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The editors welcome preliminary inquiries about manuscripts for publication in *Early Modern Japan*. Please send queries to Philip Brown, *Early Modern Japan*, Department of History, 230 West 17th Avenue, Columbus, OH 43210 USA or, via e-mail to brown.113@osu.edu. All scholarly articles are sent to referees for review.

Books for review and inquiries regarding book reviews should be sent to Lawrence Marceau, Review Editor, *Early Modern Japan*, Foreign Languages & Literatures, Smith Hall 326, University of Delaware, Newark, DE 19716-2550. E-mail correspondence may be sent to lmarceau@udel.edu.

Subscribers wishing to review books are encouraged to specify their interests on the subscriber information form at the end of this volume.

The Early Modern Japan Network maintains a web site at <http://emjnet.history.ohio-state.edu/>.

We gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the East Asian Studies Program at the Ohio State University.

From the Editor

編纂者のメッセージ

EMJNet AT THE AAS: As we have for the past several years, members of EMJ met on the Thursday afternoon of the start of the AAS Annual Meeting. This time we departed from past practice and had two formal presentations by Marcia Yonemoto and Peter Shapinsky on the subject of maps and mapping in Early Modern Japan. Although smaller than our last gathering, an enthusiastic audience spent three hours in discussion. We hope to be publishing these two presentations in a future issue of *EMJ*.

Solicitation of Proposals: Early August marks the deadline for submission of panel proposals for next year's AAS. As in the past, EMJNet will be willing to support and endorse panel proposals that deal substantially with the history, culture and society of Early Modern Japan. Proposals should be sent to Philip Brown at brown.113@osu.edu. As a condition of support, if proposals are accepted with EMJNet endorsement, *Early Modern Japan: An Interdisciplinary Journal* should be given first opportunity to publish papers based on the presentations.

If your proposal is not accepted by the AAS Program Committee, please consider offering it as the core of next year's EMJNet meeting, which we will once again schedule for the Thursday afternoon before the evening program that opens the formal AAS meeting. Proposals for EMJ activities should be submitted to Philip Brown by September 30 (brown.113@osu.edu). Note that we have in the past entertained a variety of formats, from very informal discussions with authors of recent books, to formal presentations of a more traditional nature.

A NOTE ON THIS ISSUE OF *EMJ*: This issue marks a considerable departure for *EMJ* from past practice. While we have always sought to present materials that go well beyond the purview of the standard professional journals in the field, publishing essays on pedagogy, state of the field articles on Early Modern Japanese studies in France and the USSR, with this issue we publish articles entirely in Japanese for the first time. If our readers feel this venture to be worthwhile, the

opportunity to publish in Japanese can expand the range of materials and authors who we can publish: Japanese scholars with very limited confidence in their own English-language ability would be able to share their contributions with their non-Japanese colleagues more directly in this format. Please do convey your feelings about this approach to the editors.

Introduction to a Symposium: Collecting Books, Accumulating Knowledge: Early Japanese Books and Manuscripts in the Library of Congress

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The three essays found in this issue were first presented in an unusual panel at the AAS Annual Meeting on March 30, 2003. The panel was distinctive in two respects. First of all, the *lingua franca* of the panel was Japanese (supplemented by occasional interpretation into English). Secondly, the panel topic dealt with books and publishing in Japan (as well as Japanese book collection and library development in the U.S.), topics which heretofore rarely, if ever, had appeared on the AAS panel roster. The panel was well attended, and resulted in an active exchange of knowledge and information on the topic. Most noteworthy were the extended comments by Ms. Miwa Kai, retired curator of the Japanese collection at Columbia University. Ms. Kai shared her background into the circumstances behind the diffusion of materials from Japan to the Library of Congress, and several East Asian collections at U. S. universities after WWII.

The three essays below are by Kigoshi Osamu, Kanazawa University, Komine Kazuaki, Rikkyō University, and Watanabe Kenji, Rikkyō University. These three eminent scholars of medieval and early modern Japanese literature took part in a series of surveys (Watanabe actually served as team leader) sponsored by the National Institute of Japanese Literature, Tokyo, that catalogued most of the collection of premodern Japanese books in

the Library of Congress between 1997 and 2002. The results of that survey are found in the published reference book, *Catalog of Japanese Rare Books in the Library of Congress* (『(米国議会図書館蔵) 日本古典籍目録』 Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 2003).

Kigoshi's study, 「米国議会図書館所蔵『梅若一代記図絵』をめぐって」 ("On the *Ume-waka ichidai-ki zue* in the Library of Congress Collection"), traces the publishing history of the novel, *Ume-waka ichidai-ki zue* (pub., c. 1856) from its first appearance as an ukiyo-zōshi in 1734, through its transformations with a new title and new illustrations in 1778, and as a third publication again with a new title in 1842. Since the c. 1856 edition has heretofore been unknown, its "discovery" in the LC collection sheds light on publishing trends throughout the early modern period, and attests to the unusual popularity of this particular narrative. Kigoshi's article here provides a good example of the LC collection serving as a source of new scholarship in the field of Japanese literary studies.

Komine's article, 「議会図書館及びイェール大学所蔵朝川収集本をめぐって」 ("On the Asakawa Acquisition Books in the Library of Congress and the Yale University Library"), focuses on the major contributions to collection development made by Yale University professor of Japanese history and East Asian librarian Asakawa Kan'ichi nearly a century ago. Two characteristics of the books acquired by Asakawa stand out: first, they were rebound in a Western library binding, which divorced them from their original physical context on the one hand, but served to protect them on the other. The second characteristic is that many of the manuscripts found in these collections are actually Meiji-era copies of earlier texts, for which the originals are no longer extant in some cases. These two characteristics make the Asakawa books at the LC and at Yale especially important for scholars worldwide.

Watanabe's paper, 「米国議会図書館日本古典籍目録刊行までの状況と集書傾向の大略」 ("The Circumstances Leading up to the Publication of the Catalog of Japanese Rare Books in the Library of Congress, and an Outline of the Collection's Parameters"), provides a valuable background into the conditions by which the LC Japa-

nese books had been kept, a brief history of attempts at cataloguing, and a brief statistical analysis of the breadth and depth of the collection. One result of the survey demonstrates that the largest number of titles is in literature, followed by the military arts, and the sciences, including *wasan* or Japanese mathematics. Furthermore, 204 titles do not appear in the Japanese union catalogue *Kokusho sōmoku-roku*, and another 72 titles are found in four archives or fewer in Japan. The fact that many of these titles originated from collections in Japan's former Imperial Naval Academy and Imperial Military Academy reveals something of the spread of Japanese materials after WWII.

米国議会図書館所蔵 『梅若一代記図絵』をめぐって ◎木越治、金沢大学

本年(2003年)2月、日本の八木書店より刊行した『米国議会図書館蔵古典籍目録』の113頁、通し番号0886番に掲載されている『梅若一代記図絵』という書物がここで私が問題にしたい書物である。

まず、そこに記載されているまを引用してみる。

0886 梅若一代記図絵 UMEWAKA
ICHIDAIKI ZUE IN:85/LCCN:98847081
(江島其磧) 刊 4冊 挿絵有 袋
20.5cm×18.8cm

序:文亭主人誌

巻5欠 『都鳥妻恋笛』の改題本 異称:
〔松若全伝〕梅花柳水

WEBで公開されている Library of Congress (以下LCと略する)のオンライン目録では、これよりやや詳しい情報が記されている。こちら、念のために引用しておこう。

LC Call No.: PL793.6.U64 1842

Notes: Caption title (v. 2).

Written by Ejima Kiseki and Hachimonjiya Jisho. Cf. Kokusho sōmoku-roku.

Includes a preface from "Matsuwaka zenden baika ryusui" (rev. ed. of Umewakamaru ichidaiki) published 1842. First published as "Miyakodori tsumakoi no fue" (1734), then rev. and title changed to "Umewakamaru ichidaiki" (1788), then to "Matsuwaka zenden baika ryusui" (1842). Cf. Nihon koten bungaku. On double leaves, oriental style (fukurotoji).

LC set incomplete: v. 5 wanting. DLC

Gendai "Miyakodori tsumakoi no fue" no Hachimonjiya-bon no kaidaihon, yomihonjitate. (Edo kōki)

Bungaku, kokubun, shosetsu, kinsei shosetsu, yomihon. Cf. Rare Book Project Team. LC copy has "Asakusa Honsaku" stamped.

DLC LC copy v. 2 "Exchange Drevel Institute Technology 11-15-44" penciled in.

DLC Other authors: 880-06 Hachimonjiya, Jisho, d. 1745. 880-07 Ejima, Kiseki, 1667-1736. Miyakodori tsumakoi no fue.

Other authors: Japanese Rare Book Collection (Library of Congress) DLC

Control No.: 5331965

巻2にある鉛筆での書き込み "Exchange Drevel Institute Technology 11-15-44" により、LCに入ったのは、1944年11月のことであったことがわかる。LCが所蔵する古典籍は、第二次大戦以前に朝河貫一・坂西志保らによって収集されたものと、大戦後に占領軍により接収された旧日本陸軍関係諸組織に所蔵されていたものとに大別されるが（この間の事情については本目録解題を参照のこと）、本書はそのどちらにも属さない時期に Drevel Institute Technology よりもたらされたものである。¹

『米国議会図書館蔵古典籍目録』では、国文／小説／近世小説／読本に分類している。備考欄にも記しているように、この書物は江島其磧作の浮世草子『都鳥妻恋笛（みやこど

りつまこいのふえ）』（享保19年（1734）刊）の読本仕立て改題改装本であるが、しかし、『八文字屋本全集・第12巻』（1996年、汲古書院刊）の書誌解題にも出ておらず、その意味では、新出資料とみなしうるものである。ただ、残念なことに、刊記を有しているはずの第5巻を欠いているために刊行年を特定することができない。その手がかりを求めて、国文学研究資料館が公開している『国書総目録』オンラインデータで「一代記図絵」という書名を持つ作品を検索してみたところ、以下のような例が見つかった。

WORK[95874]

【書名】一休禅師一代記図絵(いっきゅうぜんじいちだいきずえ) K 1

【巻冊】五編二〇巻

【別書名】

[1] 一休一代記図絵(いっきゅういちだいきずえ)

【分類】合巻

【著者】

[1] 楼花亭／江島(ろうかてい／えじま) 作者へ作

[2] 吉重(よししげ)[歌川／芳重(うたがわ／よししげ) 作者へ

[3] 芳晴(よしはる)[歌川／芳春(うたがわ／よしはる) 作者へ 画

【成立】嘉永六 - 安政三刊

【著作注記】〈般〉一休諸国物語図絵の摸刻再版。

【著作種別】J

WORK[221578]

【書名】釈迦御一代記図会(しゃかごいちだいきずえ) K 1

【巻冊】六卷六冊

【別書名】

[1] 釈迦一代記図会(しゃかいちだいきずえ)

[2] 釈迦御一代図会(しゃかごいちだいきずえ)

[3] 釈迦如来御一代図会(しゃかにょらいごいちだいきずえ)

[4] 釈尊御一代記図会(しゃくそんごいちだいきずえ)

¹ Drevel Institute Technology については未詳。ただし、Drevel は Drexel かもしれない。もしそうであるならば、フィラデルフィアの Drexel University と関係があるか？

[5] 世尊一代図会(せそんいちだいずえ)

【分類】読本

【著者】

[1] 山田／意齋叟(やまだ／いさいそう)[山田案山子(やまだのかかし) 作者へ 編

[2] 前北齋／卍老人(ぜんほくさい／まんじろうじん)[葛飾／北齋／一世(かつしか／ほくさい／1 せい) 作者へ 画

【成立】天保一二刊

【著作注記】〈般〉明治一七版あり。

【著作種別】J

WORK[247541]

【書名】親鸞聖人御一代記図絵(しんらんしょうにんごいちだいきずえ) K 1

【巻冊】五巻五冊

【分類】伝記

【著者】

[1] 一禅(いちぜん) 作者へ

【著作注記】〈般〉明治一九版あり。

【著作種別】J

WORK[461632]

【書名】天満宮御一代記(てんまぐうごいちだいき) N 0

【別書名】

[1] 天神一代記図会(てんじんいちだいきずえ)

【著者】

[1] 岡野／是重(おかの／これしげ) 作者へ 編

【著作種別】J

WORK[523488]

【書名】祐天上人御一代記図会(ゆうてんしょうにんごいちだいきずえ) K 1

【巻冊】六巻六冊

【別書名】

[1] 祐天上人一代記(ゆうてんしょうにんいちだいき)

【分類】読本

【著作種別】J

WORK[526874]

【書名】義経一代記図会(よしつねいちだいきずえ) K 1

【分類】絵本

【著者】

[1] 鈍亭／魯文(どんてい／ろぶん)[仮名垣／魯文(かながき／ろぶん) 作者へ 作

[2] 歌川／広重(うたがわ／ひろしげ)[歌川／広重／一世(うたがわ／ひろしげ／1 せい) 作者へ 画

【成立】安政三刊

【著作種別】J

WORK[1796458]

【書名】義経一代記図抄(よしつねいちだいきずしょう) K 1

【巻冊】一軸

【分類】絵画

【著作種別】J

年代的には『釈迦御一代記図会』の天保 12 年(1841)がもっとも早く、他には嘉永 6 年(1853)・安政 3 年(1856)などの年号が見える。後述するごとく、『都鳥妻恋笛』が読本仕立てで刊行されたはじめは天保 13 年(1842)であり、安政 3 年の再版本も存在することからすれば、LC 本は安政期以後の刊行と考えるべきであろう。

もともと時代物浮世草子として出版されたこの『都鳥妻恋笛』という作品は、以後何度も体裁を変えて刊行されており、今回出現した LC 本は、その最下限の時期に刊行された版とみなされる。

以下において、私はその間の事情を整理しながら、この作品がこれほど長い生命を持った理由を考えてみたいと思う。

オリジナルの『都鳥妻恋笛』は 5 巻 5 冊で、享保 19 年(1734)に八文字屋自笑・江島其磧連名の序文を付して刊行されているが、実質的な執筆者が江島其磧であったろうことは長谷川強氏はじめ諸家の指摘するとおりである。

そして、初版刊行から 54 年後の天明 8 年(1788)に、折柄流行していた勸化物(かんげもの)ふうの体裁に改められて『梅若丸一代記(うめわかまるいちだいき)』という題

名で再刊される。² そして、それからさらに 50 年以上経過した天保 13 年 (1842) になって、今度は読本仕立てで、題名も『梅花柳水 (ばいかりゅうすい)』として三度の勤めを果たすことになったのである。この間の事情については、横山邦治氏「『都鳥妻恋笛』から『隅田川梅柳新書 (すみだがわばいりゅうしんしょ)』へ」(『読本の研究』1974 年)にくわしく論じられており、前記『八文字屋本全集・第 12 巻』解題や石川俊一郎氏「近世梅若物の一考察—『都鳥妻恋笛』他二篇の書誌」(『梅若縁起の研究と資料』、昭和 63 年 1 月)等にもくわしい書誌的な記述がある。

今回出現した LC 本は、それから更に 10 年以上経過したあとにおいてもなお—初版刊行時からすれば 120 年以上あともなお—この作品が現役の小説として読み継がれていたことを物語るもので、この浮世草子作品の驚嘆すべき息の長さを端的に示す資料といえる。

しかも、注目すべきは、この間、本文にほとんど変更が加えられていないことである。版面のいたみや刊記を新しくする等の関係で一部彫り直しがなされ、それにともなっていくわずか語句の異同がみられるが、いずれも本文の改変といえるようなものではない。その意味では、本文は初版時のまま 120 年以上も生き延びてきたわけである。

しかし、書物の体裁や挿絵は大きく異なっている。この点だけでいえば、それぞれの版

を手にした読者は、印象としては全く別の書物のように感じたにちがいない。そのことをなによりも端的に示すのが挿絵の変化である。

ここではふたつの例を挙げてみる。

まず最初の例 (挿絵 A 1・A 2・A 3, p. 6-8) は、天狗になった松若丸の伯父上総大輔員貫 (かずさのたゆうかずつら) = 吹笛上人 (すいてきしょうにん) が、松若丸をさらっていく場面で、本文では巻 1 の 3 にあたる。

初版の『都鳥妻恋笛』では、吹笛上人が吉田少将の妻になった班女 (はんじょ) に横恋慕してくどくシーンが右半分にあり、左側に出る天狗の顔つきもやや鼻が高い程度にすぎない。その下に立ち騒ぐ家来たちの姿も描かれているため、全体としてはかなりごたごたした感じを受ける。いずれも本文に書かれている要素なので、挿絵としては本文にきわめて忠実であるといえるが、絵としてのおもしろみは全く感じられないといってよい。

これが、『梅若丸一代記』になると、さらわれていく松若と天狗がくっきりと描かれ、呆然と見送る班女の姿も印象的である。さらに、『梅花柳水』(『梅若一代記図絵』も同じ)になると、天狗は化鳥のような姿の非常に精細な図柄になり、班女や家老の山田三郎の着物の柄も手の込んだものになっている。

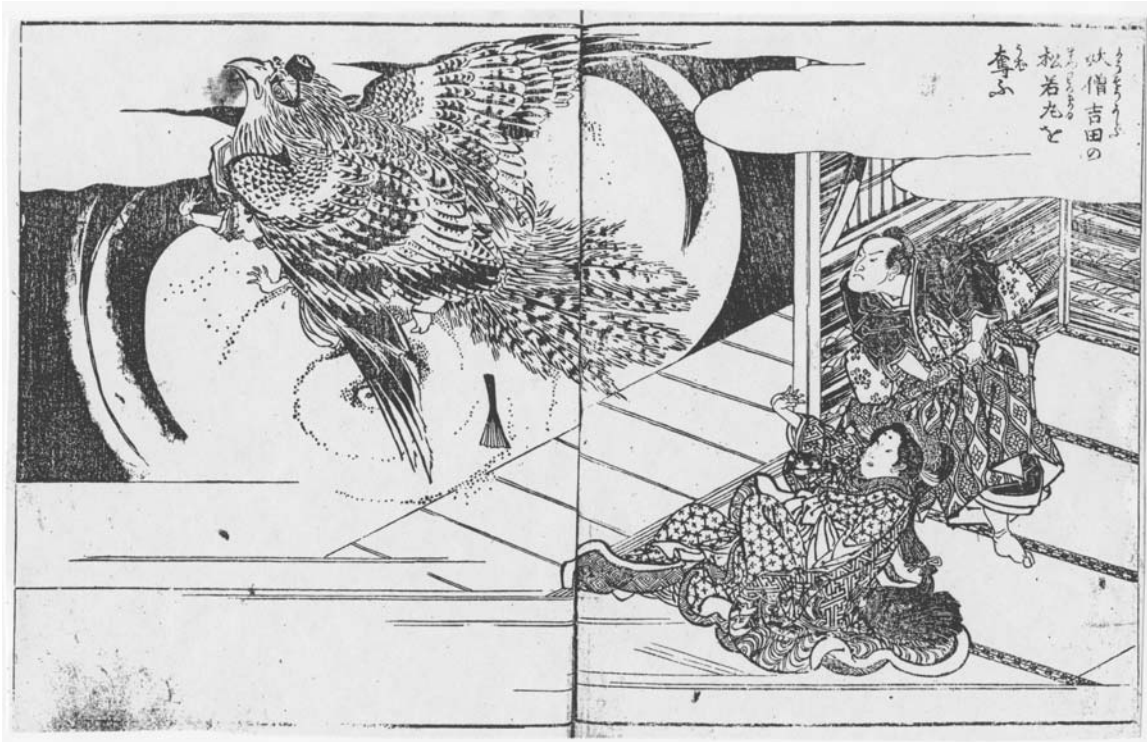
² ちなみにいえば、1996 年に『八文字屋本全集・第 12 巻』が刊行されるまで、『都鳥妻恋笛』の唯一の活字版として流布していたのは『帝国文庫 珍本全集・上』(博文館、明治 31 年 (1898) 刊) 所収のものであったが、その底本になったのがこの改題本である。そういうこともあってか、『日本文学大辞典』(新潮社、初版は昭和 11 年)は、『梅若丸一代記』を初版本とし『都鳥妻恋笛』を再版時の書名とするような誤りを犯しており、無用の混乱を生んでいた。



A-1 『都鳥妻恋笛』 (1734 年刊) (The left and right panels are displayed here in reverse order)



A-2: 『梅若丸一代記』 (1788年刊)



A-3: 『梅花流水』 (1842年刊) (『梅若一代記図絵』、c.1856年刊も同じ)

もうひとつの例（挿絵B 1・B 2・B 3, p. 11-13）は、松若を救うため班女が遊女になって吹笛上人をおびきよせる場所（本文巻5の1）である。『都鳥妻恋笛』では挿絵の下半分に班女が遊女になったことを示す図柄があり、上半分は山伏姿になって班女に会いに来た吹笛上人を尼になった班女が迎える図である。『梅若丸一代記』では、班女に言いことに主眼が置かれているため、結果的にはごたごたした情報伝達性を欠いた絵柄になり、全くおもしろみのない挿絵になってしまっている。これに対し、『梅若丸一代記』になると、内容的に興味深い部分や視覚的にもおもしろい要素だけが選び出され、他は捨てられ、絵としての独立性も高くなる。その傾向は『梅花柳水』になるといっそうはっきりしており、絵としても洗練されたものになっているので、これだけでも十分に鑑賞に値するものになっている。

こういうふうに二箇所挿絵を対比していくだけでも、三者の違いははっきりしている。こうした視覚面での変化が、この作品の長い寿命の大きな要因であったろうことはまず疑いのないところである。

ただ、そうはいつても、この長い作品のなかには、挿絵として全く取り上げられない要素ももちろん存在する。その代表が、土中から吹笛上人が掘り出されるシーン（本文巻1の2）や、尼になった班女を見て上人の肉体が消え去るシーン（本文巻5の1）である。かつて考証したように、これらの場面には先行の怪異小説『金玉ねちぶくさ』（元禄17年刊、章花堂）が利用されているのであるが、その本文は、

天狗房班女の姿のかはり果たる体を見て、忽ち染着せし愛念去ると、はつといふ声の下より、肉身朽て霜の消るごとく、四大分散して只一連の白骨と成る。残る物は頭巾すゞかけ衣装ばかり。執心こりかたまって、その念にて是迄具足してありし形、愛着の念消るとともに、仮の五体も消え失せり。

よる天狗とそのすきに逃げ出す松若丸の姿が対照的に描かれており、『梅花柳水』では、松若丸の姿も消えて、班女と天狗二人の図になる。こちらでは、天狗のいやらしい目つきが特に印象的である。

これらの挿絵は、いうまでもなく本文に対する手引きであるわけだが、初版のものは、1話の内容を見開きのなかに均等に盛り込む

誠一念五百生繫念無量劫、恐るべく慎むべきは愛着の道と、をのをのをぞつぶしけり。

とある。¹『雨月物語』（安永5年刊）

「青頭巾」にも利用されていて、その意味では有名な部分なのであるが、しかし、これらのシーンは初版以来絵にされることは全くないのである。おそらく、こういう伝奇的な趣向は、目で楽しむよりも文章を通して楽しむべきであるという共通理解ができあがっていたのであろう。

そして、（わずらわしいのでもはやいちいち例証はしないが）、挿絵の構図として一貫して変わっていない最大の例が、隅田川土手の柳の木の下に笛を吹きつつ姿をあらわした梅若丸と班女の姿（本文巻4の3）である。中世の謡曲「隅田川」以来受け継がれてきた隅田川物には欠くことのできない場面であるわけだが、すでに死んでいる梅若丸をどう扱うかがそれぞれ作者の腕の見せ所であったといえる。

謡曲では、行方不明のわが子を追ってきた母親が隅田川のほとりの塚の中から聞こえる我が子梅若の声にさそわれて一瞬の幻影を見る、という詞章になっているが、実際の上演にあたってはいろいろの型があったようである。また、近松の『双生隅田川』（享保5年初演）では、救い出された松若丸を梅若丸の身代りのようにして登場させるという趣向を設けている。が、本作においては、梅若丸の亡霊を登場させ班女

¹拙稿「八文字屋本時代物と怪異小説—『都鳥妻恋笛』の場合—」『近世文藝』68号 1998年6月

との対面の場面を設けたうえに（このシーンの下敷になったのが浅井了意の『伽婢子』巻八の四「幽霊出て僧にまみゆ」であったことも〈注3〉の拙稿で指摘した）、夢の中ではあるが梅若の亡霊に長々と前生を語らせているのである。そのようにして、作者は、子を失った母親の悲しみに同化し、それを共有し、なぐさめようとしているのである。

本作の最大の魅力がここに存することを、私はここで何度も強調しておきたいと思う。そして、それゆえにこそ、巻5において松若を奪い返すための計略に班女が加担していくという展開が自然なものになっているのである。

その意味では、子を失った母親の悲しみという、隅田川ものが本来有しているテーマを、本作品は非常にくっきりしたかたちで描き出しているといえる。それを中心に置きつつ、お家騒動という近世長編小説に通有の骨格をからませ入定僧の破戒と天狗

への変貌という伝奇的趣向とそれにからんだ色模様等等が非常にうまく融合してできあがっている世界なのである。その意味で、本作は、近世長編小説の基本的な要素を過不足なく備えた作品と評してよいと思われ、おそらく、そうした点が、江戸の後半期、120年以上にもわたって本作が読み継がれた最大の要因であると考えられるのである。



B-1: 『都鳥妻恋笛』 (1734年刊) (Note: Image displayed is of the right panel only)



B-2: 『梅若丸一代記』 (1788年刊)



B-3: 『梅花流水』 (1842年刊)

議会図書館及び イエール大学所蔵 朝川収集本をめぐって

◎小峰和明、立教大学

I 朝河収集本の全容解明

戦前の日本法制史学者でイエール大学教授だった朝河貫一がイエール大学とワシントン議会図書館双方からの要請を受けて日本に一時帰国し、積極的に資料を収集、その大半を日本で洋装本に仕立て直し、アメリカに送った。その数はイエール大学・議会図書館双方を合わせると、1万点、6万冊を越える膨大なものであった。1906、7年（明治39、40年）のことである。これを朝河収集本もしくは収集資料と呼ぶ。二十世紀初頭、アメリカにおけるごく早い時期での本格的な日本語資料のコレクションとして特筆される。朝河は図書館の初代東アジア部長にも就任、日本の帝国主義化や日米開戦にも異を唱えたことで知られる。朝河が日本に帰国する前年に日露戦争で日本が勝利し、アメリカのポーツマスで講和条約が締結されていた。アメリカと日本との交流のために日本を研究する必要性が強く意識された情勢が背景にあったと思われる。朝河はこの要請によく応え、質量ともに優れた資料を収集した。またこの頃、朝河は日本の外交政策に強い危機感を表明し、1909年、『日本の過機』を出版する。

朝河の収集した典籍の領域は多岐にわたり、基礎研究に必要なあらゆる領域をほぼ網羅していると認められる。その全貌は容易に知られることがなかったが、1987年から89年の3年間に及ぶ国文学研究資料館の海外科研による調査にもとづく「イエール大学蔵・日本文書コレクション目録」（「調査研究報告」11号、1990年3月）によって、まずイエール大学における蔵書資料の様相が明らかになり、ついでこの度のプロジェクトによって議会図書館目録が完成を見、ようやく朝河

収集本の全貌が掌握されるにいたった。今後の研究のおおきな足がかりを得ることができたといえる。

イエール大学では、朝河収集本の大半は貴重書収蔵の専門図書館バイネキ・ライブラリに収められているが、スターリング記念図書館の東アジア部にも146点ほどが未整理のまま置かれていた。国文学研究資料館調査の折り、これを整理し目録にはSMLの記号で架蔵番号をつけたが、2001年に再訪した折りもそのままの状態になっていた。いずれはバイネキに合わせて所蔵されるべきものであろう。

ところで、朝河収集資料には、もうひとつイエール大学のバイネキ・ライブラリに所蔵される日本イエール協会出資コレクションがある。これはイエール大学の日本人の卒業生を中心に組織されたもので、横浜に本部があったそうだが、現在は存在しないようだ。

1934年にここからの出資を受けて、朝河は別のコレクションを形成していたのである。しかもこのコレクションについては、朝河自身それ以後の収集本も含めて、1945年に『GIFTS OF THE YALE ASSOCIATION OF JAPAN』という英文の目録（略称・YAJ目録）を公刊している。国文学研究資料館の調査の折り、この英文目録をもとに、全点を山室規子氏が調査されていた書誌カードを合わせて、和文目録として報告書に同時に掲載した。

このYAJ目録本には、洋装仕立ての装幀はほとんどなく、ほぼ全点が原装のままである。古写本をはじめ貴重な資料がすくなくない。人麿図や天神影など掛幅の図絵や複製本など、写本から版本にたるまで内容・形態ともに多様であり、みるべきものが少なくない。1945年という太平洋戦争終結の時点での目録刊行には、日米開戦に異を唱えていた朝河の今後の日米交流へのそれなりの思いが感じられてならない。

II 朝河収集本の特徴

1906, 7年の朝河収集本のほとんどは洋装仕立てになっているが、しかも日本でそのような装幀に変えられていたことが何より注目される。おそらく洋装でなければ書物として認知されないことが意識されていたためではないかと思われる。たとえば、東京大学図書館にもこの種の和装本を洋装仕立てにした本がみられる。西洋文化にとまなう書物の一種の文化衝撃の実例であり、書物の歴史からみてもきわめて興味深いものである。

そのうち、和装の原装表紙が残されている場合と処分されてはぎ取られている場合とがあり、その差異に何か意味があるかどうかは判断できない。表紙がない場合、書誌学上貴重な資料が失われてしまっていることになる。

これら洋装表紙の扉に年次を示したゴム印が押されていて、それによって登録年代が確定できるのである。これはイエールもワシントンも同様である。

また同時にこれらの書物の多くは、当時の写字生といわれる人たちによって写されたものが大半を占める。もちろん原本のものもあるが、貴重な写本はあえて日本に残し、それを転写して、アメリカに伝えたのである。これは朝河の一貫した方針で、まさに卓見であった。今後、研究がさらに進めば、具体的にどの本をどのように写したかが解明できるであろう。明治期における書物の書写史の面からも貴重な例となるに相違ない。

それにしても書写に費やした労力は大変なものであったろう。コピー機もないし、写真機もそれほど普及していない時代にあつては、古書を写すことはいわば当たり前であり、戦前まではこれが普通であった。戦前の研究者はみずから写本を写すことがすくなくなかった。東京大学史料編纂所などは各地の史料を謄写して収集すること自体が重要な業務であった。また各地の文庫などでも、研究者の依頼に応じて書写するサービスもあつたようだが、それが一般的であつたようだ。

この書写作業の担い手の多くは写字生といわれる若者であり、一種の学生アルバイトのようなものであったろう。ほとんど無名の写字生たちのはたした役割は無視できない意義があり、活字文化からは見えなくなった、隠された学的世界の基盤形成から見直されるべきことであろう。これを「写字生の文化」と名付けてみたいと思う。

たとえば、議会図書館の朝河収集本の中に、明治36年、本願寺留学生中野慧遠が『覚禅抄』を書写し、その労苦が序文に切々と綴られる。写字生がその労苦を直截に語る例は少ないので、これはきわめて貴重な例ではないかと思われる。

「写字生の文化」はたとえば南方熊楠のような存在にもかかわってくる。熊楠はロンドン時代、大英図書館で膨大な書物を次から次へ写し、『ロンドン抜書』にまとめた。また、田辺に落ち着いてから、神社祭祀問題の渦中に、これも万卷の書籍を深更に及んで写し続けている。これが『田辺抜書』である。今では忘れ去られつつある、写すという身体行為のもたらす意味を見直す必要がある。

朝河収集本からは南方熊楠などにも共通する、「写字生の文化」が立ち現れてくる。今後の研究の進展を見守りたいと思う。

さて、朝河収集本はイエール大学と議会図書館とに分けられたが、その差異はどこにあるのか、従来はまったくわからなかった。イエール大学調査の折り、仏書関係が少ないことを感じていたのだが、はたして議会図書館からは大量に仏書が出てきた。長年の疑問が氷解した思いだった。今回の目録によって全容が姿をあらわし、解明におおきく近づくことになった。ある程度双方のコレクションの色分けをしていたことがこれではっきりしてきたが、その区分の契機が何かまでは、まだ明らかではない。これも今後の展開が期待される場所である。

仏書では、天台宗系統の資料が比較的多く、特定寺院の聖教をそっくり寄贈された可能性がある。一例をあげれば、「花山元慶寺」の印記の写本が多く、まとまったコレクションの可能性が高い。名高い僧正遍照ゆか

りの古刹であり、細かくみていけば、この種の例はほかにも出てくるであろう。

III 貴重本をめぐる

以上のごとき朝河収集本の中で、とりわけ貴重なテキストについて最後にふれておきたい。

議会図書館所蔵分では、いわゆる古写本はほとんどないようだ。これに対してイエール大学所蔵分には、古写本がみられる。

すでに翻刻紹介したが（『平家物語の転生と再生』笠間書院, 2003年）、『元徳二年後宇多院聖忌曼荼羅供』がある。卷子1軸。元徳二年（1330）六月に行われた後宇多院の七回忌における曼陀羅供の法会儀礼の準備と当日の次第を記録した転写本である。応永32年（1425）の具注暦の紙背文書に相当する。この年をさほど下らない頃の書写と思われる。後宇多院は有名な後醍醐天皇の父、鎌倉最末期、南北朝の動乱にいたる時代の仏事法要記録として貴重である。

貼付された書き付けのメモによれば、本書は西洞院家旧蔵本で、明治37年（1904）に春和堂が入手、軸装を施し、滋野井家からすき返しの表紙を譲り受けたという。イエール大学の書票は、1907年であり、朝河教授が春和堂から直接入手したのであろう。

朝河収集本で最も書写年時の古いのは、YAJ目録分になるが、建長五年（1253）写の『伝法許可作法次第』であり、他に元龜二年（1571）、尊円法親王筆の『雲州消息』がある。

また、国文学研究資料館の調査目録作成の折り、スターリング記念図書館分（SML）にありながら目録に漏れたものが2点あったので、追記しておきたい。神明説話の『日吉山王利生記』、お伽草子の『はまぐり』である。後者は紺表紙の絵入り横本で、本文は渋川版とおおきく変わらない。前者は絵入り3冊本である。

さらにイエール大学には、二曲一双の古文書張り交ぜ屏風があり、建久三年（119

2）から延享四年（1747）にいたる興福寺を中心とする南都の論議などの古文書が貼付されていて貴重である。

今後は議会図書館とイエール大学の双方に目配りした総合的な朝河収集本の研究の積み重ねが必要であろう。また、朝河収集本以外の議会図書館資料としては、旧陸軍参謀本部所蔵の兵法書コレクションが注目される。とりわけ『訓閲集』が大量に出てきたので、これも今後の課題としたい。

米国議会図書館 日本古典籍目録刊行までの 状況と集書傾向の大略

◎渡辺憲司，立教大学

私が、本蔵書の存在を具体的に知りえたのは、1996年、インディアナ大学客員研究員として滞在中、同大学スミエ・ジョーンズ教授の御教示によるものである。その存在を確認すべく、私は同年の秋、これまで、日本国内における未公開文庫・図書館の蔵書調査と目録作成のためのプロジェクトを組んで共同作業を行ってきた市古夏生（お茶の水女子大学）・揖斐高（成蹊大学）・木越治（金沢大学）等に、来米を依頼した。これに、当時揖斐のもとで日本近世文学の研究を行っていたマーク・ボーラー（イエール大学院生、当時）を加えた5名で、L.Cに直接おもむき交渉を重ねた。その結果、東洋部部长ヘレン・ポー氏を始めL.C側から、所蔵日本古典籍の公開にむけ全面的な協力が得られるという確約を取り付けることができた。

このあと、同館所蔵の未公開日本古典籍の状況について立ち入り調査を行なった。その結果、明治以前の日本古典籍（いわゆる和装版本・写本）が、4800点余り、冊数にして15,000冊有余存することが確認された。

1980年代の終わり頃から本蔵書公開促進のための努力が重ねられてきた。その第一の功労者は、元L.C職員本田正静氏である。氏によって、1990年代初頭から、日本文学・演劇関係の書目計627点及び和算関係書目計403点の合計1,030点の書目についてはすでに整理が行なわれ、それぞれ『Japanese Literature, Performing Arts, and Reference Books/ A Bibliography』（小西甚一監修 1996年）及び『Japanese Mathematics』として議会図書館より目録が刊行されていた。これらは、先駆的かつ貴重な仕事と評すべきものである。本目録には、本田氏の御好意により、これら二種の目録に記載された全ての

書目のデータを掲載することができた。

しかし、全貌が公開されなかったのは、L.C側が、この間、これらの古典籍を一貫して第二次大戦後の没収資料の一部とみなし、秘密書類に指定して一括管理していたため、その努力はなかなか実を結ばなかったためである。先に述べた如く、L.Cの前向きな姿勢を受けて、われわれは、プロジェクトを組織し、文部省より、1998年度から3年間にわたる科学研究費助成金の交付、さらに又、東芝国際財団の援助を受け、この調査を開始し、又調査を終えることが出来たのである。

我々がここに目録化したのは、米国議会図書館アジア課（Asian Division）のJapanese Sectionが管理する書庫に保管されている書目のうち、明治以前として区切られている区画の書籍すべてである。一般に、Japanese Rare Booksと称されている書物群で、現在（2002年12月現在）のところで、Jefferson館とAdams館の書庫に分けて保管されている。ただし、仔細に見れば、明治期刊行の書籍も少なからずあり、ごくわずかではあるが近代活字本や洋書も含まれている。なお、現在、保存課（conservation）の管理に帰している百万塔陀羅尼や幕末・明治期の銅板画及びペリー来航関係絵巻なども、もとはこのJapanese Sectionの書庫に保管されていたとのことであり、この他にも、地図や絵本などが他のSectionに移管されたとのことで、その詳細については不明なままである。本目録では、保存課より提供されたごく一部の資料は採録するにとどめざるをえなかった。

本格的に日本関係の書籍が収集されたのは、イエール大学の朝河貫一教授が、議会図書館の要請をうけて直接日本に赴き、書目を選定し購入して以後のことである。朝河氏に関しては、小峯氏の発表があるのでこれに譲ることとする。

第2次世界大戦後、ワシントン・ドキュメント・センター（組織としては、旧アメリカ合衆国中央情報局外国語文書部の一部をなす）から、日本語関係の書物約35万冊が議会図書館に譲渡された。これらは、日本の旧陸軍から没収しアメリカ本土に移管された資

料の一部である。そしてこのとき、議会図書館の日本古典籍も飛躍的に増大したのである。本目録に記載した書目の7~8割がここに属すると考えられる。

今回の調査によって、はじめて、これらの書目の全貌が明らかになったのであるが、これらの書目の由来やワシントン・ドキュメント・センターに収まるまでのくわしい経緯等については、すべてこれからの調査・研究によって明らかにされねばならない。その意味で、すべてはこれからであるといっても過言ではない。本目録によってその蔵書印だけをみても、陸軍参謀本部をはじめとして、陸軍予科士官学校・陸軍士官学校文庫・大阪陸軍地方幼年学校・熊本陸軍幼年学校所蔵・仙台陸軍地方幼年学校等々があり、一口に旧陸軍の蔵書といってもその内容・出自は多岐にわたる。

議会図書館における戦前からの集書は、日本の全体像を知る上での基礎資料たることを念頭においたものである。かなりバランスの取れた蔵書傾向を示していると評してよいが、1600年以前のいわゆる貴重書の類はほとんど見出すことができないし、1700年以前の文学書・歴史書の類も豊富であるとは言いがたい。

これらの中でワシントン・ドキュメント・センターからの譲渡された旧陸軍・海軍本のなかには、兵法関係の稀覯本が多く含まれている。この点について若干述べておく。

既に述べたように、米国議会図書館の収蔵典籍は、広くまんべんなく、集められているのが特徴であるが、この中で、もっとも書籍点数の多いのは文学関係の761点である。これに次ぐのは、武学・武術の555点、和算を含む理学の505点である。文学関係は、日本にあるものが多く、ここにだけ所在が確認されるといった作品は少ないようだ。既に小西甚一氏が紹介された中村仲蔵関係の日記等がその例とはなるであろう。

これに対して、武学・武術の555点には、日本で所在の確認されていないものが多いのが特徴である。明治期のものと思われるものや、さらに詳しい調査が必要ではあるが、国

書総目録によると、204点ほどが、日本の図書館・文庫等で確認されていないものである。4箇所以下の（そのほとんどは1箇所のみ）の所蔵である）所在が確認されるものは、72点である。この内には、旧海軍兵学校・旧陸軍兵学校等と所在が記されているものも含まれ、当然米国議会に移されたもので、本目録に収められているものも含むであろうから、所在不明のものはさらに多くなるであろう。大雑把に見積もっても、約半数以上は、日本で所在が確認されていないものということになるであろう。

武学・武術関係の書物は、内容のかなり重複したものが多いため、これをもってして、貴重本の存在の多さを過大評価するのはいかなるものかとは思いますが、今後の武道・武術の研究にとって、米国議会図書館がもっとも重要な図書館となることは間違いない。

又、一例をあげれば、江島為信の「新篇」も存在する。江島為信は、「身の鏡」・「理非鏡」等の作品で知られる仮名草子作者である。彼が兵法に手を染めていたことが、これで始めてはっきりする資料である。近世前期において、兵法が戦術の書としてではなく、泰平の世になった武士の処世的な生き方を示す兵法<教訓書>としてが変質していることを示すことにもなるであろう。「葉隠」等で理解されていた日本の武士の生き方が、一般的なものではなく極めて特殊なものであることを、これらの資料が物語ると言っているかもしれない。限られた資料で語られてきた日本の武士のイメージの再考を促すものであると言ってもいいであろう。今後の調査を待ちたい。

この他、詳しく述べる時間がないが、本田氏が整理された和算関係のまとまったコレクションや豊富な北方史やアイヌ関係資料など、世界的にも注目される蔵書である。

米国議会図書館日本古典籍目録の刊行が、今後の日本研究に裨益し、その研究の進展に大きな貢献をもたらすであろうことは私どもは信じて疑わない。朝河貫一をはじめとする先人の努力に改めて感謝すると同時に、彼等がこいねがったであろう日米両国のより強固

なるパートナーシップ形成にいささかでも寄与できればと心より願う次第である。

追記 本目録の刊行に際しては、L.C 職員始め多くの方のご支援があった。殊に、スミエ・ジョーンズ教授・ヘレン、ポー氏・本田正静氏・日本国文部科学省・東芝国際財団に深く感謝申しあげる。

BOOK REVIEWS

Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, by Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000. 871 pp. + prefatory material 14 pp. Hardcover \$35.00; ISBN 0-674-00334-9. Paperback \$18.95; ISBN 0-674-00991-6.

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Professor Emeritus Marius Jansen passed away on December 10, 2000, but to crown a lifetime of distinguished publications, he left the world this book as his parting gift. It is indeed fortunate that in spite of failing eyesight, he was able to complete it—and to see it published one week before his death. In spite of the very reasonable price of both the paperback and hardcover versions, its size will likely discourage its use as a textbook in all but the most ambitious courses on early modern and modern Japanese history. But for the very same reason, it is sure to be used for many years as a reference and resource tool by both students and scholars interested in various topics in Japanese and East Asian history. Each of the twenty chapters can serve in its own right as a manageable reading assignment on a particular aspect of early modern or modern Japanese history, and there is no lack of fresh perspectives based on recent scholarship as well as Jansen's distinctive Sino-Japanese research background. In 871 pages, needless to say, Jansen is able to give a much fuller treatment of the rise of modern Japan than any book of standard textbook size.

Jansen is a past master at writing narrative history, and his account frequently has the power to grip the reader and make history come alive through the people who actually lived it, at times with the aid of their own words. The first two paragraphs present a highly vivid, yet concise, description of the battle in 1600 that ended Japan's medieval age and laid the foundation for four centuries of great cultural creativity. A major reason for the particular vividness of the description here is that Jansen is describing a pair of Tosa-school screens depicting the battle, screens that Ieyasu presented to his adopted daughter as part of her dowry. The story of a momentous historical event that took many thousands of lives is encapsulated by a Tosa-school master painter on sixteen panels, and then encapsulated again by a Princeton-school master wordsmith in about 500 words.

The narrative progress here from representation to historical event to interpretation, and then back to historical event and representation, is a good symbol for the task that Jansen has set himself in this book—to cover the rise of modern Japan comprehensively by alternating between descriptions of events and socio-political structures, descriptions of cultural and artistic movements, quotations of written representations of these events and cultural phenomena by both European and Japanese contemporaries, and summaries of some recent interpretive perspectives. While the book, though gigantic, remains highly readable to the general reader and the university student, most scholars of Japan—unless they are extremely widely read—are also likely to find facts and perspectives that they were previously unaware of among its pages.

In the preface Professor Jansen gives an interesting intellectual autobiography in which he explains the reasons why his generation had to pursue breadth in their scholarship and teaching and take up all kinds of different topics of inquiry. As an attempt to synthesize and summarize the results of half a century of his own research and that of his students and successors in the field, the present work follows in this same tradition. Inevitably, due to the very comprehensiveness of the book and its concern for narrative readability, specialists in particular areas of early modern or modern Japanese history are likely to find certain

lacunae or defects in the treatment of their own area of research, as well as an insufficient representation of the scholarly controversies that have animated recent scholarship in that particular area.

In my own area of research, for example, a few long-lived historical “myths” or oversimplifications created by interschool polemic rivalry in the Edo period but exposed by recent scholarship are reproduced uncritically. In the chapter “Education, Thought, and Religion,” for instance, we are told that Yamaga Sokō (1622–1685) was “an immensely influential teacher; the forty-seven *rōnin* considered themselves followers of his strategy,” and that Sokō was the chief originator of the concept and ideology of *bushidō*. However, the scholarship of Hori Isao (*Yamaga Sokō*, 1959) and John A. Tucker has long since demonstrated that (1) the form of gentlemanly Confucian *shidō* 士道 that Sokō taught was diametrically opposed to the violent revenge ideology expressed in the vendetta of the Akō *rōnin*, whose leader Ōishi Kuranosuke (1659–1703) was an adolescent when Sokō was living in Akō under indefinite bakufu-imposed exile (not as a teacher) for publication of the *Seikyō yōroku* 聖教要録; (2) the only evidence for the old story that Ōishi’s and his band’s beliefs that culminated in the vendetta were inspired by Sokō’s strategic teachings are polemic statements to that effect by Satō Nakata and Dazai Shundai in their essays condemning the *rōnin*’s vendetta (written ca. 1705 and 1731–33 respectively), and Shundai’s attribution of the same view to his teacher, Sorai; (3) although Sokō had a considerable following in Edo for about a decade before his banishment, during and after his almost ten years of banishment in Akō domain (arranged by Hoshina Masayuki, the patron of Yamazaki Ansai in Edo and a devout follower of Ansai’s understanding of Zhu Xi Neo-Confucianism), his influence greatly diminished. According to Tucker, after the *rōnin* debate, there are few references to him or his writings—apart from the teachings of the hereditary Yamaga school itself, which disappeared from Edo in the mid-eighteenth century—until Yoshida Shōin began to extol his ideas in the 1840s; (4) Sokō’s image as the systematizer and propagator of the concept and ideology of *bushidō*, while not without some foundation in Sokō’s writings, is largely a creation of Inoue

Tetsujirō’s book *Nihon kogakuha no tetsugaku* (1902) and his subsequent writings on *kokumin dōtoku*.

On page 198, we are told that Sorai “was one of those consulted in the case of the forty-seven *rōnin*, and it was his proposal for the middle path of *seppuku* for the *rōnin* that eventually carried the day.” However, the most thorough study of the controversies surrounding the Akō *rōnin*, Tahara Tsuguo’s *Akō shijūroku shi ron* (1978), on pp. 65–69, has examined this tradition and found it unreliable. It is true, he notes, that Sorai was respected by Tsunayoshi, and was a retainer of a person whom Tsunayoshi had promoted to *karō* rank, so that his opinion *could* have been conveyed to the highest authorities. However, Tahara shows that the documents that claim that Sorai’s opinion in effect decided the case, including the *Giritsusho* (擬律書) supposedly written by Sorai, are unreliable and conflict with other historical records. Yoshikawa Kōjirō also finds no evidence that the *Giritsusho* was written by Sorai. That the idea that Sorai’s opinion was accepted and followed by the bakufu should have gained acceptance, however, demonstrates that Sorai’s philosophy came *later* to be identified with the legalistic position of the bakufu regarding the judgment of the *rōnin* case. Large portions of the primary documents relating to the debate over the Akō *rōnin* are included in volume two of the new revised and much expanded *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, and their impending publication will do much to clear up these questions. Ironically, Professor Jansen was originally slated to serve as co-editor of this source book with Professor de Bary, but the deterioration of his health made that task impossible to fulfill.

The Akō *rōnin* vendetta was not, of course, the first *rōnin* plot in the Edo period. On page 118, Jansen discusses the anti-bakufu *rōnin* plot led by Yui Shōsetsu uncovered in 1651 and then mentions the raffish *kabukimono* of early Edo times. He then states that “In later years some of the most popular theatrical pieces served to commemorate this spirit of resistance and gave theatergoers the vicarious thrill of watching daring supermen who supposedly stood for justice and challenged authorities. This was also true of the *rōnin* plot, which was immortalized in seventeenth- and eighteenth century plays.” I am not a

specialist in Edo-period drama, so it may be *my* knowledge that is insufficient here, but I have never heard of Yui Shōsetsu's plot being celebrated in plays, and no matter how much it might have been disguised by being set in another time period, I cannot imagine that such a celebration would have been tolerated by the bakufu.

There are a few other minor errors and one not-so-minor omission in the area of intellectual history. On page 90, for instance, we read about the colloquial Chinese commentary on the Six Maxims, *Rikuyu engi* 六諭衍義, which, through the translation and explication work of Sorai and Muro Kyūsō, became a textbook of popular ethical education in Japanese schools. But here the origin of the Six Maxims is attributed to the first emperor of the Qing. It was, of course, the first emperor of the *Ming* who first promulgated the maxims, although the *Rikuyu engi* itself was written in the early Qing. Again, on page 207, we read that Motoori Norinaga taught that, "To succumb to innovations that had been introduced into the Japanese language together with Chinese characters was to lose the 'pure Japanese heart' (*yamatogokoro*) in favor of an 'errant' *magokoro* ..." Can the *magokoro*, by definition, ever be "errant"? Is the word Jansen is thinking of here not, perhaps, *karagokoro*? As for omissions, a great historian, *kanbun* writer, and calligrapher whose history, *Nihon gaishi* (An Unofficial History of Japan), was instrumental in forging the national consciousness and imperial loyalty that led to the Meiji Restoration and the rise of modern Japanese nationalism in the Meiji period, Rai San'yō (1780–1832), has inexplicably been left entirely out of Jansen's account of "the making of modern Japan," at least to judge from his absence in the index. To fill this lacuna, the reader may wish to consult this reviewer's recent study of San'yō's philosophy of history and its impact in bakumatsu and Meiji Japan in *East Asian History*, No. 24, December 2002, pp. 117–170.

Such occasional omissions, inherited inaccuracies, or slips, however, detract little from the descriptive richness of the book as a whole, which abounds with fascinating and eye-opening accounts of various aspects of early modern and modern Japanese society, politics, economy, and culture. The third chapter, "Foreign Relations," which places early modern Japan in its interna-

tional context in relation to Europe, Southeast Asia, and East Asia, is particularly rich in factual and documentary detail that is missing from most standard textbooks and reference books on early modern Japan. Some of the details and nuances found in the analyses of the Tokugawa state, society, status system, economy, communication system, and popular culture may compel us to revise certain established conceptions or oversimplifications about Tokugawa Japan that we have been taking for granted for years. Due to space limitations and the focus of this journal, I will defer comment on the second two-thirds of the book that deals with modern, as opposed to early-modern, Japan, except to say that the accounts of the "Meiji Revolution" and the building of the Meiji state are written with great vigor and confidence, making them very much worth reading not only by students, but also by those of us who are already very familiar with this period.

In conclusion, this book is an excellent summation of a lifetime of path-breaking historical scholarship that itself continues to push forward the frontiers of our understanding of early modern and modern Japan. It falls into a humanistic tradition of history defended eloquently by writers such as Jacques Barzun and Keith Windschuttle, who deplore the intrusion of social science theory, literary criticism, or an obsession with quantification into the historian's craft. Accordingly, readers may sometimes feel swamped by an endless stream of historical details with insufficient theoretical anchors to help them make sense of the whole story. Thus readers who can draw some theoretical perspectives from their own or other disciplines may find this book even more useful as a resource book than those who cannot. I will not attempt to answer the question of whether this is the best comprehensive one-volume history of early modern and modern Japan now in print, but it is certainly a major candidate for that distinction.

Yonemoto, Marcia. Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868). Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

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In Japan's early modern period, literate people, for the first time, could conjure and confront spatial representations of their country, whether they called it "our realm" (*honchō*), Greater Japan (*dai-Nihon*), or just Japan (*Nihon*) proper. Insofar as the roots of modern Japanese nationhood can be traced to the early modern period, the ability to conjure a spatial image of Japan – and, in what amounts to a "spatial inflection," those countries that were not Japan – became an important part of a burgeoning realmwide consciousness. In many ways, people conjured and confronted these images of their country because of a "spatial turn" that occurred in the early modern period, one which, in Japan's case, took place not just in the arena of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century cartographic sciences, but in an earlier explosion of published travels accounts, encyclopedias, and satirical writings. Literally, early modern Japanese, whether shogunal officials or religious pilgrims, were hungry for spatial information regarding their country and, by extension, the largely unexplored world outside it. In *Mapping Early Modern Japan*, Marcia Yonemoto investigates this early modern hunger and the incredibly diverse "maps" of Japan that fed it, working under the assumption that "mapping is as much about the processes of perception and representation as it is about the material products of those acts" (p. 2).

Mapping and crafting other spatial representations are productive processes. That is to say, as geographer David Harvey argues in other contexts, social and cultural practices do not just happen within the natural context of a space such as the Japanese archipelago; rather those practices create such spaces (David Harvey, *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference* [Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1996], 210-11). Ultimately, Yonemoto is concerned with diverse as-

pects of this creative process. What she reveals in her five chapters is that "mapping allowed for and even encouraged the endless arrangement and rearrangement of multiple spatial, cultural, and political identities whose protean nature reflected the possibilities as well as the limitations of being Japanese in the early modern period" (p. 7). To do so, as is convention for many "new cultural" histories, Yonemoto does not trace personal genealogies or historical teleologies regarding the development of maps and political power, geographies and descriptions of local customs, satirical maps and forms of disorder, and the "antipolitics of pleasure," rather she slowly "unpacks" these topics over the course of her narrative. Like unpacking any carefully chosen gift, Yonemoto offers the reader many pleasant surprises, not the least of which is an extremely thoughtful presentation of the ways that Japanese, through the birth of a broader spatial imagination, "produced" Japan.

In chapter 1, Yonemoto investigates the "controlled fiction" of the official *kuniezu* mapping projects of the Tokugawa shogunate. Most of these official mapping projects occurred in the seventeenth century, but a final one was conducted in 1835. Yonemoto covers these projects in some detail, concluding that, rather than view them as successfully standardizing and centralizing Tokugawa administrative mapmaking, "the continuous battles to define provincial boundaries and the persistence of local proprietary concerns revealed the shogunate's less-than-complete control over the spatial politics of the realm" (p. 12). What is most interesting about Tokugawa administrative maps is that the "sweeping visions of an integrated polity" distorted what was in fact a polity divided among localities, the status system, and even emerging class differences. But herein lies the brave new imagination that led to an early realm-wide consciousness among Japan's ruling elite and literate people. Along with Tokugawa administrative maps, Yonemoto also explores the "stable" and "conventionalized" Japan in both Ishikawa Ryūsen's *Honchō zukan kōmoku* (Outline map of our empire; 1687) and Nagakubo Sekisui's *Kaisei Nihon yochi rōtei zenzu* (Revised complete roadmap of all Japan; 1774), elucidating the ways they did, and did not, conform to the official Tokugawa maps of their day. Mobility

was the assumption inherent in all these maps; but they nonetheless always presented Japan as an "orderly, legible space" (p. 34).

Yonemoto devotes chapter 2 to the annotated travel writings of Kaibara Ekiken. For Kaibara, the journey became ritual; *meisho*, "famous places," served as spatially and historically important locales for reflection on the meaning of travel. The *meisho* became part of the topography of Japan's "memoryscape," and the travel account, when painstakingly annotated, emerged as "a mosaic of space, time, and knowledge" (p. 60). Yonemoto insists that if Tokugawa administrative maps established a "spatio-symbolic language, travel accounts constructed a spatio-narrative language, the formal analysis of which is essential for analyzing a largely discursive process: the writing and graphing of space and place – mapping – in historical context" (p. 66). Chapter 3 explores the travel narratives of Nagakubo Sekisui, Furukawa Koshōken, and Tachibana Nankei. To varying degrees, these three authors transformed places and people into "icons of historical and cultural significance," sometimes as "Others" according to the "logic of difference," whether Dutch and Chinese traders at Nagasaki, the Ainu of Ezo, or the countryfolk of Tsugaru. Difference became a measure of distance, as often the stranger the customs one encountered the further one had traveled from the metropole; even though certain distant *meisho*, rooted in "Japanese" historical significance, carried temporal meaning that could carry one back in time to the cultural center.

Yonemoto does not confine her analysis of travel writings to annotated or narrated nonfiction travel accounts, but rather extends her analysis to fiction as well. Chapter 4 features a careful reading of Hiraga Gennai's *Fūryū Shidōken den* (The tale of dashing Shidōken; 1763), an early example of fictional foreign travel. Such fictional travel accounts offered an opportunity to paint the familiar in strange new hues; but they also offered meetings with some of the bizarre peoples featured in encyclopedias such as the *Wakan sansai zue* (Illustrated Japanese-Chinese encyclopedia of the three elements; 1712). By contrast, chapter 5 investigates the geography of early modern pleasure through a mapping of Japan's "way of love" (*shikidō*). Yonemoto argues

that both *saiken*, "detailed views," and *sharebon*, satirical "books of style," served as literal and figurative Yoshiwara maps; through the works of Hōseidō Kisanji, Shikitei Sanba, and Akatsuki Kanenari, the Yoshiwara evolved into a mappable world unto itself. Yonemoto remarks, "Whereas in its early phases geography and cartography were the vehicles for criticizing Japan by engaging in fantasy about the 'foreign', by the mid-nineteenth century they were much more about the immediate bodily and material realities readily available at home" (p. 169).

In 1800, explains Yonemoto, "the universalizing forces of modern geography and cartography" confronted earlier Tokugawa mapping practices, which led to "more accurate" surveys and maps of Japan's coastline. Basically, Yonemoto concludes her study by mentioning some of these post-1800 surveyors and mapmakers, figures such as Inō Tadataka, who turned the page to the next chapter in the history of spatial representations of Japan. But, in some respects, the emergence of "universalizing forces" (i.e., European forces) in the arena of cartography might have been worth Yonemoto's attention. When unpacking maps by earlier mapmakers such as Nagakubo Sekisui, for example, she argues that their maps "chronicled the particularity of place rather than the universalism of space" (p. 40).

Yonemoto insists that Tokugawa maps resist conforming to the map-as-science teleology of "progress," the notion that somehow maps always "improved" over time. Instead, she argues that these maps moved in a "horizontal" or even "circular fashion" in the period before 1800 (p. 43). But what strikes this reader about many post-1800 cartographers, some explorers of the North Pacific such as Mamiya Rinzō, is that, although they employed the conventions and technologies of scientific mapping, they too relied on the "annotating" and "narrating" conventions of Kaibara Ekiken, Furukawa Koshōken, and others, as well as ethnographic portrayals reminiscent of Nagakubo Sekisui. They never completely shed the "particularity of place." Exploring the practices and activities of post-1800 mapmakers, perhaps even in the form of a brief epilogue, might have exposed important continuity – something less than the genealogies and teleologies of progress; but even more historically salient for those inter-

ested in the looming changes of Japan's nineteenth century -- and, in the process, exposed the science of cartography as not exclusively a "universalizing force," but rather as the socially and culturally constructed arena of knowledge that it is, particularly when transported to such places as Japan.

Martha Chaiklin. *Cultural Commerce and Dutch Commercial Culture: The Influence of European Material Culture on Japan, 1700-1850.* Studies in Overseas History, Vol.5. Leiden: Research School CNWS, School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies, 2003. 275pp. (177 pp. text + 98 pp. appendices, glossary, bibliography, notes and name index). ISBN 90-5789-086-0

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In Martha Chaiklin's *Cultural Commerce and Dutch Commercial Culture: The Influence of European Material Culture on Japan, 1700-1850*, the author examines the influence of finished European manufactured objects on the cultural sphere of Japan during the last half of the Tokugawa period. Her work challenges the misconception that Dutch/European influence on Japan was negligible. According to Chaiklin, this misconception came about due to the fact that historians to this point have concentrated primarily on the economic and intellectual aspects of Dutch/European contributions, rather than on the influence of material culture – which she defines as “the objects generated by a society for use in daily life” (5).

In general, Chaiklin's work succeeds admirably in depicting a greater European cultural impact on Tokugawa Japan than has previously been acknowledged. This has been achieved in spite of the admission by the author that her study had to cope with “the constraints of imprecise historical data” (173) and the fact that “Cultural influence may ultimately be unquantifiable....” (177). In an effort to address these challenges, Chaiklin

attempts to treat material culture as a primary source; however, in practice, she ultimately ends up using predominantly Dutch-language trade records and printed Japanese-language sources for her study.

The book, which reads like a dissertation, and is referred to as such on more than one occasion by the author, is divided into two sections: the first (chapters two through five) examining the trading relationship between the Dutch and the Japanese, and the second (chapters six through eight) detailing three case studies (clocks, glass and firearms) in terms of their diffusion and acculturation in Japan.

Chaiklin begins her study with a discussion of the diffusion of imported manufactured goods in Tokugawa Japan through both legal and illegal means. These goods came into Japan via legal trade (both officially-sanctioned company trade and quasi-legal private trade), smuggling, and the theft of legal imports. Whereas bulk commodities were the main concern of the Dutch East India Company's (VOC) official monopolistic trade policy with Japan, “European material culture in the form of finished manufactured goods...were brought as a speculative sideline, as gifts, in response to special requests, or even as ballast” (12). Private trade (goods trafficked by employees of the VOC) was originally prohibited by the Company but encouraged by local Nagasaki officials who profited handsomely from the transactions. By 1700, however, the VOC had grudgingly accepted the practice and limited the goods that could be sold by individual Dutch employees. Both the official and private trade continued side-by-side until the end of the Tokugawa period, fluctuating at times depending on the state of the Japanese economy.

It has long been known that, in spite of the strict regulations of *sakoku* and the harsh penalties enforced by the Japanese government, smuggling was rampant in the Tokugawa period. Chaiklin rightly notes, however, that the smuggling of Dutch goods paled in comparison to the smuggling of Chinese goods, and that most of the smuggling involved Dutch commodities rather than manufactured objects. Theft of Dutch goods was also common, but this too usually consisted of small amounts of food items taken from the houses of VOC employees. Chaiklin con-

cludes that “Legal trade, both official and private, was the most significant route by which foreign objects entered Japan,” and that “Neither smuggling nor theft can be considered major routes for European goods to spread to the general populace of Japan” (31).

In Chapter Three, Chaiklin examines the role of gift-giving in the diffusion of Dutch/European commercial culture in Japan. On an official basis, the Dutch provided gifts to the Japanese twice annually: the first occurred on the court journey to pay respects to the shogun and included presents for the shogun and bakufu officials in Edo; and the second occurred at the beginning of the eighth month when *hassaku* gifts were provided for the local officials in Nagasaki. Chaiklin notes that these gift-giving occasions did little to spread European commercial culture, however, because “with the exception of a few wine bottles and a fixed number of wine glasses to a fixed number of officials, European-manufactured goods were not included in the preset official gift exchange mechanism after the seventeenth century” (42). Special gifts given by the Dutch to the shogun rarely left the palace grounds and thus had little influence on the ordinary people of Japan, but Chaiklin postulates that some of the smaller presents given to lesser officials in exchange for favors may have made their way into the general population. This, she concludes, “represented the first step toward creating demand and sowed the seeds of cultural influence” (48).

In Chapter Four, Chaiklin discusses special orders (*eisen*) for supplies and goods, “in order to examine whether there was a Japanese demand for things from Europe and, if so, what items were in demand and by whom” (10). There were two forms of documentation of the special orders: one consisted of the requests made by the Japanese and the other was the Dutch record of what was actually brought to Japan each year in response to the requests. Once the special order goods arrived at Nagasaki, they were taken to the Nagasaki *kaisho*, where the goods were taxed before being turned over to their owners. The exception to this practice was the shogunal requests, which were usually given as gifts by the Dutch on their journey to court.

Among the shogun of the later Tokugawa period, Yoshimune and Ieharu made the most special requisitions of the Dutch. Although Yoshimune asked primarily for plants and medicines, he also requested horses, weapons, telescopes, tableware and paintings. Ieharu, on the other hand, ordered Western clothes, animals, sun glasses, pocket watches and fire engines. Lesser government officials, especially at the local level in Nagasaki, also made requests for a wide variety of objects. According to Chaiklin, while the most frequently requested items were “pocket watches, spectacles, telescopes, glass tableware, and, to a lesser extent, magnifying glasses...[m]any other items...brought in smaller quantities...had far-reaching cultural effects or represented something unique about Dutch trade with Japan” (64). These objects included fire engines, tobacco, snuff, horse brushes, and ceramic tableware. From these examples, Chaiklin argues that “The *eisen* goods came to form an essential part of the structure of exchange between Japan and the West” (69). She also concludes that the large number of these goods that came into Japan represented “the quest for knowledge in a restricted society” (69).

Chapter Five explores the distribution system that was developed by the Japanese to move imported European manufactured goods from the port of Nagasaki to various marketplaces across the country. By examining the accessibility of these goods to the Japanese consumer, Chaiklin attempts to determine the degree of European cultural influence in Japan. She concludes that a “complex but effective structure for purchasing imported goods was in place by the mid-seventeenth century” (71).

According to Chaiklin, two kinds of specialized wholesale and retail shops handled foreign goods at the consumer level: one dealt in a wide variety of imported items “from peacock feathers to glassware,” and the other “specialized in one kind of product but sold imported goods [often clocks and glassware] and produced the same sort of object on the premises” (80). While most of these shops were located in the major cities of Nagasaki, Osaka, Kyoto and Edo, “Itinerant merchants and gift purchases by visitors to [these cities] helped distribute products to more distant regions” (85).

Each of the final three chapters depicts an important aspect of technological diffusion and acculturation. Chapter Six examines clockwork, because, according to Chaiklin, "it is often seen as the primary technological advance that instigated and facilitated industrialization" (10). As she also notes, "clocks and watches were one of the non-monopoly products in highest demand throughout the Edo period" (86). It is evident that the Japanese were interested in clockwork from an early period. Clocks, which were first introduced into Japan by St. Francis Xavier in 1549, were being produced by the Japanese by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Pocket watches (introduced by the Dutch in 1645) were more difficult to manufacture, and their reproduction probably did not occur until the early nineteenth century. Other forms of clockwork, such as musical clocks, music boxes, astronomical instruments and automata, also became popular in the later Tokugawa period. Chaiklin argues that, unlike China, Japan absorbed and adopted European clockwork technology into its culture on many levels.

In Chapter Seven, Chaiklin examines glass production "because it illustrates a skill that cannot be copied but must be taught and thus provides a clear example of technological transfer" (10). Before the arrival of Europeans in Japan in the mid-sixteenth century, the Japanese could make glass metal but the technique of glass blowing was not yet known. While the Portuguese were the first to bring blown glass to Japan, it was the Dutch and English who actively imported it in the early seventeenth century and stimulated Japanese interest in the technique. By the 1670s, there were Japanese glassblowers in Nagasaki and soon thereafter, they could be found in the other large cities as well. The Dutch brought in all sorts of glassware, ranging from bottles to eyeglasses, and including items such as magnifying glasses, telescopes, magic lanterns and engraved wine glasses. The Japanese not only learned how to produce these objects, but they created their own inexpensive glass products, such as glass hair ornaments. According to Chaiklin, "By the last quarter of the eighteenth century, inexpensive glass objects by Japanese artisans were sold widely at temples, fairs and even small shops on back streets" (144-145).

Chaiklin concludes the body of her work with an examination of firearms and the role they played in Japan after the implementation of *sakoku*. She argues that Japan never rejected firearms in the Tokugawa period because even though firearms "were discouraged among the populace, they were maintained among the military" (151). In addition to their military uses, firearms were also utilized in ceremonies and for hunting. Hunting was both a leisure activity for the wealthy and a necessity employed by peasants in protecting their crops from animals.

During the first century-and-a-half of the Tokugawa period, Japan felt relatively safe from outside threats and because of this, the domestic production of firearms and the development of new weapons technology remained stagnant. However, both the importation of European weapons and Japanese interest in Western military technology increased dramatically in the early nineteenth century with the Russian threat from the north, the *Phaeton* Incident of 1808, the increased number of castaways from American whaling vessels, and, ultimately, the Opium War in China. As Chaiklin notes, "Each time gunfire was exchanged, the Japanese stepped up arms development. News of the Opium War and its outcome brought about the biggest change of all" (172).

In her brief concluding chapter, Chaiklin argues that even though European-manufactured objects did not comprise a major portion of the official VOC trade with Japan, "In the minds of the Japanese, pipes, clocks, watches, music boxes, spectacles, bottles, and pistols had a far greater impact than bulk commodities such as raw silk or tin" (173). She also asserts that "far greater numbers of distinctively European manufactured goods were imported into Tokugawa Japan than has ever been acknowledged" (172). This she attributes to poor or missing records concerning *kambang* trade, the failure to examine *eisen* documents, the underestimation by scholars of the importance of unofficial gift-giving practices, and ignorance of the vast trading networks that brought these goods to people across the country. On the other hand, Chaiklin believes that too much weight have been given to the roles of smuggling and theft in the Japanese acquisition of European material culture.

Chaiklin also claims that “The overall influence of imported European culture on Japanese society was not confined to the wealthy elite, but rather reached all social strata either through foreign objects or domestic interpretations of them” (176). And even though *rangakusha* and Japanese government officials were able to read about European developments through Western books and annual news reports (*fusetsugaki*) compiled by the Dutch, Chaiklin maintains that the material culture brought by Dutch ships was just as important in making the Japanese aware of European culture. In conclusion, she argues that “European manufactured goods played a vital role in awakening [the Japanese] to a different world of possibilities” (177).

Chaiklin has taken on the formidable task of trying to show the impact of European culture on Tokugawa society through an examination of European finished manufactured goods brought in by Dutch traders. Her claims of a European cultural influence that, in certain instances, reached all levels of Japanese society is best supported by her use of private trade and *eisen* records. Her argument is weakest when she relies on speculation and extrapolation from inconclusive trade records.

I would have also liked to see the author employ more local Japanese documents, especially from the Nagasaki area. By confining herself to printed Japanese collections (and sometimes even abbreviated forms of these), she has denied herself the fullest possible record of what is indeed a poorly documented field. In an attempt to strengthen her argument, she also, in my opinion, devalued the contributions of the Portuguese and, especially, the Chinese in introducing the Japanese to European material culture. Furthermore, I see very little use of archeological data in her study. For example, I would imagine that the extensive work that has been done on Deshima would have provided valuable information on her topic.

Chaiklin’s study has certainly contributed to our increased understanding of the influence of European material culture on the Japanese during the latter half of the Tokugawa period. By confining herself to an examination of finished manufactured goods, she has omitted other important areas of Dutch/European influence, such

as food, clothing, written materials and language – but this is another book. The book at hand is, in general, well-researched and well-written, and offers an entertaining and readable account of a valuable, yet neglected, aspect of Tokugawa history.

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Department of History
Ohio State University
230 West 17th Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43210
USA