published 'Ancient Japanese Rituals' Part One in November 1876, and later also read and published Parts Two and Three. The three parts were published in Volume 7 of the *Transactions* (1878-79) and Volume 9 (1880-81).²⁸⁵

As can be seen from the above process, Satow obtained the cooperation of Shiraishi Mamichi and was able to research Shintō, particularly the norito rituals, which allowed him to publish essays in the Westminster Review and the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan. Satow's English translation of the norito is incomplete. Shiraishi's death may have had something to do with this.

Another interesting thing is that when Satow published a revised version of 'The Revival of Pure Shintau' he changed the romanization to the new system. Satow had first published this essay in a series in the Japan Weekly Mail of Yokohama in 1874. He then published the whole essay in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan in 1875 (Volume 3). At that time the spelling of the title included 'Shintō'. But when a reprint of Volume 3 was published in 1883, Satow changed the

²⁸³ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.297.

²⁸⁴ Ernest Satow, 'The Mythology and Religious Worship of the Ancient Japanese', *Westminster Review*, Vol. 110 (ns54) No.1 (July 1878), pp.27-57.

²⁸⁵ Ernest Satow, 'Ancient Japanese Rituals- Part I-III', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol.7 (1879), pp.95-126, pp.393-434, Vol.9 (1881), pp.183-211.

system of romanization to the one based on historic use of kana, and the spelling in the title changed to 'Shiñ-tau'.²⁸⁶

When he first began writing 'The Revival of Pure Shintau' he was under the guidance of the Kokugaku and Shintō scholar Wada Shigeo and others. At that time Shiraishi Mamichi was not yet employed as his secretary (librarian). When he was so employed, at the stage when Satow began to study the norito with him, he seems to have begun to change the system of romanization seriously to the system based on the historic use of kana. The influence of Shiraishi on Satow's Shintō research was probably enormous. He may have been much more than a librarian to Satow. The latter's change of romanization system, i.e. the adoption of classical romanization, must have been mainly thanks to Shiraishi Mamichi.

Becoming a Friend of Philippe Burty

Probably from the time when he began to collect Japanese books Ernest Satow already had a great interest in books and documents relating to art. But he did not pay special attention and did not begin consciously to collect such books until after he returned from Japan from his second period of leave, i.e. from 1877 onwards. He became particularly active as a collector when he began to investigate the possibility of a joint publication with William Anderson about Japanese art from 1879. It is probably quite reasonable to date Satow's serious collection of Japanese art books from that time.

Satow was away from Japan and went to England on his second leave from February 1875 to about February 1877. During those two years, he hardly collected any Japanese books. While he was on leave in England, he also went to Europe. And when he returned to England he also did so via the European continent.

When Satow went to Paris in September 1876, he was invited to breakfast with Philippe Burty.²⁸⁷ Philippe Burty (1830-1890) was a French art critic, a collector of Japanese art, and is known as the man who coined the term 'Japonisme'. He was a pioneer collector of Japanese art in France, a so-called 'Japonisant'.

Satow met Burty in September and November 1876, a total of four times while he was in Paris.²⁸⁸ Satow helped Burty to decipher the design of a guard or hilt (*tsuba*) of a sword which he owned.²⁸⁹ For Burty, who could not read Japanese, Satow was probably a very precious guide. Burty was passionate about collecting Japanese artworks such as ukiyoe, so there were many advantages to his making Satow's acquaintance. Also, for Satow, getting to know Burty probably stimulated his interest in books relating to Japanese art, and the art itself – ukiyoe woodblock prints (*hanga*), picture albums (*gajō*) and picture books (*ehon*).

²⁸⁶ Ernest Satow, 'The Revival of Pure Shiñ-tau', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol.3, Part 1, Appendix (1883), pp.1-87.

²⁸⁷ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.185.

²⁸⁸ Hagiwara Nobutoshi, *Shika: Tōi Gake 12: Ānesuto Satō Nikki Shō*, Asahi Shinbun Shuppan, 2008. p.177.

²⁸⁹ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.187.

So how did Burty know that Satow was coming to Paris? Satow's friends F.V. Dickins and William Anderson shared a common interest with Burty in Japanese art, so they already knew him. One of these friends of Satow must have told Burty about his coming to Paris.

Or was it one of Satow's Foreign Office colleagues at the British Embassy in Paris who informed Burty? At that time F.O. Adams and F.R. Plunkett were working at the Paris embassy, and they both had worked previously in Japan. It was probably to meet them that Satow chose to travel via Paris, or that was at least one reason. It is also possible that they may have informed Burty of Satow's visit to Paris. Either way, Burty was a very keen collector of Japanese art, and he immediately invited Satow to have breakfast with him. That is how their relationship began. And as a result of their acquaintance, after Satow returned to Japan he was asked by Burty to assist with the purchase of books about Japanese art.

In a letter to F.V. Dickins written by Satow in February 1880 we find the following contents. It is three or four years since Satow had first met Burty in Paris. They had probably kept in touch by letters since then.

Burty & Nordenskjöld put me each on the track of a first-rate bookseller, and I have lately acquired several treasures from them. The godown [warehouse] is getting very full, and I am beginning now to buy Chinese books with the aid of the old teacher. You know how voluminous they are.²⁹⁰

From this letter we know the following.

In about 1880 Satow assisted Burty and Nordenskjöld in the purchase of Japanese books. For that purpose, Satow was in frequent contact with first-rate bookshops dealing in rare books (*kikōbon*). Of course, at that time Satow was also buying many books, including Chinese books, and his warehouse (godown) was almost full. For shops selling rare books Satow was an important customer and that was his forte.

In Burty's case he was living in Paris, so he could not buy books directly in Japan. Of course, he could buy books which had been sent from Japan to Europe.

Satow could buy books in Japan on Burty's behalf, especially those requested by him, and he probably sent them to Paris. On the other hand, at that time Nordenskjöld was visiting Japan, so he was able to buy a large number of Japanese books in Japan. Satow probably helped Nordenskjöld to build his collection.

The Collection of Nordenskjöld

Adolf Erik Nordenskjöld (1832-1901) was from Finland (a Finn of Swedish extraction). He was an Arctic explorer who, as a member of the *Vega* Expedition stayed in Japan from the beginning of September 1879 until the latter part of October. In that time, he purchased 1,036 books (almost

²⁹⁰ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. pp.131-132.

6,000 volumes).²⁹¹ Nordenskiöld's Japanese book collection is now held by the Royal Library of Sweden. It is an important collection of old books in Japanese in Northern Europe.

Satow seems to have helped Nordenskiöld when he was in Japan to acquire several very valuable books. His letter to Dickins quoted above was about three or four months after Nordenskiöld had left Japan. Satow had already written to Dickins in the previous autumn about this.

There is the following record about Nordenskiöld from Satow's diary. In his entry for September 19, 1879 we find that they spent the whole day together.

Sept. 19. Professor Nordenskiöld came to call upon me this morning, with a little Japanese chemist named Yaguchi. Showed him my books. He is buying a quantity for some library in Stockholm. In the afternoon went to return his visit, and to present a copy of my chronological tables and a set of our "Transactions". Went out with him to look for an old Japanese mappemonde [map of the known world], the same that Klaproth translated, but without success, then drove him to call on Watanabe, and brought him to dinner. We talked French all the time, a little about his expedition and the people he found up N[orth]. using stone implements. Nordenquist [sic] made a vocabulary of their language containing about 1000 words. Finally drove him back again to his inn. Much talk about books, especially books of travel and atlases.²⁹²

As we can see from this quotation from Satow's diary, the traveller and bibliophile Satow seems to have got on well with Nordenskiöld who shared the same tastes. They enjoyed their day together. It is especially noteworthy that they spoke a lot about books. Both Satow and Nordenskiöld knew a lot about travel books.

In his travel diary Nordenskiöld writes that when he was collecting books in Japan he employed a young man named 'Ōkushi' and sent him to Tokyo and Kansai to acquire books.²⁹³ That Japanese man was the assistant of the *o-yatoi gaikokujin* (hired foreigner) Geltz [?] and he understood French. The young man who keenly assisted Nordenskiöld may not have been called Ōkushi. He may have been Ōkuchi Masayuki.²⁹⁴ Anyway, he helped Nordenskiöld to acquire many books.

As we see from this example, Nordenskiöld tended to make mistakes when writing in romanized Japanese. And not only in Japanese, but even in his autobiography, he states that Geltz's name was incorrectly spelt. There may have been other similar cases.

²⁹¹ J. S. Edgren, *Catalogue of the Nordenskiöld Collection of Japanese Books in the Royal Library*, Kungl. Bibl., 1980. p. VIII.

²⁹² Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.406.

²⁹³ A. E. Nordenskiöld, translated by Alexander Leslie, *The Voyage of the Vega round Asia and Europe*, Macmillan, 1883. p.387.

²⁹⁴ J. S. Edgren, *Catalogue of the Nordenskiöld Collection of Japanese Books in the Royal Library*, Kungl. Bibl., 1980. p. IX.

Nordenskiöld gave a lecture in Tokyo in September 1879 at the Kōbu Daigakkō (Imperial College of Engineering). In his autobiography he spells it incorrectly as 'Koku-Dai-Gaku'.²⁹⁵ Nordenskiöld was not familiar with Japanese words, so he probably made many mistakes with the names of buildings and people.

By the way, regarding the Kōbu Daigakkō, William Anderson had given a lecture there three months previously about the history of Japanese art. At that time the Kōbu Daigakkō was probably the main venue for foreigners to give lectures. It also had connections with art. I will talk about Anderson's lecture at the Kōbu Daigakkō later.

Burty, Satow and Anderson

Regarding Philippe Burty's collection of Japanese books, ukiyoe etc. it is not clear how much Satow assisted, and there are currently no actual examples to go on. Since Satow was living in Japan and could read Japanese, for French art critics who had begun to use the word 'Japonisme' he must surely have given quite important assistance. Satow had the advantage that he was in direct contact in Japan with dealers in rare books and collectors.

Furthermore, the interesting point about Philippe Burty is that he became a member of the Asiatic Society of Japan. At the Annual General meeting held in June 1879 it was reported that Burty had been elected a non-resident (overseas) member.²⁹⁶ It may have been Satow who recommended Burty who was resident in Paris, or perhaps Satow and William Anderson together.

Ernest Satow left Japan on his third home leave in January 1883, and returned to Britain in February. In May of the same year Satow travelled with Anderson to Paris where they met Burty. They may have gone to Paris in order to meet him. At that time Satow gave Burty five volumes of 'Manga' (*Hokusai Manga*), and Burty showed his collection to Satow.²⁹⁷ Satow had probably brought the Hokusai Manga from Japan to give to Burty. On the other hand, Burty wanted to show his precious collection of Japanese books to Satow. There were surely many picture books and novels with illustrations.

It is not known when Anderson and Burty became acquainted. Satow met Burty in Paris in 1876. Anderson and Burty may have been acquainted before that. At the latest by 1883 the three men were old friends.

The above shows the modest extent of the exchanges between Satow and Burty concerning books about Japanese art. Here I want to return to the problem of when Satow began consciously to collect books and works relating to Japanese art. In substance this corresponds to the time when Satow and William Anderson started planning to publish a jointly authored book about Japanese art. From that time Satow began positively to collect books and documents relating to Japanese art. Satow and Anderson staying in touch with Burty was also one link in their research into Japanese art.

²⁹⁵ A. E. Nordenskiöld, translated by Alexander Leslie, *The Voyage of the Vega round Asia and Europe*, Macmillan, 1883. p.380.

²⁹⁶ 'Annual Meeting', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. VII, 1879. p.456.

²⁹⁷ Hagiwara Nobutoshi, *Rinin: Tōi Gake 14: Ānesuto Satō Nikki Shō*, Asahi Shinbun Shuppan, 2008. p.309.

First in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan published in 1879 (Volume 7), William Anderson published a paper titled 'A History of Japanese Art'.²⁹⁸ This was the first writing by Anderson about Japanese art. It may even be the first ever essay about Japanese art in a European language. This was a paper which Anderson read on June 24th of the same year in Tokyo at the Kōbu Daigakkō (Imperial College of Engineering). At that time actual examples of Japanese art (paintings etc.) were exhibited.²⁹⁹ Among the people listening to the lecture were Ernest Fenollosa and Edward S. Morse. Fenollosa was stimulated by Anderson's lecture and began to research Japanese art.³⁰⁰ Fenollosa had come to Japan in the previous year (1878) to teach philosophy, politics etc. at Tokyo University.

Anderson's lecture about Japanese art was given in June 1879, but already in April Satow had written the following to his friend F.V. Dickins. This was of course before Anderson gave his lecture.

Anderson is at last coming out with something about Japanese art, but chiefly historical I believe at present. He is going to produce a work on the subject, with lots of illustrations, which will do a great deal to overthrow the current errors. I have undertaken to go through the religious and historical subjects, he does the critical and aesthetic part.³⁰¹

I will refer later to Anderson and Satow's concrete plan to publish a book about Japanese art, but already in the spring of 1879 it seems that they had gone to some extent along that road. At that time, it seems that it was to be Anderson's work with support from Satow as regards religion and history. Satow's role was perhaps a little larger than this, but at that point it was Anderson who was at the centre of the plan for a book about art.

In the above quotation from Satow's letter to Dickins it is written that when Anderson publishes his book about Japanese art, Satow will assist with writing on the topics of history and religion. This may have given a lasting impression to Dickins. As will be stated later, Dickins had a plan to publish an English translation of Hokusai's picture book *Fugaku Hyakkei* [One Hundred Views of Mount Fuji] and he asked Satow to assist by jointly writing the preface and commentary. Dickins's English translation of *Fugaku Hyakkei* with commentary and preface was published in 1880 (Meiji 13). In the end, Satow was not directly involved with that book.

Anderson's Essay and Romanization

About two months after Satow sent his letter to Dickins, Anderson gave his lecture about Japanese art. From Satow's letter in April 1879 (Meiji 12) to Dickins we know that he was already

²⁹⁸ William Anderson, 'A History of Japanese Art', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. VII, 1879. pp.339-378.

²⁹⁹ 'Report of the Council laid before the members of the Society at the Annual Meeting, 30th June 1879', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. VII, 1879. p.457.

³⁰⁰ Yamaguchi Seiichi, 'Wiriamu Andasun "Nihon no Eshi Kawanabe Kyōsai" : Fu Wiriamu Andasun Ryakuden', *Kyōsai= Kyōsai: Kawanabe Kyōsai Kenkyūshi*, No. 13. p.19.

³⁰¹ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. pp.121-122.

deeply involved in Anderson's research about Japanese art. Probably Satow was involved before 1879 and before Anderson's lecture, and he was already supporting Anderson's research. Indeed, he may have been involved in Anderson's research from the beginning. In particular, he may have helped with the reading of Japanese texts.

Anderson had studied at an art college before his medical education.³⁰² He was deeply interested in art. To explain a little further, after graduating from the private City of London School he began his medical education at Aberdeen University in Scotland, but stopped half way through. He entered an art college in London (the Lambeth School of Art), and after graduating at the relatively late age of 22 began to study medicine again in London at St. Thomas's Hospital. In a short time, he received various prizes, and completed his medical education with outstanding grades.³⁰³ As is clear from the above career, Anderson was interested in art from an early age, and his study at art college was very useful to him when he became a surgeon. It certainly was not a waste of his time.

Anderson with his deep interest in art came to Japan in October 1873 and became a professor of anatomy and surgery at the Imperial Naval Medical College and the Naval Hospital. He brought with him to Japan old woodblock prints and etchings, and picture books of anatomy. He lost these western 'artworks' in a fire, and it was said that to compensate for this he began to collect Japanese art.³⁰⁴ But there were two fires, the first one being in February 1875.³⁰⁵ It is therefore possible that Anderson seriously began to collect Japanese art in March 1875, about one year and a half after his arrival in Japan.

After that Anderson expanded his collection at a great rate, and proceeded with his research into Japanese art. At that time, he was probably being assisted by Satow. But it was not until 1879 that Anderson made his collection public, gave a lecture about Japanese art and published a paper on the subject. That was the beginning. For the first four years from when he started collecting and researching, he did none of these things.

The interesting thing in Anderson's essay of 1879 (Meiji 12) about the history of Japanese art is the romanization which he used to express Japanese. He adopted the romanization based on the historic use of kana which Satow had started to use in 1878. Apart from Satow himself, Anderson may have been the first scholar to use Satow's proposed system in an academic essay. In fact, it may be the case that only Anderson used it apart from Satow. Basil Hall Chamberlain was in sympathy with Satow, but it is doubtful whether he used Satow's system in any publications. For example, in his essay published in Volume 7 of the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan titled 'Wasōbyōe: the Japanese Gulliver' there is a note that the romanization is revised to a version of Hepburn's system.³⁰⁶ Chamberlain states that at first he used a different romanization system in the essay, but at the point where he published it in the *Transactions* it was changed to

³⁰² Obituary, *The Lancet*, Nov. 10, 1900. p.1368.

³⁰³ John Rawlins, 'William Anderson, 1842-1900: Surgeon, Teacher and Art Collector', *Britain & Japan Biographical Portraits*, Volume V., Global Oriental, 2005. pp.3-4.

³⁰⁴ Obituary, *The Lancet*, Nov. 10, 1900. p.1368.

³⁰⁵ Murakado Noriko, 'Wiriāmu Andāson to "Butsuzō Zui": Nihon Bijutsushi Keiseiki ni okeru Ōbun Nihon Kenkyūsho no ichi', *Bijutsushi*, Vol.62 No.1. (2012). p.50.

³⁰⁶ Basil Hall Chamberlain, 'Wasōbyōe: the Japanese Gulliver', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol.7 (1878-79). p.287.

Hepburn. As can be seen from this, Satow's influence on Anderson as regards romanization was strong.

In his essay, when referring to Japanese place names and book titles, Anderson used Satow's proposed romanization system. For example, Kyoto is usually spelt 'Kyoto', 'Kyōto', 'Kyōto', 'Kioto', 'Kiōto' or 'Kiōto', but Anderson spelt it 'Kiyauto'. Also Honchō Gashi (本朝画史) was romanized to 'Hońteu Guwashí'. For modern readers used to the Hepburn system, the system based on the historical use of kana as seen in Anderson's essay gives a strange and unfamiliar impression.

Satow began to use the romanization system based on the historical use of kana in 1878 (Meiji 11). Furthermore, in the same Volume VII of the *Transactions* in which Anderson's essay was published, Satow's essay 'On the Transliteration of the Japanese Syllabary' was also published. This was the essay which Satow had read to the Asiatic Society of Japan in February of the same year (1879).

Cambridge University Library holds various titles in Satow's former collection with English notes, including the following:

Motoori Norinaga, *Jion Kanazukai*

Motoori Norinaga, *Kanji San'onkō*

Tō Teikan, *Kōko Nichiroku*.

From these we know that Satow studied the problem of the use of kana. As previously stated, the *Kōkō Nichiroku* had been in the Shiraishi family collection. From this we can guess that Satow's librarian Shiraishi Mamichi had a great influence on Satow's proposing the romanization system based on the historical use of kana.

Soon after Satow published 'On the Transliteration of the Japanese Syllabary' in Volume VII of the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan there was a reaction from other scholars that the romanization of Japanese should be based on how it sounds, and opinions contrary to Satow's were published in the *Transactions*. Typical of this was the reaction of F.V. Dickins who published 'The "Kana" Transliteration System' in Volume 8 of the *Transactions*.³⁰⁷

A storm of controversy was provoked among the members of the Asiatic Society of Japan about which romanization was the better one, i.e. between Satow's proposed adoption of the system based on the historical use of kana (classical romaji) and those who typically preferred the Hepburn system.

There was one matter indirectly connected with Satow's support of the former system. At that time Satow was asked to help with the third edition of James Curtis Hepburn's Japanese-English dictionary, *Wa-Ei Gorin Shūsei*. However, Satow declined that invitation in April 1878.³⁰⁸ This probably shows Satow's attitude to systems of romanization based on pronunciation such as Hepburn's.

However, regarding the romanization of Japanese, Satow did not propose that romanization based on the historical use of kana (classical romaji) was appropriate in every case. In 1881 (Meiji 14) he wrote a letter on October 10th to F.V. Dickins in which he describes the situation as follows:

³⁰⁷ Frederick Victor Dickins, 'The "Kana" Transliteration System', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol.8 (1879-80). pp.100-121.

³⁰⁸ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.308.

Can I disabuse you of the idea that I want the whole world to spell Japanese orthographically? As far as my own writing is concerned, I shall spell jô, jô or jō in popular books, or even jo, but in anything intended for people who wish to know the whole of that monosyllable's history I shall write zhiyau or jiyau, or deu as the case may be. Phonetic spelling is a great source of error to philologues, in the case of the Japanese language.³⁰⁹

Satow's opinion was that romanization based on the historical use of kana should only be used in academic works. He did not reject the phonetic system of romanization based on pronunciation, but said it could be used alongside the historical kana system for non-academic works.

This support of both systems may be similar to Basil Hall Chamberlain's opinion. Chamberlain emphasized the difference between written and spoken Japanese. He seemed to consider this to be the critical difference for deciding which system to use. So as regards this problem the opinions of Satow and Chamberlain may have been close to each other.

Anderson's use of the system of romanization proposed by Satow in his first academic work on the history of Japanese art shows that Satow's influence on his study of Japanese was great. It seems very likely that Anderson read Japanese books about art under the personal instruction of Satow. It is not clear to what extent Anderson understood Japanese literature, but Satow's help must have been extremely useful when he was making use of Japanese documents. In fact, it may have been indispensable.

Joint Production of a Book about Art

An interesting aspect of the relationship between Satow and Anderson is that about six months after Anderson arrived in Japan, Satow began learning Latin from him.³¹⁰ In the case of Japanese the roles of master and pupil were reversed, and Satow taught Anderson. Anderson was one year older than Satow, but since they were of about the same age and living in Japan, they helped each other to learn classical and foreign languages.

In Ernest Satow's diary entry for September 27, 1879, about three months after Anderson had read his paper to the Asiatic Society of Japan, he wrote the following. On that day Satow and Anderson had arranged to meet at Tomioka near Yokohama (now in Kanazawa ward in Yokohama).

We agreed to work on at the joint book on Japanese art, of which he furnishes the history and criticism and I the legendary and mythical part, the motives. We are going to propose to a Boston bookseller to publish it, who has written to Anderson asking for

³⁰⁹ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.142.

³¹⁰ Hagiwara Nobutoshi, *Dai Bunretsu: Tōi Gake 10: Ānesuto Satō Nikki Shō*, Asahi Shinbun Shuppan, 2008. p.405.

a series of art-articles. I must proceed diligently from tomorrow at my part of the work.³¹¹

At the end of September 1879 Anderson and Satow met in the suburbs of Yokohama and confirmed their intention to write a book together on Japanese art. Anderson was not confident in his ability to read Japanese, and this is probably why he needed Satow's assistance as a co-author.

The interesting thing here is how the Boston publisher knew that Anderson was researching Japanese art. Of course, Anderson may have inquired directly of the publisher by letter. Or perhaps among the listeners to Anderson's June 1879 lecture one of the Americans, Edward Morse or Ernest Fenollosa, had told the Boston publisher about Anderson's lecture.

The project of a jointly authored book by Satow and Anderson about Japanese art was mentioned to F.V. Dickins in a letter from Satow dated October 29, 1879. It was about one month after the meeting in the Yokohama suburbs.

There is little known about Hokusai's life beyond what Anderson has put in his paper on the history of Japanese pictorial art, a preliminary sketch only, wch. [which] you will receive in the Transactions a little altered from the form it took in the "Mail". He and I seriously think of uniting our forces for a book on the whole subject of Japanese art, and to my share falls the recounting of legends and myths from Chinese & Japanese history & religions. Burty has kindly promised to aid us in bringing out a French edition.³¹²

We know from this letter that it was a joint plan of Anderson and Satow to bring out a book, and that they were aware that they needed to cooperate to tackle the whole subject of Japanese art. Also, Philippe Burty was indirectly involved, and he promised to help with a French edition.

A minor concern in this letter from Satow to Dickins is that at about the same time, as already mentioned, Dickins was planning his English translation of Hokusai's *Fugaku Hyakkei* and had proposed that he and Satow jointly write the preface and introduction. In the letter which Satow sent to Dickins dated July 26, 1879, Satow had answered that before he said 'yes', he would like to know a bit more about the publication plan.³¹³ Of course, Satow said he was willing to continue to help with the explanation of Hokusai's woodblock prints, and Dickins need only send him queries with the volume and page of the *Hokusai Manga* and he would find out whatever he could,³¹⁴ so Satow was not refusing to cooperate. However, Dickins may have been aware of a difference between himself and Anderson.

³¹¹ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.407.

³¹² Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.127.

³¹³ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.124.

³¹⁴ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.124.

Satow and Anderson go Book-hunting in Kansai

Naturally at this time (1879) Ernest Satow was enthusiastically collecting books regarding Japanese art. We can imagine that he had begun collecting seriously. Two months after Satow met Anderson in Yokohama at the end of September, so from the beginning of December, they went on a trip for one and a half months. Most of the trip was in the Kansai area. Satow arranged to meet Anderson, who had left for Kansai first, in Osaka at the end of November and together they spent about nine days in Kyoto, Nara, Osaka etc. It was a preparatory trip for their publication about Japanese art.

Of course, one of the important aims of their trip was to acquire documents and books about Japanese art in Kyoto and Nara. This is why Satow wrote the following in his diary for December 1st:

We spent the morning and afternoon hunting in the shops for picture books, and found a large quantity of good ones.³¹⁵

From this diary entry we know that the two men were able to buy many picture books in Kyoto, the ancient capital, as they had expected.

Again, Satow wrote in a February 4, 1880 letter to Dickins that they had been able to buy some wonderful works of art. At this time Anderson had already left Japan in January. Anderson returned to Britain in a hurry. About one month after this, Satow wrote to Dickins. He expected that Anderson would meet Dickins in London soon.

...during the last seven weeks of 1879 I was travelling, and since my return have been so busy making notes, and concerting plans with Anderson prior to his departure, that I scarcely found time to write to my own family. I had a very interesting journey round the coasts of Ise and Ki-shiu, then a fortnight divided between Kiyau-to, Nara and Ohosaka, partly in Anderson's company, who will tell you of all the wonderful antiquities we saw there in the way of wooden and bronze images, that are seldom shown, and our discovery of real frescoes, which are extremely rare and ancient subjects, Buddhist of course.³¹⁶

From this letter we know that Satow and Anderson saw precious artworks in Kyoto and Nara, and they also discovered previously unknown frescoes. Those frescoes are at Hōryūji temple in Nara in the Main Hall (Kondō). Copies of the frescoes are now held at the British Museum.

After Satow and Anderson travelled to Kyoto and Nara, they returned on December 9th to Osaka. After that Anderson went to Kobe, and returned to Yokohama by steamer. Meanwhile Satow seems to have met James Summers who was working at the Osaka English School. In his diary entry for that day Satow notes that he 'Called on Summers, and tried to convert him to

³¹⁵ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.416.

³¹⁶ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.128.

orthographic spelling'.³¹⁷ In this he seems to have been unsuccessful, since there is no evidence that Summers adopted it. By the way, Summers had taught Satow Chinese at King's College London before he had gone to the Far East as a student interpreter.

On the following day, December 10th, Satow went from Osaka to Kobe and at the British consulate received a farewell letter left for him by Anderson. Anderson wrote that 'he may have to return to England at ten days' notice.' When Anderson arrived at the consulate he received a telegram informing him of new work in England. That is why he told Satow that he may have to leave suddenly.³¹⁸ In the end he resolved to return to England, leaving Japan with his family in January of the following year.

After receiving this letter, Satow returned to Kyoto on his own. Then on December 11th he telegraphed to Anderson asking when he would leave Japan.³¹⁹ Satow left Kyoto on December 15th by steam train. On that day he sent on the heavy books and porcelain which he had bought in Kyoto by the Mitsubishi Company's steamer to Yokohama.³²⁰ The luggage went by sea, but Satow returned to Tokyo via Gifu and Shinshū, using steam trains and rickshaws.

William Anderson left Japan in January 1880. Satow had started travelling in the middle of the previous October in Shimōsa and Kazusa (now Chiba prefecture) and then Ise and Shima (now Mie prefecture) to the Kansai area, and was travelling for about seven weeks in total. After that he returned to Tokyo by the land route. It may be correct to regard his return to Tokyo as part of his trip.

When he returned to Tokyo, he was able to spend a short time with Anderson before he left for Britain, discussing their joint book project. They prepared memoranda, and made the publication plan, and Satow seems to have been very busy.³²¹ Anderson's sudden return to England made them both frantically busy with the book publication. They had hardly any time left. January 1880 (Meiji 13) must have gone by in a flash for them both.

Satow's Purchases of Ancient Editions of Books

In the autumn of 1881, the British royal princes Albert Victor and George visited Japan on the warship HMS Bacchante. In November of that year the princes travelled from Tokyo to the Kansai area. Satow was a member of the British Legation and was ordered to accompany them. On that occasion Satow bought antiquarian books in Kyoto and Osaka. This fact is recorded in Satow's letters and diary. He used the official trip to expand his book collection.

³¹⁷ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.420.

³¹⁸ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.420.

³¹⁹ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.420.

³²⁰ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.421.

³²¹ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.128.

Zeni-ya (Sasaki Chikuhō Shorō) was at that time a famous bookshop in Kyoto's Teramachi in front of Honnōji temple. Satow wrote Zeni-ya's name and address in his diary entry for November 5th. Satow bought three or four very old books there including the *Shōhei Rongo*. His diary for November 8th shows that he paid the bookseller on that day.³²² On November 11th Satow visited bookshops in Shinsaibashi-suji in Osaka. He bought 'one or two very old things at rather exorbitant prices.'³²³ On the next day Satow went with W.G. Aston to Zeni-ya in Kyoto. At that time Aston was working at the British consulate in Kobe. Together they 'bought a considerable quantity of old books'.³²⁴

Regarding the purchase of old books at Zeni-ya in Kyoto, there was a sequel. Satow's collecting of antiquarian books continued after that. After Satow returned to Tokyo from Kansai on November 29, 1881 he wrote to Aston asking him, if he had a chance to go to Zeni-ya in Kyoto, to buy a copy of *Shōhei Rongo* including the *batsu* (postscript) 'at any price up to 30 yen.'³²⁵

In the same letter to Aston, he wrote about his acquisition of books in Tokyo.³²⁶ After he returned to Tokyo Satow 'bought a considerable quantity of old print' and he was willing to buy more. He also asked Aston to get a note of titles and prices from 'Mr. Zeni-ya'. As a postscript to the letter Satow stated that he wanted a copy of a facsimile reprint of *Shōhei Rongo* from the Meiō era (1492-1501) and he was prepared to pay up to ten yen for one.³²⁷ In short, he wanted Aston to get a copy of *Shōhei Rongo* in Kyoto or Osaka if he could find one.

As we can see from this letter, Satow became much more passionate about book collecting after his visit to Kansai. This passion continued into the following year and became even stronger. On January 5, 1882 he wrote to Aston repeating his request to ask Zeni-ya to search for *Shōhei Rongo*. Zeni-ya had sent Satow a list of old books, perhaps at the request of Aston, and Satow had bought them, but he still wanted the *Shōhei Rongo*.³²⁸ Anyway, Satow put a lot of effort into collecting books from the end of 1881 until the beginning of 1882. It may be guessed that his interest had shifted from art to printed antiquarian books.

Again, in his letter to Aston dated January 18, 1882, Satow announced that he had found a copy of *Shōhei Rongo* for 30 yen in Tokyo, so Aston did not need to go to Kyoto to buy one.³²⁹ In the same letter he discusses how much it would cost to buy all the rare editions of books in Japan

³²² Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.477.

³²³ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.479.

³²⁴ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.479.

³²⁵ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.67.

³²⁶ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.67.

³²⁷ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.67.

³²⁸ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.68.

³²⁹ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.69.

and says the booksellers tell him 1,200 yen would be enough. Satow had spent 600 or 700 yen, so he thought he had about half.³³⁰ Anyway, we can say that Satow was not short of money at this time.

Satow began seriously collecting old books for his project with Anderson of a book about Japanese art. But while he was searching for books not only in Tokyo but also in Kyoto and Osaka, he seems to have learned the technique of acquiring precious books. Together with collecting books about Japanese art, he seems to have begun to focus on the undeveloped field of research into printed and published books. He may have felt that this field suited him better than research into art.

Satow found many precious documents (old editions, *kohanbon*) in antiquarian bookshops and acquired many of them. He became all at once a researcher into the history of printed books and the collection of related documents. The results were published by him in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan under the titles 'On the Early History of Printing in Japan'³³¹ 'Further Notes on Movable Types in Korea and Early Japanese Printed Books'.³³² As an extension of this research, when he researched Christianity his interest in printed books was still evident in his 'The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan'³³³ published in 1886.

On the other hand, the talk of a joint book on Japanese art by Anderson and Satow seems to have come to a standstill at the beginning of 1882. It was about two years after Anderson had left Japan. Satow writes about this in his letter to Dickins dated March 7, 1882.

Anderson and I have given up the idea of writing a book on Japanese art, at least for the present, and one principal reason is that no publisher could be found to undertake it. A second reason on my own part was my feeling of utter unfitness for such an undertaking.³³⁴

The joint project of Satow and Anderson seems to have been abandoned relatively early in 1882. However, Satow continued to collect documents and books (including old printed books) about Japanese art, and he seems to have made great progress in researching the history of Japanese printing.

While Satow was collecting books about Japanese art with Anderson for their project of publishing a book on the subject, he realized that old printed books and books in the field of the history of Japanese printing were quite easy to obtain, and that this was his true field. He left art to Anderson and concentrated his research on printing and publication. Of course, ukiyoe art prints were connected with both fields, so he continued to collect them.

³³⁰ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.69.

³³¹ Ernest Satow, 'On the Early History of Printing in Japan', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 10 (1882), pp.48-83.

³³² Ernest Satow, 'Further Notes on Movable Types in Korea and Early Japanese Printed Books', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 10 (1882), pp.252-259.

³³³ Ernest Satow, *The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan*, Privately Printed, 1886.

³³⁴ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.143.

Théodore Duret the art critic (1838-1927)

Like Philippe Burty, the French art critic Théodore Duret also collected ukiyoe and other Japanese works of art. He was one of the important promoters of the development of Japonisme in France, a so-called 'Japonisant'. He had also visited Japan in the early Meiji period. He met Dickins in the boat travelling from America to Japan, and became a friend of Anderson. From an episode which I shall relate later, he may not have met Satow in Japan.

Duret was a keen collector of Japanese illustrated books and photo albums, and in 1900 (Meiji 33) he donated his collection to the French National Library. He made his own catalogue and published it as *Livres et Albums Illustrés du Japon*.³³⁵ In the preface to that book there is an interesting account of the situation after Anderson returned to England in 1880. Here I would like to quote that part:

At last in 1880 I made the acquaintance of Dr. William Anderson in London. He had returned from Japan where he had spent several years as a professor of surgery at Yedo. He was a man of taste who had previously collected European prints and who in Japan had begun systematically to collect kakemonos [hanging scrolls], illustrated books and prints, and who had studied, as much as possible, the art history and had been the first to assemble the details of the lives of the artists. Dr. Anderson was very generous with the information he had obtained, and studying his collection opened my eyes to artists hitherto unknown, and allowed me to expand the area of my research. It was after that that I was able to write my first work on Hokusai and illustrated Japanese books which appeared in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in 1882. [part omitted]

It was only some years after Anderson's return from Japan that one of his friends Mr. Satow, leaving to take up a post as attaché at the British Embassy in Japan, instructed by Anderson, started to look for old books and photogravures. Satow sent him some pieces which extended to all the masters of the 18th century and to books of the 17th century. I had continued my friendly relations with Anderson during successive visits to London, and it was thanks to a despatch by Satow to him that I saw the first works of Kiyonaga and Moronobu.³³⁶

Anderson returned to London from Japan in 1880. At that time, he became friends with Duret and offered him various documents which allowed Duret to publish, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in 1882, an essay about Hokusai and illustrated Japanese books.

After Anderson had returned to England, Duret writes that Satow was appointed to the British Embassy in Japan, but in fact after Anderson left Japan Satow stayed there until the end of 1882, returning to England on leave in February 1883. After that he stayed in England until January 1884, then he went to Thailand to his next posting at Bangkok, without returning to Japan. Thus,

³³⁵ Théodore Duret; Bibliothèque National Département des Estampes, *Livres & Albums Illustrés du Japon*, Paris, 1900.

³³⁶ Théodore Duret; Bibliothèque National Département des Estampes, *Livres & Albums Illustrés du Japon*, Paris, 1900. pp. v-vi.

Duret's reference to Satow collecting works of all the masters of the 18th century and picture books of the 17th century on the instruction of Anderson refers to the three years from 1880 to the beginning of 1883.

From 1880 until the beginning of 1883 Satow enthusiastically collected old books and art prints, and sent to Anderson works of all the masters of the 18th century and 17th century books. In his September 1881 letter to Dickins, Satow reported that he had acquired a very large number of picture books, and many novels from the latter part of the 17th century.³³⁷ Regarding Satow's collecting art print books and novels, Duret's text above and Satow's letter seem to be in agreement. Satow collected many picture books and novels from 1880 to 1883, and sent them to Anderson in London. Also, at the time his own collection must have greatly increased in the number of documents.

In the case of Philippe Burty, Satow supported his collecting, but in the case of Théodore Duret Satow does not seem to have sent anything directly to him. Duret was only able to see the documents which Satow had sent to Anderson in London. This is how Duret managed to see works by Kiyonaga and Moronobu for the first time. They were a great stimulus to Duret.

Probably Satow not only sent items to Anderson for three years from 1880 to the beginning of 1883, but also for his own collection collected old Japanese books (*wakankosho*), especially documents connected with art, and at the same time ukiyoe woodblock prints (*nishiki-e*) and illustrated picture books etc. From 1880 to 1883 was a time when high quality items could still be obtained in Japan. The price of ukiyoe was still not particularly high. It may have been the time when Satow collected ukiyoe woodblock prints by Sharaku and Utamaro. At least some of his collecting of their works must have been in this period.

In 1909 (Meiji 42) Satow sold 90 (or 91?) ukiyoe prints (*nishiki-e*) of Sharaku and Utamaro to the British Museum. I will discuss this in detail later, but as already stated in the preface and Chapter One, I would like to know when he acquired those prints. Unfortunately, at present I can find no documents or information about this point. But if it was from 1880 to 1883, it may have been possible to acquire works by Sharaku and Utamaro relatively cheaply. It may be that Satow collected their works during this period.

At the end of Chapter One I referred to Satow purchasing ukiyoe from Hayashi Tadamasu. However, I was careful not to mention the period. Satow may have been in touch with Hayashi for a relatively long period. This seems possible, since Satow's friend Anderson had been a customer of Hayashi Tadamasu for many years.

³³⁷ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.139.

Chapter Four – The Movements of Satow’s Book Collection and the Catalogues he made

The Movements of Satow’s Book Collection

In order to investigate the provenance (*raireki*) of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, up to this point this book has focused on Satow’s book collecting. But to grasp the movements of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* it is necessary to research the state and movements of the collection after that. *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was one item in Satow’s collection, so naturally its whereabouts was greatly influenced by the fate of the collection as a whole.

As already mentioned, Ernest Satow collected many Japanese books, including ancient and classical literature, *wakankosho*. He was an outstanding collector. The large number of Japanese books which he had collected was in 1885 disposed of or broken up, after his career as a diplomat (consular official) changed greatly in the previous year with his posting to Thailand. As the ‘disposal of collection’ these books were sent from his new posting at Bangkok to Britain or Japan. A part of it was returned to Japan.

When Satow was working at the British Legation in Tokyo he was attached to the Consular Service. He dreamed of promotion to the Diplomatic Service even while he was in Japan. While he was on leave in Britain in 1883 towards the end of the year the chance of promotion came his way. So, he did not return to Japan where he had previously been posted, but in 1884 took up a new post in Thailand (Siam) at Bangkok. At first he was Agent and Consul-General, then in 1885 he was appointed Minister Resident and Consul-General. So through his appointment to Bangkok, he was able to move up from the Consular to the Diplomatic Service.

At the stage when Satow was newly appointed to Bangkok, in other words in 1884, he moved his collection of Japanese books from Tokyo where he had left it, and established a ‘Library of Japanese Works’ in the British Consulate General in Bangkok. The collection was large, and occupied several large rooms in the Consulate General.³³⁸ Occupying four or five large rooms, the number of volumes must have been very large.

The collection was a symbol of his research into Japan and his collecting for that purpose, of his ‘training period’. For Satow as Minister Resident and Consul-General in Thailand (Siam) this training period had already finished. As part of his further career development as a newly appointed diplomat, he resolved to dispose of and break up his ‘Library of Japanese Books’ which he had established in Bangkok. One reason may have been that the climate of Bangkok was not suitable for preserving the books in good condition.

In fact, regarding the movement of Satow’s former collection, it had already started before he was appointed to Bangkok. In 1883 he returned to Britain on leave. At that time, he sent part of his collection from Japan to London, particularly the best of the old editions and printed books. Until that time Satow had concentrated on building up his collection of Japanese books, but from that point he began to get rid of them. This was before he worked in Thailand or other countries, and before he was invited to move to the Diplomatic Service. Was Satow’s selling of his old books prompted by Anderson’s talk of selling his artworks and book collection to the British Museum?

³³⁸ Holt S. Hallett, *A Thousand Miles on an Elephant in the Shan States*, William Blackwood and Sons, 1890. pp.445-446.

From Satow's individual situation described above, his pursuit of a career as a diplomat and touching on the state of his collection, I want to give a simple explanation of the final destination of his collection. The final destination of the greater part of Satow's collection was Cambridge University Library and the British Library (the former British Museum Library). As we know from the final destination being broadly two places, there were broadly two movements or 'flows' (*nagare*): one was towards the Cambridge University Library, and the other was towards the British Museum. Of these, the former was the mainstream.

As already mentioned, many of the important old editions and old printed books including old and classical literature (*wakankosho*) were collected in two stages by the British Museum. After 1973 when the British Museum was divided into the British Museum and British Library (the former British Museum Library), these books became the nucleus of the British Library's collection of classical Japanese books. This first stage was a total of 219 items, 938 volumes.³³⁹ This included early Korean printed books. This was the highlight (*medama*) of Satow's collection. These books were officially sold to the British Museum on September 22, 1884. At this point Satow had already taken up his post at Bangkok about six months previously. The discussions leading to the sale had already taken place when Satow was in London in 1883.³⁴⁰

The second stage of collection by the British Museum is recorded as having taken place on June 13, 1885 when Satow donated 106 items, 640 volumes.³⁴¹ This was part of Satow's disposal of his collection, and was sent from Bangkok to Britain, and donated to the British Museum. Apart from the 640 volumes of Japanese books (*wakansho*), on the same date 49 Korean books (*chōsenbon*) were also donated by Satow to the British Museum.

Next, I would like to explain the flow of Satow's collected books which ended up in the Cambridge University Library. The greater part of these books was taken directly into the Cambridge University Library, but some went elsewhere first. As already mentioned, the second stage of collection by the British Museum (the donation) was also part of this flow. The books in this flow were donated by Satow to his friends and colleagues, Aston, Chamberlain, James Troup and others. The books which Satow gave to his friends and colleagues, including the ones sent to Dickins, make up the main part of the disposal of his collection, with the largest number of volumes involved.

The centre of this second flow was the collection sent by Satow to F.V. Dickins in London for storage. For a while Dickins looked after these books, but Satow was still probably their owner. Or were they temporarily transferred to the ownership of Dickins and later returned to Satow? This point is not clear. But it may be better to consider that Satow remained the owner throughout. Dickins may have simply helped out with storing the books.

After that, in January 1892 while Satow was on home leave, he donated these books to Aston who was continuing to research about Japan in the English countryside. These books were taken into Aston's collection and later taken into Cambridge University Library. In Satow's former

³³⁹ Yu-ying Brown, 'Daiei Toshokan ni okeru Nihon Korekushon no Genryū to Tokushoku', Kawase Kazuma and Okazaki Hisashi, ed., *Daiei Toshokan Shozō Wakansho Sōmoku-roku*, Kōdansha, 1996. p.16.

³⁴⁰ Hagiwara Nobutoshi, *Rinichi: Tōi Gake 14: Ānesuto Satō Nikki Shō*, Asahi Shinbun Shuppan, 2008. p.297.

³⁴¹ Yu-ying Brown, 'Daiei Toshokan ni okeru Nihon Korekushon no Genryū to Tokushoku', Kawase Kazuma and Okazaki Hisashi, ed., *Daiei Toshokan Shozō Wakansho Sōmoku-roku*, Kōdansha, 1996. p.16.

collection, the British Museum (British Library) part is the one which represents Satow's research into books and printing. In contrast the part of Satow's former collection in the Cambridge University Library represents the whole story of Satow as a researcher of Japan (Japanologist). We can understand the breadth of Satow's research from the Cambridge collection.

In the second 'flow' (*nagare*) books donated to Chamberlain from Satow's former collection were sent from Bangkok to Japan where Chamberlain was residing, and they were used for his research into Japan (Japanology). So, some Japanese books which had been sent from Japan to Bangkok were returned to Japan. When Chamberlain left Japan for good, his collection including books from Satow's former collection were left behind. Unlike Satow's and Aston's collections, they were not sent to Britain. Many were sold to Ueda Kazutoshi (1867-1937) and others, and after that taken into the library of Nihon University etc. Chamberlain's former collection was also taken into many other libraries in Japan.

Satow's books which were donated to the Kobe consul James Troup, after they had once been returned to Satow, finally ended up at Oxford University's Bodleian Library. They now form an important part of the classical books collection at the Bodleian's Japan Research Library. They are mainly Buddhist texts. Troup was researching Buddhism.

Regarding Ernest Satow's collection catalogues, Cambridge University Library has 15, and the Yokohama Archives of History has eight. I intend to give an outline of these catalogues in this book. These catalogues of Satow's collection are according to field and period, and they indicate the flow of his collection.

Of course, by checking all the catalogues we can follow the whereabouts of Satow's collection which is a major objective of this book, but not stopping there, by looking through these catalogues we can hope to better understand the movement of his collection in detail, especially by looking at two or three catalogues. In short, the point of this work is to select two or three typical catalogues. As will be stated later, by selecting three catalogues we can investigate the contents etc. of each book in this chapter.

The 15 Catalogues of Satow's Collection at Cambridge University Library

The 15 catalogues of Cambridge University Library were published in 2016 (Heisei 28) as a reprint (facsimile edition) in three volumes by Yumani Shobō under the title *Kenburijji Daigaku Toshokan Shozō A-nesuto Satō Kanren Zōsho Mokuroku*.³⁴² In those three volumes the 15 catalogues are set out. I was responsible for supervision and the synopsis. In this book regarding the collection at Cambridge University Library I will refer to the catalogues in *Kenburijji Daigaku Toshokan Shozō A-nesuto Satō Kanren Zōsho Mokuroku* Volumes 1 to 3.

Regarding these 15 catalogues, title, period of production, extent of recording, author etc. are mostly not recorded by the ordinary method. This itself creates difficult problems. In the reprint by Yumani Shobō regarding the titles of the 15 catalogues they are in principle described as *Kenburijji Daigaku shozō WaKansho Sōgō Mokuroku* but in the catalogues there are two called *Zōsho Mokuroku*, two called *Satō Zōsho Mokuroku*, one simply called *Mokuroku* etc. so there are many catalogues with the same or similar names, and to distinguish between them some

³⁴² *Kenburijji Daigaku Toshokan Shozō A-nesuto Satō Kanren Zōsho Mokuroku*, Volumes 1- 3, Yumani Shobō, 2016.

corrections were made. In this book, for convenience, I will use the same titles as used in the Yumani Shobō reprint.

The following is a list of the 15 catalogues:

1. *Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku* [The brown catalogue]
2. *Satō Zōsho no uchi Gesaku Share oyobi Chūbon Zuihitsu Gūgen no Tagui narabini Kokushoku Chitsui nado no Shoseki Mokuroku* [Catalogue of Cheap Literature, Books for Amusement, Half-sized Books, Essays, Fables and Books in Black Folding Cases among Satow's Collection]
3. *Usuzumi Iro Zōsho Mokuroku* [The blue-grey catalogue]
4. *Nihon Kan'ei Izen Kohan Shoseki no Mokuroku* [Catalogue of Japanese Old Printed Books before 1624]
5. *Eikoku Okuri Nihon Kohan Shoseki Bangō Junji Mokuroku* [Catalogue of Japanese Old Printed Books Sent to Britain in Numerical Order]
6. *Chōsenhan Shoseki Mokuroku* [Catalogue of Korean Printed Books]
7. *Chōsenhan Shoseki Mokuroku Junjo Shidai no Hokō* [Supplementary Draft of Catalogue of Korean Printed Books in Numerical Order]
8. *Eikoku ni Okuru Shoseki no Mokuroku* [Catalogue of Books Sent to Britain]
9. *Monogatari Sōshi Nikki no Tagui Kyū Mokuroku ni korearite Genni Shoseki Miataranu Bun* [Unfound Tales, Story-books, Diaries and Similar Books on the Former Catalogue]
10. *Monogatari oyobi Sōshi Nikki Rui no Bu, Waka narabini Kikō Rui no Bu* [A Section of Tales, Story-books, Diaries and Similar Books and A Section of Poetry, Accounts of Travels, etc.]
11. *Masume Genkō Yōshi Satō Zōsho Mokuroku* [Catalogue of Satow Collection in Grid Manuscript Paper]
12. *Ichimaimono Satō Zōsho Mokuroku* [Catalogue of Satow Collection in One Sheet]
13. *Shusatsu Keishi Mokuroku* [Vermilion Ruled Paper Catalogue]
14. *Kōbe Okuri Bukkyō ni Kankei suru Kabun no Shoseki Mokuroku* [Provisional Catalogue of Books on Buddhism Sent to Kobe]
15. List of Japanese Books

First, the 15 catalogues (in the broad sense the catalogue of Satow's collection) can be divided into two types: those covering the whole of Satow's collection (*Zōsho Mokuroku*) and catalogues which record only specific areas within the collection.

Catalogues No. 1 and No. 3 above are of the former type. The rest are all of the latter type, classified into different areas. I will talk about the former type later.

Regarding the 13 catalogues of the latter type, I will give a simple explanation. No. 2 *Satō Zōsho no etc.* was created by Satow in 1885 in Bangkok. This catalogue is as indicated by its title, namely *Gesaku* (cheap literature), *Sharabon* (books for amusement), *Chūbon* (half-sized books), *Zuihitsu* (essays), *Gūgen* (fables) and books in a black *chitsu* (Japanese-style book cover). Catalogue No. 4 *Nihon Kan'ei Izen Kohanshoseki no Mokuroku* is a catalogue of 78 old editions and old printed books which Satow donated to the British Museum in 1885. These were sent from Bangkok to London. Catalogue No. 5 has almost the same titles as in Catalogue No.4. The difference is the ordering of the books in the a-i-u-e-o order of the Japanese syllabary, and a renumbering caused by this. Catalogue No.6 is a catalogue of the Korean books donated by Satow to the British

Museum in 1885. Catalogue No. 7 is a reordering of the books in Catalogue No.6. The Korean books in Catalogue No. 6 and the Japanese books in Catalogue No. 4 were both recorded as received by the British Museum on June 13, 1885.³⁴³ The British Museum records them together as a total of 106 items, 640 volumes.³⁴⁴

Catalogue No. 8 *Eikoku ni Okuru Shoseki no Mokuroku* is a catalogue of 122 books sent from Bangkok to Britain in 1885. They were addressed to F.V. Dickins. Regarding the title of this catalogue there are two possible titles, a long and a short one. The long title is *Eikoku ni Okuru Shoseki no Mokuroku tadashi Monogatari oyobi Sōshi Nikki no Tagui*. As the long title indicates, this catalogue is classified into book of tales (*monogatari*), story-books (*sōshi*) and diaries (*nikki*).

Catalogue No. 9 *Monogatari Sōshi Nikki no Tagui Kyū Mokuroku ni korearite Genni Miataranu Bun* is a catalogue or list created by Satow when he checked his collection in Bangkok on April 25, 1885 of books which he could not find. As the title indicates, Satow probably consulted the old catalogue (*Kyū Mokuroku*) when checking his collection at that time. It is not possible to ascertain exactly what is meant by *Kyū Mokuroku* in this title, but Satow probably regarded the new catalogue (*Shin Mokuroku*) as the *Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku* [The brown catalogue].

The title of Catalogue No. 9 includes 'Monogatari, Sōshi, Nikki' but there are two parts, and the second is 'Waka (kasho) to Kikō [accounts of travels]'. There are also two parts to Catalogue No. 8 *Eikoku ni Okuru Shoseki no Mokuroku* and Catalogue No.10 *Monogatari oyobi Sōshi Nikki Rui no Bu* etc. In short, in these catalogues short titles are employed. The titles were too long so they were abridged. However, long titles express the contents of the catalogue more precisely.

Catalogue No. 10 was produced after Catalogue No. 9. The books in Catalogue No. 10 are almost the same as those in No. 8. When Satow checked his collection with No. 9 he did find some books. Then he corrected No. 8 to produce No. 10. The catalogue Nos. 8, 9 and 10 all belong to one group.

Catalogue No. 11 *Masume Genkō Yōshi Satō Zōshi Mokuroku* is a list of the books sent by Satow from Bangkok in 1885 to Dickins in London. The title of the catalogue depends on the paper used. This is not a complete catalogue, there is a part which has been lost. In the extant catalogue 870 items are recorded. A number is attached to the top of all of the recorded books. Satow probably attached the numbers to know the total number of books. According to these numbers he could grasp the number of books he had sent.

Catalogue No. 12 *Ichimaimono Satō Zōsho Mokuroku* was folded inside the book titled 'Nihon Tōdo Nisennen Sodekagami Harikomichō' (tentative title). It contains 19 books. Now Cambridge University Library holds 'Nihon Tōdo Nisennen Sodekagami Harikomichō'. The British Library holds all of the 19 books mentioned.

Catalogue No. 13 *Shusatsu Keishi Mokuroku* contains 41 Buddhist texts. These books were presented by Satow to Thomas Watters (1840-1901). It is not clear whether they were all transferred to Watters. Watters worked as a British consul in China and Korea, and researched Buddhism at the same time. Satow had met Watters in London and elsewhere. The paper used

³⁴³ Hamish A. Todd, 'The Satow Collection of Japanese Books in the British Library', *Daiei Toshokan Shozō Chōsen-bon oyobi Nihon Kosho no Bunkengakuteki Gogakuteki Kenkyū*, 2007. pp.74-75.

³⁴⁴ Yu-ying Brown, 'Daiei Toshokan ni okeru Nihon Korekushon no Genryū to Tokushoku', Kawase Kazuma and Okazaki Hisashi, ed., *Daiei Toshokan Shozō Wakansho Sōmokuroku*, Kōdansha, 1996. p.16.

in this catalogue was lined paper printed in red, which caused it to be named, for convenience's sake, 'Vermilion Ruled Paper Catalogue'.

Catalogue No. 14 contains Buddhist works sent in 1885 by Satow from Bangkok to the British consul James Troup in Kobe. It comprises 77 items, 317 volumes. Troup was a colleague of Satow in the Japan Consular Service who had worked in Japan and elsewhere. He was researching Buddhism, and like Watters could be described as a scholar of Buddhism. These books were probably returned by Troup to Satow. In 1908 Satow donated 338 volumes of Buddhist books in Japanese to the Bodleian Library at Oxford University.³⁴⁵ Among these there were six manuscripts. In the same year Satow was awarded an honorary doctorate (Doctor of Civil Law, D.C.L.) by Oxford University. It was probably to express his gratitude that he donated the books in Catalogue No. 14 to the University's Bodleian Library.

Catalogue No. 15 'List of Japanese Books' is a list of books donated by Satow to Cambridge University Library in 1912 (371 volumes) and 1913 (62 volumes). In 1911 the library had taken over Aston's collection, which included many books formerly in Satow's collection. Satow's total donation in 1912 and 1913 amounted to 433 volumes, and was in addition to those books in Aston's collection. The 433 volumes included all the Japanese books which Satow had, since his 'disposal of collection' in 1885, continued to keep for himself.

Next, I want to explain about Catalogue No. 1 *Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku* [the Brown Catalogue] and No. 3 *Usuzumi Iro Zōsho Mokuroku* [the Blue-Grey Catalogue, of which the actual colour is a rather bluish grey] which when they were created must have comprised the whole of Satow's collection. They were both originally just called *Zōsho Mokuroku* [Collection Catalogue]. This is also stated in the Cambridge University catalogue of old Japanese books. In 2016 when I was editing Yumani Shobō's *Kenburijji Daigaku Toshokan Shozō A-nesuto Satō Kanren Zōsho Mokuroku*, there were several documents with the title *Zōsho Mokuroku*, so to make a distinction between them the extra words were added to make different titles. I decided to distinguish by the colour of the covers. This naming was inevitable to distinguish between various catalogues. In this book for the same reason, I am using the same titles.

The Brown Catalogue of the Collection (*Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku*)

The brown catalogue (*Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku*) is the most comprehensive catalogue of Satow's Japanese book collection. There are many books included which were published in the Meiji period. The number of books recorded in this catalogue is the largest, including more than 3,000 books. At the end of this chapter, I will provide a chart classifying the books in the brown catalogue. According to the chart there are 3,084 books. However, this number may vary according to the method of counting, the way of recording etc. The total number is best understood as being an approximate figure. Anyway, there are more than 3,000 items in this brown catalogue.

There are many books in the *Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku* but the Japanese books (*wakonkosho*) below are not included. First there are the 938 volumes which Satow sold to the British Museum on September 22, 1884. Next the Japanese books (*wakanosho*) contained in Catalogue No. 4 *Nihon Kan'ei Izen Kohan Shoseki no Mokuroku* and Catalogue No.5 *Eikoku Okuri Nihon Kohan Shoseki*

³⁴⁵ 'Sir E. M. Satow's Donation', *Oxford University Gazette*, May 11, 1909.

Bangō Junji Mokuroku are not included. (The contents of Catalogues No. 4 and No. 5 are almost the same.) The old printed books in both catalogues are the wakansho which Satow donated to the British Museum in June 1885. Although there are a few exceptions, in principle the precious books (old editions, old printed books etc.) donated to the British Museum (British Library) are not contained in the brown catalogue.

Furthermore, regarding the books which Satow sent from Bangkok or Japan to Britain, the books in Catalogue No. 2 *Satō Zōsho no* etc. are not contained in this catalogue. Also, among 41 items in *Shusatsu Keishi Mokuroku* (Buddhist texts of Catalogue) only three are included in the brown catalogue, and 38 are omitted.

In the end in order to clarify the full picture of Satow's book collection, the brown catalogue is central, but the following must be added: Catalogue No. 2 *Satō Zōsho no* etc., Catalogue No. 4 *Nihon Kan'ei Izen Kohan Shoseki no Mokuroku* (or No. 5 *Eikoku Okuri Nihon Kohan Shoseki Bangō Junji Mokuroku*), and the 38 items from Catalogue No. 13. It is also necessary to add the 938 books sold by Satow to the British Museum on September 22, 1884.

For several of the books entered in the brown catalogue in the space above the title a mark is added in red. The mark consists of one kanji character and one of two types of symbol (*kigō*). Books sent to Chamberlain (whose pen name was 王堂) are marked 王, books sent to Dickins in Britain are marked 英, books sent to the Kobe consul Troup are marked 神, old prints are marked 古 etc. Some of Satow's books were 'Hongoku Mawashi'. They are marked with a · (a dot). It is not clear what 'Hongoku Mawashi' (本国回し) meant, it may have meant 'bound for Japan' or 'via Japan'. Some of the books marked with a dot already have the character 英, while some of them only have the dot. The former may mean that the book was sent to Dickins in Britain via Japan.

I will explain in detail in the next chapter, but in the brown catalogue apart from the marks there are also tags (*fusen*). The place where they are attached is above the place where the marks are found. It is thought that these tags were added when Satow was disposing of his collection. It is not clear what they signify, but they must have been added to distinguish between books. It can be imagined that since Satow sent several books to William Anderson in London and to the British Museum, and that these books may have been marked with tags. But regarding this point there is no conclusive proof.

Next, I would like to provide a simple explanation of the time until when entries continued to be made in the brown catalogue. In the catalogue there is a part which has been added (a supplement), and among the documents entered there some books have the date added. According to that, the date of the entry in the catalogue is clear. For example, in the *Zōho Gagen Shūran* there is an entry 'Meiji 19 [1886] May 9th reached Siam [暹国 *Senkoku*] from Tokyo Japan, first part'. This note was added by Satow.

In Bangkok Satow received delivery of the *Zōho Gagen Shūran* Parts 11 to 14 (three volumes per part). In 1886 (Meiji 19) on May 9th he entered this fact in the brown catalogue. The *Zōho Gagen Shūran* (revised by Nakajima Hirotsugu, 57 volumes total) was completed in July 1887. In the previous year Satow received the part not yet complete at Bangkok, and entered it in the brown catalogue. From this we know that entries in the brown catalogue continued at least until May 1886.

In 1885 Satow began to dispose of his book collection and divide it up, but regarding the brown catalogue he kept it in his possession in Bangkok at least until the early summer of the following year, and continued to add to part of the catalogue. So Satow's disposal and division of his book collection was not completely finished in 1885. But even if there were exceptions, it is generally correct to say that the 'disposal of collection' took place in 1885.

So, when were the first entries made in the brown catalogue? Taking into account books not entered in the catalogue, as mentioned above, it seems likely that the first entries were made in 1884. However, at that time Satow was away from Japan. As previously stated, in 1884 (Meiji 17) Satow moved the books he had left in Tokyo to Bangkok, and at the Consulate-General created a 'Library of Japanese Books'. The creation of the brown catalogue (*Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku*) seems to have some connection with the transfer of Satow's Japanese books from Japan to Bangkok. Even if Satow himself was away from Japan, his librarian could have begun making entries in the catalogue.

As I mentioned when introducing Catalogue No. 9 *Monogatari Sōshi Nikki* etc. it seems that Satow regarded the brown catalogue as a 'new catalogue'. This was in April 1885. This appears to be consistent with entries in the brown catalogue commencing in 1884.

Furthermore, as I have already mentioned in this chapter, in the brown catalogue the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* (manuscript, three [volumes]), and the *Ukiyoeshi no Den* (manuscript, one [volume]) are entered. There is no entry for *Ukiyoe Kō* (manuscript, one [volume]) but instead there is *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (manuscript, one [volume]). Probably the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (manuscript, one [volume]) in the brown catalogue is now held in the Cambridge University Library as the *Ukiyoe Kō* (manuscript, one [volume]). Either way, the brown catalogue contains the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* etc. Of all Satow's catalogues, it is only the brown catalogue which includes the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. I will discuss this point later.

The Blue-Grey Catalogue (*Usuzumi-iro Zōsho Mokuroku*)

Next, I will add a simple explanation of the blue-grey catalogue (*Usuzumi-iro Zōsho Mokuroku*). ('Usuzumi' is thin India ink, hence 'watery grey' and the actual colour of the book looks bluish grey.) Apart from this catalogue, Satow's 14 other catalogues along with his former collections passed via Aston's collection in 1911 into Cambridge University Library. However, this blue-grey catalogue took a different route into Cambridge University Library's collection.

The blue-grey catalogue was donated in 1944 (Shōwa 19) to Cambridge University by the famous Heffers bookshop in the City of Cambridge. It is not clear how it came into the possession of Heffers. It was probably because Cambridge University Library had most of Satow's former book collection that Heffers donated the *Usuzumi-iro Zōsho Mokuroku* to the library.

The number of documents entered in the *Usuzumi-iro Zōsho Mokuroku* was about 2,550. At the end of this chapter there will be a chart indicating the various fields of the documents, and that will account for 2,451 items. I mentioned in connection with the brown catalogue (*Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku*) that it would not be a problem to understand the catalogues in round numbers. Indeed, that would probably be better.

Comparing with the brown catalogue which contains more than 3,000 books, the blue-grey catalogue (*Usuzumi-iro Zōsho Mokuroku*) has about 500 less entries. As in the case of the brown catalogue, the blue-grey catalogue has book titles, name of authors, era, number of volumes, and

year and month of woodblock. When trying to discover the last entries in the blue-grey catalogue, the year and month of the creation of the woodblock is an important clue. In the case of *Asō San Jōrei Henki* (manuscript) the year and month of the woodblock is given as 'Meiji 14' (1881). This makes it clear that entries in the blue-grey catalogue continued at least until 1881.

From calligraphy it is not easy to establish who wrote the entries in Satow's catalogues, but in some cases we can do so up to a point. The greater part of the *Usuzumi-iro Zōsho Mokuroku*, judging by the handwriting, was entered by Satow's librarian Shiraishi Mamichi, who passed away in May 1880 (Meiji 13) at Satow's house. From the handwriting we can see that the latter part of *Usuzumi-iro Zōsho Mokuroku* was entered by someone other than Shiraishi Mamichi. The 'Meiji 14' entry for *Asō San Jōrei Henki* was entered by a different hand to that of Shiraishi. The greater part of the blue-grey catalogue was first entered by Shiraishi Mamichi, but after he died in May 1880 (Meiji 13) the entries were continued by a different person. This includes documents for which the woodblock was created in 1881 (Meiji 14).

When Satow went home on leave to Britain in 1883 (Meiji 16) he sent books from Japan to Britain, and sold them to the British Museum. Officially on September 22nd of the following year (1884, Meiji 17), including the Korean printed books, he sold a total of 219 items, 938 volumes, to the British Museum for a total of £300.³⁴⁶ Among the books purchased by the British Museum there were *Nannyo Iro Keiba* and *Hasshū Kōyō*. These two works are included in the blue-grey catalogue and it helps us to confirm the period of entries in the *Usuzumi-iro Zōsho Mokuroku*. Satow left Japan for home leave in January 1883, so probably the entries had been completed at that time. The work must have continued until he left Japan.

Flow Chart (Zushi) of Satow's Collection

Above I have given an outline of the 15 catalogues of Satow's book collection held at Cambridge University library. Next, I have prepared a flow chart of Satow's collection. Furthermore, in that chart I have added the numbers of the 15 catalogues. In that chart expressing the flow of Satow's collection I have entered the destination and addressees, and libraries etc. in order to give an understanding of the full picture of the movements of Satow's collection. In the flow of Satow's collection I have situated the 15 catalogues. By doing this the role of each catalogue should become clear.

This chart includes the library of books stored at Iida-machi (Tokyo) and at Bangkok (the 'Library of Japanese Books'). The Iida-machi library was built by Satow at his home in Tokyo, while the Bangkok library was the one he created after he was appointed Consul-General (later Minister Resident and Consul-General) within the Consulate-General at Bangkok, later the Legation. As previously stated, the Japanese books occupied several large rooms.

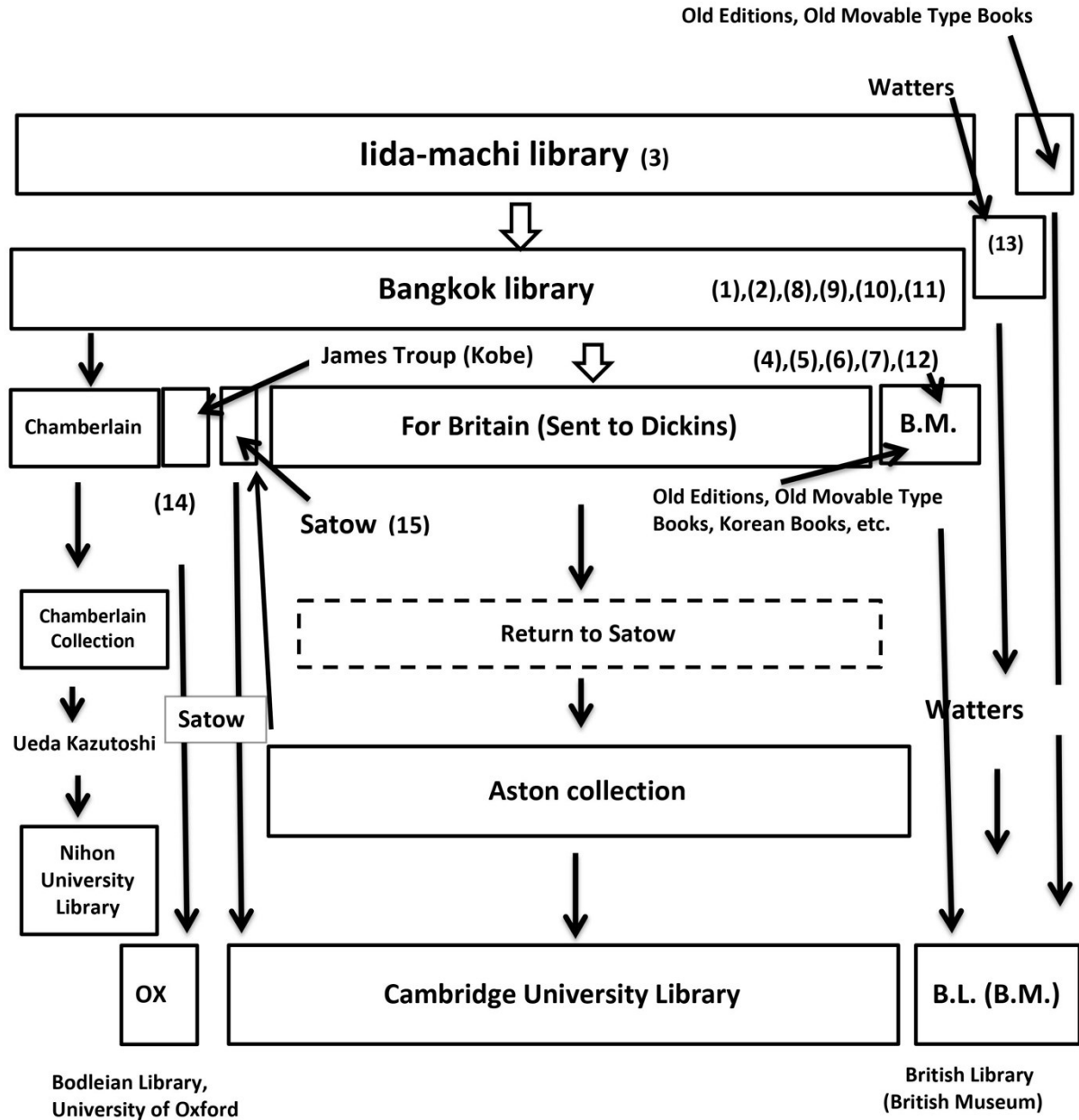
In 1879 (Meiji 12) Satow's library at his Iida-machi house in Tokyo was completed. Satow's book collection was kept there for five years until 1884 (Meiji 17). In 1884 Satow was appointed Agent and Consul-General at Bangkok, so he moved his collection from Tokyo to Bangkok. He probably sent instructions by letter from Bangkok to his house in Tokyo. As a British diplomat it was

³⁴⁶ Yu-ying Brown, 'Daiei Toshokan ni okeru Nihon Korekushon no Genryū to Tokushoku', Kawase Kazuma and Okazaki Hisashi, ed., *Daiei Toshokan Shozō Wakansho Sōmokuroku*, Kōdansha, 1996. p.16.

probably not such a difficult matter to move the collection from Tokyo to Bangkok. Then at the Consulate-General in Bangkok the Library of Japanese books was established.

Flow Chart: Movements of Satow's Collection (Summary)

Movements of Satow's Collection (Summary)



The situation of Satow's book collection at Iida-machi can be glimpsed through Catalogue No. 3, *Usuzumi-iro Zōsho Mokuroku*.

The situation of Satow's collection at Bangkok is fully described by the Catalogues No. 1, 2, 8, 9, 10 and 11.

After that Satow's collection was dispersed from Bangkok to Britain and Japan. The part which was sent to Dickins in London was described in Catalogue No. 8, 9, 10 and 11. On the other hand, the part which was sent to Bangkok and temporarily stored there before being sent to the British Museum as a donation was described in Catalogue Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7 and 12.

When Satow went on home leave to Britain in 1883 (Meiji 16) he gave Buddhist texts to Watters, and these are described in Catalogue No. 13. However, it is not clear whether all of the texts were given by Satow to Watters when he returned to Britain. In the same way, the Buddhist texts sent from Bangkok to Troup in Kobe are contained in Catalogue No. 14.

Even after he disposed of his collection Satow kept a number of Japanese books for himself. These books were donated to Cambridge University Library in 1912 (Taishō 1) and 1913 (Taishō 2). Catalogue No. 15 'List of Japanese Books' comprises the books donated in these two years.

The Catalogues of Satow's Book Collection at the Yokohama Archives of History

The Yokohama Archives of History (*Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan*) has the following eight catalogues of Satow's book collection. They are all held as part of the Takeda family papers, Takeda Kane being Satow's Japanese wife. In later years the papers were donated to the Yokohama Archives of History.

Kohansho Rui [Old Editions of Documents] (A)

Zōsho Mokuroku [Catalogue of Book Collection] (B)

Zōsho Mokuroku Zen [Complete Catalogue of Book Collection] (C)

Zōsho Mokuroku (D)

Zōsho Mokuroku – Rekishi, Heihō, Bukirui [History, Arts of War, Weapons] (E)

Shahon Mokuroku [Catalogue of Manuscripts] (F)

Zōsho Mokuroku – Shōsetsurui [Novels] (G)

Zōsho Mokuroku – Ga, Ezu, Chizurui [Paintings, Drawings, Maps] (H)

In *Nihon Kosho Tsūshin* No. 830 Kira Yoshie published an essay 'A-nesuto Satō Kyūzōsho ni tsuite' [Regarding Ernest Satow's former collection] (Part 1 of 2)³⁴⁷ in which she introduced the above eight catalogues. They were labeled A through H. In this book I have made the following correction to the titles. First, I have reversed the alphabet and the names of the catalogues. Next, where there was no title I have added '*Zōsho Mokuroku*'. In this book I will use the above catalogue titles, and will comment on the catalogues held by the Yokohama Archives of History.

³⁴⁷ Kira Yoshie, 'Ānesuto Satō no Kyūzōsho ni tsuite (Jo)', *Nihon Kosho Tsushin*, No.830. p.3.

Zōsho Mokuroku (D)

Of the eight catalogues held at the Yokohama Archives of History, an examination of the books contained in each one shows that the *Zōsho Mokuroku (D)* was prepared after all of the others. *Zōsho Mokuroku (D)* is a catalogue of the books in Satow's possession when he was Minister in Japan, from July 1895 (Meiji 28) to May 1900 (Meiji 33). This catalogue includes *Tento Sanjūnen* which was published in 1898 (Meiji 31), so it probably continued to be updated with new entries until 1900.

A point worthy of note in connection with *Zōsho Mokuroku (D)* is the inclusion of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (one [volume]). It is not clear whether this means a printed book or a manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Even if it is a manuscript, the number of volumes is different so it is not Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. If it is a printed book, the title becomes a problem. As already mentioned in Chapter One, in the case of Isandō, the title, including that of reprinted books, is *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Again, if it is the Onchi book, the title is *(Zōho) Ukiyoe Ruikō*. In either case the title was not simply the short one of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. 'Shin Zōho' or '(Zōho)' was added. Of course it is possible that 'Shin Zōho' or '(Zōho)' was ignored, and the book was simply entered in *Zōsho Mokuroku (D)* as 'Ukiyoe Ruikō'. It is only a guess, but the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (one [volume]) in *Zōsho Mokuroku (D)* is probably not a manuscript but a printed book of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

Zōsho Mokuroku (D) is the catalogue which refers to Satow's time as Minister in Japan. In other words, it is after Satow's 'disposal of collection'. Of course, this means that the greater part of the books in this catalogue were published in the Meiji period. But this is not the case with all the catalogue entries. Edo period manuscripts are also included, for example *Kanō Goka Fu*.

Nowadays the *Kanō Goka Fu* is held at Cambridge University Library. It was an item included in the Aston collection purchased by the library. This is clear from the catalogue of Aston's former collection. Aston's collection included many documents formerly in Satow's collection, and it is recorded as 'Catalogue of W.G. Aston's Collection of Japanese Books'. The *Kanō Goka Fu* is also contained in this catalogue. In the catalogue, books formerly in Satow's collection are marked with an 'S'. This is also the case with the *Kanō Goka Fu*.³⁴⁸ Therefore *Kanō Goka Fu* is a document from Satow's former collection.

Bearing the above in mind, it may be possible to explain the provenance (*raireki*) of *Kanō Goka Fu* in the following way. First, until about the beginning of the 20th century Satow kept the *Kanō Goka Fu* in Japan. After that it was donated by Satow to Aston, and eventually entered Cambridge University Library as an item in the Aston collection. The greater part of Satow's former collection was transferred to Aston in 1892 (Meiji 25), but it may be that *Kanō Goka Fu* was sent to Aston after that, for example at the beginning of the 20th century. But why and how the *Kanō Goka Fu* came into Satow's hands while he was Minister in Japan, and then went to Aston or was returned to him – none of this is clear.

³⁴⁸ 'Catalogue of W. G. Aston's Collection of Japanese Books Volume 1', *Kenburijji Daigaku Toshokan Shozō Ānesuto Satō Kanren Zōsho Mokuroku*, Vol. 5, Yumani Shobō, 2016. p.143.

Zōsho Mokuroku (B) and Zōsho Mokuroku Zen (C)

Regarding the years when the catalogues in the Yokohama Archives of History were created, if we take as a reference the times when he returned to Britain on leave, we can to some extent guess the periods when these catalogues were produced. To be precise, the reference is to the times when he left Japan to go home on leave, and the times when he returned to Japan after his home leave.

Satow left Japan for his second home leave in 1875 (Meiji 8). The *Zōsho Mokuroku* (B) catalogue was probably created before this. This is because in this catalogue the prices of books are expressed in *ryō*, *bu*, *shu* and *monme*. The *Shinka Jōrei* which abolished these units of currency was established in 1871 (Meiji 4), though it is very likely that the prices of books continued for a while to be shown in the old units. Also, in a few cases some of the books added later are priced in the new currency of yen. Taking into consideration the pricing in the catalogue, the *Zōsho Mokuroku* (B) was probably created up to about 1875.

In the case of the *Zōsho Mokuroku Zen* (C) catalogue the situation was as follows. First when creating *Zōsho Mokuroku Zen* (C) the catalogue *Zōsho Mokuroku* (B) was included. After that newly acquired books were added to *Zōsho Mokuroku Zen* (C). For example, the *Meiji Shinshi* [New Meiji History] was published in 1877 (Meiji 10) and was not included in the *Zōsho Mokuroku* (B), but it was included in the *Zōsho Mokuroku Zen* (C). What is even more interesting is that in the *Zōsho Mokuroku Zen* (C) it seems that the later entries were handwritten by Satow's librarian, Shiraishi Mamichi. He began working for Satow in August 1877, and died in his house in May 1880 (Meiji 13). However, in the case of *Meiji Shinshi*, judging from the handwriting (penmanship) it was not entered in the catalogue by Shiraishi Mamichi. *Meiji Shinshi* seems to have been entered before Shiraishi began to write entries in the *Zōsho Mokuroku Zen* (C). If that is correct, then *Zōsho Mokuroku Zen* (C) entries began in about 1877 and continued until about 1880. A rough count of the number of items in the *Zōsho Mokuroku Zen* (C) shows about 1,153 books, or approximately 1,150 items in round numbers. I will explain the classification of the books in *Zōsho Mokuroku Zen* (C) later.

The Other Catalogues

Next, I want to give a simple explanation of the remaining five catalogues held at the Yokohama Archives of History, and guess the year of creation for each one.

- Kohansho Rui* [Old Editions and Similar Materials] (A)
- Zōsho Mokuroku – Rekishi, Heihō, Bukirui* [History, Arts of War, Weapons and others] (E)
- Shahon Mokuroku* [Catalogue of Manuscripts] (F)
- Zōsho Mokuroku – Shōsetsu Rui* [Novels and others] (G)
- Zōsho Mokuroku – Ga, Ezu, Chizu Rui* [Paintings, Drawings, Maps and others] (H)

These catalogues were probably all prepared before Satow went back to Britain for his third home leave in January 1883 (Meiji 16). First, *Kohansho Rui* (A) includes the books which Satow sold to the British Museum. Satow returned to Britain in 1883, and in the following year 1884

(Meiji 17) he sold 219 items (640 volumes) for £300 to the British Museum. The books which he sold at that time are included in this catalogue.

Shahon Mokuroku (F) includes two manuscripts titled 'Ikokusen Kakitsuke'. These manuscripts were entered in the catalogue by Satow's librarian Shiraishi Mamichi. However they were entered as 'Torai Ikokusen Toriatsukata Kakitsuke - Kaei Nankan' and 'Torai Ikokusen Toriatsukata Kakitsuke - Bunsei Kaei Nankan'. These two manuscripts were originally in Aston's collection (two volumes). Satow borrowed them, and Shiraishi transcribed them. This is clear from the following point. Cambridge University Library holds both Aston's and Satow's former collections³⁴⁹ and Shiraishi's handwriting (penmanship) can be identified. Since Shiraishi passed away in May 1880, the entry in *Shahon Mokuroku* (F) was not done by Shiraishi but by another person. Thus, we can assume that *Shahon Mokuroku* (F) was begun in 1880 and finished before January 1883.

In *Zōsho Mokuroku – Rekishi, Heihō, Bukirui* (E) there is a document titled *Meiji Jūnen Seitōgundan Kiji* which was published in September 1880. In *Zōsho Mokuroku – Shōsetsu Rui* (G) there is *Ikaho Shi* written by Ōtsuki Fumihiko which was published in 1882. In *Zōsho Mokuroku – Ga, Ezu, Chizu Rui* (H) there is *Kokka Yohō* published in 1880. From these facts the following can be guessed. First, as indicated by their subtitles, these are book catalogues classified by specialist fields. Next, regarding the year of creation, taking into consideration the year of publication of the books, it can be assumed that all the catalogues were produced before Satow left Japan for his home leave in January 1883.

Furthermore, as regards *Zōsho Mokuroku – Rekishi, Heihō, Buki Rui* (E) it includes items already mentioned in Chapter Three: *Kodai Buki no Zu* [Drawings of Ancient Weapons], *Yoroi Odoshige Sodegata, Jinbaori Zu, Yoshiie Ason Yoroi Chakuyō no Shidai* etc. In Chapter Three I assumed that in the process of these documents being absorbed into Satow's collection Shiraishi Senbetsu and Mamichi had been involved, also perhaps Sakata Morotō and others who had great interest in *buke kojitsu* and that they had some connection with the matter. Satow had, through the introductions of such collectors, been able to acquire such books from Fujikawa Hiroshi who had inherited the collection of Fujikawa Seisai and others of the Fujikawa family. Regarding the period when he acquired them, it can be guessed that it was broadly in the first decade of the Meiji period. This guess is consistent with the *Zōsho Mokuroku – Rekishi, Heihō, Buki Rui* (E) being produced before January 1883 (Meiji 16). Again it may be the case that Satow's acquisition of these representative works of *buke kojitsu* (*Kodai Buki no Zu, Yoroi Odoshige Sodegata, Jinbaori Zu, Yoshiie Ason Yoroi Chakuyō no Shidai*) caused him to create the special catalogue *Zōsho Mokuroku – Rekishi, Heihō, Buki Rui* (E). There may have been a connection between these acquisitions and the preparation of this catalogue.

Above I have provided a simple commentary of the eight catalogues of Satow's book collection held at the Yokohama Archives of History, including their years of preparation. Among the eight catalogues *Zōsho Mokuroku Zen* (C) is the one which gives the best general picture of Satow's collection, though it is limited as regards when it was produced. In the same sense the two most useful catalogues of the 15 in the Cambridge University Library collection are the brown catalogue (*Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku*) and the blue-grey catalogue (*Usuzumi Iro Zōsho Mokuroku*). In short, of the 15 catalogues held by Cambridge University Library and the eight catalogues held

³⁴⁹ Nozomu Hayashi & Peter Kornicki, *Early Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library: A Catalogue of the Aston, Satow and von Siebold Collection*, Cambridge University Press, 1991. p.241.

by the Yokohama Archives of History, the three catalogues *Zōsho Mokuroku Zen (C)*, *Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku* and *Usuzumi Iro Zōsho Mokuroku* are not complete, but at the time of their production they offered a full overview of Satow's entire collection. Next, I would like to use these three catalogues to tackle the question of the 'flow' (*nagare*) of the collection and the problem of the acquisition of documents related to art.

Investigating Books relating to Art through the *Zōsho Mokuroku Zen (C)*, *Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku* and *Usuzumi Iro Zōsho Mokuroku*

The three catalogues *Zōsho Mokuroku Zen (C)*, *Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku* and *Usuzumi Iro Zōsho Mokuroku* each represent Satow's whole collection at the time when each one was prepared. There may also be a degree of overlap in the time when the catalogues were produced, and in the periods when books entered the collection, but using these three catalogues it is possible to grasp Satow's collecting from the end of the 1870s to the middle of the 1880s. Through these three catalogues we can broadly understand his collecting of Japanese books during his most active period.

The three catalogues broadly were created during the following periods and with the following total number of items.

Zōsho Mokuroku Zen (C) 1877 (Meiji 10) to 1880 (Meiji 13). 1,153 items. (The number may change depending on the way of counting.)

Usuzumi Iro Zōsho Mokuroku (Blue-grey catalogue) 1877 (Meiji 10) to 1882 (Meiji 15). About 2,550 items.

Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku (Brown catalogue) 1884 (Meiji 17) to 1886 (Meiji 19). More than 3,000 items.

The books in these catalogues are classified according to category (subject area) and subject. Next I will list the items according to their classifications.

Zōsho Mokuroku Zen (C)

Keisho-bu : [Section of Chinese Classics] : 18

Rekisho-bu : [Section of History] : 128

Gunji Tsūzoku : [Popular Military Books] : 40

Kashisho Monogatari Rui : [Books on Poetry, Tales, etc.] : 129

Shinsho : [Books on Shintoism] : 105

Jisho Insho Rui : [Dictionaries, Rhyme Dictionaries, etc.] : 83

Seiyō Jijitsu Yakusho Rui : [Japanese Translations of Western Affairs, etc.] : 16

Chiri Zu Rui : [Geography, Maps, etc.] : 118

Yūsokusho : [Books on Ancient Court and Military Practices] : 46

Zuihitsu Zassho : [Essays, Miscellaneous Writings] : 135

Bunshō : [Compositions] : 11
Chiri Kikō : [Geography, Travelogues] : 66
Kafu Rui : [Family Records, Genealogy, etc.] : 7
Ritsuryōsho : [Books on Statutes, Codes, Laws, etc.] : 38
Butsudōsho : [Buddhist Books] : 56
Zassho Rui : [Miscellaneous Books, etc.] : 84
Hitsudōsho : [Books on Penmanship] : 7
Yōkyoku Itotake : [Noh Chants and Music] : 6
Shōsetsu Rui : [Novels and Similar Things] : 60

Gōkei: [Total]: 1,153 [items]

In the above list according to category and subject, it is important to note that there is no specially established category for art books or picture books (*ehon, gahon*). This was probably because there were not many of them, so it was not necessary to establish a separate field. There may have been only a few such books, but Satow was also collecting them. They were included in miscellaneous books (*zassho*). For example *Kinsei Meika Shogadan*, *Ehon Yamato Hiji* etc. were kept under 'Zassho Rui' (Miscellaneous books), *Ehon Taka Kagami*, *Zenken Kojitsu* were kept under 'Zuihitsu Zassho' (Miscellaneous Writings), *Ehon Kojidan* was kept under 'Jisho Insho Rui' (Dictionaries etc.), *Butsuzō Zui* was kept under 'Butsudōsho' (Buddhist Books), *Ehon Sangoku Yōfuden* was kept under 'Shosetsu Rui' [Novels].

Usuzumi Iro Zōsho Mokuroku (Blue-grey catalogue)

Shintosho (Shinsho) : [Books on Shintoism] : 281
Nikki (Nikki) : [Diaries] : 15
Monogatari (Monogatari) : [Tales] : 66
Waka (Waka) : [Poetry] : 76
Gogaku (Gogakusho) : [Languages] : 96
Tenmon (Tenmon) : [Astronomy] : 21
Keigaku (Keigakusho) : [Confucianism] : 45
Butsudō (Bussho) : [Buddhism] : 207
Kyōkun (Kyōkunsho) : [Lessons, Teachings] : 37
Bussho (Bussho) : [Buddhism] : 94
Rekishi Kokon Tsūshi (Rekishi Jōdai oyobi Kokon Tsūshi no Bu) : [History, Ancient and From Ancient to Modern Times] : 51
Rekishi (Chūsei no Bu) : [History, Medieval Period] : 114
Rekishi (Kinsei no Bu) : [History, Early-Modern Times] : 38
Kando Rekishi (Rekishi Kando no Bu) : [Chinese History] : 18
Keifu (Keifu) : [Genealogy] : 13
Ritsuryō (Ritsuryōsho) : [Books on Statutes, Codes, Laws, etc.] : 66
Ritsuryō (Ritsuryō Bakufu no Bu) : [Books on Statutes, Codes, Laws, etc., Tokugawa Shogunate] : 28

Ritsuryō (Ritsuryō Ishingo oyobi Kando no Bu) : [Books on Statutes, Codes, Laws, etc., Meiji Period and China] : 15
 Kōbu Meikan (Kōbu Meikan no Bu) : [Directories of Court Nobles, Warriors, Officials, etc.] : 30
 Chiri (Chiri Zushi no Bu) : [Geography, Maps, Geographical Descriptions] : 219
 Chiri Ezo Ryūkyū (Ezo Ryūkyū no Bu) : [Geography, Ezo, Ryūkyū] : 29
 Chiri Nō Shoku Kokusan (Chiri Nōgaku Shokugaku Kokusan no Bu) : [Geography, Agriculture, Botany, Domestic Products] : 40
 Shobutsu Seizō Ichiran (Shobutsu Seizō Ichiranhyō) : [A List of Various Products] : 24
 Kei Gaikoku Jiken (Kei Seiyō Shina Chōsen Jikensho) : [Books of Affairs with West, China and Korea] : 51
 Kei Gaikoku Jiken Seiyō Yakusho (Seiyō Jijitsu Yakusho) : [Japanese Translations of Western Affairs] : 42
 Jibiki Kojibiki (Jibiki Rui) : [Dictionaries of Words] : 46
 Jibiki Kojibiki (Koji Shinamono Meishō-biki Rui) : [Dictionaries of Events, Things and Names] : 50
 Sakushibun Sho (Sakushibun Sho) : [Books of Verse-making] : 16
 Hitsudō Gadō (Hitsudō Gadō) : [Calligraphy, Art of Painting and Drawing] : 93
 Zuihitsu Zassho (Zuihitsu Zassho) : [Essays Miscellaneous Writings] : 181
 Kangen Bugaku (Kangen Bugaku) : [Music by Instruments and Court Music Accompanied by Dancing] : 12
 Yōkyoku Itotake Yūkyosho (Yōkyoku Itotake Yūkyosho) : [Noh Chants, Music and Entertainment] : 38
 Shōsetsu [Novels] : 152
 Kan'utei Sōsho Shūko Jisshu (Kan'utei Sōsho Itakura Katsuakira Shūkoku) : [Kan'utei Series Shūko Jisshu Collections] : 53
 Zatsu (Zatsusho) : [Miscellaneous Books] : 94

Gōkei [Total]: 2,451 [items]

Unlike the catalogue *Zōsho Mokuroku* (D) in the case of the blue-grey catalogue *Usuzumi Iro Zōsho Mokuroku* there is a specially established category for art and picture books. This is 'Hitsudō Gadō' and it contains 93 items. This represents 3.8% of the total collection.

Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku (Brown catalogue)

Shinsho Rui : [Books on Shintoism] : 248
 Wakoku Rekishi : [Japanese History] : 286
 Keifu narabini Bukan Rui : [Genealogy, Books of Heraldry] : 47
 Heika narabini Buki Rui : [Military Strategists and Armours] : 42
 Kaheisho Rui : [Books on Currency] : 10
 Chiri Rui : [Geography] : 294
 Tenmon Rekisū Bokuzei Rui : [Astronomy, Calendar Studies, Fortune-telling, etc.] : 29
 Nōgyō Sanbutsu Isho Rui : [Agriculture, Products, Medicine, etc.] : 60
 Bungaku Shohō Rui : [Literature, Penmanship, etc.] : 66
 Gaikoku Kankeisho Rui : [Books on Foreign Relations] : 125

Seiji Ritsuryō Rui : [Politics, Codes and Laws] : 119
 Zuihitsu Zassho Denki Rui : [Essays, Miscellaneous Writings and Biographies] : 294
 Gogaku narabini Jisho Rui : [Languages and Dictionaries] : 275
 Monogatari Sōshi Nikki Rui : [Tales, Story-books and Diaries and Similar Books] : 119
 Waka narabini Kikō Rui : [Poetry and Travelogues] : 100
 Gahon Shobutsu Seizō : [Picture Books and Various Products] : 306
 Seizō : [Products] : 15
 Sadō narabini Yōkyoku Rui : [Tea Ceremony and Noh Chants] : 74
 Keisho Rui : [Chinese Classics] : 40
 Rekishi Rui : [History] : 28
 Bussho Rui : [Buddhism] : 469
 Gekijōsho Rui : [Books on Theatre, etc.] : 7
 Kasaku aruiwa Tsukuri Monogatari Sho Rui : [Fictions, Fictional Stories and Similar Books] : 31

 Gōkei [Total] : 3,084 [items]

As in the case of the blue-grey catalogue (*Usuzumi Iro Zōsho Mokuroku*), in the brown catalogue (*Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku*) also a special category was established for ‘Gahon Shobutsu Seizō’ [Picture books and various products]. The title tells us the subject, but taking into consideration the size of the characters, after ‘Gahon’ the ‘Shobutsu Seizō’ was added in small writing, so clearly the main part of the category was picture books (*gahon*). This category contains 306 items which is 9.9% of the total collection, or about 10%.

Taking the above numbers into consideration, as there was originally no category for picture and art books in the *Zōsho Mokuroku Zen* (C), needless to say in the blue-grey catalogue which had ‘Hitsudō Gadō’ and the brown catalogue, it is clear that the number of picture and art books was greatly increased. Even at the stage of the blue-grey catalogue the number of picture and art books increased, but they increased much more in number at the stage of the brown catalogue.

From the above simple analysis of the three catalogues *Zōsho Mokuroku Zen* (C), *Usuzumi Iro Zōsho Mokuroku* and *Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku* according to categories (*bunruibetsu*), it is clear that Satow’s collection of art-related books suddenly increased from the 1880s. There may have been a small gap in time between the purchase of a book and its entry in a catalogue. Probably Satow began to collect art-related books seriously from 1879 and accelerated the pace from then. This is clear from an analysis of the three catalogues.

Chapter Five – Anderson and Satow

The Movements of Anderson and Satow

Ernest Satow, since his coming to Japan, had collected Japanese books including ancient *wakankosho*, and developed his collection. In this trend, especially regarding the collection of documents relating to art, the plan to publish a book jointly with William Anderson about Japanese art had a great influence. As part of this collection of documents relating to Japanese art, the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* by Saitō Gesshin which is the subject of this book was purchased. Satow and Anderson's plan to publish a book about Japanese art began in earnest, as stated in Chapter Three, in September 1879 (Meiji 12) and in about 1882 (Meiji 15) it began to die out. However, Satow's collection of documents relating to art and his cooperation with Anderson continued. Satow's contribution was reflected in Anderson's two great works published in 1886 (Meiji 19), his *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*³⁵⁰ and his *Pictorial Arts of Japan*.³⁵¹

For Satow's collection of documents relating to art including the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, his involvement with Anderson was an important element. To investigate Satow's collecting of documents relating to art, it is necessary to clarify that situation. To do this I have prepared a chart showing the movements of Satow and Anderson year by year. The chart continues until 1895 (Meiji 28) when Satow became the British Minister in Japan. The period I want to focus on is from the final years of the 1870s until the middle of the 1880s. For reasons of space I have only put the main events in the chart.

The Movements of Anderson and Satow

Year	William Anderson	Ernest Satow
1873 (Meiji 6)	Comes to Japan. Appointed professor at the Imperial Naval Medical College and the Naval Hospital.	
1874 (Meiji 7)	Medical officer at the British Legation.	
1875 (Meiji 8)	Begins to collect Japanese art in earnest.	Returns to Britain on leave.
1876 (Meiji 9)		Meets Burty in Paris.
1877 (Meiji 10)		Leave ends, returns to Japan. Employs Shiraishi Mamichi as librarian.
1878 (Meiji 11)		Death of Saitō Gesshin.

³⁵⁰ William Anderson, *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*, Longmans & Co., 1886.

³⁵¹ William Anderson, *The Pictorial Arts of Japan*, S. Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1886.

1879 (Meiji 12)	Lecture on Japanese Art History. Paper in Transactions of Asiatic Society of Japan. Plans book on Japanese art with Satow. Travels with Satow to Kyoto and Nara. Collects books and documents about Japanese art.	Plans book on Japanese art with Anderson. Travels to Kansai (Kyoto and Nara) with Anderson. Collects documents and books about art.
1880 (Meiji 13)	Returns to Britain. Before leaving Japan works with Satow on art book.	Just before Anderson leaves, works with him on art book. Death of Shiraishi Mamichi.
1881 (Meiji 14)	At year end sells his Japanese art collection (about 3,500 pieces) to British Museum. Price £3000.	Accompanies two British royal princes to Kansai. Buys books at Zeniya etc. in Kyoto.
1882 (Meiji 15)	Sells 311 Japanese books to the British Museum. Price £360.	Continues to buy old books. Gives up plan to publish art book with Anderson. Employs new librarian named 'Kawai'.
1883 (Meiji 16)	Travels with Satow to Paris and visits Burty.	Returns to Britain on leave. Lives in London in same building as Anderson. Travels to Paris with Anderson, visits Burty. Agrees to sell books in Japanese to British Museum. In following year he sells 290 items, 938 volumes for £300. Assists with creation of catalogue of Japanese books at British Museum.
1884 (Meiji 17)	Contributes to Satow and Hawes 'Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan' on Pictorial and Glyptic Art.	Does not return to Japan. Goes to Siam as Agent and Consul-General. Moves books from Tokyo to Bangkok. Makes a Library of Japanese Books. Travels on leave to Japan.
1885 (Meiji 18)		Sends collection from Bangkok to Britain and Japan. As part of 'disposal of collection' donates 106 items, 640 volumes to British Museum. Sends many books to Dickins in London.

1886 (Meiji 19)	Publishes two books (see above).	Travels on leave from Bangkok to Japan.
1887 (Meiji 20)		Returns on leave from Bangkok to Britain.
1888 (Meiji 21)	Exhibits ukiyoe in Burlington Fine Arts Club. Publishes exhibition catalogue.	
1889 (Meiji 22)		Appointed to Uruguay as Minister.
1890 (Meiji 23)		
1891 (Meiji 24)	Appointed Chairman of Japan Society of London.	Returns to Britain on leave. Visits Mr & Mrs Aston. Decides to pass collection stored by Dickins in London to Aston.
1892 (Meiji 25)		While on leave he sends 10 boxes of collection to Aston. Returns to Montevideo.
1893 (Meiji 26)		Returns to Britain. Appointed Minister to Morocco at Tangier.
1894 (Meiji 27)	Sells 1,280 and 300 Japanese books to British Museum for £250 and £50.	
1895 (Meiji 28)	Publishes 'Japanese Wood Engravings'.	Returns to Britain. Appointed Minister to Japan at Tokyo and goes there.

Based on the events described in the above chart, I now want to give a simple explanation of the movements of the two men.

Anderson's Movements

Anderson came to Japan in 1873 (Meiji 6) to take up an appointment as a professor of anatomy and surgery at the newly established Imperial Naval Medical College and at the Naval Hospital. He already had a deep knowledge of art and he brought with him Western art prints and etchings to Japan, but they were lost in a fire in 1875 (Meiji 8).³⁵² Partly to compensate for this loss, in 1875 Anderson began to collect Japanese works of art in earnest. He began to research Japanese art at the same time.

³⁵² 'Obituary: William Anderson', *The Lancet*, Nov. 10, 1900. pp.1368-1371.; Murakado Noriko, 'Wiriāmu Andāson to "Butsuzō Zui": Nihon Bijutsushi Keiseiki ni okeru Ōbun Nihon Kenkyūsho no ichi', *Bijutsushi*, Vol.62, No.1 (2012). p.50.

Satow returned to Britain on leave in 1875. In the following year, when he went to Paris, he met Philippe Burty and they became acquaintances. After his leave finished, Satow returned to Japan in 1877 (Meiji 10). In the same year he employed Shiraishi Mamichi as his librarian.

In 1879 (Meiji 12) Anderson put together all his research into Japanese art up to that point and gave a lecture to the Asiatic Society of Japan on the History of Japanese Art. In the same year his paper was published in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan. Also in the same year, Satow and Anderson agreed to work together to publish a book about Japanese art. They went together to Kyoto and Nara, and collected documents and books about Japanese art. Before that time Satow had already begun a collection, but in this year (1879) he began to collect documents and books about Japanese art in earnest. From that time his collection of art-related works greatly increased.

At the beginning of 1880 (Meiji 13) Anderson left Japan and returned to Britain. Before he went home, he and Satow spent a very busy time together preparing to publish a book on Japanese art. They probably continued their research in Tokyo. In the same year Satow's librarian Shiraishi Mamichi died.

In the autumn of 1881 (Meiji 14) the two British royal princes came to Japan, and Satow accompanied them to Kyoto and Osaka, and purchased old books at Zeniya in Kyoto.

Meanwhile on the last day of 1881 Anderson sold his collection of Japanese artworks (about 3,500 items) for £3,000 to the British Museum.³⁵³ The British Museum bought the so-called 'Anderson Collection'. Then in the following year (1882) Anderson sold 311 volumes of Japanese books for £360 to the British Museum.³⁵⁴ There were probably many picture books among these.

On the other hand, Satow continued to collect old Japanese books, but his discussions with Anderson about writing a book on Japanese art were ended quite early in 1882.³⁵⁵ In addition to there being no publisher willing to take on the work, Satow himself lost confidence in his ability to write about Japanese art. However, Satow continued to collect books and documents on Japanese art and to cooperate with Anderson.

I have the impression that there may be some connection between Anderson selling his collection of artworks and books on art to the British Museum and Satow's withdrawing from the plan to co-publish a book on art with Anderson. In 1886 (Meiji 19) Anderson published his *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum* and his *Pictorial Arts of Japan*. The publication of both books took advantage of Anderson's collections being transferred to the British Museum, and they were both published by Anderson on his own. They were not jointly written with Satow.

³⁵³ Lawrence R. H. Smith, 'History and Characteristics of Ukiyo-e Collection in the British Museum' (Introduction, English Supplement), *Hizō Ukiyoe Taikan* 1 (Daiei Hakubutsukan 1), Kōdansha, 1987.

³⁵⁴ Endo Nozomi, 'Daiei Hakubutsukan Shozō Andāson Korekushon Chōsa Hōkoku', *Japonezuri Kenkyū Gakkai Kaihō*, No.12 (1992). p.17.; Yu-ying Brown, 'Daiei Toshokan ni okeru Nihon Korekushon no Rekishi to Tokushoku', *Hizō Nihon Bijutsu Taikan* 4 (Daiei Toshokan, Asshumorian Bijutsukan, Vikutoria Arubāto Hakubutsukan), Kōdansha, 1994. p.14.

³⁵⁵ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.143.

Satow employed a new librarian in about March 1883. He was the successor of Shiraishi Mamichi. The man named 'Kawai' had already commenced his work in March of that year.³⁵⁶ The entry of books in the brown catalogue (*Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku*) already mentioned in the previous chapter and the employment of the new librarian may be connected. The *Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku* may have been prepared by the new librarian.

In 1883 (Meiji 16) Satow returned to Britain on leave. In London he moved into the same building as Anderson's home. The two men went to Paris together and visited Burty. In October of the same year the discussions for sale of the old books which Satow had brought from Japan to the British Museum were settled.³⁵⁷ The formalities for the sale were completed in the following year (1884, Meiji 17). Including the early Korean books there was a total of 290 items, 938 volumes and the sale price to the British Museum was £300.³⁵⁸ Of course, this was after Satow had been appointed to Bangkok. Also in 1883 Satow assisted with the preparation of a catalogue of Japanese books at the British Museum. This catalogue edited by the Keeper of the Department of Oriental books Robert Kennaway Douglas (1838-1913) was published in 1898 (Meiji 31).

Regarding the 68 reference books in Japanese about Japanese art contained in Anderson's *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum* I will say more in detail later. It is probably the case that when Satow returned to Britain in 1883 he had already brought some of the 68 books to London.

After his leave Satow was appointed in 1884 to his new post at Bangkok, Thailand (Siam). Satow was promoted from the Consular Service to the Diplomatic Service and to pursue his career as a diplomat did not return to Japan, but was directly appointed to Bangkok. Together with his move and promotion to the Diplomatic Service in 1885 (Meiji 18) he disposed of his enormous collection of Japanese books. He sent a large number of books from Bangkok to Britain and Japan. He had already moved his collection from Tokyo to Bangkok in the previous year and established a 'Library of Japanese Books' in the Consulate-General. As part of the disposal of his collection Satow donated books to his friends and libraries, including 106 items, 640 volumes to the British Museum.³⁵⁹ The main part of Satow's collection was sent to Dickins in London, and stored there. I have already explained the movement of his collection in the previous chapter.

Meanwhile Anderson contributed two essays on Japanese art to the *Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan* jointly edited by Satow and A.G.S. Hawes. One was on 'Pictorial Art'³⁶⁰ and the other was on 'Glyptic Art'.³⁶¹ Probably Satow as one of the editors asked Anderson

³⁵⁶ Ian Ruxton, ed., *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009. p.485.

³⁵⁷ Hagiwara Nobutoshi, *Rinichi: Tōi Gake 14: Ānesuto Satō Nikki Shō*, Asahi Shinbun Shuppan, 2008. p.297.

³⁵⁸ Yu-ying Brown, 'Daiei Toshokan ni okeru Nihon Korekushon no Genryū to Tokushoku', Kawase Kazuma and Oakazaki Hisashi, ed., *Daiei Toshokan Shozō Wakansho Sōmokuroku*, Kōdansha, 1996. p.16.

³⁵⁹ Yu-ying Brown, 'Daiei Toshokan ni okeru Nihon Korekushon no Genryū to Tokushoku', Kawase Kazuma and Oakazaki Hisashi, ed., *Daiei Toshokan Shozō Wakansho Sōmokuroku*, Kōdansha, 1996. p.16.

³⁶⁰ William Anderson, 'Pictorial Art', *A Handbook for Travellers in Central & Northern Japan*, Second edition, John Murray, 1884. pp.92-100.

³⁶¹ William Anderson, 'Glyptic Art', *A Handbook for Travellers in Central & Northern Japan*, Second edition, John Murray, 1884. pp.100-119.

to do this. The handbook was published in 1884 (Meiji 17). For Anderson these essays were his second writing about Japanese art, after his paper titled 'A History of Japanese Art' in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

Then in 1886 (Meiji 19) Anderson published his *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum* and his *Pictorial Arts of Japan*. These are Anderson's two great works. So the 'flow' of Anderson's research into Japanese art began in 1879 with his 'A History of Japanese Art' in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan, continued with his two essays in the 1884 publication *Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan* and concluded in 1886 with his two works.

At the end of 1881 (Meiji 14) Anderson's art collection (the 'Anderson Collection') was purchased by the British Museum for £3,000. Anderson's preparation of a catalogue was probably a condition of the sale. There were also special circumstances regarding the editing of the catalogue. First, in Britain at that time there was absolutely no knowledge of Japanese art, so Anderson considered that it was necessary to add some explanation about the schools and history of Japanese art to the British Museum catalogue. However, the explanation (commentary) became very large, so Anderson decided to separate it from the original catalogue (*Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*) and publish it separately as a book of research titled *Pictorial Arts of Japan*. Of course, there was also a commentary section in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue*. Anyway, in 1886 (Meiji 19) both of Anderson's books were published. Both books were probably influenced by the plan of Anderson and Satow to publish a joint book about Japanese art.

After Anderson published these two main works, he continued to research Japanese art. In 1888 (Meiji 21) he exhibited his ukiyoe art prints (*Nishiki-e*) collection at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in London and published the catalogue for this.³⁶² Furthermore, in 1895 (Meiji 28) he published 'Japanese Wood Engravings: their History, Technique and Characteristics' (portfolio, monograph).³⁶³

At the exhibition in 1888 at the Burlington Fine Arts Club a total of 662 items were exhibited. The greater part was woodblock prints which Anderson had collected, and as will be explained later there was one item by Sharaku. I do not fully grasp the nature of Anderson's collection of ukiyoe art prints, but judging from the catalogue of the exhibition at least in 1888 Anderson had a vast collection.

There were also 15 items collected by Satow in the exhibition. The 15 items comprised prints by the following artists: Okumura Masanobu, Torii Kiyonaga (two items), Koikawa Harumachi, Chōbunsai Eishi, Eishōsai Chōki, Utagawa Toyohiro, Totoya Hokkei (two items), Utagawa Kunisada, Torii Kiyonobu, Torii Kiyomitsu, Rantokusai (Katsukawa Shundō), Katsukawa Shunrō (Hokusai), and Utagawa Toyokuni. Works by Sharaku and Utamaro were not among the works exhibited by Satow. According to the catalogue of the Burlington Fine Arts Club we know that in 1888 Satow had at least these 15 items of ukiyoe prints in his collection. Of course, this was probably just a small part of the number of prints which he had collected. Until 1888 how many

³⁶² Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of Prints and Books Illustrating the History of Engraving in Japan, Exhibited in 1888*, Burlington Arts Club, 1888.

³⁶³ William Anderson, *Japanese Wood Engravings: their History, Technique and Characteristics*, Macmillan, 1895 (Portfolio Monograph).

of Sharaku's works had Satow collected? That is the question which most demands an answer, but it remains unclear.

Regarding Anderson's book collection, in 1894 he sold it in two lots to the British Museum. In February he sold 1,280 volumes for £250, and in March he sold a further 300 volumes for £50.³⁶⁴ As we know from the above chart, Satow returned from Uruguay to Britain in the previous year (1893, Meiji 26). In the following year Anderson sold a total of 1,580 volumes to the British Museum, but he had probably obtained Satow's consent in 1893. Anderson was selling his own collection, so it may appear to have had nothing to do with Satow, but as will be stated below, their collections were intermingled in an unexpectedly complicated way.

Anderson died suddenly in 1900 (Meiji 33). In December 1900 according to the executor of his will the British Museum purchased his collection.³⁶⁵ However, the number of items and the purchase price is unclear, though there is a record that the amount was £20.³⁶⁶ Assuming that Anderson's collection was purchased in 1900, it would probably have been registered in the British Museum's catalogue from 1901 onwards.

In the end Anderson's book collection of Japanese books at the British Museum, including the 311 volumes purchased for £300 in 1882 (Meiji 15), amounted to a total of at least 1,891 volumes, and probably more than 2,000 volumes, at an estimated total price of more than £620. As will be stated later, a considerable part of Anderson's book collection taken into the British Museum was actually Satow's former collection. There was probably a partial intermingling of the two collections.

Satow's situation

Meanwhile after Satow had completed his postings in Uruguay and Morocco, in 1895 (Meiji 28) he was appointed Minister to Japan. He had moved from the Consular to the Diplomatic Service, and his dream of working in Japan as a diplomat had been realized. About ten years previously he had been promoted to the Diplomatic Service, and to show his resolve to progress in that career move he decided to dispose of his collection of Japanese books which he had so keenly collected until that time. His book collection was sent from his new posting at Bangkok to Britain or Japan. This was Satow's 'disposal of collection'.

In 1885 (Meiji 18) after the 'disposal of collection' one point of interest about Satow's collection was his actions when he was Minister in Uruguay (1889-1893). From September 1891 (Meiji 24) until January 1892 Satow was on leave in London. As part of the 'disposal of collection' in 1885 Satow had sent books from Bangkok to F.V. Dickins in London, and they were still in a warehouse in London. This part of his collection was the largest part. These Japanese books went via Aston's

³⁶⁴ Yu-ying Brown, 'Daiei Toshokan ni okeru Nihon Korekushon no Rekishi to Tokushoku', *Hizō Nihon Bijutsu Taikan 4 (Daiei Toshokan, Asshumorian Bijutsukan, Vikutoria Arubāto Hakubutsukan)*, Kōdansha, 1994. p.14.

³⁶⁵ Yu-ying Brown, 'Daiei Toshokan ni okeru Nihon Korekushon no Rekishi to Tokushoku', *Hizō Nihon Bijutsu Taikan 4 (Daiei Toshokan, Asshumorian Bijutsukan, Vikutoria Arubāto Hakubutsukan)*, Kōdansha, 1994. p.14.

³⁶⁶ Murakado Noriko, '19seikimatsu ni okeru Nihon Bijutsushi Shiryō Shūshū no Nettowāku, Wiriamu Andāson Kyūzū Wakansho o Chūshin ni', *Kajima Bijutsu Zaidan Nenpō*, No.27 (2009). p.226 & p.231.

collection and finally in 1911 were taken into Cambridge University Library. In Satow's diary for November 12, 1891 Satow refers to the books which had been sent to Dickins in London being stored there.³⁶⁷ So, in November 1891 they were still in London.

On December 15, 1891 Satow visited Aston and his wife, retired at Seaton in Devon.³⁶⁸ Satow had not met Aston and his wife for more than nine years. Aston spoke about Seoul in Korea where he had previously been appointed. It seems likely that it was on this day that Satow decided to give his books to Aston who was continuing his research into Japan. They were given to Aston at the beginning of 1892. It is probable that one of Satow's purposes in visiting the Astons was to arrange this matter.

On January 6, 1892 Satow made the following entry in his diary. On that day he had tea with Dickins and his wife at University College (London University) and then Satow '...Saw 10 cases of my Japanese books ready to be shipped off to Aston at Seaton.'³⁶⁹ At that time Aston was continuing his research into Japan at Seaton in Devon. In the previous month Satow had visited Aston. Satow's books stored in London were in the care of Dickins, so when Satow went to see his books to be sent to Aston, he drank tea with Dickins and his wife. Satow had probably invited Dickins and his wife to tea. Also, the place where the books were stored may have had something to do with University College. At that time Dickins was Assistant Registrar of the University of London.

In the process of transferring his books stored in London to Aston, Satow's feelings and attitude to his books seem to have been influential. About a year before Satow transferred his books to Aston in a letter dated January 29, 1891 sent to Dickins in London from the Uruguayan capital Montevideo, he expressed the following opinion.

'Books I don't want: they are vanity and vexation of spirit for the most part. I should like to say, if I dared, that no book printed in this century was worth reading...'³⁷⁰

Then in that same year from autumn to winter Satow returned to Britain and gave his books to Aston. After he had returned to Montevideo in a letter to Dickins dated March 15, 1892 he stated that he was pleased that Aston was able to make use of his books.³⁷¹ In this way Satow may have been trying to erase his feelings of regret at letting go of the books.

Above are the movements of Anderson and Satow based on the chart above. Regarding Satow's collection of books and documents relating to Japanese art, the years on the chart which demand attention are the four years from 1879 (Meiji 12) to 1882 (Meiji 15). It was in this period that Satow collected many books and documents relating to Japanese art, including Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. By the way Saitō Gesshin passed away in 1878.

³⁶⁷ TNA: PRO 30/33/15/14 (12th November 1891).

³⁶⁸ TNA: PRO 30/33/15/14 (15th December 1891).

³⁶⁹ TNA: PRO 30/33/15/14 (6th January 1892).

³⁷⁰ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press, 2008. pp.183-184.

³⁷¹ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press, 2008. pp.186-187.

The *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* entered in Anderson's *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*

Next, I want to consider Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* from William Anderson's point of view. Anderson published his two major works about Japanese art, the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum* and the *Pictorial Arts of Japan* in 1886 (Meiji 19). As already explained, the two books were mutually complementary. Anderson's reference books in Japanese used to research Japanese art were only contained in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue*. They were not contained in the *Pictorial Arts of Japan*.

In the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* there was a total of 68 reference books in Japanese. These were divided into three categories as follows: (1) Books with lists of artists – 12 items (2) Books containing subjects of general folklore, history etc. with illustrations – 40 items (3) Books containing reprints of famous Chinese and Japanese paintings – 16 items.³⁷² The interesting category is (2). This is because in 1879 (Meiji 12) when Satow and Anderson agreed to work together to publish a book about art, Satow was to be responsible for folklore, myths and motifs (subjects). So, this part probably contained many books which Satow had collected.

Also, Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* is included in category (1). In the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* the reference books entered in Japanese include only one MS (manuscript) which is the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Regarding this *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* Anderson added the comment that it is 'a valuable account of the artists of the popular school.'³⁷³ I want to pay special attention to the fact that Anderson made a point of including Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* (manuscript) in the Japanese reference books. The *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was useful for Anderson's research into the history of Japanese art, which must be the reason why he included it as one of the important reference books.

Furthermore, the greater part of the books in Japanese and Chinese which Anderson recorded in his *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* as works of reference were – as he noted – held at the British Museum.³⁷⁴ I will discuss this problem later. Were they really held at the British Museum at that time? Of course, this may be natural, since they were works of reference included in the catalogue of art held at the British Museum.

According to the record of the reference books in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* of course the British Museum held the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Most readers of the catalogue would have understood this to be the case. Furthermore, in most research texts about ukiyoe published at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century (e. g. Woldemar von Seidlitz's *History of Japanese Colour-Prints*) it was stated that the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was held at the British Museum. This was the natural conclusion from Anderson's statement.

³⁷² William Anderson, *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*, Longmans & Co., 1886. p.VII.

³⁷³ William Anderson, *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*, Longmans & Co., 1886. p.VII.

³⁷⁴ William Anderson, *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*, Longmans & Co., 1886. p.VII.

Seidlitz's publication was published in a German edition in 1897 (Meiji 30), an English edition in 1910 (Meiji 43), a French edition in 1915 (Taishō 4) and a Japanese edition in 1916 (Taishō 5). In his *History of Japanese Colour-Prints* Seidlitz listed up the first ten of the 68 Japanese works of reference cited by Anderson, and referred to them as follows. Below I am quoting from the English edition of *History of Japanese Colour-Prints*.

One chief source of information is the *Ukiyoe ruiko*, which exists in the British Museum (in a MS. of 1844) and elsewhere, and which is said to have been afterwards printed as well. The original draft is said to date from the year 1800, and to have been gradually supplemented, among others by the painter Keisai Yeisen, in 1830. The Musée Guimet in Paris intended to publish, in 1893, a French translation by Kawamura (see Deshayes, *Considérations*), but so far nothing seems to have come of it.³⁷⁵

What Seidlitz is saying is the following. *Ukiyoe Ruikō* is a useful document for ukiyoe research. It was published in later years as a book printed from woodblocks (*hanpon*), but before that it was used in manuscript form. The manuscript was in the possession of the British Museum and other places. However, from Seidlitz's text, the book held at other places was not necessarily a manuscript. It may have been a published book (*kanpon*). In fact, at the end of the 19th century in Europe there were only two or three organizations which possessed the manuscript. On the other hand, Seidlitz clearly refers to the British Museum having the manuscript. Seidlitz naturally thought from what Anderson wrote that the British Museum had the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* in manuscript form. The first manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* was completed in 1800, and in 1830 Keisai Eisen enlarged and corrected it. Mr. Kawamura of the Guimet art museum was planning to publish an edition translated into French, but in fact it was never published. The manuscript (draft) of the French translation was preserved at the Guimet art museum.

As we can see from the above, Seidlitz states in his *History of Japanese Colour-Prints* that the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (in fact Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*) is in the possession of the British Museum. Seidlitz read Anderson's catalogue and understood it in that way. But it is a separate question as to whether the British Museum actually did have the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*).

While writing this book I researched whether the British Museum (now the British Museum and British Library) had Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* or another manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō* but I was unable to find any evidence for this.

I concluded provisionally that the British Museum had never had a manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, but then the problem is that in the preface of this book I mentioned a letter from William Anderson to Edmond de Goncourt dated February 25, 1896 (Meiji 29). In this letter Anderson writes that he has recently transferred the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* to the British Museum. In Anderson's letter he used the word 'transfer'. In addition, Anderson tells Goncourt that apart from the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* which has been transferred to the British Museum, Ernest Satow also has the *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. The *Ukiyoe Ruikō* here of course refers to Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* which is the subject of this book.

³⁷⁵ Woldemar von Seidlitz, *A History of Japanese Colour-Prints*, Heinemann, 1910. p.28

To repeat, according to my research, I was unable to find any record that the British Museum (now the British Museum and British Library) ever had a manuscript of the *Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Did Anderson really transfer the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* to the British Museum? I have my doubts about this part of Anderson's letter.

It may be the case that Anderson or Satow caused a copy (manuscript) of Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* to be made by a Japanese person, and Anderson used it to compile his *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*. If that were the case, Anderson may have transferred that copy to the British Museum. Or perhaps Satow prepared an English translation (*kanyakuban*) of Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* for Anderson which he used for his *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* and finally Anderson donated this translation to the British Museum. These are only my guesses, and to my knowledge there are no supporting documents for these theories. Either way, as explained in the preface, the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* mentioned in Anderson's letter to Goncourt dated February 25, 1896 (Meiji 29) is mysterious and hard to understand.

Japanese Documents in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*

Of the 68 items listed as Japanese works of reference (*sankō bunken*) in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*, what proportion was actually held by the British Museum? The problem refers to the time of publication of the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue*. The matter of the letter dated February 25, 1896 (Meiji 29) from Anderson to Goncourt exists, but in this chapter as already mentioned, the assumption that the British Museum probably did not have Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* is not a great problem. So how about the remaining 67 items? In fact, this question relates to the relationship between Satow and Anderson already mentioned in this chapter. It was a complicated situation. Now I want to explain it.

First, regarding the Japanese works of reference in Anderson's *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* there are some leading works of research. For example, there is Murakado Noriko's essay '19seikimatsu ni okeru Nihon Bijutsushi Shiryō Shūshū no Nettowāku, Wiriamu Andāson Kyūzū Wakansho o Chūshin ni' (*Kajima Bijutsu Zaidan Nenpō*, No.27, 2009).³⁷⁶ Her essay is absolutely on the point of the Japanese works of reference in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue*, and this book will make use of her research.

However, the research viewpoint or angle which I am interested in is a little different from the one in Murakado Noriko's essay. What I want to know is connected with the provenance (*raireki*) of the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, and in particular of the 68 Japanese works of reference listed in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* including the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, what proportion were actually held at the British Museum? Particularly I am interested in the year when the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* was published, which was 1886 (Meiji 19). This is because the situation regarding the holding of the 68 items was incredibly complicated.

³⁷⁶ Murakado Noriko, '19seikimatsu ni okeru Nihon Bijutsushi Shiryō Shūshū no Nettowāku, Wiriamu Andāson Kyūzū Wakansho o Chūshin ni', *Kajima Bijutsu Zaidan Nenpō*, No.27 (2009).

On the other hand, regarding the 68 listed items, Murakado Noriko in her essay used the catalogue of the collection first to investigate the situation of Anderson's collection. In her essay she extended her research beyond Anderson to Satow, Aston, Chamberlain and others who researched Japan (Japanologists) and she prepared a detailed chart about the situation of their former collections. One result was that of the 68 items, 58 were from Anderson's former collection. This fact means that these 58 were formerly in the British Museum collection, since in the end almost all of Anderson's former collection was taken into the British Museum collection. The British Museum (including the British Museum Library) was divided in 1973 (Shōwa 48) into the present British Museum and the British Library (formerly the British Museum Library). The book collections of the former British Museum were also divided. So, of the 58 items formerly in Anderson's collection, now the British Library has 45 items and the British Museum has 13 items.

The original purpose of Murakado Noriko's essay was, by studying Anderson's former collection, to discover which Japanese had cooperated with him and supported his research into Japanese art.³⁷⁷ The conclusion of her essay, by investigating in detail the 68 items and their former collections, was that Anderson had through a network of document collectors been able to advance his research into the history of Japanese art. It became clear in the essay that rather than relying on Japanese to help him, Anderson had rather been greatly influenced by Satow and other foreign researchers of Japan.

In this book the investigation of the 68 items of Japanese works of reference is focused on the year of publication of the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* which was 1886 (Meiji 19) and the situation of the British Museum collection at that time. At that time did the British Museum really have most of the 68 items including the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*? This is the central point of my research. To investigate it I shall use Satow's catalogues of his book collection.

There are two points of difference between Murakado's essay and my investigation in this book. The first is that when investigating the former collections of Anderson, Satow and other Japan researchers, my focus is on the point in time when they were collecting. Murakado Noriko does not consider this question, and merely asks whether the books were in their former collections or not. The second is that in this book I make use of one of Satow's catalogues, the brown catalogue (*Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku*). Murakado Noriko does not use this catalogue in her work. The brown catalogue indicates the state of Satow's collection in 1885 (Meiji 18), the year in which he disposed of the collection. In fact, taking together the brown catalogue and *Satō Zōsho no uchi Gesaku Share oyobi Chūbon Zuihitsu Gūgen no Tagui narabini Kokushoku Chitsuiiri nado no Shoseki Mokuroku* (the second catalogue of the 15 listed early in Chapter Four) we can from these two catalogues get quite a clear idea of Satow's collection at that time. Also, as explained in the previous chapter, there are marks in the brown catalogue which Satow seems to have used when he was disposing of his collection. One of these was the tags (*fusen*) which he attached to books which he sent to Anderson, or to Anderson and the British Museum. Including the problem of the tags, for various reasons the brown catalogue (*Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku*) is a useful document when investigating the 68 reference works.

Of course, when investigating the 68 Japanese reference works in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue*, apart from the brown catalogue like Murakado's essay I have used various collection

³⁷⁷ Murakado Noriko, '19seikimatsu ni okeru Nihon Bijutsushi Shiryō Shūshū no Nettowāku, Wiriamu Andāson Kyūzū Wakansho o Chūshin ni', *Kajima Bijutsu Zaidan Nenpō*, No.27 (2009). p.231.

catalogues. Also, regarding the original titles of the 68 works, I have in principle used the same titles as the ones in Murakado's essay. This is because in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* the titles of the Japanese books are given in alphabet letters (romaji). In Murakado's essay these titles are converted to kanji and kana.

Analysis of the 68 items according to Year of Collection

In this book I have looked at the 68 works in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* based on the year in which they were taken from Anderson's former collection into the British Museum, and divided them into the five following groups. The first four groups are classified into the years when they were taken into the British Museum, and the last group consists of items which are not confirmed as coming from Anderson's former collection or their provenance is unclear. Apart from the last group, all the books are from Anderson's former collection, and they were all taken into the British Museum from him. In Murakado's essay, 58 items were confirmed as being from Anderson's collection. The last group of books is those which according to Murakado's essay could not be proved clearly to have been from Anderson's former collection.

In his *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* Anderson wrote that the great majority of the 68 works could be consulted in the British Museum. This may have been a correct statement at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, but when the catalogue was published in 1886 (Meiji 19) it was certainly not the case. As will be stated later, at that time the British Museum formally held only just over 20% of the works listed in the catalogue. In spite of this, why did Anderson write that the majority were then held in the British Museum? It can be imagined that in 1885 (Meiji 18) and 1886 (Meiji 19) there were many books passing between Satow and Anderson. It may be that, regardless of whether they were formally registered at the British Museum or not, most of them were physically located (stored) at the British Museum. This is because the documents (works of art) listed in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* known as the 'Anderson Collection' were stored at the British Museum. Anderson had probably used both works of art and books to edit his *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* and the place where he did the editing was probably the British Museum.

In this book first I will divide the 68 items into five groups according to the year of acquisition by the British Museum. The years will be the ones when they were officially acquired.

(A) 68 items of Works of Reference – A List according to the Year of Acquisition by the British Museum

1. Items acquired in 1882 (Meiji 15) and before that year

- * Gajō Yōryaku [Concise Annals of Painting],
- * Gen Min Shin Shoga Jinmeiroku [Catalog of Chinese Calligraphers and Painters of the Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties],
- * Boku-ō Shinga [New Paintings of Ōoka Shunboku],
- * Minamoto Raikō Mukashi Monogatari [Old Tales of Minamoto no Yorimitsu],
- * Ehon Nijūshi Kō [Twenty-four Instances of Filial Piety],

- * Ressen Zusan [Illustrated Biography of Chinese Hermits],
- * [Wakan] Ehon Sakigake [Picture Book of the Warrior Vanguard in Japan and China],
- * Ehon Kobun Kōkyō [Illustrated Canon of Filial Piety],
- * Wakan Eiyū [Gaden] [Illustrated Biography of the Heroes of Japan and China],
- * Honchō Garin [A Grove of Our Country's Paintings],
- * Wakan Shūgaen [Banquet of Chinese and Japanese Paintings],
- * Gasoku [Principles of Painting],
- * Shūchin Gajō [Album of Assembled Treasures],
- * Hengaku Kihan [Models for Framed Votive Paintings],
- * Ehon Ōshukubai [Illustrated Book of Bushwarbler in the Plum],

2. Items acquired in 1886 (Meiji 19)

- * Ehon Tsūhōshi [Picture Book of Shared Treasures],

3. Items acquired in February and March 1894 (Meiji 19)

- * Honchō Gashi [A History of Painting of Our Realm],
- * Kōchō Meiga Shūi [Selected Masterpieces of Japanese Painting]
- * Shoga Shūran [List of Japanese and Chinese Painters and Calligraphists]
- * Shoga Waisui [Flourishing Cluster of Painting and Calligraphy],
- * Gakō Senran [Aspects of the Hidden Skills of Painting],
- * Kokon Bushidō Ezukushi [Picture Compendium of Bushido Past and Present],
- * Ehon Hōkan [Precious Mirror for the Study of Painting],
- * Utai no Ehon [Picture Book of Japanese Lyrical Drama],
- * Nendaiki Eshō [Excerpts from Chronicles],
- * Ehon Kojidan [A Picture Book of Historical Events],
- * Bunrui Ehon Ryōzai [Classified Quality Documents for Painters],
- * Ehon Shahō-bukuro [Illustrated Pouch of Copied Treasures],
- * Gaten Tsūkō [A Comprehensive Examination of Painting],
- * Ehon Yamato Hiji [Illustrated Book of Comparable Things in Yamato (Japan)],
- * Ehon Nezashi Takara [The Treasures of Direct Pointing],
- * Ehon Isana-gusa [Illustrated Book of Japanese Heroes],
- * Ehon Musha Tazuna [Illustrated Book of the Warrior Reins],
- * Onna Buyū Yosooi Kurabe [Comparison of Women Heroes],
- * Ressen Zenden [Lieh-hsien Ch'üan-chuan] [Collected Biography of Chinese Hermits],
- * Ehon Suikoden [Picture Book of the Water Margin],
- * Ehon Chūkyū [The Picture Book of Loyalty],
- * Eiyū Zue [Pictorial Guide to Great Heroes],
- * Ehon Musashi Abumi [A Picture Book of Japanese Warriors],

- * Ehon Wakan no Homare [Illustrated Book of Glories of Japan and China],
- * Ehon Musha-burui [A Picture Book of Japanese Warriors],
- * Ehon Wakan no Homare [Illustrated Book of Glories of Japan and China],
- * Ehon Musha-burui [A Picture Book of Warriors],
- * Hokusai Manga [Hokusai's Sketches],
- * Buyū Sakigake Zue [Pictures of Valiant Warriors],
- * [Konjaku Gazu] Zoku Hyakki [The Illustrated One Hundred Demons from the Present and the Past],
- * [Ehon] Hyaku Monogatari [Picture Book of a Hundred Stories],
- * Butsuzō Zui [Illustrated Compendium of Buddhist Images],
- * Kinmō Zui Taisei [Great Illustrated Encyclopedia],
- * Morokoshi Kinmō Zui [Illustrated Encyclopedia of China],
- * Gashi Kaiyō [Essentials of the History of Painting],
- * Wakan Meigaen [A Garden of Famous Japanese and Chinese Paintings],
- * Kyōgaen [Mad Sketches],
- * Itsukushima Ema Kagami [Model of Ema (votive pictures) at Itsukushima Island],
- * Shūko Jisshu [Ten Types of Antiquities],
- * [Byōbu] Kakemono Ezukushi [Paintings on Screens and Hanging Scrolls],
- * Ehon Tekagami [A Hand-Mirror of Painting Models],
- * Kingyoku Gafu [Collection of Paintings of Gold and Jewels],

4. Items acquired in 1901 (Meiji 34)

- * [Wakan Meihitsu] Gaei [Glories of Japanese and Chinese Painting],
- * [Wakan Meihitsu] Gahō [Treasure of Celebrated Paintings of China and Japan],

5. Items not acquired, or year of acquisition unknown

- * Manpō Zensho [The Complete Book of Many Treasures],
- * Ukiyoe Ruikō [Various Thoughts on Ukiyoe],
- * Banpō Shoga Zensho [Many Treasures of Painting and Calligraphy],
- * Kun'in Hosei oyobi Hoi [Corrections and Addendum of Seals],
- * Gajin Ryaku Nenpyō [An Abridged Chronological Table of Painters],
- * Ressen den [Liexian Zhuan] [Biographies of Immortals],
- * Zenken Kojitsu [Illustrated Histories of Famous Personages of Old Japan],
- * Buzen Shichifukujin [Seven Gods of Fortune],
- * Wakan Sansai Zue [Illustrated Sino-Japanese Encyclopedia],
- * Keiho Gafu [Picture Album of Takada Keiho]

The above List (A) is divided into five groups: apart from the first group, 15 items acquired in 1882 (Meiji 15) and before that; the second, one item acquired in 1886 (Meiji 19); and the fifth, 10

items, not acquired or year of acquisition unclear etc., at least the 42 remaining of the 68 items were acquired by the British Museum after the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* was published in 1886 (Meiji 19). From this we know that the greater part of the 68 works of reference was not yet formally acquired by the British Museum in 1886 (Meiji 19).

Investigating the Japanese Works of Reference using Satow's Collection Catalogue

Next, I would like to investigate the question posed in the previous section quoting from Satow's catalogue of his collection. Of the 68 Japanese works of reference, only 50 are listed in Satow's brown catalogue (*Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku*) which reflects the state of his collection in 1885 (Meiji 18). Apart from these 50 items there are also books which may be included in the 68 items, but let us take 50 as the correct number, being the books about which we can be sure. In the same way as the above List (A) according to the year of acquisition by the British Museum, these 50 items are divided into five groups, according to year of acquisition or non-acquisition. As we are focusing on just 50 items, the 18 items which are not included in the brown catalogue are of course not included in this investigation. Furthermore, of the books included in the brown catalogue, I have marked those with tags/labels (*fusen*) accordingly as 'tagged' and those without tags/labels as 'not tagged'. In cases where the same document appears many times, I have added a simple explanation.

(B) List of Works of Reference which appear in the Brown Catalogue (*Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku*)

1. Items acquired in 1882 (Meiji 15) and before that year

- * Gajō Yōryaku [Concise Annals of Painting] (tagged)
- * Boku-ō Shinga [New Paintings of Ōoka Shunboku] (tagged)
- * Ressen Zusan [Illustrated Biography of Chinese Hermits] (tagged)
- * Shūchin Gajō [Album of Assembled Treasures] (tagged)
- * Hengaku Kihan [Models for Framed Votive Paintings] (tagged)
- * Ehon Ōshukubai [Illustrated Book of Bushwarbler in the Plum] (tagged)

2. Items acquired in 1886 (Meiji 19)

- * Ehon Tsūhōshi [Picture Book of Shared Treasures] (tagged)

3. Items acquired in February and March 1894 (Meiji 19)

- * Honchō Gashi [A History of Painting of Our Realm] (tagged)
- * Kōchō Meiga Shūi [Selected Masterpieces of Japanese Painting] (tagged)
- * Shoga Shūran [List of Japanese and Chinese Painters and Calligraphists] (tagged)
- * Gakō Senran [Aspects of the Hidden Skills of Painting] (tagged)

- * Kokon Bushidō Ezukushi [Picture Compendium of Bushido Past and Present] (tagged)
- * Ehon Hōkan [Precious Mirror for the Study of Painting] (tagged)
- * Nendaiki Eshō [Excerpts from Chronicles] (not tagged)
- * Ehon Kojidan [A Picture Book of Historical Events] (tagged)
- * Bunrui Ehon Ryōzai [Classified Quality Documents for Painters] (tagged)
- * Ehon Shahō-bukuro [Illustrated Pouch of Copied Treasures] (tagged)
- * Gaten Tsūkō [A Comprehensive Examination of Painting] (tagged)
- * Ehon Yamato Hiji [Illustrated Book of Comparable Things in Yamato (Japan)] (tagged) (two items? 10 volumes with the publication date of 1742 and 6 volumes with the compilation date of 1738 and the publication date of 1742)
- * Ehon Nezashi Takara [The Treasures of Direct Pointing] (tagged)
- * Ehon Isana-gusa [Illustrated Book of Japanese Heroes] (tagged)
- * Onna Buyū Yosooi Kurabe [Comparison of Women Heroes] (tagged)
- * Ressen Zenden [Lieh-hsien Ch'üan-chuan] [Collected Biography of Chinese Hermits] (not tagged) (two items? "Ressen Zenden" with 9 vols. and "Yūshō Ressen Zenden" with 5 vols.)
- * Ehon Chūkyū [The Picture Book of Loyalty] (tagged)
- * Eiyū Zue [Pictorial Guide to Great Heroes] (tagged)
- * Ehon Musashi Abumi [A Picture Book of Japanese Warriors] (tagged)
- * Ehon Wakan no Homare [Illustrated Book of Glories of Japan and China] (tagged)
- * Hokusai Manga [Hokusai's Sketches] (tagged)
- * Buyū Sakigake Zue [Pictures of Valiant Warriors] (tagged)
- * [Ehon] Hyaku Monogatari [Picture Book of a Hundred Stories] (tagged)
- * Butsuzō Zui [Illustrated Compendium of Buddhist Images] (not tagged) (two items? "Shoshū Butsuzō Zui" with 4 vols and "Shoshū Butsuzō Zui" with 4 vols. Are they the same item and just registered in two places?)
- * Kinmō Zui Taisei [Great Illustrated Encyclopedia] (tagged)
- * Morokoshi Kinmō Zui [Illustrated Encyclopedia of China] (not tagged)
- * Gashi Kaiyō [Essentials of the History of Painting] (tagged)
- * Wakan Meigaen [A Garden of Famous Japanese and Chinese Paintings] (tagged)
- * Kyōgaen [Mad Sketches] (tagged)
- * Itsukushima Ema Kagami [Model of Ema at Itsukushima Island] (not tagged)
- * Shūko Jisshu [Ten Types of Antiquities] (not tagged)
- * [Byōbu] Kakemono Ezukushi [Paintings on Screens and Hanging Scrolls] (tagged)
- * Ehon Tekagami [A Hand-Mirror of Painting Models] (tagged)
- * Kingyoku Gafu [Collection of Paintings of Gold and Jewels] (tagged)

4. Items acquired in 1901 (Meiji 34)

- * [Wakan Meihitsu] Gaei [Glories of Japanese and Chinese Painting] (tagged)
- * [Wakan Meihitsu] Gahō [Treasure of Celebrated Paintings of China and Japan] (tagged)

5. Items not acquired or year of acquisition unknown

- * Manpō Zensho [The Complete Book of Many Treasures] (not tagged)
- * Ukiyoe Ruikō [Various Thoughts on Ukiyoe] (tagged) (this is not Saitō Gesshin's "Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō")
- * Kun'in Hosei oyobi Hoi [Corrections and Addendum of Seals] (tagged)
- * Zenken Kojitsu [Illustrated histories of Famous Personages of Old Japan] (tagged) (There are two items. One item with 20 vols is tagged, but the other with 10 vols not tagged)
- * Buzen Shichifukujin [Seven Gods of Fortune]] (not tagged)
- * Wakan Sansai Zue [Illustrated Sino-Japanese Encyclopedia] (not tagged) (two items)
- * Keiho Gafu [Picture Album of Takada Keiho] (tagged)

If we compare the above Lists (A) and (B) together, the following becomes clear. Regarding the six items which appear in List (B) in the first group ('Items acquired in 1882 (Meiji 15) and before that year') we know that both Anderson and Satow had them in their collections. They both had at least one copy of each. Regarding the *Ehon Ōshukubai* it may be that it was not in Anderson's former collection, but before Anderson's collection was started it was already held in the British Museum.

Of the six items we know the following circumstances regarding *Ressen Zusan*. First, Anderson collected the *Ressen Zusan* and it was sold to the British Museum in 1882 (Meiji 15). It is now in the British Museum collection. Next the *Ressen Zusan* collected by Satow was donated to the British Museum. Now it is in the British Library collection. The *Ressen Zusan* in the British Library collection was the book formerly collected by Saitō Gesshin.

Also, in the fifth group of List (B) (Items not acquired or year of acquisition unknown etc.) the 'Ukiyoe Ruikō (tagged)' is included. This requires explanation. As already explained in the previous chapter, this is not Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. In the brown catalogue (*Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku*) there is an entry 'Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō Shahon (Manuscript)' (three volumes) with no tags/labels. Also, in the brown catalogue there is an entry 'Ukiyoeshi no Den Shahon' (one volume), with no tag/label. However, there is no entry in the brown catalogue for 'Ukiyoe Kō' (manuscript, one volume) which was mentioned in Chapter Two. Probably in the brown catalogue the 'Ukiyoe Kō' was entered as 'Ukiyoe Ruikō Shahon (Manuscript)' (one [volume]). There is a tag/label attached to 'Ukiyoe Ruikō Shahon' but there is no record of 'Ukiyoe Kō' having been sent to Anderson. Now the Cambridge University Library holds the following three items: *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, *Ukiyoeshi no Den* and *Ukiyoe Kō*. However, the British Museum and the British Library have no holdings of the manuscript of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

The reason that I have included both Lists (A) and (B) is to suggest that of the 68 items, apart from the 14 items sold by Anderson to the British Museum in 1882 (Meiji 15) and one item collected before that (a total of 15 items), when the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* was published in 1886 (Meiji 19) at least the greater part had not been formally acquired by the British Museum. This point was already substantially proved by List (A). Adding List (B) was merely a confirmation of this. Of the 68 items there were books collected by both Anderson and Satow,

and the situation is hard to understand, but regarding the following 13 books it is clear that most of them were transferred by Satow to Anderson.

First, from the 68 works of reference let us provisionally select *Shoga Shūran*, *Gakō Senran*, *Kokon Bushidō Ezukushi*, *Ehon Hōkan*, *Bunrui Ehon Ryōzai*, *Ehon Nezashi Takara*, *Ehon Isana-gusa*, *Onna Buyū Yosooi Kurabe*, *Ehon Chūkyō*, *Buyū Sakigake Zue*, [*Byōbu*] *Kakemono Ezukushi*, *Wakan Meigaen* and [*Wakan Meihitsu*] *Gaei*. According to Murakado Noriko's essay '19seikimatsu ni okeru Nihon Bijutsushi Shiryō Shūshū no Nettowāku, Wiriamu Andāson Kyūzū Wakansho o Chūshin ni' these 13 items had only been collected by Anderson. They were not simultaneously collected by Anderson and Satow. Moreover, at the point in time when they were transferred to the British Museum, they were in Anderson's collection.

Nevertheless, all of the 13 items (books) appear in Satow's brown catalogue (*Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku*), which means that by 1885 (Meiji 18) at the latest, they had been collected by Satow. Again, as part of the disposal of his collection, Satow added marks (*fugō*) and stamps to his brown catalogue. It can be imagined that he added small tags/labels to the books destined to be sent to Anderson or the British Museum. Above the book title a small tag (*shōhen*) was added. All of the 13 items (books) were marked in this way.

Summarizing the movement of these 13 books, the following is clear. First, up until 1885 (Meiji 18) they were collected by Satow. After that they were sent to Anderson and taken into his collection. Then in 1894 (Meiji 27) or thereafter they were formally sold by Anderson to the British Museum. However, even before the sale they may have been physically stored at the British Museum.

As is clear from the example of the above 13 books, many of the books in Satow's former collection were transferred to Anderson. I have chosen the example of these 13 books because it is easy to understand, but the total number of books relating to Japanese art which passed from Satow to Anderson must have been much larger. It is also not clear whether Satow sold these books to Anderson or donated them. Nor is it clear whether Satow received any compensation from Anderson. He probably did not receive anything. If these books were donated by Satow to Anderson, it is hard to understand why Anderson sold them to the British Museum. Either way, regarding Japanese language books about Japanese art, it is clear that Satow's collection was very influential in Anderson's research into Japanese art. Also, Anderson in fact clearly acknowledged Satow's contribution in his *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* [see Preface, p. vi.] This contribution (support for Anderson) surely included Satow's collection.

The main topic of this book is the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* edited by Saitō Gesshin. Anderson in his *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* included it in his 'Books containing lists of artists' [*Gaka no Risuto wo Keisai suru Shoseki*] but the British Museum never had *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* in its collection. As mentioned in the preface, there is the problem of Anderson's letter to Goncourt dated February 25, 1896 (Meiji 29) but it seems probable that the British Museum never had the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (including the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*) in its collection. In order to verify this point, I have examined in detail the 68 items of Japanese works of reference which appear in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue*. It has been rather a roundabout way to prove the point that Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was never in the British Museum's collection.

How the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was used in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue*

Next, I want to investigate how William Anderson used Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* when he wrote his *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue*. The structure of the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* is that there is first a commentary on each school, for example the 'ukiyoe ryū' (ukiyoe-ha), in which the artists of that school are introduced, and after that the relevant works of the Anderson Collection purchased by the British Museum are introduced with their catalogue number.

More important ukiyoe artists, for example Hishikawa Moronobu (1618-1694), Hokusai (1760-1849) and others are also introduced in reference works (woodblock printed books, *hanpon*). In this chapter I want to investigate Hishikawa Moronobu and Hokusai as they appear in works of reference in William Anderson's *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* and compare with how they appear in Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* in order to discover how Anderson used Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Here I expect to find Ernest Satow's influence.

In the matter of reference works in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* I will first look at the books about Hishikawa Moronobu. In the British Museum catalogue, Japanese works of reference about Hishikawa Moronobu appear in the following way.

There are special features in the method that Anderson uses to introduce works about Hishikawa Moronobu. Broadly he employs two methods. The first one is the one including both Satow's and Anderson's collections. He does not distinguish between them, but treats them together as one. Of course, the majority was from Satow's collection. The second method is using the works of reference in the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Regarding the part added after the titles I will explain later.

(A) Works collected by Satow and Anderson

- * Iwaki Ezukushi [Illustrated Collection of Rocks and Trees], (Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku)
- * Koi no Uta Kagami [Poetry Mirror of Love] (British Library, Anderson Collection)
- * Bijin Ezukushi [Illustrations of Beautiful Women] (Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku)
- * Kokon Bushidō Ezukushi [Picture Compendium of Bushido Past and Present] (Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku)
- * Sanza Nasake no Kayoiji [Sanza's Way of Love] (British Museum, Anderson Collection, 1894)
- * Yokei Tsukuri Niwa no Zu [A Compendium of Model Garden] (Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku)
- * Sugata-e Hyakunin Isshu [Portraits for One Hundred Poems about One Hundred Poets] (Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku)
- * [Byōbu] Kakemono Ezukushi [Paintings on Screens and Hanging Scrolls] (Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku)
- * Koi no Minakami [The Sources of Love] (?)
- * Yamato Ezukushi [Pictures of Japan] (Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku)
- * Wakoku Hyakujo [One Hundred Women of Japan] (it is listed as "Kōkoku Hyakujo", but it means "Wakoku Hyakujo) (Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku)
- * Yamato no Ōyose [Great Gathering of Japan] (Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku)

Of the above 12 items, after nine of them ‘Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku’ is added. These books were included in Satow’s brown catalogue (*Chairo Zōsho Mokuroku*). So, they were clearly from Satow’s former collection. Of these nine items, two of them (Kokon Bushidō Ezukushi and [Byōbu] Kakemono Ezukushi) were transferred from Satow to Anderson and the British Museum purchased them from Anderson in 1894 (Meiji 27). In 1886 (Meiji 19) Anderson had only two titles (Koi no Uta Kagami and Sanza Nasake no Kayoiji) in his former collection. As we know from the information added after the titles, now the British Library holds the *Koi no Uta Kagami*, whereas the British Museum holds the Sanza Nasake no Kayoij. The British Museum bought the latter title from Anderson in 1884 (Meiji 17). Regarding *Koi no Uta Kagami* there is no clear information. Now the British Museum also has the *Koi no Uta Kagami*, but it is not clear whether it is the same thing. Anderson wrote that these 12 items were works collected by Satow and Anderson, but the majority were Satow’s.

Next, I want to introduce the reference works about Hishikawa Moronobu in the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. They are the following woodblock printed books. In short, neither Anderson nor Satow had reference works in their collections, but there were reference works in the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, so they were included in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue*.

(B) Works which appear in the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (*Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*)

- * Hyakunin Isshu [One Hundred Poems about One Hundred Poets]
- * Yamato Shinō Ezukushi [Exhaustive Pictorial Compendium of the Warriors and Farmers of Yamato]
- * Shokoku Ehon Kagami [Picture Book Mirror of Various Occupations]
- * Tōkaidō meisho-shi (Is it “Tōgoku Meishō-shi” [Annals of Picturesque Sites in Eastern Provinces of Japan]?)
- * Tsukinami no Asobi [Monthly Amusements]
- * Ise Monogatari [Tales of Ise]
- * Kōshoku Edo Murasaki [The Sensual 'Violets' of Edo]
- * Wakoku Hyakujo [One Hundred Women of Japan]
- * Yume no Uranai Ezukushi [Picture Compendium of Dream Divination]
- * Ehon Yamato Sumi [Picture Book of Japanese Ink]
- * Ukiyo Hyakunin Onna [One Hundred Women of the Floating World]
- * Wakoku Meisho Kagami [Mirror of Famous Places of Japan]

Regarding the above 12 woodblock printed books (*hanpon*) Anderson in his *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* wrote that they were entered in *Ukiyoe Ruikō* (*Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*) but this is not necessarily the case for all of them. Certainly, Tsukinami no Asobi, Wakoku Hyakujo and Ehon Yamato Sumi are entered. Also, if Shokoku Ehon Kagami [Picture Book Mirror of Various Occupations] is Shoshoku Ekagami [Mirror of Images of Various Professions] and Tōkaidō meisho-shi is Tōgoku Meisho-shi, then Shoshoku Ekagami and Tōgoku Meisho-shi are included in the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Furthermore, Anderson may have misidentified Ukiyo Hyakunin Onna as

being the Ehon Hyakunin Bijō [Picture Book of One Hundred Beautiful Women] or the Kōshoku Hyakunin Bijō [One Hundred Amorous Beautiful Women] which are in the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

Hyakunin Isshu and *Ise Monogatari* are too general, so excluding those, the remaining Yamato Shinō Ezukushi, Kōshoku Edo Murasaki, Yume no Uranai Ezukushi, Wakoku Meisho Kagami are not included in the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Anderson states that these reference works (*hanpon*) are all quoted from the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, but it may be that Anderson himself had not read the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* very carefully. It is possible that he did not take his information directly from the actual text, but from the partial English translation of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* which Satow gave him, and then entered these books in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue*. It is doubtful whether when he was compiling the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* Anderson had in front of him the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

Hokusai in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue*

Next, I would like to investigate the part relating to Hokusai in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue*. When writing about Hokusai in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* Anderson seems to have referred extensively to the part about Hokusai in the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. For example, in the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* the following is written about Hokusai.

It is said that Iitsu-ō [Hokusai] was good at drawing on curved surfaces. He could draw with ink on any kind of equipment, such as a square measuring cup [*masu*], an egg, a sake bottle [flask, *tokkuri*] and a box. He could use his left hand as well as his right. He could sketch from bottom to top, so he could draw “reverse pictures” too. He was particularly good at drawing with his thumb or a fingernail and the result was excellent, and looked like a drawing with a brush. If we had not seen how he was drawing, we could not find the difference between them. Hokusai liked *haiku* poetry and was good at making *senryū* (humorous or ironic *haiku*). He said the following himself. He learned under painters of various schools for several years and established the methods of his own school after he had mastered the principles of those various schools. He said that there were some things to be acquired from attempting new techniques of brushmanship in the art of painting. He often tried new methods learning from billboard pictures of show houses, play signs of theatres and even oil paintings and Dutch paintings. As a result, he could manage to bring about amazing work with detailed pictures on printed books. It was an unparalleled achievement.³⁷⁸

Anderson translated (or had translated for him) into English a long commentary or critique (*hyō*) about Hokusai inserted into the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* by its author Saitō Gesshin. Anderson judged that the quotation from *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* effectively captured Hokusai’s genius, and while making it a little shorter, translated it into English almost word for word. However, he did not translate everything into English. For example, he did not translate ‘Shita yori ue e kakiagaru sakae o kakeri’ [He could sketch from bottom to top, so he could draw “reverse pictures” too.]

³⁷⁸ Itasaka Gen and Tanamachi Tomoya, ‘Kaigai Shiryō Shōkai: Gesshin Kōhon Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō 2’, *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō*, No.3 (1964). p. 135.

Also 'Hokusai wa haikai o konomi senryō no kyōku o yokusu' [Hokusai liked *haiku* poetry and was good at making *senryū*.] has been omitted. Probably Satow first translated this part into English and Anderson made use of it in his *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue*. Satow did not provide a word-for-word translation into English, but translated the gist and summarized it. This is why Anderson's catalogue entry is also a summarized translation.

I will continue my investigation of how Anderson made use of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* when he wrote the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue*. Next, I want to examine how he quoted from the section in the reference works in *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* about Hokusai in his *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue*. In the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* there are the following works of reference about Katsushika Hokusai.

First, Anderson took the part in his own collection and listed it together with the parts in the collections of five others: Siebold, Burty, Hart, Duret and Alexander. Siebold was Philipp Franz von Siebold (the father). Alexander was a banker in London and a ukiyoe collector named William C. Alexander. Anderson divided his Japanese language sources on Hokusai into three groups: (A) Anderson and the five collectors, (B) Satow, and (C) the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. I feel a little uncomfortable about this method. The normal method of division would be (A) Anderson, (B) Satow and the five collectors, (C) the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. This way is more natural. Why did Anderson make a point of lumping his collection together with those of the other five collectors?

(A) The part including the collections of Anderson and the five other collectors

A total of 67 items, of which Anderson provided 42 items (62.7%), Duret 10 items, Burty 9 items, Alexander 3 items, Hart two items and Siebold one item.

(B) The part from Satow's collection

20 items.

(C) The part included in *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*

37 items, which are listed here as follows:

- * Jimon Hinagata [Samples of Textile Patterns]
- * Hokusai Gakyō [Mirror of the Paintings of Hokusai]
- * Hokusai Gasō [Hokusai's Collection of Pictures]
- * Iitsu Gafu [A Hokusai Album]
- * Sashin Gafu [The Picture Book of Realistic Paintings] (folding book) one volume
- * Jōruri Zekku [Pictures of Jōruri Plays with Chinese Verses] one volume
- * [Sanshichi Zenden] Nanka no Yume [Life is a Dream: The Story of Sankatsu and Hanshichi] (author: Kyokutei Bakin)
- * Chūkō Itako-bushi [Loyal Songs of Itako] 5 volumes (author: Utei Enba)
- * [Ehon] Tama no Ochibo [Gleanings of a Jade Ornament] 10 volumes (author: Koeda Shigeru) 1808
- * Kaidan Shimoya no Hoshi [Ghost Story: Stars on a Frosty Night] 5 volumes (author: Ryūtei Tanehiko) 1808

- * [Ehon] Azuma Futaba Nishiki [The Illustrated Book of Brocade of Early Years in the Eastern Provinces] 5 volumes (author: Koeda Shigeru)
- * Onna Moji Nue Monogatari [Nue Story [with Hiragana]] 5 volumes (author: Shakuyakutei Nagane) 1808
- * Awa no Naruto [The Roaring Straits of Awa] 5 volumes (author: Ryūtei Tanehiko) 1808
- * Kanadehon Gojitu no Bunshō [Latter Day Tales in Kana Form] 5 volumes (author: Utei Enba) 1809
- * Shin Kasane Gedatsu Monogatari [A New Story of Kasane's Liberation] 5 volumes (author: Kyokutei Bakin)
- * Katakiuchi Urami Kuzunoha [Revenge Tales of Abe no Yasuna and his Son] 5 volumes (author: Kyokutei Bakin)
- * Futatsu Chōchō Shiraito Sōshi [Story of Chokichi and Chogoro] 5 volumes (author: Shakuyakutei Nagane)
- * [Oriku Kōsuke] Yume no Ukihashi [Floating Bridge of Dreams] 3 volumes (author: Rakurakuan Tōei) 1809
- * Sumidagawa Bairyū Shinsho [A New Tale of Plum and Willow by the Sumida River] 6 volumes (author: Kyokutei Bakin)
- * Raigō [Ajari] Kaisōden [The Story of the Priest Raigo and the Mysterious Rat] 10 volumes (author: Kyokutei Bakin) 1808
- * Yuriwaka Nozue no Taka [The Wild Falcon of Yuriwaka] 5 volumes (author: Mantei Sōba)
- * [Kyōtō Rireki] Matsuō Monogatari [The Tales of Matsuō] 6 volumes (author: Koeda Shigeru) 1812
- * Aoto Fujitsuna Moryōan [The Story of Aoto Fujitsuna] (author: Kyokutei Bakin)
- * Seta no Hashi Ryūnyo no Honji [Original Reality of Dragon Princess on Seta Bridge] 3 volumes (author: Ryūtei Tanehiko) 1811 Detailed Illustrations (Engraver: Asakura Ihachi)
- * Hida no Takumi Monogatari [The Story of the Craftsman of Hida] 6 volumes (author: Rokujuen Meshimori [Ishikawa Masamochi]) 1809
- * Beibei Kyōdan [A Rustic Tale of Two Heirs] 6 volumes (author: Kyokutei Bakin)
- * Hashi Kuyō [Bridge Memorial Service] 5 volumes (author: Koeda Shigeru)
- * Oguri Gaiden [An Unauthorised Biography of the Oguri Clan] 16 volumes (author: Koeda Shigeru)
- * Hokuetsu Kidan [Strange Tales from Echigo Province] 6 volumes (author: Tachibana Shigeyo) 1812
- * Nureginu Sōshi [Story of a False Accusation] 5 volumes (author: Shakuyakutei Nagane)
- * Sanshō Dayū [Sansho the Bailiff] 5 volumes (author: Reitei Kokuga)
- * Shokoku Sansui [Landscape in Various Provinces]
- * Hyakki Yagyō [Night Parade of One Hundred Demons]
- * Shokoku Taki Mawari [A Tour of the Waterfalls of the Provinces]
- * Kacho Zukushi [Collection of Pictures of Flower and Birds]
- * Ryūkyū Hakkei [Eight Views of the Ryūkyū Islands]
- * Hyakunin Isshu [One Hundred Poems about One Hundred Poets]

Regarding the part included in the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* 37 items appear. In fact, in the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* regarding Hokusai there are in total 56 items. Of these 56 items, some are books already included, and omitting those books whose titles etc. are unclear, the remainder is 37 items.

In the end in the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* there are 124 items referring to Hokusai. Of these Anderson's collection provided 42 items, Satow's collection provided 20 items, other collectors provided 25 items, and the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* provided 37 items. The part provided by *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* occupies 30% of the total 124 items. This 30% is certainly not a small proportion. When Anderson wrote the ukiyoe section in his *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* he must have used the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. From an analysis of the reference works about Hokusai this is clear.

Also, Anderson's collection providing 42 items is a large number, and this may be related to Anderson's sale of 311 items to the British Museum for £360 in 1882 (Meiji 15). Among the 311 items it can be imagined that many picture books by Hokusai and others were included. This is because Anderson in February and March 1894 (Meiji 27) sold 1,280 items and 300 items for £360 and £50 respectively. On the other hand, in the case of 1882 (Meiji 15), the price of one part (or one item) was clearly higher. Even comparing the same books in 1894 (Meiji 27), they were sold for much higher prices in 1882 (Meiji 15). Probably the 1882 sale included many precious picture books by Hokusai and others.

Anderson's Assessment of Sharaku

Finally, I want to introduce Anderson's assessment of Sharaku in his *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue*. Clearly the knowledge which Anderson was able to acquire about Sharaku was limited to what was written in Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Regarding Sharaku, Anderson wrote the following:

TŌ-SHIU-SAI SHARAKU. Drew portraits of actors at the end of the last century [18th century]. It is said that "he made too strenuous efforts to copy nature, and the result was that his pictures missed the higher truth. After one or two years he retired from the scene." The few of his works that have reached us certainly demonstrate his failure, but in no degree support the theory of its causation. [Sharaku attempted to draw the truth, but the result was that he did not draw the truth.] His drawing is, in fact, more incorrect in detail than that of any of his contemporaries.³⁷⁹

Regarding this part about Sharaku, I would like to add the following comments. If we set to one side Anderson's assessment of Sharaku, it is clear that it relies on *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

First, Anderson's quoted part above is a direct English translation of the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* which states: 'He copied portraits of kabuki actors, but he could not draw the truth and after one

³⁷⁹ William Anderson, *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*, Longmans & Co., 1886. p.345.

or two years he stopped.³⁸⁰ After this quotation Anderson writes his impression on seeing a small number of Sharaku's works in Europe up to 1886 (Meiji 19) that 'his pictures missed the higher truth.' According to Anderson, Sharaku's works attempted to draw the truth but ended in failure. By the 'theory of causation' (cause and effect) Sharaku tried to draw the truth, and the result was expected that he would succeed in doing so, but since he failed in fact, his works did not support the 'theory of causation'. Furthermore, comparing Sharaku's drawings with those of his contemporaries, they were inaccurate in detail. We can conclude that Anderson's assessment of Sharaku was a very severe one.

Taking into consideration the above entry about Sharaku from the *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* it is clear that Anderson's assessment of Sharaku was not high. He sang the praises of Hokusai, but not of Sharaku. As will be stated later, Satow seems to have had a very high opinion of Sharaku. Satow liked Sharaku's work and praised it highly, which is why even though it was probably difficult to collect his work he collected 25 of his Nishiki-e. In contrast Anderson did not recognize Sharaku as an important ukiyoe artist.

Two years after Anderson published his *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* he held an exhibition of ukiyoe prints at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, and published the catalogue of that exhibition. The great majority were items collected by Anderson and Mrs. Anderson but there were also items collected by others including Satow, Dillon and his son (Frank Dillon (1803-1929) the British artist and his son Edward who worked at the Osaka Mint for almost five years), William C. Alexander and others.

In that exhibition there was just one Sharaku portrait of an actor. According to the exhibition catalogue, the *Catalogue of Prints and Books Illustrating the History of Engraving in Japan Exhibited in 1888*, it was a work from 1775 (An'ei 4) in which several actors were depicted, and moreover it was lent from Anderson's collection. Anderson added the following comment:

Sharaku is considered to have missed his mark as an artist through an over-anxious searching after the truth. His portraitures, however, appear to be more eccentric and extravagant than veracious.³⁸¹

It is clear that Anderson did not seek to raise his assessment of Sharaku in the Burlington Fine Arts Club catalogue, but merely expressed a degree of interest in his work. That is probably why he decided to collect at least one of his works. That was the one exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club.

It is not known what happened later to that Sharaku work from Anderson's former collection. Many of Anderson's former ukiyoe went to Ernest Hart and were then acquired by the British Museum, but that Sharaku was probably not one of them. After the Burlington exhibition who acquired Anderson's Sharaku?

³⁸⁰ Itasaka Gen and Tanamachi Tomoya, 'Kaigai Shiryō Shōkai: Gesshin Kōhon Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō 2', *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō*, No.3 (1964). p. 114.

³⁸¹ Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of Prints and Books Illustrating the History of Engraving in Japan, Exhibited in 1888*, Burlington Arts Club, 1888. p.6.

Chapter Six

Anderson's Death and Satow's Ukiyoe Collection

William Anderson (1842-1900) published his *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum, Pictorial Arts of Japan, Japanese Wood Engravings: the History, Technique and Characteristics* and other works, and so made a great contribution to overseas research into Japanese art. He died suddenly on October 27, 1900 (Meiji 33) in London due to a rupture of the cord of the mitral valve of the heart.³⁸² He was aged 57 at the time of his death.

His estate amounted to £11,282 and three shillings, in Japanese yen at today's values about 145 million yen, but as regards Oriental or Japanese works of art there was nothing left, apart from one large bronze statue of a dragon.³⁸³ Despite the suddenness of his passing, as a collector of Japanese works of art he had done an admirable job of settling his affairs. However, as regards his books in Japanese, according to a note by the executor of his will, in 1901 (Meiji 34) books were sold to the British Museum at the price of £20.³⁸⁴ Regarding the works of art only the bronze dragon remained, but quite a few Japanese books seem to have been left over.

In Chapter One I mentioned that in 1882 (Meiji 15) Ernest Hart purchased Anderson's ukiyoe woodblock prints etc. On the last day of 1881 (Meiji 14) the British Museum purchased the works of art collected by Anderson (the 'Anderson Collection') but not all of them. The remainder was bought by his friend Hart. Among these the ukiyoe woodblock prints were included. However, Anderson did not dispose of all of his Nishiki-e. He probably had a large number still in his possession. Hart who had purchased Japanese works of art from Anderson used this as an opportunity to positively acquire many more works of art, and became one of the leading collectors of Japanese art in Britain. Hart died in 1898 (Meiji 38) and his collection was dispersed. In 1902 the British Museum purchased Hart's collection of 225 ukiyoe woodblock prints and eight albums from his widow for the sum of £250.³⁸⁵ This collection probably included items from Anderson's former collection. The end result was that part of Anderson's collection of ukiyoe woodblock prints was finally acquired by the British Museum.

Ernest Satow was British Minister in Japan from 1895 (Meiji 28) to 1900 (Meiji 33), and then from 1900 to 1906 (Meiji 39) was British Minister in China, and retired from the Foreign Office as a diplomat in 1906 (Meiji 39). From 1907 (Meiji 40) he settled down in Ottery St. Mary in the county of Devon and became a retired person. It was not very far away from the places where Aston and Dickins had retired. Satow stayed at Ottery St. Mary until 1929 (Shōwa 4) when he passed away at the age of 86.

³⁸² Murakado Noriko, 'Wiriamu Andāson to "Butsuzō Zui": Nihon Bijutsushi Keiseki ni okeru Ōbun Nihon Kenkyūsho no Ichi', *Bijutsushi*, Vol.62, No.1. (2012). p.50.; 'Obituary: William Anderson', *The Lancet*, Nov. 10, 1900. pp.1368-1371.

³⁸³ Olive Checkland, 'Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831-89), the Painter, and the British', *Britain & Japan Biographical Portraits* Vol. III, Japan Library, 1999. p.79.

³⁸⁴ Murakado Noriko, '19seikimatsu ni okeru Nihon Bijutsushi Shiryō Shūshū no Nettowāku, Wiriamu Andāson Kyūzū Wakansho o Chūshin ni', *Kajima Bijutsu Zaidan Nenpō*, No.27 (2009). p.226 & p.231.

³⁸⁵ The Minutes of the British Museum Board of Trustees Meetings (8th February 1902).

On entering his retirement, Satow began to dispose of his collection. In 1907 (Meiji 40) he donated an album of ukiyoe woodblock prints to the British Museum.³⁸⁶ This album included seven early and rare works by ukiyoe masters. In fact, on the website of the British Museum (“Collection Online”) there are eight woodblock prints.³⁸⁷ In the end, eight seems to be the correct number in the album donated by Satow, broken down as follows: Torii Kiyomitsu (2 prints), Torii Kiyohiro (3 prints), Okumura Masanobu (one print), Ishikawa Toyonobu (2 prints).

In the same year (1907) on November 28th Satow visited Sidney Colvin (1845-1927), the Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum. Colvin made a great contribution towards expanding the British Museum’s collection of Japanese works of art including ukiyoe prints. The Anderson Collection was also acquired when he was Keeper of Prints and Drawings. Before working at the British Museum from 1884 Colvin had been the Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge University from 1874.

According to Satow’s diary for that date (November 28, 1907) at that time Satow consulted Colvin on selling to the British Museum a work by Sharaku and other coloured prints (Nishiki-e) of high value.³⁸⁸ Colvin proposed to Satow that the British Museum would buy the items for three-quarters of the market price, with a ‘contribution’ of one-quarter to the museum. In other words, the museum would buy the Sharaku and other works from Satow at three-quarters of the market price. In short, it was a way to make it easy for the British Museum to buy the items. There was also the problem of the time it would take for the museum to raise the funds to finance the deal. The museum could not buy the Sharaku and other items immediately.

Satow agreed to send his prints to Colvin, and he would show them to W.B. Paterson, in order to obtain an estimate (*mitsumori*) of their value. Paterson was an art dealer and probably a close friend of the Keeper of Prints and Drawings. Satow also apparently knew him well after an exhibition in the previous year (1906, Meiji 39) of ukiyoe woodblock prints (Nishiki-e).

After that Satow followed the agreed procedure and in 1909 (Meiji 42) sold 90 prints to the British Museum. The price was £375, which if converted to yen at today’s rates would be about four million yen. This was three-quarters of the estimated price [£500] stated by an art dealer.³⁸⁹ Satow lowered the price to make it easier for the British Museum to make the purchase. Of course, it is possible to regard the one-quarter as a contribution. Moreover, and according to the agreed plan, the British Museum did not buy the prints directly from Satow, but through the intermediary William Bell Paterson. This was because it took time for the British Museum to prepare the funds to make the purchase.

³⁸⁶ The Minutes of the British Museum Board of Trustees Meetings (8th June 1907)

³⁸⁷ British Museum Collection Database. “1907,0531,0.1”, “1907,0531,0.2”, “1907,0531,0.3”, “1907,0531,0.4”, “1907,0531,0.5”, “1907,0531,0.6”, “1907,0531,0.7”, “1907,0531,0.8”, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>, British Museum, last modified 08/09/2019. Online. Accessed 08/09/2019.

³⁸⁸ TNA. PRO 33/33/16/10.

³⁸⁹ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow’s Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.98.

According to a letter dated August 2, 1908 which Satow sent to W.G. Aston, he was very satisfied with this price, and he had not dreamt that his ukiyoe prints would have such a high value.³⁹⁰ For Satow, the price of £375 was more than he ever imagined and he was 'contented'.

William Bell Paterson (1859-1952) was an art dealer from Glasgow, Scotland and he had a gallery in Glasgow which he later moved to Bond Street in London. In 1906 (Meiji 39) an exhibition of ukiyoe prints (*Nishiki-e*) was held in his Bond Street gallery.³⁹¹

In fact, it seems likely that some of Satow's collected prints were also exhibited at Paterson's Bond Street gallery. The most attractive exhibit at the exhibition was Utamaro's 'Awabi tori' (Abalone fishers) from Edmond de Goncourt's former collection with a price of £300 attached to it, and two prints by Sharaku were also exhibited.³⁹² Probably the Sharaku prints were from Satow's collection. Satow exhibited his collection at Paterson's exhibition, and probably after that there was a discussion of selling or donating it to the British Museum.

Furthermore, if Satow's collection purchased by the British Museum is checked on the British Museum website, the following becomes clear. This is the official website of the museum, and it includes biographical details about Satow.³⁹³ First, in the 90 prints from Satow's collection purchased by the British Museum there were 25 prints by Sharaku and 24 prints by Utamaro. Regarding the price of the collection, as previously arranged, W.B. Paterson provided the estimate or valuation. The total amount was £500. Satow reduced it to three-quarters in order to make it possible for the British Museum to purchase it. Paterson kept Satow's collection while the British Museum was preparing the funds for the purchase, but he took no profit at all from the transaction. W.B. Paterson was also asked to do this by Colvin, and as an art dealer he was no doubt proud to deal with Satow's ukiyoe collection.

Regarding the 90 ukiyoe prints which the British Museum purchased from Satow, Laurence Binyon (1869-1943) evaluated them highly, especially the works by Sharaku. Binyon is famous as a poet, and also as the Keeper of Oriental Prints and Drawings. Together with Colvin, and later on his own, he created a great collection of ukiyoe prints at the British Museum. He was the man who truly developed the British Museum's ukiyoe collection.

Binyon commented on Satow's collection that it included 'a series, hardly rivalled anywhere, of the large heads of actors by Sharaku, rarest of the masters of the colour-print, besides many admirable specimens of other masters,'³⁹⁴ and sang its praises highly. Furthermore, according to Binyon's biographer, Satow's collection of Sharaku prints was 'perhaps the Museum's greatest ukiyo-e treasure.'³⁹⁵ In a sense, the works of Sharaku bought from Satow became the British Museum's most valuable treasure. Nowadays it is possible to view all of the British Museum's ukiyoe prints on the internet, and indeed the *Nishiki-e* collected by Satow are outstanding.

³⁹⁰ Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008. p.98.

³⁹¹ 'Japanese Colour Prints', *The Manchester Guardian*, 12th June 1906. p.6.

³⁹² 'Japanese Colour Prints', *The Manchester Guardian*, 12th June 1906. p.6.

³⁹³ 'Sir Ernest Mason Satow (Biographical details)', <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>. British Museum, last modified 08/09/2019. Online. Accessed 08/09/2019.

³⁹⁴ Laurence Binyon, *A Catalogue of Japanese & Chinese Woodcuts Preserved in the Sub-Department of Oriental Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, Longmans, 1916, p.vi.

³⁹⁵ John Hatcher, *Laurence Binyon: Poet, Scholar of East and West*, Clarendon Press, 1995, p.78.

Also, Lawrence R.H. Smith (1941 -), Keeper of Japanese Art at the British Museum, like Binyon had a high opinion of Satow's former collection of Sharaku prints. '[Satow] had made a remarkable collection of actor portraits by the mysterious Sharaku. They were bought in 1909 and form one of the finest groups in the world of this most sought-after of print artists.'³⁹⁶ and he continued, 'The first [of two occasions Binyon had] was the purchase from the British diplomat Sir Ernest Satow of the wonderful series of actor portraits by Sharaku in 1909. Satow, alone amongst his contemporary collectors, had spent many years in Japan and had first-hand appreciation of the power and emotions of *kabuki* theatre. Almost all the [British] Museum's Sharaku prints came from him.'³⁹⁷

The point which I want to emphasize in this book is, as Lawrence Smith also states, that Satow's collection of Sharaku's ukiyoe prints is one of the best in the world.

Regarding the 90 ukiyoe prints purchased by the British Museum from Satow, a check of the British Museum's website ("Collection online") yields the following information. Using "Satow" and "Paterson" as keywords we can find the ukiyoe prints purchased in 1909 (Meiji 42) and 91 prints are displayed.³⁹⁸ The British Museum did not buy 90 Nishiki-e from Satow, but in fact 91 prints.

Of these 91 prints there were 25 by Sharaku, 24 by Utamaro, 1 by the second generation Utamaro, 10 by Utagawa Toyokuni, 10 by Ippitsusai Bunchō, 7 by Katsukawa Shunshō, 4 by Torii Kiyonaga, 4 by Katsukawa Shunkō, 2 by Utagawa Kunisada, 1 by Katsukawa Shuntei, 1 by Katsukawa Shun'ei, 1 by Katsukawa Shunchō and 1 by Chōkōsai Eishō.

It is clear from this that the 25 prints by Sharaku and the 24 by Utamaro were the centre of Satow's ukiyoe collection. Among the 24 prints by Utamaro were included 'several of the great series 'Seirō Jūni Toki (The Twelve Hours in Yoshiwara).'³⁹⁹ Anyway, these 91 Nishiki-e prints were sold for just four million yen. Satow as the seller did not dream of receiving such a high amount and was very satisfied with it. If nowadays one wanted to buy these works, the price would be absurdly high.

Satow's Donation and his Visit to Cambridge

In 1911 (Meiji 44) Cambridge University Library purchased William George Aston's book collection. The sequence of events was as follows. First, Aston proposed to transfer his collection to Cambridge University library, but before the contract was concluded Aston died, so Cambridge

³⁹⁶ Lawrence R. H. Smith, 'History and Characteristics of Ukiyo-e Collection in the British Museum' (Introduction, English Supplement), *Hizō Ukiyoe Taikan* 1 (Daiei Hakubutsukan 1), Kōdansha, 1987. p.2.

³⁹⁷ Lawrence R. H. Smith, 'Ukiyo-e Prints in the British Museum' (Introduction, English Supplement), *Hizō Ukiyoe Taikan* 2 (Daiei Hakubutsukan 2), Kōdansha, 1987. p.1.

³⁹⁸ British Museum Collection Database.

https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?-searchText=satow+paterson. British Museum, last modified 08/09/2019. Online. Accessed 08/09/2019.

³⁹⁹ Lawrence R. H. Smith, 'Ukiyo-e Prints in the British Museum' (Introduction, English Supplement), *Hizō Ukiyoe Taikan* 2 (Daiei Hakubutsukan 2), Kōdansha, 1987. p.1.

University purchased Aston's former collection from his executors.⁴⁰⁰ About 1,900 items (950 volumes) of books in the Japanese language were sold to the Cambridge University library for £250. The sale price was low at £250 (about 2.6 million yen in today's money). The greater part of Aston's collection was Satow's former collection, and of course it can be imagined that Aston had obtained Satow's consent to the sale to Cambridge University Library. The book whose provenance (*yurai* or *raireki*) is the subject of this book, Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was included in the books transferred from Aston to Cambridge University Library. At last, with this transfer Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* found its ultimate resting place.

In the same year (1911, Meiji 44) Heinrich von Siebold's former collection of Japanese books amounting to 721 volumes was donated by Siebold's daughter-in-law to Cambridge University Library. Heinrich von Siebold was the second son of the famous Philipp Franz von Siebold, and he had collected many Japanese things including books while he had lived in Japan. Heinrich von Siebold's book collection was donated to Cambridge University Library.

Satow also had some involvement in the donation of the Siebold collection. He was consulted on the matter by Siebold's daughter-in-law, so we can say he was indirectly involved with this donation. The result is that Satow was involved in both the Aston and Siebold collections being acquired by Cambridge University Library. This is why, as will be stated later, Satow himself decided to donate his own book collection to Cambridge University Library.

As already explained in the previous chapters, in 1885 (Meiji 18) Satow decided on the 'disposal of [his] collection'. He disposed of a large number of books in the Japanese language. However, he did not get rid of all of them, and he kept some Japanese books in his possession. It was these books which Satow donated to Cambridge University Library. First in 1912 (Taishō 1) he donated 371 items, then in 1913 (Taishō 2) a further 62 volumes. The former donation included *Edo Meisho Zue* [Illustrated Guide to Famous Places in Edo] etc., and the latter included *Hokusai Manga* [Sketches by Hokusai of landscapes, flora and fauna, everyday life and the supernatural]

In 1903 Ernest Satow was awarded an honorary law doctorate (L.L.D., Legum Doctor, 'Teacher of Laws') by Cambridge University. Then in 1908 (Meiji 41) he was chosen to give the annual public lecture at Cambridge University called the Rede Memorial Lecture. His chosen title was 'An Austrian Diplomat in the Fifties'. It was about Alexander Hübner who had been ambassador to France for the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The lecture was published in the same year by Cambridge University Press.⁴⁰¹ Hübner had visited Japan as part of a globetrotting tour, and Satow had accompanied him while he was travelling in Japan. Hübner had also written a high evaluation of Satow in his travel diary. The award of the honorary law doctorate and his selection to give the Rede Memorial Lecture probably strengthened Satow's links with Cambridge University and indirectly influenced him to support the acquisition of the Aston and Siebold collections by the Cambridge University Library.

In 1912 Satow donated 371 volumes of Japanese books to Cambridge University Library. In recognition of this gift, the Vice-Chancellor of the University (Stewart Alexander Donaldson) wrote a letter of thanks to Satow on behalf of the Council of the Senate of Cambridge University

⁴⁰⁰ Nozomu Hayashi & Peter Kornicki, *Early Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library: A Catalogue of the Aston, Satow and von Siebold Collection*, Cambridge University Press, 1991. p.42.

⁴⁰¹ Ernest Satow, *An Austrian Diplomat in the Fifties: the Rede Lecture Delivered in the Cambridge-Senate House on June 13, 1908*, Cambridge University Press, 1908.

dated October 29, 1912.⁴⁰² At Cambridge University the Chancellorship is an honorary post, so the Vice-Chancellor is in substance the real head of the University. At that time the Vice-Chancellorship was passed around between the heads of the colleges, and Donaldson was the Master of Magdalene College.

Donaldson's letter referred to various matters. First, the head librarian ('Librarian') of the Cambridge University Library's opinion was that as the Aston and Siebold collections had already been acquired, the Cambridge University Library collection of Japanese books had become very large and there was no rival in Europe. Furthermore, Satow's donation would stimulate research into Japanese literature and history at Cambridge University, and it might happen that a post of Professor or Reader of Japanese studies could be established in the university. Though this question of the establishment of a post was a separate matter, anyway Donaldson invited Satow to come to Cambridge and view the collection. He told Satow in the letter that he would welcome him to the University. Satow received the invitation from the Vice-Chancellor and later visited the Cambridge University Library where he viewed his former collection and those of Aston and others.

According to Satow's diary⁴⁰³ in 1912 (Taishō 1) Satow stayed in Cambridge from December 10th to 12th and looked at Aston's collection. Cambridge University had invited him to visit Cambridge as a way of thanking him for his donation. First on December 10th Satow was invited to dine at Trinity College. On the next day he spent an hour and a half with the deputy head librarian (Harry Gidney Aldis, Secretary to the University Library) looking at Aston's collection. Of course, many of Aston's books bore Satow's stamp because he had given them to Aston. Viewing Aston's collection was the main purpose of the visit to Cambridge, though Satow also viewed the Wade collection of Chinese books. The Wade collection had been assembled by Thomas Wade, the British Minister to China. In a sense as a diplomat and British Minister to China Wade was Satow's 'senpai' (senior). They also shared a common passion for books.

After Satow visited Cambridge University Library he also went to see the Trinity College Library and the Fitzwilliam Museum which is the museum of Cambridge University. He was invited to tea with Dr. Henry Guillemard at his house in Trumpington Street. Francis Henry Hill Guillemard (1852-1933) was a geographer and traveller who had also visited Japan. He may have met Satow in Japan. Then on the evening of December 11th Satow again dined at Trinity College and became acquainted with various Cambridge scholars.

The question arises why Satow did not have dinner at the college of Vice-Chancellor Donaldson (Magdalene College) but at Trinity College. It was perhaps the case that Donaldson was in poor health at that time, and the college of the Librarian of the Cambridge University Library may have been Trinity College. In the month after Satow's visit to Cambridge, Donaldson resigned the Vice-Chancellorship. This was probably for health reasons.

Anyway, Satow's visit to Cambridge in December 1912 (Taishō 1) was a chance for him to meet up once again with his former collection after a long interval. Probably this was the last time that he saw the Japanese books which he had collected with such painstaking diligence. When Satow looked over Aston's former collection for about one hour and a half, it is not clear whether he

⁴⁰² TNA. PRO 30/33/12/7.

⁴⁰³ Ian Ruxton, ed., *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, 1912-1920*, Volume One (1912-1916), Lulu Press (Lulu.com.), 2018. pp.100-101.

picked up Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. Then, by way of expressing his thanks for the invitation to Cambridge, in the following year (1913, Taishō 2) he donated 62 more Japanese books to the Cambridge University Library. With this donation Satow no doubt completely disposed of the last of his collection of valuable Japanese books.

The Gift of *Gunsho Ruijū* and the Reading of Shinmura Izuru

Between 1911 (Meiji 44) and 1913 (Taishō 2) Cambridge University Library acquired the former Japanese book collections of William George Aston, Ernest Mason Satow and Heinrich von Siebold, and it probably did become the largest collection of Japanese books in Europe. However, from that time until the end of the Second World War in 1945, with one exception, the collection did not increase in size at all. That exception was in 1925 (Taishō 14) when a donation was made of *Gunsho Ruijū*. It consisted of a set of 666 volumes in a paulownia wood box. On May 18, 1921 (Taishō 10) the Imperial Crown Prince, later Emperor Shōwa, visited Cambridge University and received a warm reception. By way of gratitude for this reception, the *Gunsho Ruijū* was donated to Cambridge University Library. The set of *Gunsho Ruijū* consisted of a huge number of woodblock prints printed by printing blocks (*hangji*) preserved by the Onko academic society (*Onko gakkai*).

When the Crown Prince, later Emperor Shōwa, paid his visit, the Cambridge University Library exhibited Japanese books with explanations by the historian Nishida Naojirō (1886-1964) who happened to be an overseas student at the university at the time.⁴⁰⁴ This was the first ever exhibition of Japanese books at Cambridge University. Nishida Naojirō was a Japanese historian (*kokushigakusha*) who advocated cultural history, and after being appointed an associate professor at Kyoto Imperial University he studied overseas in European universities etc., and in May 1921 (Taishō 10) he happened to be studying in Cambridge. It is not known to what extent or level of detail Nishida Naojirō researched the Cambridge University Library's Japanese collection. It was probably not a particularly detailed investigation.

Exactly three months after the visit to Cambridge of the Crown Prince, later Emperor Shōwa, the scholar of linguistics and lexicography Shinmura Izuru (1876-1967) investigated the Japanese collection at Cambridge University Library. Shinmura Izuru was a professor of Kyoto Imperial University, and a colleague and senior (*senpai*) of Nishida Naojirō. When Shinmura investigated the Japanese books, he made notes in his own note book about some of them. There is no evidence that he ever handled the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. The only document mentioned in this book by Saitō Gesshin which remains in Shinmura's notebook is *Shinobu Gusa*. Shinmura wrote the following about the condition of the work at that time.

There was a *harimaze no chō* [an album with an assortment of pasted prints, paintings and other ephemeras] which was titled *Shinobu Gusa*. Among the pasted items, a painting caught my eye. On the painting, the inscription was "Fugendō Shiba Kōkan Shun", "75 years old", "July [lunar calendar], autumn [lunar calendar], 1811" with the seal of *Seiyō Eshi*

⁴⁰⁴ Shinmura Izuru, 'Asuton tō no Kyūzō Nihonsho no Koto nado', *Shinmura Izuru Zenshū* Vol. 9, Chikuma Shobō, 1972. p.104.

[Western Painter]. [“Fugendō”, “Shun” and “Seiyō Eshi” were Shiba Kōkan’s aliases.] ⁴⁰⁵

As might be expected, the preface of *Shinobu Gusa* written by Shiba Kōkan (*Tsuzuregusa* Chapter 74) also caught Shinmura Izuru’s eye.

Ernest Satow died on August 28, 1929 (Shōwa 4) in Ottery St. Mary in the English county of Devon at the age of 86. Soon after his death Shinmura Izuru published a small volume titled *Satō Sensei Keigyōroku: Kirishitan Kenkyūshi Kaiko* which celebrated his research publications, particularly *The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan*⁴⁰⁶ which represented his research into Christianity and printing. The words in the title of Shinmura’s book [*Satō Sensei Keigyōroku*] expressed the great respect which Shinmura had for Satow. As is clear from the fact that he was reading the Japanese collection at Cambridge University Library in 1921 (Taishō 10), Shinmura spent that summer in Britain. It was his second visit to Britain. He wrote of his regret that he was ‘not able, even on a second visit to London, to visit an elderly writer living in retirement in faraway Devon at Ottery St. Mary.’⁴⁰⁷ In the end Shinmura was not once able to visit Ernest Satow whom he so greatly respected.

Japanese Language Education and Japanese Studies at Cambridge University

Regarding the Cambridge University Library Japanese collection, before the Second World War a few specialists including Japanese scholars, for example Shinmura Izuru, may have visited the Cambridge University Library, and conducted a relatively brief investigation of the collection. The person who comes to my mind is Nogami Toyochirō (1883-1950) who in March 1938 (Shōwa 13) visited Cambridge University Library for just one day and examined the collection of old books. By way of gratitude for being granted access Nogami donated a beautifully bound book (*bisōbon*) of Noh chants inside a paulownia wood box to Cambridge University Library. Nogami was a professor of Hōsei University and knew a lot about Noh plays and theatre. He gave lectures in Britain about Japanese culture to deepen understanding of Japan. Like Shinmura Izuru and Nogami Toyochirō, there were a few people who may have conducted brief surveys of the collections of Aston, Satow and Siebold, but before the Second World War there were no scholars of Japan who seriously researched in the Japanese collection of Cambridge University Library.

In the end, the full content of Cambridge University Library’s collection of Japanese books (*wakankosho*), including Saitō Gesshin’s *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, did not come to be known to any extent until after the Second World War. It was only after the war that the structure of Japanese research was to some extent established and organised. This was probably the point at which Saitō Gesshin’s *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* began to attract attention.

Japanese language education and Japanese studies (research into Japan) began at Cambridge University after the Second World War. In 1948 (Shōwa 23) in the university’s Oriental Languages Faculty a course leading to a B.A. in Japanese language and Japanese studies was created. That

⁴⁰⁵ Shinmura Izuru, ‘Asuton tō no Kyūzō Nihonsho no Koto nado’, *Shinmura Izuru Zenshū* Vol. 9, Chikuma Shobō, 1972. p.105.

⁴⁰⁶ Ernest Mason Satow, *The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan, 1591-1610*, Privately printed, 1888.

⁴⁰⁷ Shinmura Izuru, ‘Satō Sensei Keigyōroku: Kirishitan Kenkyūshi Kaiko’, *Shinmura Izuru Zenshū* Vol. 5, Chikuma Shobō, 1972. p.491.

was the formal beginning. The name of the Faculty of Oriental Languages changed in 1955 (Shōwa 30) to Oriental Studies and in 2007 (Heisei 19) to the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies. Now the Japanese language is taught in the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, and based on the faculty, research into Japan is being conducted. Most of the professors and lecturers of Japanese studies are members of the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies.

The first University Lecturer in Japanese (Japanese language) was Eric Ceadel (1921-1979), who was appointed in 1947 (Shōwa 22). He was the first scholar of Japan at Cambridge University. After that in 1967 (Shōwa 47) he was transferred from Oriental Studies to the Cambridge University Library where he became the University Librarian.

After Ceadel various people became University Lecturers in Japanese including J.R. McEwan, Donald Keene, Carmen Blacker, Charles Sheldon and Douglas Mills. Then in the mid-1980s a professorship was established for the first time, and Richard Bowring was appointed the first Professor of Modern Japanese Studies in 1985 (Shōwa 60).

Also, at the Cambridge Oriental Studies faculty there was a post of 'Lector' for a native speaker of Japanese to teach the language. The first one appointed from 1950 was Kamei Takashi (scholar of Kokugo), then Honda Minobu (historian), Itasaka Gen (scholar of Kokubungaku), Torigoe Bunzō (scholar of Kokubungaku) and other well-known people. They all taught Japanese as Lector at Cambridge. The post of Lector was often taken by doctoral students who taught their own mother tongue. However, in the case of Japanese rather than doctoral students it was higher level researchers and professors.

Regarding the Japanese language collection at Cambridge University Library there were many old books (*wakankosho*) in the Aston, Satow and Siebold collections, but there were hardly any books directly necessary for research of modern or contemporary Japan, neither in the Cambridge University Library nor in Cambridge University. It was an urgent task first to create a collection of Japanese books on modern and contemporary subjects in order to promote and develop Japanese education and research at the University. For this purpose, Cambridge University received financial support from the Scarbrough Report published in 1947, and in 1949 and 1950 purchased 14,000 volumes in the Japanese language, and after that the collection was further developed as a matter of urgency.

Then in 1961 (Shōwa 36) Eric Ceadel compiled and published his *Classified Catalogue of Modern Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library*. In the work of compilation, he was assisted by two Japanese Lectors. In the catalogue they were gratefully acknowledged by Ceadel as 'Honda Minobu (1955-1957) and Itasaka Gen (1957-1960) both assisted me with their advice.'⁴⁰⁸ So when they were Lectors at Cambridge University both Honda and Itasaka assisted in the compilation of the *Classified Catalogue of Modern Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library*.

As Eric Ceadel wrote in his acknowledgement, Itasaka Gen worked as a Lector at Cambridge University from 1957 (Shōwa 32) to 1960 (Shōwa 35) and from 1960 he moved to Harvard University in America. He travelled in the summer of 1960 from Cambridge in Britain to Cambridge in the United States, where Harvard University is located. Around the time that the *Classified Catalogue of Modern Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library* was published

⁴⁰⁸ Eric B. Ceadel, *Classified Catalogue of Modern Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library*, Heffer & Sons, 1961. 'Kankō no Ji' [Statement of Publication].

Itasaka was teaching Japanese language and literature at Harvard University. Probably Harvard offered much better working conditions than Cambridge.

The *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* is republished in *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō* [Documents and Research into Modern Art and Literature]

As I explained in the Preface, Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was republished in two instalments in the years 1963 (Shōwa 38) and 1964 (Shōwa 39) in the periodical *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō* with the titles 'Gesshin Kōhon *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* 1 and 2'. It was reissued as a facsimile version. By the publication of this facsimile, it became possible for many researchers to access the content. The main text of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was also included in *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō* edited by Yura Tetsuji and published in 1979 (Shōwa 54) but the first time that Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was published in its original form was in 1963 and 1964 in the *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō*. These two articles made the whole content clear for the first time. However, the periodical had a rather limited circulation, which may have led to concern that the introduction and facsimile reproduction of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was not well known.

The *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō* periodical was published as a research periodical by the haiku (haikai) researcher Sugiura Shōichirō together with seven of his former pupils at the former Saga High School (Kyūsei Saga Kōkō), Hokkaido University, Kyushu University etc. on a volunteer basis.⁴⁰⁹ The publishing 'company' was called 'Shichininsha' which meant the seven colleagues (shichinin). There are two authors listed in the 'Gesshin Kōhon *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* 1 and 2'. The author of the article is Itasaka Gen, and the transcription is by Tanamachi Tomoya. They were both among the seven volunteers. Itasaka had been taught by Sugiura at the former Saga High School, while Tanamachi had been Sugiura's pupil at Kyushu University.

'Gesshin Kōhon *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* 1 and 2' was made up of two parts. First there was a simple introduction by Itasaka Gen, followed by the transcription (*honji*) which was the responsibility of Tanamachi Tomoya. Of course, the main part of the article was the transcription, and it was the larger part. However, Itasaka Gen's introduction was very interesting, mentioning that the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was held at Cambridge University Library etc. Itasaka wrote the introduction at Harvard University, dating it November 15, 1962 (Shōwa 37).

First, Itasaka wrote that 'For ukiyoe researchers the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* is the most precious document, but probably the most inconvenient to use.'⁴¹⁰ He emphasized the irony of this, and added that 'Probably, of all the books produced in the Edo period it has the largest number of different versions, and tracing the lineage of all those books is very difficult.'⁴¹¹ In this way he indicated the problems of the *Ukiyoe Ruikō* which had been circulated widely as a manuscript.

Next Itasaka wrote 'Here I want to introduce a text which has kept a relatively pure form and which moreover has had a great influence on other books. It is Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe*

⁴⁰⁹ Torii Kiyoshi, 'Shohyō to Shōkai: Shichininsha hen *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō*', *Renga Haikai Kenkyū*, Vol. 1962, No.23, pp. 38-39.

⁴¹⁰ Itasaka Gen and Tanamachi Tomoya, 'Kaigai Shiryō Shōkai: Gesshin Kōhon *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* [1]', *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō*, No.2 (1963). p. 121.

⁴¹¹ Itasaka Gen and Tanamachi Tomoya, 'Kaigai Shiryō Shōkai: Gesshin Kōhon *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* [1]', *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō*, No.2 (1963). p. 121.

Ruikō.⁴¹² In a sense it was a compilation of *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, and he indicated the position it occupied and the importance of Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

Itasaka continued 'When I was working at Cambridge University I discovered it [Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*] in the Aston collection in the University Library. During the Meiji years it had vanished from Japan.'⁴¹³ Furthermore, he stated that 'The *Ruikō* [manuscripts] which were created in the Meiji period were mostly copies of Saitō Gesshin's manuscript [kōhon] which made it even more precious.'⁴¹⁴

Next Itasaka commented on the transliteration/transcription [*honji*] of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* with the following explanation which I shall quote here:

This reprint was planned several years ago but nevertheless was subject to many delays. Furthermore, at this time I did not have the time to do it myself, so I entrusted all of the work to my esteemed friend Tanamachi Tomoya. The achievement of this reprint is entirely the result of his efforts. Also, I am sincerely grateful to Cambridge University Library for the permission to reprint this manuscript, and to Professor Ceadel of the same university for graciously donating the microfilms.⁴¹⁵

Since Itasaka writes that the reprint had been planned several years previously, it seems likely that he discovered Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* quite early in 1957 (Shōwa 32) when he began his employment as a Lector. One more very interesting point concerns the microfilms. Since the text was preserved through the media of microfilm copies, it was quite easy to reproduce and publish the main text of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

Microfilms, Publication of Cambridge University's Collection Catalogue and Making It Open to the Public through Digitalization

Microfilms began to be used at libraries from about the 1930s. However, the transfer of precious documents such as *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* to the medium of microfilm probably did not begin until the 1950s or 1960s. At the time when Itasaka Gen was beginning to think of reprinting Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* as a facsimile edition, it was becoming possible to make microfilm copies of such precious manuscripts and acquire them. In short, in the 1950s and 1960s the making of microfilms began to be included in the services offered by libraries. It was at this time that Itasaka Gen encountered *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

When it became possible to use microfilms, precious manuscripts and documents such as the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* held at Cambridge University Library and other libraries overseas could be

⁴¹² Itasaka Gen and Tanamachi Tomoya, 'Kaigai Shiryō Shōkai: Gesshin Kōhon Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō [1]', *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō*, No.2 (1963). p. 121.

⁴¹³ Itasaka Gen and Tanamachi Tomoya, 'Kaigai Shiryō Shōkai: Gesshin Kōhon Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō [1]', *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō*, No.2 (1963). p. 121.

⁴¹⁴ Itasaka Gen and Tanamachi Tomoya, 'Kaigai Shiryō Shōkai: Gesshin Kōhon Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō [1]', *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō*, No.2 (1963). p. 121.

⁴¹⁵ Itasaka Gen and Tanamachi Tomoya, 'Kaigai Shiryō Shōkai: Gesshin Kōhon Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō [1]', *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō*, No.2 (1963). p. 121.

photographed and the microfilm copies could be sent to Japan or America. Then the text of the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* etc. could be consulted via microfilm at a place far from the library holding the original document, and reprints could be made. It was no longer necessary to go to Cambridge and stay there for a while, and it became possible to reduce the labour of transcription.

When Shinmura Izuru visited Cambridge University Library in the 1920s, it was no doubt technically possible to photograph precious documents, but this was not yet part of a library's work, nor was it included in the services offered by libraries. In the 1930s the United States Library of Congress created many microfilms of the collections of the British Museum Library, and this created a lot of interest. However, this was a special case, and before the Second World War the process of transferring precious documents to microfilm was not yet widespread.

After the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was copied to microfilm, its use was described in *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō*, 'Introduction of Overseas Documents – Gesshin Manuscript *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* 1, 2' and it was also mentioned in the *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō* edited by Yura Tetsuji and published in 1979 (Shōwa 59). It was not actually in microfilm format but a collection of photographs, though the essence was the same. The photographs were developed from the microfilms. Of course, regarding the photographing of the actual documents there were probably differences in the details.

In the postscript of *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō* edited by Yura Tetsuji there is the following comment. The editor Yura Tetsuji (1897-1979) passed away at the point when he sent the manuscript to the printers, so the postscript was written by his eldest son, Yura Kimiyoshi (1929-90).

One influential draft was the Cambridge book [*Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*] which was an unfinished manuscript by Saitō Gesshin. This manuscript was a fine book which was taken to England in the Meiji period by [William] George Aston, translator of *Nihongi* into English and author of *Nihon Bungakushi* [A History of Japanese Literature] and *Shintō* [Shinto, The Way of the Gods] etc. and with Chamberlain and Satow one of the three great Japanologists. My father [Yura Tetsuji] discovered its location, and I [Kimiyoshi] was fortunately able to ask my friend Mr. Yamanouchi Hisaaki who was then studying at Cambridge, and after various difficulties was finally able to acquire a manuscript copy.⁴¹⁶

The postscript of the *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō* makes it clear that the manuscript copy of the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was used in the draft of the *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō* edited by Yura Tetsuji. The manuscript copy mentioned in the postscript was almost the same as the microfilm, and there is no problem with this assumption.

Anyway, thanks to the microfilm, or the medium of the duplicate manuscript copy, it became possible to acquire a copy of Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* in Japan or anywhere in the world. Anyone wishing to acquire a copy, even if it was a manuscript held in a library overseas, could now in this era obtain a reproduction of the original. From the 1960s onwards, it was possible to acquire the microfilm or a manuscript copy of the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*.

Furthermore, in 1991 (Heisei 3) *Early Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library: A Catalogue of the Aston, Satow and von Siebold Collections* jointly edited by Nozomu Hayashi and Peter Kornicki was published, and this was a ground-breaking event as regards the use of the

⁴¹⁶ Yura Tetsuji, *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Gabundō, 1979. p.394.

Wakankosho (early Japanese books) in Cambridge University Library, including Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. By the publication of Nozomu Hayashi's and Peter Kornicki's catalogue, the usage of the Aston, Satow and Siebold collections increased greatly. Thanks to the publication of the catalogue, information about the Cambridge University Library collection became widely available. Even now the catalogue is the only way to investigate the collection of early Japanese books at Cambridge University Library. The development and progress of research into the Cambridge University Library collection, including this book, has been made possible by this catalogue.

In addition, the world of university libraries has now entered the age of the 'internet' and 'digitalization'. Thanks to the internet, the situation of libraries and their collections of documents has completely changed. Cambridge University Library digitized its most precious documents and offered the service of the 'Cambridge Digital Library' free of charge from 2004 (Heisei 16). To cover the costs of offering this service, at the start documents related to religion etc. were digitized.

At first Japanese books were not included, but from October 2014 (Heisei 26) under the title 'Japanese Works,' 14 works in the Japanese language were added to the Cambridge Digital Library. One of these 14 works was Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*. From October 2014 the whole of Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* was accessible in digital format on the internet. Also, with the development of the digitalization of Japanese documents, the number of classic works in the Cambridge Digital Library greatly increased.

Saitō Gesshin's *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* left Japan in 1884 (Meiji 17) and in 1911 (Meiji 44) was acquired by Cambridge University Library. For this reason, when Japanese researchers and others wanted to make use of *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, the geographical distance between Japan and Britain was a great obstacle. Furthermore, there may have been some kind of cultural barrier also. But nowadays using the internet it has become possible to access the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* in digital form, and those obstacles and barriers have all at once disappeared. Globalization is progressing, and in this era through the internet it has become a simple matter to gain access to the *Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō* from one's home or office at a university.

Postscript (*Atogaki*)

In the Foreword (*Hashigaki*), I referred to the Fujikawa father and son who were swordsmen who promoted the 'Jikishin Kageryū Fujikawa' style/school, so in this postscript I would like to introduce Sakakibara Kenkichi (1830-1894) who accepted Thomas Russell Hillier McClatchie (1855-1886) as his pupil. McClatchie was the first foreign swordsman (*kenshi*) in Japan. Sakakibara Kenkichi (Jikishin Kageryū Otani style/school) was called the last swordsman, and in the presence of Emperor Meiji he distinguished himself in a 'kabuto wari' ('helmet breaking') contest. Three famous swordsmen contended for the *kabuto wari* challenge in the presence of the Emperor, but the first two were forced to admit defeat. Sakakibara was the third contestant, and using a rigid sword called a 'Dōdanuki' he succeeded in breaking a helmet made by the famous Myōchin family of Himeji. In 1873 (Meiji 6) Sakakibara he founded the first 'Gekikenkai' swordsmanship association in Tokyo (Edo) at Asakusa Saemon kashi (river bank). At that time Sakakibara's two foreign pupils Thomas McClatchie and Jank Binns [sic. Jack Vince?] were included, albeit in the margin (*rangai*) of the list (*banzuke*) of swordsmen.

In fact, Sakakibara who was a swordsman with a great reputation had several foreign pupils apart from the two mentioned above. Heinrich von Siebold, the French instructor at the Toyama army school named Étienne de Villaret and Joseph Kiehl were among his other pupils. The foreign pupils had already learned Western style fencing, so they were very interested in Japanese *kenjutsu* (swordsmanship). As has already been mentioned in this book, Heinrich von Siebold (1852-1908) was the second son of the famous physician Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) who lived in Nagasaki during the Edo era, and Heinrich's former book collection was acquired by Cambridge University Library.

Thomas McClatchie was born in China and came to Japan as a student interpreter at the age of 18 in 1873 (Meiji 6). He worked at the British Legation (*Eikoku Kōshikan*). When he participated in the *Gekikenkai* swordsmanship association he was aged 21 or thereabouts. He was a first-class fencer in the British tradition when he entered Sakakibara's school (*dōjō*), but he was utterly defeated by one of Sakakibara's pupils, and immediately became a pupil of Sakakibara himself. As a student interpreter and member of the British legation, he was a 'junior' (*kōhai*) of Ernest Satow.

Also, as regards his family lineage, Thomas McClatchie was a nephew of Sir Harry Parkes. His mother was the elder sister of Parkes. Furthermore, his father who bore the same name (Thomas McClatchie) was a missionary sent from Britain to China, and a scholar who translated *I Ching* (The Book of Changes, an ancient Chinese divination text) into English. When it was decided that young Thomas would go to Japan, his mother, hearing that Japan was a country full of lawless brigands who slashed at foreigners with long swords, tearfully begged him not to go.

As regards Japanese swordsmanship (*kenjutsu*), Jank Binns proved to be quite useless, but McClatchie continued to train at Sakakibara's *dōjō* for three years, and at last returned to Britain with several volumes of specialist books about Japanese swordsmanship. He achieved quite respectable results in his *kenjutsu* training, and was also recognized as a Japanese swordsman (*kenshi*). We do not actually know how skillful he was. He returned temporarily to Britain on leave, but he soon returned to his work in Japan.

When Satow was Minister to Japan (1895-1900) he received an inquiry from Assistant Under Secretary F.H. Villiers dated October 1, 1897 (Satow Papers ref. PRO 30/33 5/2) asking on behalf

of the Foreign Office what Satow's opinion was as to the training required for student interpreters sent to Japan and other countries. It was really asking whether a university degree was useful or not for student interpreters. Satow's reply stated that McClatchie was one of the best Japanese scholars the Consular Service had ever had, and he had no university degree. Satow as Japanese Secretary and others had tested his Japanese and he had scored very highly. Satow seems to have disliked Parkes quite strongly, but his assessment of his nephew McClatchie's Japanese ability as outstanding was an evaluation not influenced by his feelings.

As we know from the example of Fujikawa Seisai given in the Foreword, many people who trained in Japanese swordsmanship also studied *buke kojitsu* (customs and history of the samurai). Of course, from the point of view of the total, it may have only been a small fraction. McClatchie began by studying the Japanese sword (*Nihontō*), then apparently progressed to *buke kojitsu* (*yūsoku kojitsu*) and in quick succession published papers on the Japanese sword, Japanese heraldry (*monshō*), samurai residences (*buke yashiki*), Edo Castle etc. in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan. In all of these subjects he was a 'pioneer'. His interest in Japanese family crests (*kamon*) etc. reveals an interesting focus of his attention. Furthermore, or rather at the same time, McClatchie also researched kabuki, the representative drama form of Japan.

McClatchie's study about Japanese swords was his first ever academic paper. It was based mainly on Kamata Natae's (1727-1797) *Shintō Bengi* [Explanations about New Swords since the beginning of the 17th century] and Ōgi Iori's *Kotō Meitsukushi Taizen* [Collections of Inscriptions of Old Swords before 17th Century] but at the end it referred to 'otoshisashi' (putting the sword conveniently in its sheath) and 'tsujigiri' (testing a new sword by ambush) etc. These topics were fashionable in the Bakumatsu (end of the Shogunate, 1860s), so his sense of the period was vivid.

The father of the novelist and dramatist Okamoto Kidō worked at the British Legation after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Okamoto Keinosuke (also known as Okamoto Jun, Okamoto Hankei) was a Japanese clerk at the British Legation. He was also a man of culture who wrote several books. His connection with McClatchie who was also working at the British Legation was that from the autumn of 1873 (Meiji 6) for two years they were neighbours. McClatchie lived next to the Okamoto family.

Okamoto Keinosuke liked kabuki and was a close friend of notable kabuki actors such as Morita Kan'ya (the 12th of that name and line), Ichikawa Danjūrō (the 9th) and Onoe Kikugorō (the 5th). Morita was a famous impresario who worked to improve Japanese theatre, and was central to efforts towards the modernization of kabuki. Ichikawa Danjūrō also worked to reform kabuki and founded the *Kyūkokai* [[Association for Antiquity?] in which Konakamura Kiyonori, Kurokawa Mayori, Sekine Shisei, Kawabe Mitate and other researchers of *yūsoku kojitsu* participated. Okamoto Hankei was also a member of the group. Ichikawa Danjūrō used the fruits of *yūsoku kojitsu* research to promote historical accuracy in costumes and props used in kabuki and so-called 'katsurekimono' [authentic items]. However, *katsurekimono* did not last very long.

When Morita Kan'ya opened the Shintomiza theatre in 1878 (Meiji 11), he invited foreign residents of the capital (Tokyo). Morita was keen to introduce kabuki to foreigners, particularly high officials of the foreign legations. Morita's invitation inspired a return present from the foreigners. With Okamoto Keinosuke as the intermediary, in the end the foreigners presented a stage curtain for the Shintomiza. In fact, it was used at the theatre from the following year.

In Okamoto Kidō's book *Ranpu no shita nite: Meiji Gekidan* ['A Meiji Theatrical Company under the Lamplight'] a letter is quoted which accompanied the gift of the stage curtain which gives the names of the three donors: A. G. S. Hawes, Heinrich von Siebold and Thomas McClatchie. It was McClatchie who like the theatre the most, and was at the centre of the gift-giving. He can be regarded as the leader of the three.

Albert George Sidney Hawes (1842-1897) was a lieutenant in the British Royal Navy who during the Bakumatsu period had at first instructed the Saga clan in gunnery (*hōjutsu*), and after the Meiji Restoration taught at the Imperial Japanese Naval Academy (*Kaigun Heigaku Ryō*) and elsewhere. He was the co-author with Ernest Satow of *A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan* published by Kelly & Co. at Yokohama in 1881. It was Satow's first published guidebook of Japan.

Heinrich von Siebold worked at the Austrian Legation and elsewhere, and like McClatchie he was a foreign swordsman who became a pupil of Sakakibara Kenkichi. He had originally been an expert in fencing. He excavated the Ōmori shell mounds, and was the first to use the technical term 'archaeology' (*kōkōgaku*). He also shared a love of antiquities as a pastime with Ichikawa Danjūrō mentioned above, and his research into antiquities had some connection with Danjūrō's *katsurekimono*. The two men were linked by three things: swordsmanship (*kenjutsu*), the study of ancient precedents (*yūsoku kojitsu*) and kabuki.

McClatchie published 'Japanese Plays Versified' in English in 1879 (Meiji 12) at Yokohama. The book celebrated Hayano Kanpei (the fifth Chūshingura), Kaga Sōdō, Amako Jūyūshi and other famous kabuki actors partly in verse. There were illustrations in the volume by the artist Tachibana Unga (1828-85), with simple commentaries and introductions of theatrical matters and actors. The invitation from Morita Kan'ya to the Shintomiza theatre and the presentation of the stage curtain may have provided McClatchie with the opportunity to translate and publish the book.

As seen from the above, McClatchie as a young man had achievements in various fields. He was probably regarded as having great promise as a member of the Legation staff, consular staff and a Japanologist. After Ernest Satow, William George Aston and others, he was set to become a representative of the next generation of researchers into Japan. However, he sadly died in 1886 at the age of 33. This was one year after the death of his father and of his patron, Harry Parkes. It was truly a premature death. It can be imagined that this young Japanologist had great interest in books, and he probably had a large collection of books, including Japanese ones.

McClatchie's younger sister married W.S. Ayrton, the British consul at Tansui (Taiwan). It seems that is why Ayrton inherited McClatchie's collection after his death. In 1896 (Meiji 29) Raymond Layard was appointed Acting Consul at Tansui as Ayrton's successor, and he probably assisted in the putting in order of Ayrton's affairs. At that time Layard sent a letter dated May 11, 1896 to Satow who was then the British Minister in Japan inquiring whether he was interested in Ayrton's collection.⁴¹⁷ Satow was Layard's superior. After that, it is not clear what happened to McClatchie's former collection, but it is likely that Satow did not purchase any part of it.

⁴¹⁷ See Satow Papers PRO 30/33 5/13 and I. Ruxton (ed.), *The Correspondence of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Japan, 1895-1900*, Volume 4, Amazon KDP, 2021, p.159.

In 2020 (Reiwa 2) the world was attacked by the corona pandemic, an event which will probably be remembered forever. As part of 'Lockdown' many people were forced to stay at home. As a result, many people were able to watch and appreciate DVDs and online videos, and I was able to watch many famous films directed by Mizoguchi Kenji.

I was amazed to see Keisai Eisen appearing in Mizoguchi's *Utamaro wo meguru Gonin no Onna* ['Utamaro and His Five Women'] (1946). Keisai Eisen (Mumeiō) has already been mentioned in this book (see Chapter One) as the editor of *Zoku Ukiyoe Ruikō* (*Mumeiō Zuihitsu*). In Mizoguchi's film Keisai Eisen appears as an artist from the Kanō school who becomes an ukiyoe artist named 'Koide Seinosuke'.

It is not clear to what extent Kunieda Kanji's original work (novel) is historically accurate, but anyway in *Utamaro wo meguru Gonin no Onna* Keisai Eisen appears as a pupil and friend of Utamaro.

I also watched Mizoguchi's pre-war masterpiece *Zangiku Monogatari* ['The Story of the Last Chrysanthemum'] on DVD. In that film Morita Kan'ya appears as the friend of Onoe Kikugorō (the 5th). Morita is connected to Thomas McClatchie through kabuki. There is a gap of several years between the era of *Zangiku Monogatari* and the year when McClatchie and others presented the stage curtain to the Shintomiza theatre. However, if we ignore this point, it would not be strange to see McClatchie, Siebold and other foreigners in a film dealing with Morita Kan'ya. Morita invited western actors to Japan, and had them perform kabuki. Hereafter it may be possible to make a movie with a blue-eyed kabuki enthusiast like McClatchie, and if a swordsman such as Sakakibara Kenkichi also appeared it would be even more exciting.

As part of the lockdown, during the corona pandemic, libraries, archives, museums, art museums etc. were closed. As a result, in order to write this book, I had to do more and more work online, accessing materials and information through the internet. I felt keenly once again that the internet has become indispensable for such research. When it becomes difficult to get one's hands on the real documents in libraries etc., the digitalized formats of old books etc. have become an essential resource for research. They have become important research documents. Even after the end of the corona pandemic, these online documents are likely to become more and more important.

When McClatchie published his 'Japanese Plays Versified,' he presented a copy of the English book to his 'senpai' (senior) Ernest Satow, who attached a label and added it to his collection. Of course, McClatchie had written a dedication to Satow in the book. After that it was put up for sale, and there may have been various twists and turns before it finally was acquired by Professor Joseph K. Yamagiwa (1906-68) who taught Japanese at the University of Michigan.⁴¹⁸ The collection of Professor Yamagiwa Koshimi was taken into the Library of the Urbana-Champaign

⁴¹⁸ Ernest Satow's books in western languages were auctioned at Sotheby's (London) in 1913 and Henri L. Joly (1876-1920) purchased a number of books at the auction. We can recognise at least two of Satow's books, McClatchie's 'Japanese Plays Versified' and Satow's Japanese Chronological Tables with Satow's M.S. After Henri Joly's death, his books were sold from Bernard Quaritch (London) in 1921 including those two books. Eventually Joseph Yamagiwa acquired McClatchie's 'Japanese Plays Versified' and also the University of California purchased Satow's Chronological Tables, and both have been digitised and are available on the internet now. As for the latter, the cataloguing note indicates that it was purchased from Quaritch in 1921.

School of Illinois University. After that it was digitized and published by Illinois University on the internet as the 'Yamagiwa Collection'. McClatchie's book was included in the collection, so it can now be read and consulted on the internet.

In a sense the digitization of McClatchie's book has allowed it to appear before our eyes transcending time and space. The ability to make use via the internet of antique books which have been digitized is indeed to overcome the limitations of time and geographical distance.

Now we are still in the middle of the corona pandemic, and we are dealing with various difficult problems, but there has also been progress in several areas thanks to the pandemic. 'Lockdown' has caused the unavoidable development of services. The enrichment of online resources is a typical example. This may be part of the silver lining in the cloud of the pandemic. Anyway, the corona pandemic has become an opportunity for the accelerated progress of digitization, the amount of information offered on the internet has greatly increased, and library services have also changed greatly. It is not clear what changes will occur in future, and the full story is not yet revealed, but silently praying that progress will be positive and rapid, I lay down my pen.

I wish to thank the chief of the editorial department of Bensei Shuppan, Mr. Yoshida Yūsuke and Ms. Takeuchi Kanako of the editorial department for their great assistance in producing this volume. I am most grateful for their efforts, especially during the corona pandemic.

Bibliography

Topics:

1. Ukiyoe Ruikō
2. Saitō Gesshin
3. Ukiyoe and Others
4. Cambridge University Library, Aston, Satow, Siebold Collection
5. Ernest Satow
6. William Anderson
7. Japonisme, Edmond De Goncourt, etc.
8. Satow's Librarians, Book Collectors, Bibliophiles
9. Fujikawa Seisai Fushi, Gekkenkai, Makuratchi [McClatchie], etc.

1. Ukiyoe Ruikō

[Books]

- Yura Tetsuji, *Sōkō Nihon Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Gabundō, 1979.
- Nakada Katsunosuke, (ed. & revised by), *Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Iwanami Shoten, 1941.
- Nakashima Osamu, *Ukiyoe Ruikō Seiritsu Hensenshi no Kenkyū*, Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan, 2004.
- Nakano Mitsutoshi, *Sharaku: Edojin to shite no Jitsuzō*, Chūō Kōronsha Shinsha, 2016.
- Nakashima Osamu, *Tōshūsai Sharaku Kōshō*, Sairyūsha, 2012.
- Uchida Chizuko, *Sharaku Kō*, San'ichi Shobō, 1993.
- Kojima Usui, *Shosai no Gakujin*, Shomotsu Tenbōsha, 1934.
- Julius Kurth, Sadamura Tadashi (trans.), Gamō Junjirō (trans.), *Sharaku*, Adachi Hanga Kenkyūjo, 1994.
- Suzuki Jūzō, *Sharaku*, (Ukiyoe Bijinga Yakushae 6), Kōdansha, 1966.
- Sharaku, (Shirīzu Taiō 4, Taiyō Ukiyoe Shirīzu), Heibonsha, 1975.
- Machida Ichirō, *Shinsetsu Tōshūsai Sharaku*, Nikkei Jigyō Shuppansha, 1989.
- Tomita Yoshikazu, *Purojekuto Sharaku: Shinsetsu Edo Kyarakutā Bijinesu*, Takeda Randamuhausu Japan, 2011.
- Ōmagari Kuson, *Ukiyoe Ruiko: Zen*, Kyokō Shōku, 1941.
- Tatsutaya Shūkin, Honma Mitsunori (ed.), *Shin Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō*, Suhara Tetsuji, 1889.
- *Kinko Bungei Onchi Sōsho*, Vol.4, Hakubunkan, 1891.
- *Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei*, Series 2, Vol.6, Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei Kankōkai, 1928.

[Articles]

- Itasaka Gen and Tanamachi Tomoya, 'Kaigai Shiryō Shōkai: Gesshin Kōhon Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō, [1], 2', *Kinsei Bungei Shiryō to Kōshō*, Nos. 2-3 (1963-1964).
- Suzuki Jūzō, 'Shisei Airoku Hachijūyon: Ukiyoe Ruikō, Shisei Airoku Hachijūgo: Zōho Ukiyoe Ruikō, Shisei Airoku Nihyakusan: Ukiyoeshi Ryakuden Kaisetsu', *Sekine Bunko Senshū*, Series 1, Supplement 2, 1984.

- Kitakōji Ken, 'Ukiyoe Ruikō: Ronkyū 1-41', Hōshun, Nos.197 - 246 (1971-1975).
- Christophe Marquet, '19-seiki Kōhan no Furansu ni okeru Nihon Bijutsu Shigaku no Reimeiki: "L'Art japonais" oyobi Ukiyoe Ruikō to "Histoire de l'art du Japon"', *Hikaku Nihongaku Kenkyū Sentā Kenkyū Nenpō*, No.4 (2008).
- Kojima Usui, 'Jo', Ōmagari Kuson, *Ukiyoe Ruiko: Zen*, Kyokō Shōku, 1941.
- Tomita Yoshikazu, 'Giwaku no Hito Hayashi Tadamasasa •Sharaku Būmu no Shikakenin: Sharaku-e o Kaigai ni Mochidashita Tadamasasa no Shūi ni wa Tasū no Ukiyoeshi ga Ita', *Rekishidokuhon*, No.419 (1985).
- Tamabayashi Haruo, 'Ukiyoe to Hayashi Tadamasasa', *Denki Shūhō*, Nihon Seinen Kyōikukai Shuppanbu, 1942.
- Omote Akira, 'Sharaku Saitō Jūrobei no Kakei to Katsudō Kiroku', *Nōgaku Kenkyū*, Vol.39 (2015).

2. Saitō Gesshin

[Books]

- *Saitō Gesshin Nikki*, Vols 1 – 10, Iwanami Shoten, 1997-2016.
- Saitō Yoshinobu, *Edo Shiseijin: Saitō Gesshin Den*, Saitō Yoshinobu, 1963.

[Articles]

- Ogawa Naoto, 'Meiji Chūki made no Shashin Kōkyaku to Shashin Shūshūka Saitō Gesshin: Shashin no Taishūka no Uketeronteki Ichi Kōsatsu', *Masu Komyunikēshon Kenkyū*, Vol.82 (2013).
- Tsuruta Kei, 'Saitō Gesshin Nikki Honkoku Shuppan Yoteki', *Jōhōgaku Kenkyū: Gakkan: Tōkyō Daigaku Daigakuin Jōhō Gakkan Kiyō*, No.91 (2016).
- Ozawa Hiroshi, 'Saitō Gesshin no Bukō Hengaku Shukuzu o megutte: Tōhoku Daigaku Fuzoku Toshokan Kanō Bunko 'Ōedo Emashu' o Chūshin ni', *Tōkyō-to Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan Kiyō*, No.3 (2013).
- Tanno Yoshiko, Takayama Keiko, 'Saitō Gesshin hencho Ansei Kenmonshi ni tsuite', *Tōkyō-to Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan Kenkyū Hōkoku*, No.14 (2008).
- Nishiyama Matsunosuke, 'Saitō Gesshin Nikki no Meiji', *Shichō*, No. 106 (1969).
- Ōtsuki Joden, 'Saitō Gesshin Den', *Fūzoku Gahō*, No.61 (30 November 1893).

3. Ukiyoe and Others

[Books]

- *Hizō Ukiyoe Taikan*, Vols. 1-12, Bekkan, Bessatsu, Kojin Korekushon, Kōdansha, 1987-1991.
- Nagata Seiji, *Shiryō ni yoru Kindai Ukiyoe Jijō*, Sansaisha, 1992.
- *Edo no Eshi Settan, Settei: Sono Shirarezaru Sekai*, Tōkyō-to Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan, 1997.

- Zaidorittsu [Seidlitz], Sobu Rokurō (transl.), *Nihon Hangashi*, Kōryōsha, 1916.
- Laurence Binyon, *A Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Woodcuts Preserved in the Sub-Department of Oriental Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, Longmans, 1916.
- Edward F. Strange, *Japanese Illustration: A History of the Arts of Wood-Cutting and Colour Printing in Japan*, George Bell and Sons, 1897.
- Ernest Hart, *Lectures of Japanese Art Work*, W. Trounce, 1887.
- Allen Hockley, *The Prints of Isoda Koryūsai: Floating World Culture and its Consumers in Eighteenth-Century Japan*, University of Washington Press, 2003.
- *Kaigai Ukiyoe Shozai Sakuin*, Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā, 1996.

[Articles]

- Yamaguchi Seiichi, 'Kobayashi Bunshichi Jiseki', *Saitama Daigaku Kiyō, Sōgō-hen*, Vol. 6, Betsuzuri, 1988.
- Shibui Kiyoshi, Ukiyoe no Yushutsu, *Mita Bungaku*, Vol.14, No.2, 1939.
- Kamei Shino, 'Fenorosa to Ukiyoeshi Ko', *Kindai Gassetsu: Meiji Bijutsu Gakkaishi*, No.9, 2000.

4. Cambridge University Library, Aston, Satow, Siebold Collection

[Books]

- Nozomu Hayashi & Peter Kornicki, *Early Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library: A Catalogue of the Aston, Satow and von Siebold Collection*, Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- *Kenburijji Daigaku Toshokan Shozō A-nesuto Satō Kanren Zōsho Mokuroku*, Volumes 1- 5, Yumani Shobō, 2016.

[Articles]

- Torao Tatsuya, 'Kenburijji Daigaku Zō "Asuton Washo Mokuroku" ni tsuite 1 - 11', *Kagoshima Daigaku Hobungakubu Kiyō Jinbun Gakka Ronshū*, Nos.60 – 73, 2005-2008.

5. Ernest Satow

[Books]

- Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan (ed.), *Zusetsu Ānesuto Satō: Bakumatsu Ishin no Gaikōkan*, Yūrindō, 2001.
- Hagiwara Nobutoshi, *Tōi Gake: Ānesuto Satō Nikki Shō*, Asahi Shinbun Shuppan, 2007-2008.
- Ian C. Rakkusuton [Ian C. Ruxton], Nagaoka Shōzō, Sekiguchi Hideo (transl.), *Ānesuto Satō no Shōgai: Sono Nikki to Tegami yori*, Yūshōdō, 2003.
- Ānesuto Satō [Ernest Satow], Nagaoka Shōzō (transl.), *Ānesuto Satō Kōshi Nikki*, Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1989-1991.

- Ānesuto Satō [Ernest Satow], Sakata Seiichi, *Ichi Gaikōkan ga Mita Meiji Ishin*, Iwanami Shoten, 1960.
- Ānesuto Satō [Ernest Satow], Shōda Motoo (transl.), *Ānesuto Satō Shintō Ron*, Heibonsha, 2006.
- Ian Ruxton (ed.), *A Diplomat in Japan Part II: The Diaries of Ernest Satow, 1870-1883*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2009.
- Ian Ruxton, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W.G. Aston and F.V. Dickins : The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2008.
- Ian Ruxton, *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, 1912-1920*, Lulu Press (Lulu.com), 2018.
- Kawase Kazuma and Okazaki Hisashi, ed., *Daiei Toshokan Shozō Wakansho Sōmokuroku*, Kōdansha, 1996.
- Kusuya Shigetoshi, *Ānesuto Satō no Dokusho Nōto: Igrisu Gaikōkan no Mita Meiji Ishin no Butaiura*, Yūshōd, 2009.
- Fujimoto Yukio and Kosukegawa Teiji, *Daiei Toshokan Shozō Chōsen-bon oyobi Nihon Kosho no Bunkengakuteki Gogakuteki Kenkyū*, [Toyama Daigaku], 2007.
- *Shinmura Izuru Zenshū*, Vol. 5, Chikuma Shobō, 1972. p.491.

[Articles]

- Kira Yoshie, 'Ānesuto Satō no Kyūzōsho ni tsuite, Jo, Ge', *Nihon Kosho Tsushin*, Nos.830-831, 1998.
- Ernest Satow, 'On the Transliteration of the Japanese Syllabary', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 7 (1879).
- Ernest Satow, 'On the Early History of Printing in Japan', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 10 (1882).
- Ernest Satow, 'Further Notes on Movable Types in Korea and Early Japanese Printed Books', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 10 (1882).
- Hamish A. Todd, 'The Satow Collection of Japanese Books in the British Library', *Daiei Toshokan Shozō Chōsen-bon oyobi Nihon Kosho no Bunkengakuteki Gogakuteki Kenkyū*, 2007.
- Yu-ying Brown, 'Daiei Toshokan ni okeru Nihon Korekushon no Genryū to Tokushoku', Kawase Kazuma and Okazaki Hisashi, ed., *Daiei Toshokan Shozō Wakansho Sōmokuroku*, Kōdansha, 1996.
- Nakatake Kanami, 'Takeda-ke Kyūzō Ānesuto Satō Kankei Shiryō Mokuroku', *Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan Kiyō*, Nos. 21-22, 24, 2003-2006.
- Ian C. Ruxton, 'E.M. Satow's Early Publications: A Founding Father of Modern Japanology', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, fourth series, Vol. 11, 1996, pp. 151-167.

6. William Anderson

[Books]

- William Anderson, *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*, Longmans & Co., 1886.

- Anderuson [William Anderson], Suematsu Kenchō (transl.), *Nihon Bijutsu Zensho*, Yao Shoten, 1896-1897.
- William Anderson, *The Pictorial Arts of Japan*, S. Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1886.
- William Anderson, *Japanese Wood Engravings: their History, Technique and Characteristics*, Macmillan, 1895 (Portfolio Monograph).
- Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of Prints and Books Illustrating the History of Engraving in Japan, Exhibited in 1888*, Burlington Arts Club, 1888.

[Articles]

- William Anderson, 'A History of Japanese Art', Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. VII, 1879.
- William Anderson, 'Pictorial Art', 'Glyptic Art', *A Handbook for Travellers in Central & Northern Japan*, Second edition, John Murray, 1884.
- Murakado Noriko, '19seikimatsu ni okeru Nihon Bijutsushi Shiryō Shūshū no Nettowāku, Wiriamu Andāson Kyūzū Wakansho o Chūshin ni', *Kajima Bijutsu Zaidan Nenpō*, No.27 (2009).
- Murakado Noriko, 'Wiriamu Andāson to "Butsuzō Zui": Nihon Bijutsushi Keiseiki ni okeru Ōbun Nihon Kenkyūsho no ichi', *Bijutsushi*, Vol.62, No.1 (2012).
- Endō Nozomi, 'Daiei Hakubutsukan Shozō Andāson Korekushon Chōsa Hōkoku', *Japonezurī Kenkyū Gakkai Kaihō*, No.12, 1992.
- Akiko Joō, 'Hyōhon kara Bijutsu e: Jūkyuseiki no Nihon Bijutsuhin Shūshū, Tokuni Andāson Korekushon no igi ni tsuite', *Kokka*, Vol. 114, No.7, 2009.
- Akiko Joō, 'Wiriamu Andāson Korekushon Saikō', *Hikaku Nihongaku Kenkyū Sentā Kenkyū Nenpō*, No.4, 2008.
- Katō Hiroko, '19seikimatsu no Daiei Hakubutsukan ni okeru Nihon Bijutsu Tenji ni tsuite: Andāson Korekushon ni yoru Chūgoku Nihon Kaigaten', *Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku Bijutsu Gakubu Ronsō*, No.5, 2009.
- Ishikawa Chikako, 'Ōbei ni okeru Nihon no Gashi Garon no Jūyō ni tsuite 1: W. Andāson cho "The Pictorial Arts of Japan" o Chūshin ni', *Miyazaki Daigaku Kyōiku Bunka Gakubu Kiyō, Geijutsu Hoken Taiiku Kasei Gijutsu*, No.22, 2010.
- Yamaguchi Seiichi, 'Wiriamu Andāsun Nihon no Kaiga Kawanabe Kyosai: (Fu) Wiriamu Andāsun Ryakuden', *Kyōsai*, No.13, 1983.
- Suzuki Hiroyuki, '1879nen no W. Andāson, Nihon Bijutsu no Rekishi', *Bijutsu Kenkyu*, No.383, 2004.
- Inaga Shigemi, 'Meisaku to Kyoshō no Ninchi o meguru Ninshiki no Sogo: Nihon Bijutsu Keiseiki (1870-1900) o Chūshin ni Gonsu [Louis Gonse] Nihon Bijutsu (1883), Andāson [William Anderson] Nihon no Kaiga Geijutsu oyobi Kōhon Nihon Teikoku Bijutsu Ryakki (1900) o megutte, *Bijutsu Fōramu* 21, No.4, 2001.
- Yu-ying Brown, 'Daiei Toshokan ni okeru Nihon Korekushon no Genryū to Tokushoku', Kawase Kazuma and Okazaki Hisashi, ed., *Daiei Toshokan Shozō Wakansho Sōmokuoku*, Kōdansha, 1996.
- John Rawlins, 'William Anderson, 1842-1900: Surgeon, Teacher and Art Collector', *Britain & Japan Biographical Portraits*, Volume V, Global Oriental, 2005.

7. Japonisme, Edmond De Goncourt, etc.

[Books]

- Ōshima Seiji, *Japonisumu: Inshō-ha to Ukiyoe no Shūhen*, Bijutsu Kōronsha, 1980.
- Jōzuka Taketoshi, *Umi o Wataru Ukiyoe: Hayashi Tadamasa no Shōgai*, Bijutsu Kōronsha, 1981.
- Edomon Do Gonkūru [Edmond de Goncourt], Oki Yukiko (transl.), *Utamaro*, Heibonsha, 2005.
- Edomon Do Gonkūru [Edmond de Goncourt], Oki Yukiko (transl.), *Hokusai: Jūhasseiki no Nihon Bijutsu*, Heibonsha, 2019.
- Koyama Buriijitto [Brigitte Koyama-Richard], Takatō Mako, Miyake Kyōto (transl.), *Yumemita Nihon: Edomon do Gonkūru to Hayashi Tadamasa*, Heibonsha, 2006.
- Kigi Yasuko, *Hayashi Tadamasa: Ukiyoe o Koete Nihon Bijutsu no Subete o*, Mineruva Shobō, 2009.
- Kigi Yasuko, *Hayashi Tadamasa to Sono Jidai: Seikimatsu no Pari to Nihon Bijutsu (Japonisumu)*, Chikuma Shobō, 1987.
- *Hayashi Tadamasa: Japonisume to Bunka Kōryū*, Buryukke, 2007.
- Takayama Aki, *Piēru Barubutō [Pierre Barboutau]: Shirarezaru Orientarisuto*, Keiō Gijuku Daigaku Shuppankai, 2008.
- Théodore Duret; Bibliothèque nationale, Département des Estampes, *Livres & albums illustrés du Japon*, Ernest Leroux, 1900.
- Kiyonaga, *Buncho, Sharaku; estampes japonaises tirées des collections de mm. Bing, Bouasse-Lebel, Bullier, comte de Camondo, mme E. Chausson, Chialiva ... [et d'autres] Et exposées au Musée des arts...*, Ateliers photo-mécaniques D.A. Longuet, Paris, 1911.

[Articles]

- Jovanni Peterunorri [Giovanni Peternolli], Kodō Eiko (transl.), 'Edomondo Do Gonkūru [Edmon de Goncourt] ate no Hayashi Tadamasa Mikan Shokan ni tsuite', *Ukiyoe Geijutsu*, Nos. 62-63 (1979-1980).
- Yamanashi Atsushi, 'Joruju Bigō [Georges Bigot] to Meiji Chūki no Katorikku Kyōkai: Zainichi Furansujin ni okeru Han-Kyōkenshugi ni tsuite', *Nihon Kenkyū*, No.42, 2010.
- Denys Sutton, 'Japonaiserie for ever: The Goncourts and Japanese Art', *Apollo*, No. 269, 1984.
- Inaga Shigemi, 'Anri Serunūshi [Henri Cernuschi] to Teodōru Dyure [Théodore Duret]: Komyūn Ajia Ryokō Bijutsu Shūshū', *Kindai Gassetsu: Meiji Bijutsu Gakkaishi*, No.7, 1998.
- Segi Shin'ichi, 'Nihon Bijutsu Ryūshutsushi', *Bessatsu Taiyō*, No.21, 1977.
- Kurisutofu Maruke [Christophe Marque], 'Furansu no Toshokan ya Bijutsukan ni okeru Wakosho Korekushon to Nihon Bunka Kenkyū', *Hakubutsukan no Kokusaiteki Nettowāku Keisei to Nihon Bunka Kenkyū: Kokugakuin Daigaku Hakubutsukan Kokusai Shinpojiumu Wākushoppu 2015*, Kokugakuin Daigaku, 2016.
- Kume Kazusa, 'Bārinton Fain Āto Kurabu to Japonisume: 19seikimatsu Igrisu ni okeru Ukiyoe Hanga Juyō ni tsuite no Ichi Kōsatsu', *Jissen Joshi Daigaku Bigaku Bijutsushigaku*, No.34, 2022.

8. Satow's Librarians, Book Collectors, Bibliophiles

[Books]

- Tanaka Masahiro, *Kindai Nihon to Bakumatsu Gaikō Monjo Hensan no Kenkyū*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998.
- Tanaka Masahiro, *Bakumatsu Ishinki no Shakai Henkaku to Gunzō*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2008.
- Nagasawa Kikuya (ed.), *Hon'ya no Hanashi*, Seishōdō, 1981.
- Sorimachi Shigeo (ed.), *Shimi no Mukashigatari*, Meiji Taishō-hen, Yagi Shoten, 1990.
- Sorimachi Shigeo, *Shūshūka, Gyōkai, Gyōkaijin*, Yagi Shoten, 1984.
- Sekine Toshio, *Sekine Bunko Mokuroku*, Kyōiku Shuppan Sentā, 1983.
- Iwamoto Yonetarō (ed.), *Kawara no Hibiki Shibugusa: Hōsai Goichi Ikō*, Iwamoto Yonetarō, 1917.
- *Meiji Zenki no Hon'ya Oboegaki*, Kanazawa Bunpokaku, 2012.
- Mizutani Futō, *Meiji Taishō Koshoka no Kenkyū*, Shunnansha, 1933.
- Suzuki Hiroyuki, *Kōkoka-tachi no 19seiki: Bakumatsu Meiji ni okeru "Mono" no Arukeorōji*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2012.
- *Hirano Kuniomi Denki oyobi Ikō*, Hakubunsha Shoten, 1916.
- Tashiro Masae, *Akizuki-shi Kō*, Akizuki-shi Kō Kankōkai, 1951.
- *Asakura-gun Kyōdo Jinbutsushi*, Fukuoka-ken Asakura-gun Kyōikukai, 1926.
- Kyokutei Bakin, *Kinsei Mono no Hon Sakusha Burui*, Iwanami Shoten, 2014.

[Articles]

- Tsubouchi Shōyō, 'Shitsumei Tōji no Bakin to Sono Katei no An'un', *Kaizō*, No.1(3 April 1919).
- Aoki Toshiya, 'Tsubouchi Shōyō to Sekine Shisei', *Kokugo Kokubun*, Vol.72, No.3, 2003.
- Imai Shōji, 'Zoku Tsūshin Zenran to Sakata Morotō', *Nihon Rekishi*, No. 173(1962).
- 'Shōhei Gakka Meiroku', Ōkubo Toshiaki and Edo Kyūji Saihōkai, ed., *Edo*, Vol.2, Bakusei Part 2, Rittaiisha, 1980.
- Ishii Kō, 'Nihon no Jinji Seisaku no Kigen: Edo Bakufu Kōki Gokenin no Jinzai Tōyō to Shōshin', *Hokkai Gakuen Daigaku Gakuen Ronshū*, No.156 (2013).

9. Fujikawa Seisai Fushi [Father and Son], Gekkenkai, Makuratchi [McClatchie], etc.

[Books]

- *Bunsei Zakkī; Tenpō Zakkī*, Kyūko Shoin, 1983.
- *Tenpō Zakkī*, Kyūko Shoin, 1983.
- *Kōka Zakkī; Kaei Zakkī*, Kyūko Shoin, 1983.
- *Ansei Zakkī*, Kyūko Shoin, 1983.
- Saitō Akinobu, *Jikishin Kageryū Kenjutsu Gokui Kyōju Zukai*, Iguchi Kaishinrō, 1901.
- Tamabayashi Haro, *Denki Shūhō*, Nihon Seinen Kyōikukai Shuppanbu, 1932.

- Motoyama Tekishū, *Kinsei Kenkyakuden*, Hōchi Shinbunsha, 1922.
- Ishigaki Tatsuo, *Kashima Shinden Jikishin Kageryū Gokui*, Ishigaki Tatsuo, 1935.
- Ishigaki Yasuzō, *Jikishin Kageryū Gokui Denkai*, Shimazu Shobō, 2001.
- Ishigaki Yasuzō, *Gekkenkai Shimatsu*, Shimazu Shobō, 2001.
- Yamada Jirōkichi, *Nihon Kendōshi*, Saikensha, 1960.
- Watanabe Ichirō (ed.), *Meiji Budōshi: Shiryō*, Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1971.
- Urushizawa Sonoko, *Meiji Kabuki no Seiritsu to Tenkai*, Keiyūsha, 2003.

[Articles]

- Karukome Yoshitaka, 'Jikishin Kageryū no Bunpa ni tsuite no Ichi Kōsatsu: Naganuma-ha, Fujikawa-ha, Otani-ha no Shiai Shūren Keitai narabini Kenjutsukan no Bunseki o Tōshite', *Budōgaku Kenkyū*, No.46, 2013.
- Nakamura Tamio, 'Bakumatsu Kantō Kenjutsu Ryūha Denpa Keitai no Kenkyū 2', *Fukushima Daigaku Kyōiku Gakubu Ronshū Shakai Kagaku Bumon*, No.66, 1999.
- Ujiiie Mikito, 'Bunsei Zakkī, Kōken Zuihitsu hoka Ezu Saimoku', *Kita no Maru*, No.39, 2006.
- Ryūsen Shōshi, 'Shigai Shiden Kengō Hiwa 6', *Bungei Shunjū*, Vol.7, No.5, 1929.
- Niwa Misato, 'Okamoto Keinosuke to Kudaime Ichikawa Danjūro no Kōyū', *Nihon Kindai Bungaku*, No.80, 2009.
- Thomas R. H. McClatchie, 'The Sword of Japan: Its History and Traditions', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol.2 (1874).

Index

Japanese people (in Japanese syllabary order)

A, I, U, E, O

Aizawa Tomonushi 100, 101
Iijima Kyoshin 26, 76
Ishizuka Hōkaishi 31, 35, 36, 77, 78, 80, 84, 86
Ise Sadatake 3, 73, 111, 113
Ise Sadaharu 73, 111
Itasaka Gen 22n, 35n, 36, 36n, 37n, 79, 174n, 178n, 187, 188, 188n, 189, 189n
Inoue Denbei 3, 16
Iwasa Matabei 95, 109
Iwamoto Kattōshi (Darumaya Sahichi) 45, 46, 53, 54, 84
Iwamoto Yonetarō 53n, 54n, 76, 77, 77n, 78
Ōishi Susumu 16
Ōta Nanpo 30, 33, 61, 67, 94, 95
Ōtsuki Joden 62, 84, 85, 85n, 92, 93
Ōhashi Sahei 52, 53
Oguri Tadamasa 16
Otani Nobutomo 16

Ka, Ki, Ku, Ke, Ko

Katsu Kaishū 16, 17
Katsushika Hokusai 20, 21, 23, 25, 25n, 26, 26n, 27, 28, 43, 47, 50, 51, 51n, 55, 57, 58, 76, 76n, 122, 123, 127, 132, 158, 167, 169, 172, 174, 175, 177, 178, 183
Katsurano Susumu 64, 65
Kanagaki Robun 69, 70, 77, 84, 88, 89
Kawaji Toshiyoshi 41, 42
Kawatake Mokuami 88
Kawamura Shirō (Kawamura Sirō) 54, 55
Kikuchi Yōsai 43, 44, 45, 45n
Kitagawa Utamaro 21, 25, 25n, 26, 26n, 28, 50, 50n, 51, 55, 57, 57n, 58, 133, 158, 181, 182, 195

Kitakōji Ken 29, 29n, 96n
Kyokutei Bakin 60, 175, 176,
Kusumoto Masataka 8, 75
Kurihara Nobumitsu (Ryūan) 74
Keisai Eisen (Mumeiō) 33, 34, 35, 38, 50, 52, 91, 162, 195
Koike Setsuzō 64
Koike Tōgorō 79
Kojima Usui 55, 56, 56n, 57, 57n
Kobayashi Bunshichi 43, 58, 58n, 59

Sa, Shi, Su, Se, So

Saitō Akinobu 6, 6n, 15, 15n
Saitō Kenzō 77, 78
Saitō Gesshin 2, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 31, 32-34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 49, 50, 52, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 77, 78, 80, 81-83, 84, 85, 85n, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 95, 96, 97, 98, 98n, 99, 99n, 100, 100n, 101, 101n, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 107n, 108, 110, 113, 146, 153, 160, 161, 162, 163, 170, 171, 172, 174, 177, 183, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190, 191
Sakai Ryōsuke 3, 16
Sakakibara Kenkichi 17, 192, 194, 195
Sakata Morotō 8, 62, 64, 65, 67, 69, 70, 72-76, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 108, 112, 114, 148
Sasaya Kuninori (Shinshichi) 30, 33, 34, 56, 94
Sawa Nobuyoshi 74, 75
Santō Kyōzan 50, 51, 55, 56, 57
Santō Kyōden 30, 34, 50, 56, 57, 60, 61, 95
Shikitei Sanba 30, 34, 50, 56, 57, 61, 94
Shiba Kōkan 43, 99, 185, 186
Shimada Toranosuke 16, 17
Shimizu Masanori (Sekijō) 15
Sharaku (Tōshūsai Sharaku) 18, 18n, 20, 21-24, 24n, 32n, 35n, 46, 58-59, 90, 91, 91n, 133, 158, 159, 177-178, 180, 181, 182

Shiraishi Senbetsu (Chūdayū, Shimofusa no Kami, Imayōo) 62, 63, 65, 66, 67-70, 86, 89, 90, 108, 112, 114, 148
Shiraishi Mamichi 5, 62, 63-66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 86, 89, 90, 108, 109, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115-119, 125, 142, 147, 153, 154, 156
Shinmura Izuru 185, 185n, 186, 186n, 190
Suzuki Jūzō 31, 31n, 52n, 58, 92n, 93, 93n, 94, 94n
Suzuki Matoshi 66, 69
Suhara Tetsuji (Isan) 38n, 39, 44, 45, 46
Sekine Shisei 36, 37, 60, 62, 67, 70, 76-80, 81-83, 84-85, 86-89, 91, 91n, 92, 93, 97, 98, 99, 104, 106, 108, 109, 114
Sekine Toshio 78, 79, 79n, 80n, 89n, 104, 114n
Sekine Masanao 76, 84, 85, 91, 114, 114n

Ta, Chi, Tsu, Te, To

Takabatake Ransen (Ryutei Tanehiko III) 25, 46, 46n, 50, 51, 55-57, 91
Takeda Yasujirō 43
Tatsutaya Shūkin 23, 24, 25, 26, 37, 38-39, 50, 51, 53, 54, 57, 88
Tanaka Masahiro 5n, 63n, 64n, 65n, 70n, 71n, 72n, 75, 75n, 76n, 85, 85n
Tanabe Taichi 4, 5, 63, 64, 70, 71, 75, 114
Tanamachi Tomoya 22n, 35n, 36n, 37n, 174n, 178n, 188, 188n, 189, 189n
Darumaya Goichi 54, 76, 77, 78, 79, 84, 108
Tsubouchi Shōyō 84, 84n, 89, 89n
Doi Toshitsune 13, 99, 113
Doi Toshiyuki 3, 4, 13, 113, 114
Tō Teikan 109, 111, 125

Na, Ni, Nu, Ne, No

Nakashima Osamu 29, 29n, 30, 31, 31n, 32n, 35, 35n, 36n, 37, 37n, 52n, 55, 55n, 56, 56n, 57, 57n, 87n, 92, 92n
Nakada Katsunosuke 29, 29n
Nishimura Roppei 52, 53

Ha, Hi, Fu, He, Ho

Hasegawa Settan 21, 32, 33, 100
Hasegawa Settei 98, 99, 100, 101, 103
Hanabusa Itcho 95, 96
Hanawa Hokiichi 73, 74, 111
Hanawa Tadatomi (Jirō) 74
Hayashi Tadamasa 25, 26, 26n, 27, 27n, 42, 42n, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 49-51, 51n, 53, 55, 57, 58-59, 59n, 91, 133
Hayashi Nozomu 34
Hayashi Motoharu 57
Hishikawa Moronobu 172, 173
Hyōdō Baifū (Bai Fū Shi) 57
Hirano Kuniomi 72
Fujikawa Seisai (Tadashi, Sadachika, Ōhachirō, Yajirōemon) 3, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 113, 114, 148, 193
Fujikawa Ken (Hiroshi, Norichika, Tarō, Kōtarō) 3, 4-5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11-12, 13, 15, 16, 85, 112, 113, 114
Fujikawa Chikayoshi 3, 16
Fujikawa Chikatsune 3, 5, 16
Honma Kōzō 39-44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 57, 59
Honma Mitsunori 39, 44, 45, 45n

Ma, Mi, Mu, Me, Mo

Matsuoka Akiyoshi 73
Matsuoka Tokikata 73, 74, 111
Matsuoka Yukiyoshi 73
Miyamoto Kyūhei 67, 70, 71
Miyamoto Koichi 5, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 69, 70-71, 86
Miyamoto Kōfū 64, 112
Murakado Noriko 104n, 124n, 155n, 159n, 163, 163n, 164, 164n, 171, 179n
Mori Ōgai 13, 16

Ya, Yu, Yo

Yashiro Hirotaka 14, 15, 111, 112, 114

Yasuda Zenjirō 36, 89
Yanagawa Shunsan 45
Yamaoka Tesshū 7, 17
Yura Tetsuji 18, 18n, 23, 31, 31n, 32, 32n,
37n, 38, 61, 90, 90n, 188, 190, 190n
Yoda Morikatsu 65

Wa, Wo, N

Wakai Kanesaburō 47
Wada Tokutarō 52

Foreigners (in alphabetical order by family name)

Anderson, William 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 26,
27, 28, 38, 47, 48, 49, 49n, 50, 51, 102, 107,
118, 119, 120, 122-123, 124, 124n, 125,
126, 127, 128-129, 131, 132, 133, 134, 140,
153-178, 179, 179n, 180
Aston, William George 3, 19, 20, 34, 61,
61n, 62n, 66n, 98n, 100n, 104, 107n, 110n,
115, 115n, 116, 116n, 117, 117n, 120n,
123n, 126n, 127n, 128n, 129n, 130, 130n,
131n, 133n, 135, 136, 139, 141, 146, 146n,
147, 148, 148n, 155, 156n, 159, 160, 160n,
164, 179, 180n, 181, 181n, 182, 183, 183n,
184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 190, 191, 194

Bing, Samuel 26, 54
Binyon, Laurence 21n, 181, 181n, 182
Burty, Philippe 119, 120, 122, 127, 132,
133, 153, 154, 156, 157, 175

Ceadel, Eric 187, 187n, 189
Chamberlain, Basil Hall 19, 124, 124n, 126,
135, 136, 140, 164, 190
Chirol, Valentine 19, 20
Colvin, Sidney 180, 181

Dickins, Frederick Victor 19, 20, 27, 66, 66n,
102, 107, 107n, 108, 115, 115n, 117, 120,
120n, 121, 123, 123n, 125, 125n, 126n, 127,
127n, 128, 128n, 129n, 130n, 131, 131n,

132, 133, 133n, 135, 138, 140, 145, 154,
155, 156n, 157, 159, 160, 160n, 179, 180n,
181n

Donaldson, Stuart Alexander 183, 184
Duret, Théodore 22, 22n, 132-133, 175

Fenollosa, Ernest 58, 58n, 90n, 123, 127

Goncourt, Edmond de 25-28, 50, 50n, 51,
51n, 55, 57, 57n, 58, 162, 163, 171, 181

Hart, Ernest 24, 27, 45, 46, 47-49, 51, 52,
53, 175, 178, 179

Hawes, A.G.S. 154, 157, 194

Kornicki, Peter 34, 61, 61n, 62n, 98n, 100n,
110n, 116n, 148n, 183n, 190, 191

Kurth, Julius 23, 24n

Marquet, Christophe 54, 54n, 55n
McClatchie, Thomas 192, 193, 194, 195,
195n, 196

Michaut, Paul 26, 55, 58

Morse, Edward Sylvester 27, 123, 127

Nordenskjöld, Adolf Erik 120, 121, 121n,
122, 122n,

Parkes, Harry 192, 193, 194

Paterson, William Bell 180, 181, 182

Satow, Ernest 1-4, 5, 17, 17n, 18-23, 24-25,
27, 33, 34, 38, 45, 46, 49, 59, 60-65, 68-71,
84, 86-89, 90, 92, 94, 97-99, 101, 102-104,
106, 107-110, 111, 113, 114, 115-133, 134-
148, 149, 152, 153-165, 168, 170, 171-174,
175, 177, 178, 179-184, 185-187, 190, 191,
192-195

Schnell, Edward 40, 41

Seidlitz, Woldemar von 161, 162

Siebold, Heinrich von 3, 34, 61, 61n, 62n,
98n, 100n, 110n, 116n, 148n, 183, 183n,
184, 185, 186, 187, 190, 191, 192, 194, 195
Siebold, Philipp Franz von 175, 183, 192

Smith, Lawrence 21n, 156n, 182, 182n
Strange, Edward S. 19, 19n

Troup, James 135, 136, 139, 140, 145

Watters, Thomas 138, 139, 145