

A Study of Kawanabe Tōiku (Kyōsai)' s Ehon Taka Kagami (An Illustrated Mirror of Falconry)

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[要旨]

河鍋暁斎（洞郁）『絵本鷹かゝみ』初編の出版準備は文久2年（1862）に進められていた。だが出版されたのは明治12年（1879）6月であり、初編・2編同時出版であった。その後、板権の移動をともしつつ、『絵本鷹かゝみ』は明治期に2回の再版をみる。本論文ではこの結論にいたる過程、江戸時代の鷹狩・養鷹・鷹道具書の出版をめぐる社会環境について記す。

本論文では1) 暁斎の生涯を幕臣の家・狩野派「御絵師」集団に留意して述べる。2) 『絵本鷹かゝみ』諸本（初印本）の書誌を比較して、初印本を明治12年6月版とする。3) 校合摺「鷹鏡」によって文久2年3月に出版準備が進められていたことを明らかにする。4) 金花堂須原屋（中村）佐助に関する情報を整理する。5) 江戸時代の出版手続きのなかに校合摺を位置づける。6) 幕末の書籍統制と『絵本鷹かゝみ』出版の関係を素描する。7) 松山堂藤井利八版『絵本鷹かゝみ』（後印本）を紹介する。

[Abstract]

In 1862, preparations were underway for the publication of Book I of Kawanabe Tōiku (Kyōsai)'s *Ehon Taka Kagami*. However, ultimately the book was not published until June 1879, alongside Book II. *Ehon Taka Kagami* was reprinted twice during the Meiji era, as the publishing rights changed hands. This article explores this publication process, while situating it within the social context behind late Edo-era publications on falconry, falconry equipment, and keeping birds of prey.

This paper: 1) outlines the key particulars of Kyōsai's life, focusing on the Kanō school of official painters; 2) compares different impressions of *Ehon Taka Kagami*, concluding that the first impression was published in June 1879; 3) explains how the book was prepared for publication in the third month of Bunkyū 2 (1862), incorporating the “Taka Kagami” proof (*kyōgōzuri*); 4) provides key information about Kinkadō's Suharaya (Nakamura) Sasuke; 5) situates the proof within the context of Edo publishing procedures; 6) outlines the relationship between the publication of *Ehon Taka Kagami* and the publishing regulations in place during the Bakumatsu era; and finally, 7) introduces the later Shōzandō (Fujii Rihachi) edition of *Ehon Taka Kagami*.

[Keywords:] Kawanabe Tōiku, *Ehon Taka Kagami*, falconry, Edo Bakufu publishing regulations, Kinkadō, Suharaya Sasuke, Shōzandō, Fujii Rihachi, bibliographic research, book history

Introduction

Japanese books on the subject of falconry have been grouped into three categories: compilations of *waka* and *renga* poetry, books on old customs and practices, and technical and practical books on falconry and keeping birds of prey. The first two categories appeal to readers interested in studying poetry, or those drawn to books covering cultural refinement (Yamamoto, 1997). Following this classification system, the *Ehon Taka Kagami* (絵本鷹かゝみ) woodblock book¹⁾, authored by the famous artist Kawanabe Tōiku (河鍋洞郁, known as Kyōsai 暁斎, 1831-1889), can be situated within the third category: namely, technical and practical books on falconry and keeping birds of prey. However, when one considers the content, the situation becomes more complex. In terms of information conveyed through text, *Ehon Taka Kagami* includes sixteen Japanese poems and two records of

old customs and practices. In other words, it includes elements that fall within the first two categories listed above. That being said, the information conveyed through illustrations, which constitute the core of the book, falls squarely within the third category.

Ehon Taka Kagami actually consists of five volumes: three comprising Book I (Volumes 1, 2, and 3), and two comprising Book II (Volumes 1 and 2). Each volume was constructed from 10 sheets of paper (one sheet, or *chō*, constitutes two pages – back and front); the only exception to this is Volume 3 of Book I, which has 12 sheets. Altogether, the five volumes thus contain a total of 52 sheets. Across these 52 sheets are 127 depictions of various subjects, including birds of prey and their feathers, Tartar falconers and falconry equipment, and Japanese falconers and falconry equipment from the era of the sovereign Kanmu (737-806 CE) onwards, including the Edo period²⁾.

Kawanabe Kyōsai drew the block copies (版下, *hanshita*, initial carving guides pasted to engraving blocks) of *Ehon Taka Kagami* and also edited the book, which has been praised for the way in which Kyōsai's "stable, graceful brushstrokes" are accurately conveyed in the woodblock prints (Schack³, 1984, p. 22). The drawings have been admired for their "delicate rhythm and balance of composition," as well as the manner in which they "splendidly express the connection between humans and birds of prey, through the use of light and the skillful depiction of the gaze of the birds" (Briot⁴, 1993, p. 29). Moreover, *Ehon Taka Kagami* has been warmly received by falconers as well as just art aficionados (Hanami, 2015). In short, in addition to representing an impressive artistic achievement, the work also remains an important guide to the history and practice of falconry.

Below, I shall provide a brief summary of Kyōsai's life, compare the various Kinkadō editions of *Ehon Taka Kagami*, and offer a description and analysis of the "Taka Kagami" proof. I will then discuss some issues pertaining to the publisher Kinkadō (金花堂), run by Nakamura Sasuke (中村佐助), also known as Suharaya Sasuke (須原屋佐助), before situating the "Taka Kagami" proof within the overall publishing process used by book merchants during this era. I will then consider the relationship between *Ehon Taka Kagami* and the publishing regulations in place during Bakumatsu times at the end of the Edo period. Finally, I will introduce the Shōzandō edition of *Ehon Taka Kagami*, which was published in the mid-to-late Meiji era, following the receipt of publishing rights, along with materials previously used for the Kinkadō edition.

1 Kyōsai's Life

A number of works have explored Kyōsai's life. Among the significant sources drawn upon by Schack and Briot are *Kyōsai Gadan* (暁齋画談, *Kyōsai's Treatise on Painting*), including both the 1887 *naihen* (内篇, core text) written by Kyōsai himself, and the *gaihen* (外篇, commentary and appendices) in the same edition by Baitei Kinga⁵ (1887), and Iijima Hanjūrō's⁶ *Kawanabe Kyōsai-ō Den* (*Biography of the Old Man Kawanabe Kyōsai*, 1901)⁷. Important recent studies include Oikawa Shigeru's *Saigo no Ukiyoe-shi* (*The Last Ukiyoe Master*, 1998) and Kawanabe Kusumi, supervising ed., "Kyōsai Kanren Nenpu" (*A Chronology Relating to Kyōsai*, 2008). With reference to these texts, I will

now trace the outlines of Kyōsai's life.

Kyōsai was born in 1831, in the castle town of Koga, located in the province of Shimōsa, which overlaps present-day Ibaraki Prefecture. Although his family originally made a living as rice merchants, his father, Kiemon (記右衛門), was the second son of Kyōsai's grandfather and thus did not inherit the family business. The year after Kyōsai's birth, Kiemon secured the professional position and title of firefighter constable for the bakufu, and moved his family to Edo. This position would later pass to Kyōsai's older brother Naojirō Nobuyuki (直次郎信行), and then still later, his nephew Yoshitarō (芳太郎).

When he was seven years old, Kyōsai went to study under the ukiyoe master Utagawa Kuniyoshi (歌川国芳). Kiemon soon became concerned that Kuniyoshi's teaching method was too permissive, however, and he withdrew his son from the apprenticeship after only a few years.

In 1840, Kyōsai went to study under the Kanō school (a major school of Japanese painting) painter Maemura Tōwa Aitoku (前村洞和愛徳), who was in service to the Yamauchi family, rulers of the Tosa Domain. Unfortunately, Tōwa became seriously ill the following year, leading to Kyōsai studying under Tōwa's own master, Tohaku Norinobu (洞白陳信), then head of the Surugadai Kanō family, one of 15 so-called "outer court" families of painters employed by the bakufu⁸. Kyōsai was readily accepted as an apprentice by the Kanō family, thanks to Tōwa's introduction and the fact that Kyōsai's father was himself a lower-ranking bakufu vassal (Yasumura, 2008, p. 91).

In 1849, Kyōsai was granted the privilege of using a *kanji* character from his master's name. He subsequently became known as Tōiku Noriyuki (洞郁陳之), a change that symbolized his independence as a painter. In 1850, Kyōsai was adopted by Tsuboyama Tōzan (坪山洞山), official painter to the Akimoto family of the Tatebayashi Domain. This adoption would be dissolved in 1852.

Details about Kyōsai's life and circumstances during this period can be found in the *gaihen* of the *Kyōsai Gadan* text. Glimpses of his daily life can be seen through anecdotes, such as the following: the Kanō school painters would gather at the mansion of the Kuroda family (rulers of the Fukuoka Domain) in Kasumigaseki, a neighborhood in Edo. While they usually concentrated on their official painting duties, one day Kyōsai noticed the passing figure of one of the lord's waiting women, who was departing on some errands. He

slipped out of the mansion to follow her, and reproduced the pattern of her kimono sash in a sketch. This anecdote speaks to the manner in which Kyōsai passed his days with the Kanō school official painters.

In 1854, Kyōsai left the Kanō school, and tried his hand at various jobs, including drawing designs for gold lacquer work. It was from around 1858 that he began to draw caricatures (狂画, *kyōga*) under the penname Kyōsai (狂齋). In 1859, he was summoned by Dōe (洞栄), head of the Surugadai Kanō family at the time, to carry out official work for the bakufu by restoring the principal image at Zōjōji Temple.

Kyōsai's own woodblock color prints (*nishiki-e*) began to be published in 1860. By 1863 he had reputedly printed close to 60 (Oikawa, 1998, pp. 39, 44–46). At the same time, he continued to work on what would become *Ehon Taka Kagami*, as will be discussed below.

On the 14th day of the 10th month of Keiō 3 (i.e., November 9, 1867; Japan adopted the Gregorian calendar in 1873), Japan witnessed the end of the Edo Bakufu and the restoration of the sovereign. The 15th shōgun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, relinquished control of the country to the Kyōto court. In Edo, this development caused a breakdown in public peace and order. Then, at the start of the following year, the Boshin War broke out and the royalist forces marched on Edo. Although there were fears that Edo Castle and the surrounding city would become a battlefield, on the 21st of the fourth month, the castle guard surrendered without bloodshed. Later, on the 15th day of the fifth month of Keiō 4 (i.e., July 4, 1868) the “Shōgitai” Tokugawa loyalists at Kanneiji Temple in Ueno were suppressed in a single day's fighting. That same month, the new Meiji government decreed that Tokugawa Iesato (born Tokugawa Kamenosuke) would become the new lord of the Sunpu Domain. Former bakufu vassals and their families moved to Sunpu, among them Kyōsai's mother and his nephew Yoshitarō. Kyōsai himself, however, remained in the Edo district of Yushima.

In the tenth month of Meiji 3 (1870), Kyōsai participated in a *shogakai* (書画会, painting and writing exhibition) hosted by the *haikai* poet Kikakudō Ujaku (其角堂雨雀). Some caricatures that he had drawn while drunk caused consternation, resulting in him being cast into prison. He was not released until the first month of the following year. During this year, he changed the characters in “Kyōsai” again, this time to “曉齋.”

At the 1873 Vienna World's Fair, Japan organized a full-scale Japanese garden for its pavilion. Kyōsai painted a large banner to adorn the garden entrance; it depicted the legendary royal regent Jingū and Takenouchi no Sukune. Kyōsai also submitted works to the Philadelphia World's Fair (Centennial Exposition) of 1876, and later to Japan's own National Industrial Exhibition, where they were well received. In 1881, the British architect Josiah Conder began to study under Kyōsai. In the following year, Kyōsai was entrusted with the Surugadai Kanō family's ancestral image of Kannon, the bodhisattva of mercy.

Kyōsai died of stomach cancer on April 26, 1889. He was 59 years old.

2 On the Kinkadō editions of the *Ehon Taka Kagami*

According to the Database of Pre-Modern Japanese Works (National Institute of Japanese Literature), copies of *Ehon Taka Kagami* are held at thirteen different locations in Japan. Overseas, there are copies at the Smithsonian Institution's Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, the Harvard-Yenching Library in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the British Museum, and the François-Mitterrand Library (Briot, 1993)⁹. Copies also exist in private collections, and the total number in existence has not been ascertained. To the best of our knowledge, this is the current situation pertaining to holdings of the work.

Many people have made use of the reproduction known as *Kawanabe Tōiku-ga: Ehon Taka Kagami*, Books I and II (2015; first edition 1985). However, the relative position of the source text (held by the Kawanabe Kyōsai Memorial Museum) used for this reproduction has not been clarified. The reproduction is quite precious, and comes with a *chiyogami* decorative paper bag. However, there is no colophon to provide publication data. I have therefore examined a work that shares much in common with this reproduction, the Waseda University Library Collection's *Ehon Taka Kagami* (call number: 二 15-2543 - 1-5). The findings of that examination are as follows:¹⁰

(1) Details of the Later Impression *Ehon Taka Kagami*

Number of Volumes: 5

Cover: Yellow, cloth texture, *saki* (scarlet hibiscus) cord-embossed pattern.

Size: Length 23.0 cm, width 16.3 cm.

Outer Title (外題, *gedai*): Printed at upper left, white title paper, double-lined text border, red text.

Ehon Taka Kagami Kawanabe Tōiku-ga Book I, Volume 1

Ehon Taka Kagami Kawanabe Tōiku-ga Book I, Volume 2

Ehon Taka Kagami Kawanabe Tōiku-ga Book I, Volume 3

Ehon Taka Kagami Kawanabe Tōiku-ga Book II, Volume 1

Ehon Taka Kagami Kawanabe Tōiku-ga Book II, Volume 2

Binding (装丁, *sōtei*): four-hole binding. Corners hemmed.

Structural Composition: Book I, Volume 1 (1-10), Volume 2 (1-10), Volume 3 (1-12), advertisement and colophon (1); Book II, Volume 1 (1-10), Volume 2 (1-10), advertisement and colophon (1).

Preface Title (序題, *jodai*): None.

Subtitle (内題, *naidai*): None.

Cover flyleaf (扉, *tobira*): Ash blue, mica-flower embossed.

Ehon Taka Kagami Kyōsai Kinkadō-shi (Book I, Volume 1)

Ehon Taka Kagami Kyōsai Kinkadō-shi (Book II, Volume 1)

Text Border (匡郭, *kyōkaku*): Length 18.6 cm, width 13.3 cm (information collected from Book I, Volume 1, front of Sheet 1)

Colophon (刊記, *kanki*): Bookstore Kinkadō Nakamura Sasuke / Tōkyō Nihonbashi-ku tōri Yon-chōme, Nana-ban-chi (Book I, Volume 3, back of Sheet 13, Figure 1, All figures are posted at the end of this paper.)
Bookstore Kinkadō Nakamura Sasuke / Tōkyō Nihonbashi-ku tōri Yon-chōme, Nana-ban-chi (Book II, Volume 2, back of Sheet 11)

Former Owner: In Book I, Volume 3, on the back of Sheet 13 and elsewhere, is the stamp “Nohara” (野原; length 1.2 cm, width 1.0 cm, scarlet).

Acquired: Purchased on December 2, 1958 (title page).

Accessories: Folding case (picture title strip attached, brown, some yellowing)

Other Details:

- 1) Covers date from Meiji era; five volumes appear to constitute single set.
- 2) Title pages for first volumes of Books I and II feature

same image.

3) Some sections missing from text border (discussed below).

4) Back of Sheet 10, in Book II, Volume 1, has a multicolored mark (Figure 3).

5) Binding thread is new and thin; appears to have been rebound.

6) Behind back cover flyleaf (後ろ表紙見返し, *Ushiro-byoushi Mikaeshi*) of Book II, Volume 2, are a number of bookstore marks (for tracking sales); suggests book was resold a number of times.

To give an overall assessment, both books of the *Ehon Taka Kagami* were produced in a large format, and strike a grand appearance. The characters printed on the title strip (題簽, *daisen*; paper slip pasted into a book indicating the title) are elaborate in design. The binding is delicately done, with the corners hemmed to prevent damage. The Meiji-era paper feels quite thick. The cover flyleaf is quite beautiful. The five volumes show all signs of comprising a single set, which is immediately evident as a product of the Meiji era due to the use of “Tōkyō” (東京) in the colophon (Edo was renamed Tōkyō on the 17th day of the seventh month in Keiō 4, i.e., September 3, 1868).

The advertisement section at the back of the individual volumes includes the following text: “Kawanabe Kyōsai (author), *Ehon Taka Kagami*, Books I and II.” This indicates that the book was a later impression (後印本, *kōinbon*), printed in June 1879. This is further substantiated by damage to the text border (see Figs. 3 and 4).

“Later impression” is a bibliographical term that, along with its counterpart “first impression” (初印本, *shoinbon*), warrants explanation. To create a woodblock book, a reverse of the desired text and imagery must be carved into a piece of wood (xylography). The initial edition of a book produced using these completed blocks is known as the first impression, while subsequent print runs using the same wooden blocks are called later impressions (Ōtaka, 2008).

One clue to discerning whether a book has been produced using the original wooden blocks is whether there is evidence of damage to the text border. Figure 3 shows a missing piece of text border had been being freshly reproduced. Further information pertaining to the damage to wooden blocks is provided below.

It is commonly accepted that the *Ehon Taka Kagami* was published in 1863. However, it is this author’s position that

there is no evidence of this, and that in fact the 1879 edition was the actual first impression. Currently, the 1879 one is the oldest known version; however, were a hypothetical 1863 edition, printed using the same wooden blocks, to emerge in the future, then this one would then be the first impression.

(2) Details of the First Impression of *Ehon Taka Kagami*

The Waseda University Library copy (a later impression) does not include the date of publication (Figure 1). We must therefore refer to the copy from the National Diet Library (call number 6–40).

Book I, Volume 3 colophon (Figure 2)

Received: May 30, 1879

Published: June 28, 1879

Editing and Painting: Tōkyō-fu commoner, Kawanabe
Tōiku

Hongō-ku, Yushima Yon-chōme Jūban-chi

Publisher: Tōkyō-fu commoner, Kinkadō, Nakamura
Sasuke

Nihonbashi-ku tōri Yon-chōme, Nana-ban-chi

(Figure 2)

Book II, Volume 2 colophon (call number 6–40)

Received: May 30, 1879

Published: June 28, 1879

Editing and Painting: Tōkyō-fu commoner, Kawanabe
Tōiku

Hongō-ku, Yushima Yon-chōme Jūban-chi

Publisher: Tōkyō-fu commoner, Kinkadō, Nakamura
Sasuke

Nihonbashi-ku tōri Yon-chōme, Nana-ban-chi

On Book I is written “Set Price: 45 sen (錢),” and on Book II, we find “Set Price: 30 sen.”¹¹⁾

Some books similar to those in the National Diet Library are held by the Morioka History and Culture Museum (call number: 281-944-12¹²⁾).

This is a good point at which to make some supplemental remarks about the “Asahi” (朝日, 旭日) mark appearing on the back of Sheet 10 in Book II, Volume 1. The characters for “Asahi” are found printed inside the first-impression copy at the National Diet Library (Figure 4), the copy at the Morioka History and Culture Museum, and the later-impression copy at Waseda University Library. The characters in the Waseda University Library copy are particularly beautiful, having been printed in a light pastel color (Figure 3). No “Asahi” mark appears, however, in the

Kawanabe Kyōsai Memorial Museum reproduction.

Putting together the above observations based on the physical books and their colophons enables us to summarize the situation, namely, that there are four versions of the *Ehon Taka Kagami* woodblock book: 1) first impression, published in June 1879; 2) later impression 1 (with advertisements and “Asahi” mark); 3) later impression 2 (with advertisements but without “Asahi” mark); 4) later impression 3 (with neither advertisements nor “Asahi” mark).¹³⁾ Furthermore, in the case of the first impression, there exist both instances with and without the price indicated, suggesting that these books may have been divided into books for sale and others intended for distribution.

However, the key point to emphasize here is the fact that *Ehon Taka Kagami* demonstrably has a first impression and later impressions.

3 Details and Analysis of the “Taka Kagami”

Proof

(1) Concerning the Proof (校合摺, *kyōgōzuri*)

“Taka Kagami” (鷹鏡) is a particularly valuable text held at Waseda University Library (Call number: チ 4 – 5082). Affixing “proof” to the title is my own innovation (Figure 5).

Schack (1984) had previously introduced the preliminary sketches from the *Ehon Taka Kagami*. One important feature of the “Taka Kagami” proof examined in this paper is the fact that it illustrates how the work was advancing along the path towards becoming a finished product.

As part of the process of creating a woodblock book¹⁴⁾, the author would carry out revisions based on comparing the proof prints with the original designs. I will now outline the process through which such proofs were produced.

Once the wooden printing blocks were completely carved (using the block copies initially pasted to them), a test printing was carried out and delivered to the author (i.e., Kyōsai). The author checked it and made any necessary corrections. A stamp was used to show that this stage of the process was completed. Initially, an oval-shaped stamp was employed, though later this changed to a rectangular one.

In the case of the “Taka Kagami” proof, we can see three types of stamp (Figures 6, 7, and 8). In each case, the stamped characters read “Tōiku” (洞郁), although the characters differ in size and stylistic form in each of the three

types. The round stamp shown in Figure 6 (diameter 2.7 cm) is only found in one location, at the beginning of the book. It was likely intended to show ownership. Furthermore, if one compares the rectangular stamp in Figure 7 (length 1.0 cm, width 0.8 cm) with the oval stamp in Figure 8 (length 1.0cm, width 0.7cm), it is evident that the one in Figure 8 is far more common¹⁵). The oval stamps appear to have been used to indicate a status update, such as “second revision completed.”

There are two reasons for regarding this “Taka Kagami” proof as the second, or even later, version, rather than the initial one. First, on the front of Sheet 28 (Figure 9) there are brushstrokes, perhaps made by the woodblock carver. The front of Sheet 28 corresponds to the front of Sheet 2 of Volume 2 in Book I of the *Ehon Taka Kagami* woodblock book. We can therefore surmise that these marks told Kyōsai that the work had been re-carved¹⁶).

The second reason is that, as seen in Figure 10 (“Taka Kagami” proof, front of Sheet 3), the text border (outer borderlines surrounding the text on each page) is damaged; this is evident in the same places later. We can thus surmise that the inner line of the double-lined text border was damaged during the process of revising the text for this illustration, entitled “Picture of the Sovereign engaged in Falconry at Katano.”

Text borders can be damaged in this way over the course of repeated revisions. Parts of the border, which have been re-enforced with new wood inserts, tend to become brittle and fall away over time. The printing blocks can become further damaged in the wake of subsequent revisions, corrections and printings over time¹⁷). In this case, the inheritance of damage to the printing blocks provides evidence of whether the first and subsequent impressions of *Ehon Taka Kagami* came from the same printing blocks (i.e., whether later impressions were made without carving fresh blocks).

(2) Details of the “Taka Kagami” Proof

Number of Volumes: 1

Outer Cover: Reddish brown, plain.

Inner Cover: Unbleached, plain.

Meiji-era type fragmented and reinforced in places.

Size: Length 24.6 cm, width 17.3 cm.

Outer Title 1: (on outer cover) “Taka Kagami, Kyōsai Collection, Complete” (center in ink, with stamp in gold leaf)

Outer Title 2: (on inner cover) “Taka Kagami” Book I / Stamped “Kyōsai” (center in ink, written directly on

page)

Binding: Four-hole binding. Bottom section contains an unnatural 2.5 cm length of excess binding. Likely that excess binding used for folded sections of book, before being repurposed for cover binding.

Number of Sheets: 34 (excluding outer cover, inner cover, and back cover)

Preface Title: None.

Subtitle: None.

Cover flyleaf: Unbleached, “Kyōsai-aza, Noriyuki-keiga” (made using cut paper, written in ink).

Text Border: Length 18.5 cm, width 13.2 cm (information collected from Book I, Volume 1, front of Sheet 1)

Year of Production: back cover states (in black ink): “Revised 16th day of the third month, Bunkiyū 2” (1862).

Former Owner:

On new cover, bottom left: “Owned by Kyōsai” (in ink)

On inner-cover flyleaf, circular stamp “Tōiku”

On front of Sheet 1, rectangular stamp “Owned by Kyōsai” (in ink).

Acquired: “Waseda Collection,” (scarlet stamp, inner cover flyleaf)

Accessories: Folding case (picture title strip attached, brown)

Other Details:

- 1) Paper used for outer cover extremely thin.
- 2) Gold leaf title paper added later.
- 3) Some grime where sheets have been turned by hand.
- 4) In various places, paper cut away to remove a section, or a correction has been made using ink.
- 5) Sheets 2 and 9 in Volume 2 actually consist of two sheets each, with one sheet in each case marked with scarlet brushstrokes (Figure 9).
- 6) Cover binding thread new and thin.
- 7) Binding not undertaken with much care or skill.
- 8) No sign that direction of vertical paper grains was aligned.
- 9) Extra paper has been affixed to all sheets.
- 10) Paper has been eaten through by insects in places.
- 11) Meiji-era printed paper fragments used to reinforce inner cover.
- 12) On inner cover flyleaf is a pasted paper fragment (length 9.2 cm, width 2.2 cm) with “Kyōsai-aza Noriyuki-keiga” (狂齋字陳之敬畫) written on it (in ink). On inner-cover flyleaf is another pasted paper fragment (printed, length 13.0 cm, width 14.8 cm),

which says “The Great Heart Sutra” (摩訶般若波羅蜜多心經). Additional writing (in ink) says “Monji no E jō no Sho” (モンジノ畫上ノ書). Likely these were typeface instructions, indicating form in which characters were to be displayed.

13) Sheet 7 of Volume 2 and Sheet 6 of Volume 3 missing.

14) Single-sheet flyleaf (white paper) separates volumes.

15) Paper used in Volume 3 small, with fresh sheets pasted over base sheets in almost all cases.

(3) Analysis of the “Taka Kagami” Proof

From the bibliographical details obtained from Book I of the ‘Taka Kagami’ proof, it is possible to draw some conclusions as well as identify problems for further consideration.

- The text border is practically the same size in both the proof and the version published in June 1879 (length 18.6 cm, width 13.3 cm). We can therefore be confident that the “Taka Kagami” is indeed the proof of Book I of *Ehon Taka Kagami*.

- At the time of revision, the name given to the *Ehon Taka Kagami* woodblock book was, in fact, “Taka Kagami.” When was the name of the book changed from “Taka Kagami” to “Ehon Taka Kagami”? Alternatively, was “Ehon Taka Kagami” always the formal name, and the work was simply abbreviated to “Taka Kagami” by someone who worked on the revisions?

- The places in which we find bent pages are not consistent, and the grime on the edges varies by sheet. This suggests that the “Taka Kagami” proof potentially changed form, evolving from: 1) folded loose sheets; to 2) a folded book; and 3) a covered, bound book¹⁸. I mentioned previously that appending “proof” to the title of the text was an innovation of my own devising. I opted for this term over alternatives because of the importance of conveying how this historical document appears to have changed form over time.

- It is evident that new paper was affixed when the book was given a covered binding. There are signs of insects having eaten through this paper, suggesting that the covered binding was applied during an early period. When the book was rebound, fragments of Meiji-era printed paper were used to strengthen the inner cover. Thorough analysis of these fragments could potentially aid us in making a proper chronological identification. As there is a limit to what can be achieved through visual inspection alone, in this case, however,

it was not possible to reach any detailed conclusions.

- The characters on the back cover, written in large brushstrokes of black ink, indicate that the work was finished on the 16th day of the third month in 1862. However, this was clearly not the final proof¹⁹. In fact, there are characters in a number of places in the “Taka Kagami” proof that do not appear in the *Ehon Taka Kagami* woodblock book produced in 1879²⁰. The former also include instructions that are not reflected in the *Ehon Taka Kagami* either. For example, the back of Sheet 5 in Volume 3 has some brushstrokes in the background made lightly in black ink. However, the woodblock book itself here just retains the unbleached, plain-color background.

- Only Book I of the “Taka Kagami” proof is extant. It has been surmised that Books I and II were both completed during the Bunkyo era (1861-1864) (Oikawa, 1993). However, this theory cannot be verified unless Book II of the proof is discovered.

- The preliminary sketch found on the final sheet of Volume 3 of Book I, “The Persimmon Tree” (Figure 11), was replaced by a colophon in *Ehon Taka Kagami*. It is an extremely rare half-sheet. In all likelihood, Kyōsai was free to draw on the back page of the final sheet in each volume as long as it was blank. A conspicuous image, “Patched Together by Kyōsai” (狂齋百衲画),²¹ drawn on the final sheet of each volume of the *Ehon Taka Kagami*, supports this conclusion.

4 On Kinkadō’s Suharaya (Nakamura) Sasuke

Which publisher was responsible for the “Taka Kagami” proof presented to Kyōsai? We can find a hint on the back of Sheet 26 of the proof, as well as on the reverse of Sheet 3 of Volume 3 of Book I in the woodblock version. Both cases feature an image of a horse with traditional splash guards, designed to go under the saddle (Figures 12-13). In a circle on these splash guards we can see the characters for “*kinka*” (金花), which refer to the publisher Kinkadō (金花堂). This playful use of color prints thus presents a stylized version of the publisher’s brand name within the image itself.

During the Bunkyo era, the Edo book merchant who used the brand “Kinkadō” was Suharaya Sasuke (須原屋佐助), who hailed from the family of Suharaya Mohē (須原屋茂兵衛), an eminent figure among Edo book merchants. Suharaya Sasuke’s work as a book merchant was not limited to publishing. However, as our inquiry can only be informed

by what historical sources are available, it is through publishing that we can best understand the period in which he founded his business. According to *Kyōhō Igo Edo Shuppan Shomoku* (Asakura & Ōwa, eds., 1993), Suharaya Sasuke was not active in publishing prior to 1815. As Inoue Takaaki (1981, p. 311) notes, *Gyokuden-shū Kintai-shū* (1819) was the first work that he published²².

As for the circumstances in which Suharaya Sasuke founded his business, Inoue Takaaki agrees with Inoue Kazuo (1978, p. 3, first edition 1916) that both the Kinkadō brandmark and the store itself (Nihonbashi-tōri Yon-chōme, Chōemon store leasehold) were probably inherited from Ōmiya Yohei.²³

Zenrakudō Nichiroku (全樂堂日録, *The Journal of Zenrakudō*), a work by the painter-scholar Watanabe Kazan (渡辺崋山) containing diary-like entries, was written not long after Suharaya Sasuke founded his business. The entry for the 27th day of the tenth month in Bunsei 13 (1830) includes the statement, “I stopped by Kinkadō, and saw that they had the 6th volume of a Qing art book, from Lord Honda’s collection.” From other entries, we can deduce that this Kinkadō (written as 金華堂) indeed refers to the Kinkadō (金花堂) of Suharaya Sasuke (Mori 1973, p. 110).

In fact, Suharaya Sasuke was better known as a merchant of *ganpishi* paper (雁皮紙, quality, glossy and thin paper often used in art) than as a book merchant. He founded what became today’s Haibara Company (榛原株式会社), a respected dealer of traditional Japanese paper.

Sasuke was born in the Kii Province village of Suharamura-Nakamura, located in present-day Wakayama Prefecture. This village was also the hometown of the aforementioned Suharaya Mohē. Sasuke served as an apprentice at the Mohē store before buying out the paper merchant Haibaraya in 1806 (Shima, 1975, pp. 163–170).

Details of Sasuke’s activities as a book and *ganpishi* paper merchant can be found in two places in Volume 1 of the 1824 edition of *Edo Kaimono Hitori Annai* (江戸買物独案内), edited by Nakagawa Gorōzaemon. Here, we find recorded detailed information about Suharaya Sasuke’s family (Figure 14), as well as the fact that he also sold pearl-powder medicine for children. Both of his stores were located in Nihonbashi-tōri, Yon-chome, in Edo.

At this juncture in tracing the context of the production of *Ehon Taka Kagami*, let us turn from the Bunkyū era to the Meiji era and what we know about Suharaya

Sasuke’s family at the time. According to detailed descriptions of the restoration of merchant guilds in 1851, Suharaya Sasuke belonged to the southern guild (the original *hongumi* (本組) guild, as opposed to the newly established *karigumi* (仮組) guild), as I have discussed elsewhere (Fujizane, 2003). In the *Shorin Kakitome* (書林書留), an 1869 record of traders, we find his name included among eighteen attendant the Book Merchants’ union officers who ranked beneath the nine the Book Merchants’ union officers.

The *ganpishi* paper store appears to have been run independently by a second-generation family member who went by the name of Haibara Naojirō (榛原直次郎). When he and his wife passed away, they were succeeded by another Naojirō, who became the head of the family at the age of 21 and took over the management of the store²⁴. He was actually Sasuke’s third son, whose childhood name was Heisaburō (平三郎). This Naojirō was born in 1846 and died in 1910²⁵. Given the year this third-generation Naojirō was born, it is likely that his father Sasuke was either the first or second of his line (the names were passed down).

Next, I shall turn to Kyōsai’s “Picture Diary” (絵日記) to extract some detailed information about individual members of the Kinkadō Suharaya Sasuke family.

In an entry from the 23rd day of the first month of 1871, the head of the family is shown as a heavy-set man with short, cropped hair tied in a traditional top-knot; he wears a *haori* (a traditional, formal Japanese coat). Beneath this sketch are the words “Retired Master of Kinkadō” (Kawanabe, 2010, p. 23). Several years on we find the entry for November 6, 1878 includes a drawing of a man with bobbed hair, similarly wearing a *haori*, above the words “From 9:30 to 12:00 / *irosashi* / Riki-san” (Kawanabe 2010, p. 43). This individual does not appear to be Sasuke; perhaps he was an employee of the family. “Irosashi” (色さし) refers to a finished work, suggesting that the booklet shown lying open before this Riki-san’s (力さん) knees could potentially be *Ehon Taka Kagami*. However, the booklet is rather small, with no visible drawings that would aid in its identification.

Three entries for 1881 – specifically, March 16, September 10, and September 27 – include drawings of the “Master of Kinkadō” (Kawanabe, 1985, pp. 46, 198, 222). These drawings are thought to represent Nakamura Sasuke, the second- or third-generation owner.

Kyōsai has drawn this individual in a comical style, with a face that resembles an octopus (Figure 15), indicating

that the two men enjoyed a familiar relationship.

Another historical document that sheds light on this time, the second decade of the Meiji era (i.e., 1877-1887), is the ranked listing *Review of Commercial Activities* (諸品商業取組評), published in March 1879. It has a section entitled “books,” under which we find “Kinkadō.” It states, “Komusubi (小結), Tōri Yon, Suhara Sa(suke)” (Inaoka, 1996). The Sasuke who headed Kinkadō at this time also created a pamphlet image for a classic book exhibition held at the Tokyo Tokiwa Club (東京常盤クラブ) (Yoshida, 1990, p. 93). From this work, we gain a sense that he was a cultivated individual with an interest in literature.

Although some points remain unclear, in all likelihood when the “Taka Kagami” proof was created during the Bunkyū era the head of the Suharaya (Nakamura) Sasuke family was either the first- or second-generation one. Furthermore, the family head involved in publishing Books I and II of the *Ehon Taka Kagami* woodblock book after 1871 was either the second- or third-generation head.

Behind the name confusion lies a significant shift in Japanese society at the time. During the Edo era, common townspeople (i.e., craftspeople and merchants) were not permitted to use surnames in public. In the ninth month of 1870, however, the new Meiji government gave permission for family names to be used by commoners and people who had faced discrimination under the old caste system. In 1875, the government made the use of family names mandatory. At this point in time, people were free to choose the family name they wished to use. In the case of the Suharaya Sasuke family, it is clear that they adopted the name of their place of origin; hence, “Nakamura” (中村) (lit. “Middle Village”).

According to the Meiji Era Publishing and Advertisement Database (National Institute of Japanese Literature), the family used “Suharaya Sasuke” for its book-merchant business until November 1879. Thus, the publication of *Ehon Taka Kagami* in 1879 occurred just as Suharaya was adopting the name “Nakamura.”

Next, I will consider the period when later impressions of *Ehon Taka Kagami* were made. In Books I and II of the *Ehon Taka Kagami* text held by the Waseda University Library, we find advertisements at the end of each volume. These list a total of 13 book titles (Figure 1), including *Ehon Yamato Nishiki* (絵本大和錦, *Illustrated Splendors of Japan*), with pictures by a famous modern master, *Kyōsai Sensei Gafu* (狂齋先生画譜, *Pictures by Kyōsai-sensei*), and Yamazaki

Tomō (ed.) and Kita Busei (illus.), *Ehon Kunkō-gusa* (絵本勲功艸, *An Illustrated Book of Great Deeds*). The three titles above are described as “recently carved”; however, it is unclear whether Kinkadō was responsible for publishing them rather than just selling them.

However, we do have some information on when the later impressions of *Ehon Taka Kagami* were created, because we can compare references to what we know about the publisher when the volumes were produced. The *Chaseki Shūchinbon* (茶席袖珍本, *The Tea Ceremony Pocket Book*), included in the February 1885 *Shuppan Shomoku Geppō* (出版書目月報, Monthly Bulletin of New Publications), listed in the Meiji Era Publishing and Advertisement Database, provides an outer limit for estimating when later impressions were published. Furthermore, the July 1885 *Tōkyō Ryūkō Saiken-ki* (東京流行細見記, *A Detailed Guide to Tokyo Fashion*), includes an entry entitled “Kangakuya Honzō” (勸學屋本藏) which mentions “Yon Chōme Kinka” (Inaoka, 1996). I could not find Kinkadō Nakamura Sasuke’s name among the 131 individuals listed as belonging to the 1887 Tokyo Publishers’ Association (Tokyo Booksellers’ Association, 1937, pp. 48–51).

In light of the above, it seems clear that the later impressions of *Ehon Taka Kagami* were produced no later than 1885-1886.

5 Book Merchant Publishing Procedures: Situating Proofs

Conventional wisdom holds that Book I of *Ehon Taka Kagami* was published in 1863, while Book II was not published until 1879, with the 17-year gap between these dates being explained as the result of social changes that occurred during the fall of the bakufu and the establishment of the new Meiji government (Briot, 1993, p. 27).

What evidence do we have that the first book was really published in 1863? An account by Iijima Hanjūrō (飯島半十郎) mentions that the circle of individuals involved in the creation of *Ehon Taka Kagami* included Kikuchi Yōsai (菊地容齋, 1788-1878), a famous painter, and Matsudaira Naritaka (松平齋貴, 1815-1863), the lord of the Matsue Domain in Izumo Province (Iijima, 1901, p. 56).

Matsudaira Naritaka held an extensive collection of falconry books. Analyses of those now held by the Shoryo Department of the Imperial Household Agency were carried

out by Miho Satoko and Miho Tadao (2011) and again by Miho Tadao (2016). These analyses indicate that the bakufu official falconers and subordinate falconers had been involved, and moreover, that falconry was pursued as a serious matter, contrary to Iijima's view that it had been conducted in a "playful" manner (Iijima, 1901, p. 56). Naritaka's books on falconry had clearly been collected with both theory and practice in mind.

Although it is outside the scope of the current article, the connection between Kikuchi Yōsai and Kyōsai, as well as the older Matsudaira Naritaka and Kyōsai, sheds light on Kyōsai's activities as an official painter of the Kanō school from the Mannen era (1860–1861) onwards, a period when he is known to have enjoyed producing caricatures.

To return to our main concern, the conventional view that *Ehon Taka Kagami* was published in 1863 is supported by the existence of the 'Taka Kagami' proof (of the second month of 1862), discussed earlier. However, the matter is not that simple, and unpacking the situation requires us to properly situate the proof in its context. I will therefore briefly summarize the relevant publishing procedures during the late Edo era.

From the eleventh month of 1722 onwards, members of the Book Merchants' Guild had to take a number of steps in order to publish works. A proof was the final product of a complex back-and-forth collaboration among the author, the publisher, the carver who created the printing blocks, and the printer who made test prints with those blocks.

What barriers to publishing new books existed during this period? In correspondence during the first month of 1822, the writer Kyokutei Bakin (曲亭馬琴) offers a clear picture of these obstacles (Bakin, 1822, p. 133). To summarize the key points, one of the significant hurdles was the need to secure the approval of fellow book merchants. This was in order to formulate an understanding that they would not intrude upon one's publishing rights; it took considerable time and effort to establish. After that hurdle was passed, the text had to be submitted for examination by a town leader, in accordance with bakufu censorship standards. Moreover, acquiring publishing permission from the bakufu itself was also required.

The amount of time and effort spent negotiating with merchant colleagues could vary substantially, depending on the content of the work to be published, as well as the publisher's status among their colleagues²⁶. The number of

sheets used in a book also made a difference. As we have no historical documents directly pertaining to *Ehon Taka Kagami*, one can gain an impression of the process by looking at a comparable case, such as Bakin's own *Asaina shima Meguri no Ki* (朝夷島巡記, *A Record of a Tour of Asaina Island*).

As noted above, Bakin's correspondence, reflecting on the publication process, was written in the first month of 1822, which was when the fifth volume of *Asaina shima* was published. His correspondence confirms that it was a challenging task to secure an arrangement with the book merchants. Even when the title remained the same, it was necessary to seek the permission of guild representatives for each new volume released in a series.

Looking back through Bakin's correspondence, we find the following information pertaining to the amount of time required for the third volume of *Asaina shima* to reach the retail stage:

12th day, seventh month, Bunsei 1 (1818)

Manuscript and sketch for woodblock carving both completed (Bakin, 1818a, p. 60)

??

Entry made in guild tally stamp book

First month, Bunsei 2 (1819)

Volume published

In other words, it took some six months to transition from completing a manuscript to publishing it. This represents one yardstick for the process. The publisher also wanted to sell the book at the start of 1819, which is another point to take into account.

Given the above, it is logical to assume that Book I of *Ehon Taka Kagami*, which had reached the second- and third- revision stages in the third month of 1862, would have been expected to go on sale around the first month of 1863.

However, as noted above, *Ehon Taka Kagami* was a new work. This meant that complimentary copies had to be presented. A complimentary copy included both the manuscript and a printed woodblock copy of the finished product, which were submitted via the guild representative or town elder to the bakufu offices.

Given the content of *Ehon Taka Kagami*, as well as the system in place at the time, the recipient of the complimentary copies would have been the bakufu gakumonjo (学問所), an official academy. At the gakumonjo, the manuscript and finished product were compared. If no problems were found, permission to sell the work was passed

on via the town elder or guild representative. In other words, it was possible for the work to be sent back at this stage.

In summary, what the proof from the third month of 1862 shows us is not that the work had been published, but rather that it had reached the revision stage, having passed the two main barriers to publishing at that time: approval from the book merchant guild, and gakumonjo censorship.

6 Bakumatsu Society and *Ehon Taka Kagami*

In light of the foregoing section, it is pertinent to ask whether *Ehon Taka Kagami* was truly published in 1863 at all. There are several points that need to be considered.

One pertinent issue is raised by Ōkubo Junichi. He relates how in 1849, in Shimōsa-koganehara (near what is now Matsudo City in Chiba Prefecture), the shōgun planned a large-scale deer hunt. In the ninth month of the previous year, a set of three color prints entitled *Fuji no Susono Makigari no Zu* (富士の裾野巻狩之図, Drawings of a Hunting Session at the Foot of Mount Fuji) was published. These prints depicted the twelfth Tokugawa shōgun, Tokugawa Ieyoshi, in the manner of Minamoto no Yoritomo (first shōgun of the earlier Kamakura Bakufu). They proved exceedingly popular with the public, selling 8,000 copies. However, as can be gathered from *Fujiokaya Nikki* (藤岡屋日記), the office of the censor, likely concerned about the popularity of a work portraying the shōgun in this style, ordered production to be halted. The censors, in short, had become excessively sensitive (Ōkubo, 2008, pp. 115-118).

A second point worth considering is the social hierarchy among sellers of printed merchandise. As mentioned above, Suharaya Sasuke, who planned to publish *Ehon Taka Kagami*, belonged to a book merchants' guild. Ōkubo has researched the entertainment publication merchants who handled color prints and painted toys. For example Ōkubo has researched *Fuji no Susono Makigari no Zu*. If we compare book merchants with these entertainment publication merchants, we can see that the restrictions placed on the activities of book merchants were quite severe (Nakano, 2009, pp. 73-74).

After Japan's ports were opened to foreign ships in 1857, it was forbidden to sell certain works to foreigners without permission. These included maps adorned with family crests, books on military tactics, diagrams of castles and battle formations, books on weaponry, and books of heraldry. The

bakufu was clearly concerned about such works being traded at this time. We should bear in mind that book merchants were not just publishers – they also controlled book distribution. Thus, restrictions on book distribution served to both limit the activities of book merchants and promote voluntary self-restraint when it came to potentially sensitive materials.

One more important point to keep in mind here is the fact that Book II of the “Taka Kagami” proof has never been found. Briot writes that “Part I [Book I] and Part II [Book II] have such a perfect balance between them that we cannot detect any gap at all.” (1993, p. 27). This is not surprising, if, as Oikawa argues, “the work as a whole was already completed when the first book was published in 1863” (1993, p. 32). I concur that there is a genuine sense of balance between the two books, and that they strike me as constituting one single set from the start. It is my position that, based on the evidence, both the first impression and later impressions comprised all five volumes. However, this must remain a conjecture because at the moment it is impossible to verify precisely when Book II was completed.

As noted above, the procedure for publishing a book would have been undertaken individually for Books I and II. Further, careful study of Book II is therefore required. There are a number of issues to consider, alongside a need to ascertain the book's precise contents. Issues that could have derailed the publishing process at the time include a possible conflict with the publishing rights of an earlier, different work, or a possible conflict involving sketches made by the Kanō school or their family business as a whole (Takeda, 1995, pp. 388-389). These issues must be examined from several perspectives, including possible hurdles faced if the books constituted works on military strategy (and thus faced distribution restrictions as outlined above). It is also important to consider the conventions followed by the book merchants' guild and the Edo Kanō group²⁷).

Even in the event that the above line of reasoning does not hold, an important task going forward will be to identify and analyze the original designs used to create the images in *Ehon Taka Kagami*.

7 The Shōzandō Fujii Rihachi Edition of *Ehon Taka Kagami*

If you enter the search term “Taka Kagami” into the Database of Pre-Modern Japanese Works (National Institute of

Japanese Literature), the results will include the Gerhard Pulverer Collection of the Freer Gallery of Art (call number: 108-2²⁸). When this is used as a starting point for further research using search engines, images appear from the World of the Japanese Illustrated Book, an online resource managed by the Smithsonian Museum²⁹. I will now provide some descriptive details about the Freer Gallery holding, taking into account the observations obtained from our analyses of the first and later impressions of the Kinkadō Nakamura Sasuke edition.

(Details of Works in the Freer Gallery of Art Collection)

Number of Volumes: 5

Cover: Red with yellow tinge, embossed with pattern of hawks flying over landscape.

Size: Length 22.7 cm, width 16.1 cm.

Outer Title: Printed on top left, title paper white, double-lined text border, red text.

Ehon Taka Kagami 1

Ehon Taka Kagami 2

Ehon Taka Kagami 3

Ehon Taka Kagami 4

(Volume 5, title paper missing)

Binding: five-hole binding.

Number of Sheets:

Volume 1 1-10

Volume 2 1-10

Volume 3 1-12

Volume 4 1-10

Volume 5 1-10

Number of sheets in each volume depends on contents of book in question.

Preface Title: None.

Subtitle: None.

Cover flyleaf: light pink.

Kawanabe Tōiku-ga Ehon Taka Kagami Kyōsai
Shōzandō (Volume 1)

(A peony flower and falconry equipment³⁰)

Kawanabe Tōiku-ga Ehon Taka Kagami Shōzandō
(Volume 4)

(Red leaves, a peacock-feather duster and falconry equipment)

Text Border: Unclear.

Colophon: Wakan Tosho Shuppan Hakkō-jo.

Publisher and Printer

Tōkyō-shi, Kyōbashi-ku Minamitenma-chō, Ichō-me

Fujii Rihachi

Place of Publication

Tōkyō-shi, Kyōbashi-ku Minamitenma-chō, Ichō-me
Shōzandō Shoten

(Volume 5, back cover flyleaf)

Former Owner: Small red carnation stamp on upper part of front of Sheet 1 in each volume.

Acquired: 2007

Accessories: Unclear.

Other Details:

- 1) Title paper attached with thin application of glue, and easily peels away. Title papers were attached incorrectly; Volume 2 reads “four,” Volume 3 reads “two,” and Volume 4 reads “three.”
- 2) Because title paper was new, created by Shōzandō, all five volumes have same set of consecutive numbers applied. They comprise a single set of books.
- 3) According to investigation by National Institute of Japanese Literature, paper used for book was actually Western-style paper. However, Freer Gallery of Art maintains it is Japanese-style paper. Condition of book with respect to foxing and oxidization indicates machine-made Western-style paper.
- 4) Investigation by National Institute of Japanese Literature indicates that paper condition suggests book was created “around end of Meiji era.” Author concurs.
- 5) With respect to cover flyleaves of Volumes 1 and 4, either later-impression bag (folded-sheet style) woodblocks were re-purposed, or woodblocks designed for later impression cover flyleaves had book title and publisher name re-carved into them, ensuring they could be re-used.
- 6) On inner spine where sheet numbers are listed, is “上一” (Volume 1), “中一” (Volume 2), “下一” (Volume 3), “コ一” (Volume 4), and “コ一” (Volume 5). Here, “コ” refers to re-carved section.
- 7) In Volume 4, on back of Sheet 10, no “Asahi” present.
- 8) Binding thread is thick; appears to be original binding.
- 9) Upper margin small; consequently, book is slightly smaller overall than Kinkadō Nakamura Sasuke edition.
- 10) Damage to text border surrounding main text quite visible.
- 11) In Volume 3, back of Sheet 3 has image of horse splash guards with “Kinka” (金花) in circle.

The above particulars enable us to draw some

general conclusions about the *Ehon Taka Kagami* volumes held by the Gerhard Pulverer Collection in the Freer Gallery of Art. The Shōzandō edition of *Ehon Taka Kagami* is a complete set of five volumes, characterized by taking the large standard format for Japanese woodblock books and possessing beautiful covers. The title papers were new at the time and created by Shōzandō; this resulted in part of the sheet numbering having to be re-done. It is unclear whether the cover-flyleaf title page was replaced. Judging from damage to the text border, which has been one of my concerns in this article, the print blocks were from the Kinkadō edition of *Ehon Taka Kagami*. Meiji-era paper was used. We can confirm that the work was published in the mid-to-late Meiji era by referring to the colophon, which states that the book was published in the “City of Tōkyō” (the City of Tōkyō was officially established on May 1, 1889 by way of a new municipal system).

In conclusion, the Freer Gallery of Art Collection work is clearly a later impression, created using printing blocks that Fujii Rihachi (藤井利八) purchased in the mid-to-late Meiji era (in bibliographical studies, the term used for such blocks is “*kyūban*” (求板)).

Fujii Rihachi’s Shōzandō (松山堂) was founded in 1881-1882. It is said to have held joint exhibitions with Kinkadō (Yoshida, 1990, pp. 84, 93). This has been confirmed by a fellow book merchant from that time (Kiuchi, 1990, p. 389). By the late Meiji era, it had become a fully-fledged bookstore.

Conclusions

The evidence and analysis set forth thus far enables us to draw four main conclusions.

1) The *Ehon Taka Kagami* woodblock book was published at least three times during the Meiji era. What we currently take to be the first impression is the edition of June 28, 1879. There are actually two versions of this June 1879 edition: the market version, intended for sale, and the non-market version. Later impressions followed, produced until 1885-1886 at the latest. In the mid-to-late Meiji era, Suharaya Sasuke, the publisher Kinkadō, sold the printing blocks to Shōzandō Fujii Rihachi. Later impressions, made using these acquired printing blocks, were then published after 1889. To facilitate quickly identifying the differences among the various versions, I have drawn up a table (“*Ehon Taka Kagami* Shohon Hikaku

Chekku Hyō,” or “Table for Checking Versions of *Ehon Taka Kagami*”), the August 2020 version of which is appended to this article.

2) The “Taka Kagami” proof (Book I) introduced in this article shows that by the third month of 1862 Kyōsai and Suharaya Sasuke had taken concrete steps to prepare the final work for publication. It is an important historical document.

3) If we examine the “Taka Kagami” proof in light of what we know about publishing procedures of the time, then it is evident that Kyōsai and Suharaya Sasuke had completed the first step towards publication; namely, they had secured permission from their fellow merchants on the basis of a draft copy presented to them. They must also have completed the first stage of dealing with the bakufu’s censorship system. However, they would still have needed to deliver the finished manuscript and a printed woodblock copy to the bakufu offices before commencing publication proper.

4) The present paper argues that the June 28, 1879 edition is the actual first impression; on that basis, it designates subsequent editions as later impressions. This represents a corrective to the conventional view that the first impression dates from 1863, this position having now been revealed to lack substantiation. At the same time, my own conclusion could be subject to revision. Were we to find Books I and II of a 1863 edition with a colophon, we would have concrete evidence that the 1879 edition was a later impression.

Considering the above points in light of the publication context of books on falconry, moreover, allows us to understand the situation surrounding *Ehon Taka Kagami* more thoroughly.

In the Edo period, “falconer” talismans, which were considered effective for preventing robberies, ensuring abundant crops, and finding lost objects, were a popular theme for ukiyoe artistic prints. Another popular ukiyoe theme was imagery viewed as auspicious whenever it appeared in the first dream of a new year; such imagery included “Mount Fuji, Birds of Prey, and Eggplants,” as well as the work “Forty-eight Hawks Drawn from Life” (see: Kōeidō Tsutaya Kichizō edition). When it came to technical knowledge about birds of prey, books and manuscripts on falconry written by falconers of the bakufu and various domains were most likely shared directly among individuals, rather than sold in bookstores. With the gradual establishment of falconer organizations during the Kyōhō era (1716–1736), such technical knowledge became the prerogative of designated groups.

However, during the closing days of the Tokugawa regime, there was a debate about dissolving falconer organizations and falconry ground positions. It was in this context, in the period occurring directly before this debate, that the Edo book merchant Suharaya Sasuke and Kawanabe Kyōsai prepared to publish *Ehon Taka Kagami* in the third month of 1862. Unfortunately, subsequent changes in the political situation – especially with regard to the export of military books, current trends, and various problems associated with foreign hunting after the opening of the ports (Morita, 1997) – led to publication plans being shelved.

Later, when the ban on falconry was lifted by the new Meiji government and regulations were imposed on foreign hunting (Shimomura, 1948; Shimizu, 2018), books that discussed falconry and keeping birds of prey could be published freely. Falconry equipment was also re-evaluated during this era; it came to be considered an example of the high level attained by Japanese craftsmanship. At this time, *Takagari Ichiran* (鷹狩一覽, *Falconry at a Glance*) was published to serve as an educational text that could help to encourage the industry. This was the context within which Kyōsai, who had begun to submit works to the National Industrial Exhibitions, recommenced preparations for publishing Book II of *Ehon Taka Kagami*. In June 1879, both Book I and Book II of *Ehon Taka Kagami* were finally published. As we have seen, the work went on to be republished around 1885-1886, and again after 1889. At least three publications used the same wooden printing blocks.

*The present paper is a revision of Fujizane (2019), with sections containing quotes from historical documents removed, and some findings incorporated from “Takasho to Shuppan Bunka,” in Takei Kōichi & Fukuda Chizuru (eds.), *Takagari no Nihonshi* (A History of Japanese Falconry), Bensei Shuppan, 2021.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number JP16H01946 for providing a grant that made it possible to complete this study.

Notes

1 The production of woodblock books occurs through the

following steps. First, the *hanshita* or “block copy” (a kind of rough copy) is turned over and pasted to the wooden block that is to be carved. The initial carving follows the lines provided. Using a tool called a *baren*, prints are made one sheet at a time. As *baren* printing applies a lot of force, it cannot be used to print on both sides of a sheet of paper. This is why many woodblock books consist of sheets of paper that have only been printed on one side. Once printing is completed, the sheets can be folded to create a double-sided sheet, whereupon they are bound in a manner known as “covered binding.” The bound sheets are stitched together using thread, with a cover made out of a separate, stronger paper. Once this is done, the book is complete. When it is time to sell the book, a single piece of starched paper with text printed on one side may be attached as a jacket.

- 2 For further details, please refer to Table 3, “The Composition and Contents of *Ehon Taka Kagami*, Books I and II (preliminary)” in Fujizane, 2019.
- 3 Gerhard Schack (1929–2007) was a German collector of ukiyoe. Over 5,000 works from his collection were bequeathed to the Hamburg Museum of Art and Crafts.
- 4 Alain Briot is a French doctor and collector.
- 5 Baitei Kinga (1821–1893) was an apprentice of Kyōsai. He wrote comic novels and love stories. His original name was Uryū Masayasu.
- 6 Iijima Hanjūrō (1841-1901) was a bakufu retainer, and later a Meiji-era ukiyoe researcher. His moniker was Kyoshin.
- 7 The source book is an unpublished manuscript. Soon after Iijima Hanjūrō’s death, it was given to the Imperial Library (the present-day National Diet Library) by his acquaintance Katō Naotane (Kawanabe Kusumi, 2012, p. 7).
- 8 The “inner court painters” were the most important official painters of the Edo Bakufu, with the “outer court painters” below them. They received treatment equal to doctors (for example, like doctors they were granted the Buddhist rank of “Hōgen”), and they dressed in a manner similar to that of priests (Omoto, 2008).
- 9 If we conduct a search using WorldCat, we can confirm that there are works held abroad in the collections of 12 different institutions (accessed on December 30, 2018).
- 10 At the end of this article, I have included a table entitled “*Ehon Taka Kagami* Shohon Hikaku Chekku Hyō.” It compares details among the various impressions of the work. I hope it may be of some assistance when examining and situating your own copy of *Ehon Taka Kagami*. When composing this table, I drew ideas from the data-reduction method proposed by Yamaguchi (2013).
- 11 The back cover of Book I, Volume 1 states the following (in cursive script): “Japan (below, illegible).”
- 12 There is an ownership stamp that says “The Nanbu Collection” (南部蔵書).
- 13 Fujizane, 2019. After publication, I received further information and assistance from Mr. Nakajima Keiya, director of the Japan Falconiformes Center, in Owariasahi City, Aichi Prefecture. I would like to take this opportunity to express my deepest thanks to him.

- 14 Refer to Note 1 of the present article.
- 15 For further details, please refer to Table 2, “Similarities and Differences between First Impression of *Ehon Taka Kagami* Book I and “Taka Kagami” Proof,” in Fujizane (2019).
- 16 Kyokutei Bakin used vermilion ink to indicate places to revise (Bakin, 1818b-2002, p. 102). It is possible that these marks could have been made by Kyōsai himself. However, as the drawings in the proofs and those appearing in the first and later impressions are the same, I arrived at the conclusion presented in the main text.
- 17 Correspondence from Kyokutei Bakin to Suzuki Bokushi reads: “With the third and fourth [printings], we have to make more and more repairs, carrying the blocks to the printer, or sending them to a carver. This can lead in turn to further damage, or the places fixed with inserted wood can become loose, and need fixing in place with pins” (Bakin, 1818b-2002, Shibata and Kanda, p. 102).
- 18 There are some misbound pages in the proof.
- 19 The proofs have been given titles No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, and No. 4 (Kaneko, 2013, pp.137-138, and others).
- 20 For further details, please refer to Table 2, “Similarities and Differences between First Impression of *Ehon Taka Kagami* Book I and “Taka Kagami” Proof,” in Fujizane (2019).
- 21 Hyakunōzu (百納図). Here, “納” means to mend, or to supplement. Originally, this expression meant the bringing together of different woodblock-printed books to make up for a missing book in a series.
- 22 *Kinkadō Zōhon Mokuroku* (Edo period, Toyama Municipal Library, Yamada Yoshio Collection, call number: W025.9 - ヌ - 2977). *Ehon Taka Kagami* is not listed.
- 23 With respect to Ōmiya Yohei, records remain of the publication and sale of *Hokusai Gafu* in 1813 (Asakura & Ōwa, eds., 1993, p. 443).
- 24 Sir Harry Smith Parkes, a British envoy to Japan, sent home an investigative report in 1871 on “The Manufacturing of Paper in Japan.” The list of papers in this report included Kinkadō products (The Paper Museum, ed., 1994).
- 25 For the history of the Haibara Company, see: <https://www.haibara.co.jp/corporate> (Date last accessed: December 30, 2018). According to one theory, he was born in 1846 (Nakamura, 1963, pp. 38–40)
- 26 See Fujizane, 2010.
- 27 As working definitions, I have previously distinguished “closed knowledge” (knowledge kept hidden and passed down within a group) from “open knowledge” (knowledge turned into a product.) I suggest that it is important to consider historical documents from the perspective of these respective forces. See: Fujizane, 2006, pp. 298–303. With respect to details on the Edo Kanō school and its relations with Edo book merchants and the Tokugawa regime, I have referred to the research of Matsushima (2011, p. 352).
- 28 Gerhard Pulverer is a German doctor and collector.
- 29 The Smithsonian Museum, *The World of the Japanese Illustrated Book, Ehon Taka Kagami*, <https://pulverer.si.edu/node/386/title/1/2> (Date last accessed: December 30, 2018).
- 30 For detailed information on falconry equipment, please see the attached table: “*Ehon Taka Kagami* Shohon Hikaku Chekku Hyō,” revised in August 2020. Mr. Nakajima Keiya kindly assisted me with the names of falconry equipment.

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- Smithsonian Museum, The World of the Japanese Illustrated Book

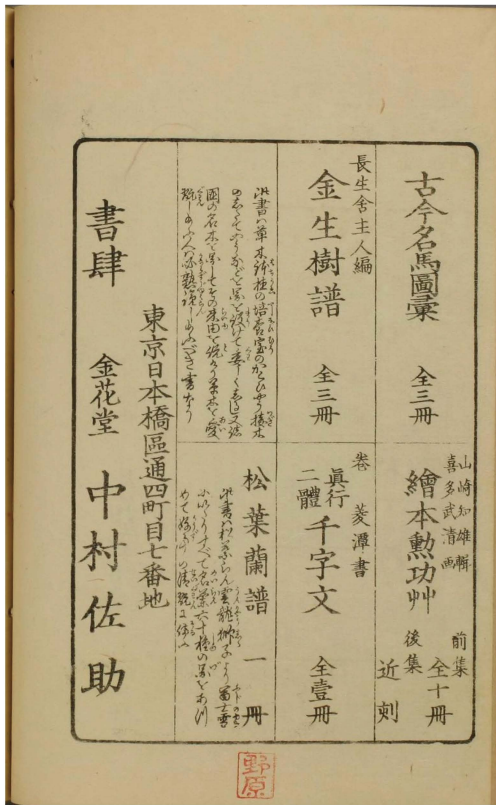


Figure 1. Colophon of Ehon Taka Kagami, a later impression (後印本), Book I, Volume 3, back of Sheet 13. Waseda University Library's Collection.

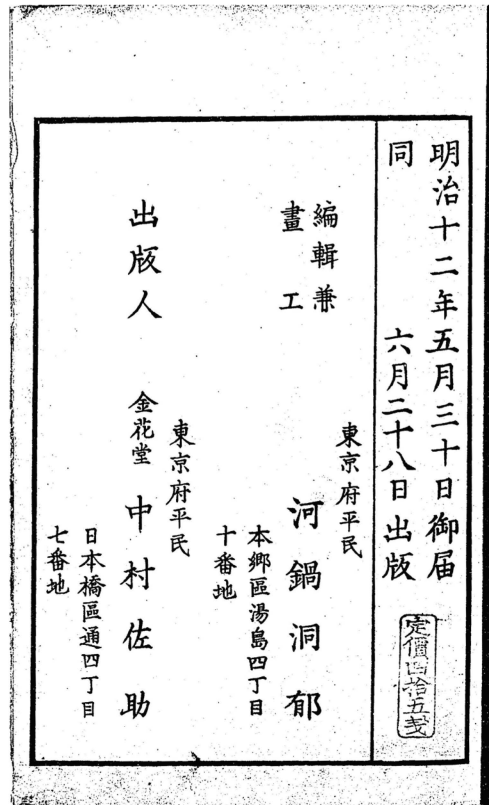


Figure 2. Colophon of Ehon Taka Kagami, a first impression (初印本), Book I, Volume 3, back of Sheet 13. The National Diet Library.



Figure 3. Falcon, crane, morning sun and snow-breaking pine, a later impression (後印本), Book II, Volume 1, back of Sheet 10. Waseda University Library's Collection.



Figure 4. Falcon, crane, morning sun and snow-breaking pine, a first impression (初印本), Book II, Volume 1, back of Sheet 10. The National Diet Library.

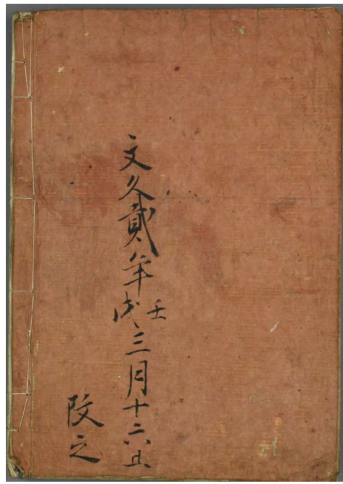


Figure 5. Cover (top) and back cover (bottom), “Taka Kagami” proof, Waseda University Library’s Collection.



Figure 6. The round stamp, “Taka Kagami” proof, front of Sheet 1. Waseda University Library’s Collection.



Figure 7. The rectangular stamp, “Taka Kagami” proof, front of Sheet 1. Waseda University Library’s Collection.

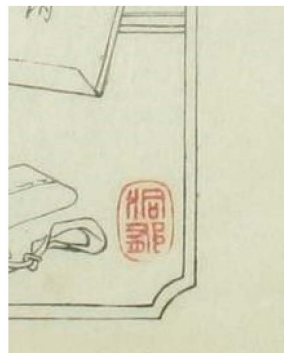


Figure 8. The oval stamp, “Taka Kagami” proof, front of Sheet 2. Waseda University Library’s Collection.



Figure 9. The brushstrokes, “Taka Kagami” proof, front of Sheet 28. Waseda University Library’s Collection.



Figure 10 The text border, “Taka Kagami” proof, front of Sheet 3. Waseda University Library’s Collection.



Figure 11 The Persimmon Tree, “Taka Kagami” proof, front of Sheet 35. Waseda University Library’s Collection.

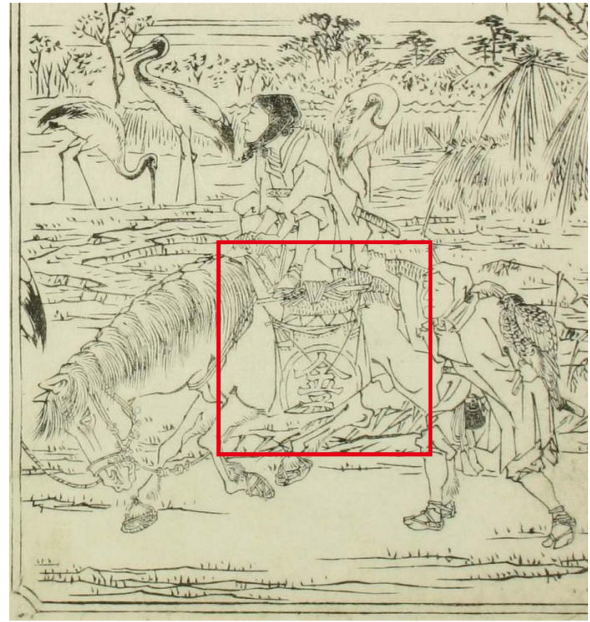


Figure 12 Kinka (金花), “Taka Kagami” proof, back of Sheet 26. Waseda University Library’s Collection.



Figure 13. Enlarged view of Figure 12.

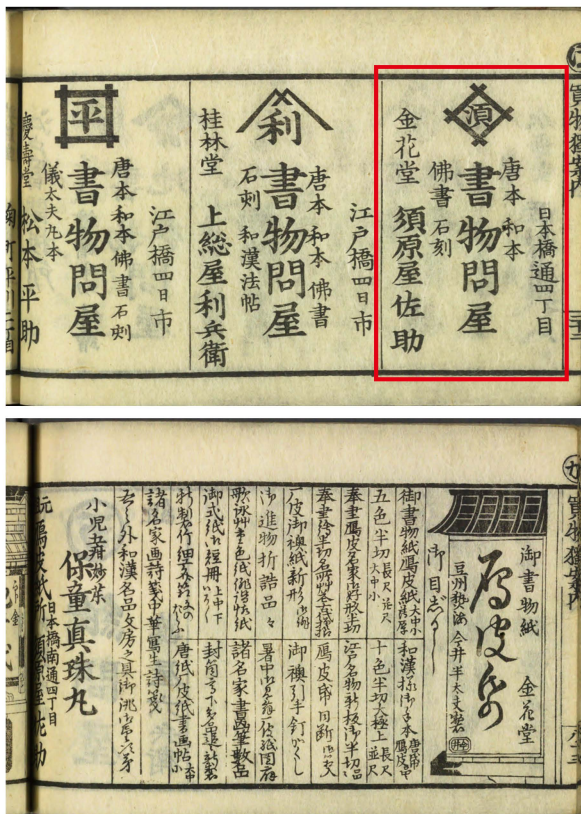


Figure 14 Suharaya Sasuke’s family, *Edo Kaimono Hitori Annai*, Book I, back of Sheet 22 (top) and back of Sheet 83 (bottom). The National Diet Library



Figure 15. “Master of Kinkadō”, Shō-jō Kyōsai “E-Nikki”, Waseda University Library’s Collection.