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Visualizing the classics : reading surimono and kyōka books as social and cultural history

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Chapter 3: *Kyōka* books: definition and categorization

3.1 *Kyōkabori*: history and development

3.1.1 Not publishing *kyōka*

The status of *kyōka* as pastime

Composing *kyōka* only became a serious endeavor in Edo after it started to generate status and money. This was from around the Tenmei period, in Edo. Before that, *kyōka* were composed with other intentions. Composing *kyōka* primarily functioned as a playful pastime for *waka* poets. This was true for the *waka* poet and teacher Uchiyama Gatei 内山賀邸 (1723-1788, real name Naotoki 淳時, pen names a.o. Chinken 椿軒 and Denzō 伝蔵), who taught future *kyōka* pioneers Ōta Nanpo (*kyōka* names Yomo no Akara 四方赤良 and Shokusanjin 蜀山人, 1749-1823), Akera Kankō 朱楽菅江 (1738-1798) and Karagoromo Kisshū. It was also true for the *kyōka* poets active in the Kamigata region earlier in the Edo period. Playing with poetry could be considered the ultimate way of enjoying the freedom in practicing an otherwise serious art form. It also has a function in the process of training, as it allows the practitioner to overstep boundaries - of literary conventions, decorum, and etiquette - in place on official occasions.

Writing down and printing what was intended to be thrown away

Recording a poem by noting it on a piece of paper, writing it down in a diary, or inscribing it on a *tanzaku* 短冊 (oblong poem card) gives a certain value to it. The poem begets a status that is above that of an exercise poem that is only recited orally. *Kyōka*, as poems that discard the rules that are in place for earnest poetry, were initially not intended to be written down. Playful treatment of poetry can, however, result in poems of a certain merit - for their humorous qualities, eloquent critique of literature or society, or for whatever other reason - that deserve to be recorded. Suga, in his opening chapter on the theory of *kyōka* history, claims that all Japanese arts evolved from play (“*yūgi* 遊戯”), and it seems that *kyōka* has indeed followed along these lines.

Composing *kyōka*: for what audience?

The question that arises with regard to poets writing down their *kyōka*, is with what audience in mind they record their poems. This question should apply to all *kyōka* materials if we aim to understand the context of these materials. *Kyōka* poets of different periods and places would have had different audiences in mind. One can imagine that a joyful get-together with like-minded poets that resulted in a poem that struck those present as of a quality worth remembering at a later moment, this prompted someone to note it down. In such a case, the intended audience is probably no wider than one or more of those present. This changes when the recorded poem gets circulated. The stance of the poet in his or her compositions likely changes if the possibility of later circulation is accepted beforehand. The *kyōka* poets of the early nineteenth century aimed at being included in publications by their poetry group and would

have adapted their stance accordingly.

3.1.2 Is writing down *kyōka* to be considered publishing?

Definition of ‘publishing’ *kyōka*

Considering the word publication in the strict sense of ‘communicating information to the public’, *kyōka* were published in a variety of ways. The question in every case is what ‘the public’ is. If public simply means anyone other than oneself, *kyōka* were published as soon as they were written down and made available to others. Inscribing a *kyōka* on a poem card and giving that away to a friend would mean that - in theory at least - it could reach a larger audience. The circulation of early Edo period manuscripts among the relatively few Kamigata *kyōka* poets must have been quite different in range than that of commercially published printed anthologies during the heyday of *kyōka* in Edo.¹²⁷ Whatever the setting, the major difference is whether the poet himself or herself intended to allow poems to remain within a confined social circle, or to be known to anyone who was interested. I consider this shift from private spheres to larger audiences to define the onset of ‘publishing *kyōka*’. For the case of Edo, this shift occurred around the end of the Meiwa period, and it is the evolution of *kyōka* publications after this shift that I investigate.

Manuscripts and printed books

The means for dissemination, whether in manuscript form or as a printed book, brought about a difference in circulation patterns. Generally speaking, printed books could be distributed to an audience outside that of acquaintances more easily, whereas the distribution of manuscripts would usually require some sort of social relation. The simple, yet most influential reason for this is the fact that books being published in printed form were produced more or less at one point in time, instead of being lent out to be copied one by one. Printed editions typically went through the facilities of a printing house, which in turn meant that distribution started in that physical place. This does not mean that all printed *kyōka* books were sold from that same place of production, although this was usually the case with commercial editions. In the case of privately commissioned publications, the produced batch of books would probably go to a member of the *kyōka* group involved (see next section), who then took responsibility for further distribution.

Furthermore, the planning stage of a manuscript book and a printed book differ in that the

¹²⁷ Kornicki (2006) has pointed out that manuscripts continued to circulate alongside printed publications during the Edo period, for a variety of reasons. Most of these reasons concern texts being unfit for publication in print due to subversive or “secret” contents. The foremost example of an early *kyōka* book circulating as a manuscript in various forms is the anthology commonly known as Yūchōrō hyakushū 雄長老百首, compiled by Yūchōrō (1547-1602, also known as Eiho Yōyū 英甫永雄) and said to have been first issued in 1589 (see for instance Waseda University “Japanese & Chinese classics” collection no. 18 01030). Although manuscripts certainly made up a smaller percentage than printed *kyōka* books during the years of greater popularity, some *kyōka* books still circulated in manuscript form, even alongside printed editions. An example is Ōta Nanpo’s *Manzai kyōkashū* 万載狂歌集 (‘*Kyōka* collection of ten thousand years’), of which the printed edition was published in 1783.

printed book requires negotiation over production parameters. Manuscripts allow considerable flexibility with regard to number of pages, later additions, and impromptu inclusion of illustrations even. Planning a publication in printed form requires a far more stringent planning beforehand, decisions on the number of pages and illustrations, format, the number of copies in an edition, costs and expected financial gain. This in turn has an effect on the contents of the book. It influences how the selection of poems is done in terms of quantities, to start with. The decision whether to include a certain number of illustrations also influences the parameters of the poetry selection and setup of the contents.

Distance between poet and audience

Once the fruits of *kyōka* composition were recorded and allowed to be distributed by whatever means, the poets in question engaged in a communication with their readers. The fact that *kyōka* were published at all implies that a readership existed outside immediate friends and acquaintances, or was expected to exist. The intention of publishing these poems, then, was to circulate the *kyōka* poetry among interested readers, who may be found in corners of society that poets were not in touch with without the book as means of communication. The reaction of the market, especially in Edo from the Tenmei period onwards, can be seen as an answer in the same poet-audience communication, the direction in this case being from audience to poet.

Let us take the example of early Tenmei *kyōka* poets. Over the course of only several years, their poems left the enclosed spheres of practice sessions with their *waka* teachers or private parties, and evolved into well-marketed commercial *kyōka* publications. Despite a much larger - and apparently very enthusiastic - readership, the distance between poet and audience grew wider. Readers were no longer acquaintances, in the first or second degree, but possibly individuals in every corner of society. Changes in social distance to the reader, added perhaps by a change in geographical distance, will inevitably have resulted in an overall sense of distance on the part of the poet. Consequently, the move towards the general public will have resulted, consciously or unconsciously, in a level of constraint in comparison to the freedom felt in the more intimate settings of earlier years.

3.1.3 Publishing *kyōka* books privately

Privately published books and their intended audiences

The sense of distance from readers was arguably less strong in the case of a privately published *kyōka* book. To avoid misunderstandings, it is necessary to clarify that privately publishing in the case of *kyōka* books typically meant commissions made by an organized group of poets, rather than a single individual - although this also occurred. Private publications, even if in printed form, were circulated initially among the members of the issuing group. Distribution outside the commercial market ensured a certain level of exclusivity. Of course, individual members could later show, lend or give these books to friends and acquaintances, thereby widening the readership. Nonetheless, poets contributing to such publications, and poetry selectors editing these books, could submit their work with the intended audience of group members in mind - not anonymous buyers at book shops.

Organization of multi-poet events

The term 'privately published' may seem to imply small-scale projects, but this should not be underestimated. The large numbers of poets featuring in privately published *kyōka* books of the 1820s and 1830s attest to the fact that these publications were the outcome of well-organized activities undertaken by poetry groups that operated on a grand scale. What had started as parties for 'poetry without rules' had gradually turned into a rather formalized society. Printed announcements of *kyōka* competitions and the planned publication to be resulting from it evince a nationwide network with many contributing poets. It is clear from these materials, treated in-depth in chapter five, that the level of organization around the 1830s was very high. There were fixed prices for entry into each competition, pointing to a careful financial planning. The costs of a private publication commissioned by a *kyōka* group were likely carefully calculated as well. The fact that the book was not published commercially is by no means an indication that the book did not circulate widely. The scope of circulation was, however, to a certain degree limited to members of the same (large) poetry group.

3.1.4 Publishing *kyōka* books commercially

Marketability of *kyōka*

Money could be made from selling *kyōka* books on the Edo book market.¹²⁸ That prospect prompted Tsutaya Jūzaburō to produce *kyōka* books from the early Tenmei period onwards. Other publishers would soon follow. The popularity of *kyōka* among a select group of enthusiasts famously spread to the general public. Whether the market was ready for *kyōka* and commercial publications followed, or the situation was the other way around is beyond the scope of this thesis. The fact remains that the popularity of *kyōka* had reached a point when there was a market demand. Publishers supplied books for enthusiasts, whether they were members of a *kyōka* group or not.

Publication process

The main objective of financial gain is what makes commercial *kyōka* publications less complex than most private publications in terms of publication process. The planning was all conducted by a publisher and not a group of people. The publisher had to sense the market demand, make calculations, approach a master *kyōka* poet whose name would ensure steady sales, and contact an illustrator that he successfully worked with on previous publications. The initiative lay with the publisher - or perhaps initially with a certain *kyōka* master on occasions - yet the practicalities and logistics of the publication are the responsibility of the publisher. In the Edo period book trade, it was common for a publishing house to carry out the various aspects and tasks of publishing, both in terms of planning and production. Apart from layout and design, cutting of the wooden printing blocks, printing, binding and also distribution,

¹²⁸ As I do with *surimono*, I focus on the *kyōka* books published in the city of Edo.

were usually all undertaken by the same firm. For a publisher, therefore, it was relatively easy to judge whether the publication of a *kyōka* book was economically viable.

The boundaries of the commercial publication process usually lead to *kyōka* books that were edited or selected by a single *kyōka* poetry master and illustrated by a single artist. This is a logical outcome of the circumstance that costs have to be kept low and every book needs good selling points. The name of a popular *kyōka* poetry master could be a selling point, or the reputation of the illustrator. Another selling point could be the practicality of the book, which could, for instance, serve as a guide for amateur *kyōka* poets.¹²⁹ Whichever was the case, it was in the publisher's interest to limit the number of paid contributors involved in the publication. A single *kyōka* master - at the request of a publisher - could compile an anthology of major poems by various poets, such as *Azumaburi kyōka bunko* 吾妻曲狂歌文庫 ('An archive of *kyōka* from the Eastern Capital') of 1786, and *Kokon kyōka bukuro* 古今狂歌袋 ('A bag of *kyōka*, old and new') of the next year.¹³⁰ The selection for both these two books was done by Yadoya no Meshimori 宿屋飯盛 (1753-1830, common name Ishikawa Masamochi 石川雅望, later known as Rokujuen 六樹園), and the illustrations were done by Kitao Masanobu 北尾政演 (1761-1816, also famous as a prolific writer of light fiction, mainly *kihyōshi* and *gōkan* 合巻 (serial novels), under the name Santō Kyōden 山東京伝¹³¹). Another option was a book that offered information on how to write better *kyōka* for enthusiasts, such as the guide *Kyōka hama no kisago* 狂歌濱のきさご ('*Kyōka* Shells on the Beach') of 1783, written by Moto no Mokuami 元木綱 (1724-1811). The three examples mentioned here were all published by Tsutaya Jūzaburō, and will be further discussed in section 3.3.4.¹³²

Finance

Commercial publications are not always completely planned and financed by commercial publishers. Patterns in the publication history of certain *kyōka* books reveal a creative connection between publishers and *kyōka* groups, where the costs were ostensibly divided between parties. Not all *kyōka* books were as easily marketable as those mentioned above. Compilations of poems by one *kyōka* group would always maintain a sort of in-crowd-feel, which may have been considered unsuitable for wide dissemination. On the other hand, there was always a market for well-executed publications with fine illustrations and poetry to match. Some publications that were issued privately were later reissued by commercial publishers. Especially when the commercial publisher was involved in the initial production of the book and later reissued it, it seems logical that he was also involved in the planning and initial financing of the publication. In these cases, we can speak of private publications with optional future

¹²⁹ See section 3.3.4 on *kyōka* information books.

¹³⁰ These *kyōka* anthologies will receive further treatment in section 3.3.2.

¹³¹ According to the information in the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese books database of the National Institute of Japanese Literature, he has either written or illustrated almost 500 books during his lifetime.

¹³² *Kyōka hama no kisago* was published together with publishers from Osaka and Kyoto, see *Edokyōkabonsenshū kankōkai* (2007), p. 4.

marketability, or even semi-commercial publications. There are different possible scenarios for the earning model. A definitive calculation or evidence for a certain division of costs and profit can probably never be given. The publication patterns of the three examples hereunder do, however, illustrate the publication strategies for different books, and allow at least some informed conjecture.

The *kyōka* book *Ebon sumidagawa ryōgan ichiran* 絵本隅田両岸一覽 ('Picture book of both banks of the River Sumida, in one view') serves as an example of a private publication executed by a commercial publisher.¹³³ The book, fully illustrated by Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760-1849), was published by Tsuruya Kiemon 鶴屋喜右衛門 (n.d.), a commercial publisher operating under the firm name Senkakudō 仙鶴堂 located at the street Tōriaburachō 通油町 in Edo.¹³⁴ The original publication does not feature a colophon. The name of the publisher is, however, found in the preface and on the illustrated, color-printed wrapper for this book.¹³⁵ This collection of *kyōka* in deluxe edition, published circa 1801-1803, seems to have been a commission by Kojūrō Nariyasu 壺十楼成安 and his (apparently modestly-sized) poetry circle. Judging from the character 壺 *ko* (jar, *ku*n reading *tsubo*), he was likely a member of the Tsubogawa, or 'Jar poetry group', an alternative name of the Asakusagawa 浅草側 (Asakusa [district] poetry group) headed by Sensōan Ichindo 浅草庵市人 (1755-1821)¹³⁶, also known as Tsubotsubo Chinjin 壺々陳人, also written 壺々陳人). The hypothesis that Nariyasu was member of this Jar poetry group is further supported by the fact that the first of the two seals under the written name Kojūrō Nariyasu has the shape of a stylized jar, such as was also used in *surimono* issued by the Asakusagawa poetry group. Furthermore, Hokusai had previously illustrated several deluxe *kyōka* books and also *surimono* for the Asakusagawa, which makes the connection all the more plausible.¹³⁷

In the preface to this book, Nariyasu explains that Hokusai had drawn these wonderful illustrations, and that Master Senkakudō came to ask him and his fellow poets for appropriate poems. This implies that Tsuruya only needed some poems to enliven an illustrated book that was already planned for (commercial) publication. Yet, the absence of a colophon and the overall nature of the publication, compared also to previous *kyōka* books of similar setup issued by Sensōan and his group, point to a private initiative. In any case, if this publication was an entirely privately commissioned publication, the content of the preface is very odd, and if the book was sold in Tsuruya's shop, the absence of a colophon is equally odd. A likely explanation is that the investment for the production for this book was shared

¹³³ The entire book is reproduced, with translations (into French) of the preface and all poems, in Forrer and Kok (2012).

¹³⁴ Tsutaya Jūzaburō's publishing firm Kōshodō was also located here.

¹³⁵ The publisher is mentioned in the preface as “*Senkakudō no aruji* 仙鶴堂のあるし (the master of the Senkakudō [publishing house])”; The wrapper says “Tsuruya Kiemon han 鶴屋喜右衛門版” (published by Tsuruya Kiemon). A copy of this wrapper is kept in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Accession number 11.20405).

¹³⁶ According to Suga (1936/I), p. 320, Asakusaa died on the 25th day of the 12th month of Bunsei 3, which corresponds with late January 1821.

¹³⁷ See Forrer (Ed., 1982). The connection to the Asakusagawa is also discussed by Kubota in Carpenter (Ed., 2005), pp. 187-190.

between the publisher and the poetry group. There is no hard evidence to support this theory, yet it would seem very unlikely for a poetry group to take the initiative to publish a deluxe the publication and then state the complete opposite in the preface, while it is highly unlikely that a publisher running a market-driven operation like Senkakudō would aid in the production of one of the finest illustrated books on sale at the time, and then ignore the opportunity to procure some extra income from direct sales to customers outside the collaborating poetry group. Even if the publication was indeed an entirely commercial endeavor from the outset, it was unlikely that Nariyasu's poetry group were just lucky to be asked to contribute poems to this luxurious publication, whereas they would normally have to pay a considerable sum if they wished to have their poetry published in such a way, either in the form of a color-printed illustrated book or a set of *surimono*, for instance.¹³⁸

A more clear-cut example of a deluxe illustrated poetry book that was reissued for commercial gain is *Tatsu no miyatsuko* 龍の宮津子 ('The guards of the dragon king's palace'), a *haikai* book illustrated by Kuwagata Keisai 鋤形蕙斎 (1764-1824, alternatively known as Kitao Masayoshi 北尾政美) and published in 1802. While it is not a *kyōka* book, there are some striking similarities with *Ehon sumidagawa ryōgan ichiran* in terms of publication setup. The book features illustrations a selection of sea-dwelling and river-dwelling creatures, ranging from tiny shells to a giant whale. The illustrations are printed with great care, in multiple colors, and the skins of many of the fishes are given extra luster through the application of a coat of ground mother-of-pearl, made to stick using a type of glue. Above the illustrations, space is left open for 17-syllable *haikai* poems.¹³⁹ The preface was written by the poet Tani Sogai 谷素外 (1733-1823) of Kanda, Edo, who apparently made the selection, and follows a 'storyline' almost identical to that of Nariyasu's preface. It starts out by praising the designs by - in this case - Masayoshi, and continues to describe how publisher Shinshōdō (Suharaya Ichibē, n.d.) came forward with the request to add poems by members from his poetry circle to the illustrations. The short text even ends with a clarification of the choice for the title, which Sogai states he himself has provided.

In terms of publication pattern, two major differences with *Ehon sumidagawa ryōgan ichiran* are, first, the fact that the first edition did include a colophon, and second, the fact that several later editions - clearly cheaper reissues aimed at the general buying audience - are known. In this case, the colophon seems to support the claim that the publisher planned this (commercial) publication and asked Sogai for poems. Given the fact that poetry groups spent considerable amounts on publication of their poetry in the form of luxurious books and prints, it again seems unlikely that Sogai's poetry group had such fortune that a commercial publisher wished to have the poems composed by these - for the most part - amateurs¹⁴⁰ for accompaniment of such fine and richly executed illustrations. In a later edition, issued

¹³⁸ The option of commissioning a *surimono* series as an alternative to a *kyōka* book was discussed by Kobayashi in Carpenter (Ed., 2005), pp. 159-179.

¹³⁹ In the preface, the word *hokku* 発句 is used.

¹⁴⁰ In fairness, amateur in the French meaning of the word. Apart from Sogai, none of the poets seem to have had a notable career in poetry. It is worth mentioning, however, that one of the contributing poets is Matsudaira

under the alternative title *Gyokaiifu* 魚貝譜 ('Album of shells and fishes'), the poet's names were omitted, but the poems left intact. Later still, the printing blocks were re-used for the edition with the title *Gyokai ryakugashiki* 魚貝略画式 ('Abbreviated drawings of shells and fishes'¹⁴¹). In this edition, the poetry was omitted entirely. Now, if the poetry was considered an integral part of the initial (commercial) publication that increased the retail price, publishers would retain the poetry and not go to the trouble of carving away the names and poems. This attests to the theory that deluxe poetry anthologies such as this - despite being of a related genre and not *kyōka* itself - were initially produced for poetry groups who likely also invested in the production, while the option of future commercial sales was present from the start.

The book *Kyōka kantō hyakudaishū* 狂歌関東百題集 ('*Kyōka on one hundred themes on the Kantō region*') serves as a third example of a private publication that was commercially reissued at a later stage.¹⁴² It is a collection of *kyōka* by members of the Taikogawa 太鼓側 ('Drum') poetry group, headed by Dondontei Wataru 鈍々亭和樽 (?-1822, KJJ p. 256), originally published in 1813, as mentioned in the preface by Shakuyakutei Nagane 芍薬亭長根 (1767-1845, KJJ p. 160). It contains illustrations by some sixteen or seventeen artists, among whom Ryūryūkyō Shinsai, Jippensha Ikku 十返舎一九 (1765-1831), Shikitei Sanba (1776-1822), Kitao Masanobu and Teisai Hokuba. The book was later reissued commercially by the publishers Yorozyū Denjirō 萬屋傳次郎 and Nishimuraya Yohachi 西村屋與八 of Edo. There were minor adaptations, such as the removal of the awarded points that used to be printed next to the poems.¹⁴³ These points were apparently deemed no longer of interest to buyers. A major change was the inclusion of a colophon on the inside back cover (Fig. 2). Apart from the names of the publishers, the owner of the blocks is mentioned. It is the poet Chikusōtei [Kazunori] 竹窓亭[和則] (n.d.), a member of the Taikogawa.¹⁴⁴ Here we have a reissue of a *kyōka* book that was beyond doubt privately published initially, and commercially sold since it apparently still had appeal to the general public. The ownership of the printing blocks, and thus the copyright, was acknowledged in the inserted colophon. From this, it is

Tadatsugu 松平忠告 (1742-1805, of the Sakurai Matsudaira 桜井松平 branch), third daimyō of Amagasaki domain, current Hyōgo prefecture, who uses the pen name [Ichiosei] Kibun [一桜井] 亀文. His son Matsudaira Tadatomi 松平忠宝 (1770-1829), the fourth daimyō of Amagasaki domain from 1806, also features in this book, under the pen name [Sakurai] Kikō 亀幸. Both were pupils of Sogai's. Kibun's poem features alone on the last illustrated page, next to a large *koi* 鯉 (carp), while all other illustrations are accompanied by two or more poems. His status or perhaps financial contribution to the publication may have been the reason for this honorable treatment.

¹⁴¹ This title was in itself a marketing trick: Masayoshi's illustrated books in the 'abbreviated drawing style' dubbed *ryakugashiki* were popular, and *Tatsu no miyatsuko* was thus marketed as one of the series. While other '*ryakugashiki*' books of his hand were indeed filled with illustrations in Masayoshi's typical 'abbreviated style', the 'fish version' printed from the blocks of *Tatsu no miyatsuko* contained very detailed drawings.

¹⁴² See Kok (2014/5), for a further discussion of this work and how it was acquired.

¹⁴³ In some places, the points are left intact - perhaps due to carelessness of the person carving them of the blocks - as pointed out to me by Takahashi Akinori.

¹⁴⁴ His portrait is included in *Kyōka gokusaishiki hyakunin isshu* 狂歌極彩色百人一首 ('One hundred *kyōka* poets, one poem each, in full-color'), issued in the Bunsei era by the Katsushika-ren headed by Bunbunsha Kanikōmaru 文々舎蟹子丸 (1780-1837). In it, he wears a *haori* 羽織 ('overcoat') that sports the Taikogawa logo (a stylized *taiko* drum).

clear that the commercial publishing houses Yorozuya and Nishimuraya did not own the blocks, but we may assume that the Taikogawa, through Chikusōtei, was compensated for the use of the blocks for this reissue.



Fig. 2. Colophon of *Kyōka kanto hyakudaishū*. Coll. Leiden University Special Collections, inv. no. SER. 747.

Thus, a little light has been shed on the connections between poetry groups and commercial publishers. Hard evidence on the exact division of costs and profits will likely never be obtained, yet the examples above - by no means exceptions - make us realize that the designations 'private publication' and 'commercial publication' should be used with care.

3.2 *Kyōkabori*: main elements and design

3.2.1 Book design, formats, materials

Binding, front cover, title slip, *hashira* title, numbering

Kyōka books are bound in traditional Japanese styles, no different from most printed books issued in the same period. A number of the more deluxe publications are bound as leporello, also called concertina or accordion binding, *oribon* 折り本 in Japanese.¹⁴⁵ The majority of *kyōka* books, however, are bound in the *fukurotoji* 袋綴 style, commonly called ‘Japanese binding’. Kornicki describes this style in some detail.¹⁴⁶ The important aspect here is that the leaves of paper are printed on one side, folded onto themselves with the printed side outward and bound at the open end. This results in ‘pages’, as they would be called in the west, consisting of two layers of paper, ‘connected’ at the side of the page opposite the ‘spine’. One ‘page’, therefore, does consist of one printed sheet of paper, yet the printing and folding results in two printed faces of content in the final volume. One such printed and folded sheet of paper is called *chō* 丁 in Japanese, and the number of sheets is also counted in *chō* in Japanese book research.¹⁴⁷ The stacked up *chō* are bound together by - usually - two small rolled-up pieces of thin paper, the *toji*. These are fed through small holes at the open ends of the folded leaves and tied into a little knot.

The front and back cover are then placed on the *chō* that were bound by the *toji*, and the entire stack is sewn together with a thread. This means that the *chō* are actually connected twice, once by the *toji* and once by the sewn-in thread. The covers, on the other hand, are only connected to the book block by the thread. Therefore, the content pages of the book and the covers are relatively independent of each other in terms of production. This material aspect explains why *kyōka* books regularly appear with variant covers. Sometimes, sheets from different books are combined and bound into covers of one of the original volumes, or new covers altogether. These convolutes are not uncommon in *kyōka* books.

The covers used for *kyōka* books are no different from those found on most popular books from the same eras. The most common type of cover consists of a simple, smooth and slightly shiny paper in an even color such as a dark or grayish blue, orange or beige. Specifically on the dark blue covers, a simple illustration of flowers or plants was sometimes printed, in a contrasting and decorative color such as gold. It was not uncommon to enhance the appearance of the plain covers by embossing decorative patterns such as flowers, the outlines of little birds, or a repetitive pattern of the issuing *kyōka* group’s logo, for instance. Embossing was not so much aimed at heightening the pattern but more at adding a subtle shine to them, in a burnishing process called *tsuyazuri* つや摺り, literally ‘shine-printing’. Fully illustrated covers, such as those featured on some popular illustrated novels are not seen on *kyōka* books. Fully printed

¹⁴⁵ An example is the *kyōka* book *Momochidori kyōka awase* 百千鳥狂歌合 (‘A contest of *kyōka* on a myriad of birds’), selected by Akamatsu 赤松 (also, Kikira 奇々羅) Kinkei 金鷄 (1767-1809), illustrated by Kitagawa Utamaro 喜多川歌麿 (1753-1806) and published by Tsutaya Jūzaburō, c. 1791. Reproduced and translated into French in Utamaro and Marquet (2009), pp. 109-167.

¹⁴⁶ Kornicki (2001), p. 46. Kornicki states that “at least 90%” of printed books and manuscripts were bound in *fukurotoji* style in the Edo period.

¹⁴⁷ One *chō* thus corresponds to 2 ‘pages’, commonly divided and designated as ‘front’, *omote* 表 or 才, and ‘back’, *ura* 裏 or ウ in Japanese. Throughout this thesis, the terms ‘recto’ and ‘verso’ will be used for *omote* and *ura* respectively.

covers, however, again in various decorative patterns, are uncommon but do exist.

In the upper left-hand corner of the cover, a title slip or *daisen* 題簽 is pasted. This is a rectangular piece of paper on which the title is printed, regularly followed by an indication of the volume number. *Daisen* made of cloth - silk on luxurious editions - do exist, yet are uncommon to *kyōka* books. The same is true for *daisen* printed in full-color. Most *daisen* on *kyōka* books are printed on regular paper. As is common with most books, a single or double line is printed around the *daisen* just inside the edges of the paper, framing the characters of the title. Illustrated *daisen*, *edaisen* 絵題簽, such as found on popular novels, are not found on *kyōka* books. Small printed decorations, in other colors than black, do feature occasionally. When a *kyōka* book consists of a single volume, the character *zen* 全, ‘complete’ is usually printed under the title, with some space left open between the title and this indication. In the case of multiple volumes, *zen* is replaced with *jō* 上 and *ge* 下, or upper and lower volume, for two-volume books. When issued in three volumes, the middle volume is indicated as *chū* 中. Otherwise, three volume editions are sometimes numbered *ten chi jin* 天地人, ‘Heaven, Earth, Man’, or *kō otsu hei* 甲乙丙, after the first three celestial stems, *jikkan* 十干. In the case of three-volume publications, the characters of the title are usually written in increasingly cursive calligraphy styles. Both the style of numbering and the variations in calligraphy are common practice with books of this era.

The vertical space between the frames of two pages, which falls on the fold of a *chō*, is called *hashira* 柱. This word means ‘pillar’ literally, which is apt for the elongated space that it designates. The number of each *chō* is often printed in the lower part of the *hashira*. The numbering does not necessarily start at one, since prefaces are often numbered *jo no ichi* 序の一, *jo no ni* 序の二, (‘Page one of the preface, page two of the preface’) et cetera.¹⁴⁸ The upper part of the *hashira* is often saved for the title of the book, which is or a part or variant of the title, printed vertically. These *hashira* titles are important in cataloguing Edo period books, since they can reveal original titles under which a book was published, even if the *chō* were later rebound into a convolute, for instance. *Hashira* titles in *kyōka* books are no different in setup than those in most popular printed books of the same era. One difference, however, is the inclusion of a logo of a *kyōka* group that was involved in publishing the books, or the logo of the poetry master who selected the poems for a particular book. This logo is commonly printed somewhere between the *hashira* title and the *chō* number. Sometimes, the logo replaces the *hashira* title, and only the logo and the number are printed on the *hashira*.

Large books, small books

Kyōka books were printed in various formats. This, again, is no different from other books of the same era. The choice for certain formats was related to the general purpose of the publication. The

¹⁴⁸ Alternatively, numbering is sometimes printed at the edges of the *chō* that are bound. In this case, the numbering served more as a guide for those who produced the book than for those read the book.

majority of *kyōka* books were printed in the convenient, medium-large *hanshibon* 半紙本 format, measuring c. 22,5 x 16 cm.¹⁴⁹ Luxurious illustrated books were sometimes issued in the large *ōbon* 大本 format, which measures up to 27 x 19 cm. These are rare, though. By comparison, *kyōka* books of a smaller format than the *hanshibon* were more common. *Kyōka* books were also issued in the *chūbon* 中本 format, half the size of *ōbon*, and the *kobon* 小本 format, half the size of the *hanshibon*. These were, however, obviously less popular than the *hanshibon*. The limited space for illustrations and especially the limited space for listing poems of 31 syllables and the poet's names in a single vertical line, must have played a part. Even smaller formats are not uncommon. The so-called *mamebon* 豆本 (literally bean-book, the word *mame* being used for all things tiny) was employed for books that were intended as pocket guides. *Mamebon* were quite small - the word is used for both half a *chūbon* and half a *kobon* - yet even smaller *kyōka* booklets are known to exist. In these cases, the tiny size is to be regarded as a gimmick rather than a practical choice.

3.2.2 General setup of contents

The title page

As with most Japanese books from the era, the more luxurious *kyōka* books often feature a title page that precedes the preface and other contents. These title pages are often called *mikaeshi* 見返し. The word *mikaeshi* is actually misleading, as it only refers to the paper glued to the inside of the front cover, regardless of whether the title page is placed there or elsewhere. Alternatively, the title page can be positioned on the first page, being the recto side of the first *chō*, in which case it is referred to as the *tobira* 扉 (the character meaning '(front) door' originally). This is actually quite common, since many *kyōka* books were issued without covers altogether. In these instances, the title page, in appearance at least, becomes the cover.¹⁵⁰ When - returning to the regular case of a book block bound in covers - the title page is printed on the first page, the *mikaeshi* is usually left blank. If not left blank, the *mikaeshi* can feature additional data, such as a table of contents, or advertisements, for instance.

The title page, whether placed at the *mikaeshi* or elsewhere, contains various data. It is generally divided into three columns, much like colophons. The middle column is usually reserved for the full title of the book.¹⁵¹ The columns to the left and right announce the author/editor/poetry selector, illustrating artist, and publisher - whether a commercial publishing house or a commissioning poetry group for

¹⁴⁹ Based on the *kyōka* books I examined. Other sources, such as Nakano (1995) give up to 24 x 17 cm. The eventual size of any book of the *hanshibon* format depends, of course, on the initial size of the *hanshi*-sized (*hanshihan* 半紙判) paper used, and the amount of trimming that was done in the production process.

¹⁵⁰ This usually concerns competition result books; see section 3.3.3. More specifically, this concerns *tsukinamishū*, relatively thin monthly issues that could be stacked together and bound in covers by the owners if so desired.

¹⁵¹ The title used on the title page is referred to as *naidai* 内題, 'inside title'. Perhaps it is better to say that the title page gives the full title, whereas the *gedai* 外題, or literally 'outside title', can deviate due to constraints of the *daisen*, being a relatively simple slip of paper that has the function of identifying the book without opening it, and can easily become illegible or get lost over time.

instance. Sometimes, the place of publication is also given. The function of the *mikaeshi* is different from that of the colophon in so far that the latter is a legal requirement¹⁵² for books, and as such usually states the mandatory data in a straightforward manner. The title page serves as a further attraction to readers (and buyers). The title page, therefore, commonly features fine calligraphy and decorations in color. Even if monochrome, the title page is usually printed in a dark blue instead of simple black *sumi*.

The preface

Prefaces in Japanese books of the Edo period are of a promotional nature, emphasizing the quality of the contents and legitimizing the authority of the writer, editor, illustrator, calligrapher, et cetera. They are often written by authors who are not otherwise involved in the publication, at the request of the publisher. Preface authors do have a certain standing in the field, or a professional connection to the subject. Prefaces in *kyōka* books follow this same pattern. The authors frequently mention the fact of the request in their prefaces.¹⁵³ One difference in privately published *kyōka* books, however, is the fact that prefaces are usually written by the *kyōka* master who selected the poetry. In both cases, the nature of *kyōka* poetry is reflected in the language used in these prefaces, making abundant use of wordplay and references to the classics. When the publication is based on a *kyōka* competition or gathering of some sort, the venue and theme of the meeting is sometimes mentioned. Prefaces are usually kept fairly short, ranging from one to three pages in length, or half to one-and-a-half *chō*. The text is signed by the author and sometimes dated as well. In this case, the zodiac sign for the year of publication is given, and an indication of the season or month.

Table of contents

Kyōka books do not often feature a table of contents, or *mokuroku* 目録. The setup of most books speaks for itself and does not need further explanation for their readers. The more or less fixed structure seen in the majority of *kyōka* books - along the same lines as this section - will have been quite clear. Furthermore, most *kyōka* books consist of a maximum of between 30 or 40 *chō* only, which renders a table of contents largely obsolete. ‘*Kyōka* information books’, to be further elaborated upon in section 3.3.4, usually do contain a table of contents. Here, the division into themes and styles, as construed by the editor, will have necessitated further explanation to the reader. Furthermore, for the purpose of looking up poems used as references obviously requires a table of contents for practical reasons.

The poems

The primary function of a *kyōka* book is transmitting a certain selection of poetry. The most

¹⁵² Since 1721-1722. See Kornicki (2001), pp. 337-338; Davis (2007), p. 283. Further information on colophons is found in the appropriate section below.

¹⁵³ For instance, the preface by Rokujuen to *Kyōka gohyakudai* 狂歌五百題 (‘*Kyōka on 500 subjects*’), a pocket-sized list of *kyōka* by famous *kyōka* masters, on various subjects, edited by Kikira Kinkei and published (posthumously) in 1811.

efficient way of transmitting the poems is simply listing them in single, vertical lines. This is common in selections of poetry that were issued privately following a contest. A regular *hanshibon* page will allow listing up to fourteen poems, although eleven or twelve is most common. In cases where the poet's name is listed next to a poem instead of underneath, no more than seven or eight poems will fit on one page. In theory, a book consisting of 30 *chō* may therefore hold over 800 poems.¹⁵⁴ Space for printing poems is lost, however, on prefaces, illustrated pages, indication of sections, mention of poetry themes, etcetera.

The competitive spirit in *kyōka* results in poems in *kyōka* books being arranged in a specific order. This applies primarily to books listing the poems submitted at a *kyōka* competition. Poems are arranged according to the number of points awarded by the judge. In the case of multiple judges, the marks by each judge are printed separately, underneath one another. The poems are listed in descending order per theme. The illustrated pages - if present - hold the poems with the highest marks. Illustrations then often take the various themes that were competed on as subject. This is also why illustrations are sometimes inserted intermittently; they feature at the start of each section that lists the poems on a certain theme or subject. The poems with the highest marks feature next to the illustration, the poems with lower marks are listed on the plain pages after the illustrated page.¹⁵⁵ When the selector(s) or judge(s) contributed poems themselves, these are marked with a small circle in the spot where the number of points would be printed. In the case of multiple judges, it was common that the other judges contributed poems. These were judged by the other judges, and awarded points like the other poems. In the books, this shows up as a list of marks - as was done for every other poet - with one mark substituted by a circle. The very last positions in a book were usually reserved for the selector, judges, or others important to the publication of the book.

Kobayashi discusses the system for awarding points to poems.¹⁵⁶ This system, called *tentori*, was already present in *haikai* poetry traditions - as mentioned in the introduction - and was adapted for *kyōka* meetings in the Tenmei period. The *tentori* system allows for a stratification of quality of poems, which in turn allows for a stratification of the poets themselves. The many *kyōka* books that record the points awarded at poetry meetings attest to the fact that the system of *tentori* was widely used. Furthermore, the consistency in the use of the *tentori* system throughout Japan and throughout the period of *kyōka* popularity shows a high degree of institutionalization. The *tentori* system was only used to a small extent in the Tenmei period, but the growth of the number of poets attending *kyōka* meetings and the consequent growth of the *kyōka* poetry clubs, called for a wide application of this system. Therefore, the occurrence of points in *kyōka* books is commonplace mainly from the Kansei era, 1789 and onwards.

Underneath each poem, the pen name, *gō* 号, of the poet is given. In poems featured on illustrated pages, the name is usually placed to the left of the poem. Frequently, the place of domicile is

¹⁵⁴ Since poets usually feature with more than one poem, the total number of poets in a book is considerably lower than the total number of poems.

¹⁵⁵ The number of points needed to be awarded a place in the illustrated pages was usually mentioned on *kyōka* competition announcements; see section 4.2.

¹⁵⁶ Kobayashi, F. (2002), pp. 32-35.

also mentioned, in this case right above (before) the *gō*. The poet's pen name and place of domicile is mentioned in order to assure that the poet receives his or her proper credits for the poems that were selected for publication. Mediocre or poor poems submitted at contests were, after all, not even printed in the final publication.¹⁵⁷

Illustrations

Not all *kyōka* books feature illustrations. This is an obvious fact, yet easy to ignore when perusing *kyōka* books kept in European and American collections. The fact that *kyōka* books without illustrations were of minor interest to collectors of Japanese graphic art speaks for itself. I have argued before that those *kyōka* books that contain only text still provide data on the world of *kyōka* that is of at least equal value to data found in illustrated books. This subsection, however, focuses on the books that do feature illustrations, the arrangement of illustrations within books, subject matter, layout and composition, functions and implications.

Transmitting poems in print should be considered the primary function of any *kyōka* book, presenting these poems in an appealing way in principle being the secondary function. It is clear from *kyōka* books in general, though, that visual appeal was rarely neglected. The presentation of poetry is not only often enhanced by illustrations, the calligraphy forms an important aspect of the aesthetic experience. This does not mean that a distinctive hand was the aim. What was needed for poetry selections is a consistent, readable, yet visually attractive style of writing. Furthermore, the material qualities of a *kyōka* book, for instance quality of paper or the decoration of covers, also add to the visual attractiveness of a book, even when it does not contain illustrations.

The arrangement of illustrations in *kyōka* books falls into three varieties: fully illustrated books; books that feature a number of illustrated pages and then pages without illustrations; and books that feature illustrations interspersed between pages of poems. Fully illustrated books are generally of the most luxurious type. A well-known example is *Kokon kyōka bukuro*, of which all pages except for the postface and colophon are illustrated.¹⁵⁸ Issuing books with illustrations only on the first couple of pages was a common practice in popular printing. These pages are known as *kuchie* 口絵. One can assume that placing all illustrations at the beginning of a book not only appeals to readers who take a first look in a book, but also makes coordinating the makeup of the book easier for the publisher. When illustrations are inserted

¹⁵⁷ Kobayashi, F. (2002), pp. 34-35.

¹⁵⁸ Even the main preface is adorned with a color-printed oval frame. The book - incidentally of the large *ōhon* format - was published by Tsutaya Jūzaburō in 1787. The poems were selected by Yadoya no Meshimori, the illustration were designed by Kitao Masanobu. The calligraphy of the poems printed next to the mock portraits of the poets is generally assumed to have been executed by Ōta Nanpo (a.k.a. Yomo no Akara and later as Shokusanjin). Nanpo wrote the main preface and features in the last portrait, an honorary position. Hamada Giichirō contends that the calligraphy in the precursor of this book, *Azuma buri kyōka bunko* 吾妻曲狂歌文庫 ('Stacks of *kyōka* from the Eastern Capital'), was done by Nanpo (see Hamada (1963), p. 292 and Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan (2008), p. 120, no.7). The calligraphy in both books is similar, and also similar to other known examples of his hand.

in between a number of unillustrated pages, these are called *sashie* 挿絵. In the case of *kyōka* books, *sashie* usually feature at the beginning of a new section, for instance a section on the next poetic theme.

Illustrations in *kyōka* books treat a large variety of subjects. The most common subjects include poet's portraits, depictions of city life, and landscapes. Portraits rarely concern entirely serious depictions. Poets are usually captured in a pose that displays some kind of mockery. Be it parodying classic portraits of 'immortal poets', such as in the aforementioned *Kokon kyōka bukuro*, or presenting poets as heroes of the popular tale *Suikoden*¹⁵⁹, the portrayals reflect the overarching theme of the book.¹⁶⁰ Depictions of city life and landscape are often combined. Well-known examples are the *kyōka* books published by the publishing firm of Tsutaya Jūzaburō around the turn of the nineteenth century, with illustrations designed by Hokusai and the selection of poems done by Sensōan Ichindo. For instance, *Azuma asobi* 画本東遊, ('Pleasures in the Eastern Capital: A Picture Book'), published in 1799.¹⁶¹ Plates of city dwellers buying dolls at the market at Jikkendana, or browsing through books and prints at the very store of Tsutaya himself, alternate with landscapes at famous sites in Edo.

Illustrations are generally placed in a frame (*kyōkaku* 匡郭) that surrounds every page, just like the text pages. The boundaries of the frame are not absolute; sometimes elements of illustrations are deliberately allowed to protrude from the frame, to attain a strong visual effect of 'leaping off the page'.¹⁶² The frame will have been a practical aid in the alignment of pages during production, yet books with frameless pages do also exist. Illustrations either take up one page-width, corresponding with half a *chō*, or two pages, running from the verso side of one *chō* to the recto side of the next. To make these illustrations work well visually on an opened double-page, a so-called *mibiraki* 見開き, the frames - and the empty space between them especially - need to be taken into consideration in the design. Making a landscape retain its continuity of composition stretching across a *mibiraki* requires a careful layout. In some cases, the frame is divided into a lower and an upper section, where the lower section is reserved for the illustration and the upper section contains poems or smaller illustrations. In these cases, the ratio is about 2:1, the lower section being double the height of the upper. *Mibiraki* are not common with this setup.

Poems regularly form part of the illustrations in *kyōka* books. As mentioned earlier, the medium

¹⁵⁹ As featured in *Kyōka suikoden* 狂歌水滸伝, ('Heroes of the Water Margin, a *kyōka* Version'), published for the Gogawa poetry group in 1822. The poems were selected by Jingairō Kiyosumi 塵外楼清澄 (1794-1844, son of Rokujuen, KJJ p. 60), Edozono 江戸園 (unknown) and Fukunoya Uchinari 福之屋内成 (n.d., KJJ p. 21). The illustrations were done by Gakutei Sadaoka. Fukunoya, together with Gakutei, is subject of an essay by Makino (2008), pp. 54-61.

¹⁶⁰ For further theory on the implications of portraits in *kyōka* books, see Kok (2010).

¹⁶¹ It should be noted that Tsutaya died in 1797, but the colophon of *Azuma asobi* nonetheless bears his name. Perhaps this refers to his successor, who also operated under the name Tsutaya Jūzaburō (II). The book was initially issued in a *sumizuri* edition; a color printed edition was issued later, with the title *Ehon azuma asobi*.

¹⁶² Hokusai applies this compositional trick regularly, for instance the first plate, depicting the mountains around the temple Shiba Shinmeigū 芝神明宮 (now known as Shiba Daijingu), in the aforementioned (*Ehon*) *azuma asobi*. Another example is the illustration of the high votive lantern of Kayadera in *Ehon sumidagawa ryōgan ichiran* 絵本隅田両岸一覽, published by Tsuruya Kiemon as a commission by Kojūrō Nariyasu and his poetry circle circa 1801-1803 (see Forrer and Kok (2012)).

of woodblock print allows for relatively uncomplicated integration of text and image. In *kyōka* illustrations, this means that the theme of certain poems is not only reflected in the images, the poems are actually integrated into the image. The combination of pictorial and textual elements has a long tradition in Japanese art history, and as such, the setup in *kyōka* illustrations is nothing more than a continuation of this tradition. The text-image relations in *kyōka* books in terms of content are perhaps not as profound as those in *surimono*, generally speaking. The composition of text and image, however, show that space for the inscription of poems was carefully reserved by illustrators.

Illustrations in *kyōka* books function differently, depending on their relation to the poetry. A question that comes to mind regularly when reflecting on the function of illustrations in *kyōka* books is whether the illustrations were designed with the poetry in mind, or vice versa. And, therefore, how the dynamics between text and image should be understood. Does the image function as an illustration to the poetry, or does the poetry borrow inspiration from the image? I would argue that the relationship works both ways, and only the ratio of influence from one on the other varies. When *kyōka* groups held poetry gatherings or competitions where the best poems on certain pre-decided themes were later published with illustrations, it is more than likely that the illustrations were designed after the poetry had been composed. This way, ideas could be borrowed and textual allusion could be coupled to pictorial allusions, similarly to the practice with *surimono*. On the other hand, in deluxe anthologies for which the initiative was taken by commercial publishers, a different ratio of influence applied. In these cases, the selling point of wonderful illustrations was rather enhanced by adding poetry. One can imagine, however, that intense collaboration between *kyōka* group leaders, illustrators and publishers from the initial stages of a publication onwards would have excluded the possibility of a total absence of influence to and fro.¹⁶³

***Tōza* section**

Kyōka books containing poems gathered at a meeting or contest sometimes feature a short section called *tōza* 當坐, “at the sitting”. The *tōza* section is often placed towards the back of the book and lists poems composed *ad lib* at the meeting itself. These poems were commonly judged by another poet than the selector of the book, and this poet was also asked to decide on the theme. Mainly the younger poets attending the meeting were tested at this point of the competition.¹⁶⁴ The fact that relatively few numbers

¹⁶³ There cases like where poetry leader and illustrator where one and the same, making the influence even more fluid. For instance, *Kyōka nihon fudoki* 狂歌日本風土記 (‘*The kyōka land survey of Japan*’), illustrated by Gakutei Sadaoka (see section 4.2). The poetry selection was done by Tsurunoya Osamaru 鶴廼屋乎佐丸 (c. 1751-c.1839 acc. to Keyes (2004), p. 117; KJJ p. 259) and Hokusō Umeyoshi (Baikō) 北窓梅好 (n.d.; acc. to KJJ p. 179, he would later become Tsurunoya II), but Gakutei can be seen presiding over a poetry competition in one of the illustrations. Furthermore, a poem of his appears in the honorary position at the end (in fact second to last - despite mediocre points - just before the last poem, by selector Umeyoshi), indicating his special status with regard to this publication.

¹⁶⁴ According to Ishikawa Ryō in a conversation, October 2007. Indeed, it is rare to find the elder and better-known poets in the *tōza* section. See also Takahashi (2008), pp. 8-9 and 12-15, for a discussion of *tōza* as ‘shared space’ and further explanation of how *tōza* formed part of monthly *kyōka* meetings. Apart from *kyōka* meetings, *tōza* also formed part of *waka* and *haikai* gatherings, according to Kobayashi Fumiko in private correspondence

of poems are listed in the *tōzu* section - if present at all - underwrites the notion that composing a *kyōka* poem required time for careful tweaking and polishing. Another reason for the small numbers of poems in the *tōzu* section is the fact that not all contestants could attend the gathering.¹⁶⁵

Colophon and advertisements

Commercially published *kyōka* books followed government regulations the same way other commercial books did. Regulations in place since 1721-1722 required the names of the author and the publisher to be listed in newly published books. Their implementation was part of the Kyōhō (era) Reforms, *Kyōhō no kaikaku* 享保の改革.¹⁶⁶ The laws concerning book publication were enforced with renewed vigor from 1790 onwards - this time as part of the Kansei Reforms *Kansei no kaikaku* 寛政の改革.¹⁶⁷ The name(s) of the author(s) and publisher(s), as well as the name(s) of the illustrator(s) and a date of publication, were summed up in a colophon, *okusuke* 奥付. In the case of *kyōka* books, the *okusuke* was printed on a single page (i.e. half a *chō*) in the back of the book. The outer frame was sometimes vertically subdivided into three sections. The right hand section would be reserved for the author's name, the middle for the illustrator's name, and the left section for the publisher's name and date. Many variations exist, however. The page featuring the *okusuke* had a very practical purpose, and was therefore rarely adorned with decorative borders and the like.

Colophons in *kyōka* books published outside the commercial circuit follow official practice less strictly. Even though these books were not submitted to publisher's guild, most would still feature an *okusuke* that listed the poetry selector(s), illustrator and date. In some cases, the owner of the blocks - therefore the copyright holder - would be mentioned. This could be one of the contributing poets (who had likely invested in the publication) or the poetry circle as a whole. In some *kyōka* books, specifically if they constitute part of a larger publication, a colophon is omitted altogether.

Advertisements and announcements of forthcoming publications are found in commercially published *kyōka* books just like they were in other commercially published books. The highly commercial nature of book printing industry of the mid to late Edo period is evinced by the frequent inclusion of market-oriented, well-focused advertisements. Other books by the same author, other books in the same genre, or other books illustrated by the same artist; the focus in these advertisements almost resembles the suggestions based on one's online browsing and buying patterns, as offered by modern-day book-selling websites. This attests to the fact that advertisements were not a standard list of books on sale by a particular publisher, but a focused marketing attempt aimed at a certain readership. Non-commercial publications of *kyōka* do not feature advertisements.

(2017).

¹⁶⁵ The poems submitted for judgment prior to the gathering, to be included in the general sections of the book, were sorted by theme and copied in a single handwriting beforehand, anonymizing them for fair judgment. These were then read out loud at the meeting and judged at the scene. See Takahashi (2008).

¹⁶⁶ Kornicki (2001), pp. 337-338 and Davis (2007), p. 283.

¹⁶⁷ Davis (2007), p. 284.

3.3 *Kyōkaban*: functions and categories

3.3.1 Different functions: three different types of *kyōkaban*

Despite the great variety in *kyōkaban*, an investigation into their publication purpose and readership leads me to distinguish three types: *kyōka* anthologies, *kyōka* competition result books and *kyōka* information books. These three types serve distinctly different purposes, cater to different intended audiences and show different structural patterns. Despite the clear distinction in terms of publication purpose and readership, a slight degree of overlap exists with regard to practical matters such as the use of (color) illustrations. Generally speaking, however, the material qualities of the *kyōka* books change with their purpose and consumption, as explained hereunder. After a brief outline of each of the categories I distinguish, I will present representative examples for each category.

Kyōka anthologies

With the popularity of *kyōka* steeply rising in the Tenmei period (1781-1788), an increasing demand for *kyōka* anthologies developed on the commercial market. An anthology of the finest poems, selected by a renowned *kyōka* master, could count on a considerable audience. Edo publishers were very flexible and soon picked up on the trend, contracting leading figures such as Ōta Nanpo for compiling anthologies. To make these books even more appealing, the newly popular poetry was combined with high-quality illustrations.

Color printing was still exceptional in the Tenmei period. However, the technical boundaries were pushed with every new publication and not only full-color prints with exotic pigments were published, books also provided a possibility for displaying the newest technical advancements. These books, with their multi-color illustrations, were usually illustrated by renowned designers and - although no factual evidence could be found - the retail price for these books must have been high. The *kyōka* anthologies with poetry selected by a popular *kyōka* master, and expensive color illustrations designed by a popular designer nonetheless sold well, as is proven by the fact that many of these books remain and many books exist in variant editions. These are commercial publications and the colophons and advertisements are further proof of their high turnover. And because they were commercial publications, the publishers could not afford to print only a small number of issues, because the costs per book would be too high.

The publishers of these high-quality poetry books are usually publishers who also produced *ukeijoe* prints, similarly pushing the boundaries of technical possibilities in woodblock printing, the most famous proponent being Tsutaya Jūzaburō. The commercially published *kyōka* anthologies were marketed at the publisher's outlet store, and were often fitted in an illustrated printed wrapper, which is also a very (visually) appealing part of this type of high-end publication in the Edo period.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸ More on these wrappers is written by Forrer (1985), pp. 47-49.

These books carry not as much poetry as one would expect. The emphasis is mostly on the illustrations, which seem to have been a major attraction for buyers of these books. Some books are almost completely illustrated from beginning to end, and the poetry is added in the illustrated pages. In this case it is common to see illustrations that are placed in the bottom space of the page and the poetry placed more towards the top of the page, similar to the common makeup of *surimono*.

Rather luxurious anthologies were also issued privately, especially around the 1800s. In these cases, a poetry group apparently gathered the cost for publication among its members. The differences with commercially published anthologies can be small, although the ratio of poetry and illustrations can move towards a stronger representation of poems, occasionally omitting illustrations altogether. Because the initiative lay with the poetry group, there is usually a stronger thematic approach to the book as a whole. Colophons and advertisements, of course, lack in these publications, although the producer of the book is sometimes mentioned.

Whether issued commercially or privately, *kyōka* anthologies generally consist of at least the following elements. Usually they have an illustrated cover or at least a colored cover with some kind of relief pattern. Then follows a title page with the title written in an elaborate script of some sort (for instance seal script or calligraphy), and then, before the poetry starts, there is a preface by the principal poetry selector of the book. This preface commonly stretches across two or three pages, and is usually dated and signed by the selector.

***Kyōka* competition result books**

The competitive nature of *kyōka* resulted in large numbers of competition result books being published. *Kyōka* gatherings were held regularly throughout the year. There were great variations in the size of the meetings, from informal get-togethers to large parties with many contestants, and who knows how many more spectators. Competitions were presided over by the club leader and judges from within the club awarded points to each poem entered in the competition. Results were often published in so-called *kōtenshū* 高点集 ('high point collections'), in which only poems that scored upwards of a certain number of points were gathered.¹⁶⁹

The main subdivision to be made is that between books with the simple aim of listing poems by the number of awarded points at a certain gathering and those that also aimed to present the poetry in an elegant publication. The simpler books often concern so-called *tsukinamishū* 月並集 or 月次集¹⁷⁰,

¹⁶⁹ Usually eight and up, or ten and up in the case of one judge, who could award up to fifteen points per poem. As I have mentioned before, the system of *tentori* - receiving points for poems - and how this results in the publication of result books, *banzuke*, *surimono*, etc. is extensively discussed by Kobayashi, F. (2002). The way *kyōka* competitions were conducted is also briefly explained in English by Makino (2008), pp. 55-56.

¹⁷⁰ The word *tsukinami* has an antiquated ancient ring to it, which will have been appreciated by *kyōka* poets with their common nostalgic tendencies with regard to Japanese poetry. The word was already used for folding screens illustrating themes from (one or more of) the twelve months as early as the ninth century (*tsukinami byōbu* 月並屏風). See Kamens (1989), p. 27.

collections of poems judged at monthly gatherings, as held by various poetry groups.¹⁷¹ Such competition results were generally published using the comparatively inexpensive *sumizuri* technique, in ink only. Such books were often issued in the *hanshibon* format. Most of these books lack a colophon, which makes dating them difficult. A cover is often lacking, since the separate fascicles issued over the year were meant to be bound by individual poets.¹⁷²

As a general pattern, the first sheet recto is reserved for a title page, containing at least the name of the gathering and the name of the selector(s). The following sheets are filled with ten to fourteen poems per page, written vertically. These poems are sorted, first by theme and then by number of points awarded. The selected theme is printed above the first poem in a list, or just above the middle of the page, preceding a list of poems with a theme. The points are printed to the right of the poems, at the same height as the first characters. In case more than one judge gave points, these are written underneath each other according to importance of the judges. The order of the judges' points is often marked at the beginning of the book, where the very first set of points is accompanied by the logos of the respective judges. Sometimes, the points are only written once per group of poems with the same amount of points in order to save space. Effort is made to ensure that the poems are all written to measure the same length, despite slight differences in number of characters. Underneath each poem, a small space is left open, before giving the name of the poets. Most of the time, only the *gō* is given, although some books give the full pen name on the first appearance and shorten the name to just the *gō* afterwards. To the upper right of the poets' names, the place where they live is given. When a gathering has been held in Edo, only the places outside Edo are mentioned. Likewise, when a gathering was held in Osaka, only the hometowns of poets from outside Osaka are given.

Thus, the outcome of a *kyōka* contest is published in a cheap and simple way for club members to reread at home. For some, it may have been more important to enjoy their own victorious poems, or perhaps learn from those who surpassed them and make sure that they performed better at future contests. It is quite clear from these books that they served a straightforward purpose in recording the poems presented at a certain meeting, the names of the poets who composed them, and the points these poems received.

Competition result books with illustrations

Sometimes, *tsukinamishū* or similar books feature a number of illustrated pages. The designs for such illustrations can be quite minimalistic, printed in black only, merely serving to generally illustrate the themes chosen for the poems that were printed alongside the images. The illustrations in competition result books usually lack the depth of allusions and interplay with the content of the poems that is encountered in *surimono*. On a single illustrated page - i.e. only one half of a sheet - up to five poems could

¹⁷¹ Such publications would also often include a separate sheet with a printed *banzuke*.

¹⁷² Sometimes the competition results are mixed with other types of *kyōkaban* of the same size and bound into – in some cases rather bulky – combined bindings.

fit, although it is more common to see about two or three poems in the limited space above or aside an illustration. Naturally, only the highest-scoring poems were printed next to the illustrations, whereas lower-scoring poems ended up in the non-illustrated sections.

More deluxe editions could be the outcome of a year full of monthly gatherings, or the result of a single contest that was held only once. Such books would not only record the outcome of the competition, but the combination of poetry and illustrations common in these books would also provide the joyful reading and viewing for group members. Specifically during the (late) Bunsei era, *kōtenshū* featuring color illustrations were commissioned by several poetry groups. Many of these were illustrated by popular *surimono* designers such as Gakutei Sadaoka and Totoya Hokkei. Being competition result books, points or equivalent indications of quality were noted alongside the poems, yet the emphasis on the competitive element varies between the various result books. The beautifully illustrated pages of such result books were sometimes re-issued later, usually by commercial publishers, as a stand-alone edition without the unillustrated pages (sometimes also omitting the indication of awarded points next to poems). Viewing only such re-issues gives the impression that fewer poets competed than actually did. Commissioning fully illustrated result books was possible rather because of the (financial) contributions by so many poets.

***Kyōka* information books**

A third category to be distinguished within *kyōkabon* is the “information book”. These books offer *kyōka* enthusiasts a way of honing their skills or learning more about the major poets and judges in the genre. Some of these books serve as a guide to writing better poems, while other information books have a more practical purpose of guiding poets through the world of *kyōka*. This second type of information book cites successful poems and gives some biographical information, recording family and pen names. Club affiliation is also frequently given. Some books give more extensive information such as the poet’s address, birth status and/or means of income.

Many *kyōka* information books feature portraits of poets. In most of these books we see portraits of these poets seated, with one of his or her poems above the illustration. The most common thing to see these poets doing is reading, or writing a poem, or just sitting down and relaxing. In the case of serious depictions, something that has to be judged on a case-by-case basis, the clothing worn in the portraits and the accessories that the poets carry provide information about their position in life. Sometimes we find that poets are shown carrying two swords, indicating their samurai status, in other portraits we see poets who are completely bald, and their shaven head tells us that they are lay priests or doctors. In other cases we find accessories or garments showing logos and emblems that show the club affiliation of this particular poet. Some information books list many poets per book and are more elaborate on the information part, giving place names where the poets are from, sometimes even giving their address within the city of Edo. Such elaborate information books frequently list other pen names and common names for the poets, and sometimes even mention family relations, such as “the wife of”, “the son of” (in that case, mostly “the son of [someone more famous]”). These later, more elaborate information books are commonly printed in black only, which may have to do only with the larger number of pages, which

would drive the costs for a color-illustrated book up too far.

The reason for the existence of *kyōka* information books is twofold: First, after *kyōka* had outgrown the initial circles of friends and acquaintances, skills had to be disseminated more widely, and printed books provided the best option for transmission. As discussed above, there was an audience of *kyōka* enthusiasts who were eager to read more poems and naturally wished to learn how to compose better poems themselves, in order to keep up with the rest in gatherings and competitions. Such books were common for the composition of *waka*, and it is only logical that *kyōka* versions of this type of self-learn book came into existence.¹⁷³

The second reason lies in the appealing world of organized *kyōka* composition and the strong representation of the individual poet and his or her poetic merits. Through skillful composition, one could climb up in the hierarchy of a *kyōka* group, and gain recognition as a poet. *Kyōka* information books offered ways to not only improve composition skills, but also adapt to the taste of certain judges. This could lead to being awarded higher scores, which made a better ranking attainable. The higher status as a poet would have been a strong incentive to buy a *kyōka* information book and study it well. The cost of such a book will have seemed small at the prospect of making it to the illustrated pages in a competition result book.

Foremost category per era

The relative numbers of books in each category changed over time. It is difficult to give exact numbers. A sampling of *kyōka* books from the Tenmei period to the Bunsei era reveals the following.¹⁷⁴ In the Tenmei era, *kyōka* anthologies form the majority of publications. The number of anthologies without illustrations outnumbers those with illustrations. Competition result books are still uncommon in the Tenmei era. In fact, competition results were not found in the sample examined here. One *kyōka* information book surfaced, on a total of 12 *kyōka* books for this period.¹⁷⁵ By the Bunsei era, the balance has shifted considerably. The competition result books outnumber the anthologies 34 to four. In fact, even the information books, six found for this period, outnumber the anthologies. The combined totals for the

¹⁷³ In fact, there were guides and self-learn books for all kinds of skills, such as ikebana, letter-writing, etc. See Ikegami (2005).

¹⁷⁴ These figures are based on a cross section of printed Edo *kyōka* books that are known to me and/or could be visually verified in the Waseda University Library collection (<http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/>) and Microfiche database of the National Institute of Japanese Literature (NIJL; <http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/~micro/about.html>), accessed on February/March 2014. This includes books published in Edo or commissioned by poets or poetry groups that were rooted in Edo or in the Edo tradition (since competition result books of the Bunsei era especially demonstrate nationwide participation in that tradition). Selection was done using genre ‘*kyōka*’ and (in the case of the NIJL database) period ‘Tenmei’, ‘Kansei’, ‘Kyōwa’, ‘Bunka’, ‘Bunsei’. The total of publications is far higher than the numbers calculated here, since books that are not to be found in the pertaining Waseda and NIJL databases and publications that are not available on microfiche (NIJL) are not taken into consideration. This cross section is random in the sense that - to my knowledge - no selection was done by either collecting institute. The total number of books that fit the criteria formulated above is 95. For further data on the *kyōka* publication numbers is given in graphs in figs. 9, 10, and 11, in section 4.3.

¹⁷⁵ This is *Hama no kisago*, presented in detail hereunder.

three categories are 29 anthologies (17 with and 12 without illustrations), 34 competition result books (23 with and 11 without illustrations), 32 *kyōka* information books (16 with and 16 without illustrations). Generally speaking, the percentage of competition result books gradually increased during these eras due to further evolution and growth of *kyōka* poetry groups and their competitive activities. The decrease of *kyōka* anthologies after the Kyōwa era is congruent with Kobayashi's theory that regulations banning display of wealth lead to a shift to series of *surimono*.¹⁷⁶ In the following sections, representative examples of *kyōka* anthologies, *kyōka* competition result books and *kyōka* information books will be given and discussed.

3.3.2 Examples of *kyōka* anthologies: selections of the best of *kyōka*

Azumaburi kyōka Bunko, selected by Yadoya no Meshimori

A good example of a Tenmei period commercially published *kyōka* anthology is *Azumaburi kyōka bunko* 吾妻曲狂歌文庫 ('Archive of *kyōka* from the east'), for which the selection of the poetry was done by Yadoya no Meshimori. This commercial *kyōka* anthology was first published in the Spring of Tenmei 6 (1786), by Tsutaya Jūzaburō. It contains 50 full-body portraits of mostly contemporary *kyōka* poets, in color, each accompanied by one of their verses. The portraits depict the poets in a classical style known as *kasen'e* 歌仙絵, 'drawings of immortal poets'. *Kasen'e*, the traditional - imaginary - depiction of poets has a long history, but in this case, the traditional style is mocked by the inclusion of out-of-place attributes and odd poses.¹⁷⁷ The illustrations were drawn by Kitao Masanobu (Santō Kyōden). The preface by Meshimori alludes to the fact that Ōta Nanpo provided the calligraphy.¹⁷⁸ Nanpo, under his *kyōka* pen name Yomo no Akara, is portrayed in the honorary last position (Fig. 3). The book is issued in the large *ōhon* format, and features extensive color printing.

¹⁷⁶ As discussed above, in section 1.2.1.

¹⁷⁷ More on the significance of these satirizing depictions in Kok (2010).

¹⁷⁸ Hamada (1963), p. 473. The entire book is transcribed and annotated here (pp. 471-502). My observations are based on the copy in the collection of the Edo-Tokyo Museum in Tokyo.



Fig. 3: Portrait of Ōta Nanpo in *kasei* style in *Kokon kyōka bukuro* (1787), followed by the afterword. Coll. Edo-Tokyo Museum (no inv. no.).

The intention of this book can be surmised from (the setup of) its contents, and also from related publications of the years before and after. To start with the contents: The title page features a *naidai* that adds a kind of subtitle: *Azumaburi kyōka gojūnin isshu* 吾妻曲狂歌五十人一首, *kyōka from the East: Fifty poets, one poem each*. While the main title emphasizes the fact that these are poems from Edo, the subtitle obviously alludes to the classic *waka* anthology *Hyakunin isshu* 百人一首, *One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each*. In this case, the total is half the classic number. Then follows a preface by the selector Yadoya no Meshimori, in which he states that poems like these (*kyōka*) already featured in the *Kokinshū* (*Kokin wakashū*), just like in his time. He explains that he has gathered the most interesting poems, regardless of the status of the poet.¹⁷⁹ So far, he says, he has come to 50. Indeed, the next 50 pages are reserved for portraits of 50 poets, each featuring with one poem. The parodying mode of depiction is in accordance with the nature of the poetry. Then follows a simple colophon that lists the illustrator, the block-cutter,

¹⁷⁹ He uses the metaphor of people in a brothel, a situation where class becomes irrelevant.

the date of publication and the publisher and his address. Also, an announcement is made for a second volume, again containing 50 poets, to be issued soon, in color.¹⁸⁰

This brings us to the planning by the publisher, and the point of related publications before and after. Ōta Nanpo had previously privately published an anthology of 36 poets with one poem each, entitled *Kyōka sanjūrokuninsen* 狂歌三十六人撰.¹⁸¹ The number of 36 is a reference, of course, to the '36 immortal poets', *sanjūrokkasen* 三十六歌仙. The book, printed in black ink only, features simple illustrations that were drawn by one Tankyū 丹丘. It is unclear who this is, but a handwritten inscription in the copy held in the National Institute of Japanese Literature states that the illustrations are by renowned painter Sakai Hōitsu 酒井抱一 (1761-1829). This seems plausible - despite the name Tankyū not being known as one of Hōitsu's aliases - given the style and the fact that Hōitsu features prominently on the first illustrated page, under his *kyōka* name Shiryake no Sarundo 尻焼猿人 ('The monkey man with the burnt bottom').¹⁸² The book contains a colophon that mentions Hajintei (one of the names Ōta Nanpo used) as the owner of the copyright. The colophon gives no date, but the book is usually considered to be dating to 1783.¹⁸³ The colophon further states that the first volume is delivered and that the second volume (again of 36 poets apparently) is to be issued. Volume three and four are also already listed, though without further designation. None of these volumes two through four are known to have actually been published. The book is very similar to *Azumaburi kyōka bunko* in setup, despite the simpler execution. It seems likely that Tsutaya Jūzaburō noticed this private publication and saw potential for a commercial version. Despite the fact that the selection of poetry for *Azumaburi kyōka bunko* was done by Yadoya no Meshimori, it is clear that Ōta Nanpo was also very much involved in this publication. *Kyōka sanjūrokuninsen*, as I see it, can be considered a precursor to *Azumaburi kyōka bunko*. This would also explain why the volumes two, three and four of *kyōka sanjūrokuninsen* were never issued.

Considering the announcement in *Azumaburi kyōka bunko* - the book of 50 poets - it seems that the Tsutaya had always planned to have Meshimori gather 100 poems by the same number of *kyōka* poets. Perhaps the decision to first publish only half was a strategy to gauge the marketability. If so, the success must have been overwhelming, for a second volume of another 50 was abandoned, being replaced by an anthology that featured 100 poets and their poems in one volume. This was issued under the title *Kokon kyōka bukuro* 古今狂歌袋 (*A bag of kyōka, old and new*) the next year. Many poets who featured in

¹⁸⁰ 後編狂歌五十人一首 彩色摺 近刻: literally '[blocks] to be cut soon'.

¹⁸¹ Also in *ōhon* format. For explanatory notes and some reproductions of pages from this book, see National Institute of Japanese Literature (2009), p. 54 and p. 92 (based on the copy held in the institute itself under inv. no. ナ2-528); Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan (2008), p. 20 and p.120; Shinjuku rekishi hakubutsukan (2011), p. 28 and p. 100 (the latter two both based on the copy held in the library of Otsuma Women's University, Tokyo, under inv. no. 911-19 Sa 642).

¹⁸² In fact, he also features in the first illustration in *Azumaburi kyōka bunko*, though with a different poem.

¹⁸³ Hajintei, according to Hamada, was the name of an extension to his house, that Ōta Nanpo had built around 1785 or 1786. For this reason, Hamada estimates the publication to be of around 1786. (Hamada (1963), p. 293.) Based on a faint remainder of ink in the colophon of the copy held in the National Institute of Japanese Literature, reading Tenmei 5, it is now thought to date from 1785. See National Institute of Japanese Literature (2009), p. 92.

Azumaburi kyōka bunko were also present among the 100 poets in *Kokon kyōka bukuro*. Apart from additional contemporary poets, a good number of 'poets of old' were added.¹⁸⁴

This is corroborated by a handwritten inscription in a copy of *Kokon kyōka bukuro* kept in the Edo-Tokyo Museum, written by Ōta Nanpo (at that time signing Shokusanjin) in 1815.¹⁸⁵

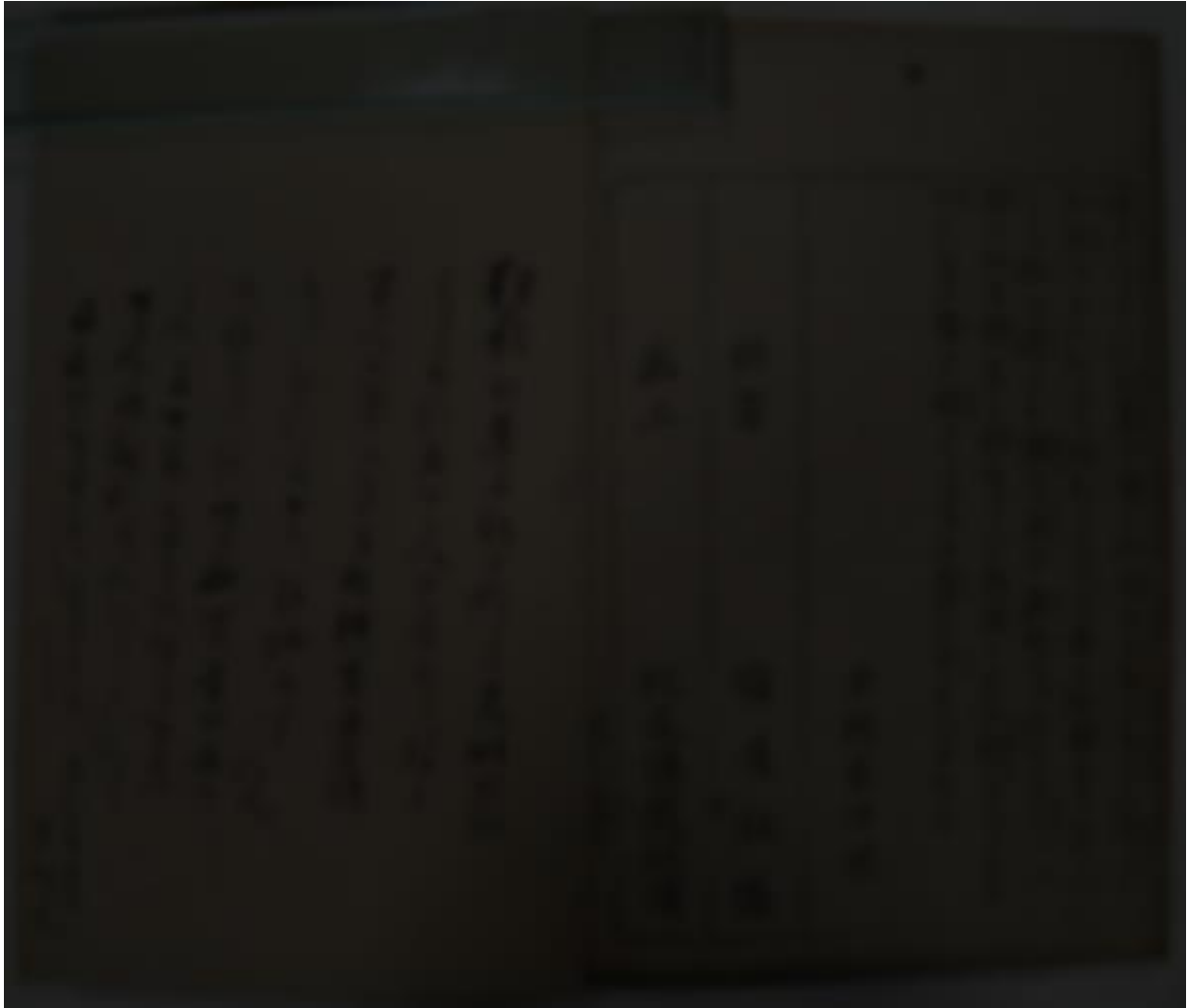


Fig. 4. Inscription by Ōta Nanpo/Yomo no Akara (signed 'Shokusanjin') on inside back cover of *Kokon kyōka Bukuro* (1787). Coll. Edo-Tokyo Museum (no inv. no.).

The inscription is dated to the 5th month of the 12th year of the Bunka era (1815), almost thirty years after the initial publication of *Kokon kyōka bukuro*. Nanpo reminisces about the time this book was published: 'First, there was the book *Gojūnin isshu*, then *Hyakunin isshu* was published, both by Kōshodō [Tsutaya Jūzaburō]'. *Gojūnin isshu* is of course *Azumaburi kyōka bunko* discussed above. Nanpo goes on to mention "*Sanjūrokunin kyōkasen*", referring no doubt to *Kyōka sanjūrokuninsen*, joking that he does not

¹⁸⁴ Among them are Gyōgetsubō and some of the prominent Kamigata *kyōka* poets.

¹⁸⁵ A discovery that Kobayashi Fumiko and I made during research at the Edo-Tokyo Museum. She corrected my transcription and translation of the inscription, for which I take the opportunity to express my gratitude. It was also she who discovered Nanpo's allusion to Bai Juyi's poem.

remember who published the book. Nanpo finishes his inscription with a reference to a poem by the Chinese poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846, in Japan known as Hakurakuten 白樂天), who laments that over the years everything around him has changed, while he remained the same.

Where the simple anthology of 36 poets gathered by Ōta Nanpo appears to be an in-crowd project over it, both luxurious anthologies commercially published by Tsutaya were clearly aimed at a well-to-do readership of *kyōka* enthusiasts who were not necessarily members of the circles of Yadoya no Meshimori, Ōta Nanpo or other pioneering Tenmei *kyōka* poets in the book.

Poetry albums commissioned by the Asakusagawa poetry group

Commercial anthologies such as the two mentioned above are typical for the early stages of the rising popularity of *kyōka* in Edo. Later anthologies are more often based on the poetry composed by members of poetry groups, who had their verses published in deluxe anthologies, more often than not illustrated in full color. Examples of these later, privately commissioned anthologies are a series of annual publications by the Asakusagawa, already mentioned in section 4.1. The initiative of these publications may have been taken by private poetry groups, the production of these books was often done by commercial publishing houses - as explained for the case of *Ehon sumidagawa ryōgan ichiran*.

Kyōka anthologies appear with decreasing frequency after the circa 1804. According to Kobayashi, this is in part due to regulations specifically forbidding color-printed books, issued in the fifth month of 1804.¹⁸⁶ The decrease in *kyōka* anthologies coincides with an increase in with an increase in *surimono* issued in series, as Kobayashi stipulates. The shift is indeed obvious, and the era of deluxe anthologies, published both commercially and privately, is by and large over at the beginning of the Bunka era. This does not mean the complete end of color-illustrated *kyōka* books in general, for later years would witness an increase of rather luxurious, privately issued competition result books.

Anthologies of poetry by a single poet

Anthologies consisting of *kyōka* poems by one poet only are exceedingly rare. The above paragraphs have focused on anthologies selected by one *kyōka* master, though containing poems by various poets. The word anthology also implies, however, the possibility for a publication filled with poems by a single poet. The nature of the genre of *kyōka*, a poetry form that was enjoyed at gatherings where exchange of poetry was key to overall achievement, more or less excludes the demand for anthologies containing the poetry of a single poet. The examples known are usually relatively simple, unillustrated books gathering the best poems of a single renowned *kyōka* master. In most cases, these single-poet anthologies were published at a late stage in the career of such a *kyōka* master. A notable example is *Shokusanjin jibitsu hyakushu kyōka* 蜀山人自筆百首狂歌 (*One hundred kyōka poems by Shokusanjin, in his own handwriting*). The title leaves little to the imagination. It is a collection of one hundred poems by

¹⁸⁶ Kobayashi, F. (2005), p. 173 (citing Yuasa, Yoshiko (1995)).

Shokusanjin, as Ōta Nanpo called himself towards the end of his career. He gathered the “most important” poems himself and the anthology was issued privately.¹⁸⁷ It was published in 1818¹⁸⁸ in printed form, though it is unclear who was responsible for the production.¹⁸⁹ This book has survived in various editions, and also in hand-copied versions, of various years, attesting to its popularity. Single-poet anthologies like these are, however, not a common type of *kyōka* book.

3.3.3 Examples of *kyōka* competition result books

Kyōka sanjūrokkasen, selected by Rokujuen and Sairaikyo, illustrated by Gakutei

The book *Kyōka sanjūrokkasen* 狂歌三十六歌僊 (*Thirty-six immortal kyōka poets*) is a good example of a privately commissioned, illustrated competition result book. It contains the results of a *kyōka* competition held at a restaurant in Edo in 1822. This publication is representative of many result books, featuring a fair portion of illustrated pages for the poems that received the highest scores, followed by a section without illustrations reserved for poems that were awarded a lower score. This setup is fairly common, and occurs in *sumizuri* and also in color-illustrated form, the latter especially in the late Bunsei and early Tenpō eras. The concept of the 36 immortal poets, as discussed above, is very commonly adopted in *kyōka*, as a counterpart to the original 36 masters in *waka*.¹⁹⁰ Here, the portraits of 38 *kyōka* poets are presented: the 36 most successful competitors, seated, one on each page, followed by selectors Rokujuen and Sairaikyo Mibutsu 西來居未仏 (n.d.) together on a single page illustration. These last two received their place based on their role as judges, and are listed without points next to their poems. The poems are sorted according to 36 common seasonal topics from nature that were taken as subject, such as mist, *kasumi* 霞, flowers, *hana* 花, willow, *yanagi* 柳, et cetera, ordered from spring through winter, followed by topics related to love, *koi* 戀. The poets who scored the highest points per topic are portrayed in the illustrated pages.

The setup of this publication is as follows. It is a single volume book of 36 sheets in the *hanshibon* format (in this case 22,2 x 15,8 centimeters). The covers appear to have been added later by an owner of

¹⁸⁷ Shinjuku rekishi hakubutsukan (2011), p. 31. Shokusanjin uses the word *zuinō* 髓腦, associated with esoteric transmission in classical poetry, in a short postface. The copy (partly) reproduced and referred to in this catalogue is held in the Tokyo Metropolitan Library (Tokyo Toritsu Toshokan 東京都立図書館). I used the digitally available copy held in the National Institute of Japanese Literature under inv. no. ナ2-37 for reference.

¹⁸⁸ The colophon mentions the “tiger year of Bunka”, or Bunka 15, which is now considered Bunsei 1. Apparently, the colophon was written before the new era was proclaimed.

¹⁸⁹ The *Catalogue of early Japanese books* and *Catalogue of early Japanese books in microfilm or digital* at NIJL (accessible through the website of the National Institute of Japanese Literature) mentions Yoshida Shobō 吉田書房 and Seiundō Eibun 青雲堂英文 as publishers, but these appear to have operated in later eras.

¹⁹⁰ Apart from *Kyōka sanjūrokuninsen* of the Tenmei era, another example is *Kyōka sanjūrokkasen* (indeed, the exact same title) issued in 1794. For this book, the poems were selected by Sandara Hōshi 三陀羅法師 (Senshūan 千秋庵, actual name Akamatsu Masatsune 赤松正恒, 1731-1814); the illustrations were done by Katsushika Hokusai. Besides the 36 single portraits of the poets, two more illustrations placed on (three) pages near the beginning of the book feature seven more poet portraits. A copy can for instance be found in the National Diet Library collection, accession no. ㇿ-22.

this copy, and will not be discussed. The first sheet is not numbered and the recto side functions as an (inside) title page. This page gives the selectors: “Rokujuen sensei 六樹園先生” and “Sairai-kyō no ushi 西來居大人”¹⁹¹, the full title, and the ‘gatherers’ of the poetry, marked with the character *shū* or *atsumeru* 輯. These gatherers are Gosōken Oriyasu 吾壯軒折安 (n.d.), Morinoya Nakanuki (or Nakatsura) 杜廼屋仲貫 (n.d.), Gyokkōsha Uramasa 玉光舎占正 (n.d.), and Hogotai Atonari 反故堆跡成 (alternatively Hogutai or Hōgutai; n.d.).¹⁹² The verso of this first sheet is left blank. The second sheet (likewise not numbered) features the two-page preface by Rokujuen in which he playfully lists matters that have to do with the number 36; 36 Buddhist priests of the Tendai sect, a carp with 36 scales, the distance between Edo and Nikkō (first Tokugawa shogun Ieyasu’s mausoleum) measuring 36 miles (*ri* 里)¹⁹³, the 36 immortal poets as established by *Shijō dainagon* 四条大納言 (‘Major Counselor of the Fourth Avenue’, i.e. Fujiwara Kintō 藤原公任, 966-1041), and finally the fact that 36 *kyōka* poets are gathered in this volume. Sheets one recto through nineteen verso feature elegant and for the most part fairly serious-looking seated portraits of high-scoring poets (fourteen points or over, but usually around nineteen or twenty - out of the possible 30; fifteen per judge), and their poems, with a separate bar of poems by others placed above the illustrations. Sheets nineteen verso through 23 recto feature three landscapes and one lady in an interior (*mibiraki* 見開き, i.e. double-page illustrations), each signed Gakutei (listed in the colophon as “Gakutei Sadaoka”), in *sumi* only, and each accompanied by three poems. Sheets 23 verso through 33 verso feature poems only (between eleven and 21 points, though mostly in the thirteen to sixteen range), some eleven to twelve poems per page. The bar of poems only above the illustrations and the pages without illustration should be regarded as one section, listing all poems per subject, except the top-scoring poem that is printed next to the respective poet’s portrait. The last sheet (not numbered) gives the colophon.

The colophon gives some factual information that helps clarify the circumstances of this publication. First, it gives the date and location of the *kaikan* 開卷, literally ‘opening of the volume’,

¹⁹¹ Sairai-kyō was a judge in the Gogawa and later headed the Hyōtanren 瓢箪連, Gourd Circle (see KJJ 219). The reading *ushi* (instead of *taijin*) was a common honorific term in *kokugaku* circles, but also sometimes used in *kyōka* circles, to be translated as ‘master’, much like *sensei*. In/on some *kyōka* materials, the characters 大人 are indeed found to be accompanied by glosses that give the pronunciation as *ushi* (see for instance an informational leaflet in Hōsa bunko collection, Nagoya, inv. no. 加7424-26). Given the fact that Rokujuen was himself a *kokugaku* scholar, I assume that the reading *ushi* is apt here.

¹⁹² Uramasa is mentioned in KJJ, p. 22; Atonari on page 7. The name Hogotai Atonari could be translated as ‘That what remains when used paper has piled up’. Kōdansha’s *Nihon jinmei daijiten* 日本人名大辞典 [Biographical dictionary of Japan] gives the reading of the name as Hogo-zumi (as provided by www.kotobank.jp; accessed April 28, 2014). Poems by Nakanuki and Atonari appear together on a *surimono* designed by Gakutei. This *surimono* is part of a luxurious set of five print that depict the ‘Five Tiger Generals of the Suikoden’ (*Gokō shōgun* 五虎將軍 - here, the character for five is written with the Gogawa logo, a character five, go 五, stylized to resemble an hourglass). According to Mirviss and Carpenter (1995), p. 80-8, the set was issued c. 1828. Mirviss and Carpenter give the poet’s names as Hankotai Atonari and Morinoya Nakanuki.

¹⁹³ The *ri* corresponds to c. 3.9 kilometers, which makes 36 *ri* about 140 kilometers. This is indeed more or less the distance between Edo and Nikkō.

meaning the day that the gathered poems were publicly read out and judged: 25th day of the twelfth month, fifth year of Bunsei (1822), at (the restaurant) Shigarakirō 信楽樓. The restaurant is said to have been located in the Yoshiwara entertainment quarter, which is plausible, yet could not be confirmed.¹⁹⁴ The colophon further lists the calligrapher: Hokueishi Sutena 北榮子捨魚 (Otherwise known as Shiseidō 至清堂 Sutena or Morikawa 守川 Sutena, d. 1868 acc. to KJJ, p. 105)¹⁹⁵; the illustrator: Gakutei Sadaoka 岳亭定岡; the block-cutter: Gyokkōsha Uramasa 玉光舎占正; and the owner of the blocks: Hogotai shujin 反故堆主人.

Based on the information given on title page and colophon, and furthermore from the occurrence of certain poets and their positions within the book, the following can be established with regard to the conception of the publication and participating competitors. The book contains the results of a competition held just once, at a particular venue in Edo, and open to members from various *kyōka* poetry groups. Prominent members or leaders of other poetry groups, though often liaised to the Gogawa, participated. For instance: Dondonte Wataru, leader of the Taikogawa; Senryūtei Karamaru 千柳亭唐丸, foremost *kyōka* judge in Sendai¹⁹⁶; Fukunoya Uchinari, leader of the Shippōren, Kogetsudō Ichizumi 壺月堂市住, member of the Asakusagawa; Ryūōtei Hananari 柳桜亭花也,¹⁹⁷ et cetera. Another remarkable competitor is the seven year old Mannensha Kamenari 万年者龜成 from Matsuida 松井田 (sheet five recto), son of Shōfūsha Saten 松風舎茶蘆, a (later?) judge of the Shakuyakuteishachū¹⁹⁸ (depicted on sheet fourteen verso). The competition is little bit of a family affair apparently, since Gosōken's mother Shimako 紫麻子 (her portrait features on sheet fifteen recto) also competed. Many of the poems were sent in from cities throughout the Kantō and Kansai regions, such as Osaka, Ueda 上田, Wakayama 和歌山, Miyazaki 宮崎, Takasaki 高サキ, Shirakawa 白川, Inuma イヒヌマ, Nikkō 日光, Sendai 仙台, Sakai サカヒ, Himeji ヒメチ, et cetera. It is very unlikely that all these poets from outside Edo could be present at the actual meeting. In any case, all competitors had to submit their poems in writing. Living further away from Edo meant a necessity to mail their poems earlier than those living in Edo would have to do, and opportunities for attending actual meetings were fewer. Since the poems were submitted to the judge(s) anonymously, there was - in principle - no advantage or disadvantage for those living further away, at least not in terms of competition.

¹⁹⁴ As found in a description on an auction site where a copy of this book was being offered for sale: <http://aucview.aucfan.com/yahoo/b117870464/>. (last access April 18, 2014)

¹⁹⁵ The character used is actually written with *dai* 大 underneath, instead of the four dots representing the tail of the fish (丶々).

¹⁹⁶ Senryūtei's increasing prominence on the *kyōka* scene from the Bunka to the Kaei era is discussed in Takahashi (2010).

¹⁹⁷ Mōri Narimoto 毛利斉元 (1794-1836), who became twelfth daimyo of Chōshū 長州 domain, present-day Yamaguchi prefecture, in 1824. He also commissioned many *surimono*, particularly related to kabuki theatre. Also, Ryūōtei Edo no 江戸の Hananari. See Tsuda (2008), pp. 62-71.

¹⁹⁸ KJJ, p. 86.

Since *kyōka sanjūrokkasen* was published privately, funds and means for the publication were generated (largely) by the participants. The fee that was charged for entering in the competition was usually stated on the competition announcement.¹⁹⁹ The combined fees were necessary to cover the various costs that would have presented themselves: renting the venue, compensation for the judges, design and production of the result book, et cetera. The poets listed on the title page had a further facilitating role in the production of the book. They provided assistance, in gathering the poems, preparation of the proofs and even manufacture of the printing blocks. Their contribution with regard to the production was very well appreciated, as evidenced by the fact that not only are they acknowledged in the colophon, the last sixteen spaces in the book are all reserved for their poems. These last sixteen poems are preceded by a circle mark, indicating the special status of these poets within this result book. Some information about these poets can be gathered from *Kyōka suikoden* 狂歌水滸伝 (*Kyōka Heroes of the Water Margin*), another *kyōka* publication linked to the Gogawa: Gyokkōsha Uramasa was a pupil of Rokujuen and a professional block-cutter, as is mentioned in the short biography accompanying his portrait.²⁰⁰ In the same book, Hogotai Atonari is also depicted (sheet 40 verso). He is portrayed sitting in a countryside residence, a river landscape in the background. He sports two swords and a *haori* with large Gogawa crests. His biography mentions him being a pupil of Rokujuen and man of great erudition. Hogotai appears to be a man of wealth, too; perhaps a samurai of high rank. The fact that he is the keeper of the blocks of *kyōka sanjūrokkasen* suggests that he invested (considerably) more funds in the publication than other participants.

The book *kyōka sanjūrokkasen* thus provides a representative example of a competition result book, intended for publication of scores achieved by competing poets, while presenting these poets in portrait form along with the winning poems. It is the result of quite an undertaking, since the publication features only poems that scored eleven points or over. These number around 450. Since the whole range of 1 to 15 points was used by both judges, this may mean that poems receiving between eleven and 30 points represent only two-thirds of the total of submitted poems. The poems that scored ten or less did not make it to the final publication, yet had been gathered, read out loud and judged just like the other poems. The book thus represents an even greater body of poems than is actually published. The number of poets involved in the competition as a whole, the organization and the finances, give an insight into the scale of the *kyōka* world at this stage, a matter that will be further elaborated on in chapter five.

***Shōshikai gazōshū*, selected by Garyōen Umemaro**

Shōshikai gazōshū 尚齒會画像集 (*Collection of illustrations of the gathering of the elders*) is a collection of *kyōka* submitted and judged at monthly gatherings of the second month through the ninth month of Bunsei 8, 1825. The poems are judged almost exclusively by Garyōen Umemaro 臥龍園梅麿 (sometimes

¹⁹⁹ For a detailed description of such an announcement, see section 4.2.

²⁰⁰ Published by the Gogawa in 1822. Uramasa is portrayed in artisan's outfit on sheet 31 verso.

also read Garyūen, 1793-1859, KJJ. p. 26), leader of the Hanazonoren 花園連 ('Flower Garden' group). The term book is perhaps not entirely appropriate for this fascicle²⁰¹, as it appears to be incomplete. The front cover is present, yet seems to have been applied later. It does not carry a *daisen*. A preface is lacking, as is a title page. The fascicle, of *hanshibon* format, consists of 88 *chō* filled with some eleven or twelve vertically printed *kyōka* per page. The *hashira* features the logo of the Hanazonoren (a side view of a plum blossom styled from three *hiragana* characters no の²⁰²), and a numbering that starts at one and runs to 87, the last *chō* lacking numbering. There are no illustrations. There is no separate page with a fixed-format colophon, but the last page does give the title (and the fact that the volume ends here), a date: 'Cut in Bunsei 8, year of the cock, season winter' (文政八酉季冬刻成), and the owner of the blocks - being the Hanazonoren.

The overall setup of this fascicle, divided in months, with the poems per month subdivided by theme, and the poems per theme subdivided according to awarded points, reveals this publication as based on *tsukinamishū*. The publication can in fact be regarded as a collection of *tsukinamishū*, as it assembles the results of the second through the ninth month.²⁰³ The fascicle is, however, not a convolute consisting of separate *tsukinamishū* bound together (which is also commonly encountered). The poems were likely gathered over the months, yet prepared for publication all at once. This is evinced by the fact that the numbering is continuous and new sections per month do not start on new pages.

Every section for a month follows the same pattern. A section starts with the number of the month, followed by the word *kendai* 兼題, 'subject(s)'. Underneath that is the name of the selector: in this case "Garyōen *sen* 臥龍園撰". Then follow the poems, divided per subject. The subject is written in the upper part of the page. Underneath the poems is the *gō* of the composer, sometimes preceded by his or her place of residence. The poems are listed according to points awarded, starting with very few of high merit - the maximum is fifteen, although thirteen or twelve is often the highest score per subject - followed by relatively large quantities of poems that scored ten points, then eight. Poems that scored lower than eight are not listed. To take the section for the ninth month as an example, the total number of poems, 223, divided over seventeen subjects, fills nineteen pages. I estimate the total number of poets to be below one hundred, since many poets appear twice or more under the various subjects. Out of 223 listings, 77 are noted with a place of residence outside Edo. Examples are Sendai (仙タイ), Nikkō (日光), Mito (ミト), Suzumenomiya (雀ノミヤ) and Iinuma (イヒヌマ). The last three poems under the last subject are by Garyōen himself, and are marked with a little circle, placed before the first of the three. The last five poems listed for this month are in the *tōzū* section, which was judged by one Seiryūkan 青柳館. The subject chosen for these poems composed at the scene was *Matsuchiyama bosetsu* 待乳山暮雪

²⁰¹ The copy used is the only one known to me, held in the National Institute of Japanese Literature, inv. no. ナ2-130.

²⁰² Cf. Carpenter (Ed.) (2008), p. 214.

²⁰³ The first month will have been skipped due to New Year's *kyōka* meetings. Why the ninth month is already the last to appear in this volume is unclear to me.

(‘Evening snow at Matsuchiyama’ - the temple complex in Asakusa). The highest score of fifteen points was achieved by Sairai-kyō Mibutsu. The last poem of the *tōza* section, too, is by Umemaro, and is again marked with a circle instead of points, since he was - of course - *hors concours*.

It is not entirely clear why the title *Shōshikai gazōshū* was chosen. The word *shōshikai* (sometimes pronounced *shōshie*), designates a gathering of ‘elders’, who celebrate their old age (and apparently appending wisdom).²⁰⁴ The subjects treated in the monthly competitions held by the Hanazonoren, however, have little to do with this theme. To take the gathering for the ninth month as an example once again, the subjects treated here are mostly related to the season. For instance, *fuyu dōbutsu* 冬動物 (‘winter animals’), *fuyu shokubutsu* 冬植物 (‘winter plants’), and *kogarashi* 木枯 (‘autumn/winter wind’). Furthermore, the word *gazōshū* fuels the expectation of illustrations, but these are absent in this volume. It is interesting to note, however, that Garyōen’s Hanazono poetry circle commissioned a series of *surimono* with the series’ title *Shōshikai bantsuzuki* (‘A series of elders of poetry’) for the year 1821 or 1822.²⁰⁵ These were designed by Totoya Hokkei, and revolve mainly around famous *waka* poets of old such as Fujiwara Shunzei, Fujiwara Teika, Ono no Tōfū 小野道風 (894-967) and the *renga* 連歌 (linked verse) poet Botanka/Botange Shōhaku 牡丹花肖柏 (1443-1527) (a notable exception is Tomoe Gozen 巴御前 (n.d., late Heian period), who is known better for her military feats). The subject, or at least the title, must have remained popular with the group, yet the link to the poetry in the book that was printed three or four years later is not evident.

In conclusion, the fascicle that goes by the title *Shōshikai gazōshū* provides insights to the workings of a *kyōka* group and its competitions. Like *Kyōka sanjūrokkasen*, it gives an idea of the number of contestants that participated (each month, in this case), how many of them resided outside Edo, and what kind of subjects were treated in the poetry - for the middle of the Bunsei era at least. Furthermore, *Shōshikai gazōshū* also shows that illustrations are by no means omnipresent in *kyōka* books.

3.3.4 Examples of *kyōka* information books

Hama no kisago, edited by Moto no Mokuami

The book *Kyōka hama no kisago* 狂歌濱のきさご, edited by Moto no Mokuami 元木綱 (1724-1811), serves as an early example of a *kyōka* information book. It was first published in the spring of the third year of Tenmei (1783), quite early on in the development of Edo *kyōka*, by Tsutaya Jūzaburō in Edo,

²⁰⁴ According to Alfred Haft’s research, the term *shōshi* stems from the Chinese term *shangchi* and is “thought to have originated with the Confucian Classic of Rites (*Liji*, J. *Reiki* [礼記]), but the Chinese poet Bai Juyi (J. Hakurakuten) seems to have first applied it to a cultural gathering in 845 CE, with Japanese aristocrats adopting the idea by 877 CE. (Carpenter (Ed., 2008), pp. 214-215.)

²⁰⁵ No later than 1822, since three prints from the series are in the collection that Blomhoff brought back from Edo in the summer of 1822: see Kok (2003). Illustrations to be found also in Rappard-Boon and Bruschke-Johnson (2000), p. 165 and Carpenter (Ed., 2008), pp. 214-215.

together with three other book shops from Edo, Osaka and Kyoto.²⁰⁶ It can be typified as an information book in the sense that it serves as a guide to *kyōka* of classic quality, and works as a manual on how to successfully compose *kyōka* oneself. In *Edokyōkabonsenshū kankōkai* (2007), *Kyōka hama no kisago* is listed as a book in the category of *kyōkaron* 狂歌論, or *kyōka* theory books, that is sometimes used in Japanese terminology.²⁰⁷ One could also say that it has properties that place it in the category of *ruidaisshū* 類題集, books listing superior poems by theme and subject. The term *ruidaisshū* is used in Japanese terminology with regard to poetry in general, not specifically *kyōka*. Since I focus on the overarching purpose of informing the (amateur) *kyōka* poet, and since many of these books contain various types of information, I use the term *kyōka* information book without further subdivision.

The title *Kyōka hama no kisago* translates as “*Kyōka* Shells on the Beach”; *kisago* is a sea snail, Lat. *Umbonium moniliferum*, a seasonal poetic word for Spring. The title obviously refers to the guide to *waka* composition that was published under the title *Hama no masago* 濱のまさこ (*Sand on the beach*). This popular guide to *waka* was edited by traditional poetry master Ariga Chōhaku 有賀長伯 (1661-1737), who was known for his practical poetry guides. Though consisting of seven volumes bound in seven fascicles, it was widely used, especially by beginners, since its first publication in Genroku 10 (1697). *Hama no masago* was reissued many times, and was no doubt known to every *kyōka* poet. The ‘*kyōka* version’ *kyōka hama no kisago* clearly sold well too, for it was reprinted in Kansei 12 (1800), Bunka 6 (1809, two variations known), and again much later, in Meiji 14 (1882).²⁰⁸

Kyōka hama no kisago provided very practical tools for enthusiasts to study and compose *kyōka*. The small book (a *kobon* 小本 measuring only c. thirteen to fourteen centimeters in height, depending on the edition) contains the following elements: a preface by Yomo no Akara (Ōta Nanpo),²⁰⁹ in which he uses the phrase *hama no masago*, a poetic phrase in itself, but undoubtedly referring to the *waka* guide mentioned above. Then a table of contents (*mokuroku* 目録) that list the eighteen sections in which the main content of the book is divided. Before section one begins, however, an elaborate legend (*hanrei* 凡例) of eleven pages gives diverse advice on how to use the book, how to go about composing *kyōka*, followed by examples of some *kyōka* classics, with short, theorizing explanations. At the end of the *hanrei*, there is a short list of words to avoid, and suggested reading, among which the “old” anthologies by Gyōfū, Mitoku and Ikeda Masanori (池田正式, also read Ikeda Seishiki, n.d., a pupil of Matsunaga Teitoku {1571-1653}).

²⁰⁶ Information from the database of the National Institute of Japanese Literature. The copy held in Otsuma Women’s University, Tokyo, published in or after Kansei 3 (1791), is annotated and transcribed in *Edokyōkabonsenshū kankōkai* (2007), p. 4-27. I use the copy held in Waseda University Library, a reissue of Kansei 12 (1800) according to the table of contents and the colophon, as a reference (inv. no. ~09 01413; http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/he09/he09_01413/index.html)

²⁰⁷ Kobayashi, F. (2009), p. 159, uses the term ‘*kyōka* ‘how-to’ book’, or ‘*kyōka* etiquette book’, 狂歌作法書 *kyōka sahōsho*.

²⁰⁸ Database of the National Institute of Japanese Literature, and *Edokyōkabonsenshū kankōkai* (2007), p. 4. The reissues were published by Tsutaya’s firm, in collaboration with various other publishers from Edo, Osaka and Nagoya.

²⁰⁹ It is perhaps for this reason that he is often mistaken for the author of the book.

The *hanrei* is followed by eighteen sections on various poetic themes, starting with “the four seasons” (*shiki* 四季). Then follow various poetic themes such as, “love” (*koi* 恋), several religious subjects, “travel” (*tabi* 旅, specifically the Tōkaidō 東海道). This first section gives only example poems (*bikiuta* 引哥), whereas the next twelve sections also give a list of useful words and phrases from example poems (*bikiuta kotobayose* 引哥言葉よせ). These are sometimes listed according to length (two, three or five syllables), or listed according to first syllable, in the order of the *iroha*. Section fourteen gives an overview of words and phrases that connect well to frequently used subject words, such as mountain, sea, bamboo, shells, bridge, wind, rain, ink stone, et cetera. Section fifteen²¹⁰ gives some very practical hints: a table of the preferred forms of *kana* to be used, and an illustration showing the way to fold and inscribe a sheet of paper when submitting a poem (fig. 5). Section sixteen gives hints on the correct typography and orthography of *kana*, such as their relative size in combined syllables. Section seventeen explains the correct usage of particles (*teninoba*, here shortened to *teniha* 手爾葉). Section eighteen lists the one hundred themes and subjects that appear in the book *Horikawa hyakushudai kyōkashū* 堀川百首題狂歌集 of 1671, by Ikeda Masanori, that was recommended in the *hanrei*. In the afterword, Moto no Mokuami explains how he “picked up words that are equal in number to grains of sand on the beach [*hama no masago*], and gave this book the title *Hama no kisago*” - again referring to the *waka* handbook that served as an example. He goes on to state that this book should serve as a handbook for beginners who want to compose “*zureuta*”. The 1800 reissue contains advertisements that list a supplement (“増補 *zōbo*”) to *Hama no kisago*, also selected by “the old man” Moto no Mokuami. This *chūhon*-sized volume is mentioned as containing poems that did not make it to the first edition.

²¹⁰ The numbers of sections fifteen through eighteen are missing or incorrect in the main body of the book. The contents do, however, correspond with the table of contents.



Fig. 5. How to properly submit a *kyōka* poem, including instructions for folding the paper. From *Hama no kisago* (sheet 45 verso), copy held in Waseda University Library, inv. no. Bunko 18 01027, last sheet recto.

Judging from the existence of various reprint editions, commercial publisher Tsutaya had clearly made a good decision to publish this book. There was a market for this type of practical guide. One might say that this book could work as a counterpart to the deluxe anthologies that Tsutaya also published. On the one hand, *kyōka* enthusiasts could admire the poems of renowned poets, while on the other hand one could teach oneself how to aspire to the same level by studying the *kyōka* guide. In an advert found in another of Kisshū's information books, *kyōka shoshinshō* 狂歌初心抄 (*Commentaries for beginners in kyōka*), published, also by Tsutaya, in 1790, *Hama no kisago* is commended as 'A book for beginners [in *kyōka*] to depend on' (*shoshin no tayori to naru hon nari* 初心のたよりとなる本なり).²¹¹ The Kansei 12 reissue of *Hama no kisago* seems to also have been marketed by Tsutaya already during the planning stages, for it appears in a well-known illustration that depicts his shop, found in *Azuma asobi* that came out the year before (fig 5).

²¹¹ Waseda University Library collection, inv. no. Bunko 18 01027, last sheet recto.



Fig. 6. Illustration in *Azuma asobi* (1799), illustrated by Katsushika Hokusai. Depicted is the book shop Kōshodō (Tsutaya Jūzaburō). On the right are announcements for books on sale. To the far right is *Hama no kisago*, listed as “*kyōka yomikata shōsatsu* 狂歌よみかた 小冊”, meaning ‘how to compose *kyōka*, *kobon*, one volume’. Copy held in Waseda University Library, inv. no. チ05_03829.

In conclusion, *kyōka hama no kisago* gives us an insight into the practice of *kyōka* composition from the early Tenmei period onwards. It provides practical advice on how to go about composing *kyōka*, how to write the properly, and how to submit them to a judge or teacher. The selection of example poems also gives an insight into the *kyōka* poets that inspired author/editor Moto no Mokuami: mostly (Kamigata) *kyōka* poets from the early to mid Edo period. The small format of the book clearly indicates that the book was intended for practical use. Furthermore, the fact that such a guide appeared in print indicates that, by the early Tenmei period, *kyōka* composition left the small circles of pioneers who exchanged their knowledge among themselves, and *kyōka* composition was becoming something that enough people aspired to, to justify a printed guide to appear.

***Kyōkakei*, edited by Shikitei Sanba**

There is probably no book that gives more practical information on the world of *kyōka* than *Kyōkakei* 狂歌鱗 (*Kyōka lineage*), edited by Shikitei Sanba. It was published and re-published by the firm of

(the late) Tsutaya Jūzaburō, in collaboration with other publishers.²¹² It is comprised of two volumes, *shohen* 初編 (*chūhon*, one fascicle, published in 1803) and *kōben* 後編 (two fascicles, published in 1806). *Kyōkakei* gives very practical information on the leaders and judges of the main *kyōka* poetry groups. Several pieces of information are given per judge: the *dogo* 堂号 (studio name); a short bibliography; his address (by approximation); ten of his best poems (with subject); one page filled with an overview of seals and signatures, marking habits, and former pen names; followed by a page filled with ten poems that this particular judge values most. This pattern is much the same for all of the three fascicles. In some cases, the page with best valued poems is omitted. Divided over the three fascicles, data is provided for a total of 55 poets (*shohen*: 26 poets, *kōben* I: fourteen poets, *kōben* II: fifteen poets). Thus, an aspiring poet had access to inside information to the style and taste of many judges, and could adapt his or her own style to better suit a particular judge, whether at a contest or when requesting membership of a group where this particular judge was part of. In *Edokyōkabonsenshū kankōkai* (2007), *Kyōkakei* is listed as a book in the category of *meikan* 名鑑, or ‘mirror [overview] of names’ that is sometimes used in Japanese terminology. Just like in the case of *Hama no kisago*, one could also say that it has properties that place it in the category of *ruidaisshū* 類題集, books listing superior poems by theme and subject. Again, for reasons of clarity, I use the word *kyōka* information book without further subdivision.

Shikitei Sanba was a famous Edoite in his time. Not only because he wrote many popular books,²¹³ he also owned a drugstore in the Honchō district of Edo, where he sold mainly a home-made lotion called *Edo no mizu* (‘Edo water’).²¹⁴ Sanba is hardly if ever found in *kyōka* competition result books, but apparently he has a good overview of the *kyōka* world and the foremost players in it and he feels confident enough to edit a book on *kyōka* poets and their practices in judging poetry. Judging from the wealth of information, it seems that Sanba met with, or at least corresponded with, all the poets who featured in his *Kyōkakei* issues. Otherwise, one would say, he wouldn’t have been able to gather their personal handwriting as well as signatures, logos and favorite poems.

Kyōkakei was an apparent success. In the following years, the book was not only reissued, follow-up publications also came to the market. In 1816, *Haikaikakei* 俳諧歌鑑 (‘*Haikaika* lineage’) was published, largely set up along the lines of *Kyōkakei*.²¹⁵ This book was also edited by Shikitei Sanba. The publisher

²¹² The first edition is unknown to me. Later editions are published by Tsutaya and several publishers from the major cities. I therefore assume that the first edition was also published by Tsutaya, perhaps together with other publishers. The copies known today are of the *chūhon* format - most about 19 centimeters in height - but it is not clear whether the unknown first edition was also of the *chūhon* format. For reference, I use the copies presented in *Edokyōkabonsenshū kankōkai* (2007), p. 115-184 (held in the National Diet Library), the copies held in the Waseda University Library (http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/he09/he09_02839_0001/index.html, inv. no. へ09 02839 0001 and http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/he09/he09_02839_0002/index.html, inv. no. へ09 02839 0002).

²¹³ Leutner, Robert W. (1985).

²¹⁴ *Edo no mizu* supposedly made *oshiroi* おしろい, whitening powder for the face, stick better to the skin. The very shop sign of this drugstore that Sanba ran from 1812 has survived; see Ishikawa and Ishiyama (2006), p. 71.

²¹⁵ Presented in *Edokyōkabonsenshū kankōkai* (2007), p. 259-326. The term *haikaika*, otherwise pronounced *haikai* (no) uta, was used as an alternative for the term *kyōka*, referring to section nineteen of *Kokin wakashū*,

was Yorozuya Tajiemon (Rankōdō) 萬屋太次右衛門 (蘭香堂) (n.d.), who published more of Sanba's works, in collaboration with Nishinomiya Yahee 西宮弥兵衛 (n.d.). He had also collaborated on the publication of *Kyōkakei*, and acted as owner of the copyright, since he was keeper of the blocks. In the advertisements in volume two,²¹⁶ an announcement is made for volumes three and four of *Haikaikakei* to be issued. These are, however, not known to exist. Furthermore, a complete “re-selected” edition of *Kyōkakei*, in five fascicles, is also announced. *Kyōkakei* in its original setup, with volume one in one fascicle and volume two in two fascicles, is also still available through Yorozuya, according to the advertisements. Sanba's book was clearly a steady seller, though it apparently needed updates to keep up with the developments in the world of *kyōka*.

The formula used by Sanba was successful, and was copied in later years. In 1837, *Shin kyōkakei* 新狂歌鑑 (‘New *kyōka* lineage’) was published.²¹⁷ This book was not edited by Shikitei Sanba, but by Shakuyakutei Nagane. Furthermore, it appears to have been published privately. At least, no colophon is known to exist, and clues as to who may have published this book are absent. *Shin kyōkakei* consists of two volumes, bound in a total of four fascicles. Nagane, one the foremost judges around this time, gives credits to “Shikitei's *Kyōkakei*” in the preface. For good reason, because the book completely follows the setup that Sanba devised.

The difference between *kyōka hama no kisago* and *Kyōkakei* and its derivatives is the obvious emphasis on the persons on the *kyōka* scene, rather than the poetry itself. To use a popular phrase: “It is not about what you know - it is about who you know.” *Kyōkakei* provided practical information on how to be successful in the world of *kyōka*, more than how to be successful at *kyōka* composition as such. This, in essence, typifies the changes that the genre of *kyōka* went through over the years. Despite the differences in information given, both *kyōka hama no kisago* and *Kyōkakei* serve as examples of *kyōka* information books as a separate type of *kyōka* book, that met the demand for useful information among amateur poets.

3.3.5 Conclusion on functions and categories

Despite the various differences in appearance between *kyōka* books from different decades, strong similarities in specific reappearing elements of content matter have lead me to distinguish three categories in *kyōka* books; The ‘*kyōka* anthology’, the ‘competition result book’ and the ‘*kyōka* information book’. This division is based on the functions of the various *kyōka* books. The three categories are illustrated with the use of examples from different moments in the evolution of Edo *kyōka*. These examples show both constants and variations that occur over time. The variations reflect the overall evolution of the *kyōka* world. Thus, the distinction of categories allows for a clearer definition of general *kyōka* practice and the *kyōka* audience in earlier and later stages of its development. Furthermore, the proposed division

where the term was applied to ‘unconventional verses’. The term *haikaika* was favored by Yomo Utagaki Magao; as explained by McKee (2006), p. 20.

²¹⁶ Found in the copy presented in Edokyōkabonsenshū kankōkai (2007), held in the National Institute of Japanese Literature.

²¹⁷ Presented in Edokyōkabonsenshū kankōkai (2007), p. 185-257.

in categories allows for a clearer understanding of the functions of *kyōka* books presented in other publications.

3.4 Conclusions *kyōkabon*

Kyōkabon are the outcome of a development towards recording poems of a certain quality. Despite the fact that the genre of *kyōka* stems from a less than serious approach to poetry, the fact that *kyōka* were recorded attests to the fact that the quality of certain *kyōka* poems was recognized and appreciated. For *kyōka* poets of any era, recording poetry was a natural thing to do. The poets were after all generally well-educated and well-read. The step to publication is not very large, especially when it concerns manuscripts. When printed publications became available to ever larger strata of the population, *kyōka* written by poets from Edo soon emerged in various forms of print. Woodblock prints carrying *kyōka* poetry - i.e. *Kyōkasurimono* - were as a rule exclusively privately commissioned. Books, on the other hand, were also marketed commercially. *Kyōka* as a genre was well-represented in the publication landscape. Prints and books carrying *kyōka* may account for only a small portion of the total production of printed materials, the average quality is high.

The investigation of *kyōka* books greatly contributes to our understanding of the actions of *kyōka* poets and poetry groups, and thereby discloses a social aspect that is hardly apprehensible from *surimono* alone. The various elements, such as prefaces, illustrations, poetry sections and colophons contain information on intentions on the part of *kyōka* masters and their followers. *Kyōka* books range from relatively simple, unassuming publications to lusciously color-illustrated deluxe publications, depending on their functions and intended readership. A defining characteristic of the genre is the relatively large percentage of privately commissioned publications, especially from the late stages of *kyōka* popularity. These private publications were made possible by the well-organized *kyōka* poetry groups, and the relative wealth of members of these groups - or at least the wealth generated by the group as an entity.

The investigation of *kyōka* books also contributes to our understanding of the evolution of *kyōka* as a genre. The identification of three distinctive categories within *kyōka* books helps make the changes in the world of *kyōka* visible. Shifts in publication numbers for *kyōka* books of the respective categories reflect shifts in *kyōka* practice and audience. For example, the partial shift from commercial publications to non-commercial publications can be regarded as a result of the increasing popularization of *kyōka*. The *kyōka* world is as it were a lot more open to amateurs who wish to participate in this literary activity. The relation between the poet and the audience changes, also because information on how to compose better *kyōka*, and information on how to behave in *kyōka* circles is disseminated through *kyōkabon*. The rising numbers of publications and the rising numbers of poets listed in competition result books are testament to the increasing number of *kyōka* enthusiasts. The poetic themes and illustrations shed light on the cultural interests of *kyōka* poets. This aspect will be further elaborated on in chapter six, but it suffices to state here that changes in the nature of *kyōka* as a poetic genre are also reflected in the illustrations in *kyōka* books.

3.5 Conclusions to introduction of research material *surimono* and *kyōka* books

The premise of this thesis is that in order to understand *surimono* as the outcomes of a large-scale network activity on the one hand, and a specific cultural current on the other, it is necessary to investigate not only the *surimono* themselves, but also *kyōka* books, for the latter provide additional data that cannot be obtained from *surimono* alone. In the previous and the current chapter, therefore, the main research materials treated in this dissertation, *surimono* and *kyōkaban*, have been introduced. The outline, categorizations and examples given for both are intended as general explanation, yet also cater to the specific use of these research materials with regard to the questions posed in this thesis. As I have stated above, *surimono* have received considerable scholarly attention outside Japan, yet for the case of *kyōka* books, a more elaborate treatment - especially concerning content rather than form - was lacking. The introduction of *surimono* and *kyōka* books will serve as a foundation for my argumentation in the following chapters, and will be frequently referred back to.

In order to study how the *kyōka* poetry networks functioned, subject of the next chapter, *surimono* and *kyōka* books cannot be regarded in isolation. It is clear from *surimono*, in particular from large *surimono* carrying many poets' names and *surimono* issued in series carrying poetry circle logos, that there is a system of group affiliations. The data that can be extracted from *surimono* alone, does not paint the whole picture. *Kyōka* books, presented and explained in chapter four, are the key to understanding the way in which *kyōka* groups functioned. *Kyōka* books are complex material too, and have therefore received a dedicated dissection and categorization. The data, both textual and visual, extracted from *kyōka* books provides the means to uncover the networks of *kyōka* poets and their activities. The functions of books in the respective categories I have proposed correspond to demands from the larger *kyōka* society that, again, are not fully clear from studying *surimono* alone. *Kyōka* books are the foremost research material for the investigation of *kyōka* networks. When researched in connection to *surimono* series, it becomes possible to understand the various poetry network projects, the stratification between poets, and how *surimono* should be regarded within the total output of *kyōka* networks.

Form and content of *surimono* and *kyōka* books provide different information on the way in which *kyōka* poets handled classical themes and voiced their cultural nostalgia; the subject of chapter five. The intricate text-image relations in *surimono* serve as examples of how classical content was (re-)interpreted, whereas *kyōka* books rather give information of the form that poets adopted for their organizations and practices. *Surimono*, specifically series of *surimono* that take literary classics as a theme, provide us with visual and textual data on the reception and reconsideration of literary history, be it Japanese or Chinese. *Kyōka* books, on the other hand, allow for a study of the custom of emulating classical poetry gatherings. This is not to say that the form of *surimono* is of no importance to this study - on the contrary: the material qualities, shape, iconography, et cetera. are in turn related to the theme of reception of the classics. The same is true for the content of *kyōka* books: the titles, themes chosen, the subjects of illustrations, et cetera. reflect the thematic interests of *kyōka* poets. Both content and form of *surimono* as well as *kyōka* books will therefore be used for further investigation of how *kyōka* as a popular poetic genre reflects the literary and cultural interests of those involved.