

POPULAR EDUCATIONAL BOOKS FOR WOMEN AS CULTURAL COMMODITIES

IN EARLY MODERN JAPAN:

A CASE STUDY OF *TAKARA-BAKO* AND *OSHIE-GUSA*

by

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Abstract

This project examines *joshiyō ōrai-mono* (popular educational publications for women in early modern Japan) as cultural commodities in the transmission of knowledge in relation to three areas: texts/illustrations, commercial publishers, and readers as clients. It also seeks to understand that woodblock prints have the characteristics of repeatable commodities. The project focuses on two encyclopaedia-type *joshiyō ōrai-mono* books: the 1814 edition of *Onna daigaku takara-bako* or *The Treasure Box of the Women's Greater Learning*, and the second edition of *Onna daigaku oshie-gusa* or *The Elementary Textbook of the Women's Greater Learning*, published in the mid-1840s.

Comparing the two books reveals some notable issues. First, the commonality of the contents and physical characteristics of the two books shows that their publisher, Izumiya Ichibē, reused the texts, and copied the design of *Takara-bako*, a best-selling *ōrai-mono*, to produce his new book *Oshie-gusa*. Second, previous scholarship that has developed the literary genre framework for early modern print books cannot always explain the encyclopaedia type of popular educational materials because of their cross-genre characteristics. Third, *Takara-bako* emphasizes knowledge of *waka* poetry for female readers as well as providing the list of major female occupation catalogue in that period. Fourth, *Oshie-gusa* increased the practical contents such as *Yin-yang* divination and male-female compatibility as a handbook of marriage and family. Fifth, both books stress clothing-related matters, advocating not only household responsibilities but also female virtue based on neo-Confucianist ideology.

The comparative analysis of *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa* as cultural commodities has demonstrated the commercialization of knowledge in the Tokugawa period (1603-1868).

Understanding the mechanisms of commercialization of printed knowledge can help us understand knowledge transmission that is de-commercialized or commercialized in different ways in electronic environments.

Preface

This thesis is original, unpublished, independent work by author, Saeko Suzuki.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The Purpose of the Project

This project examines *joshiyō ōrai-mono* 女子用往来物 (popular educational books for women)¹ as cultural commodities² in the transmission of knowledge for female commoners in the Tokugawa period (1603–1866). More specifically, it seeks to understand the role of woodblock printing in the transmission of knowledge during the Tokugawa period in relation to three areas: texts and illustrations, creators, and readers. Whereas previous studies have considered *joshiyō ōrai-mono* across diverse disciplines, this project looks into publishers as producers in the literary transmission of information. To do so, the project compares two *joshiyō ōrai-mono* published during the mid- to late Tokugawa period: *Onna daigaku takara-bako* 女大學寶箱 (henceforth referred to as *Takara-bako*) or *The Treasure Box of the Women's Greater Learning*, and *Onna daigaku oshie-gusa* 女大學教草 (henceforth referred to as *Oshie-gusa*) or *The Elementary Textbook of the Women's Greater Learning*.

¹ Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 140.

² Bernard Miège defines a book or print as a cultural production. He also argues that cultural productions emerge as cultural commodities in the field of production and consumption and participate in the expanded reproduction of capital by intervening directly in the very process of the realization of value. This project focuses on examining print books as cultural commodities more than as cultural productions. Bernard Miège, "The Cultural Commodity," *Media, Culture, and Society* 1:3 (1979): 297, 300, accessed on April 27, 2016, doi: 10.1177/01634437790010030710.

Konta Yōzō 今田洋三 argues that the commercial publishing industry began in the seventeenth century in Kyoto based on the financial power of the *machishū* 町衆, the merchants who had accumulated wealth in Kyoto since the Muromachi period.³ Peter Kornicki points out that books became commercial artefacts in Japan when printing presses began to produce woodblock prints for mass audiences. He suggests that every facet of book production became commercialized, including the carving of wood blocks, printing, binding, selling, and lending-library operations. The growth of the publishing industry demonstrates how the printed format encouraged textual dissemination of knowledge, even while scribal—i.e., manuscript—culture continued throughout the Tokugawa period.⁴ This shift in media from manuscript to print brought with it a concurrent shift in the way in which readers received textual knowledge. Manuscript readers transcribed knowledge that they sought as copyists or scribes, whereas print book readers relied on publishing houses to acquire knowledge. In other words, the knowledge-seeking behaviour of manuscript readers was direct while that of print book readers was indirect. In this way, the growth of the publishing industry complicated the transmission of book-based knowledge in early modern Japan.

The growth of the manufacturing, commerce, and transportation sectors in the period gave rise to an urban working class known as the *chōnin* 町人 (townspeople). The intellectual infrastructures and textual knowledge that had once been the exclusive privilege of the upper classes and clergy became available in the Tokugawa period to the *chōnin*, who became

³ Konta Yōzō 今田洋三, *Edo no hon'yasan: kinsei bunkashi no sokumen* 江戸の本屋さん: 近世文化史の側面, (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1977): 1.

⁴ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, 169.

consumers of cultural productions and who sustained commercial publishing in early modern Japan. In addition to disseminating knowledge to large sectors of the population, the growth of publishing created an open environment within which readers could access intellectual information. Conversely, consumers influenced publishers-booksellers and printers to transmit knowledge in their products.

Against this historical backdrop, we must examine the extent to which the reception, circulation, and adaptation of relevant knowledge in *joshiyō ōrai-mono* books shaped the existing social structure and its requirements for female commoners in the mid- to late Tokugawa period. Analysis of the textual and physical elements of *joshiyō ōrai-mono* will aid us in understanding both this process and the needs of women from the *chōnin* class.

The following examination of these issues is organized into five sections. In Chapter One I review previous scholarship on the print book as a cultural device to transmit, disseminate, and circulate knowledge; in particular, it outlines theoretical concerns drawn from the work of Roger Chartier and Marshall McLuhan. In Chapter Two I discuss the history of the publishers who printed *joshiyō ōrai-mono* in early modern Japan and considers the influence of the *shomotsu* 書物 (scholarly books) and *jihon* 地本 (local books) genres on Tokugawa publishing practices. In Chapter Three I analyze passages and illustrations from *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa* to investigate how their producers designed their layouts, while in Chapter Four I examine clothing-related matters, an important subject in both books, and present evidence that *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa* were socially constructed and repeatable commodities. Finally, in Chapter Five I summarize this case study to draw certain conclusions about information mediated by paper-based print commodities in early modern Japan.

1.2 Previous Studies

1.2.1 Print Books Discourses

Although this project is a case study of *joshiyō ōrai-mono* books, cross-disciplinary observations can inform our discussion of printed books as cultural commodities. Of special interest are three interacting factors critical to the dissemination of knowledge in book form identified by book historian Roger Chartier: the texts, the figures of authors,⁵ and the communities of readers.⁶ Chartier examines the *bibliothèque bleue*, a type of popular publication and ephemera in early modern France. The series of print books covers all genres of learned literature and transmitted the early modern ‘popular culture’ of the *ancien régime* in print media. He suggests that publishers produced *bibliothèque bleue* with target clients in mind.⁷ He also observes that the invention of printing, reading postures, and typographical objects gradually made books ordinary commodities.⁸ This European experience of *bibliothèque bleue* parallels that of *joshiyō ōrai-mono* in the Tokugawa period in Japan. In both cases, printing technologies and the commercialization of publishing led to expanded reading communities.

Using Chartier’s model, we could argue that the “texts” of East Asian books represent both writing and illustrations. This is because both elements are always carved on the same woodblock. Moreover, publishers reserved a large amount of space in a popular educational book for women in early modern Japan for pictorial works. As for the second factor, which

⁵ Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Linda G. Cochrane. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 25-59.

⁶ Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 1-23.

⁷ Ibid, 12-13.

⁸ Ibid, 16.

Chartier describes as “figures of authors,” it is better to think of “creators,” as it includes not only writers but also editors, translators, printers or publishers, book vendors, and even possessors of intellectual properties. This term can be said to represent a juridical, repressive, and material mechanism.⁹ The third factor in Chartier’s view is “reader communities,” which we can also apply to *joshiyō ōrai-mono*. A reader community for *joshiyō ōrai-mono* books in the Tokugawa period in Japan covers not only elementary learners who received and circulated publications, but also teachers, or even school curricula.

Citing the increase in the number of commercial print media and the growth of literacy among the Tokugawa commoner classes, Marshall McLuhan argues that European typography influenced the mechanism for the transmission of knowledge mediated by print books. McLuhan argues that in post-Gutenberg Europe “the assembly line of [Western] movable types made possible a product that was uniform and as repeatable as a scientific experiment.”¹⁰ While he does not directly discuss Japanese woodblock prints, he claims that the same characters in a woodblock were repeatedly in Chinese print books and the woodblock has a “magical” function as an alternative form to the prayer wheel. He argues that European printing is a scientific activity and Asian printing is a ritual. Although his arguments reveal a Eurocentric perspective, his conceptualizing woodblock print books as uniform and repeatable commodities shows that the technology allowed publishers in the Tokugawa period to develop mass-production-model publications without the time-consuming processes of movable type-printing.

⁹ Ibid, 59.

¹⁰ Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: the Marking of Typographic Man*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), 125.

1.2.2 Previous Studies and *Joshiyō Ōrai-mono*

Kornicki defines *ōrai-mono* as any popular educational work from the early modern period.¹¹ Examination of *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa* reveals that they covered a broad range of topics, and were probably intended for more than just educational purposes. One of the most comprehensive studies of *joshiyō ōrai-mono* was conducted by education scholars Ototake Iwazō 乙竹岩造, Ishikawa Ken 石川謙, and his son Ishikawa Matsutarō 石川松太郎. These studies contributed to the rediscovery of a large number of *ōrai-mono*, their reprinting with commentary, and the establishment of several *ōrai-mono* collections such as the Ototake Collection 乙竹コレクション, or the Kendō Collection 謙堂コレクション. In particular, the Ishikawas published part of *Nihon kyōkasho taikai: ōrai-mono hen*¹² and developed a system of classification for *ōrai-mono* with ten categories: 1) *ko ōrai* 古往来 (classical letter-writing manuals);¹³ 2) *kyōkun* 教訓 (moral lesson books); 3) *shakai* 社会 (textbooks on society); 4) *goi* 語彙 (glossaries); 5) *shōsoku* 消息 (letter-writing manuals); 6) *chiri* 地理 (geography textbooks); 7) *rekishi* 歴史 (history textbooks); 8) *sangyō* 産業 (textbooks on industry); 9) *risū* 理数 (math and science textbooks); and 10) *joshiyō ōrai-mono* 女子用往来物 (textbooks for women).

¹¹ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, 140.

¹² They are referred to the table of contents in the following series. Ishikawa Ken 石川謙 and Ishikawa Matsutarō 石川松太郎 eds., *Nihon kyōkasho taikai: ōraimono hen* 日本教科書大系: 往来物編, vol.1-17 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1968-1977).

¹³ *Ōrai* originally means “correspondences” or “letters,” and early medieval *ōrai-mono* books were letter-writing manuals.

Although the proposed classification increases our understanding of *ōrai-mono*, dividing them by the kinds of knowledge disseminated to readers increases the risk of falsely correlating their publication with the scheme of knowledge in the early modern period. In other words, the Ishikawas' categorization may lead us toward false beliefs concerning early modern knowledge if we use the framework of modern educators' curriculum in Japan.

The Ishikawas' categorization of *ōrai-mono* is highly questionable, but the idea of *joshiyō ōrai-mono* as educational or intellectual material is more defensible. Among *joshiyō ōrai-mono*, Koizumi Yoshinaga 小泉吉永 identifies four subtypes: 1) *shōsoku-gata* 消息型 (letter-writing manuals); 2) *kyōkun-gata* 教訓型 (moral lessons); 3) *shakaika chiiku-gata* 社会科・知育型 (social studies and early childhood education); and 4) *gappon-gata*, 合本型 (miscellany).¹⁴

Yoshinaga's subtypes of *joshiyō ōrai-mono* are even more questionable than the Ishikawas' categorization—evidence of the lack of a specific plan for educating early modern women. The “miscellaneous” books include selections from the three other types. With their various and sundry inclusions, *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa* both fall under miscellany. However, this project will employ the term “encyclopaedic” rather than “miscellaneous” because the subgroup features large amounts of information in a large-book format.

¹⁴ Koizumi Yoshinaga 小泉吉永, “Joshi ōrai tohyakunin isshu 女子往来と百人一首,” in *Hyakunin isshu mangekyō* 百人一首万華鏡, ed. Shirahata Yōzaburō 白幡洋三郎 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 2005), 57.

1.2.3 Literary Studies and *Joshiyō Ōrai-mono*

Scholarly approaches in literature to *joshiyō ōrai-mono* differ from those of historians and educators. In particular, literary criticism on *kana-zōshi* 仮名草子 (*kana* booklets in vernacular prose)¹⁵ has broached the study of *jokun-sho* 女訓書. This project distinguishes between two similar terms, *joshiyō ōrai-mono* and *jokun-sho*, which are often confused: *jokun-sho* refers to the moral lessons of *joshiyō ōrai-mono*.

Translating the Chinese scripts into English helps to clarify the difference between the two terms: *Jo* 女 means “woman,” *kun* 訓 means “lessons,” and *sho* 書 means “books”; *Joshiyō* 女子用 means “for women”; and *ōrai-mono* 往来物 means “letter-writing manual.” The nuance of *jokun-sho* thus seems to emphasize the elements of moral lessons in popular educational books for women, but that of *joshiyō ōrai-mono* seems to emphasize the elements of *writing* manuals—the sample texts were usually moral works—in popular educational books for women. A *kana-zōshi* work for women that has a moral subject is a *jokun-sho* but not a *joshiyō ōrai-mono*. However, if a *kana-zōshi* work has contents on writing or any practical tutorials other than the main lesson story, it is a *joshiyō ōrai-mono*. Because most *joshiyō ōrai-mono* have moral content, they are often called *jokun-sho*. To put it differently, *jokun-sho* qualifies *kana-zōshi* or other books as being of primarily moral content. *Joshiyō ōrai-mono* books exhibit a broader range of subjects, from morality lessons to practical tutorials.

¹⁵ Haruo Shirane [et al.] eds., *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology 1600-1900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 21.

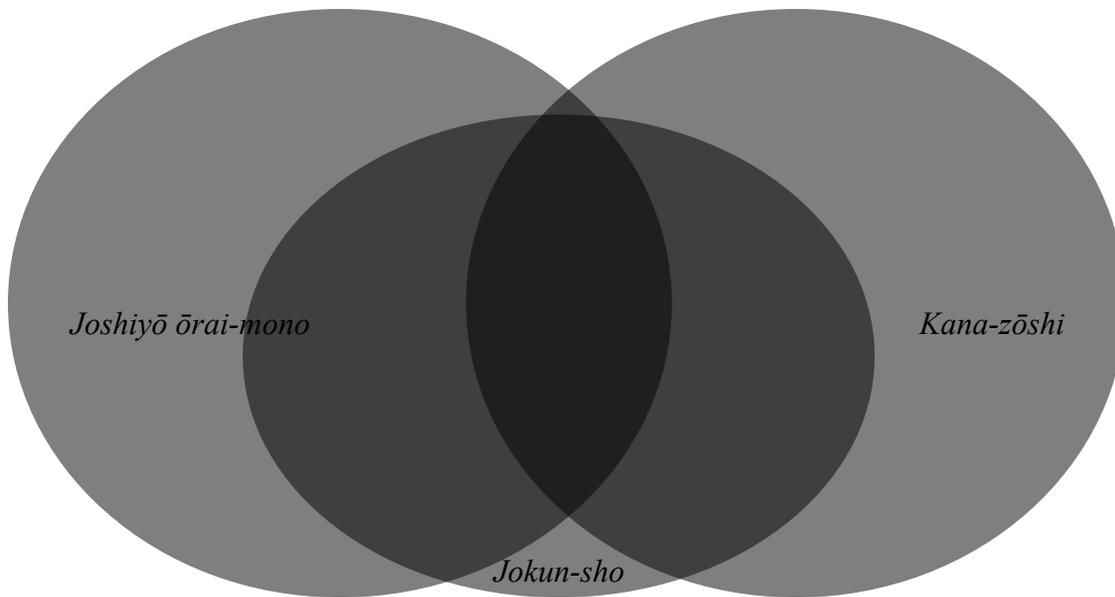


Figure 1.1 Relationship Between *joshiyō ōrai-mono*, *jokun-sho*, and *Joshiyō ōrai-mono*.

Watanabe Kenji 渡辺憲司 suggests that *ōrai-mono* are didactic but not dogmatic¹⁶ in that, though not formal government propaganda, they conveyed or pretended to convey the ideology of the shogunal government. The publishers, particularly those of the later Tokugawa period, maintained the front that *joshiyō ōrai-mono* were censor-approved ethical materials so as to disguise the practical or entertainment content that their clients sought. As a result, publishers likely distributed or pretended to distribute *joshiyō ōrai-mono* to indoctrinate *chōnin* women.

Aoyama Tadakazu 青山忠一 calls *jokun-mono* 女訓物 (moral romance literature) instead of *jokun-sho* in his study of *kana-zōshi*. Arguing that previous studies often categorize *jokun-mono* by four genres, Aoyama emphasizes the need for a comparative analysis of the texts and

¹⁶ Eshima Tamenobu 江島為信, “Mi no kagami 身の鏡,” in *Kana-zōshishū* 仮名草子集, annots. and eds.

Watanabe Morikuni 渡辺守邦 and Watanabe Kenji 渡辺憲司 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991), 272.

historical analysis of the ideologies in *kana-zōshi*.¹⁷ Accordingly, he divides *kana-zōshi* into four chronological subtypes: 1) stories of *kana-zōshi* based on medieval Buddhism; 2) stories of *kana-zōshi* based on Confucianism; 3) stories of *kana-zōshi* based on a combination of Buddhist, Confucianist, and Shintō doctrines; and 4) stories of *kana-zōshi* based on early modern household practices.¹⁸ Each *kana-zōshi* subtype has a corresponding role model: 1) Murasaki no Ue 紫の上 from *The Tale of Genji*;¹⁹ 2) *retsujo* 烈女, exemplary women from classical China;²⁰ 3) *kenjo* 賢女, wise women who observe Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shintō;²¹ and 4) *tōsei onna* 当世女, and 4) *tōsei onna* 当世女, clever women who have character, attitude, and appearance matching the social needs of the period.²² His study illustrates how literary dogmas in *jokun-mono* gradually shifted from religion to practical concerns. Acknowledging the limitations of his study, Aoyama admits that the shifts of ideologies mediated by *kana-zōshi*, from commodities for Buddhist readers to commodities for practical readers, were not simple. One of the reasons underlying this limitation is that Aoyama focuses on the analysis of texts in *jokun-mono* but does not analyze *jokun-mono* books as cultural commodities. Noda Toshio 野田

¹⁷ The four genres are *zuihitsu* 随筆 (miscellany), *setsuwa* 説話 (folk narratives), *monogatari* 物語 (tales), and *mondō* 問答 (dialogues). Aoyama Tadakazu 青山忠一, *Kana-zōshi jokun bungei no kenkyū*, 仮名草子女訓文芸の研究 (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1982), 5. The terms “miscellany,” “folk narratives” and “tales” are from Shirane, (et al.) eds., *Early Modern Japanese Literature*, 12, 22, 555.

¹⁸ Aoyama, *Kana-zōshi jokun bungei no kenkyū*, 6-7.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 7, 9-10.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 7, 13-15.

²¹ *Ibid*, 7, 21-22.

²² *Ibid*, 7, 24, 27.

寿雄 also classifies them into three types: 1) the moral lesson type; 2) the entertainment type; and 3) the practical type.²³ However, it should be noted that *kana-zōshi* books seem to have more than one characteristic in this classification.

Complementing the work of Aoyama and Noda, Matsubara Hidee 松原秀江 analyzes *kana-zōshi* featuring romances in the main text and additional information for women in the headnotes: the so-called *tōsho* 頭書. More specifically, Matsubara explores multiple editions of *Usuyuki monogatari* 薄雪物語 (*The Tale of Light Snow*) in woodblock format. The included headnotes cover such diverse topics as Confucianist lessons, practical tutorials, writing manuals, etiquette, and articles on the fine arts, performing arts, literature such as *The Tale of Genji* and *The Tale of Ise*, and *waka* poetry.²⁴ Based on these observations, Matsubara suggests that *The Tale of Light Snow* has multiple characteristics: a love story, moral lesson, and educational and practical works for women. Matsubara also notes that the educational and practical contents of *The Tale of Light Snow* secured its popularity from the early seventeenth to the late nineteenth centuries.²⁵ The books of *The Tale of Light Snow* were repeatable commodities that had two functions: to convey an unchanging romantic *kana-zōshi* story over two hundred years, and to disseminate changing knowledge, edited by publishers to meet their clients' needs. Matsubara's morphological approach to two aspects of *The Tale of Light Snow* helps this project because

²³ Nakano Setsuko 中野節子, *Kangaeru onnatachi: kana-zōshi kara "Onna daigaku" 考える女たち: 仮名草子から「女大学」* (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 1997), 16-17.

²⁴ Matsubara Hidee 松原秀江. *Usuyuki monogatari to otogizōshi kana-zōshi*, 薄雪物語と御伽草子・仮名草子 (Osaka: Izumi shoin, 1997), 79-80.

²⁵ Matsubara, *Usuyuki monogatari*, 45, 77.

Takara-bako and *Oshie-gusa* have two aspects: to convey *Onna daigaku*, a well-known moral work, and to disseminate socially constructed knowledge.

Moreover, Joshua S. Mostow argues that the *jokun-sho* version of *The Tale of Light Snow* began to contain heteroglossia in the eighteenth century. *The Light of Snow* as a pastiche was a work celebrating female adultery. However, the story in the best-selling *jokun-sho* version had the appropriate knowledge or information to encourage female readers to become exemplary women, whereas the main story appreciated the inappropriate and tragic relationship between a man and a woman.²⁶ Publishers in early modern Japan would produce *kana-zōshi* books as didactic materials, keeping unethical subjects in the main texts. Publishers also produced *joshiyō ōrai-mono* as educational materials based on neo-Confucianist ideology, adding literary works encouraging female readers to increase their elegance or sexual attractiveness.²⁷ This dual nature made the popular educational publications for women in early modern Japan unique cultural commodities.

²⁶ Joshua S. Mostow, “The Tale of Light Snow: Pastiche, Epistolary Fiction and Narrativity, Verbal and Visual,” *Japan Forum* 21:3 (2010): 384, accessed on September 21, 2015, doi: 10.1080/09555801003773687.

²⁷ Nakano, *Kangaeru onnatachi*, 87-93.

Chapter 2: Publishers as Cultural Producers in Early Modern Japan

Earlier I argued that Chartier's view of French publishers' function as a *bibliothèque bleue* is applicable to *joshiyō ōrai-mono*. This raises important questions about the function and characteristics of publishers in early modern Japan. The point is that the publishers of *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa* played multiple roles, not only as acquisition editors and booksellers, but also as compilers of encyclopaedia-type works. In particular, the publishers' editorial function was extremely important because the articles in the headnotes of these books are anonymous works. The publishers' function as block holders should also be discussed, because it was a unique function that the technology of woodblock printing brought into play.

2.1 Publishers and Genres

2.1.1 Publishers for Scholarly Books and Popular Books

Publishing is a highly specialized industry. Today, scholarly publishing houses do not release mass-market mystery paperbacks, and imprints specializing in romance novels sold in supermarkets do not produce scholarly monographs. The deep relationship between literary genres and publishing activities could also be seen in early modern Japan. The commercialization of printing books facilitated the subdivision of literary genres. Nakano Mistutoshi 中野三敏 argues that the classification of print books constitutes a primary instrument for us to understand the literary history of the Tokugawa period.²⁸

²⁸ Nakano Mitsutoshi 中野三敏, *Shoshigaku dangi: Edo no hanpon* 書誌学談義: 江戸の板本 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995), 126.

In particular, when thinking about the relationship between publishers and genres, it is essential to realize that early modern print books can be divided into two groups: scholarly books and popular books. Nakano explains that the scholarly or serious²⁹ publications were called *mono no hon* 物の本 or *tenseki* 典籍, and the publishers specializing in them were called *shomotsu don'ya* 書物問屋 or *mono no hon'ya* 物の本屋.³⁰ Popular books were called *jihon* 地本 or *sōshi* 草子, and the publishers concentrating on them were called *jihon don'ya* 地本問屋 or *sōshiya* 草子屋. According to Nakano, in this period a *shomotsu don'ya* would have been seen as an established business whereas a *jihon don'ya* would have been recognized as a low-level publisher selling cheap products.³¹

Geographical factors in early modern Japan were relevant to the growth of the two types of publishers. Kamigata (the region including Kyoto and Osaka) formed the cultural frontline until the late Tokugawa period, when the shogunal capital Edo became a culturally developed city. Publishers in Kamigata assumed the leadership of the publishing industry with their financial strength, but publishers in Edo rarely published scholarly products that required financial power.³² Suzuki Toshiyuki 鈴木俊幸 estimates that the price of a large volume set of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā* Sutra issued by multiple scholarly publishers in the Tokugawa period

²⁹ Kornicki also defines the term *mononohon* as serious books. Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, 244.

³⁰ Nakano, *Shoshigaku dangi*, 25-26, 111.

³¹ *Ibid*, 26, 111.

³² *Ibid*, 26, 111.

ranged from twenty to more than thirty *ryō* 両,³³ or more than ten times the yearly income of a maid serving a samurai class family in the early nineteenth century.³⁴ Small publishers in Edo therefore had to produce low-cost commodities instead of prestigious publishing projects until they accumulated financial power. This financial gap led publishers in Edo to produce inexpensive popular products, or *jihon* 地本, whose original meaning is “local” (Edo) books.³⁵ The growth of reading communities and the development of popular literary genres gradually changed the original geographical division of commercial publisher distribution, and both *shomotsu don'ya* and *jihon don'ya* increased in three major cities: Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo.

2.1.2 Genres of Print Books

Both scholarly books and popular books consisted of complex genres. The genres in each group were fluctuating and developing over two hundred years while representing publishers' marketing strategies as a reflection of readers' interests. Nakano uses historical sources to look into the classifications of scholarly works and popular works. For scholarly books, he examines the classifications established by five major *shojaku mokuroku* 書籍目録 (book catalogs),

³³ Suzuki Toshiyuki 鈴木俊幸, *Shoseki ryūtsū shiryōron: josetsu* 書籍流通史料論: 序説 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2012), 179-201.

³⁴ The average yearly salary of a maid was from two to three *ryō* in the early nineteenth century Nihon Ginkō Kinyū Kenkyūjo Kahei Hakubutsukan 日本銀行金融研究所貨幣博物館, “Edo jidai no 1-ryō wa ima no ikura 江戸時代の1両は今のいくら?” *Bank of Japan Museum*, accessed on February 15, 2016.
<http://www.imes.boj.or.jp/cm/history/historyfaq/1ryou.pdf>

³⁵ Nakano, *Shoshigaku dangi*, 111.

published from 1666 to 1754.³⁶ These catalogs list publications made by established scholarly publishers. He also examines the classification system in *Gunsho ichiran* 群書一覽, which was written by Osaka-based nativist scholar Ozaki Masayoshi 尾崎雅嘉 in 1802.³⁷

A comparison of the book catalogs for 1666 and 1754 shows that the number of genres expanded from twenty-two to fifty-four subjects. The twenty-two subjects include publications on Buddhism, Shintō, classical Chinese, medicine, literature, military, calendar-construction rules, lexicon, *ōrai-mono* and copybooks, hanging scrolls and paintings, and more. The later catalogs subdivide earlier classifications into more specific subjects. The fifty-four subjects include additional ones such *joshō* 女書 (books for women), *onna tehon* 女手本 (copybooks for women), travel and geography, flower arrangement, tea ceremony, culinary arts, board games, and *setsuyōshū* 節用集 (illustrated household encyclopaedias),³⁸ and even popular works such as *karukuchi warai-bon* 軽口咄本 (joke books). It is assumed that there are two reasons why scholarly publishers started to produce popular books: 1) the number of publishers specializing

³⁶ *Wa-Kan shojaku mokuroku* 和漢書籍目録 published in Kanbun 寛文 6 (1666), *Zōho shojaku mokuroku* 増補・書籍目録 published in Kanbun 10 (1670), *Kaisei kōeki shojaku mokuroku* 改正・広益書籍目録 published in Jōkyō 貞享 2 (1682), *Shinsen shojaku mokuroku* 新撰・書籍目録 published in Kyōhō 享保 14 (1729), and *Shinzō shojaku mokuroku* 新增・書籍目録 published in Hōreki 宝暦 4 (1754). Ibid, 99-111.

³⁷ *Gunsho ichiran shosai shomoku* 群書一覽内所載書目 published in Kyōwa 享和 2 (1802). Ibid, 111-112.

³⁸ Yokoyama Toshio, “The Illustrated Household Encyclopedias that Once Civilized Japan,” in *Written Texts-Visual Texts: Woodblock-printed Media in Early Modern Japan*, eds. Susanne Formanek and Sepp Linhart (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2005), 47.

popular works was limited, and 2) the low-cost joke books brought profit to scholarly publishers whose focus was on producing high-cost academic monographs.

The comparison among the five catalogs can be used to draw some conclusions. First, *ōrai-mono* books were legitimate commodities published by serious publishers. Second, literature—particularly poetry such as *waka* 和歌, *renga* 連歌, or *haikai* 俳諧—was always the major subject of the early modern publications. Third, the book catalog published in 1670 suggests that publishers started to produce publications particularly for women as an established genre at about that time. And finally, the book catalogs show that serious publishers also sold some popular books such as joke books or illustrated books along with serious products. In addition, most of the book catalogs show detailed subcategories in Buddhism, but Ozaki’s catalog has the simplified classifications of Buddhism and detailed classifications for Shinto and literature, particularly *waka* (see Table 2.1).

<i>Wa-Kan shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Zōho shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Kaisei kōeki shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Shinsen shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Shinzō shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Gunsho ichiran shosai shomoku</i>
1666	1670	1682	1729	1754	1802
22 classes	36 classes	23 classes	44 classes	54 classes	34 classes
經					
天台並当宗	天台宗 (諸 經註・論義 書)		天台宗	天台宗	
	当宗				
			日蓮宗	日蓮宗	
	華嚴		華嚴宗	華嚴宗	
法相	法相		法相宗	法相宗並 俱 舍三論	
律宗	律宗		律宗	律宗	
俱舍	俱舍		俱舍宗	法相宗並 俱 舍三論	
真言	真言		真言宗	真言宗並 修 驗	

<i>Wa-Kan shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Zōho shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Kaisei kōeki shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Shinsen shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Shinzō shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Gunsho ichiran shosai shomoku</i>
			修驗道書		
禪(洞家・濟家)	禪(洞家・濟家)		禪宗	禪宗	
			植字板録		
			僧伝	僧伝	
浄土並一向	浄土		浄土宗	浄土宗	
	一向宗		一向宗	一向宗	
外典					
				仏書雑部	
			諸宗經並に末書類	諸宗經部	
			諸宗折經類		
					釈書(卷五)
	仮名仏書(諸宗法語・因縁物語・儒仏論)		仏書仮名物語	法語かな仏書	
	儒書(經書・歴代・理学・道書・伝記・古事)		儒書並經書	經書儒書	
			歴代並伝記	歴代並紀年伝記	
			故事類	故事並雑書	
				諸子	
				文集	
詩並聯句	詩並連句		詩集並聯句	詩集	詩文(卷五)
				小説	
					記録(卷二)
					氏族(卷二)
字集	韻書並字書		字書類	韻書字書	字書(卷二)
神書	神書並有職		神書並有職	神書	神書(卷一)
				有職和書	有職(卷二)
					国史(卷一)
					雑史(卷一)
曆書	曆書並占書		曆占書	天文曆並占卜相法	

<i>Wa-Kan shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Zōho shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Kaisei kōeki shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Shinsen shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Shinzō shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Gunsho ichiran shosai shomoku</i>
軍書	軍書並(兵法書・弓書・鉄砲書・馬書)		軍事類	兵書並軍書	
			通俗書		
医書	医書		医書	医書	医書(卷五)
	狂歌本並咄本	咄本	咄書	軽口咄本	
歌書	歌書並物語	歌書並狂歌	歌書並狂歌	歌書	
和歌並仮名類				狂歌	
					撰集(卷四)
					私撰(卷四)
					家撰(卷四)
					歌合(卷四)
					百首(卷四)
					千首(卷四)
					類題(卷五)
					和歌雜類(卷五)
					撰歌(卷五)
					歌学(卷五)
			仮名物草紙類		草子(卷三)
		物語書			物語(卷三)
連歌	連歌書	連歌書			
俳諧	俳諧書	俳諧書	俳諧之部	俳諧	
舞並草紙	舞本並草紙	舞並草紙			
					日記(卷三)
					和文(卷三)
	謡本(謡抄・鼓抄・狂言非言)	謡書	謡書	謡	
	文集並書簡		文集並書簡		
		糸竹書			
					管弦(卷五)
	算書	算書	算書	算書	
	盤上書	盤上書	盤上書		
				象戲	

<i>Wa-Kan shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Zōho shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Kaisei kōeki shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Shinsen shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Shinzō shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Gunsho ichiran shosai shomoku</i>
	茶湯書並華書	茶湯書	茶湯書	茶道	
		立花書	立華書	立花	
				枝曲	
				香之部	
	膳方書並料理書	膳方書			
		料理書		料理書	
	名所尽(紀行・寺社縁起)	名所記	名所類	地理名所	名所(卷六)
					地理(卷六)
		紀行			紀行(卷三)
			雜書	雜書	雜書(卷六)
					隨筆(卷六)
					群書類從(卷六)
				風流読本	
				奇談	
		好色並樂事			
	仮名和書(五常書・孝行書・心学書・教訓書)	仮名和書		教訓	教訓(卷五)
	女書	女書	女書並手本類	女書	
				女手本	
往来物並手本	往来書並手本	往来並手本	往来手本類	往来手本類	往来(卷二)
				尺牘	
				節用集	
		雛方並絵尽	雛形並彫物雛形	雛形	
	名画尽				
					法帖(卷二)
	石摺並筆道書	石摺並筆道書	筆道並石摺類	書法	
				石摺	

<i>Wa-Kan shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Zōho shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Kaisei kōeki shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Shinsen shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Shinzō shojaku mokuroku</i>	<i>Gunsho ichiran shosai shomoku</i>
釣物並絵図	掛物 (国 図・石摺・ 諸文系図・ 絵)	掛物並図	図類並掛物	図	
			絵本類	絵本	

Table 2.1 Classifications of *mono no hon* from 1666 to 1754 by Nakano Mitsutoshi.³⁹

Unlike the situation of scholarly books, there are no extant informative historical records that illustrate the classifications of popular books. Nakano uses the following works as alternative sources to explore the genres of popular books: *Gozonji no shōbai-mono* 御存商売物 written by Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 and published in Tenmei 天明 3 (1783), *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui* 近世物之本江戸作者部類 written by Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴 in Tenpō 天保 5 (1834), and *Gedai kagami* 外題鑑, a catalog and guidebook edited by popular book publisher Okada Kinshū 岡田琴秀 in Tenpō 9 (1838). Nakano gathers the classifications from these sources and reorganizes them into eighteen genres, including novels such as *yomihon* 読本 or *kusa-zōshi* 草双紙, script books such as *jōruri-bon* 浄瑠璃本, *nagauta-bon* 長唄本, and pornographic *enpon* 艶本.⁴⁰

The classification of early modern popular books was complex because the criteria used in categorization were inconsistent. However, popular publications can be divided into two

³⁹ Nakano, *Shoshigaku dangi*, 99-102.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 111-115.

types: entertainment publications and practical books. It is interesting that practical books include *ōrai-mono*, glossaries or *hayabiki* 早引, chronicles or *nendaiki* 年代記, and letter-writing materials or *yōbunshō* 用文章. As Nakano suggests, popular imprints also published practical books.⁴¹ Exploring the genres of serious books and popular books illustrates that *ōrai-mono* were one of the commodities that were produced by both scholarly and popular publishers. In fact, *Takara-bako* was produced by a serious publisher in Osaka, and a popular publisher in Edo published *Oshie-gusa*. The analysis of these *joshiyō ōrai-mono* books helps in the understanding of the duality of *ōrai-mono* (see Table 2.2).

<i>Gozonji no shōbai-mono</i>	<i>Kinsei mono mo hon Edo sa,usha burui</i>	<i>Gedai kagami</i>
1783	1834	1838
18 classes	17 classes	12 classes
	中本	中型 same as left?
行成表紙の下り絵本		
からかみ表紙		
赤本	赤本: 1) 絵草子 2) 行成表紙 3) 黄縹紙 (あを) 4) 黒漂紙 5) 臭草紙 6) 蒼 (アオ) 7) 袋入り 8) 上紙刷り 9) 合巻 10) なぞづくし 11) 地口づくし 12) 目つけ絵	
	赤本: 1) 絵草子 2) 行成表紙 3) 黄縹紙 (あを) 4) 黒漂紙 5) 臭草紙 6) 蒼 (アヲ) 7) 袋入り 8) 上紙刷り 9) 合巻 10) なぞづくし 11) 地口づくし 12) 目つけ絵	
青本	赤本: 1) 絵草子 2) 行成表紙 3) 黄縹紙 (あを) 4) 黒漂紙 5) 臭草紙 6) 蒼 (アヲ) 7) 袋入り 8) 上紙刷り 9) 合巻 10) なぞづくし 11) 地口づくし 12) 目つけ絵	
洒落本		
咄本		

⁴¹ Ibid, 115-116.

<i>Gozonji no shōbai-mono</i>	<i>Kinsei mono mo hon Edo sa,usha burui</i>	<i>Gedai kagami</i>
吉原細見		
長唄本		
義太夫の抜き本	浄瑠璃 same as left?	
三芝居あふむ本	浄瑠璃 same as left?	
塵劫記		
<i>Gozonji no shōbai-mono</i>	<i>Kinsei mono mo hon Edo sa,usha burui</i>	<i>Gedai kagami</i>
年代記		
道化百人一首		
男女一代八卦		
用文章		
往来		
早引		
	洒落本	
		軍記
		出像婢史 (えいりよみほん)
		人情
		復敵並忠誠実録
		滑稽
		長編大巻
		時代物
		奇談怪談
		高僧伝
		随筆
		唐軍並諸記録

Table 2.2 Classifications of *jihon* from 1783 to 1838 by Nakano Mitsutoshi.⁴²

2.2 Publishers and *Ōrai-mono*

One of the questions that arises from this analysis is why did both scholarly and popular publishers publish *ōrai-mono*? To answer this question three factors need to be considered: the texts, the readers, and the creators.

⁴² Ibid, 112-124.

The texts were educational rather than academic, and the users were expected to be elementary or intermediate female students from the *chōnin* class but not the intellectual class. However, the evidence from the texts and readers alone is not enough to explain why prestigious publishers were involved as creators in the publishing of quasi-academic *ōrai-mono* materials. Konta suggests that the increase of non-scholarly publishing was a strategy for prestigious publishers to overcome financial difficulties in the early and mid-nineteenth century. His case study of Suharaya Mohē 須原屋茂兵衛, one of the most successful publishers in Edo, illuminates the difficult situation that scholarly publishers confronted in that period. Serious publishers suffered an increase of publishing costs and the economic slowdown of the publishing industry. The increasing literacy rate helped develop more diverse client populations. The development of logistic systems also encouraged local publishers to grow. As a result, the growth of *jihon don'ya* and provincial publishers threatened their markets.⁴³ As for *ōrai-mono* books, Konta suggests that the expansion in the number of *terakoya* 寺子屋, private elementary schools for commoners, made the mass-produced textbooks central commodities in the book markets by the end of Tokugawa period.⁴⁴

Konta's study provides a useful framework to explain why prestigious publishers had to get involved in *ōrai-mono* publishing in the early to mid- nineteenth century. Unfortunately, he does not cover the publishing history of *ōrai-mono* (especially *joshiyō ōrai-mono*) in the eighteenth century when *Takara-bako* was published. This is an important motivation for this

⁴³ Konta, *Edo no hon'yasan*, 175-179, 184-185.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 180.

project aimed at developing an understanding of the interaction between *joshiyō ōrai-mono*, in particular, the cases of *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa*.

2.3 Kashiwaraya Seiemon and Izumiya Ichibē

This project focuses on the profiles of the publishers of *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa*, and the background to the publication of these books. Kashiwaraya Seiemon 柏原屋清右衛門, whose shop name was Shōkōdō 稱觥堂, was the publisher of *Takara-bako* and ran a scholarly publishing business in Osaka. Kashiwaraya Seiemon was not only one of the prestigious publishers but also a bookseller and lender. It is said that Kashiwaraya was established in Kanbun 寛文 era (1661-1672) at the latest,⁴⁵ and it led the publishing industry in Osaka for over two hundred years. Inoue Takaaki 井上隆明 states that the following reference books are well-known products published by Kashiwaraya: *Wamyō ruijūshū* 倭名類聚鈔,⁴⁶ published in Kanbun 7 (1667), and *Taizen hayabiki setsuyōshū* 大全早引節用集,⁴⁷ published in Genji 元治 1

⁴⁵ Sako Keizō 佐古慶三, “Naniwa shorin Shibukawa Sōkōdō den 浪華書林・渋川称觥堂伝,” *Kamigata bunka* 上方文化 4 (1962): 33.

⁴⁶ The well-known encyclopaedia-type Chinese character dictionary that was compiled by Minamoto no Shitagō 源順 in the mid-tenth century. *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. “Wamyō ruijūshū 倭名類聚鈔,” accessed January 21, 2016, <http://japanknowledge.com/lib/display/?lid=200204830198own4R2Oz>

⁴⁷ *Hayabiki setsuyōshū* was a type of lexical dictionaries that well circulated in the late Tokugawa period. Satō Takahiro 佐藤貴裕, “Hayabiki setsuyōshū no bunrui ni tsuite 早引節用集の分類について,” *Bungei kenkyū* 文芸研究 115 (1987): 67.

(1864).⁴⁸ These books demonstrate that this publisher produced a variety of books from classical scholarly books to educational material for commoners. Interestingly, Kashiwaraya played an important role in supporting the pioneer of *yomihon* Tsuga Teisho 都賀庭鐘⁴⁹ as the sponsor and publisher.⁵⁰ The contribution to developing *yomihon* suggests that Kashiwaraya had the characteristics of a publisher involved in literary publishing.

Suharaya Mohē is credited as a co-publisher in the colophon of the Bunka 文化 11 (1814) edition of *Takara-bako* that this project examines. Considering that Suharaya had a large market in Edo, the publisher may have also played a role as a distributor there, rather than as a co-publisher responsible for the editorial work of this edition.

Izumiya Ichibē 和泉屋市兵衛, whose shop name was Kansendō 甘泉堂, was the publisher of *Oshie-gusa*. Izumiya Ichibē was one of the most popular publishing houses. It produced and sold not only items like illustrated books, *kibyōshi* 黄表紙, and *gōkan* 合巻, but also *nishiki-e* 錦絵 prints, letter pads, and other stationary products in Edo.⁵¹ Satake Hedeko 佐竹秀子 specifies that it was established in the late Genroku 元禄 era (the end of the 1690s), a

⁴⁸ Inoue Takaaki 井上隆明, *Kiatei zōho kinsei shorin hanmoto sōran* 改正増補近世書林板元總覽, (Higashimurayama-shi: Seishōdō Shoten, 1998), 234.

⁴⁹ Teishō was an author and neo-Confucian scholar (1718-?). *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. “Tsuga Teishō 都賀庭鐘,” accessed January 21, 2016, <http://japanknowledge.com/lib/display/?lid=200202ce820erERyCAz2>

⁵⁰ Inoue, *Kiatei zōho kinsei shorin hanmoto sōran*, 234.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 107.

conclusion drawn from the obituary record of Izumiya Ichibē I.⁵² Inoue also found that one of the major publications by Izumiya was a digest version of a Buddhist text, *Jugi gammon ōkakinuki* 頌義願文大書抜,⁵³ published in Jōkyō 貞享 3 (1686).⁵⁴ From this information, the publisher probably started the business in the late seventeenth century and increased the characteristics of popular imprints while developing publications for entertainment or practical use. Izumiya Ichibē IV and V succeeded in the publishing business for popular works and continued as publishers specializing in textbooks into the late Meiji era (the 1910s).⁵⁵ In fact, the other major work produced by Izumiya was a textbook, *Nihon mōgyū: zokuhen* 日本蒙求: 続編, published in Meiji 15 (1882).⁵⁶ If Izumiya had not built up networks with local distributors to sell *ōrai-mono* to readers outside Edo, the publisher could not have succeeded in the nationwide textbook business.⁵⁷

⁵² Satake Hideko 佐竹秀子, “Kansendō Izumiya Ichibē ni tsuite 甘泉堂和泉屋市兵衛について,” *Tamamo* 玉藻 15 (1979): 17.

⁵³ The shop of Izumiya was located next to the compound of Zōjōji 増上寺 Temple; therefore, the publisher might have started as a publisher specialized Buddhist materials.

⁵⁴ Inoue, *Kiatei zōho kinsei shorin hanmoto sōran*, 107.

⁵⁵ Satake, “Kansendō Izumiya Ichibē ni tsuite,” 23.

⁵⁶ Inoue, *Kiatei zōho kinsei shorin hanmoto sōran*, 107.

⁵⁷ Suzuki Toshiyuki 鈴木俊幸, “Asu no kenbutsu: atarashii dokusha to Tsutaju, Senichi 明日の見物: 新しい読者と蔦重と泉市,” in *Edo no dokushonetsu: jigakusuru dokusha to shoseki ryūtsū* 江戸の読書熱: 自学する読者と書籍流通, (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2011), 44-45, 56-59.

Several scholars such as Suzuki and Satake suggest that *ōrai-mono* were profitable products and that they led the massive market in scholarly and popular publishing industries.⁵⁸ Especially, Yokota Fuyuhiko’s 横田冬彦 study of *Takara-bako* argues that established publishers in the three major cities, Hachimonjiya 八文字屋 in Kyoto, Kashiwaraya in Osaka, and Suharaya in Edo, led *joshiyō ōrai-mono* publishing.⁵⁹ Since educational materials for elementary or female readers have unique characteristics beyond the genres in early modern Japan, both scholarly and popular publishing houses could apply the accumulated experience or knowledge in publishing their products. In particular, the experience of Kashiwaraya producing large volumes of scholarly products probably helped the dense encyclopaedia-type *ōrai-mono* books.

Moreover, we should rethink the arguments in previous studies, which have emphasized the differences between the two types of publishers in early modern Japan. The relationship between old scholarly imprints and new popular imprints was transforming in the Tokugawa period. It was more complex than having commercial publishing activities projects operate as scholarly publishers or popular publishers. For example, Koizumi argues that no publishers besides Kashiwaraya could use the three-story layout or *sankaiban* 三階板, an innovative design for *joshiyō ōrai-mono*⁶⁰ which made it possible for one page to contain three diverse works (see Figure 2.1). The use of the design was clearly prohibited by a memorandum of agreement in the

⁵⁸ Suzuki, *ibid.*, 45. Satake, “Kansendō Izumiya Ichibē ni tsuite,” 21.

⁵⁹ Yokota Fuyuhiko 横田冬彦, “‘Onna daigaku’ saikō 「女大学」再考,” in *Jendā no Ninonshi* ジェンダーの日本史, vol. 2, 1st ed. (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1995): 367.

⁶⁰ Koizumi, “Joshi ōrai to hyakunin issyu,” 59.

records of the publishers' association in Osaka.⁶¹ This official document connotes that Kashiwaraya had the privileged position of an established publisher. However, *Onna dairaku takara-beki* 女大楽宝開, a parody of *Takara-bako*, suggests that the publisher of the parody work copied the design in spite of the existing prohibition (see Figure 2.2). The relationship between the genres and the publishing of *joshiyō ōrai-mono* should be rethought considering this discrepancy between official records and actual practices.

⁶¹ The agreement was described at the beginning of *Saihaichō* 裁配帳, no.1 from *Ōsaka hon'ya nakama kiroku* 大坂本屋仲間記録. *Saihaichō* was recorded from Hōei 宝永 6 (1709)-Kansei 寛政 4 (1792). Ibid, 58.



Figure 2.1 A Three Story Layout in *Onna daigaku takara-bako*. 1814.

(© 2016 Joshua S. Mostow, by permission).⁶²

⁶² University of British Columbia, “*Onna daigaku takara-bako* 女大學寶箱,” *One Hundred Poets Open Collection*, accessed on October 20, 2015, <https://open.library.ubc.ca/collections/hundred/items/1.0055357#p131z-3r0f:Onna%20daigaku>



Figure 2.2 A Three Story Layout in *Onna daigaku takara-beki*. 1751-1763.

(© 2016 International Research Center for Japanese Studies, by permission).⁶³

2.4 Publishers as Block Holders

This chapter has explored the relationship between *joshiyō ōrai-mono* and publishers as creators of scholarly and popular commodities. As another question, the chapter also looks into the relationship between *ōrai-mono* books and publishers as block holders or copyright holders.

⁶³ International Research Center for Japanese Studies, “*Onna daigaku takara-beki* 女大楽宝開,” *Enpon (Ukiyo-e Erotic Books) Database*, accessed on April 8, 2016,

http://kikyo.nichibun.ac.jp/index.cgi?mode=hyouji&book_id=150&book_no=1&page_no=32

In this case, “copyright holders” means people or entities who possess intellectual property but does not refer to copyright holders in the modern sense.

Unlike the composition of movable typography, woodblocks were durable and could be reused many times without additional labour. The woodblocks were also exchanged as stock among publishers. As a result, some publishers/block holders had the power to control reprinting activities. However, Konta argues that the power of block holders has been overestimated. He notes that woodblocks were no longer stably fixed capital to sustain publishing business in the late eighteenth century because the economic slowdown of publishing industry in Kamigata decreased their value.⁶⁴ Based on Konta’s argument, it seems that the block holders were not always able to control the production of *ōrai-mono* books. However, it is certain that publishers who held many woodblocks of *ōrai-mono* could easily reuse texts in other books for new publications as well as reprint the same books. The issues of block holders should also be evaluated not only through the economic systems but also by the mechanism of recycling texts in similar types of publications in early modern Japan.

The development of the publishing industry led to a variety of literary products as well as the establishment of two types of publishers in the Tokugawa period: *shomotsu don’ya* and *jihon don’ya*. This classification is no accident; as this chapter has demonstrated, previous studies have shown a tendency to examine literary works in a framework of genres. Whereas a genre-centric framework does facilitate the visualization of the complexity of the publishing culture, it also obstructs the observation of the complex relationships underlying knowledge and its transmission mediated through books. The dichotomy organizing the publishing business that has long been claimed to exist is not an appropriate concept, but it cannot account for all of the

⁶⁴ Konta, *Edo no hon’yasen*, 175-176.

publishing activities. For example, as discussed earlier, the educational and moral materials for *chōnin* readers contain both scholarly-oriented and popular knowledge. As such, they can be said to have cross-genre characteristics. This criticism does not dismiss the value of a genre-centric approach. Instead, it points to the need to analyze texts and images with two approaches as we pursue an understanding of knowledge transmission in *joshiyō ōrai-mono* books in early modern Japan.

Chapter 3: Comparing the Contents of *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa*

A comparison of the physical aspects—for example, the sizes or the number of pages—of the two encyclopaedia-type *joshiyō ōrai-mono* reveals that *Oshie-gusa* copied the best-selling book *Takara-bako* (see Table 3.1). The imitative nature of *Oshie-gusa* shows the business style of Izumiya Ichibē to be that of a low-risk taker: one of his preeminent strategies was to publish copies of successful books. For example, both Izumiya and Tsutaya Jūzaburō 蔦屋重三郎, another important *jihon don'ya* in Edo, published multiple books written by Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 and Kyokutei Bakin. In general, Izumiya often requested these authors to write new works after Tsutaya had already succeeded in selling their books.

Satake explains that Tsutaya was an innovative publisher, whereas Izumiya was more of a follower and imitator of Tsutaya. Satake also notes that Izumiya began to get involved in the *ōrai-mono* business after the rapid increase in the number of *terakoya* schools during the Tenpō era (1830-1844), which helped build a large market for textbooks.⁶⁵ Satake's reasoning helps to explain why Izumiya decided to copy the best-selling *Takara-bako*, modify its contents according to the publishers' experience and/or the unique consumer needs of the Tenpō era, and then publish *Oshie-gusa* as a new book.

⁶⁵ Satake, "Kansendō Izumiya Ichibē ni tsuite," 20-22.

<i>Takara-bako</i>	<i>Oshie-gusa</i>
<i>Onna daigaku takara-bako</i> 女大學寶箱	<i>Kyōkun Onna daigaku Oshie-gusa: dōjo chōhōki: Zen</i> 教訓女大學教草冊: 童女重宝記: 全
Editor: Osaka: Kashiwaraya Seiemon 柏原屋清右衛門	Editor: Edo: Izumiya Ichibē 和泉屋市兵衛. Illustrator: Keisai Eisen 溪齋英泉
Date of the edition that this project used: Bunka 11 (1814)	Date of the edition that this project used: not before Tenpō 14 (1843) ⁶⁶
Date of first edition: Kyōhō gannen 享保元年 (1716) ⁶⁷	Date of the first edition: Tenpō 14 (1843)
Total: 142 pages (70 double-leaves, excluding unnumbered leaves)	Total: 126 pages (62 double-leaves, excluding unnumbered leaves)
Size: Ōhon 大本 26 x 18.5 cm	Size: Ōhon 大本 25.7 x 17.8 cm
Total: 142 pages (70 double-leaves, excluding unnumbered leaves)	Total: 126 pages (62 double-leaves, excluding unnumbered leaves)

Table 3.1 Comparison of Imprint between *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa*.

⁶⁶ The colophon of *Oshie-gusa* used in this project states that the publisher was Izumiya Ichibē in Tōto 東都 or Edo, but there is no publication date given. The full title *Kyōkun onna daigaku oshie-gusa: dōjo chōhōki. Zen* 教訓女大學教草: 童女重宝記. 全 translates into English as *Precept: The Elementary Textbook of the Women's Greater Learning: Notes of Important Treasures for Girls. Complete Edition*. This title can be found in *mikaeshi* 見返し or the verso of the second page. The other entries of *Oshie-gusa* in *the Union Catalogues of Early Japanese Books* also have no publication date. Nagatomo Chiyoji identifies the first issue of *Oshie-gusa* as published in Tenpō 14 (1843) from the colophon. He also adds that Izumiya inserted the passage of *Kyōkun onna Imagawa* 教訓女今川 or *Precept Imagawa Letter Writing Manual for Women* to the Tenpō edition, called the book *Kyōkun onna daigaku oshie-gusa*, and published without any publication date in the colophon. Therefore, the version of *Oshie-gusa* that this project used was published approximately thirty years after the publication of Kashiwaraya-Suharaya's version of *Takara-bako*. Nagatomo Chiyoji 長友千代治, *Chōhōki shiryō shūsei* 重宝記資料集成: v. 21: *eiin* 影印, (Kyoto: Rinsei Shoten, 2006), 425-426.

⁶⁷ Nakano, *Kangaeru onnatachi*, 230.

In observing the genres published by both scholarly publishers and popular publishers, *ōrai-mono* books are compelling evidence to dispel the stereotypical notion of *shomotsu don'ya* versus *jihon don'ya*. However, this observation is insufficient to illustrate the many similarities and differences among the *joshiyō ōrai-mono* books as published by scholarly publishers and those by popular publishers. This case study also provides a comparative analysis of the major contents of *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa* as examples of *joshiyō ōrai-mono*. The objective of the analysis is to understand how the accumulated business experience of scholarly and popular publishing houses came to influence the knowledge presented by the *joshiyō ōrai-mono* books.

3.1 The Contents of *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa* as Encyclopaedias for Women

There are three core works in *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa*: *Onna daigaku* (*The Women's Greater Learning*), *Yotsugi-gusa* 世嗣草 (*Guidebook on Reproduction*) and *Shōni yashinaigusa* 小兒養育草, (*Health Guide for Mothers and Children*). *Onna daigaku* is the most important work in *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa*, but both *Yotsugi-gusa* and *Shōni yashinai-gusa* were additional works in *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa*. In fact, Izumiya moved the two works from the main text area to the headnote area of *Oshie-gusa* (see Table 3.1). *Yotsugi-gusa* in *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa* provided gynaecological, obstetric, and paediatric knowledge. Importantly, the *Shōni yashinai-gusa* also provided its readers with the latest obstetric and pediatric knowledge instead of contents more moral in nature.

As the other additional core work of *Takara-bako*, Kashiwaraya disseminated Confucian moral values in *Nijūshikō* 二十四孝 (*The Twenty-four Filial Exemplars*).⁶⁸ Izumiya removed

⁶⁸ Chinese title: *Èrshísì Xiào*.

Nijushikō from *Oshie-gusa*, while adding the Japanese moral work *Onna Imagawa* 女今川 (*Imagawa Letter-Writing Manual for Women*), to the second edition of *Oshie-gusa*.⁶⁹ The core works of *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa* have, as a consistent subject, the fusion of moral lessons with scientific knowledge. The scientific knowledge seems to include traditional information rather than the latest information available in that period. In any case, the knowledge in *Oshie-gusa* was not updated in *Takara-bako*.

In contrast to the core works, the selected works for *Takara-bako* or *Oshie-gusa* present miscellaneous topics, especially in the headnote area. In his observations on the *Takara-bako*'s structure as an encyclopaedia-type *joshiyō ōrai-mono*, Michael Kinski observes a sharp content inconsistency. According to him, the taxonomy of *Takara-bako* does not follow the systematic and cross-referential order as envisioned by Diderot.⁷⁰ In fact, both *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa* consist of various articles in disorganized ten sections (see Table 3.2), without systematic headlines of chapters or sections, or even following an organized table of contents. Nevertheless, the comparison between *Takara-bako* and the encyclopaedia compiled by Diderot does not illustrate the discrepancy between Japanese and French knowledge in the eighteenth century. Yokoyama Toshio's study of *setsuyōshū* illustrates that knowledge was listed by the similar criteria of encyclopaedia-type *joshiyō ōrai-mono* although the entries did not look systematic from a Western perspective. However, discussing the inconsistent structure of encyclopaedia-

⁶⁹ Nagatomo, *Chōhōki shiryō shūsei*, 425-426.

⁷⁰ Michael Kinski, "Treasure Boxes, Fabrics, and Mirrors: On the Contents and the Classification of Popular Encyclopedias from Early Modern Japan," in *Listen, Copy, Read: Popular Learning in Early Modern Japan*, eds. Matthias Hayek and Annick Horiuchi (Boston: Brill, 2014), 84-85.

type *joshiyō ōrai-mono* is avoided at this stage because it needs to examine the differences between Japanese and western knowledge systems in early modern Japan.

<i>Takara-bako</i>		<i>Oshie-gusa</i>	
Total pages	Titles and subjects	Total pages	Titles and subjects
88	<i>Onna daigaku</i> 女大學	68	<i>Onna daigaku</i> 女大學
10	<i>Yotsugi-gusa</i> 世嗣草	31	<i>Yotsugi-gusa</i> 世嗣草, including 16 illustrations
13	<i>Shōni yashinai-gusa</i> 小兒養育草	27	<i>Shōni yashinai-gusa</i> 小兒養育草, including 11 illustrations
24	<i>Nijūshikō</i> 二十四孝, including 24 illustrations	28	<i>Onna Imagawa</i> 女今川
49	Four <i>waka</i> poetry collections	7	Three <i>waka</i> poetry collections
42	Articles on seventeen female occupations, including 18 illustrations	0	
31	Articles on clothing-related matters, including 16 illustrations	12	Articles on clothing-related matters, including 6 illustrations
8	Articles on grooming and cosmetology, including 3 illustrations	13	Articles on grooming and cosmetology, including 7 illustrations
5	<i>Tanabata</i> 七夕 festival and <i>Kōshin-machi</i> 庚申待 event, including 2 illustrations	12	<i>Yin-yang</i> and Five-elements school of divination, astrological calendar, male-female compatibility, including 11 illustrations
0		10	Information about marriage and family, including 10 illustrations
1	Home medicine for children	10	Home medicine for children, including 2 illustrations
4	Advertisement of the publisher	1	Advertisement of the publisher

*Note that the number of total pages is larger than the actual pages, as either the main text or the headnote has been counted as a separate page.

Table 3.2 Comparison of Subjects of Articles between *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa*.

The above table highlights the following differences between the *Takara-bako* and the *Oshie-gusa*: 1) Kashiwaraya allocated forty-six pages for *waka* poetry, while Izumiya assigned only seven pages for *waka* compartment; 2) Kashiwaraya allocated forty-two pages of headnotes to

the story of how the industrial manufacturing sectors were sustained by female labour, but Izumiya removed this content from *Oshie-gusa*; 3) Izumiya added practical information about marriage and child health to *Oshie-gusa*; 4) Izumiya also included knowledge on astrological astrology for *Oshie-gusa*.

3.2 The Major Contents in *Takara-bako*

3.2.1 The Contents of *Waka*

Takara-bako combines moral lessons with knowledge of literature. According to Mostow, *Takara-bako* is an ironical and inconsistent work. It contains *The Tale of Genji*, a work that was criticized as immoral by Kaibara Ekiken, the author to whom *Onna daigaku* is attributed.⁷¹ There are four collections of *waka* poetry in *Takara-bako*. The first is titled *Nankin hakkei* 南京八景 (*The Eight Views of the Southern Capital*) and assigned four full pages.⁷² The

⁷¹ Joshua S. Mostow, “‘Onna daigaku takara-bako’ ni miru ‘Genji monogatari’ kyōju 「女大学宝箱」に見る「源氏物語」享受 (The Reception of *The Tale of Genji* in *The Treasure Box of The Women’s Great Learning* and Other Edo-period Educational Texts for Women),” in *Genji monogatari sennen-ki kinen: Genji monogatari kokusai fōramu shūsei* 源氏物語千年紀記念: 源氏物語国際フォーラム集成, ed. Genji Monogatari Sennen-ki Inkai, (Kyoto: Genji Monogatari Sennen-ki Inkai, 2009), 224.

⁷² All of the *waka* in *Nankin hakkei* were probably composed during or before medieval period. Nankin 南京 is Heijō-kyō 平城京, currently Nara City in Nara Prefecture. The concept of ‘Eight views’ imitated the set of a beautiful scene in China *Xiāoxiāng Bajing* 瀟湘八景 (*The Eight Views of Xiaoxiang*). The term *Nankin hakkei* was initially shown in *Inryō-ken mokuroku* 蔭涼軒目録, an official journal written by the priests who lived in the Inryō Retirement House in Sōkoku-ji Temple in the Moromachi period. The description about *Nankin hakkei* was written

second is titled *Jūnikagatsu shikishi waka* 十二月色紙和歌 (*Waka of the Twelve Months on Decorated Papers*), and assigned three full pages. Alternate names and authors are not shown in the *Takara-bako*.⁷³ The third collection is titled *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (*The Tale of Genji*), and assigned fourteen full pages. This is a subset of fifty-four *waka* poems from *The Tale of Genji* with the caption of each chapter, namely, *kanmei waka* 卷名和歌.⁷⁴ The fourth collection is the *Hyakunin isshu* 百人一首 (*One Hundred Poets*), which occupies twenty-five pages of headnotes. In comparison, Izumiya reduced the space for *waka* from forty-six to four pages, with *Oshie-gusa* having only seventeen *waka* with illustrations (see Table 3.3).

in Kanshō 寛正 6 (1465). *Nihon kokugo dai jiten*, s.v. “Hakkei 八景,” accessed November 21, 2015,

<http://japanknowledge.com/lib/display/?lid=20020363f6454CTqB3dE>

⁷³ The uniform title is *Eikachō waka* 詠花鳥和歌 or, *Junikagetsu kachō waka* 十二ヶ月花鳥和歌 composed by Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家. National Institute of Japanese Literature, *The Union Catalogues of Early Japanese Books*, accessed on March 1, 2016. <http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/~tkoten/>

⁷⁴ Mostow, “‘Onna daigaku takara-bako’ ni miru ‘Genji monogatari’ kyōju,” 221.

<i>Takara-bako</i>		<i>Oshie-gusa</i>	
4 total works; 46 pages		3 total works; 4 pages	
No. of pages	Translated titles; Japanese titles as in the book	No. of pages	Translated titles; Japanese titles as in the book
4	<i>Nankin hakkei</i> 南京八景 (<i>The Eight Views of the Southern Capital</i>)	1	[<i>Mu Tamagawa</i> 六玉川 (<i>The Six Views of Tama River</i>)]
3	<i>Jūnikagatsu shikishi waka</i> 十二月色紙和歌 (<i>Waka of the Twelve Months on Decorated Papers</i>)	1	<i>Kokinshū shiki no uta</i> 古今集四季之歌 (<i>Waka of Four Seasons Extracted from Kokinshū</i>)
14	[<i>Genji monogatari kanmei waka</i> 源氏物語卷名和歌 (Fifty-four <i>waka</i> poems from <i>The Tale of Genji</i> with the caption of each chapter)]	2	<i>Shichi Komachi</i> 七小町の事 (<i>Waka and Comments of Seven Komachi</i>)
25	[Upper headnote] <i>Hyakunin isshu</i> 百人一首 (<i>One Hundred Poets</i>)		

Table 3.3 Comparison of the Contents of *Waka* between *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa*.

Mostow observes that *Hyakunin isshu*, *The Tale of Ise*, *The Tale of Genji* were circulated as a packaged classical text for female readers in the Tokugawa period. He also argues that the importance of *waka* as a feminine accomplishment increased across a widening social class spectrum in early modern Japan, although the idea became obsolete by the mid-eighteenth century.⁷⁵ This project assumes a standardized *waka* content in *Takara-bako* through the perspective of publishing activities. As discussed in the previous chapter, Kashiwaraya was a pioneer publisher of *yomihon*, acquiring extensive experience in publishing literary works. Sako discusses Kashiwaraya's publishing activities in a private edition annotated bibliography that was likely made by during the Bunsei 文政 era (1818–1830). The bibliography includes many

⁷⁵ Joshua S. Mostow, "Illustrated Classical Texts for Women in the Edo Period," in *The Female as Subject: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Japan*, eds. P.F. Kornicki, Mara Patessio, and G.G. Rowley, (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, the University of Michigan, 2010), 60, 83.

literary works from that time: *Shogaku wakashiki* 初学和歌式 (*Waka Handbook for Beginners*)

The bibliography includes many literary works from that time: *Shogaku wakashiki* 初学和歌式 (*Waka Handbook for Beginners*) which was published in Shōtoku 正徳 3 (1713); and the *Ise monogatari: eiri hiragana, Usuyuki monogatari-iri* 伊勢物語: 絵入りひらかな, うすゆき物がたり入 (*The Tale of Ise: Illustrated Version in Kana with The Tale of Light Snow*) which was published in Hōreki 宝暦 6 (1756). These books were among many reprints, with new books appearing in much more limited numbers.⁷⁶ In particular, *Ise monogatari: eiri hiragana, Usuyuki monogatari-iri* is a good example to illustrate that Kashiwaraya adapted an existing classical work to a new *kana-zōshi* product. This comports with Mostow’s argument on the inconsistent nature of *The Tale of Light Snow* book in the eighteenth century—an appreciation of courtly elegance or sexual attractiveness as a pastiche of *The Tale of Ise*, and the obligation of virtues as a *jokun-mono*.⁷⁷ The inconsistency of *kana-zōshi* parallels that of *Takara-bako* a best-selling encyclopaedia-type *joshiyō ōrai-mono* in the eighteenth century. In both cases, commercialized educational products led to the dissemination of appropriate and inappropriate knowledge for women.

Another source illustrating Kashiwaraya’s publishing activities can be found in the advertisement at the end of *Takara-bako*. As described by Mostow, the advertisement lists thirteen titles of *Hyakunin isshu* and six of *The Tale of Genji* among the sixty-seven that are

⁷⁶ Sako, “Naniwa shorin Shibukawa Sōkōdō den,” 32-33.

⁷⁷ Mostow, “The Tale of Light Snow,” 384.

included.⁷⁸ This project also finds that the book advertisement in the 1814 edition of *Takara-bako* announces eleven titles of *One Hundred Poets* and the titles of *waka* handbooks.

These book catalogues suggest that Kashiwaraya already had many resources such as appropriate writers, draftsmen, and reference tools, for publishing the contents of *waka* in *Takara-bako*. Moreover, the catalogues suggest that Kashiwaraya possessed texts about *waka* in woodblock format. The observation encourages speculation that Kashiwaraya was inclined to reuse texts about *waka* from previous publications for the articles of *Takara-bako*. From this point of view, comparing Kashiwaraya's multiple works should illuminate how Kashiwaraya reused *waka* content in published books for his new products, and in particular, the texts and images of *kanmei waka* of *Genji* and *Hyakunin isshu*.

3.2.2 Female Occupations

The other conspicuous content in *Takara-bako* concerns seventeen female occupations as discussed over thirty-eight pages of headnotes and four full pages.⁷⁹ These consist of textual descriptions and imagery of women in a variety of roles, for example, as rice farmers, and as makers of Buddhist prayer beads, braided cords, tie-dye, paper string, paper, and *sōmen* noodles. They are also shown producing fans, salt and tea, and as sellers of sewing needles, firewood,

⁷⁸ Mostow, "Illustrated Classical Texts for Women in the Edo Period," 80.

The Kansei 2 (1790) edition of *Takara-bako* also lists thirteen titles of *Hakunin isshu* and six titles of *The Tale of Genji* among the twenty-seven titles. Mostow, "'Onna daigaku takara-bako' ni miru 'Genji monogatari' kyōju," 224.

⁷⁹ Yokota argues the texts and images of about thirty female occupations account for twenty-four percent of the *Takara-bako* book (though Yokota does not specify which edition of *Takara-bako* he used for his study). Yokota, "'Onna daigaku' saikō," 365-366.

clothing, and granite stone. The imagery depicts them as sericulture workers, divers, and prostitutes as well. *Takara-bako* also contains thirty-one pages of articles exploring clothing manufacturing, but these articles are separate from the narrow focus on clothing-related matters for women.

It was typical for the period that readers would encounter a mediated list of female occupations, something that had been done since the medieval period. Wakita Haruko discusses how the images of female merchants embodied “superwomen” who played essential roles in the *ie* 家 or patriarchal house in early modern Japan.⁸⁰ Her interest lies in the interaction between female readers from the upper merchant class and these images of working women. However, Yokota Fuyuhiko seems to look at the relationship between the images of working women in *Takara-bako* and female readers from not only the upper merchant class but also the middle *chōnin* class.

Yokota argues that the illustrations in *Takara-bako* portray realistic female labour conditions. He explores the images of female workers described in both the *kōshoku-mono* 好色物 (books on love or sexual pleasure)⁸¹ and *joshiyō ōrai-mono*, and observes the many ambiguities between prostitutes and non-sex workers. He suggests that the female occupation section in *Takara-bako* could clarify these ambiguities by dividing working women into two types: prostitutes or *yūjo* 遊女, and women who engaged in sexual activities for the purpose of

⁸⁰ Wakita Haruko, “The Japanese Woman in the Premodern Merchant Household,” trans. Wakita Haruko and adapted by G.G. Rowley, *Women’s History Review* 19:2 (2010): 278-279.

⁸¹ *Kōshoku-mono* (books on love or sexual pleasure). Shirane [et al.] eds., *Early Modern Japanese Literature*, 42.

reproduction, or *ji-onna* 地女.⁸² Nakano Setsuko 中野節子 argues that Yokota's suggestion is based exclusively on observation of the images of female workers, not the texts.⁸³ However, the textual descriptions attached to the images tend to explain the histories or techniques of the products or local manufacturing practices of the Kyoto area. In fact, the texts do not contain didactic information.

One of the questions that arises is why Yokota emphasizes the ethical contents of the sections on female occupations. The answer may help explain why he analyzes the imagery of clothing-related matters as part of the section on female occupations. That approach differs from mine, which considers articles on clothing-related matters independently from the female occupation section. Yokota's confusion may arise from Kashiwaraya's arrangement of the text, in which clothing-related matters are part of the section on female occupations. As a result of this arrangement, the articles on clothing-related topics do indeed appear as connected to female occupations. However, the text exploring these clothing-related matters do not only include the histories or techniques of the products and local manufacturing practices, but also contain passages expressing a certain moral tone, for instance, Confucianist stories. This is a reason why I do not consider the section of clothing-related matters as part of the section on female occupations. In fact, the section of clothing-related matters is related to the section on "grooming and cosmetology"⁸⁴ (see Table 3.2). As this chapter focuses on the articles exploring female occupations, we can speculate that the major purpose of the section on female occupations was to publicize recent knowledge and information related to new manufacturing methods, with a

⁸² Yokota, "'Onna daigaku' saikō," 371-381.

⁸³ Nakano, *Kangaeru onnatachi*, 244-245.

⁸⁴ Wearing clean clothes and grooming are derived from the same Confucian ideology.

particular emphasis on industry in the Kyoto area. At the very least we can say that the texts in this section helped to catalogue the new manufacturing practices that developed in the mid-Tokugawa period, as opposed to being a simple moral lesson.

In determining the reasons why Izumiya removed this section on female occupations from *Oshie-gusa*, we would need to examine the texts and images of female occupations in other *joshiyō ōrai-mono* to understand the structure of the female social class in the Tokugawa period that Mostow addresses.⁸⁵ Moreover, we would need to explore the contents of *Oshie-gusa* to find the selling point that *Takara-bako* does not have.

3.3 *Oshie-gusa* as a *Chōhōki*

There were several types of encyclopaedias in early modern Japan, but each type originally had different characteristics (see Table 3.4). Publishers developed a variety of encyclopaedia products that met their clients' needs; as a result, some had increasingly cross-genre characteristics.⁸⁶ *The Union Catalogues of Early Japanese Books* lists thirty-six *ōrai-mono* books bearing the title *chōhōki* (treasury), in particular, the number of *ōrai-mono* called *chōhōki* increased conspicuously after the Bunka era (1808-1814). This observation suggests that *ōrai-mono* books with the features of *chōhōki* had been used commonly before Izumiya published *Oshie-gusa*.

⁸⁵ Mostow, “‘Onna daigaku takara-bako’ ni miru ‘Genji monogatari’ kyōju,” 219-220.

⁸⁶ Ibid., s.v. “Chōhōki 重宝記,” accessed November 21, 2015,

<http://japanknowledge.com/lib/display/?lid=200202c5a4edw31yTp9Y>

Types of Encyclopaedia	Characteristics
<i>Chōhōki</i> 重宝/調法記 Meaning: Treasury	<i>Chōhōki</i> books were practical encyclopaedias that contained knowledge and information of high relevance for daily life, e.g., home medicine, cooking, and etiquette. Publishers determined the contents depending on the intended audience, e.g. <i>Otoko chōhōki</i> 男重宝記 (<i>Men's Treasury</i>). ⁸⁷
<i>Ōrai-mono</i> 往来物 Meaning: Letter-writing Books	Popular educational books. <i>Ōrai-mono</i> books were originally made as letter-writing manuals. Publishers began to produce encyclopaedia <i>ōrai-mono</i> books later. The books usually had moral contents.
<i>Setsuyōshū</i> 節用集 Meaning: Compilations for Economy, or Compilations for Occasional Use	<i>Setsuyōshū</i> books were lexical dictionaries. Publishers produced a variety of <i>setsuyōshū</i> books, including dictionaries that had the contents of illustrated household encyclopaedias.

Table 3.4 Encyclopaedias in Early Modern Japan.

Oshie-gusa was an example that had the characteristics of both *ōrai-mono* as an educational book and *chōhōki* as a practical encyclopaedia. The subtitle *Oshie-gusa Dōjo chōhōki* 童女重宝記 (*Girls' Treasury*)⁸⁸ suggests that Izumiya intended to publish *Oshie-gusa* as a practical book rather than a popular educational book. The full title of *Oshie-gusa* consists of four words: *kyōkun* (moral lesson), *Onna daigaku* (*The Women's Greater Learning*), *oshie-gusa* (textbook) and *dōjo chōhōki* (encyclopaedia for girls). The title shows that Izumiya intended to make a product with both *chōhōki* (practical encyclopaedia) and *joshiyō ōrai-mono* characteristics. Compared to the title *Onna daigaku* (*The Women's Greater Learning*), and *takara-bako* (treasure box), as a selling point *Oshie-gusa* has many more practical components

⁸⁷ Ibid., s.v. “Chōhōki 重宝記,” accessed November 21, 2015,

<http://japanknowledge.com/lib/display/?lid=200202c5a4edw31yTp9Y>

⁸⁸ Cf. “*Banmin chōhōki* (*Everybody's Treasury*)” in Berry, Mary Elizabeth, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2006), 15.

than *Takara-bako*. In fact, Table 3.3 shows that *Oshie-gusa* has more practical components. Two relevant materials within *Oshie-gusa*, the articles on marriage and astrology, would have been useful knowledge for unmarried women to successfully marry into their intended new families. The other contents, such as *Yotsugi-gusa*, *Shōni yashinai-gusa*, or the articles containing paediatric information, are also useful for helping an unmarried woman integrate with her future in-laws. In this way, *Oshie-gusa* can be characterized as an encyclopaedia specializing in marriage and family issues.

3.3.1 Handbook of Marriage and Family

Konrei shikihō no shidai 婚禮式方之次第 or *the Methods of Marriage Customs and Manners* remains a noteworthy section of *Oshie-gusa*. Over ten full pages provide practical information such as procedures for engagement, wedding preparations, wedding ceremony procedures, rituals for expecting women, and the rite of passage for a newborn baby. That *Konrei shikihō no shidai* has only a short passage for a man adopted into his wife's family shows that *Oshie-gusa* was produced for female readers.

Interestingly, Izumiya effectively employed visual materials in this section. The publisher hired popular *ukiyo-e* artist Keisai Eisen 溪齋英泉 to produce ten illustrations titled *Nichie shō* 日繪抄. These illustrations depict key parts of a woman's life, from her engagement to the occasion of the first month after the birth of her first baby. These images provide sufficient information about the full process of marriage without text, although each image also plays a role in helping readers understand the content of the passage on the same page (see Figure 3.1 and 3.2). Overall, these illustrations appear to guide unmarried women in committing to their future

husbands' families. Hence, the targeted readers of *Oshie-gusa* may well have been women from the upper *chōnin* class, in which the patriarchal family system was established.



Figure 3.1 Eisen's Illustration in *Onna daigaku oshie-gusa*. Not before 1843.

(Private collection. Joshua S. Mostow, by permission,) leaf 9 recto.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Izumiya Ichibē, comp., *Kyōkun Onna daigaku oshie-gusa: dōjo chōhōki: zen*, Onna Imagawa edition, illustrated by Keisai Eisen 溪齋英泉 (Edo: Izumiya Ichibē, not before 1843), leaf 9 recto.



Figure 3.2 Eisen's Illustration in *Onna daigaku oshie-gusa*. Not before 1843.

(Private collection. Joshua S. Mostow, by permission,) leaf 12 recto.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Izumiya Ichibē, comp., *Kyōkun Onna daigaku oshie-gusa*, leaf 12 recto.

3.3.2 Male-Female Compatibility and Astrological Calendar

Oshie-gusa was published about 130 years after the release of *Takara-bako*. This study initially speculated that the contents of *Oshie-gusa* were more “modern” and had more scientific components than *Takara-bako*. However, a comparison between these two works reveals that the initial speculation misses an important dimension of the problem. In the previous chapter, I noted that Aoyama argued that the subjects of *kana-zōshi* did not always change in one direction—for example, from a sacred to a secular presence. In a similar vein, mystical contents derived from traditional concepts increased in the later work of *Oshie-gusa*. For instance, Izumiya allocated twelve pages to content including *yin-yang* and Five-elements school of divination and Chinese astrology, and removed the information about manufacturing. However, an examination of the trending subjects of practical publications in early modern Japan could help explain Izumiya’s editorial decision-making.

According to Matthias Hayek, commercial publishers in the seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries regularly distributed divination handbooks for beginners. This publishing boom in divination books allowed popular authors in early modern Japan to reach wider audiences, moving knowledge from a once-exclusive social class to a newly formed and broader literary class. The printed books were published in Kamigata and largely forgotten after the boom, but publishers in Edo republished the earlier works in the nineteenth century.⁹¹ *Oshie-gusa* was produced thirty years after this second publishing boom of divination books in Edo; Izumiya may have been convinced that the divination materials were highly profitable.

⁹¹ Matthias Hayek, “From Esoteric Tools to Handbooks ‘for Beginners’: Printed Divination Books from the Seventeenth Century to the Beginning to the Eighteenth century,” in *Listen, Copy, Read: Popular Learning in Early Modern Japan*, eds. Matthias Hayek and Annick Horiuchi (Boston: Brill, 2014), 314-315.

Yokoyama addresses that knowledge of *yin* and *yang* and traditional calendars were relevant contents in *Eitai setsuyō mujinzō* 永代節用無尽蔵, the most-widely used *setsuyōshū* in the nineteenth century.⁹² Hisaoka Miho 久岡明穂 addresses the components of male-female compatibility, noting that these increased in the headnote area of *setsuyōshū*. Hisaoka suggests that readers enjoyed the plain texts and comical illustrations of male-female compatibility more as entertainment than as practical knowledge.⁹³ The relationship between reading practices and the articles on male-female compatibility is beyond the scope of this study. However, future examination of this issue will help us develop an understanding of how both fictional and realistic elements can coexist in a publication such as *joshiyō ōrai-mono* or *chōhōki*.

Sanze aishō no makura 三世相性枕 is a three-volume set of erotica published in Jōkyō 4 (1687), illustrated by *ukiyo-e* artist Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣. The first volume consists of texts and illustrations about marriage that are similar to the texts of *Konrei shikihō no shidai* and the illustrations of *Nichie shō* in *Oshie-gusa*. The second and third volumes explain male-female compatibility with erotic illustrations that are also similar to the information about male-female compatibility in *Oshie-gusa*.⁹⁴ It is not known whether the creators of *Oshie-gusa* such as Izumiya or Keisai Eisen used these volumes for reference. However, it may well have been common for the components of marriage manuals and male-female compatibility guides to be

⁹² Yokoyama, “The Illustrated Household Encyclopedias that Once Civilized Japan,” 48-54.

⁹³ Hisaoka Miho 久岡明穂, “Kinsei setsuyōshu ni okeru kyōyō noshintō—tōsho to furoku o chūshin ni 近世節用集における教養の浸透—頭書と付録を中心に,” in *Shintōsuru kyōyō: Edo no shuppan bunka to iu kairo* 浸透する教養: 江戸の出版文化という回路, ed. Suzuki Ken’ichi 鈴木健一 (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2013), 320.

⁹⁴ Hayashi Yoshikazu 林美一, *Enpon kenkyū: Moronobu* 艶本研究: 師宣 (Tokyo: Yūkō shobō, 1968), 153-205.

combined in a single publication. If so, Izumiya's compilation, in which he combined components of marriage and male-female compatibility, could indeed have followed a common practice of the early modern publishers.

In this context, it may be said that Izumiya focused on designing *Oshie-gusa* as a *chōhōki* specializing in marriage and family rather than as a *joshiyō ōrai-mono*. As a popular publisher, he was interested in creating new, entertaining and practical material but was not enthusiastic about producing educational content for women. In contrast, Kashiwaraya seems to have had a passion for creating a new educational book for a new literate class, one generated by the growth of industry and manufacturing in the mid-Tokugawa period. He may have realized that the disclosure of knowledge about literature for the upper *chōnin* class and the role of advocacy for an ethical component were part of the mission of a scholarly publisher.

Chapter 4: The Clothing-Related Matters in *Joshiyō Ōrai-mono*

The publisher of *Takara-bako*, Kashiwahara Seiemon, allocated thirty-one pages—about a quarter of the book’s total—to textual and illustrated headnotes on clothing-related subjects. Similarly, clothing-related matters in *Oshie-gusa* have twelve pages of headnotes, more than any other section, including six in-text illustrations and one full-page illustration. Overall, these sections occupy large portions of *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa*. These editorial choices demonstrate the relevance of clothing-related matters to early modern women.

4.1 Content Comparison of *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa*

A line-by-line comparison of clothing-related entries in the two books reveals passages in *Oshie-gusa* almost identical to ones in *Takara-bako*. The following table shows, in order, the subjects and first line of each article on clothing in *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa*:

<i>Takara-bako</i>		<i>Oshie-gusa</i>	
Article no.	Subject/First line	Article no.	First line
01	Introduction: sewing as the primary skill for women それ、ぬひ、はり <small>によしだいいち</small> ハ女子第一の	01	Introduction: sewing as the primary skill for women それ <small>それ</small> 夫ぬひはりハ、 <small>をんなだいいち</small> 女子第一の
02	Magic <i>Waka</i> poetry for sewing <small>いしやう</small> 衣裳をたつ時の歌	02	Magic <i>Waka</i> poetry for sewing <small>いしやう</small> 衣裳をたつ時の歌 <small>とき うた</small>
03	Origin of sewing <small>ぬいはり</small> 縫針のはじめハ、いづれと	03	Origin of sewing <small>ぬいはり</small> 縫針のはじめハ、いづれ
04	Origin of clothes irons <small>きぬ</small> 衣帛をのぶるうつハ、物の	04	Origin of clothes irons <small>きぬ</small> 衣帛をのぶるうつハ、物
05	Ramie textile <small>をうむ</small> 苧績こと女の手わざの	05	Cotton cultivation <small>もめん</small> 木綿のこと、もろこしにハ

<i>Takara-bako</i>		<i>Oshie-gusa</i>	
06	Local cotton textile industry ぬの <small>なんと</small> 布ハ南都を第一とするに	06	Ramie textile をうむ <small>せんな て</small> 苧績こと女の手わざ
07	Glossary いしやうの <small>しやうじつくし</small> 衣裳之正字 盡	07	Local cotton textile industry ぬの <small>なんと だいいち</small> 布ハ南都を第一とする
08	Cotton cultivation もめん 木綿のこと、もろこしには		
09	Local silk textile industry <small>きぬ</small> いとをこしらゆる <small>うつハ</small> 器		
10	Washing clothes あらひすゝぎ 澣 汚 ハ女のすべきわざ也。		
11	Home dyeing あらひはりしあげ、 <small>てぞめ</small> 手染ハ		
12	Cotton padded hats ふじん <small>しらわた</small> <small>かづく</small> 婦人の白綿をつミて被を		
13	Origin of weaving はた <small>くわうてい しん</small> 機のはじめハ、黄 帝の臣		

*The gray highlighting in this table shows the articles that Izumiya did not select for *Oshie-gusa*.

Table 4.1 Clothing-Related Articles in *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa*.

Three elements—moral lessons for women, knowledge or history of textile industries, and practical information for daily life—can be found in this section. One article might discuss two or three elements. The texts were written either anonymously or by hired scribes or were cited from other works. The publisher of *Oshie-gusa*, Izumiya Ichibē, chose seven articles for *Oshie-gusa* and thirteen for *Takara-bako*. Some abridged articles discuss luxury items or entertainments such as the silk industry, cotton-padded hats made at an aristocratic convent, and home dyeing projects. Other abridged articles provide practical information about daily life such as stain removal techniques.

4.2 Clothing-Related Matters as Duties for Women

The first clothing-related articles in both *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa* are introductions encouraging women to make and mend clothes. As the texts in the translation section of this project show (see Appendix 1 and 2), these articles are almost identical. The tone is didactic, insisting that skills related to clothing are a woman's primary skill. Clothing is described as the most relevant of three main household skills: the making and maintenance of clothes, preparation of food preparation, and care and cleaning of the house. Even wealthy women with sewing maids were encouraged to make and mend clothes because it was first and foremost a virtuous behaviour, and second a household skill.

The introductory article of the clothing-related matter section (see Article 01 in Table. 4.1) particularly encapsulates Confucianist ideology. The article includes a quotation on how the consort of King Wen (Wen Wang 文王) attended to all clothing-related matters herself, even though she was one of the highest-ranking women in society.⁹⁵ Taken from *The Book of Rites* or *Liji* 禮記,⁹⁶ the article on washing clothes (see Article 10 Table. 4.1) also includes a passage on how King Wen's wife washed her clothes herself before she met her parents. The *Liji* writer presents the sage's consort as a role model for female readers, but may convey a different message to male readers. However, Kashiwaraya, or the contract writer hired by Kashiwaraya, used this story for preaching the centrality of duties for women: skill in clothing-related matters. This short story connotes that the consort embodies a perfect woman who sustains an ideal country.

⁹⁵ The original work of the passage is not identified.

⁹⁶ See the original texts in the footnote 140 in Appendix 1.2.1.

Appendix B shows that not only articles in the headnote but also some of the entries in *Onna daigaku*, the main text of *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa*, promote the Confucianist ideology of clothing-related duties like weaving, sewing, and spinning, as a woman's top priority in her daily routine.⁹⁷ *Onna daigaku* also stresses that the maintenance of clothes is critical.⁹⁸ That the publishers embedded the same advocacy of clothing-related matters in both the headnote and the main text reveals how important they consider the topic. Kakei Kumiko 笈久美子 suggests that the moral texts from classical Chinese were slightly modified for inclusion in *Onna daigaku* and *Joshi ni oshiyuru hō* 女子に教ゆる法—the original texts of *Onna daigaku*.⁹⁹ Kakei also notes that the quotation from *Nei Ze* 内則 in *Liji* can be seen in *Joshi ni oshiyuruhō*. Like *Onna daigaku*, *Joshi ni oshiyuruhō* advocates that women should always keep their clothing clean and be well-dressed. It also advocates that spinning and sewing are the primary skills for women.

As a Japanese scholar's perspectives on clothing-related duties for women, Nakano Setsuko states that neo-Confucianist scholar Kumazawa Banzan 熊沢蕃山 highlighted making and maintaining clothes as the primary responsibilities of women in his *joshiyō ōrai-mono*

⁹⁷ In the tenth article of *Onna daigaku*: 一、女ハ常に心遣して... いゑの内の事より心を用ひ織縫績緝忘るべからず。Kashiwaraya Seiemon, edit., *Onna daigaku Takara-bako*, leaf 68 verso-69 recto.

⁹⁸ In the fourteenth article of *Onna daigaku*: 一、身の荘も衣裳の染いろ模様なども目たゝぬやうに... 身と衣服との[汚]ずして潔なるハよし。勝て清を盡し人の目に立ほなるハ悪し。Ibid, leaf 73 recto-verso.

⁹⁹ Both *Onna daigaku* and *Joshi ni oshiyuruhō* and *Onna daigaku* in *Takara-bako* were attributed to Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒. Kakei Kumiko 笈久美子, "Chūgoku no jokun to Nihon no jokun: hikakushi kenkyū 中国の女訓と日本の女訓比較史研究: 比較史研究," in *Nihon joseishi* 日本女性史, vol. 3, ed. Joseishi Sōgō Kenkyūkai (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1982), 319-324.

Joshikun 女子訓, published in *Jōkyō* 1 (1684). Nakano also notes that Banzan introduced the story of the consort's routine in another moral book for women, *Shikyō Shūnan no kai* 詩經周南之解.¹⁰⁰ The wife's routine is as follows:

朝は教典を見て心を静め、昼は「女事のかへり見、家内の用あり」、夕方には琴・瑟で遊ぶ。The consort reads scriptures to calm down her mind early in the morning, “focuses on woman's duties and works household errands during the daytime,” and plays the small and large harp in the evening.

According to Banzan, clothing-related tasks were not only household tasks or *kaji* 家事, but also a woman's duty or *joji* 女事. Nakano suggests that Banzan expanded the meaning of a woman's household sewing tasks to her social obligations.¹⁰¹ *Joji* are the matters women must accomplish inside and outside the home. Banzan believed that appropriate feminine behaviour is the foundation of an ideal society. He developed his ideal for women in the Tokugawa period as the followers of the consort of King Wen.

However, the *joji* ideology accounts for limited entries in the clothing-related matter headnotes. *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa* contain a catalogue of the textile industry, trivia of clothing history, and other practical information that attracted readers. So the publishers, at least, Izumiya, do not seem to be big believers in Kumazawa Banzan or the consort of King Wen. It is doubtful that *Takara-bako* or *Oshie-gusa* led readers from the *chōnin* class to develop their ideology of building a good country in the Tokugawa feudal system. It is certain that the publishers used a large amount space for leisure reading and useful information based on the

¹⁰⁰ Nakano, *Kangaeru onnatachi*, 152-153.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, 153.

chōnin clients' interests while pretending to advocate neo-Confucianist ideology based on the authorities' interests.

4.3 Reuse of Texts in *Joshiyō Ōrai-mono* Books

4.3.1 Quotations from Japanese Myths

The articles on clothing-related matters have quoted passages not only from classical Chinese but also from Japanese myths. As to how these quotations were selected, perhaps classical stories were communicated orally or in another textual format such as *joshiyō ōrai-mono*, circulated before *Takara-bako* was published; probably Kashiwaraya or the contract writer(s) who was hired by the publisher found passages that were accessible and attractive to elementary learners. Either way, Kashiwaraya was interested in providing fascinating trivia to the readers of *Takara-bako*, not in quoting passages from credible sources.

For example, the articles on the origin of sewing (see Article 03 in Table. 4.1.) include the marriage story of Ōanamuchi no Kami 大己貴神 and Ikutamayori Hime 活玉依姫, the daughter of Suetsumimi no Mikoto 陶津耳命 from Japanese myth. The *Kojiki* 古事記 names Ōanamuchi's wife "Ikutamayori Hime" whereas the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 describes her only as "a daughter of Suetsumimi no Mikoto" but does not specify her name. Because of this, the marriage story is likely quoted from the *Kojiki* or texts derived from the *Kojiki*, but not the *Nihon shoki*. Another article on the origin of weaving (see Article 13 in Table. 4.1.) introduces the story of Wakahirume's 稚日女尊 death from falling over a tall loom. The original source of the story

can be specified as the *Nihon shoki*¹⁰² because the *Kojiki* tells the story of a weaver who died but does use the name Wakahirume.

Considering his background as a scholarly publisher, Kashiwaraya apparently understood that the *Kojiki* was evaluated as unreliable evidence. Nevertheless, he chose from it the story of Ikutamayori Hime. Kashiwaraya focused producing *Takara-bako* as a popular educational publication for non-advanced readers. The proper name of the protagonist helped these readers to understand the story, and to attract their interest. The above choice of stories demonstrates that Kashiwaraya was concerned with the entertainment aspects of passages rather than the credibility of the original sources. The short, amusing readings from the *Kojiki* or *Nihon shoki* were appropriate knowledge on classical Japanese for women, and probably men as well, from the *chōnin* class. *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa* were educational entertainment books and neither scholarly products nor pure leisure readings.

4.3.2 Izumiya's Selection

Comparing the texts of *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa* is insufficient to address the discrepancy between them, since other *joshiyō ōrai-mono* books likewise copied headnote texts from *Takara-bako*. A good example is an article on *waka* poems as magic spells for sewing entitled *Ishō o tatsu toki no uta* 衣裳をたつ時の歌, which can be found in both *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa*. A similar article entitled *Ishō tatsu toki no fumi* 衣裳たつ時の文 can also be found in *Shinpan tōsho Onna Imagawa chiyomi-gusa* 新板頭書・女今川千代見種, published

¹⁰² See the original texts in the footnote 184 in Appendix 1.2.1.

by Tsuruya Kiemon 鶴屋喜右衛門 in Bunsei 7 (1824).¹⁰³ Some headnote information from *Takara-bako* might have been unattractive to readers of *Oshie-gusa* because it had already been well-circulated by other *joshiyō ōrai-mono* books.

A comparison of *waka* among three *joshiyō ōrai-mono* and a magico-religious book suggests that *Oshie-gusa* copied the article from *Takara-bako* directly.¹⁰⁴ The following are the first *waka* from three book articles, and a good example of how Izumiya copied text from *Takara-bako* (the underlined parts of 2 and 4 are slightly different from 1 and 3):

1. *Waka* in *Takara-bako* published 1716

ちはやふる 神のをしへを 我ぞする 此やどよりも ^{とミ}富ぞふりぬる

Chihayafuru kami no oshie o ware zo suru kono yado yorimo tomi zo furinuru

I always follow the all-powerful gods' teaching! Wealth has increased in this home because of my devoutness.

2. *Waka* in *Chiyomi-gusa* published in 1824

^ちちはやふる ^{かミ}神のをしへを ^{われ}我ぞしる ^{このやど}此宿よりも ^{とミ}富ぞふりける

Chihayafuru kami no oshie o ware zo shiru kono yado yorimo tomi zo furikeru

¹⁰³ Ishikawa Ken and Ishikawa Matsutarō eds., *Nihon kyōkasho taikai: ōrai-mono hen*, vol.13, 358-359.

¹⁰⁴ See the original texts and English translation of the articles.

I knew the all-powerful gods' teaching! Wealth increased in this home because of my devoutness.

3. *Waka* in *Oshie-gusa* published in 1843

ちはやふる 神のをしへを われぞする このやど 富ぞふりぬる

Chihayafuru kami no oshie o ware zo suru kono yado yorimo tomi zo furinuru

I always follow the all-powerful gods' teaching! Wealth has increased in this home because of my devoutness.

4. *Waka* in an encyclopaedia of magic spells published in 1856¹⁰⁵

ちはやふる 神のをしへを われぞする このやど¹⁰⁶ばかり 富ぞふりぬる

Chihayafuru kami no oshie o ware zo suru kono yado bakari tomi zo furinuru

I always follow the all-powerful gods' teaching! Wealth has increased in only this home because of my devoutness.

¹⁰⁵ E.g., An encyclopaedia of magic spells (the title is not identified) published by Gusokuya Jubei 具足屋重兵衛 in Ansei 安政4 (1856). "Majinai no jiten まじないの事典," *Kinsei monjo*, accessed on April 15, 2016.

<http://www1.odn.ne.jp/~yaswara/komonjo/charm.htm>

¹⁰⁶ This script does not have the voicing mark in the original text.

There are an additional four *waka* poems with the above piece in the headnote area of *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa*. The identity of the authors of the five *waka* poems is not clear and the major resources of *waka* offer few, if any clues.¹⁰⁷ However, these poems seem to have been circulated in other print books (see the fourth *waka* in the above list).

Another good example of how other *joshiyō ōrai-mono* books reused *Takara-bako* texts is a glossary of textiles, weaving, and utensils for daily life entitled *Ishō no shoji-zukushi* 衣裳之正字盡. As mentioned, lexicon dictionaries were a type of practical book published by serious publishing houses. It was not strange that Kashiwaraya embedded the glossary in his encyclopaedia-like *ōrai-mono*. In fact, the headnotes of *Tōsho ban'yō Fujin tegami no mongon* 頭書萬用・婦人手紙之文言 include a remarkably similar glossary bearing the same title, *Ishō no shoji-zukushi* 衣裳之正字盡. This epistolary manual-type *joshiyō ōrai-mono* was edited by extremely popular author Jippensha Ikku 十返舎一九 and published by Maekawa Rokuzaemon 前川六左衛門 and three others in Bunsei 3 (1820).¹⁰⁸

Although glossaries of textiles were a popular component of *joshiyō ōrai-mono* books, Izumiya did not select the element for *Oshie-gusa* in 1843. This project seeks the reasons why Izumiya dropped the lexicon, looking at the entries in the *Union Catalogues of Early Japanese Books* published by the National Institute of Japanese Literature. According to the catalogue, five

¹⁰⁷ This project used the following resources: 'Shinpen Kokka Taikan' Iinkai 「新編国歌大観」編集委員会 comp., *Shinpen Kokka taikan* 新編国歌大観, 1st ed. (Tokyo: Kadokaga Shoten, 1983-1992.). International Research Center for Japanese Studies, *Waka dētabēsu* 和歌データベース, accessed on April 15, 2016, <http://tois.nichibun.ac.jp/database/html2/waka/menu.html>

¹⁰⁸ Ishikawa Ken and Ishikawa Matsutarō eds., *Nihon kyōkasho taikai: ōrai-mono hen*, vol.13, 410-411.

institutions hold copies of *Tōsho ban'yō Fujin tegami no mongon*, suggesting a substantial number of copies of the book were printed in the 1820s due to its popularity. If so, Izumiya might have avoided reprinting the same contents that were already widely circulated. Another possible reason is that Izumiya might have used the glossary from *Takara-bako* for another of his products instead of *Oshie-gusa*. In any case, it seems to have been standard practice for publishers to revise and repurpose such anonymously written texts to create other *joshiyō ōrai-mono*. Comparative analysis of a large number of *joshiyō ōrai-mono* books should clarify why Izumiya of *Oshie-gusa* retained the articles on *waka* poems as magic spells but removed the glossary.

Investigating the reuse of the headnote articles in *joshiyō ōrai-mono* is complex because the articles were written anonymously and the contents are varied. Comparative analysis of a large number of *joshiyō ōrai-mono* books is critical to clarify the cultural, social, political, and religious influences on women's expected knowledge in the mid- and late Tokugawa period, a project requires more space than can be spared in the present study.

4.4 Historical Background

Oshie-gusa was published about 130 years after *Takara-bako*. In that time, the publishing industry experienced the three major reforms that marked the Tokugawa era:¹⁰⁹ the Kyōhō Reforms 享保の改革 (1717-1745), the Kansei Reforms 寛政の改革 (1787-1793), and the

¹⁰⁹ The historical perspective “three major reforms” is often found in Japanese high school textbooks. Fujita Satoru argues the perspective and divides the major reforms in the Tokugawa period into two: 1) the several reforms in the eighteenth century and 2) the several reforms in the nineteenth century. Fujita Satoru 藤田覚, *Kinsei no sandai kaikaku* 近世の三大改革 (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2002), 13-16.

Tenpō Reforms 天保の改革 (1830-1843). In particular, the Tenpō Reforms were an effort to enforce restrictions on extravagant consumer products or entertainments, and to develop a new censorship system controlled by the shogunal government.¹¹⁰

The Tenpō Reforms ended in the fall of 1843, meaning they were still in place when Izumiya published *Oshie-gusa* before the summer of 1843. As a result, Izumiya might have avoided reprinting sensitive articles such as those on the silk industry or home dyeing projects that violated reform policies.¹¹¹ In addition, the local silk industry might not have been attractive to readers of that era, since the manufacturers of luxury items were experiencing a severe slump.

It is not hard to imagine that the reforms influenced the choice of articles for inclusion in *joshiyō ōrai-mono*. If so, we must consider how *Takara-bako*, with its entries on luxury items, survived as a best-selling book throughout the three reforms. One could argue that the main text of *Takara-bako* was *Onna daigaku*, one of the best-known moral tracts for women based on neo-Confucianist ideology. As previously discussed, the headnotes in *joshiyō ōrai-mono* were critical to the production of attractive commodities that met readers' needs.

A line-by-line comparison of texts in the clothing-related section in *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa* shows how Izumiya copied the texts of *Takara-bako* or other books for his new product *Oshie-gusa*. This examination gives support to the view that the shogunal government

¹¹⁰ Fujita, *Kinsei no sandai kaikaku*, 68, 72-74.

¹¹¹ Nishimura Yasuko explains that clothing regulations gradually increased the characteristic as sumptuary laws to target the *chōnin* class after the Kyōhō Reforms. The regulations prohibited wearing not only silk clothing but also elaborate dyed cotton cloths. Nishimura Yasuko 西村 綾子, “Edo jidai ni okeru ifuku kisei hensen no gaiyō to seikaku 江戸時代における衣服規制変遷の概要と性格,” *Kaseigaku zasshi* 家政学雑誌 31: 6 (1980): 435-436, 438, accessed on April 27, 2016, doi: 10.11428/jhej1951.31.

was unable to restrict the violation of block holders' properties in the publishing industry despite several reforms aimed at enforcing censorship and the established guild system. However, it is also important to keep in mind that the issue of plagiarism or self-plagiarism cannot be discussed in the context of modern intellectual property rights. Mostow has already pointed to the limitation of the formula "a parody is good, but a pastiche is bad" to look at the adaptation of the existing texts or illustrations in new works in the premodern period.¹¹² Literary works had been re-contextualized by creators freely until the commercialization of knowledge started. The same phenomenon is evident in the way textual knowledge is being re-contextualized freely in virtual environments. This is why the exploration of the reuse of woodblock commodities may help us better understand the transmission and circulation of knowledge mediated by new technologies.

¹¹² Mostow, "The Tale of Light Snow: Pastiche, Epistolary Fiction and Narrativity, Verbal and Visual," 365.

Chapter 5: Further Considerations

This case study has examined how commercial publishers produced print books as repeatable commodities to transmit knowledge for female readers in early modern Japan. It explored how *Onna daigaku takara-bako* and *Onna daigaku oshie-gusa*, two woodblock print encyclopaedia-type books for women, were created as cultural devices to promote and disseminate neo-Confucianist ideology, traditional literary knowledge, and practical information, as well as provide entertainment. The project also examined the interaction between publishers and woodblock prints and the materiality of texts or illustrations.

Chapter One reviewed Roger Chartier's and Marshall McLuhan's studies on print books as repeatable commodities and their use to disseminate and circulate textual knowledge or thoughts. The chapter also examined previous scholarship on educational publications for commoner women in early modern Japan, namely *kana-zōshi* as *jokun-sho* and *joshiyō ōrai-mono*. The reviews helped with the development of an analytical framework to answer questions on popular educational publications for women in the Tokugawa period.

Chapter Two looked at publishers as cultural producers in that period and in the context of their pursuit of two contrasting interests: scholarly and popular publishing. The chapter also outlined previous scholarship on the literary genres of early modern Japanese print books. A complex genre framework was then used to examine literary works in the Tokugawa period. The conclusions expose the framework's weaknesses in that it cannot always account for the way knowledge transmission is mediated by books, particularly, the encyclopaedia-type of educational materials for women.

Chapter Three analyzed the contents of *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa*, encyclopaedia-type educational products published by two epoch-making publishers, Kashiwaraya and Izumiya. The comparative analysis identified the differences in these cultural commodities—*Takara-bako* as educational material originally for readers from the new wealthy class in the Kamigata region in the eighteenth century, and *Oshie-gusa* as a practical product for townspeople who exhibited new cultural leadership in Edo in the mid-nineteenth century.

Chapter Four focused more narrowly on an analysis of articles on clothing-related matters showcased in *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa*. This content was printed in the headnote area of these books. The comparative analysis showed that Izumiya copied the texts in *Takara-bako* for his new product *Oshie-gusa*. The purpose of this analysis was not to point out that publishing practices in that period were defined by inter-publisher plagiarism. Instead, the intent was to illustrate how knowledge in literary pieces that have “weak authorship” was transmitted in print media.

Overall, the comparative analysis of the texts in the two books shows how the two commercial publishers, as major creators of books, transmitted knowledge using the characteristics of woodblock printing. The limitation of the project is not to collect sufficient data to generalize the systems to transmit knowledge and commoditize culture in early modern Japan.

The conclusion of this project points to the need for further considerations in any future research. First, excessive reliance on genre-centered approaches for the analysis of texts from early modern publications should be avoided. The approach carries risk in that it creates segments that can easily obstruct the understanding of the transmission, dissemination and

circulation of literary works or practical information in popular educational books for women. This is particularly true in publications with cross-genre subjects.

Second, a comprehensive analysis of the publications listed in publishers' advertisements would be very helpful to draw a larger picture that shows how texts were reused in the activities of the publishing industry in the Tokugawa period. The availability of digital images of the advertisements makes them far more accessible than they were in the pre-digital era and important conclusions could be drawn from research on multiple advertisements.

Third, examination of the authorship of *joshiyō ōrai-mono* would help us to better understand the transmission and circulation of knowledge, especially texts in the headnote area. For example, most of the texts in the headnote area in *Takara-bako* are anonymous works. The social and cultural background of the unknown author(s) has not been discussed before. Did Kashiwaraya or Izumiya hire contract writers? Were the writers male or female? Or did the publishers themselves write the headnote articles? Comparison with the authorship of other practical publications, e.g., *meisho-zue* 名所図会 (illustrated guides to famous place) may help us to re-think the creation of anonymous works in educational works for female readers from *chōnin* class.

The re-contextualization of knowledge in commercial media accounts for only a short span during a long literary history. Commercial publishers' reusing existing texts and re-contextualizing knowledge to produce new publications in the Tokugawa period initiated practices that have ultimately become part of twenty-first-century activities. *Takara-bako* and *Oshie-gusa* as cultural commodities demonstrate the commercialization of knowledge for women from the *chōnin* class in early modern Japan. Today, not only commercial publishers but also individual writers reuse existing texts and re-contextualize knowledge to produce new works in

virtual environments. Knowledge for women is commercialized or de-commercialized in different ways in these environments. Understanding the mechanisms through which printed knowledge for females was commoditized in the past would also show us how to design and manage knowledge transmission in the twenty-first century.

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Appendices

Appendix A Texts of the Clothing-related Matter Sections

A.1 Original texts

* Characters in red do not have voicing marks in the original text.

A.1.1 女大學寶箱

[四十一丁オモテ頭書]

[Illustration: 年かきの女が若い女と

共に布を裁断しているようす]

[四十一丁ウラ頭書]

[Illustration: 三人の若い女が

縫い物をしているようす]

[四十二丁オモテ頭書]

それ、ぬひ、はりハ女子第一の

わざなれば、手習いと同じく

はやく教べし。世間に双六、

小哥、琴、三味線を習て、たち

A.1.2 女大学教草

[[五十八]丁オモテ頭書]

[Illustration caption:] 衣裳を裁縫の図

それ
○夫ぬひはりハ、女子第一の

わざなれば手習とおなじく

はやをし
早く教ゆべし。世間に双

ろく、小哥、琴、三味線を習

ぬふことのならぬあり。たとひ家^{いゑ}

富^{とみ}、人おほくつかいて、物ぬひ

女^{をく}を置身^{をく}なりとも、少^{すこ}ハなぐ

さみにもぬふべし。むかし、

文王^{ぶんわう}と申^{せいじん}聖人^{きさき}の後^ごハ、ミづから

おり、ぬひ、あらひはりし給ひ

けるよし、書^{ふみ}に見へたれば、是

を心^{つみ}にかけざる女は、いと罪^{つみ}ふ

かく^{おぼゆ}覚^{おぼ}る也。物ぬうに日^ひをゑらむ。

凶日^{あしきひ}にたちぬひすれ^{うた}バ、哥^{おほ}を

となふることなどあるは、人に

衣食住^{いしよくちう}の三つの第一^{だいいち}にきる

ものなれば、そまつにせざる、

つゝしミなるべし。

て、立ちぬふ事^{ごと}のならぬ

あり。たとひ家富^{いへとみ}、人多^{おほ}く

つかいて物縫^{ものぬ}ひ女^{をく}を置^{をん}

身^みなりとも、少^{すこ}しは

[[五十八]丁ウラ頭書]

なぐさみにもぬふべし。

むかし、文王^{ぶんわう}と申^{せいじん}聖人^{きさき}の後^ご

ハ、自^{みづから}、織^{をり}、ぬひ、洗^{あら}ひはりし

給ひけるよし、書^{ふみ}に見へた

れば、是^{これ}を心^{こころ}にかけざる

女^{をん}は、いと罪^{つみ}ふかく覚^{おほ}ゆ

るなり。ものぬうに日^ひを

ゑらミ、あしき日にたち

ぬひすれば、哥^{うた}をとのふる

事^{ごと}などあるは、人^{ひと}に衣^い

食住^{しよくじう}の三^みつの第一^{だいいち}にき

るものなれば、そまつに
せざる、つゝしミなるべし。

[四十二丁ウラ頭書]

いしやう
衣裳をたつ時の歌

ゝちはやふる 神のをしへを 我ぞ
する 此やどよりも 富ぞふりぬる

いしやう とき うた
衣裳をたつ時の哥

ゝちはやふる 神のをしへを 我ぞ
する 此宿よりも 富ぞふりぬる

[[五十九]丁オモテ頭書]

ゝあさひめの をしへはじめし
から衣 たつ度ごとに よろこびぞする

ゝあさ日さす あひしのミやの を
しへにて 男のうハぎ
今ぞたつなる

ゝあさひめの をしへ初し から衣
たつ度ごとに よろこびぞする

ゝあさひさす あひしの宮の をしへ
にて 男のうハぎ 今ぞたつなり

○いそぎ物たつ時の歌

ゝつのくにの¹¹³ あしきゑびすの

きぬたちて 入日もときも

きらハざりけり

[[五十九]丁ウラ頭書]

ゝからこくの あらき^{ゑびす}夷の^{きぬ}衣

なれば ときをも日をも

きらハざりけり

○^{さる}申の日、物たつ事わろし。

[四十三丁オモテ頭書]

[Illustration:年かさの女が若い女

に着物に入れる中入れ綿の作り方

を教えているようす]

¹¹³ Cf. In 女大學教草: “津のくにに”

¹¹⁴ Cf. In 女大學寶箱: “つのくにの”

いそぎ^{もの}物^{とき}たつ^{うた}時の哥

ゝ津^つのくにに¹¹⁴ あしきゑび

すの きぬたちて ^{いりひ}入日も

^{とき}時も きらハざりけり

[Illustration caption:] 縫^{ぬひ}ひものをなす^つ図

ゝからこくの あらき^{ゑび}ゑび

すの ^{きぬ}衣なれば ときをも

^ひ日をも きらハざりけり

○^{さる}申の日、^{もの}物たつことわろし。

[四十三丁ウラ頭書]

[Illustration: 年かさの女が若い女
の助けを借りて中入れ綿を
着物に入れるようす]

[四十四丁オモテ頭書]

[Illustration: 年かさの女が協力して
火熨斗で着物の皺を伸ばし、
若い女が補助しているようす]

[四十四丁ウラ頭書]

[Illustration: 童女が年かさの女が
糸巻きを手伝い、年かさの女は
糸巻きを続けながら別の
年かさの女と話しているようす]

[四十五丁オモテ頭書]

ぬいはり
縫針のはじめハ、いづれと

いふことをしらず。衣裳いしやう

の製こしらへしよりあるなる

べし。もろこしの大昊たいけうと

[[五十九]丁ウラ頭書、上述の続き]

ぬいはり
縫針のはじめハ、いづれ

といふ事をしらず。衣裳いしやうを

製せいせしより有あるなるべし。

もろこしの大昊たいけうと申

申、^{ミカどきうしん}帝九針をつくるといふ。

申、^{ミカどきうしん}帝九針をつくりしと

又、^{らいき}礼記のうちに、^{はり}針に^{をつけ}紐

いふ。又、^{また}禮記のうちに

てぬ^{てう}ハんとあり。ワが朝、

針に^{はり}紐^{ひもつけ}付てぬ^{てう}わんと

^{おほあなむちのかミ}大^{おほすへづミのむすめ}巳貴神、^{てう}大陶^{をふあなむちのかミ}祇女、

あり。わが朝、^{てう}大陶^{をふあなむちのかミ}祇女、

^{いくたまよりひめ}活玉依姫に^{かよ}通ひ給ふ時、

^{おほすゑつミのむすめ}大陶^{いくたまよりひめ}祇女、^{かよ}活玉依姫に

^{そのふ}其^ほ父母^ミ索^{あらハ}頭^{うミ}んとて^{うミ}績

^{かよ}通ひ^{とき}給ふ時、^{そのふ}其^ほ父母^ミ見^{あらハ}頭

を^{へり}縁^{つく}に^{はり}作り、針^{うミ}鉤^{へり}を^{つく}

さんとて、^{うミ}績^{へり}麻^{つく}を縁^{うミ}に作

以て^{あやしきひと}神^も人の^{すそ}裾^{しんじん}裳^{しんじん}に

り、^{はり}針^{しんじん}をもつて神^{しんじん}人の

[[六十]丁オモテ頭書]

^{かけ}係^{あくるあさ}て、^{いと}明^{いと}旦、糸^{いと}のまに~~に、

^も裾^{あくるあさ}裳^{いと}にかけて、^{いと}明^{いと}旦、糸^{いと}

^{たづ}尋^{かぎあな}ねもとめしに、鑰^{かぎあな}穴^{かぎあな}

のまに~~に^{たづ}尋^{かぎあな}ねもと

より^{こへ}越^{ちぬ}、茅^{こへ}渟^{ちぬ}山^{こへ}をへ、

めしに、^{かぎあな}鑰^{こへ}穴^{こへ}より越^{こへ}へ

^{ミもろ}三^{ミもろ}諸^{ミもろ}山^{ミもろ}に留るとあれば、

^{ちぬやま}茅^{ミもろ}渟^{ミもろ}山^{ミもろ}をへ、^{ミもろ}三^{ミもろ}諸^{ミもろ}山^{ミもろ}

¹¹⁵ “Heri” has the meaning of a braided cord. However, in the *Kojiki*, the parent said “heso” (wound ramie yarn in a ball), not “heri.” Although “heri” is shown on the passage in *Onna daigaku oshie-gusa*, this part was translated as a ball of yarn instead of braided cord in the context. “へその紡績もちて針に貫き...” Nishimiya Kazutami 西宮一民 annot., *Kojiki 古事記*, (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1979), 136.

かミよ はり うミを
神代すでに針、績麻

ありけるなり。

[Illustration caption:]

ひ いふく の す づ
火のしにて衣服を熨斗図

[四十五丁ウラ頭書]

[Illustration: 若い女がからむしの

繊維をより、年かきの女は

それて糸を紡ぎ、別の年かき

の女はそれを見ているようす]

[四十六丁オモテ頭書]

きぬ
衣帛をのぶるうつは、物の

ひのし
熨斗といふ。此おこりは

むかし いん ちうわう と申おはし¹¹⁶

けり。きはめて あくわう なり

¹¹⁶ Cf. In 女大學教草: “と申人おはし”

¹¹⁷ Cf. In 女大學寶箱: “と申おはし”

に留るとあれば、かミ
神

よ はり うミを
代すでに針、績麻あ

りけるとなり。

[[六十]丁ウラ頭書]

きぬ
衣帛をのぶるうつは、物

ひのす この
の火熨斗といふ。此おこりハ

むかし いん ちうわう ひと 申おはし¹¹⁷

けり。きはめて あくわう 也ければ

ければ、おもき刑罰けいばつ ぐの具

をつくらんとて、先大に

熨斗こつとの火をいるゝうつハ

物をつくり、つミある者に

これをとらしむれば、¹¹⁹ 手

すなハちやけたゞれけるを

見て、其妃姐きさきだつき己とともに

是を見てわらひたはぶれ

たのしみけり。此うつハもの

は、その遺意い あ也といへり。

しかれども、本より衣裳いしやう

をしたてるに、ひのし

有べし。必かならず 紂王い あの遺意とも

いひがたし。

をもき刑罰けいばつ ぐの具をつくら

んとて、先大に熨斗まつおほ こつと ひいれの火入

る器うつハものをつくり、罪有者つミあるもの

にこれをいだかしむれバ、¹¹⁸ 手す

なハちやけたゞれけるを見て

其妃姐その ひだつき己とともに是これ ミを見

て笑わらひたはむれたのしみ

けり。此このうつハものハその

遺意い いなり也といへり。しかれ共ども、

本より衣裳もと いしやうを仕立したてるに

ひのしあるべし。必かならず ~ ~

紂王ちうわう い との遺意ともいひがたし。

[[六十一]丁オモテ頭書]

¹¹⁸ Cf. In 女大學寶箱: “とらしむれば”

¹¹⁹ Cf. In 女大學教草: “いだかしむれば”

[Illustration caption:]

はた ori ぬの つく
機を織、布を造る

[四十六丁ウラ頭書]

をうむ
苧績こと女の手わざの

ひとつ也。そのるい多し。

ちよま
苧麻ハ、まを、からむし也。

二月にうへて、八月にかり

かハ むき
其皮を剥とり竹を以て

おもて こそぐ あつき
その表を刮れば、皮の厚

ぬけ うら
ところをのづから脱て、裏の

すぢ
筋のごとくなるものを取り

に
てこれを煮てさらして

布に緝る。わが朝、国〜ゞに

あづま
つくれども、東のもがミを

[[六十一]丁ウラ頭書]

もめん
○木綿のこと、もろこしにハ

りやう よ
梁の代よりはじまれり。

てう かんむてんわうゑん
わが朝は、桓武天皇延

りやく
曆十八年いづくともなく小

ふね ミかわ くに ひよう
舟に乗て一人三河の國に漂

ちやく とうじん こんろんこく
着の唐人あり。崑崙国の

ひとなるべしといへり。¹²⁰ 其もて

ミ
るものゝ中に、實あり。

これをうへてミさしむ。そ

なかごろ その
のゝち、中頃より其たね

ぶんろくねんぢう
うせてなく。文禄年中

¹²⁰ Cf. In 女大學寶箱: “漂着唐人見て、崑崙国の人なるべしといへり。”

第一とす。又、^{けうま}[...]麻¹²¹ハごさ

いばといふ^{しろそ}白苧^のこと也。

国[〜]につくるもの也。此

から^を麻^がらとて、^{ぼん}盆に

^{しやうりやう}性^{はし}靈^の箆^にする也。あら

^{かハ}皮^ハあらそとて、^{ほそびき}糸繩^に

つくるなり。

^{たね}に種^をつたへて、あまね

くなりたる。わた^{いれ}入しを

いま^{ぬのこ}布子^{といふ}も、むかしハ

^{ぬの}布^に真綿^を入て着たる

ゆへなり。^{もめん}木綿^ハいま^{せつ}撰

[[六十二]丁オモテ頭書]

^つ津、^{おふみ}近江、^{かわち}河内、^{たんバ}丹波、^ミ三

^{かわ}河、^{そのほかくに〜}其外國々よりいづ

るなり。^{かんごく}寒国^にハ綿^{わた}の

^で出来^きあしきなり。

[Illustration caption:] 絹布を商ふ圖

[四十七丁オモテ頭書]

[Illustration caption:] [Left] へそまくてい

[Right] をによりかくるてい

¹²¹ In 女大學寶箱: ^{ほうま}[...]麻.

[四十七丁ウラ頭書]

ぬの ^{なんと}を第一とするに

より、奈良曝布といふ。^を苧

を撰^{えらび}ており、織立^{をりたて}て後に

灰湯^{あく}にて煮^にて木臼^{うす}にて搗^{つき}

洗^{あらひきよめ}浄^{さらす}て曝^{さらす}なり。さらさぬを

木布^{きびら}といふ。そのまゝもちゆる

故^きに、木^{ぬの}といふなり。布の

出^{いづ}る所多し。加賀^{かご}より出

るを八講^{はつかう}といふは、いにしへ

法花^{ほつげはつかう}八講^{ふせ}の布施^{ふせ}に、この布

をおほく用^{もち}ひしゆへ、其名

とす。高宮^{たかみや}縞^{あふみ}ハ、近江^{あふみ}の高宮

より出^{いづ}るなり。丹波^{たんば}よりもいづ

れども、奈良^{なら}よりハはるかに

[[六十二]丁ウラ頭書]

をうむ ^{をんな}て
○苧績^{をうむ}こと女^{をんな}の手^てわざ

のひとつ也。そのる^{おほ}ひ多く、

苧麻^{てうま}ハ、まを、からむし也。

二月^{ふたつき}にうへて、八月^{はちつき}にかり

そのかわをむき取^{たけ}、竹^{もつ}を以^{もつ}て

其^{そのおもて}表^{こそぐ}を刮^かれば、皮^{かわ}の厚^{あつき}

ところをのづから脱^{ぬけ}て、裏^{うら}

の筋^{すじ}のごとく成物^{なるもの}をとり

てこれを煮^にてさらして

布^{ぬの}に緝^{つく}る。我朝^{わがてう}、国々^{くに}につ

くれ共^{ひがし}、東^{ひがし}のも^ががミ^{だいいち}を第一

とす。又、^{また} ^{はうま} ¹²²麻^{あふみ}ハごさいばと

いふ^{しらそ}白苧^{しらそ}のこと也。国々^{くに}に

つくるもの也。此^{この}からを麻^を

¹²² In 女大學教草: ^{けうま} [...]麻.

げひん ちゞミ ゑちご いづ
下品也。縮布ハ越後より出。

おぢやちゞミ¹²³といふ。むかし^{あかし}明石

よりも出しゆへに、上品を^{ほん}

あかし^{ちゞミ}縮とも

いふなり。

[四十八丁オモテ頭書]

[Illustration caption:] [Left] かせくゝるてい

[Right] かせくゝるてい

[四十八丁ウラ頭書]

いしやうのしやうじつくし
○衣裳之正字 盡

おもて うら せぬひ ゑり したがひ
裯 裡 禱 襟 内襟

おくび わきのぬい そで たもと もすそ
衽 [...] 袖 袂 裾裔

からとて^{ほん}盆に^{しやうりやう}精靈會の

はし^{はし}箸にする也。あらかわハあ

[[六十三]丁オモテ頭書]

らそとて、糸繩^{ほそひき}につくる

なり。

ぬの^{ぬの} なんと^{なんと} だいいち^{だいいち}
○布ハ南都を第一とする

により、奈良曝布^{ならさらし}といふ。

を^を ゑら^{ゑら} 苧を撰びておりたて^{のち}後

あくゆ^{あくゆ} に^に きうす^{きうす}
に灰湯にて煮て木臼に

つきあらひきよめ^{つきあらひきよめ} さらす^{さらす}
て搗洗 浄て曝也。さらさ

ぬを^{きひら}木布といふ。そのまゝ

もち^{もち} 用ゆる故に、木^きといふ也。

ぬの^{ぬの} 布のいづる^{ところおほ}所多し。

か^か が^が 加賀よりいづる^{はつかう}を八講

¹²³ Cf. In 女大學教草: “おぢやら”

おび おゝおび おびのむすびめ ひ も
帯 紳 [...] ¹²⁴ 紐子

ほっけはつ
といふは、いにしへ法花八

つ な てぬぐひ あせぬぐひ ぎょうきん
索細 手巾 汗巾 [...] ¹²⁵

かう ふせ この をふ
講の布施に此ぬのを多

ひだ ふくさ たすき
[...] 手帕 襷褌 手纏

もち ゆへ そのな
く用ひし故、其名とす。

うはき わきあげ がづき ゆかた
袍 袂掖 蒙衣 浴衣

たかみやじま あふみ たかみや
高宮縞ハ、近江の高宮

そでなし むつき はだぎ したぎ
[...] ¹²⁶ 褌 汗繻 襦

たんば
よりいづるなり。丹波よ

[[六十三]丁ウラ頭書]

いと の るい
○絲之類

なら
りもいづれとも、奈良

いとばな いとふし いとすぢ きぬいと
緒 類 ¹²⁷ 縷 絹糸

げひん
よりハはるかに下品なり。

よこいと まがい うらいと かすいと
線 絲線 扣線 [...] ¹²⁸

ちゞみ ゑちご
縮布ハ越後よりいづ

あらいと しらいと たて ぬき
糸頭 胡糸 経 緯

おぢやら ¹²⁹といふ。むかし

くみいと たく ぼく ぼたん よる
條 [...] ¹³⁰木 鎖[...] ¹³¹ 紕

あかし
明石よりもいでし

¹²⁴ 衣篇+會の異体字?

¹²⁵ 衣篇+分の異体字.

¹²⁶ 衣篇+随の旁

¹²⁷ “Neppu yān ネップヤーン,” *Fashion-heart.com*, accessed on December 5, 2015, <http://www.fashion-heart.com/term/material/jp-ne.htm>

¹²⁸ 衣篇+疊

¹²⁹ In 女大學教草: “おぢやちゞミ”

[四十九丁オモテ頭書]

にしき きんらん おりもの
錦 織金 綺

ゆえ
故に、あかしちぢみとも

きんしや しや うすもの ちりめん しづら
金線 紗 羅 縠 織

いふなり。

りんず ぬめりんず くはんりんず さあや
綾 光綾 花綾 紗綾

[Illustration caption:] 蓬萊の圖

すゞし ねり どんす はぶたへ
絹 練 緞子 光絹

つむぎ びろうど とろめん かとり
紬 絨 兜羅綿 縑

しゆちん しゆす し まきぬ
七絲 八絲 柳條絹

さらさそめ かなきん
印華布 西洋布

さよ ミぬの りうもん ねり
苔布々 索紬 練

た ふ の かのこぞめ らしや
大布 幅 縷 羅紗

らせいた あらわた ふるわた つミわた
羅背板 縷 縷 絮

もめん はんや
吉貝 木綿なり 班枝華

た び ぞうり ぼくり せつた
單皮 草履 屐 雪駄

はなを まえたれ
鼻繩 蔽膝

130 啄の異体字

131 衣篇+哭

をりもの
右ハ織物類の字也

[四十九丁ウラ頭書]

はた しもはた ちきり よこ おさかまち
機 布機 膝 升 箴框

へ くだ¹³² たていと¹³³ いのつめ くつひき
綜 [...] 榎 臥機

まねき ひ おさ わく わくのゑ
機囁 杼 箴 篋 柅

はり ゆびぬき ひのし へそ
鍼 [...] ¹³⁴ 鉈鉈塙 績纏

くゝり いとぐるま つむ まきいと¹³⁵
絡柅 紡車 紡錘 [...]

をこけ あめ わたくり
績桶 綿筒 攪車

まいは ものたち きぬた
撥柅 裁刀 搗碓 衣砧

きぬまき つち わたうちゆみ
[...] ¹³⁶ 横衣杵 綿弓

ものさし ふみばこ ぶんこう すゞりばこ
尺 筥 文匣 硯匣

みづいれ つくえ はさみ ミゝかき
水滴 案 卓子 剪刀 [...]子

¹³² 竹冠+浮のつくり

¹³³ 糸偏+崔

¹³⁴ 手篇+沓

¹³⁵ 木偏+商

¹³⁶ 石偏+廷

てがたな かみそり はし じきろう
削刀 剃刀 筋 箸 盒

さら さはち まるぼん ふるひ
盤 碟 磁盆 浅仔 篩

たばこいれ たばこぼん きせる ぜ ん
烟盆 烟盤 煙筒 食案

べんとう てうし かんなべ さかつき
行廚 注子 酒鑪 扨 盃

ちよく き じ ほうき みみたらい
盞仔 茶匙 箒 匣 盤

はんざう たんす いかう くしぼこ
匣 衣廚 梳 衣桁 櫛匣

けぬき すごろくぼん さい つぶら
鑷 局 骸 衣籠

つねもちゆる じるい
右常用の字類也

[五十丁オモテ頭書]

[Illustration caption:] [Left] わくくるてい

[Right] まひばくるてい

[五十丁ウラ頭書]

もめん
木綿のこと、もろこしには

れう よ
梁の代よりはじまれり。

てう くわんむてんわうゑんりやく
わが朝は、桓武天皇延暦

十八年、いつくともなく小舟に

のりて一人三河の國になかれつく漂着

とうじん唐人見て、こんろんこく崑崙國の人なる

べしといへり。¹³⁷ そのもてる物の

中に、ミ実あり。これをうへさ

しむ。そのうち、なかころ中世より

そたたね種うせてなし。ぶんろく文禄

年中に、たね種をつたへて、あま

ねくなりたり。わた入を

いまぬのこ布子といふもも、むかしハ

布にまわた真綿を入てきたる故

なり。もめん木綿、今ハせつつ摂津、あふミ近江、

かハち河内、たんぼ丹波、ミカハ三河、其外國々

よりいづる也。かんごく寒國にハ綿

出来あしき

なり。

¹³⁷ Cf. In 女大學教草: “ひようちやく漂着とうじんの唐人あり。こんろんこく崑崙國のひとなるべしといへり。”

[五十一丁オモテ頭書]

[Illustration caption:] [Left] いとつむぐてい

[Right] しのまき

[五十一丁ウラ頭書]

きぬいとをこしらゆる^{うつハ}器

おほ^{はんしや}多し。幡車といふハ、まいば也。

あしや^{つむぐ}緯車ハ、いどのよこを紡もの

をいふ。^{せうはうしや}小紡車ハ糸をつむぐ

くるま^{らくしや}車也。絡車ハ、いとをわくに

うつすものをいふなり。いとを

とること、わが朝にハ^{きやう は ぶた}京羽二

重を第一とす。^{かど}加賀、^{おうしう}奥州

よりいづるもの多けれども

ミヤこにしかず。其中に

もろねり^{むくねり}諸練、無垢練^{しな}138の品あり。

¹³⁸ Both are glossy silk cloths but are made by different weaving methods or yarns. *Nihon dai hyakka zensho* 日本大百科全書, s.v. “Habutae 羽二重,” accessed on November 21, 2015,

<http://japanknowledge.com.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/lib/display/?lid=1001000190223>

よきをゑり、いと羽^{はぶた}二重

といふ。[...]白^{きしろ}のれう品^{しな}なり。

もと絡^{らく}の白雲村^{しらくもむら}にて、織^{をり}

いだすいたしハ所^{ところ}～～に

おほし。羽^{はぶた}二重、熨斗^{のし}

目^め、斤色^{かたいろ}、綾嶋^{あやしま}、亀屋^{かめや}

總ミな西陣^{にしじん}¹³⁹より

出る也。

[五十二丁オモテ頭書]

[Illustration caption:] ぬのへるてい

[五十二丁ウラ頭書]

あらひすゝぎ
澣^{あらひすゝぎ}汚^{あらひすゝぎ}ハ女のすべきわざ也。

ゆく秋^{あき}ふくる礎^{きぬた}のをとも

冬^{ふゆ}まつ宿^{やど}のまうけなら

¹³⁹ Nishijin is currently located in Kamigyō-ku, Kyoto. *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. “Nishijinori 西陣織,” accessed on November 21, 2015,

<http://japanknowledge.com.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/lib/display/?lid=20020332030cON0i7FBV>

ずや。むかしは、^{ぶんわう}文王の^{きさき}后

^ふ母の^ぼもとへ^{かへ}帰りミ給ふ

ときの^{さい}際に、^{わが}薄汚我私^{きさき}薄

^{わが}ころもを^{すすぎん}すすぎん
我衣¹⁴⁰とあり。これ天子の

^{きさき}后妃としてかくのごとし。

今の^よ世ハ、よき人ハあらひ

はり、ものをきることなく、

まして^て手にかけてする

ことなき。身も見もをぬ

よう^ほ本意^あなけれ。ころもを

あらひすゝぎにハ、先^{あく}灰汁

に^{かへ}和してこれをおとす也。

つけて^{あぶら}油のしみたるハ^く滑

¹⁴⁰ “...薄汚我私, 薄浣我衣. 害浣害否. 歸寧父母.” There is a typo in this quotation: the character “浣” is missing.

“*Shijing jizhuan_Shijing juan zhi yi_Zhu Xi jizhuan* 詩經集傳_詩經卷之一_朱熹集傳,” *Chinese Text Project*, accessed on December 1, 2015, <http://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=5576&page=25#父母>.

せき こ
石の粉をふりかけて、すゝ

ぐべし。よくおつるなり。

[五十三丁オモテ頭書]

あらひはりしあげ、手^て染^{ぞめ}ハ

女のなぐさミにもすべきて

ワざ、かつハ身^ミをつかふひとつ

ぞかし。染^{そめ}めものゝ中にも

紅^べ按^に染^{ぞめ}の心やすくはなやか

にいできて、紅^べ花^ににまさる

をこゝにするす。

一、すほう 四十目

一、ずミ草[...]也 同

一、かりやす 十二分

一、めうばん 三分

右ひとつにして、水二升

程入てせんじよて出る

をまちていくたびも

そむべし。ことの外色

よく見ばえ也。此法^{ひみつ}秘密

なれども

しるす。

[五十三丁ウラ頭書]

[Illustration caption:] [Left] せんたくするてい

[Right] すまし物のてい

[五十四丁オモテ頭書]

[Illustration: 若い女と年かさの女が

二人して洗い張りをするようす]

[五十四丁ウラ頭書]

ふじん しらわた かつく
婦人の白綿をつミて被を

わたぼうし
綿帽子とす。こしらへやう

のり
糊がけんあり。のりはひめ

のりよりハ^{いも}藷のりよし。

いものりなくバ^{すいせん}水仙の根

をすりひくべし。都^{みやこ}にて

つくる所一^{でう}條の所、入江^{いりえどの}殿と

いふ^{あまでら}尼寺なり。三^{さんじ}時、智恩^{ちおんみん}院

と申す。この所を入江の

つ^じ辻子といふ。浄土宗智恩^{じやうどうちおんみん}院

は 派なり。 ^{こうき いゑ} 高貴の家より

あま 尼となりて、 ^{てら すみ} 此寺より住

たまふ。 ^{じりやう} 寺領ハ二百石なり。

此寺の ^{あま} 尼のつくる所よし

とす。 ^{しやくながおび かづきかたびら} 或尺長帯、被帷子

をこしらゆるなり。今は

びらり、 ^{ぼうし りやうくち} 帽子、両口、なれわた

などあり。

[五十五・六十五丁オモテ頭書]

[Illustration: 若い女と年かさの女が、
綿帽子に入れる綿を摘んでいる一方、
もう一人の年かさの女が
綿を水で湿らせているようす]

[五十五・六十五丁ウラ頭書]

はた 機のはじめハ、 ^{くわうてい しん} 黄帝の臣

はくよ 伯余といふ人、はじめ ^{あさいと} て麻糸

^{ゆび} を指にかけてこしらへたるを、

のち よ いふく をり
後の代に衣服を織になり

たるなり。もとより黄帝の

きさき せいやうし
后、西陵氏と申せし始て

こかひ くわ まゆ
蠶て桑をとり繭をこし

をりやふ こう
らへ織紵の功をなし給ふ

なれば、黄帝よりある

べし。ワが朝にハ、天照大神

わかひるめ たか
の御いもうと稚日姫の高

はた をち
機より墜給ふとあり。又

じんたい まき
神代の巻にも、機のことあれ

はたひ こころ そなへ
ば機苧の心の備ること

ひさ
久しい。こハもろこしに

ならひて織もの多ければ、

はた かみ したはた
機のりやう上はた下機のミ

ならざるなり。

[六十六丁オモテ頭書]

[Illustration: 若い女が機織りをし、
布をかぶった年かきの女が糸を
織り糸を送り支え持っているようす]

A.2 Translations

A.2.1 *The Treasure Box of the Women's Greater Learning*

[leaf 41 recto headnote]

[Illustration: A scene in which an older woman is cutting clothes with a young woman]

[leaf 41 verso headnote]

[Illustration: A scene in which three young women are sewing clothes]

[leaf 42 recto headnote]

Since sewing is one of the most important skills for women, it should be taught to girls at a young age, much like writing. Nowadays, girls practice *sugoroku* backgammon, *kouta* ballads, *koto* harp or *shamisen* lute, but do not learn how to sew. Even if a woman can afford to hire servants and employ maids for clothing-related matters because her family is wealthy, she should still learn how to sew as a pastime. Because it has been seen so in old books that long ago the sage King Wen's (Wen Wang) consort wove, sewed, washed and stretched clothes by herself, I believe that women who do not take care of clothing-related matters are sinful. Auspicious days should be selected for sewing. However, certain *waka* poems should be recited if cutting and sewing are done on inauspicious days since clothing is the most important matter in the three matters of human life: clothes, food and housing. Hence, clothing-related matters should not be treated in a slovenly fashion and done carelessly.

[leaf 42 verso headnote]

The following *waka* poems are recited when clothes are cut on inauspicious days:

I always
follow
the all-powerful gods' teaching!
Wealth has increased
in this home because of my devoutness.

Whenever I cut clothes for
a *karakoromo* garment¹⁴¹
that Princess Morning
initiated people into making,
I shall be delighted.

In the morning sunlight,
because it is a doctrine
of Kasuga Shrine
where I met the man,
I will definitely cut his jacket now!

¹⁴¹ Chinese-style garment.

- *Waka* poems are recited when clothes have to be cut in a rush on inauspicious days:

I cut the clothes
of a vulgar barbarian
from Tsu Province,
but could not spare
the setting sun and time with him.¹⁴²

Because of a coarse barbarian's
clothes
from a foreign country,
the bygone time and days with him
could not be cut up.

- Cutting clothes on the day of Monkey¹⁴³ is inauspicious.

[leaf 43 recto headnote]

[Illustration: A scene in which an older woman is teaching a young woman how to make a cotton lining to put inside a *kimono*]¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Cf. footnote 186. In *Onna daigaku oshie-gusa*: “In Tsu Province, I cut a vulgar barbarian’s clothes, but the setting sun and time with him cannot be spared.”

¹⁴³ The ninth day in twelve signs of the Chinese zodiac.

[leaf 43 verso headnote]

[Illustration: A scene in which an older woman is putting cotton lining inside a *kimono* with a young woman helping her]

[leaf 44 recto headnote]

[Illustration: A scene in which an older woman is ironing wrinkles out of *kimono* with a *hinoshi* pressing iron; a young woman is assisting her]

[leaf 44 verso headnote]

Illustration: [A scene in which a young girl is helping an older woman wind yarn by hand. As the older woman is doing this, she speaks to another older woman.]

[leaf 45 recto headnote]

No one knows when sewing first began. We assume it must have started when clothing was made for the first time. It is said that the Chinese emperor Dàhào invented nine types of acupuncture needles.¹⁴⁵ In the *Book of Rites (Liji)*, there is a description stating that someone

¹⁴⁴ A similar illustration entitled "*wata-tsumi*" is shown in *Jinrin kinmo zui*. "*Wata-tsumi*" means to make a cotton lining for quilts or clothes. Makieshi, Genzaburo 蒔繪師源三郎, *Shosa-iri yurai-iri jinrin kinmō zui* 所作入由来入・人倫訓蒙図彙, reprint version in *Kisho Fukusei Kankō sōsho*, dai 2-ki, (Tokyo: Beizandō, 1920)

¹⁴⁵ “又曰：黃帝有熊氏命雷公 ... 為《難經》。教制九針，著《內外術經》十八卷。” “*Taiping Yulan_Fanshu Bu Er_Yi yi* 太平御覽_方術部二_醫一,” *Chinese Text Project*, accessed on December 1, 2015, <http://ctext.org/text.pl?node=396229&if=en>

sewed with needle and yarn.¹⁴⁶ In our country, it has been said that when Ōanamuchi no Kami¹⁴⁷ visited Ōsuetsumi's daughter Ikutamayori Hime, her parents wanted to identify who her husband was.¹⁴⁸ She wound ramie yarn into a skein and sewed the yarn to the train of his outer skirt. The next morning, they followed the yarn. It went through a keyhole, passed Mount Chinu and stopped at Mount Mimoro.¹⁴⁹ Because of this story, it is said there have been needles and ramie yarn ever since the age of the gods.

[leaf 45 verso headnote]

[Illustration: A scene in which a woman is spinning *karamushi* ramie fibers, an older woman is winding the spun fibers, and another older woman is watching over the other two women]

¹⁴⁶ “...衣裳綻裂 紉箴請補綴.” “Liji_Ni Ze_13 禮記_内則_13,” *Chinese Text Project*, accessed on December 1, 2015, <http://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=9908>.

¹⁴⁷ An alternative name of *Ōkuninushi* 大国主命. *Dejitaru daijisen* デジタル大辞泉, s.v. “*Ōanamuchi* 大己貴神,” accessed on November 21, 2015, <http://japanknowledge.com.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/lib/display/?lid=2001002173300>

¹⁴⁸ A typical aristocrat marriage style in ancient Japan. A nobleman visited wives who lived in their fathers' house.

¹⁴⁹ Because the name of quoted Hime is shown in this quotation, it may be quoted from *Kojiki*. Ōanamuchi no Kami is as an alternative name of Ōmononushi no Kami. Mount Mimori is an alternative name of Mount Miwa located in Sakurai City in Nara Prefecture. Ōmononushi no Kami 大物主神 residing on the mountain has been worshipped in Ōmiwa shrine. “あは、大物主の大神、陶津耳の命の女、活玉依毗売を娶りて...” Nishimiya, *Kojiki*, 135.

[leaf 46 recto headnote]

The tool that is used to press fabric is called a *hinoshi* pressing iron. It is believed to have originated with King Zhòu (Zhòu Wang) of Yin¹⁵⁰ long ago. The king was a cold-hearted tyrant. He invented a device with a firebox attached to the top as an instrument of torture for criminals and forced offenders to hold the device. He laughed at the offenders' hands, which were hideously burned, and ridiculed them, along with his consort Dájǐ.¹⁵¹ It is said that this device was King Zhòu's idea. However, because people had been using ironing as a method to press cloth in the past, it is hard to say for sure that the *hinoshi* pressing iron was invented by King Zhòu.

[leaf 46 verso headnote]

The work of spinning yarn out of ramie is an important skill for women. There are many kinds of ramie. *Chōma* means *mao* ramie, or *karamushi* ramie.¹⁵² It is planted in the second month of the year and harvested in the eighth month of the year. When you peel and scrape off both sides of the peel with a bamboo scraper, it sheds its thick peel. The remaining fibrous material is collected, boiled, and bleached to make fabric. Although *chōma* ramie is produced in various

¹⁵⁰ The last king of Yin dynasty. Like the last kings of other dynasties, legends say that King Zhòu was a dishonorable and corrupt king [-1070 BC or 1060 BC?]. *Nihon dai hyakka zensho*, s.v. “Chūō 紂王,” accessed on November 21, 2015, <http://japanknowledge.com.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/lib/display/?lid=1001000151637>

¹⁵¹ Chinese legends say she was a femme fatale whose beauty caused the downfall of a dynasty. *Nihon dai hyakka zensho*, s.v. “Dakki 妲己,” accessed on November 21, 2015, <http://japanknowledge.com.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/lib/display/?lid=1001000143534>

¹⁵² The scientific name is *Nippononivea*. *Chōma* is a kind of ramie which grows naturally in Japan. *Ei-Wa Wa-Ei jiten* 英和・和英辞典, s.v. “Mao 真麻,” accessed on November 21, 2015, <http://ejje.weblio.jp/content/真麻>.

provinces in our country, the products from the Mogami region on the east side of Japan are considered the best ramie fabric. *Kyōma* means *shiraso*, so-called *gosaiba*. It is produced in various provinces. This peel is called *ogara*, which is made into chopsticks for the spirits of ancestors during the Bon Festival. The coarse outer layer from which a thin rope is made is called *araso*.

[leaf 47 recto headnote]

Illustration caption at the right side: A scene in which [an older woman is] spinning *karamushi* ramie yarn. Illustration caption at the left side: A scene which [a young woman is] winding the yarn into a skein.

[leaf 47 verso headnote]

The cotton fabric from Nanto,¹⁵³ which is considered the best, is called *Nara sarashi*.¹⁵⁴ The process consists of weaving fabric from selected good yarns, boiling the fabric in lye, pounding it in a wooden mortar, rinsing and bleaching it in the sun. The unbleached cotton fabric is called *kihira*. Because the fabric is used without bleaching, it is called *ki*.¹⁵⁵ There are many districts where cotton fabric is produced. Cotton fabric produced in Kaga Province is called *hakkō*. The cloth derived from this fabric was often used for the offering to *hokke hakkō*.¹⁵⁶ Hence the name.

¹⁵³ Currently Nara City.

¹⁵⁴ Bleached cotton fabric.

¹⁵⁵ *Ki* is written 木 or 生 in Chinese script. The meaning is “unprocessed” in Japanese.

¹⁵⁶ A religious gathering to worship and chant the Lotus Sutra. *Bukkyōōgo daijiten*. *Gekan* 佛教語大辭典. 下卷, s.v. “*Hokke hakkō* 法花八講.”

Takamiyajima is produced at Takamiya in Ōmi Province. Cotton fabric is also produced in Tanba Province, but its quality is significantly lower than the cotton fabric from Nara. *Chijimi*¹⁵⁷ is produced in Echigo Province. It is called *Ojiya chijimi*. It is also called *Akashi chijimi* because long ago it was produced in Akashi Province. [leaf 48 recto headnote]

[Illustration caption at the right side:] A scene in which [a young woman is] reeling spun yarn [in a rectangular frame.] [Illustration caption at the left side:] A scene in which [an older woman is] reeling spun yarn [in a rectangular frame.]

[leaf 48 verso headnote]

○ Collection of *shōji*¹⁵⁸ Chinese Characters Related to Clothes

Omote (outer part) *Ura* (inner part) *Senui* (centre stitch on back) *Eri* (collar) *Shitagai* (inner collar) *Okubi* (front inside panel on the edge under outer collar) *Waki no nui* (stitch on side parts) *Sode* (sleeve) *Tamoto* (sleeve pouch) *Mosuso* (train of outer skirt) *Obi* (sash) *Ōobi* (wide sash for Chinese-style male court dress) *Obi no musubime* (the part of sash knot) *Himo* (cord) *Tsuna* (rope) *Tenugui* (hand towel) *Asenugui* (a piece of cloth to wipe sweat) *Zōkin* (damp cloth) *Hida* (pleat, frill, gathers) *Fukusa* (small cloth for gift-wrapping or used in tea ceremony to wipe utensils) *Tasuki* (cord used to tuck up the sleeves of a kimono) *tasuki*¹⁵⁹ *Uwagi* (round-necked robe worn by noble court dress) *Wakiage* ([This term is not identified.])¹⁶⁰ *Kazuki*

¹⁵⁷ Crepe clothes.

¹⁵⁸ 正字 (standard graphs).

¹⁵⁹ Sic. The word “tasuki” is printed in a small font in the original book.

¹⁶⁰ A part of the armhole?

(female coat slipped over her head) *Yukata* (casual summer *kimono*) *Sodenashi* (sleeveless)
Mutsuki (diaper) *Hadagi* (undergarment, in direct with the skin) *Shitag* (undergarment)

○ Kinds of threads/yarns

Itobana (end of yarns) *Itofushi* (knobs of yarns) *Itosuji* (a thread) *Kinuito* (silk yarns) *Yokoito*
(weft) *Magai* (silk fish line) *Urait* (back side thread) *Kasuito* ([This term is not identified.])¹⁶¹
Arait (roving) *Shirait* ([This term is not identified.])¹⁶² *Tate* (wrap) *Nuki* (woof) *Kumiito*
([This term is not identified.])¹⁶³ *Takuboku* (a pattern of Japanese braided cord that looks
woodpecker holes) *Botan* (button) *Yoru* (edge of clothes and/or braid a code with threads)

[leaf 49 recto headnote]

Nishiki (brocade) *Kinran* (gold brocade) *Orimono* (a type of silk twill fabric) *Kinsha* (fine
crepe cloth) *Sha* (a kind of silk gauze) *Usumono* (silk gauze) *Chirimen* (crepe fabric) *Shijira* (a
kind of crepe fabric) *Rinzu* (a kind of silk twill fabric) *Numerinzu* (a kind of silk twill fabric,
more glossy than *rinzu*) *Kan rinzu* ([This term is not identified.])¹⁶⁴ *Saaya* (a kind of silk twill
fabric) *Suzushi* (un-glossed silk fabric) *Neri* (glossy silk fabric) *Donsu* (Japanese damask)
Habutae (smooth and glossed crepe fabric) *Tsumugi* (pongee) *Birōdo* (velvet) *Toromen* (fabric
made of cotton and hare wool yarns) *Katori* (fine silk fabric) *Shuchin* (a kind of satin, with
multi-color patterns) *Shusu* (satin) *Shimaginu* (a kind of crepe fabric) *Sarasazome* (chintz)
Kanakin (unbleached muslin or canequim) *Siyominuno* (fabric made of Japanese lima or rough

¹⁶¹ Thick yarns to sew a *tatami* mat?

¹⁶² Threads/yarns derived from Western Regions?

¹⁶³ Yarn for a braid code?

¹⁶⁴ Silk twill fabric with a flower pattern?

ramie fabric) *Ryūmon* (a kind of pongee) *Neri tafu* (glossed silk fabric) *No* (unit to measure the width of cloth) *Kanokozome* (dappled spot tie-dye) *Rasha* (woollen cloth) *Raseita* (thin woollen fabric) *Ara-wata* (pieces of floss) *Furu-wata* (old cotton) *Tsumi-wata* (a sheet of floss) *Momen* (cotton), this means *momen* (cotton)

Pan'ya ([This term is not identified.])¹⁶⁵ *Tabi* (Japanese tabi socks) *Zōri* (Japanese sandals) *Pokuri* (lacquered wooden clogs with rounded soles) *Setta* (Japanese bamboo sandals) *Hanao* (thongs) *Maedare* (apron)

The above collection is Chinese characters used for fabric-related terms.

[leaf 49 verso headnote]

Hata (loom) *Shimo-hata* (a loom used to weave ramie or cotton cloth) *Chikiri* (a part of loom, onto which the warp is wound) *Yoko* ([This term is not identified.])¹⁶⁶ *Osakamachi* (the frame of weaving reed) *He* (heddle) *Kuda* (thin pipe, onto which spun yarns are wound) *Tateito* (warp, weft) *Inozume* ([This term is not identified.])¹⁶⁷ *Kutsuhiki* (hemp rope that control a held opening-device) *Maneki* (heald opening-device) *Hi* (shuttle) *Osa* (reed) *Waku* (frame) *Waku no e* (shaft bar) *Hari* (needle) *Yubinuki* (thimble) *Hinoshigote* (iron) *Heso* (a ball of spun yarn) *Kukuri* (a design method, which is marking weaving points one by one) *Itoguruma* (spinning wheel) *Tsumu* (spindle) *Makiito* ([This term is not identified.])¹⁶⁸ *Ogoke* (a cylindrical

¹⁶⁵ Cotton tree?

¹⁶⁶ Weft?

¹⁶⁷ A part of loom?

¹⁶⁸ Spun yarns that wound on a shuttle?

container that stores ramie yarns) *Ame* ([This term is not identified.])¹⁶⁹ *Wata-kuri* (cotton gin) *Maiba* (warping reel) *Monotachi* (sewing knife) *Kinuta* (stone block for beating cloth) *kinuta* *Kinumaki* ([This term is not identified.])¹⁷⁰ *Yokotsuchi* (horizontal mallet) *Wata-uchiyumi* (cotton bow, a tool that decontaminate cotton) *Monosashi* (ruler) *Fumibako* (letter case) *Bunkō* (document chest) *Suzuribako* (inkstone case) *Mizuire* (small water container to pour water into an ink stone) *Tsukue* (desk) *tsukue* *Hasami* (scissors) *Mimikaki* (earpick tool) *Tegatana* (handy knife) *Kamisori* (razor) *Hashi* (chopsticks) *hashi* *Jikirō* (wicker basket that stores foods like a luncheon-basket) *Sara* (dish, plate) *sara* *Sahachi* (shallow large porcelain bowl) *Marubon* (round tray) *Furui* (bamboo sieve) *Tabakoire* (tobacco case) *Tabakobon* (tobacco tray) *Kiseru* (Japanese pipe with metal tipped stem) *Zen* (four-legged tray) *Bentō* (home-packed meal to eat outside the home) *Chōshi* (rice wine decanter) *Kannabe* (special pan for warming up rice wine) *Sakazuki* (flat cup for rice wine) *Choku* (small cup for rice wine) *Saji* (spoon) *Hōki* (broom) *Mimidarai* (a type of lacquerware, a basin with two handles on both sides) *Hanzō* (1. a type of lacquerware used to pour liquids, it looks like a tea pot without handle. 2. basin of water with two handles on either side used for washing one's face or hands) *Tansu* (drawers) *tansu* *Ikō* (rack for hanging kimono cloth) *Kushibako* (Japanese toiletries case) *Kenuki* (tweezers) *Sugorokuban* (*sugoroku* game board) *Sai* (dice) *Tsuzura* (wicker basket that stores clothes)

The above collection is Chinese characters that people use daily.

¹⁶⁹ A cylinder container that keeps cottons?

¹⁷⁰ Stone block for beating silk cloth?

[leaf 50 recto headnote]

[Illustration caption at the right side:] A scene in which [a little boy is] winding yarns on a reel.

[Illustration caption at the left side:] A scene in which [an older woman is] winding yarns on a bobbin.

[leaf 50 verso headnote]

The cultivation of cotton in China begun during the Liang dynasty (502-557). In our country, a Chinese man was carried on a small boat from an unknown place and cast ashore on the coast of Mikawa Province in Enryaky 18 (799) in the reign of the Emperor Kanmu. People saw him and said that he was an Indian man.¹⁷¹ There were cotton flowers¹⁷² in his belongings. They were planted and grew cotton flowers. After that, in the not too distant past, the cottonseeds had been lost. In the Bunroku era (1592-1596), cottonseeds were brought over from abroad again and popularized widely. Cotton-padded clothes are called *nunoko* because people used to wear clothes padded with silk-floss in the olden days. Nowadays, cotton is grown in Settsu, Ōmi, Kawachi, Tanba, Mikawa and other provinces. Cotton does not grow well in cold provinces.

Illustration caption: A picture of male and female merchants selling silk fabric.

[leaf 51 recto headnote]

[Illustration caption at the right side:] A scene in which [a young woman is] pounding cotton to prepare for spinning yarn. [Illustration caption at the left side:] A scene in which [an older woman is] spinning cotton yarn.

¹⁷¹ Or a Malay man. *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. “Konronjin 崑崙人,” accessed on November 21, 2015,

<http://japanknowledge.com.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/lib/display/?lid=200201ac506aMo5cE4Ve>

¹⁷² Original text describes “mi 實.” They probably mean cotton flowers or wata no mi 綿の実.

[leaf 51 verso headnote]

There are many tools to spin silk yarn. *Hansha* means *maiba*. *Isha* is the tool by which wool is spun, and *shōbōsha* is the spinning-wheel for silk yarns. *Rakusha* is a tool onto which spun yarns are wound. In the spinning industry of our country, *habutae* in Kyoto is the best quality. It is ecru color good product. There are many silk clothes from Kaga Province or Oshū region, but they are inferior to the silk clothes from Kyoto. In the silk clothes, there are *moroneri* cloth and *mukuneri* cloth. Originally, they were woven in Shirakumo village in Kyoto, but now they are made here and there. *Habutae*, *noshime*, *katairo*, *ayashima*, and *kameya*, all of them, are made in Nishijin.

[leaf 52 recto headnote]

[Illustration caption:] A scene in which [a young woman and an older woman] are arranging an array of wraps [outside].

[leaf 52 verso headnote]

Washing is a task that women should do. Doesn't the sound of someone beating cloth on a stone block in late autumn mean the preparation of a home that is waiting for winter? It has been told that long ago when the consort of King Wen visited her parents, she said that she washed her clothes by herself. If the emperor's consort did this, how much more you must do so. In this day and age, women who are well-off do not even wash, mend, and care. Avoid these things or your body and appearance will be filthy. When you wash clothes, first soak them in lye and rinse them. Dredge powdered talc over oil stains and wash the cloth in clean water to rinse off this type of stain. It washes well.

[leaf 53 recto headnote]

After you have washed and stretched the clothes, it is useful to know how to dye fabric as a beneficial skill and it's just fun to do. Above all, *benizome* can dye fabrics with ease and make them a brilliant color among dyeing methods. We mention that *Caesalpinia sappan*¹⁷³ is an even better ingredient than safflowers.

1. *Caesalpinia sappan*: 40-*monme*¹⁷⁴

1. *Zumi*,¹⁷⁵ this is [...] made from grasses: same as above

1. *Miscanthus tinctorius*:¹⁷⁶ 12-*fun*¹⁷⁷

1. Talc: 3-*pun*

Mix the above ingredients, infuse them in 2-*shō* of water and wait until it brews very well. Soak the fabric in the juice many times. The color becomes impressive much more than you can imagine. This technique was secret, but is released specially here.

¹⁷³ “Cf. *Wamyō shō*. 6 和名抄. 六, *Bunmei-bon setsuyōshū* 文明本節用集, *Enpō 8-nen gōrui setsuyōshū*. 4 延宝八年合類節用集. 四.” *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. “Suō 蘇芳,” accessed on November 21, 2015,

<http://japanknowledge.com.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/lib/display/?lid=200202446769gUT1OvGr>

¹⁷⁴ “1-momne = 3.75 g.” *Daijñ* 大辭林, third edition, s.v. “Monme 匁,” accessed on November 21, 2015.

Kotobanku. [https://kotobank.jp/word/匁・文目-](https://kotobank.jp/word/匁・文目-399407#E5.A4.A7.E8.BE.9E.E6.9E.97.20.E7.AC.AC.E4.B8.89.E7.89.88/)

[399407#E5.A4.A7.E8.BE.9E.E6.9E.97.20.E7.AC.AC.E4.B8.89.E7.89.88/](https://kotobank.jp/word/匁・文目-399407#E5.A4.A7.E8.BE.9E.E6.9E.97.20.E7.AC.AC.E4.B8.89.E7.89.88/)

¹⁷⁵ *Zumi* means lye made from the ashes of grasses?

¹⁷⁶ “Cf. *Iroha ruijō* 色葉字類抄, *Chiribukuro* 塵袋, etc.” *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. “Kariyasu 刈安,” accessed on November 21, 2015, <http://japanknowledge.com.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/lib/display/?lid=200200f0cb64o569B089>

¹⁷⁷ “1-pun = 0.1-monme (375 mg).” *Daijirin*, third edition, s.v. “Fun 分,” accessed on November 21, 2015.

Kotobanku. https://kotobank.jp/word/分-122190#E5.A4.A7.E8.BE.9E.E6.9E.97.20.E7.AC.AC.E4.B8.89.E7.89.88

[leaf 53 verso headnote]

[Illustration caption at the right side:] A scene in which [a young woman is] rinsing clothes in clean water. [Illustration caption at the left side:] A scene in which [an older woman is] is washing clothes.

[leaf 54 recto headnote]

[Illustration: A scene in which a young woman and an older woman are hanging and stretching clothes outside after they removed sewing stitches and washed the clothing]

[leaf 54 verso headnote]

A cotton lining is made for putting inside *wata-bōshi*, a cotton padded hat. The process of creating *wata-bōshi* includes starching the hat. *Imo-nori* (starch made from yams) works better than *hime-nori* (starch made from steamed rice)¹⁷⁸ for it. If you don't have *imo-nori*, it is best to use grated roots of daffodils for starching. A *wata-bōshi* factory in a Buddhist nunnery, the so-called *Irie-dono* (Lady Irie's temple), that is located on Ichijō Street. The temple's name is Sanji Chion-in. The neighborhood surrounding the temple is called Irie Crossing. The temple belongs to the Chion-in school of the Jōdo sect. Daughters of noble families become nuns and live in this temple. The stipend of the temple is 820-koku. The products made in this nunnery are considered

¹⁷⁸ *Nihon dai hyakka zensho*, s.v. "Nori 糊," accessed on November 21, 2015,

<http://japanknowledge.com.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/lib/display/?lid=1001000181954>

of high quality. It is known that they also make long *obi* sashes and *kazuki katabira*.¹⁷⁹ Currently, they make *birari*,¹⁸⁰ *bōshi*,¹⁸¹ *ryōkuchi*,¹⁸² and *nare-wata*.¹⁸³

[leaf 55/65 recto headnote]

[Illustration: A scene in which a young woman and an older woman are making cotton lining for putting inside a cotton padded hat while another mature woman is spraying water cotton].

[leaf 56/66 recto headnote]

The origin of weaving came from BóYú, a minister of the Yellow Emperor (Huángdì), who initiated weaving ramie yarn with his fingers.¹⁸⁴ After that, people started weaving clothes. Since the Yellow Emperor's consort Xī Líng-shì initially began raising silkworms, picking mulberry leaves for feeding silkworms, reeling silk from cocoons, and weaving clothes,¹⁸⁵ weaving had

¹⁷⁹ *Kimono* without lining, slipped over a head?

¹⁸⁰ This means *birari* hat? It is a type of female hat in the Tokugawa period. *Dejitaru daijisen*, s.v. “*Birari bōshi* 𠄎り帽子,” accessed on November 21, 2015,

<http://japanknowledge.com.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/lib/display/?lid=2001015780900>

¹⁸¹ This means *wata-bōshi*?

¹⁸² A type of a padded kimono or hat?

¹⁸³ Carded cotton?

¹⁸⁴ “... 伯余之初作衣也綖麻索縷，手經指掛，其成猶網羅。” “Huainanzi_Fanlunxun 淮南子_汜論訓,” *Chinese Text Project*, accessed on December 1, 2015, <http://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=3271>.

¹⁸⁵ “... 三公夫人，三孤內子至蠶所，以一少牢親進，祭奠先蠶西陵氏神。禮畢，降壇，令二嬪為亞獻終獻，因以躬桑。” “Suitang_Li. 6_Xiancan 通典_禮. 六_先蠶,” *Chinese Text Project*, accessed on December 1, 2015,

<http://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=554539>.

already started in the reign of Yellow Emperor. According to the *Nihon shoki*,¹⁸⁶ in our country, Tenshō Daijin’s younger sister Wakahirume fell over a tall loom. Weaving and spinning matters had been considered for a long time because there are descriptions of looms in the chapter of The Gods in the *Nihon shoki*. Since people imported many types of weaving techniques from China, there was not only *kami-hata* loom or *shimo-hata* loom in Japan.

[leaf 66 recto headnote]

[Illustration: A scene in which a young woman is weaving a cloth on a loom while an older woman wearing a scarf is holding and passing yarns to her]

A.2.2 *The Elementary Textbook of the Women’s Greater Learning*

[leaf [58] recto headnote]

[Illustration caption:] An illustration depicts an older woman cutting clothes.

Since sewing is one of the most important skills for women, it should be taught to girls at a young age, much like writing. Nowadays, girls practice *sugoroku* backgammon, *kouta* ballads,

¹⁸⁶ This story was quoted from *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 but was not quoted from *Kojiki* 古事記. It says in *Kojiki* that a woman who weaving a cloth for gods fell over – “天ノ衣織女見驚而於梭衝陰上而死。” *Kojiki* 古事記, Kyo

[Kyoto]: Maekawa Moemon, 1644, accessed on December 25, 2015,

<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/keio.10812775627?urlappend=%3Bseq=86>

Nihon shoki specifies “Wakahirume” fell over as – “稚日女尊乃驚而墮機。以所持梭傷体、而神退矣,” *Nihon*

shoki 日本書紀: 国史大系版, J-Texts, accessed on December 25, 2015. <http://www.j-texts.com/jodai/shoki1.html>

Cf. Other texts in *Nihon shoki* describes “Tenshō Daijin” fell over as – “天照大神驚動梭以傷身,” ——., *Nihon*

shoki, Kyoto: Takemura Ichibē, 1669, Hathi Trust, accessed on December 25, 2015,

<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/keio.10811315959?urlappend=%3Bseq=33>

koto harp or *shamisen* lute, but do not learn how to sew. Even if a woman can afford to hire servants and employ maids for clothing-related matters because her family is wealthy, she should still learn how to sew as a pastime.

[leaf [58] verso headnote]

Because it has been seen so in old books that long ago the sage King Wen's consort wove, sewed, washed and stretched clothes by herself, I believe that women who do not take care of clothing-related matters are sinful. Auspicious days should be selected for sewing, but if cutting and sewing are done on inauspicious days, certain *waka* poems should be recited. Clothing is the most important matter in the three matters of human life: clothes, food and housing. Hence, clothing-related matters should not be treated in a slovenly fashion and done carelessly.

The following *waka* poems are recited when clothes are cut on inauspicious days:

I always
follow
the all-powerful gods' teaching!
Wealth has increased
in this home because of my devoutness.

[leaf [59] recto headnote]

Whenever I cut clothes for
a *karakoromo* garment
that Princess Morning
initiated people into making,
I shall be delighted.

In the morning sunlight,
because it is a doctrine
of Kasuga Shrine
where I met the man,
I will definitely cut his jacket now!

- *Waka* poems are recited when clothes have to be cut in a rush on inauspicious days:

I cut the clothes
of a vulgar barbarian
in Tsu Province,
but could not spare
the setting sun and time with him.¹⁸⁷

[Illustration caption:] An illustration depicts an older woman sewing a *kimono*.

[leaf [59] verso headnote]

Because of a coarse barbarian's
clothes
from a foreign country,
the bygone time and days with him
could not be cut up.

- Cutting clothes on the day of Monkey is inauspicious.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. footnote 136. In *Onna daigaku oshie-gusa*: “In Tsu Province, I cut a vulgar barbarian’s clothes, but the setting sun and time with him cannot be spared.”

No one knows when sewing first began. We assume it must have started when clothing was made for the first time. It is said that the Chinese emperor Dahao invented nine types of acupuncture needles. In the *Book of Rites*, there is a description stating that someone sewed with needle and yarn. In our country, it has been said that when Ōanamuchi no Kami visited an Ōsuetsumi's daughter Ikutamayori Hime, her parents wanted to identify who her husband was. She wound ramie yarn into a skein and attached the yarn to the train of his outer skirt with a needle. [leaf [60] recto headnote] The next morning, they followed the yarn. It went through a keyhole, passed Mount Chinu and stopped at Mount Mimoro. Because of this story, it is said there have been needles and ramie yarn ever since the age of the gods.

[Illustration caption:] An illustration depicts an older woman ironing wrinkles out of *kimonos* with a *hinoshi* iron.

[leaf [60] verso headnote]

The tool that is used to press cloth is called a *hinoshi* pressing iron. It is believed to have originated with King Zhòu of Yin long ago. The king was a cold-hearted tyrant. He invented a device with a firebox attached to the top as an instrument of torture for criminals and forced offenders to hold the device. He laughed at the offenders' hands, which were hideously burned, and ridiculed them, along with his consort Dájǐ. It is said that this device was King Zhòu's idea. However, because people had been using ironing as a method to press cloth in the past, it is hard to say for sure that the *hinoshi* pressing iron was invented by King Zhòu.

[leaf [61] recto headnote]

[Illustration caption:] Weaving to form a fabric.

[leaf [61] verso headnote]

○ The cultivation of cotton in China begun during the Liang dynasty. In our country, a Chinese man was carried on a small boat from an unknown place and cast ashore on the coast of Mikawa Province in Enryaku 18 in the reign of the Emperor Kanmu. It has been told that he was a Malay man. There were cotton flowers in his belongings. They were planted and grew cotton flowers. After that, in the not too distant past, the cottonseeds had been lost. In the Bunroku era, cottonseeds were brought over from abroad again and popularized widely. Cotton-padded clothes are called *nunoko* because people used to wear clothes padded with floss silk in the olden days.

[leaf [62] recto headnote] Nowadays, cotton is grown in Settsu, Ōmi, Kawachi, Tanba, Mikawa and other provinces. Cotton does not grow well in cold provinces.

[Illustration caption:] An illustration depicts [that salesman and saleswoman are] selling silk fabrics to [an older woman.]

[leaf [62] verso headnote]

The work of spinning yarn out of ramie is an important skill for women. There are many kinds of ramie. *Chōma* means *mao* ramie, or *karamushi* ramie. It is planted in the second month of the year and harvested in the eighth month of the year. When you peel and scrape off both sides of the peel with a bamboo scraper, it sheds its thick peel. The remaining fibrous material is collected, boiled, and bleached to make fabric. Although *chōma* ramie is produced in various provinces in our country, the products from the Mogami region on the east side of Japan are considered the best ramie fabric. *Hōma* means *shiraso*, so-called *gosaiba*. It is produced in various provinces. This peel is called *ogara*, which is made into chopsticks for the spirits of ancestors during the Bon Festival. The coarse outer layer from which a thin rope is made is called *araso*.

[leaf [63] recto headnote]

○ The cotton fabric from Nanto, which is considered the best, is called *Nara sarashi*. The process consists of weaving fabric from selected good yarns, boiling the fabric in lye, pounding it in a wooden mortar, rinsing and bleaching it in the sun. The unbleached cotton fabric is called *kihira*. Because the fabric is used without bleaching, it is called *ki*. There are many districts where cotton fabric is produced. Cotton fabric produced in Kaga Province is called *hakkō*. The cloth derived from this fabric was often used for the offering to *hokke hakkō*. Hence the name. *Takamiyajima* is produced at Takamiya in Ōmi Province. Cotton fabric is also produced in Tanba Province, but its quality is significantly lower than the cotton fabric from Nara. [leaf [63] verso headnote] *Chijimi* is produced in Echigo Province. It is called *Ojiyara*.¹⁸⁸ It is also called *Akashi chijimi* because long ago it was produced in Akashi Province.

[Illustration caption:] An illustration depicts a decoration of Mount Penglai.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ *Ojiyara* is misspelled *Ojiya chijimi*?

¹⁸⁹ Mount Penglai is called Mount Hōrai in Japanese. It is often said that Mount Penglai is a magical place where trees bear precious metals and jewellery in Chinese mythology. The settlers are enjoying their health, eternal youth and immortality. McCullough, Hellen Craig, *Classical Japanese Prose: An Anthology*, Stanford, (Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990), 570.

Appendix B Texts of the Clothing-Related Matters in *The Women's Greater Learning*

B.1 Original texts

B.1.1 女大學寶箱

[三十八丁オモテ]

おんなだいがく
女大學

一、夫、女子は成長

して他人の家へ

ゆき しうとしうとめ
行、舅 姑に

つかふ
仕るものなれば

[三十八丁ウラ]

なんし おや
男子よりも親

をしへ
の教ゆるがせに

すべからず。父母

ちやうあひ ほしいまゝ
寵愛して 恣に

そだて をつと
育ぬれば、夫の

[三十九丁オモテ]

いへ ゆき かならずき
家に行て 必 氣

B.1.2 女大学教草

[丁オモテ]

おんなだいがく
女大学

一、夫、女子は成長

して他人の家へ

ゆき しうとしうとめ
行、舅 姑に

つかゆ
仕るものなれば

なんし おや
男子よりも親

[丁ウラ]

をしへ
の教ゆるがせに

すべからず。父母

ちやうあひ ほしいまゝ
寵愛して 恣に

そだて をつと
育ぬれば、夫の

いへ ゆき かならずき
家に行て 必 氣

ずみ をつと うと
随なりて 夫に疎

ずひ をつと うと
随なりて 夫に疎

[丁オモテ]

しうと をしへ
まれ、又ハ 舅の 誨

しうと をしへ
まれ、又は 舅の 誨

たご かたたえ
正しければ、難堪

たご かたくあり
正しければ、難有

しうと うらミそし
思ひ、舅を恨 誹り

おもは しうと うらミそし
思ず、舅を恨 誹り

[三十九丁ウラ]

なかあし
中悪くなりて、

なかあし
中悪くなりて、

つい をひいだ
終には、追出され

つい をひいだ
終には、追出され

はち さら によし ふ
恥を曝す。女子の父

はち さら によし ふ
恥を曝す。女子の父

[丁ウラ]

ぼ わがをしへ こと
母、我訓なき事を

ぼ わがをしへ
母、我訓なき事を

いは しうとをつと
謂ずして、舅 夫は

いは しうとをつと
謂ずして、舅 夫は

[四十丁オモテ]

あし のミ
悪きと而已思ふハ

あし のミ
悪きと而已思ふは

あやまり これ みなによし
誤なり。是、皆女子

あやまり これ みなによし
誤なり。是、皆女子

おや
の親のをしへなき

おや
の親のをしへなき

ゆゑ
故なり。

ゆへ
故なり。

一、女は容をんな かたちよりも心の

[四十丁ウラ]

まさまさ勝れるを善よしとすべし。

こゝろばへよくなきこゝろ
心映善無女は心

さわがさわが騒しく、眼まなこおそろしく

見出して人を怒いかり、

こと葉ば あらゝか [...] に物いひ

[四十一丁オモテ]

さがれて口藝くちぎて、人に

さきだちさきだち先立、人を恨嫉うらみねたミ、

わがわが身に誇ほこり、人を

そしりわらそしりわら誹笑まきわれ、人に勝り

がほがほ貌なるハ、これ女の道みち

[四十一丁オモテ]

に違たがへるなり。女をんなは、

たゞ やはら したが ていしん
唯和ぎ順ひて貞信

[丁オモテ]

一、女は容おんな かたちよりも心のこゝろ

まさまさ勝れるを善よしとすべし。

こゝろばへよくなきこゝろ
心映善無女ハ心

さハがさハが騒しく、眼まなこおそろしく

見出して人を怒いかり、

こと葉ば あらゝか [...] に物いひ

[丁ウラ]

さがれて口藝くちぎて、人に

さきだちさきだち先立、人を恨嫉うらみねたミ、

我身わがに誇ほこり、人を

そしりわらそしりわら誹笑まきひ、人に勝り

かほかほ顔なるハ、これ女の道みち

[丁オモテ]

たゞ やはら したが ていしん
唯和ぎ順ひて貞心

なさけふか しづか
に情深く静なる

よし
を淑とす。

なさけふか しづか
に情深く静なるを

よし
淑とす。

(An omission. The following is the thirteenth article in *The Women's Greater Learning*)

[七十三丁オモテ]

ミ かざり いしやう
一、身の莊も衣裳

そめ もやう
の染いろ模様

なども、め
目だたぬ

やうにすべし。

[七十三丁ウラ]

ミ いふく
身と衣服との

よごれ きよげ
煤ずして潔なるハ

よし。すぐれ きよく
勝て清

つく め
を盡し、人の目に

たつ あし
立ほどなるハ悪し。

[七十四丁オモテ]

たゞ ミ おう
只わが身に應じ

[丁ウラ]

ミ かざり いしやう
一、身の莊も衣裳の

そめ もやう
染いろ模様なども、

め
目だたぬやうに

[丁オモテ]

すべし。ミ いふく
身と衣服

よごれ きよげ
との煤ずして潔な

るハよし。すぐれ きよき
勝て清を

つく め たつ
尽し、人の目に立ほ

どなるハ悪し。あし たゞ
只わが

ミ おう
身に應じたるを

[丁ウラ]

もち
用ふべし。

たるを用ふべし。

(An omission. The following is the sixteenth article in *The Women's Greater Learning*)

[七十六丁ウラ]

一、下部餘^{しもべあまた}多めし

つかふとも、万^{よろづ}の事^{こと}

ミづからしんらう ^{こらへ}
自 辛勞を忍て

[七十七丁オモテ]

つとむ ^{さほふ}
勤ること、女の作法

なり。舅 ^{しうとしうとめ} 姑 ^{ため} の為に、

きもの ^{ぬひ} ^{しよく} ^{とゝの}
衣を縫、食を調へ、

をつと ^{つかへ} ^{きぬ}
夫に仕て、衣を

たゝミ ^{しきもの} ^{はき} ^こ
畳、席を掃、子を

[七十七丁ウラ]

いへ ^{うち} ^あ ^{ミだり}
に家の内に居て、猥

ほか ^{いづ}
に外へ出べからず。

ミだり ^{ほか} ^{いづ}
猥に外へ出べからず。

[丁ウラ]

一、下部餘^{しもべあまた}多めし

つかふとも、万^{よろづ}の事^{こと}

ミづからしんらう ^{こらへ}
自 辛勞を忍て

つとむ ^{さほふ}
勤ること、女の作法也。

しうと〜め ^{ため} ^{きもの}
舅 姑 の為に、衣を

ぬひ ^{しよく} ^{とゝの} ^{をつと} ^{つかへ}
縫、食を調へ、夫に仕

[丁ウラ]

きぬ ^{たゝミ} ^{しきもの} ^{はき}
て、衣を畳、席を掃、

こ ^{そだて} ^{けがれ} ^{あらひ} ^{つね}
子を育、汚を洗、常