

## The Kyokabon in the Tomita Bunko, Kyushu University Library

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## 解題

# The Kyokabon in the Tomita Bunko, Kyushu University Library

Matthi Forrer †

Even though *kyokabon* 狂歌本 only represent a minor genre in traditional Japanese books, they do, however, give us a unique insight in aspects of Edo-period culture that we cannot possibly gain from the study of other genres of books.<sup>i</sup> In this respect, the *kyokabon* in the Tomita Bunko 富田文庫 take a very special position among the various collections known to house books of this genre.<sup>ii</sup> In this paper I will focus on the phenomenon of *kyokabon* as a genre, on some physical aspects of *kyokabon*, on the composition of the Tomita Bunko, and on some of the problems we encounter in the *kyokabon* in the Tomita Bunko.

## What are *kyokabon*

At the base of *kyokabon* is the *kyōka*-craze, starting as a vogue in the Kamigata region, more specifically in Osaka, in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, spreading quickly to other towns, and reaching Edo around the Anei 安永 and Tenmei 天明 periods. Much like everything coming to Edo from other regions of Japan, *kyōka* too became a real craze, appealing to ever larger crowds in the capital city. In the cultural climate of Edo in the final decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the composition of *kyōka* thus became a popular pastime, starting among middle-class citizens in Ushigome 牛込 and Yotsuya 四ッ谷, it also came to attract members of the samurai class.

It may therefore not surprise us that it soon also came to attract members of the samurai class from outside of Edo, spending long months in the city when joining their lords on duty in the *sankin kotai* 参勤交代 system. Attending *kyōka* meetings (狂歌會) may have offered them a welcome alternative to sneaking into the kabuki theaters or even more stealthily visits to the Shin Yoshiwara 新吉原.

Anyway, it seems quite likely that *kyōka* were, in turn, brought home by these samurai, to cities such as, among others, Nagoya, Ise, Hiroshima, Okayama, and Sendai. Also in those cities, *kyōka* came to attract a very mixed audience, comprised of craftsmen, artisans, merchants, and samurai. Consequently, some of the major Edo-based *kyōkaren* (狂歌連) had their subsidiary branches in those cities as well. And what is more, all people involved in the composition of *kyōka* wanted to see their poetry recorded in print. Consequently, there is, apart from *kawaraban* 瓦版, probably no other genre in the Edo-period printing culture which so well reflects and demonstrates the diversity in local or provincial publishing traditions as *kyokabon*.

As a result of this spread, not only reflected in the range of people of various stages of life, ranging from prostitutes of the Yoshiwara, actors of the kabuki stage, craftsmen and merchants of all kinds, to samurai of all ranks, but also in printing, both in the established centres such as Kyoto, Osaka and Edo, as well as in all kinds of provincial towns, *kyokabon* present an unequaled diversity. Not surprisingly, the *hanshibon* 半紙本 format is applied most commonly, probably for practical reasons, sometimes including illustrations in *sumizuri* 墨摺. One-volume productions prevail, though some are issued as two, three, or even ten-volume books. There are also books in the *obon* 大本 format, some even with illustrations in colour, especially when produced as *orihon*-bindings 折本. Then there are books in the *chubon* 中本 and *kobon* 小本 formats, as well as *yokobon* 横本.

As far as printing or publishing is concerned, much depends on the circumstance whether an established publisher was responsible or involved, or not. It should not surprise us that established publishers would rather focus on collections of *kyōka* poetry written by famous *kyōkashi*, such as Yuensai Teiryū 由縁齋貞柳 (e.g. the *Yuensai-Okimiyage* [由縁齋-遺見やげ]), or selections of poetry made by famous *kyōka* masters, in other words, mostly staying on the safe side.

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For publications issued by the kyoka clubs (狂歌連 or 側) themselves, making out a considerable portion of the Edo kyokabon of especially the Bunka and Bunsei-periods and certainly the majority from Tenpo onwards, the agreement was apparently that all poems valued at eight points or more, or sometimes from ten points, would be issued in print. In Osaka and Kyoto however, established publishers seem to have been responsible for most kyokabon issued in these cities most of the time. Yet, the situation in the provinces is again much different, with private publishing starting much earlier than in Edo, even from Tenmei onwards, sometimes even much earlier.

Anyway, the money contributed by the poets involved, the so-called *nyugin* 入金, was at all times and anywhere of crucial importance for the quality of the publication. This would make the difference between one, two, or fifteen sumizuri printed illustrations, or even colour plates. As for this, publications involving portraits of poets probably present the most directly clear examples. They were usually issued under titles such as, for example, 狂歌三十六歌仙 (寛政十二年; 寛政年代; 文化五年<sup>iii</sup>; 文政十三年<sup>iv</sup>; 天保年間<sup>v</sup>), 狂歌-三十六歌仙画像集 (天保年間)<sup>vi</sup>、狂歌五十人一首 (文政二年)<sup>vii</sup>、狂歌五十人画像集 (文政/天保年間)<sup>viii</sup>, or 狂歌百人一首 (文化六年<sup>ix</sup>). From these examples, it will be obvious that they are variations on such classical anthologies as the *Sanjurokkasen* (三十六歌仙), the *Gojunin isshu* (五十人一首), and the *Hyakunin isshu* (百人一首).<sup>x</sup> However, instead of the traditional portraits of these classical poets figuring in such publications, the kyoka variants would portray the kyoka poets. Starting from the classical *Gojunin isshu – Kyoka bunko* (五十人一首-狂歌文庫) of Tenmei 6 and the *Hyakunin isshu – Kokin kyokabukuro* (百人一首-古今狂歌袋) of Tenmei 7, both illustrated by Kitao Masanobu (北尾政演), until the *Furyu gojunin isshu – Isuzugawa kyokaguruma* (風流五十人一首-五十鈴川狂歌車) of Kyowa 2 (享和二年) illustrated by Katsushika Hokusai (葛飾北斎, signed Hokusai Tatsumasa 北斎辰政), such books would portray the poets as eccentrics, posing with all kinds of various objects in their hands or as headgear. However, from the Bunka-period on, the poets would rather prefer to be portrayed as the persons they really were: samurai with their two swords, armour makers as armour makers, fish mongers as fish mongers, fan makers as fan makers, courtesans as courtesans, etcetera. Of course, in the absence of such obvious paraphernalia, many had themselves portrayed seated at lacquered writing tables decorated with their own *mon* (紋), upon which were some blank sheets of paper, open books, a pot of brushes, a vase with peacock feathers, and with bookcases behind them. Consequently, compilations of portraits from Bunka onwards give us an immediate insight into the variety of people represented in these kyoka clubs (狂歌連 or 側).<sup>xi</sup> It should be added immediately that one only ended up in such collections by making a considerable contribution to the publishing costs.

### Producers of kyokabon

In the case of kyokabon, there also developed an intermediate form of publishing, a producer of publications, some kind of entrepreneur who would take responsibility for the cutting of the blocks, the printing and the binding, such as, among others, the firms of Shunyutei (春友亭) in Edo or that of Senritei, or Ogiya Risuke (千利亭、扇屋利助), of Osaka. The latter firm seems to have been active, mostly acting by itself as the producer (製本所) or as the owner of the blocks, sometimes also in cooperation with other publishers in Osaka, from Bunka 5 (文化五年) until Ansei 6 (安政六年). His is a very interesting firm, dealing among others in both old and new kyokabon, known to have been involved in various capacities in close to some 60 publications (some 10 titles in the 富田文庫).<sup>xii</sup> The firm of Shunyutei, also known as Shunyutei Umehide (春友亭梅秀), the son of Hinokisano Umeaki (檜園梅明, 1793-1859) and a kyoka poet himself as well as running a shop of Western goods (西洋雜貨店), was primarily active from the late Bunsei-period, or from Bunsei 11 (文政十一年) until Bunkyo 3 (文久三年), involved in some more than 25 publications (of which some 12 in the 富田文庫).<sup>xiii</sup>

### The composition of the Tomita Bunko holdings of kyokabon

Looking at the coverage of kyokabon for the various periods, the 狂歌書目集成 lists some 34 books for the earliest period, spanning the period from 寛永 to 正徳, making up some 3% of the total of 1180 publications listed in that inventory.<sup>xiv</sup> The Tomita Bunko holds no books from this period. For the following larger period, from 享保 to 安永, the 狂歌書目集成 lists some 118 books, or 10% of the total, which already compares more favourably with the 7%

from that period represented in the Tomita Bunko. Analyzing the holdings of the Tomita Bunko in this, admittedly somewhat arbitrary, manner, we get the following result:

年代	富田文庫	%	狂歌書目集成	%
寛永- 正徳	0	0	34	3
享保- 安永	33	7	118	10
天明- 寛政	67	14	219	18.5
享和- 天保	313	67	635	54
弘化- 明治	40	9	136	11.5
不明	9	2	38	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>462</b>	<b>99%</b>	<b>1180</b>	<b>100%</b>

We may thus conclude that the Tomita Bunko is somewhat weak in the Tenmei and Kansei periods, but especially strong in the period from Kyowa to Tenpo. Working this out into more detail, we would get the following result:

年号	富田文庫	%	狂歌書目集成	%
天明	24	6	74	8.5
寛政	43	11	145	17
享和	19	5	32	3.5
文化	137	36	186	21.5
文政	65	17	211	24.5
天保	92	24	206	24
<b>Total</b>	<b>380</b>	<b>99%</b>	<b>854</b>	<b>99%</b>

We then see that the real strength of the Tomita Bunko, or where its holdings compare favourably to other institutional collections, is in the Kyowa and Bunka periods. However, as we will see in the following, where there is a strength, there are also some weak points.

### Some problems in the Tomita Bunko collection of kyokabon

Quite a portion of the publications from the Kyowa and Bunka periods in the collection of the Tomita Bunko are provisionally bound gatherings of monthly issued printed poetry. They obviously have their origin in the so-called *tsukinami* 月並 gatherings. In this respect, the Tomita Bunko is especially strong, comparing favourably with no other institutional library which I am familiar with.<sup>xv</sup> Very often, these provisionally bound gatherings are dated in Manuscript, only we don't know when exactly when these dates were inscribed on their title slips (題簽). Yet, we are tempted to adhere belief to these datings, since they might well have been inscribed at the time of their compilation, or, at least, such seems to have been the case.

However, upon closer investigation, some of these datings also appear to contain conflicting information. Yet, the problem is that it is almost always impossible to verify this information, since so few of such compilations survive. Occasionally, however, we can find similar compilations made up of slightly different contents.

For example, 富田文庫 26V18-275 is such a volume, bearing the manuscript date of Bunka 1(1804,文化元年) – see the table below. It consists of two parts, the first part, comprised of seven sheets, headed 無題:氷。寄鳥戀, selected by 浅草菴[市人、1755-1821]大人, 浅倉菴[三笑]大人, 両判. It concludes with a poem marked by a ○ signed by 浅倉菴, as is only natural in such a set-up. The second part, again comprised of seven sheets, is headed by the title 寄鳥戀 and

selected by the same 浅草菴[市人]. It naturally concludes with two poems marked by a ○, signed by 浅倉菴 and by 浅草菴.

Also 富田文庫 26V18-276 is such a volume, also consisting in two parts, the first part, comprised of seven sheets, headed identically 無題:氷。寄鳥戀, and selected by the same 浅草菴[市人]大人 and 浅倉菴[三笑]大人,両判. It concludes with the same poem marked by a ○ signed by 浅倉菴. So far, the contents are identical with those in 26V18-275. However, this time the volume is dated in manuscript Bunka 3(1807,文化三年). Moreover, the second part is comprised of 6.5 sheets, headed by the title 雪, selected by 浅葉菴([…?]). Understandably, it is concluded with a poem marked ○ signed by this 浅葉菴. Apparently, the poet making the compilation in 26V18-276 was unable to attend the second series of meetings on the theme of 寄鳥戀, adding the poetry resulting from meetings on the theme of 雪, supervised by another member of the same Tsubogawa (壺側) instead. Obviously, also the dating of Bunka 3 (文化三年) should be questioned. Another possibility, of course, could be that none of the compiler's poems ended up in the printed selection, only recording poems valuated at from 9 to 23 points. He may then have decided to do away with the poetry on the section of 寄鳥戀, or possibly, even exchanged these printed sheets with some other collector of kyōka poetry.

But then there is also the case of someone who only collected the printed sheets on the theme of 寄鳥戀 later, when they had, in the meantime, been printed in a somewhat different set-up (26V18-289), now preceded by an unnumbered sheet containing the last poem for the 氷 sessions and with the title for the 寄鳥戀 sessions, followed by sheets numbered 卜 2-6、including the double-page plate by Ekigi, ten pages of poetry and concluding, as in the example in 26V18-275 with two poems marked ○ by 浅倉菴 and 浅草菴, and followed by a blank page. But in this compilation follows a one-page plate by Ekigi with poetry on the topic of 逢戀, followed by various groups of sheets of poetry on various topics and numbered irregularly, with, among others, judges such as 浅瀬菴[永喜], 浅萐菴[], and 浅緑菴[春告]. Moreover, this compilation of poetry bears the manuscript date of Bunka 4 (1807, 文化四年). Obviously, something went slightly wrong in the examples 26V18-276 and 26V18-289, though probably not in 26V18-275, leaving us still somewhat confused about the exact or correct dating.

富田文庫 26V18-275 (文化元年)		富田文庫 26V18-289 (文化四年)		富田文庫 26V18-276 (文化三年)	
一	浅草菴大人。浅倉菴大人。両判 無題:氷、寄鳥戀			一	浅草菴大人。浅倉菴大人。両判 無題:氷、寄鳥戀
一	[序文]			一	[序文]
二	[序文]浅倉菴			二	[序文]浅倉菴
二	[絵]北齋画 (狂歌 2[22-20 点])			二	[絵]北齋画 (狂歌 2[22-20 点])
三	[絵]北齋画 (狂歌 2[20-20 点])			三	[絵]北齋画 (狂歌 2[20-20 点])
三	(狂歌 7[18-17 点])			三	(狂歌 7[18-17 点])
四	(狂歌 7[17-15 点])			四	(狂歌 7[17-15 点])
四	(狂歌 7[15-15 点])			四	(狂歌 7[15-15 点])
五	(狂歌 7[15-14 点])			五	(狂歌 7[15-14 点])
五	(狂歌 7[14-14 点])			五	(狂歌 7[14-14 点])
六	(狂歌 7[14-13 点])			六	(狂歌 7[14-13 点])
六	(狂歌 7[11-11 点])			六	(狂歌 7[11-11 点])
七	(狂歌 7[11-9 点])			七	(狂歌 7[11-9 点])
七	(狂歌 6[9-9 点]; 1○浅倉菴)	[1]	(狂歌 1○浅倉菴)	七	(狂歌 1○浅倉菴; 6[9-9 点])
一ト	○浅草菴。寄鳥戀	[1]	○浅草菴。寄鳥戀	[一]	浅葉菴判。雪 (狂歌 7[15-13 点])
一ト	[絵]白峯易祇画 (狂歌 2[23-23 点])	二ト	[絵]白峯易祇画 (狂歌 2[23-23 点])	[一]	(狂歌 7[11-11 点])

二ト	[絵]白峯易祇画 (狂歌 2[22-21 点])	二ト	[絵]白峯易祇画 (狂歌 2[22-21 点])	二	(狂歌 7[10-10 点])
二ト	(狂歌 7[20-18 点])	三ト	(狂歌 7[20-18 点])	二	(狂歌 7[10-10 点])
三ト	(狂歌 7[17-16 点])	三ト	(狂歌 7[17-16 点])	三	(狂歌 7[7-7 点])
三ト	(狂歌 7[16-15 点])	四ト	(狂歌 7[16-15 点])	三	(狂歌 7[7-7 点])
四ト	(狂歌 7[15-14 点])	四ト	(狂歌 7[15-14 点])	四	(狂歌 7[7-7 点])
四ト	(狂歌 7[14-14 点])	五ト	(狂歌 7[14-14 点])	四	(狂歌 7[7-7 点])
五ト	(狂歌 7[14-14 点])	五ト	(狂歌 7[14-14 点])	五	(狂歌 7[7-7 点])
五ト	(狂歌 7[14-13 点])	六ト	(狂歌 7[14-13 点])	五	(狂歌 7[7-7 点])
六ト	(狂歌 7[13-13 点])	六ト	(狂歌 7[13-13 点])	[六]	(狂歌 2[7 点]; 1〇浅葉菴)
六ト	(狂歌 7[11-11 点])	[七]	(狂歌 7[11-11 点])		
[七]	(狂歌 1[9 点]; 2〇浅倉菴、浅草菴)	[七]	(狂歌 1[9 点]; 2〇浅倉菴、浅草菴)		
[七]	Blank	[1/2]	Blank		
		[1/2]	[絵]白峯易祇画。 狂歌:逢戀		
		4[1]	狂歌		
		10-17	狂歌		
		1-5	狂歌:名立戀		
		1-6	狂歌:寄鳥戀(浅瀬菴判)		
		[1]	狂歌:寄鳥戀、当座 (浅莠菴判)		
		1-5	狂歌:追加、寄草戀 (浅緑菴[春告]判)		

But then, some sections which we noted in 26V18-276, such as the section on 雪, are also seen in 26V18-465. Moreover, that compilation also contains the section on 追加、寄草戀 selected by 浅緑菴[春告] – see the table below. The manuscript date for this compilation is Bunka 3 (文化三年), leaving us all the more confused. Yet, it seems quite well possible that there were *tsukinami* meetings on the topics of 氷 and 寄鳥戀, presided by 浅草菴市人 and 浅倉菴三笑 in Bunka 1 (as in 26V18-275) – stylistically at least, this date seems to be corroborated by the plate by Hokusai. It then seems likely that the sessions on 雪 were held in Bunka 3 (26V18-276), although we have no way to verify this. Obviously, there is still need for more research, but that is one of the most intriguing aspects of *kyokabon*.

富田文庫 26V18-465(2-205 文化三年)			Cf.
	狂歌	判者	
1-2[1]	碓桀	浅葉菴[音芳]	
1-3[1]	七夕	浅花菴[皮人]	
1-2[1]	露	浅春菴[安良]	
12-14	蚊遣	[桑楊庵[干則] 末廣庵[長清] 浅草菴(市人)]	
[2, 1/2]	野夏艸	浅草菴[市人] 桑楊庵[干則] 末廣庵[長清]	
[3]	菊	不明	
1-3	踊	浅瀬菴永喜	
[2, 1/2]	寄戀	[浅瀬菴(永喜)]	
[2]	--	[桑楊庵(干則) 浅草菴(市人)]	
[2]	鷹狩	桑楊庵[干則]	



1-3	炭 ▪	[浅瀬菴(永喜)]	
[5。1/2]	--	[浅緑菴(春告)]	
1-4[2]	--	[浅瀬菴(永喜) 浅草菴(市人)]	
[1]2-5[1/2]	雪	浅葉菴	= 26V18-276
1-6	寄鳥戀	浅瀬菴[永喜]	Not 26V18-276
			26V18-289:当座-寄鳥戀(浅茅庵[守舎])
1-5	追加:寄草戀	浅緑菴[春告]	= 26V18-289
1-5	追加:寄花戀	浅櫻菴	
1-4	寄海戀	浅流菴[清志]	

More such similar examples could be quoted, revealing even more intricate combinations of sheets and sections of poetry which were later apparently mixed up – even by contemporary collectors. Anyway, the Tomita Bunko houses a wealth of information which may help us understand a little more of the fascinating culture of Edo-period Japan.

Matthi Forrer

<sup>i</sup> Takahashi Akinori's (高橋章則) study *Edo no tenkinzoku* (『江戸の転勤族』東京:平凡社、2007) may here serve as a perfect illustration.

<sup>ii</sup> This contribution is the result of a period of half a year of research conducted in Japan as a visiting scholar invited by the Kokubungaku Kenkyu Shiryokan (国文学研究資料館), Tokyo, from July through December 2008.

<sup>iii</sup> 富田文庫 26V18-299.

<sup>iv</sup> 富田文庫 26V18-340.

<sup>v</sup> 富田文庫 26V18-2.

<sup>vi</sup> 富田文庫 26V18-36a.

<sup>vii</sup> 富田文庫 26V18-140.

<sup>viii</sup> 富田文庫 26V18-123.

<sup>ix</sup> 富田文庫 26V18-135.

<sup>x</sup> Also even issued under various variant titles such as, for example, 狂歌三十六歌僊(文政五年;富田文庫 26V18-53 and 84), 狂歌三十六歌撰(寛政七), 新續六々狂謠仙(嘉永三;26V18-105), 狂歌三十六人選、狂歌三十六人仙、狂歌六々集(文政十三;26V18-36b), 新撰狂歌-五十人一首(享和三)、狂歌-藝監百人一首(天保三;26V18-399), 略画百人一首(嘉永四;26V18-374), and 文化新撰-狂歌百人一首(文化六).

<sup>xi</sup> In this respect, the 狂言哥仙画像集(26V18-195) of the Tenpo period is a welcome variation, in that it represents the gathering of poets, represented in groups.

<sup>xii</sup> Most interesting is an advertisement where Ogiya Risuke introduces himself as a dealer in many various items, such as 'old and new books, paper of various types', etc. which I encountered, among others, in a copy of the 住吉詣狂歌集 of Tenpo 5. He is sometimes simply acknowledged as the 製本所, sometimes as the owner of the blocks, 蔵版 or 梓. For a study on the firm, see 光井文華、『狂歌書林扇屋利助と出版』『武庫川国文』36/1990/11, pp. 62-75, which includes a preliminary – but far from complete – listing of the publications the firm was involved in.

The titles represented in the Tomita Bunko are 狂歌鶯唱楽(文化十;26V18. 295)、狂歌越天楽(文化十一;26V18. 222)、狂歌水面集(文政四;26V18. 326)、狂歌三才図會(文政十;26V18:120)、狂歌歳時記(文政十三;26V18. 304)、辛卯-雀側方納會狂歌集(天保三;26V18. 107)、摸擬八犬-狂歌覓玉集(天保五;26V18. 97)、花鳥餘情(天保七;26V18. 313)、緋月遺稿(天保十一;26V18. 234)、狂歌三国志(天保;26V18. 228)、狂歌七部集(不明、元文二—明和四の再摺;26V18. 188)。

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<sup>xiii</sup> These are 三才花百集(文政十一;26V18.341)、三才月百集(文政十二;26V18.341)、狂歌真木桂(文政十二;26V18.323)、三才雪百集(文政十三;26V18.341)、狂歌三十六歌仙(文政十三;26V18.36b;340)、檜垣三玉集(天保七;26V18.314)、狂歌連環集(天保十;26V18.316)、鶯蛙狂歌集-前編(天保;26V18.237)、檜垣連納會旅の歌(弘化一;26V18.250)、狂歌-略畫百人一首(嘉永五;26V18.374)、本朝風俗-水滸伝畫像集(安政一;26V18.410)、狂歌扶桑名所名物集(安政五—七;26V18.376)。

<sup>xiv</sup> 菅竹浦『狂歌書目集成』(京都:星野書店、昭和十一)京都:臨川書店、昭和五十二。

<sup>xv</sup> There only seems to be some counterpart, though on a much smaller scale and rather focused on the late Bunka and Bunsei periods, in the series of fifteen bound gatherings in the 東北大学狩野文庫(4-13686-1/15), in the opinion of 石川了先生 possibly coming from the Nagoya poet and collector 龍の屋弘器(1794-1868).