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Publishing Networks in Edo Japan

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PUBLISHING NETWORKS IN EDO JAPAN

A Thesis Presented

by

HISAKO KOBAYASHI

Submitted to the Graduate School of the

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of the requirements of the degree of

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DEDICATION

To my dearest husband, Ronald H. Ruffle, who encouraged me to keep moving forward.

He passed away on November 14, 2014, at 10:20 p.m. during this thesis project.

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I would like to thank my advisor, Stephen Forrest, for very productive and thoughtful guidance and support for two years. Many thanks are due to my other advisor, Sharon Domier, who gave me advice as well as abundant information over two years. Also I would like to extend my gratitude to the member of my committee, Reiko Sono, for her helpful comments and suggestions.

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ABSTRACT

PUBLISHING NETWORKS IN EDO JAPAN

MAY 2015

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The publishing business in the Edo period (1603 – 1868) was very unique since it was divided into two genres: *shomotsu mononohon* and *jihon kusazōshi*. Publishers had their specialties and their business strategies varied. In this research paper, I examine the publishing strategies from the view of the network system. First, I state the definition of this network. Next, I study the publishing history of the Edo period to gain a general understanding. Lastly, I examine the network systems of the *shomotsu* publishers and the *jihon kusazōshi* publishers. I use examples from Tsutaya Jūzaburō, Suharaya Mohē, Tsuruya Kiemon, the Torii School and the Utagawa School. In the end, the readers will understand the various networks had the roles to energize the Edo community, and each network was indispensable among the whole big network system.

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CHAPTER 1

THE NETWORK AND ITS DEFINITION: *REN*

What is a network? This term, "network," has a wide range of applications in Japanese. In order to have a common understanding between Japanese and English, I should clarify what "network" means in both languages before I start examining its definition in this paper. The search for a definition in the *JapanKnowledge* database yielded 357 definitions. In Shūeisha's *Imidas*, I find "network" defined as a reticular organization, IT related structure, business related network, and woven craft products. In these terms, people cannot find human-related terms, so I should move on to find the other definitions in the English dictionary. People will find the follows in the *Cambridge English Dictionary* in *JapanKnowledge*.

> Noun: a large system consisting of many similar parts that are connected together to allow movement or communication between or along the parts or between the parts and a control centre.
> Verb: 1. To connect computers together so that they can share information. 2. To meet people who might be useful to know, especially in your job.[1]

Here, people will find the meaning of "network" in terms of human relations in the second definition of "network" as a verb, along with the physical term (i.e., build a network) in the other definitions. By analyzing these two resources, people will sense that "network" must be derived from a "net" and its "work" to spread and to connect similar or different items. It does not refer only physical networks, such as store branches or the cable networks of computers, but also to non-physical wireless networks and personal or social networks.

[1] http://japanknowledge.com.silk.library.umass.edu/lib/display/?lid=50010Z-24-4-0216 (accessed 12/16/2014).

In this thesis, I explore the structure of the publishing networks in the Edo period and to answer the following questions what type is the strongest network in the publishing business, what type is the long-lasting network, and how networks interacted with each other. In the end, people will see that a variety of networks existed and understand that networks interact to keep the society active.

In the Edo period, the publishing network intertwined with other networks in the Edo society and had an important role in helping the townspeople sustain their businesses and energize their culture. When publishers failed to keep their networks running, the networks lost their appeal to the public, which immediately and adversely caused stagnation or a reduction in business, or, in the worst case, resulted in the closure of the business. However, most significantly, the Edo networks played a vital role in keeping culture and society active. If one small network among the whole broad publishing network declined, then the other small publishing networks filled this gap and re-energized the whole broad publishing network. Also, other networks outside the publishing network, such as the *kabuki* network or *jōruri* network were inspired by their connections with the publishing network, and their activities became livelier, which, in turn, made the Edo culture more dynamic.

When researching the Edo publishing structure, I start with the assumption that the network is based on the social community, the Edo society. My topic, the Edo publishing network, is just one among many networks that existed in the Edo society. In this thesis, I am studying the features of the Edo publishing networks to find how they functioned and how they interacted because I want to show how they affected the community and people's lives. By understanding many varied features, readers will find

significance in the diversity of the networks in this society and how they made people's lives more active and kept them moving forward. In Chapter 3, readers will find that the Edoites sometimes used the publishing networks to protest against their community or that the publishers used the publishing networks within their community for their sales routes. Readers will observe several cases in Chapter 3 and find the reasons why different networks were established in the Edo publishing business and how people in the networks worked and lived.

In classical Japanese, the network was very close term to *ren* 連.[2] This classical Japanese originated from the Chinese 連, and this Chinese word consists of two Chinese characters: 辵 (*chaku*, which means to move on) and 輦/車 (the sound is *ren* and the meaning is to pull). In this context, in current Japanese, *ren* 連 means "*tsugaru, tsureru, tsuranaru, tsuranu, tsuraraku*"[3] which can be translated as "line up, be accompanied by, take along with, tie, bind, connect, and link." In *ren*, people find the meaning from the original term of "pulling to move forward" to the more developed meaning of "line up, connect, and link."

In her book, *Edo no sōzōryoku*, Yūko Tanaka explains *ren* as a network system using an example from Hiraga Gennai. She finds the function of link in *ren*, and she believes Gennai also found the efficiency in *ren* to utilize it in his business. She describes the reasons that Hiraga Gennai (1728 – 1780) in the city of Edo won in terms of numbers against Ōsaka at his herbal exposition 東都薬品会, and his triumph was attributed to the

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[2] In the present Japanese, there are many examples of using 連. For examples, 連休 (*renkyū*) means consecutive holidays, and 連中(*renchū*) can be translated as a party or a company.

[3] Ogawa Tamaki; Nishida Táchirā; Kiyoshi Takatsuki 小川環樹 西田太一郎 赤塚忠, *Kadokawa shinjigen* 角川新字源 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1976), p.1002.

network system he used to collect herbs. She explains that Gennai had 25 intermediaries in Japan, from Nagasaki to Shinano (present-day Nagano), and he distributed handbills to each intermediary. In these handbills, people found an easy method to provide their herbs to the exposition and then retrieve them. Tanaka thinks Gennai got his idea of a network system to advertise his exposition and collect herbs and return them from the existing *haikai*[4] network system: the intermediary system, *toritsugisho* system 取次所システム.[5] The *haikai* network consisted of poets and intermediaries (*toritsugisho*) 取次所 who created the place and network called *ren* 連 so that the poets could gather and *toritsugisho* trained poets in the presence of the promoters (*kōgyōnushi*) 興行主 who were between the *toritusgisho* and the critics of *haikai* (*tenja*) 点者. In these *haikai* groups, poets created linked poems in a group and paid for evaluations by the *toritsugisho* who collected the final poems and delivered them to the *kōgyōnushi*. The *kōgyōnushi* received them and gave them to the *tenja* with a payment for their evaluation. After the *tenja* evaluated the poems, the drafts were returned to the *kōgyōnushi* who prepared the awards and gave them along with an evaluation to the *toritsugisho*. Finally, the *toritsugisho* returned the drafts to the poets. Gennai used *ren* of *toritsugisho* in this *haikai* network system for his exposition advertisements and delivery service for herbs.

Tanaka relates *ren* with two concepts: place and links. She thinks people form links by sharing a place. She says that "場の共有は、人間の側面のみに注目した場合、「連」とよばれることがある。The sharing of a place sometimes is called "*ren*" when

[4] *Haikai* 俳諧 is the term of linked verses (*renku*) by several poets. In the 10th century, it was regarded as the non-traditional poem style. In the Edo period, *haikai* became in the fashion for many people, and the linked verses groups were established in many places.

[5] Tanaka Yūko 田中優子, *Edo no sōzōryoku* 江戸の想像力 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1986), p.72.

viewed from a human perspective."[6] This means that *ren* has the flexibility to represent a place, and by sharing the place, people are linked together but not unified. I believe that in this context, the individuals are the active particles yet they are not unified. If readers imagine how molecules act, this idea is easier to visualize. Each molecule is independent, but each one needs to link or come together with others, otherwise, neither the single molecule nor the whole bundle of molecules functions well. In her other works, she defines the " place 場" as the seat for the *kami* in the medieval and pre-modern Japanese cultural context.[7] The force which humans create with their own wishes, also called the *kami*, in which several persons concur in the same purpose and share the same method, descends there.[8] This force creates a magnetic field, and so people usually do not need to have a logical reason to come together. They are simply attracted to go there where there is. Tanaka says that "連の場には、二つの機構がある。一つは、神の座としての連の場である。人が遊ぶことは、同時に神が遊ぶことであった。There are two mechanisms in the place of *ren*. The first one is of the place of the *kami*'s seat. This means humans' play equals the *kami*'s play."[9] It seems the boundary between the *kami*'s play and the people's play becomes ambiguous gradually. Moreover, people seem have long forgotten the original meaning of the entertainment for the *kami.* People still gather for the maximum effect with or without knowing it. Tanaka refers as "連の場のもう一

[6] Tanaka Yūko 田中優子, *Edo wa nettowāku* 江戸はネットワーク(Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1993), p.11.

[7] Ibid., p.10

[8] Ibid., p.10.

[9] Ibid., p.17.

つの機構は「連なり」である。The other mechanism of *ren* is *tsuranari*, a link."[10]

Tanaka describes that the other function of the place of *ren*, as a link by individuals. This is not a dense connection or intense interactions but that of the crowd following links connection of dots to dots. Sometimes, one dot widens the point of another dot and then reaches several dots directly. Sometimes, one dot shrinks and feebly touches the dot nearby. But by touching and reaching, a relationship can last and be extended. Or sometimes, it ends when there are no more dots at the front. This is how the network of *ren*, put an end to this activity. When the place of *ren* vanishes, another new *ren* is born.

Tanaka emphasizes the "place" to play as the seat of the *kami*. This setting was necessary for the people to increase their benefits at the maximum, at the same time, a physical gathering place for individuals. This place had to be well prepared to welcome the *kami* by gathering many members. This process by the group generated a much stronger power than the one generated by the individuals. That was what the *kami* needed. This situation was, indeed, not only for the *kami* but also for humans.

I examine what kind of networks existed in the city of Edo in Chapter 3, after studying the Edo publishing history in Chapter 2. In Chapter 4, I will conclude the types of networks and readers can think how networks worked in the Edo community and how they affected the Edo culture and people's lives in the end.

[10] Tanaka, *Edo wa nettowāku*, p.17.

CHAPTER 2

A BRIEF HISTORY OF PUBLISHING IN THE EDO PERIOD

The history of Edo publishing started with several types of technology, including typographical, woodblock printing, and handwriting. Typographic in Japan began when Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537 – 1598) invaded Korea and seized moveable type printing presses and techniques at the end of the 16th century, and the western printing machines was brought by missionaries (1590 – 1611).

There were several versions of many types of printings presses including *Chokuhan* version 勅版 (imperial edition) by Go-Yōzei-tei 後陽成帝 (1571 – 1617), *Suruga* version 駿河版 by Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543 – 1616) and the *Sagabon* version 嵯峨本 by Hon'ami Kōetsu 本阿弥光 (1558 – 1637) and Suminokura Sōan 角倉素庵 (1571 –1632). In 1593, Go-Yōzei-tei ordered the printing of one of Chinese classics of Confucianism, *Kobun kōkyō* 古文孝経, using wooden movable type. In 1597 and 1599, several books in classical Japanese, classical Chinese, and the *Four Books* 四書 of Confucianism were printed with the same method. Tokugawa Ieyasu appointed Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583 – 1657), who was his counselor, to supervise the production of copper-type printing after Ieyasu's retirement to Suruga in 1607, and Chinese textbooks were printed. Hon'ami Kōetsu was one of the prominent artists in Kyoto in that era, and his calligraphy was preserved in books printed with movable wooden type with the financial support of Suminokura. The series of art books were made by using the woodblocks for illustrations and movable wooden type for the text. Papers with

decorative patterns and mica were high quality as was the binding. Kōetsu printed the classical *Ise Story* 伊勢物語, *Hōjōki* 方丈記, and *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草 and others using *hiragana* (Japanese syllabary characters), and not *kanji* (Chinese characters). This was the first time for *hiragana* to be used for printing, and it marked a memorable turning point in printing history because few people could read *kanji*.

Soon, publishers found this technique inconvenient to print Japanese and *kanji*, and they returned to the original woodblock printing method in the Edo period. The movable type had to be reset after the books were printed, and it took a long time. It also took long to combine the text with the woodblock prints in the illustrated parts. Besides, there were thousands of Chinese character types to set, compared with the limited numbers of Roman alphabet types, so the management and the maintenance costs for the former were considerable. Peter Kornicki describes that inserting reading marks (*kunten*) in Chinese texts was much easier in the woodblocks.[11] Also, Kikuya Nagasawa presumed that because the techniques for printing were not mature, the print runs might have only been up to several dozen copies or 100 at best.[12]

In this shift to woodblock printing, readers must realize that one important fact is the woodblock is a tangible material. It will remain for long time and is an asset with cash value for the copyright by publishers. In the publishing trade, woodblocks were transferred literally from A to B, or the copyright was bought and sold from A to B, or the copyright was shared among several publishers. Or even before it was curved on the woodblock, the copyright was generated, and no one could pirate the original draft. This idea was not possible with the printing using the typographical printing method. The

[11] Peter Kornicki, *the Book in japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), p.135.

[12] Nagasawa Kikuya 長澤規矩也, *Kosho no hanashi* 古書の話 (Tokyo: Tozanbō, 1976), p.123.

typographical method consisted of setting rows of movable type, and once they were set and used, they would have to be disassembled. There was no remainder of the tangible material when using movable type. The woodblocks, on the other hand, were valuable products for the book publishers.

There were two big genres of books published in the Edo period. One was the traditional book genre known as *shomotsu* 書物 or *mononohon* 物の本, which included more serious and educational books such as sinological texts, sutras, Japanese classical texts, medical books and so on. *Shomotsu* were necessary for the aristocrats, the monks, the samurai, and the upper level-merchants. It was considered an intellectual genre as well as educational. Before Edo period, the most published books were sutra, and those were published in big temples. The other genre was entertainment oriented books, the so-called *jihon* 地本 or *kusazōshi* 草双紙. *Jihon kusazōshi* were published story books with pictures, song books, lighter and entertainment oriented books, play books, actor critiques, guidebooks, *nishiki-e* 錦絵 which was a colored woodblock print.[13] *Jihon kusazōshi* was mostly printed in *hiragana*, and women and less educated people were able to read them because *hiragana* had limited fonts and easily being mastered to read.

Publishers of both genres formed guilds. The *shomotsu* guild called the *shomotsu toiya* or *shomotsu don'ya,* had a longer history from the Genwa era (1615 – 1624) than *jihon kusazōshi* guild. The *shomotsu* guild was officially recognized by the Edo

[13] *Nishiki-e* was invented as a collaborative art work in 1765 by Suzuki Harubobu 鈴木春信 who was a painter. It was a work by a painter, an engraver 彫師 *horishi*, and a print transfer technician 摺師 *surishi*. After a *horishi* engraved a woodblock from the painter's drawing, the *surishi* added pigments on the woodblock and printed copies with a tool called *baren* made by binding papers with lacquer and wrapping them in the bamboo peel. *Nishiki-e* applied various colors, and later in the Edo period this became synonymous with *ukiyo-e*.

government in 1722 and the *jihon kusazōshi* guild gained this distinction much later in 1790. Without participating in these guilds, it was not possible to get permission to publish books legally in the Edo period.

In order to have a better understanding of the readers of *shomotsu* and *jihon kusazōshi*, it is important to know the percentage of the aristocrats, the samurai, and the monks in the Edo period. There is no exact data from a nationwide population survey. I can only take the local data as the examples to estimate the national population. There are results of surveys by the Akita Domain 秋田藩 on Kaei 2/1849 and by the Tsuwano Domain 津和野藩 on Kaei 4/1851. According to these surveys, Akita's population ratio shows the samurai at 9.8%, the merchants at 7.5%, the farmers at 76.4%, and the others at 6.2%.[14] Tsuwano's population ratio includes the samurai at 7.7%, the merchants at 2.96%, the farmers at 86.46%, the craftsmen at 1.56%, and the others at 1.32%.[15] Sekiyama Naotarō estimates the broad population ratio in Japan as the famers at 80% – 85%, samurai 6% – 7%, townspeople 5% – 6 %, and the others 3% at the end of the Edo period.[16] (Note that "others" includes aristocrats, monks, priests, and people considered outcasts.) Sekiyama estimated that the total population in Japan at the end of the Edo period was between 0.3million and 0.32 million in Japan.[17]

Along with the nationwide ratio, I should examine the population in the city of Edo. Sekiyama estimates the population in the city of Edo from the middle to the end of

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[14] Sekiyama Naotarō 関山直太郎, *Kinsei Nihon no jinkō kōzō* 近世日本の人口構造 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1969), p.291.

[15] Ibid., p.293.

[16] Ibid., p.312.

[17] Ibid., p.118.

the Edo period as a samurai class including domain lords and the Edo; 520,000 – 530,000, persons without a registered address; 40,000 – 50,000.[18] This adds up to 1,090,000 – 1,110,000. He also estimates the population in Ōsaka from 300,000 to 400,000, based on the survey of *Machibugyōsho* 町奉行 (magistrate's office), which did not include the samurai class of 418,537 in Hōreki 12/1762, 373,045 in Bunka 13/1816, and 314,370 in Ansei 5/1858.[19] Sekiyama estimates the population in Kyōto did not change as much as Ōsaka did, and kept its same range of around 400,000.[20] This estimation leads to the conclusion that *shomotsu* were sold among what was a relatively small population in Japan in total, but were widely sold in the city of Edo. *Jihon kusazōshi* were sold among the wider population both throughout Japan and in the city of Edo, Ōsaka and Kyōto. *Shomotsu* were a necessity for a certain class such as among samurai class having their education, and they were sold well for a long time. In contrast, *jihon kusazōshi* would have had a chance to be a "best-seller" in a short period, and it could not possibly be a long term "best seller."

It is also important to consider the price difference between *shomotsu* and *jihon kusazōshi*. Kōnosuke Hashimoto, who is a bibliographer, took samplings to compare the price between *shomotsu* and *jihon kusazōshi* to find each profit. He estimated the average price of *shomotsu* was at ￥5,700 – ￥5,800 yen ($57 – $58). At the same time, readers must note that one volume of *shomotsu* consisted of several books. Hashimoto estimates one volume consisted of between 4.3 and 4.8 books. This adds up to between ￥24,000

[18] Ibid., p.228.

[19] Ibid., p.231.

[20] Sekiyama, *Kinsei Nihon no jinkō kōzō*, p.232.

and ￥28,000 ($240－$280).[21] This is expensive. In contrast, *jihon kusazōshi* were cheap. The number of pages was usually 5 *chō* (5 丁=10 pages), whereas *shomotsu* was 50 *chō* (50 丁＝100 pages), and the paper quality was poor compared to *shomotsu*. As a conclusion, Hashimoto estimates the average price of *jihon kusazōshi* was ￥300 ($3).[22] He adds that the print runs for *shomotsu* was usually several hundred copies instead of the thousand or more for *jihon kusazōshi*. Once a *jihon kusazōshi* became a hit, it was printed up to 10,000 copies. This is exactly a "small profit and quick return" business. Which book category was better for publishers is hard to conclude because it is up to how many books were sold in what category and within what time range.

In the next chapter, I examine how Tsutajū conducted his publishing business mainly in the *jihon kusazōshi* genre. I use one example of the *shomotsu* publisher, Suharaya Mohē 須原屋茂兵衛, and another example of the *shomotsu* and the *jihon kusazōshi* publisher, Tsuruya Kiemon 鶴屋喜右衛門 to study how their marketing strategies were different from that of Tsutaya Jūzaburō and how they used their networks differently for their respective businesses. In the end, I present two more different networks for publishing, which were related to the *kabuki* world. These examples will support the recognition of the concept of various network systems.

[21] Hashimoto Kōnosuke 橋本侯之介, *Edo no hon'ya to honzukuri* 江戸の本屋と本づくり (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2011), p.95.

[22] Ibid., p.97.

CHAPTER 3

THE EDO PUBLISHERS AND THEIR NETWORKS

A. Tsutaya Jūzaburō

当時の諸才子に愛顧せられ、その資によりて刊行の冊子みな時好に称(たた)ひしかは、十余年の間に発跡して、一二を争ふ地本問屋になりぬ。世に吉原に遊ひて産を破るものは多けれど、吉原より出て大売りになりたるはいと得かたしとひとみないひけり。（曲亭馬琴。物の本江戸作者部類）

Tsutaya Jūzaburō 蔦屋重三郎 (1750 – 1797) was admired by many talented persons, and his publications were appreciated by the Edoites. Business went well and within 10 years, his publishing house became one of the outstanding *jihon don'ya*. Many men were known to bankrupt themselves through their decadent lifestyles in Yoshiwara and it was rare that someone from Yoshiwara made a fortune. (Kyokutei Bakin. *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui*).[23]

Tsutaya Jūzaburō was born, raised, and started his publishing business in Yoshiwara, the pleasure quarter in the city of Edo, the only place where four classes - samurai, farmers, craftsmen, and merchants - were not questioned about their legal status, but were vetted depending how much money they spent. He left there to make a fortune running his publishing business in Tōriabura-machi 通油町, which was known as a competitive publishing environment. Tsutaya Jūzaburō 蔦屋重三郎, known as Tsutajū 蔦重, is considered unique because of his publishing

Figure 1: Present Tokyo Taitō Ward

1. Present Ueno Park 現上野公園
2. Sensōji 浅草寺
3. Yoshiwara 吉原
4. Saruwaka-machi 猿若町 *Kabuki* District after 1843.
5. Okura 御蔵 and Shubi no matsu 首尾の松
6. Yanagibashi 柳橋

[23] Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴, *Kinsei monono hon Edo sakusha burui* 近世物之本江戸作者部類 (Edo, 1834).

business in the late Edo period. His publications, including books and *ukiyo-e* prints, were regarded as having high quality content. Under his patronage, many artists and writers developed their talents. Today, their works are still praised for their high quality.[24] These artists and writers, whom Tsutajū supported, included Kitagawa Utamaro 喜多川歌麿 (1753? – 1806) whose *ukiyo-e* were very popular in the city of Edo, Tōshūsai Sharaku 東洲斎 写楽 (? – ?) who introduced the new style of *ukiyo-e* and vanished after 10 months from his publication, Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 = Kitao Masanobu 北尾政演 (1761 – 1816) who was the one of the best known writers and illustrators in the late Edo period, Jippensha Ikku 十返舎一九 (1765 – 1831) who was also a best seller writer of famous comic traveling story, *Tōkai dōchū hizakurige* (Shanks' Pony along the Tōkaidō), Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760 – 1849) who left many unique *ukiyo-e*, and Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴 (1767 – 1848) who wrote the best seller of a reading book of fantastic, *Nansō Satomi hakkenden* (The story of eight dog samurai and a princess of Satomi family in Nansō region). Tsutajū also represented the early Ōta Nanpo 大田 南畝 (1749 – 1823) who was a samurai and a leader of *kyōka* poets, Koikawa Harumachi 恋川春町 (1744 – 1789) who was a samurai and a fine illustrator and a writer, and Hōseidō Kisanji 朋誠堂 喜三二 (1735 – 1813), who was Harumachi's best friend, a writer, and had the same status as samurai. Tsutajū's relationships with many other writers are also notable, and readers cannot ignore them when one refers to his network.

To this day Tsutaya Jūzaburō is considered one of the most significant entrepreneurs in the publishing history in Japan, as his artists were the bridge to a new

[24] See Fukuda Kazuhiko's comment in *Edo Ukiyoeshitachi* (1979), Ōkubo Jun'ichi's comment in *Ukiyoe* (2008), and the articles in Heibonsha's *Tsutaya Jūzaburō no shigoto* (1995).

generation and widely read by the general audience with favorite themes and subjects in literature and the arts.

How could Tsutaya Jūzaburō promote so many artists without having any personal hereditary advantages such as the social connections and the financial backing enjoyed by the Suharaya 須原屋 or his rival publisher, Izumoji 出雲寺 clans? How could Tsutaya Jūzaburō make his business so successful and competitive against the prestigious *shomotsu don'ya* 書物問屋 and *jihon don'ya* 地本問屋 such as the Suharaya 須原屋 clan, and Tsuruya 鶴屋 clan? Why was his work embraced by so many citizens in the city of Edo? Lastly, why did this business decline so drastically after Tsutaya Jūzaburō the First died? There must be some reasons for this quick popularity and quick decline of the Tsutaya Jūzaburō publishing house.

Figure 2: Present Tokyo 23 Wards

1. Previous Edo Castle/Present Imperial Palace 江戸城
2. Nihonbashi 日本橋
3. Asakusa/Yoshiwara 浅草・吉原
4. Honjo/Ryōgoku 本所・両国
5. Fukagawa 深川
6. Shiba 芝

Tsutajū was born in the Yoshiwara quarter. His parents' occupations are not known exactly, but it is easily assumed that they worked in the Yoshiwara quarter. In 1773, Tsutajū opened a bookstore at the entrance to the quarter to sell Yoshiwara *saiken*

吉原細見, a guidebook that listed the names of courtesans in each pleasure house in Yoshiwara. This *saiken* was published by the publisher Urokogataya 鱗形屋 two times a year. Tsutajū not only sold this book but he also started publishing his first book, *Yūjo hyōbanki* 遊女評判記, which consisted of commentaries on the courtesans in the licensed quarters in 1774. In 1775, he published the Yoshiwara *saiken* when Urokogataya had a problem sending out its publications. Tsutajū took over Urokogataya's place along with taking over the writers and artists who were very popular in the publishing world. Matsumoto Hiroshi presumes that it must have been Tsutajū's character that attracted people to join his circle.[25] Matsumoto's presumption is supported by the words of Ishikawa Masamochi 石川雅望 , whose other name was Yadoya no Meshimori 宿屋飯盛 (1754 –1830) and belonged to Hakuraku *ren* 伯楽連, on Tsutajū's gravestone. "Tsutajū's spirt was high, and that he was generous, magnanimous, and greatly respected by others" can be read there.

Those artists and writers whom Tsutajū took over from Urokogataya were Katsukawa Shunshō 勝川春章 (1726 – 1793), Kitao Shigemasa 北尾重政 (1739 – 1820), Hōseidō Kisanji 朋誠堂喜三二, and Koikawa Harumachi 恋川春町. Shunshō and Shigemasa were leaders among the popular illustrators, and Kisanji and Harumachi were leaders among the writers. Kisanji and Harumachi were from the samurai class and knew each other through their service as Edo *rusui* 江戸留守居, which was an official post as a feudal lord's liaison in the city of Edo.

There were many big publishers such as Tsuruya Kiemon 鶴屋喜右衛門,

[25] Matsumoto Hiroshi 松本寛, *Tsutaya Jūzaburō* 蔦屋重三郎 (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 1988), p.52.

Okumura Genroku 奥村源六 and others when Urokogataya ceased publishing. It was very likely and natural for these artists and writers to get commissions from them and not from Tsutajū. At this time, Tsutajū's publications were famous in the Yoshiwara quarter, but not yet in the larger city of Edo.

People, therefore, do not know how the business started, but people know that Tsutajū never lost any chances when the Urokogataya business fortunes declined. Tsutajū seized the chance to take over Urokogataya's business, including his somewhat exclusive writers and artists. By adding them to his *saiken* business, it is easy to presume that Tsutajū's network became broader.

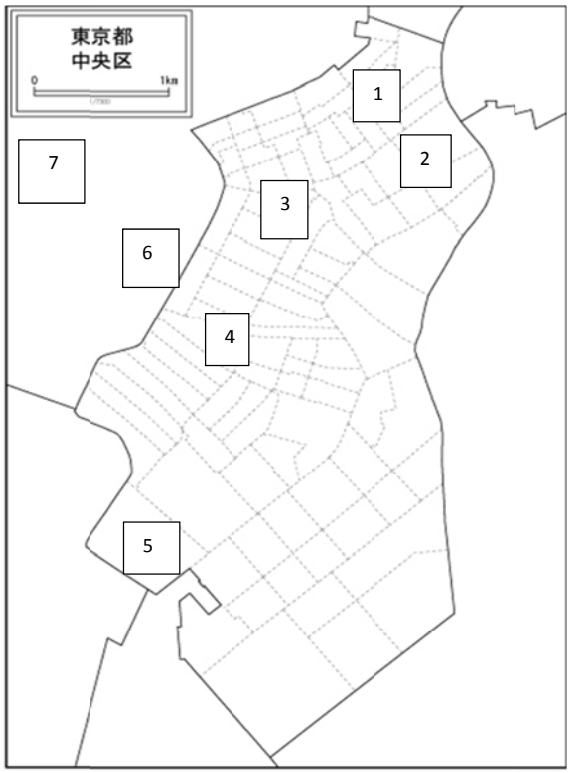

Figure 3: Present Tokyo Metropolitan Chūō Ward

1. Tōriabura-machi 通油町 Publishing District. (Present Chūō Ward)
2. Sakai-chō 堺町, Fukiya-chō 葺屋町 *Kabuki* District. (Present Chūō Ward)
3. Nihonbashi 日本橋 (Present Chūō Ward)
4. Kyōbashi 京橋（Present Chūō Ward）
5. Hama goten 浜御殿/現浜離宮恩賜庭園 (Present Hama-rikyū garden in Chūō Ward)
6. Present Tōkyō Station 現東京駅 (Present Chiyoda Ward)
7. Edo Castle/present Imperial Palace 江戸城/現皇居 (Present Chiyoda Ward)

Blank map by CraftMap

After this transition, Tsutajū's network became bigger as Nanpo's *kyōka ren* expanded. Ōta Nanpo 大田南畝 was the leader of *kyōk*a 狂歌 of Yamanote *ren*, 山の手連, which was one of networks located in Yamanote. *Kyōka ren* dealt with *kyōka*, which was a linked comic poetry, and *kyōbun* 狂文, which can be translated as a comic Chinese writing. This linked comic poetry was

very popular in the Tenmei period (1781 – 1788). How this *kyōka* network worked was very similar to the *haikai* network as both were based on a place, *ren* 連, as I examined in Chapter 1.

Nanpo's best friend, Akera Kankō 朱楽菅江 (1740 – 1799), who was the leader of Akera *ren* 朱楽連, was named one of three experts of *kyōka*. Nanpo's rival, Karagoromo Kisshū 唐衣橘洲 (1744 – 1802) who was the leader of Yotsuya *ren* 四谷連, was regarded as the last one of these three. Within their networks, people interacted in the same manner as in the *haikai* network. Many *kyōka* networks had connections with Tsutajū's large network. And present researchers sometimes consider this network to be another form of *ren*.

Kyōka collections were traditionally printed by publishers belonging to the *shomotsu* guild. Initially, Tsutajū belonged to the *jihon kusazōshi* guild. And Tsutajū started publishing *kyōka* collections by developing his network of connections with different *ren*.

Tsutajū's business expanded based on the stable income from publishing and selling the Yoshiwara guidebook (Yoshiwara *saiken*), song books (*shōhon* 正本 and *utaibon* 謡本), and textbooks for common people (*ōraimono* 往来物). And these *kyōka* collections, especially a gorgeous paper and binding collections, were supported by this income and the commission fees from the clients. As can be seen in Appendix A, which is based on *Tsutajū shuppan shomoku,*[26] by 1783 when he moved from Yoshiwara to Tōriabura-machi 通油町 where many prominent publishers were located, he had already published 18 Yoshiwara guidebooks, 26 music score books and 6 textbooks out of 90

[26] Suzuki Toshiyuki 鈴木俊幸, *Tsutajū shuppan shomoku* 蔦重出版書目 (Tokyo: Seishōdō Shoten, 1998)

total publications. There was consistent demand for these categories in the same manner as today's readers purchase textbooks and workbooks for their schooling, guidebooks for their sightseeing, and music scores for their piano or violin lessons. But the *kibyōshi* 黄表紙, which literally translates as Yellow Covers, featured short stories of satirical and comical tones with pictures, and was not a reliable publication for a stable income. Sumie Jones referred the life span of *kibyōshi* as short, not only because parody, which by nature has a short literary life span, but also because the Kansei Reforms 寛政の改革 turned a censorious eye to these satirical tendencies.[27] The Kansei Reforms (1787 – 1793) was led by Matsudaira Sadanobu in the effort to turn the Edo government finances around and to control of the morals and people's daily lives. Besides the Kansei Reforms, the prospect of a short life span required publishers to seek good writers and illustrators, which Tsutajū did. To publish *kibyōshi* and *sharebon* 洒落本(books of manners in the Yoshiwara pleasure quarter) was a risky business that could just as easily cost investors or earn large profits. Accordingly publishers needed a stable income to support their business in case their new venture failed. It seems Tsutajū's attempt to get a big hit was successful along with the stable income from the Yoshiwara *saiken* and other music books and textbooks.

Tsutajū was able to bring a number of writers and illustrators into his publishing network through his innovative ideas about publications. In exchange for providing writers and illustrators with opportunities and places to gather for *kyōka* or *kyōbun*, he took advantage of the output from these gatherings. He published the works of many creative people and took advantage of the *kyōka* network to look for more talented writers

[27] Jones Sumie, *An Edo Anthology* (Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013), p.31.

with potential to become popular authors. People can see Ōta Nanpo as a good one example of how Tsutajū promoted a writer, how he used that writer's name value as his publisher's advertising pillar, and how he encouraged other writers to join his network. Nanpo was already well known as the *kyōka* leader in the city of Edo before he joined Tsutajū's network. Nanpo appeared first in Tsutajū's publishing of An'ei 9/1780 when he was 31 years old. However, it was not another *kyōka, w*hich had made Nanpo famous, but *kibyōshi*. Edoites might have found that Kisanji influenced Nanpo's writing, and Nanpo was in a *kibyōshi* boom. It might have been thrilling for Edoites to read their works in *kibyōshi*, not *kyōka*. It was Tsutajū's task to promote the boom. Kisanji had written one *kibyōshi* and one manner book in 1777 for Tsutajū. He then wrote one preface for *saiken* and one preface for a humorous book (*hanashibon*) 咄本 in 1778, and two prefaces for *saiken* the next year. He had already contributed his name value and works to Tsutajū's publishing network before Nanpo joined. After Nanpo joined Tsutajū's network, Kisanji's workload increased. From 1780 onward, Kisanji started writing many *kibyōshi* for Tsutajū along with prefaces to *saiken.*[28] Kisanji was the regular preface writer of *saiken*. As if Nanpo were trying to compete, he started writing the epilogues of *saiken* from 1783. Interestingly after that point, Nanpo's participation in Tsutajū's publications increased, along with the participation by his peers in the *kyōka* group. I see the synergistic effect in this situation by these two writers, and it was not only these two writers but many writers as will be shown in the next section.

Besides *saiken* epilogues, in 1784, Nanpo wrote two *kibyōshi*, four *kyōka* related publications, one preface for a picture book, one preface for a textbook, and one preface

[28] In 1780, Kisanji wrote three *kibyōshi* and two prefaces of *saiken*. In 1781, he wrote four *kibyōshi* and two prefaces of *saiken*.

for a traveler's journal. The most notable fact was that there were three writers, Yadoya no Meshimori 宿屋飯盛, Fushihara no Nakanuki 伏藁仲貫 (? – ?), and Harakara no Akindo 腹唐秋人 (1758 – 1821) belonged to Motomachi *ren* 元町連, who were published by Tsutajū, were within Nanpo's network in 1784. Later, people found more Nanpo-related writers in Tsutajū's publications, such as Shikatsube no Magao 鹿都部真顔 (1753 – 1829) of Sukiya *ren* 数寄屋連 in 1785, Yamamichi Takahiko 山道高彦 (? – 1816) of Sukiya *ren* in 1785, Hezutsu Tōsaku 平秩東作 (1726 – 1789) related in many *ren* in 1785, Tsumuri no Hikari 頭光 (1754 – 1796) of Hakuraku *ren* 伯楽連 in 1786. It should be clear by now that these *ren* were named for their locations, which also meant that the networks were widely spread.

In this case, I find that a wide network was one of the keys to success in the publishing business. According to Tanaka's theory, *ren* is closely related to a "place." She cites that the *kyōka* groups of the Tenmei era as the evidence. Yamanote *ren* by Ōta Nanpo, Akera *ren* by the Akera Kankō, and Yotsuya *ren* by Karagoromo Kisshū were led by the samurai and the main locations were where the leaders and their members lived.

Similarly, eight *ren*, led by the townspeople shared the same common thread as the first three *ren*: a place. Ochiguri *ren* of Kyōbashi, Shiba *ren* of Shiba, Honchō *ren* of Honchō, Hakuraku *ren* of Nihonbashi, Sukiya *ren* of Sukiyabashi, Yoshiwara *ren* of Yoshiwara, Sakai *ren* of Sakai-chō, and Mimasu *ren* of the fan club of Ichikawa Danjūrō. People gathered at these groups mainly because it was a convenient location to visit. Tanaka says the following:

> 連は結社でもなければ、組織でもない。思想や文学的方法において手を結ぶわけでもない。単に近いから便宜的に連になるのであって、後に残る作品の中に、連の影は見えない。前句付の連は、つまりは取次所であった。であるにもかかわらず、連が機能しなければ前句付ネットワークは成り立たな

かった。

> *Ren* is not an association or an organization. Members do not join hands in their thoughts or literatures. They link together because they live nearby or stay close by. The place is just convenient. In their linked verses, we cannot see any influences of their *ren*. *Ren* of the linked verses, in the other words, was mere intermediacy. However without the intermedial function of *ren*, the networks of linked verses would not have existed.[29]

According to Tanaka, *ren* was formed at convenient locations where people gather. And she says that without the function of *ren* to gather people together, the participants' purpose (such as writing linked verse in a group setting) could not be fulfilled. Earlier, as noted, Tanaka referred the *ren/place/salon* as sometimes being combined with a festival.

It does no harm to members if *ren* (the place) stays or disappears. It is not their problem but one for the *kami* to fulfill their wills. People just came and went just like the *kyōka ren* were naturally formed, and naturally disappeared. People simply linked together for their sacred rituals for the *kami*. The *Kyōka* members in Tsutajū's network were very active and mutually affected each other. The more people gathered together, the more active the rituals such as *kyōka* play became. However, Tsutajū's network consisted of many links, and it was easy to stop connecting them when outside factors interfered, as was the case with Tsutajū's incidents. The Kansei Reforms adversely affected Tsutajū's network.

In 1788, Hōseidō Kisanji was pressured to stop writing his satirical books by the Edo government, because of the publication of his *Bunbu nidō mangoku tōshi* 文武二道万石通. In 1789, Koikawa Harumachi was suddenly found dead after he was served a summons from the Edo government for his satirical book, *Ōmugaeshi bunbu no*

[29] Tanaka, *Edo no sōzōryoku,* p.78.

futamichi 鸚鵡返文武二道, which was also described the Edo government. The samurai members in Tsutajū's network, including Ōta Nanpo, broke their link to the network. For them, the *kami*'s play in the network ended as it became more dangerous. Ultimately, the members simply left the network. Then, Tsutajū had to explore various genres to fill the holes created after the departure of the samurai members, and joined the *shomotsu* guild for his survival.

After half of his fortune was confiscated as punishment by the censorship of the Kansei Reforms of 1791, Tsutajū had to change his business strategy to move his resources in other directions. I discovered that in Tsutajū's case, after Kansei 1/1789, *aiaihan* 相合板 or as called *aihan* 相板, and the role as *urihirome* 売弘 became more prevalent. *Aihan* was a collaboratively published work with shared publishing cost. For example, if two publishers worked on an *aihan*, then each publisher shared half of the full cost. Accordingly, they also shared the profits. It was a common practice in the Edo publishing business to reduce costs or use this method when one publisher did not have enough capital to publish a work. At this time, *urihirome* emerged as the distributor and sales agent for the other publishers.

Tsutajū tried to sell *shomotsu mononohon* with Eirakuya 永楽屋 and Fūgetsudō 風月堂 which were the most prominent publishers in Nagoya, and to collaborate with other publishers in different locations including Nagoya, Ōsaka, Kyōto, Wakayama, and Ise, by trying to get in between the other long-established publishers in the city of Edo when a conflict between the Nagoya publishers and the Edo publishers arose, after which the Edo publishers started to stop dealing with the Nagoya publishers. This tension started in 1794, when the Nagoya publishers formed a Nagoya publishing guild to publish

in Nagoya. By 1795, the Edo publishing guild started excluding the sales of the potentially pirated books published locally. Tsutajū slipped into this situation, and it seemed he succeeded in connecting with prominent publishers in Nagoya and collaborated with them while signing a contract with Motoori Norinaga of Ise, the most prominent Japanese classical scholar in the *shomotsu* genre. His collaborative works with two big publishers, Eirakuya and Fūgetsudō, totaled 12 publications, along with 7 publications from the supervisor of the Nagoya domain's school for samurai. But he was not completely successful working with publishers and writers in Nagoya and Ise. This collaboration could not reach a final strong stage because the circumstances changed. The tension between the Edo and Nagoya publishers did eventually ease, and the long-established publishers went back their prior business.[30]

When I examined the various genres in which Tsutajū tried to collaborate, I noticed these were not *kibyōshi*, which was his strong repertoire, *jihon kusazōshi,* but *ōraimono*, calligraphy, money issues, Dutch studies, classical poetry, study of Japanese classical literature, essays, and classical Chinese. This genre was *shomotsu mononohon,* which Tsutajū joined later and was not considered to be very expert.

I present Tsutajū's effort in the Appendix B, where the genre and his collaborative publishers are listed.[31] The collaborative works can be counted as 1789: one out of 22 publications, 1790: four out of 24, 1791: one out of 21, 1792: three out of 21, 1793: one out of 30, 1794: five out of 33, 1795: six out of 38, 1796: nine out of 30, 1797: four out of 24. There were not many collaborative works found.

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[30] Ōwa Hiroyuki 大和博幸, "Jihon toiya Tsutaya Jūzaburō no shomotsu toiya kanyū no ito" 地本問屋蔦屋重三郎の書物問屋加入の意図, *Nihon rekishi* 日本歴史 594:11 (1997), p.61 and p.65.

[31] This chart is categorized based on *Tsutajū shuppan shomoku*.

I can conclude from this fact that his network-making ability in other areas with various genres was not successful, blocked by a high wall of strong allegiances between long-established publishers in Edo, Ōsaka, Kyōto and Nagoya. Instead, I see his ability to produce superior work being compromised.

In his later years, Tsutajū tried to strengthen the bond with his remaining artists and writers such as Santō Kyōden, Utamaro, Kitao Shigemasa, Kitao Masayoshi, and Sharaku after all of the samurai writers dropped out of his publishing business. Tsutajū, however, had very tough time recovering financially from the Edo government's punishment imposed on his publishing house that cut it in half with that lost half going to the Edo government. Making matter worse, the commercial failure of Sharaku's *ukiyo-e* publications worsened Tsutajū's financial problem. People know that the promotion of Sharaku ended within 10 months, between May 1794 and January 1795.[32] It is a controversial subject whether Sharaku's work was a failure or a success. Ōta Nanpo described it as a failure in his essay,[33] and present scholars such as Ōkubo Jun'ichi consider the work as a commercial failure compared with Utagawa Toyokuni's work.[34] As an example, Ōkubo presents the comparative techniques of painting in the Utagawa School and by Sharaku, and discusses two portraits of the *kabuki* actor, Segawa Kikunojō the Third 瀬川菊之丞 (1751 – 1810), a man famous for his beauty. Ōkubo concludes that the Utagawa School took the traditional school painting style, which was satisfactory to *kabuki* fans, but Sharaku adopted a realistic style that did not resonate with the *kabuki*

[32] The year of 1794 had a leap month, and there were two Novembers in the Japanese calendar.

[33] In *ukiyo-e ruikō*, Nanpo depicted "Sharaku illustrated portraits of *kabuki* actors. However, he tried to make them too real, and it resulted in providing a disappointing impression for *kabuki* fans. Thus his works were not popular, and he and his works were stopped within one year."

[34] Ōkubo Jun'ichi 大久保純一, *Ukiyo-e* 浮世絵 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2008), pp. 54-55.

audiences.[35]

Readers must also consider this aspect of the art separately from this commercial point of view. Many scholars, including Fukuda Kazuhiko, praise Sharaku's originality regarding each actor's vivid expression, caricature humor, and dynamic image.[36] The commercial values are based on how well the products are sold, and that means a financial success. From this point on, Tsutajū was not fortunate when he promoted Sharaku. This is not about the network effect, but simply a failure in a business strategy. He did not make a profit in Sharaku's case. Often it happens in a company network system and in many cases other gains in the same network offsets this loss. This applies to the present network system in the organizations, too. Over all, Sharaku's case should have had been fine, if the network system and Tsutajū's finances had been as sound as before to offset the loss. But in reality, it was not a healthy situation.

It seemed Tsutajū planned to make his network stronger by promoting popular writers and artists such as Kyokutei Bakin, Jippensha Ikku and Katsushika Hokusai, but he died before he became successful. These writers and artists were commissioned by many other publishers, and thus Tsutajū the Second (? – 1833) lost his business advantage. He did not replicate the good management skill of Tsutajū the First's network. In the other words, Tsutajū the Second failed to maintain the existing network, because he did not inherit the talent associated with Tsutajū the First to discover and promote the new skillful and talented writers and artists. Readers see that a certain kind of network system based on human relations is not easily passed on to others. To paraphrase this

[35] Ōkubo, *Ukiyo-e*, pp. 54-55.

[36] Fukuda Kazuhiko 福田和彦, *Edo ukiyoeshi tachi* 江戸浮世絵師たち (Tokyo: Yomiuri Newspaper, 1976), p.99.

situation, if it is the kind of network where any persons can copy the rules and follow, then it is much easier to manage. People see that on many occasions the companies issue management manuals for the employees to follow, and it works to some extent.

Tsutajū the Second seemed to try and expand his market in other areas and collaborated with other publishers just as Tsutajū the First had done. Readers can see this effort in the Appendix D. However people find the occasion of collaboration was getting more frequent[37] because of the necessity to relieve financial difficulties. He was even having difficulty with the publications within his recognized specialty: the *jihon kusazōshi* field. At last, by the winter of 1837, Tsutajū the Third (? – 1837) collaborated and published the last Yoshiwara *saiken* in the autumn of this year. The last record of this publisher comes from 1852 when Tsutajū the Fourth (? – 1861) sold the *jihon kusazōshi* guild right to Yamada Shōjirō 山田庄次郎.

Besides Tsutajū the First's efforts to make a network, there was an unexpected incident on Kansei 3/1791 caused by the Kansei Reforms. Tsutajū's store was forced to downsize by one-half, and half of his fortune was confiscated due to a breach of the government regulations for publications. These infractions were related to three books in the Yoshiwara and Fukagawa pleasure quarters by Santō Kyōden: *Shikake bunko* 仕懸文庫 , *Shōgi kinu burui* 娼妓絹籬, and *Nishiki no ura* 錦の裏 . On reading these books, I find nothing particularly wrong with them. They were stories about lives in the Yoshiwara pleasure quarter and the unlicensed Fukagawa pleasure quarter. The public might have interpreted this punishment as a warning to the other publishers, to discourage publications about the decadent life found in the pleasure quarters.

[37] The ratio of the collaboration was 10.27% in the era of Tsutajū the First. The ratio of the collaboration between Tsutajū the Second and Tsutajū the Fourth was 22.19%.

Readers need to observe more structures in the Edo period in the next examples before I conclude how Tsutajū's publishing strategies were impacted positively or negatively.

B. *Shomotsu* Publisher: Suharaya Mohē

I would like next to consider some other publishers to evaluate Tsutajū's performance in making a network. There were both *shomotsu* and *jihon kusazōshi* publishers in the city of Edo. As noted earlier, *shomotsu* were more serious than *jihon kusazōshi.*

Suharaya Mohē 須原屋茂兵衛 was the name adopted by successive heads of the Suharaya publishing business that became one of the prominent *shomotsu* publishers in the city of Edo and originated from Wakayama. Many families including branch stores and the successive main store had a long life from around 1658 to 1904. The Suharaya's publishing business was based on *bukan* 武鑑, a category that included books on heraldry, directories of Edo government officialdom, Edo maps, classical Chinese and Japanese text books, botanical books, geography books, medical books, language textbooks, mathematics textbooks, dictionaries and so on. After fierce competition over *bukan* with the publisher Izumoji Izuminojō 出雲寺和泉掾 for 100 years,[38] the Suharaya publisher won the day by virtue of the strength of his assiduous work and will. Izumoji originated from Kyōto and had a post in the Edo government library through family connections with Hayashi Razan, who was a counselor to the three first Shōguns.

[38] The details of this competition are seen in Fujizane's and Yayoshi's works. Fujizane Kumiko 藤實久美子, Edo *no buke meikan* 江戸の武家名鑑 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbundō, 2008). Yayoshi Mitsunaga 彌吉光長, Edo *jidai no shuppan to hito* 江戸時代の出版と人 (Tokyo: Nichigai Asoshiētsu, 1980).

Although Izumoji was in a politically advantageous position, Suharaya still won.

According to Konta Yōzō, Suharaya's victory came from his strategy of keeping a strong network of sales with many feudal lords' residences, along with smart management of the hard- earned capital that he had acquired over many years.[39] Konta mentions that during the late Edo period the connection with the domains also meant connections with the local publishers, which resulted in more business. Suharaya became the top distributor in the city of Edo for the local publishers because of his strong network connections with them.[40] Konta also points out Suharaya's eventual success in monopolizing the publication of *bukan* and Edo map materials that required the Edo government's permission. These contracts, combined with his additional business as an apothecary remind readers about importance of capital in publishing and the networks for sales routes. It is crucial to note here that Suharaya's network was different from Tsutajū's. Suharaya had a network developed through the authority of the Edo government and the samurai class. His network for his sales route was stable with regular clients. Since the market of *bukan* and other *shomotsu* was dominated by his publishing company and his clan, this publisher was able to earn a steady income.

As I noted in Chapter 2 in the publication industry's history, the print runs of *shomotsu* were smaller than that for *jihon kusazōshi*. But the prices were relatively much higher compared to *jihon kusazōshi*, and the books were sold on a constant and regular basis in the long run. There was no such opportunity for large profits when Ōta Nanpo, Hōseidō Kisanji and Koikawa Harumachi were thrown in the limelight in the *jihon*

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[39] Konta Yōzō 今田洋三, *Edo no hon'ya san: kinsei bunkashi no sokumen* 江戸の本屋さん: 近世文化史の側面 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2009), p.225

[40] Ibid, p.225.

kusazōshi genre: the *shomotsu* books such as Tani Hyakunen's 渓百年 *Keiten Yoshi* 経典余師, which were textbooks in Chinese and annotated in Japanese, offered small profits but were long-term best sellers. Suzuki Toshiyuki explains that books of this kind were a necessary self-study item, especially for the uneducated *gokenin* 御家人 who were the lower-class shogunate retainers during the Kansei Reforms. He mentioned in his work that the lower-class shogunate retainers' education level was relatively low, and then they needed annotations even for easy Chinese.[41]

An investigation of Union Catalogue reveals countless *shomotsu* publishers' publishing and reprinting this series from Kansei 3/1791 to Meiji 17/1884. It is evident that one major difference between *shomotsu* and *jihon kusazōshi* is that sometimes the *shomotsu* copyright and woodblock could last more than 100 years, as readers see in the example above, and the owners of these rights kept this income. But *jihon kusazōshi* was a disposable item and its life was considered short. If there was a hit, it was reprinted several times until the woodblocks were worn out. So if a *jihon kusazōshi* was highly successful, it meant that the publisher could look forward to a big income but only once. In contrast to a network for *jihon kusazōshi* whose publishers, like Tsutajū, thus, the network for the *shomotsu* publishers, such as Suharaya Mohē, tended to focus more on the sales distribution system, was destined to focus on the creation and maintenance of the salon and supplied fresh writers and illustrators to meet the readers' demands.

C. *Jihon Kusazōshi* and *Shomotsu* Publisher: Tsuruya Kiemon

I would like to represent another publisher to make a comparison with Tsutajū and

[41] Suzuki Toshiyuki 鈴木俊幸, *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, 2007), p.151.

Suharaya publishers. Tsuruya Kiemon 鶴屋喜右衛門 in the city of Edo was at a branch store from Kyōto during the Manji era (1658 – 1661) and this lasted until the Meiji era (1868 – 1912). The main store in Kyōto was established during the Kan'ei era (1624 – 1644) and continued to the end of the Edo period. Tsuruya in the city of Edo started to sell books for the main store in Kyōto, but later began to publish independently during the Kanbun era (1661 – 1673) as both a *shomotsu* and *jihon kusazōshi* publisher. Tsuruya printed calendars, which required the permission to publish from the government and membership in the calendar guild. He also published textbooks as did Suharaya Mohē in the *shomotsu* genre, and picture books and *nishiki-e* in the *jihon kusazōshi* genre.

It was notable that this publisher had several best-sellers, including Jippensha Ikku's comic travel story, *Tōkai dōchū hizakurige* (Shanks' Pony along the Tōkaidō) at the era of Tsuruya Kiemon the Second and Ryūtei Tanehiko's light fictional story, *Nisemurasaki inaka Genji* (The Tale of Imposter Murasaki and Bumpkin Genji in Muromachi Era) at the era of Tsuruya Kiemon the Third's. Also included among the publisher's titles was Santō Kyōden's *Gozonji no Shōbaimono* (Those Familiar Bestsellers), a story regarding the publishing business conflicts between the city of Edo and Kyōto/Ōsaka, which was highly praised by Ōta Nanpo. In this story, readers see Tsuruya Kiemon the Second's strong determination to survive as a publisher in the city of Edo, by being independent from his connection with the main store in Kyōto. The story comically describes the decline of the popularity of Kyōto and Ōsaka books in the city of Edo. From the opening pages it is strikingly humorous. The family crests that appear in the illustration represent many Edo publishers, including Tsuruya Kiemon, and cover the protagonists' clothing everywhere. Tsuruya was no longer identifying with the Kyōto

side, and had switched allegiance to the city of Edo scene. By the time this book was published in 1782, the number of printings in Kyōto and Ōsaka had dwindled. Konta has shown that the Edo publishing of prints exceeded the prints of the Kyōto and Ōsaka publishers between Kyōhō 17/1727 and Genbun 1/1731. Also between the Meiwa era (1764 – 1771) and the Tenmei era (1781 – 1788), many branches in the city of Edo from Kyōto were closed because of the decline of Kyōto prints.[42]

Soon after the Kansei Reforms and just after Tsutajū acquired the *shomotsu* guild right in 1791, Tsutajū tried to collaborate with publishers in Nagoya, Kyōto, and Ōsaka. Tsutajū attempted to respond to this market shift, but he did not achieve the success he had hoped for. However, Tsuruya Kiemon was successful for the collaborative work with other publishers in another area. Tsuruya's success was due to his strategy and his longer established network compared to Tsutajū's. He set up a collaboration with Murataya 村田屋次郎兵衛 and Nishimuraya 西村源六 of the city of Edo, and Kawachiya 河内屋太助 of Ōsaka, and expanded the sales route in Kyōto and Ōsaka since many *jihon kusazōshi* copies were no longer being printed there. Publishers in the city of Edo were also careful and had the strategy prior to collaborating with publishers in the other area in preventing sales of the pirated copies of products in Kyōto and Ōsaka. Murataya, who collaborated with Tsuruya, requested a certificate of permission for publication in the city of Edo when applying to publish *Tōkai dōchū hizakurige* (Shanks' Pony along the Tōkaidō) on Bunka 4/1807. This control of preventing the pirate publications worked. Konta mentioned that, prior to this collaboration with the city of Edo and Ōsaka publishers, Tsuruya had already collaborated with Ryōundō 凌雲

[42] Konta, *Edo no hon'ya san: kinsei bunkashi no sokumen*, pp.117-118.

堂 in Ōsaka to publish *sharebon* in 1801 of *Inakashibai* 田舎芝居 (a country performance) by Morishima Chūryō 森島中良.[43]

An examination of the differences between Tsutajū the First and Tsuruya Kiemon, makes it clear that Tsutajū the First collaborated with other publishers in Ōsaka, Kyōto, and Nagoya, which was in his weaker market in hope of expanding sales. Tsutajū the First dealt most often with Eirakuya Tōshirō of Nagoya and distributed Nagoya's books in the city of Edo. It was a clever for Tsutajū the First to partner with Nagoya publishers because within Nagoya's domain, publication was permitted through the auspices of the Nagoya guild in Kansei 6/1794 by the Nagoya domain authority. Until then it was only possible to publish books through the city of Edo publishing guild, the Kyōto publishing guild, and the Ōsaka publishing guild. And Tsutajū went into collaboration with the Nagoya publishers when tension between the city of Edo and Nagoya publishers arose. The long-and well-established publishers in the city of Edo started excluding the sales of the potentially pirated books published locally as part of contentious stance against the established publishing guild in Nagoya.The Nagoya and Edo publishers became mutually antagonistic. However, Tsutajū did not have a long-established history in his business, nor did he have any hostility towards the Nagoya publishers. In fact, he did not hesitate to conduct business with them. But the connection between Tsutajū and Nagoya publishers did not last long since established publishers in the city of Edo relaxed the exclusion of Nagoya's books from the market.

Many books were brought from Nagoya to the city of Edo for sale. Tsuruya, unlike Tsutajū, took his copies to other cities, or collaborated with publishers in other

[43] Konta, *Edo no hon'ya san: kinsei bunkashi no sokumen*, p.183.

areas in order to publish. This means Tsuruya took a powerful stand, supported by his large capital holdings, which put him in a position to exert some control over other publishers. As Ōwa Hiroyuki shows in his study, besides promoting his own publications, Tsuruya was aggressive in collaborating with the local publishers to expand his business.[44] His strong assets were his keeping his copyrights and shared copyright so that he could sell locally. And according to Ōwa, Tsuruya maintained his sales routes, which was the fundamental survival strategy for all publishers in the late-Edo period.[45]

Eiri yomihon gedai kagami 出像稗史外題鑑 was published by Chōjiya Heibē 丁子屋平兵衛 toward the end of the Bunka era (1804 – 1818). This is a catalogue for the *yomihon,* which was a longer form of fiction. Tsuruya Kiemon collaborated only once with an Ōsaka publisher, working with Kawachiya Tasuke. He collaborated with his branch and with other publishers in the city of Edo, but otherwise, he published *yomihon* using his own capital.[46] Many publishers collaborated with other publishers from other areas and had their own copyrights, and also operated as lending libraries in this genre. Popular items in lending libraries were *yomihon* 読本, *ninjōbon* 人情本 (the genre of romantic fiction), and *shahon* 写本 (a copy of a handwritten book).[47] Chōjiya Heibē was one of these publishers and lending libraries. It made sense for smaller publishers to

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[44] Ōwa Hiroyuki 大和博幸, "Edo jidai kōiki shuppan ryūtsū no keisei to hatten" 江戸時代広域出版流通の形成と発展, *Kokugakuin zasshi* 國學院雑誌 102:2 (2001), pp.42-44. The beneficial chart is in pp.45-46.

[45] Ibid., p.47.

[46] In this catalogue, 111 *yomihon* books are listed. There are 17 books from Tsuruya or his collaborative books listed in this catalogue. See Appendix E.

[47] *Shahon* included both the simple handwritten copies of printed books and not yet printed books. *Shahon* avoided the Edo government's censorship as these were not printed and the number of handwritten copies was limited. In this case, the Edo government did not consider them worthy of censoring. This did not matter to the Edoites, who had the access to the contents of prohibited books at the lending libraries.

collaborate to sustain their lending library businesses: This required less capital compared to the capital of Tsuruya Kiemon and other big publishers. I noticed this other network type in this narrower field collaborating for their survival in the *yomihon* genre. It is evident that we must pay attention when analyzing the publishing business to the genre and the timing of how these networks were formed.

Despite the success of the Tsuruya publishing business, Tsuruya Kiemon the Fifth suffered a fate very like Tsutajū the First. In Tenpō 13/1842, under the Tenpō Reforms (very similar to the earlier Kansei Reforms), he was punished for his publication of *Nisemurasaki inaka Genji* 偽紫田舎源氏. This was a contemporary version of *Tale of Genji* and was rumored to describe the shogun's harem. The woodblocks were confiscated and destroyed, and he was fined by the government. In the same way that Tsutajū's business declined after his punishment, people can trace the decline in Tsuruya's business after this setback. However, Tsuruya Kiemon the Fifth decided to withdraw from publishing *jihon kusazōshi* and thereby prolonged the life of his business. He sold his rights in the *jihon kusazōshi*'s guild to Tsujioka Bunsuke 辻岡文助 in 1852, and concentrated on the *shomotsu mononohon* field. Clearly his strategy worked. People see that in the Meiji era (1868 – 1912) Tsuruya still survived, and mainly dealt with textbooks and academic guidebooks.

D. Torii art school, Utagawa art school, and the Publishing Business

The Torii School specializes in *kabuki* actors' portraits and billboards. The Utagawa School was the most widely acclaimed art school in the late Edo period. Before I examine the network of these art schools, I should provide a brief history of *kabuki* in

Edo City.

1. ***Kabuki* history in Edo City**

"*Mattemashita!* (Finally!)"

"*Yo, Naritaya!* (Actor's family stage name)!"

Audience cheers such as these would be echoed by *kabuki* lovers when they viewed actors' portraits, if they were familiar with the *kabuki* performance. They would stare at the actors' portraits and imagine the next movements or dances the actor would perform. They would wonder when they might next visit the *kabuki* theater and young women especially would wonder if they could succeed in cajoling their fathers into letting them attend the *kabuki* theater all day long. It was a hefty expense to attend the *kabuki* theater if someone wanted to go formally. The expenditure was not only for the admission, but also included the cost of a palanquin and *yanebune* (a roofed boat), food and drink from a *shibai jaya* (tea house in a theater), tips and gifts to actors/theater, and the cost of having dinner with the actors.

In the Edo period, one of the most popular entertainments was the *kabuki* performance, and its popularity was promoted by advertisements through book illustrations in *jihon kusazōshi*, pictures for *banzuke* (a list of actors 番付絵), billboards for plays (*kanban-e* 看板絵), actor's portraits (*yakusha-e* 役者姿絵), and so on. *Kabuki* performances expressed people's desires and dreams on the stage. The stories, of course, were not real. Actors were real people, however, and they gave life to the viewers' dreams on stage. This was why people longed to return to view *kabuki* after they had been allured by its enchantment. As noted in Chapter 1, the performance sites of plays and songs are the seats for the *kami*. Accordingly, I would argue that *kabuki* serves as a place for the *kami*. *Kabuki* had dances and songs, but it was discriminated by the Edo government.

Perhaps the issue was the performance style and the origin of *kabuki*, which was established by a prostitute, Izumo no Okuni 出雲阿国. The entertainers, including *kabuki* actors, musicians, and dancers in the Edo period were pariahs, and were kept on the outside of the social class system. They were forced to stay in certain districts, such as Sakai-chō 堺町, Fukiya-chō 葺 屋町, Kobiki-chō 木挽町 and later in Saruwaka-machi 猿若町. The Tokugawa government disliked *kabuki* because it failed to uphold Confucian values, which the Tokugawa government promoted. Yet commoners and even the samurai class welcomed and applauded *kabuki*.

While *kabuki* was at the core of the entertainment culture in the city of Edo, other entertainment businesses, such as *shibai-jaya* 芝居茶屋 and *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵 publishers proliferated in this district. The network of the *kabuki* world therefore extended to include the *ukiyo-e* publishers and print shops. Without the support of *kabuki*, they could not sustain their business, and the *yakusha-e* painters could not make a living without this synergistic relationship. In the *kabuki* world, then, we can see another network structure different from the three other examples of publishers. The center was the performance place, the seat of the *kami*, and many other commercial businesses surrounded it. Historically, financial crises often occurred in the *kabuki* world and affecting individual groups in the *za* 座, the group. There were originally four *kabuki* groups, and in 1714 one was abolished and then the *za* consisted of three groups. The *kabuki* world had to struggle for survival each time it encountered a crisis. The synergistic business network had to be strengthened for the workers and their survival. In the next section, I examine one of part of the *kabuki* network that involved publishing: the Torii School.

2. Torii School

Torii Kiyonobu 鳥居清信 (1664 – 1729) was the founder of the Torii School. His father, Torii Kiyomoto 鳥居清元 (1645 – 1702), was an actor in Ōsaka of a female role, and they came to the city of Edo in 1687. They started to paint pictures for billboards (*kanban-e*) of Ichimura-*za* 市村座 for the announcement of performances, and they gradually acquired a monopoly for billboard pictures. After Kiyonobu died, Kiyomasu 清倍 (?1706 – 1763?) who might be a son-in-law of Kiyonobu, adopted the name of Kiyonobu the Second. The third titular head was Kiyomitsu 清満(1735 – 1785) who was a son of Kiyomasu. The fourth titular head was Kiyonaga 清長 (1752 – 1815) who descended from a book dealer in Edo. Kiyotsune 清経 (? – ?) was from the same generation as Kiyonaga, and he descended from a *kabuki* specialized publisher, Nakagimaya Izaemon 中島屋伊左衛門. The Torii School now is now headed by Kiyonobu the Ninth, Kiyomitsu 清光(1938 – present).

Figure 4: *Shusse Sumidagawa* Kiyonobu
From Waseda Kotenseki

I find in their circumstances, that there was a certain network for becoming *kabuki* painters. They had the initial skills and conditions to be the Torii School's painters, but not the other schools' painters. Their parents had a certain relationship with the *kabuki* business, and without being aware of it, their children were a part of the network. This network is different from

the one of Tsutajū the First who cultivated and fermented the network by his own efforts and his ideas. But this network I am investigating was a more family-oriented network, and it was very tightly related to the other existing networks and the *kabuki* network.

The Torii School still retains the features of " gourd legs and earthworm outlines (瓢箪足 hyōtan ashi 蚯蚓画 mimizu gaki)" which was established by Kiyonobu the First as we see in *Shussse Sumidagawa* 出世隅田川, written by Ichikawa Danjūrō 市川団十郎 and illustrated by Torii Kiyonobu 鳥居清信 in Figure 4.

Figure 5: *Ichikawa Danjūrō* (1) Kiyomitsu
From Waseda Enpaku

There are *yakusha-e* of Ichikawa Danjūrō 市川団十郎 by Kiyomitsu 清満 (Figure 5 and 6) .

The portraits are clearly recognized as Danjūrō by his family crest *Mimasu* 三枡 (three squares), and his specialty of the *aragoto* 荒事 (a style of play featuring exaggerated posture, makeup and costume).

Figure 6: *Ichikawa Danjūrō* (2) Kiyomitsu
From Waseda Enpaku

The Torii School's feature of gourd legs and earthworm outlines helps emphasize this *aragoto* play. His unnatural expression of showing his teeth and ogling his eyes demonstrates this method. This unnaturalness increases the unrealistic but exaggerated story, making his role more interesting and inviting viewers into the drama being depicted.

Torii Kiyomitsu (Kiyonobu the Third) 's works and collaboration are seen in the Waseda Enpaku digital archive collection. His works of actors' portraits total 35. Unknown publishers produced 15, and the remaining 20 were included in Urokogataya 鱗形屋 (3), Enami 江浪 (3), Okumuraya 奥村屋 (3), Matsumuraya Yahē 松村屋弥兵衛 (3), Nishimuraya Yohachi 西村屋与八 (2), Iwatoya Genpachi 岩戸屋源八 (2), Maruya Shōbē 丸屋小兵衛 (2), Iwatoya Wakabayashiya Seibē 岩戸屋若林屋清兵衛 (1), and Emiya Yoshiemon 江見屋吉右衛門 (1). From this data, I can assume Kiyomitsu did not have the predominant publisher for his *nishiki-e.*

However in *kaomise banzuke* 顔見世番付 (a ranking list of actors' status), the situation is quite different from a simple portrait. There were three *za*, and each had different contracts with different publishers with Kiyomitsu the Second who was the same person as Kiyonobu the Fifth (1787 – 1868). In Waseda Enpaku, there were 27 works by Kiyomitsu. Nakamura-*za* 中村座 commissioned Murayama Genbē 村山源兵衛 from 1817 to 1846 as far as I can tell from Waseda's limited record. Murayama outsourced this work to Kiyomitsu. Ichimura-*za* 市村座 commissioned Yamamoto Jūgorō 山本重五郎 from 1826 to 1850. Yamamoto publisher outsourced this task to Yoshimitsu the Second. The third *za*, Kawarazaki/Morita-*za* 河原崎・森田座 was different from the other two *za*. This *za* commissioned several publishers including Ogawa Hansuke 小川半助, Yamazakiya Gonzaburō 山崎屋権三郎, Maruya Jinpachi 丸屋甚八 from 1832 to1851. They outsourced the task to Kiyomitsu the Second.

From this data it seems evident that there existed a stable relationship between the *kabuki* theaters, publishers and artists in two cases. The Kawarazaki/Morita-*za* did not

maintain a relationship with a single publisher but worked with several different publishers over time. Was this due to a financial situation or did the *kabuki* theater owners decide to change publishers or artists? In all cases, more research is required to find out these answers. However, at least I can conclude that two publishers were satisfied with the Torii Kiyomitsu the Third's work, thus two theaters commissioned him through their regular publishers. In other words, the publishers gave the job to Kiyomitsu the Third on a regular basis for years. So the same Torii School style was maintained and the commissions kept coming. Readers see, in this situation, that there was not much change over the years.

If I consider the history of the Torii School, there were periods when it declined and other art schools, such as the Katsukawa School and Utagawa Schools, appeared. The taste of the people shifted towards novelty and they stayed to enjoy the new approaches for a while. However, they eventually came back to the Torii School's traditional style, as we now see in their style in posters and billboards more than 200 years later in Tokyo, Kyōto and Ōsaka. The Torii School is still relevant in the *kabuki* world in the present day. There has been a continuous dynamic movement that keeps the school stable.

3. Utagawa School

It was Utagawa Toyoharu 歌川豊春 (1735 – 1814) who founded the Utagawa School. He studied first at the Kanō School 狩野派 in Kyōto, and then he went to the city of Edo and learned his technique under Toriyama Sekien 鳥山石燕 (1713−1788). Thus his technique was diverse, with an especially notable perspective method of painting called *uki-e* 浮絵. His technique was seen in many theatrical posters. His school included disciples such as Toyohiro 豊広 (1773 – 1828), Toyohisa 豊久 (? –?) and Toyokuni the First 初代豊国 (1769 –1825). Under Toyohiro was Hiroshige the First 初代広重 (1797 –1858), who was famous for his landscapes in *ukiyo-e*. Following Toyokuni the First, who developed the Utagawa School's traditional style, were Kuniyasu 国安 (1794 – 1832), Toyokuni the Second 二代豊国 (1777 –1835), Toyokuni the Third who was also Kunisada the First 三代豊国＝初代国貞 (1786 – 1865), Kuniyoshi 国芳 (1798 –1861) and many others.

Figure 7: *Shikan* Toyokuni
From ARC

Figure 8: *Hanshirō* Toyokuni
From ARC

Figure 9: *Kōshirō* Toyokuni
From ARC

The Utagawa School retained a strong touch and vivid colors as seen in Figures from 7-9 by Toyokuni the First. The style captures a particular *kabuki* pose to show off the actors to their best advantage.

Figure 7 is of Nakamura Shikan 初代中村芝翫. *Kabuki* lovers can recognize him from his family crest of *Gionmori* 祇園守 (the amulet of the Gion Shrine).

Figure 8 is of Iwai Hanshirō 岩井半四郎. The last portrait, Figure 9, is Matsumoto Kōshirō the Fifth 五代松本幸四郎. I should compare his portraits to his master, Toyoharu, to see how Toyokuni the First developed his technique. The first image by Toyoharu, Figure 10 is not a portrait of an actor but of a beauty. I see daintiness similar to Harunobu's style, however, the lines are much stronger than Harunobu's. The image of the actor, in Figure 11 is a portrait of a puppet actor, Yoshida Bungo. He stands upright and his features are very grand, similar to what I find in the work of his disciple later.

Figure 10: Toyoharu
From Museum of Fine Arts Boston

Figure 11: *Yoshida Bungo* Toyoharu
From Museum of Fine Arts Boston

Figure 12: *ranking list* Toyoharu
From Museum of Fine Arts Boston

Figure 12 is a ranking list of actors in the month of November of 1786. It reminds most people of the Torii School style, and it confirms the popular notion that Toyoharu once did this sort of work for a living.

Figure 13 is a perspective view of a *kabuki* theater in a style of drawing that was handed down to many disciples, including Hiroshige.

Now let's go back to Figures 7- 9 of Toyokuni the First. I realize the difference in the use of colors in his images differ from those of his teacher. He uses the colors fearlessly, based on black and brownish red along with purple and green. Patterns of the garments are very bold and fresh eye opening, in fact. Even the ways women's garments are depicted reflect the Edoite's fondness for vertical stripes. This was the trend in the city of Edo. Most obviously, the actors' facial expressions are tending toward one pattern, one that is a different from the Torii School, as the Utagawa School was rather a comical one. It is as if readers are turning the pages of a comic book because the eyes are bigger and the lines of noses and mouths are sharper. In the present day, people may find this style too exaggerated. But somehow, it seems that Edoites liked this over-expression because these prints sold the most in the city of Edo at that time.

Figure 13: *kabuki theater* Toyoharu
From Museum of Fine Arts Boston

Figure 14: *Utaemon*
Kunisada
From ARC

Figure 15: *Danjūrō* (1)
Kunisada
From ARC

Readers will see that this feature is well developed in Kuniyoshi's and Kunisada's works. Let's move on to the Figure series by Kunisada. When readers view the three images, Figure 14-16,

Figure16: *Danjūrō* (2)
Kunisada
From ARC

people see that the gestures and expressions are overly exaggerated. The facial expressions, especially the eyes, are unique. Most eyes are cross-eyed. Their lips are turned up and their lower jaws protrude. The colors are not brighter than those of Toyokuni the First as more blue is applied. The lines are much bolder and the gestures are somewhat unrealistic.

Figure 17: *musha-e* Kuniyoshi
From ARC

In Kuniyoshi's illustrations, people may find something different. Figure 17 is not an actor's portrait, but a picture that depicts military warriors or battles, called *musha-e* (*ukiyo-e* prints of warriors).

Figure 18: *unknown actor* Kuniyoshi
From ARC

Everything is extremely overly exaggerated in this first illustration and the lines are very strong and the whole drawing filled with a lot of lively movement. This *musha-e* made Kuniyoshi very famous and popular after a decade of misfortunes. His series of illustrations were for *Suiko-den* (The Water Margin), which was very popular in the city of Edo

But in Figure 18 to 19, readers find a very different atmosphere. It is modern, even though the basic touch is the same as Toyokuni. Kuniyoshi's illustration includes a sophisticated and well-balanced taste in color and design.

Figure 19: *Sōta* Kuniyoshi
From ARC

Figure 20 is outstanding in a different manner, as it was an effort to escape from the Edo government's prohibition that was included in the anti-extravagance regulations in the Tenpō Reforms (1841 -1843) to paint actors' portraits. For this drawing, that artist pretended that he had quickly scribbled the work as if it were a child's work. Indeed, the Edo government was never able to arrest him for breaking the law. Instead of breaking the law, Kuniyoshi used his humor to taunt the law. This was typical of Edoite's humor.

Figure 20: *mudagaki* Kuniyoshi
From National Diet Library

Having introduced the school, I would like next to consider the relationship between artists, publishers, and patrons. Andreas Marks says that Toyoharu worked with less than ten different publishers,[48] and we should explore why this was so, and why Toyoharu used a limited publishers and why his disciples used publishers differently. In looking at the Union Catalogue, I find 10 publishers with Toyoharu's work, compared to 406 for Toyokuni the First, 568 for Toyokuni the Third (=Kunisada the First), 269 for Kuniyoshi, and 137 for Hiroshige the First. I must note this is a monographic form list, not for *ukiyo-e*, actor portraits, or theatrical forms. Still the difference between Toyoharu and his students is remarkable. When I used the Ritsumeikan ARC to examine Toyoharu, the number was not big, and I could examine each image on the screen display. There were 11 publishers including Urokogataya, Maekawa, Yamazaki, Okumura, Ōmiya, Nishimuraya, Matsumuraya, Yamaichi, Sasaki, Nishizawa, and Tamagawa and some

[48] Andreas Marks, *Japanese woodblock prints* (North Clarendon, VT: Tuttle Publishing, 2010), p.68.

unknown publishers. I also checked the Boston Museum of Fine Art's Bigelow Collection that Bigelow collected mostly during his stay in Japan between 1882 and 1889. There were 122 pieces by Toyoharu. Even though this collection was dependent on Bigelow's taste and most of them were landscapes, the collection was helpful in finding publishers. There were 49 by Nishimura, 5 from Urokogataya, 3 from Matsumotoya, 2 from Matsumuraya, 2 from Iwatoya, 1 from Ōmiya, and 9 were original drawings. The rest were by unknown publishers. So I could add two more publishers to the ARC, which adds up to 13 publishers. This was still a very small number. Why did this happen?

When I did my research in the ARC, I found quite a few original drawings in the collection. I then realized that there were several factors for why Toyoharu did not connect with many publishers. First, there was the possibility he had many commissions from individuals instead of from publishers. As I saw in the ARC or MFA in Boston, there must have been enough demand from individuals. There was the *egoyomi* 絵暦 (picture calendars) fashion in the Meiwa era (1764 – 1771) among poets groups, when rich individuals commissioned artists to work for them. The network of Toyoharu was one without many publishers. Instead, it involved individual's related network and this circle was small. Second, even with only a small number of publishers being involved, as I saw in Bigelow's collection, Nishimuraya commissioned Toyoharu to produce quite a few prints. This can explain why Nishimuraya or a few publishers were predominant in ordering his works. The network that involved Toyoharu had a very small range, but it was also very tightly knit.

When I look at his students, I also realize that they had to have their own workshops because of the high volume of demand. As readers have already seen in the

data in the Union Catalogue, it was beyond an individual's capacity to deal with this volume of demand. Beside books, there was demand for *ukiyo-e*. Regarding books, I could use the Waseda Kotenseki database to compile statistics.[49] Toyokuni the First had 133 books from 23 publishers, and his student Kunisada published 431 books from 69 publishers. It might have been possible for Toyokuni the First and his students to deal with this demand within its small circle. But in Kunisada's case, it is obvious the work had to be done within a larger workshop. Besides, there were more volumes for *ukiyo-e.* When I used the ARC database, I entered the publishers' names in the search engine. Next, I retrieved the artists' commissioned works on the screen. Then I narrowed the results by entering the artists' names and found interesting results. When readers check Appendix H, it is predictable that Kunisada would get more commissions than Kuniyoshi, as was typically the case. However, several publishers commissioned Kuniyoshi more often than Kunisada. When I examined those publishers' features, I found they had a side business printing fans. When readers see the designs he created, everyone has to admit these were to the taste of Edoites: full of wit and with an eye for fashion. It may be possible that Kuniyoshi led the Edoites or maybe the Edoites had the tastes followed by Kuniyoshi. It is difficult to explain how they were connected, but at least I can tell that the publishing business in the city of Edo was involved in many factors having to do with the proliferation of the artists' works. Each individual's taste is ambiguous and changeable. However, once the publishers sensed the Edoites' taste, they ordered Kunisada to create products the way the locals wanted them. As the publishers planned to produce fan products from the view point of the Edoites' taste, this should have been a suitable product to sell. In his work, Mitsunaga Yayoshi described how the publishers had

[49] See Appendix F of Toyokuni the First and Appendix G of Kunisada.

fulfilled an important role in channeling cultural communication. This was done by publishers providing the products to the public through not only planning and editing the work of artists and writers, but also providing additional value.[50] There is demand and supply and vice versa. I can tell that actors' portraits and actors' fans by the Utagawa School are very much the products of a commercialized network structure.

However, when readers see Figure 20, people find it to be more than the product of the commercial network. It is the expression of repulsion among townspeople towards the Edo government to censor people, and this drawing helped spread the townspeople's grudge in a subtle manner. Kuniyoshi represented the Edoites' stress openly by using his means of media. He was in a different network among the townspeople and helped to represent their frustration bravely. This is one of the other different types of networks in the publishing network.

[50] Yayoshi Mitsunaga 彌吉光長, *Edo jidai no shuppan to hito* 江戸時代の出版と人(Tokyo: Nichigai Asoshiētsu, 1980), p.16.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

My intention in undertaking this thesis was to examine the role of networks supporting the Edo publishing businesses in order to get a better understanding of the larger framework of networks functioning in the Edo community. The Edo community has countless networks, and they seemed chaotic, unless one stops to look closely at how a particular network functions and links to others within whole community. I believed that the Edo publishing industry would be a fairly simple network to analyze because it contained only two categories: the *shomotsu mononohon* field and the *jihon kusazōshi* field. It was apparent that funding, finding good writers and artists, catering to popular taste or to a particular taste, promoting products, and maintaining a strong sales network were indispensable for their success. However, the more I explored these different networks, the more I found many unique features of the networks that made me realize I should view the community as a whole and not as individuals.

One might still ponder which network had a stronger and longer life in the world. As I have seen the example in Tsutajū the First's case, his network was more salon-oriented for the writers and artists, and it was the place for anyone to come and go with the purpose of serving *kami*, and eventually themselves. This place had a very positive effect that created a flourishing business from the start. Anyone who came to this place was linked with other persons. The links were more important than the individuals themselves, because this linking created more energy and creativity than any one link by an individual.

At the same time, I have realized that this kind of salon-oriented network, because it depends on an individual's magnetism, runs a risk of failing if the successor does not have similar managerial skills or charisma. This personalized network-making often contains a unique character for a short period and with traits that are hard to transfer. The network tends to be fragile when it confronts the strong and unbendable presence of a power such as the rule of the Edo government. I have seen that the network characteristics were easily dispersed in the case of Tsutajū. In contrast, in Suharaya Mohē's case, I have seen a quite opposite situation. Suharaya did not depend on a personalized network, but relied on a publisher's routine and steady sales network. His network was not composed mostly of the artists or writers, rather, it was based on a sales route system that supported his publisher industry. It has become obvious that in the publicating world, that the publishers who maintained relations with the less changeable purchasers were the better survivors in the long run than the ones who depended on the general public market.

In this paper, I learned that *jihon kusazōshi* publishers such as Tsutajū the First turned a big profit within a short period by utilizing his personalized network. At the same time I learned his decline was prompt when he had difficulty in reconstructing his network in Kansei 3/1891 and after being punished by the government, a punishment that forced the samurai class to leave his network and caused financial damage. Tsutajū the First was on a mission to replace his network members with others. Tsutajū tried to maintain his network along with his effort to expand his business in the field of *shomotsu mononohon*. He was successful, to some degree, for a while.

But the basic concept in the case of Tsuruya Kiemon was quite different. Tsuruya

Kiemon, who was also a prominent publisher in the Edo era, encountered a very similar punishment at Tenpō 13/1842. He changed his business strategy very quickly. He sold his *jihon kusazōshi* guild right to the other publisher, and concentrated on his *shomotsu mononohon* business. He focused on the similar network strategy as Suharaya Mohē did. His business became smaller, but it lasted to the Meiji era (1868 – 1912) by staying within the academic field.

In the end, I saw different networks related to the *kabuki* world. As the *kabuki* world was (is) succeeded completely according to a hereditary system, I saw a similar system for the illustrators and publishers related to the *kabuki* world. The Torii School still exists after about 200 years. The techniques were passed down from teachers, and the school's output still includes a similar pattern in the present actors' portraits. The network is related to the other networks of the *kabuk*i world: the network of the publishers, and the other network of the middle persons. I cannot find the same publishers now that the Torii School used to be related to nor the middle persons in the present time. But I still see the billboards or the actors' portraits of *kabuki* around towns that were produced by the Torii School. Its network has survived because of keeping its work unique, and maintaining a consistent pattern in its own traditional small network. This is one of the networks I can consider. At the same time, I saw the different *kabuki* portraits style of the Utagawa School. Even though it does not remain so now, I learned that at the end of Edo period, it was the most popular style because it expressed what the Edoites needed, and the network was based on commercialization and was run very well by the publishers and painters. Sometimes, I see the other networks in this commercialization: the strong resilience network under repressed circumstances that represented the Edoites.

Life in the Edo period, at any moment, may have looked chaotic and devoid of the concepts of networks. However, the Edo society consisted of many factors, and each factor had a unique character. Readers may view this as if the Edo community floated along on chaotic and inexplicable phenomena. However, after the concept of networks is applied, readers can begin to see organization in the Edo community through the lens of network interactions and the state of the culture continues to be vibrant state because of the linkages between networks at any given time. Furthermore, researchers can take any one of the many networks and examine to connect it with the other networks.

For example, in this paper, I looked at the Edo publishing network. In this network, many different other networks were included, such as Tsutajū's network, Suharaya's network, Tsuruya's network, and the *kabuki* network. Tsutajū's network included the *kyōka ren* network, Yoshiwara network, *jihon kusazōshi* guild network, *shomotsu* guild network, and artists' network. In Tsutajū's overall network, each smaller network was indispensable because it affected the others and supported these activities of the broader network. As I showed, when the *kyōka ren* network declined, the other networks, such as *shomotsu* network and artists' networks, were reinforced to support Tsutajū's network. When the Tsutajū's network started declining, the other networks among the publishing networks, such as that of Tsuruya, filled this gap. So the Edo publishing world remained active as a whole and contributed to the other networks in other fields and kept the Edo culture vibrant.

The researcher may take smaller networks as the topic: Yoshiwara *saiken* and *yūjo hyōbanki,* both among the Yoshiwara network, in which the publishers were commissioned to promote courtesans with maps, stories, and illustrations. These are

subjects for research not only for the study of this art or its history but also for the publishing networks and how they received their commissions from the brothels. *Saitan-shū* 歳旦集 (a collection of Japanese New Year's poems) can be researched from both the point of art and literature and the view of the publishing as a part of a *kyōka* network because the work was commissioned to publishers as a New Year's publication for a *kyōka* group. The bibliographers can research the colophon for the bibliographic record of the study and from the point of view of the publishing network as collaborative publishing. *Kabuki* researchers can examine how several networks, such as the fan-making network, artists' network, the fan club network, the clothing store network, and other networks related to the publishing network in order to see how the *kabuki* network energized Edo fashions. A sociologist may find a key concept that lets them rediscover the social structure in the two guilds networks, the *shomotsu toiya/don'ya* network and the *jihon kusazōshi toiya/don'ya* network by examining the difference between the two guilds for publishers. The researcher studying the Edo period might find that the publishing networks had an important role as a cultural creator among the many networks in the Edo community.

These are just a few examples for future research, but it is evident that each network in the publishing industry existed to activate Edo's publishing community and culture, resulting in the flourishing that community by interacting with the other networks. The networks in the Edo publishing were aligned with the other network, and all of them interacted dynamically to keep the community active. Other researches in the networks in the Edo period could lead the other beneficial conclusions.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Tsutaya Jūzaburō the First's Publications (1774 – 1797) from *Tsutajū shuppan shomoku*

	date	title	genre	collaboration	author	painter	note
1	安永三年 1774	細見嗚呼御江戸	吉原細見(春)	鱗形屋孫兵衛			小売取次
2	安永三年 1774	一目千茶	遊女評判記絵本		里雀（序）	北尾重政	初の蔦重板
3	安永三年 1774	細見百夜章	吉原細見(秋)	鱗形屋孫兵衛		磯田湖龍	小売取次
4	安永四年 1775	細見花見の源	吉原細見(春)	鱗形屋孫兵衛		羅月亭文笑	小売取次
5	安永四年 1775	急戯花の名寄せ（にはかはなのなよせ）	遊女評判記			未詳	
6	安永四年 1775	籬の花	吉原細見(秋)				最初の蔦重板吉原細見
7	安永五年 1776	名華選	吉原細見(春)		柳栢山人(序)		
8	安永五年 1776	青楼奇事　烟花清談（ゑんかせいだん）	読本	日本橋万町上総屋利兵衛	葦原駿守中	鈴木鄰松	
9	安永五年 1776	青楼美人合姿鑑	絵本・俳諧	本石町捨軒店　山崎金兵衛		北尾重政・勝川春章	製作主体は蔦重
10	安永五年 1776	吉原細見　家満人言葉	吉原細見(秋)			勝川春章	
11	安永六年 1777	四季の太夫	吉原細見(春)			勝川春章	
12	安永六年 1777	娼妃地理記（しょうきちりき）	遊女評判記・洒落本		朋誠堂喜三二（同陀楼麻阿）	未詳	朋誠堂喜三二＝本名平沢常富（つねまさ）、通称平格（へいかく）、平荷（へいか）、俳号月成（つきなり）、狂歌に手柄岡持（てがらのおかもち）を用いる。
13	安永六年 1777	江戸しまん　評判記	評判記		高賀池内門人柳荷五瀾・八文字	未詳	
14	安永六年 1777	手毎の清水	花道書		清水景澄	北尾重政	
15	安永六年 1777	吉原細見　三津の根色	吉原細見（秋）			勝川春章	
16	安永六年 1777	明月余情	絵本(吉原俄番付)		朋誠堂喜三二	未詳	
17	安永六年 1777	夫婦酒替奴中仲（みやうとざけかはらぬなかなか）	富本正本		中村重助	未詳	
18	安永七年 1778	人来鳥（ひときどり）	吉原細見(春)		朋誠(序)	中村富十郎	

19	安永七年 1778	吉三お七　夏柳夢睦言・梅の由兵衛浮名二人妻茜染野中の隠井	富本正本		未詳	未詳	
20	安永七年 1778	夏柳夢睦言（なつやなぎゆめのむつごと）	富本正本		富本豊前太夫直伝	未詳	
21	安永七年 1778	金鏡の調（つきのしらべ）	吉原細見(秋)		生赫山人		
22	安永七年 1778	色時雨紅葉玉花籬（いろしぐれもみちのたまかき）	富本正本	村山源兵衛	桜田治助	北尾正演	
23	安永七年 1778	青楼吉原咄	咄本		墨蝶亭可立（序）	未詳	
24	安永八年 1779	扇の的	吉原細見(春)		柳栢散人(序)	未詳	
25	安永八年 1779	気のくすり	咄本		・朋誠堂喜三二(序)	未詳	
26	安永八年 1779	其俤浅間嶽（そのおもかげあさまがだけ）	豊本正本		富本豊前太夫直伝	北尾政演	
27	安永八年 1779	秋の夕栄	吉原細見(秋)		朋誠(序)	未詳	
28	安永八年 1779	歌枕恋初旅	豊本正本		豊本豊前太夫直伝	未詳	
29	安永八年 1779	色仕立紅葉段幕	豊本正本		桜田治助・豊本豊前太夫直伝	北尾政演	
30	安永九年 1780	五街（かい）の松	吉原細見(春)		朋誠(序)		
31	安永九年 1780	廓花扇之観世水（くるわのはなおうふぎくはんぜみづ)	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	北尾政演	
32	安永九年 1780	鐘入七人化粧	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	北尾重政	
33	安永九年 1780	龍都四国噂（たつのみやこしこくうわさ）	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	未詳	
34	安永九年 1780	夜野中狐物	黄表紙		王子風車	北尾政演	王子風車とは、山東京伝。
35	安永九年 1780	威気千代牟物語（いきちよんものがたり）	黄表紙		未詳	未詳	
36	安永九年 1780	虚言八百万八伝（うそはっぴゃくまんはちでん）	黄表紙		四方屋本太郎	未詳	
37	安永九年 1780	伊達模様　見立蓬莱（みたてほうらい）	黄表紙		未詳	未詳	
38	安永九年 1780	升落（ますおとし）はなした子（ね）	咄本		墨蝶亭可立	未詳	
39	安永九年 1780	口合はなし目貫（めぬき）	咄本		墨蝶亭可立	未詳	

40	安永九年 1780	大通人好記	洒落本		在原の持麿(序)	未詳	
41	安永九年 1780	通者云此事（つうとはこのこと）	黄表紙		未詳	北尾政演	
42	安永九年 1780	大栄商売往来	往来物				
43	安永九年 1780	新撰　耕作往来千秋楽	往来物				
44	安永九年 1780	勝良影	吉原細見(秋)		朋誠堂喜三二(序)		
45	安永九年 1780	青楼夜のにしき	吉原灯篭番付			未詳	
46	安永九年 1780	灯篭になき玉来る夜かな　繰返廓文月（くりかへすさとのふみづき）	豊本正本		桜田治助豊本豊前太夫直伝	北尾政演	
47	安永十年・天明元年 1781	吉原細見　身通始（みつのはじめ）	吉原細見（春）		朋誠堂喜三二(序)		
48	安永十年・天明元年 1781	栄花程五十年蕎麦値五十銭　見徳一炊夢	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	北尾重政	南畝との邂逅のきっかけ作
49	安永十年・天明元年 1781	息子妙薬　一流万金談（いちりうまんきんたん）	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	北尾政演	
50	安永十年・天明元年 1781	鐘入七人化粧滝返柳黒髪（すきかへすやなぎのくろかみ）	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二		1780 年鐘入七人化粧の改題再摺本
51	安永十年・天明元年 1781	円通誓大通光運開扇子花（うんひらくあふぎのはな）	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	北尾政演	1780 年廓花扇之観世水の再摺
52	安永十年・天明元年 1781	嗚呼不尽（あぁままならぬ）世之助噺	黄表紙		喜三二門人婦人亀遊戯	鳥居清長	喜三二門人婦人亀遊戯＝高崎藩士河野通秀蓬莱山人帰橋（ほうらいさんじん・ききょう）狂名を大（だい）の鈍金無（どんのかねなし）
53	安永十年・天明元年 1781	其後瓢様物（そののちひようなもの）	黄表紙		王子風車	北尾政演	1780 年夜野中狐物の続編
54	安永十年・天明元年 1781	身貌大通人略縁記	滑稽本		志水燕十	喜多川歌麿	志水燕十＝幕臣といわれる。鳥山石燕(せきえん)に絵をまなぶ。姓は鈴木。名は庄之助。別号に奈蒔野馬乎人(なまけの-ばかひと),清水つばくろ。
55	安永十年・天明元年 1781	東西南北　突当富魂短	洒落本		西奴　（せいぬ）	未詳	

56	安永十年・天明元年 1781	大通凄録（だいつうすごろく）	洒落本				
57	安永十年・天明元年 1781	おなつ清十郎道行比翼の菊蝶	富本正本		桜田治助	北尾政演	
58	安永十年・天明元年 1781	道行垣根の結綿	富本正本		桜田治助	北尾政演	
59	安永十年・天明元年 1781	おはん長右衛門道行瀬川の仇浪	富本正本		笠縫専介	北尾政演	
60	安永十年・天明元年 1781	よしはらさいけん　たつたひめ	吉原細見(秋)		朋誠堂喜三二(序)		
61	安永十年・天明元年 1781	青楼夜のにしき	吉原灯篭番付				
62	安永十年・天明元年 1781	まいらせそろ連理橘（れんりのたちはな）	富本正本		桜田治助、豊本豊前太夫直伝	未詳	
63	安永十年・天明元年 1781	女今川艶紅梅	往来物				弘化 5 年川龍軒筆耕で、和泉屋吉兵衛より再板。
64	安永十年・天明元年 1781	課当君逢坂（うらまさしきみにあふさか）	豊本正本		笠縫専助・豊本豊前太夫直伝		
65	天明二年 1782	春狂言御仕着恒例形間違曾我（いつものかたまちがひそが）	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	北尾重政	
66	天明二年 1782	夫は小倉山　是は鎌倉山　景清百人一首	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	北尾重政	
67	天明二年 1782	跡を老松　東へ飛梅　吾頼人正直（われたのむひとのまこと）	黄表紙		恋川春町	恋川春町	恋川春町＝本名倉橋格、通称寿平、狂名を酒上不埒（さけのうえのふらち）、別に寿山人と号した。鳥山石燕（せきえん）に学び、勝川春章（かつかわしゅんしょう）に私淑した。
68	天明二年 1782	何処の紺屋で染めたやら雛形意気真顔	黄表紙		恋川春町	恋川春町	
69	天明二年 1782	龍宮方便浅草利生　網大慈大悲換玉	黄表紙		喜三二門人宇三太	北尾重政	

70	天明二年 1782	花が見たくば芳野の由来	黄表紙		南陀伽紫蘭	北尾政演	南陀伽紫蘭＝窪田あるいは窪氏。通称易兵衛。画号は初め春満、のち俊満、狂歌号は一節千杖（ひとふしちづえ）、俳号は塩辛房（しおからぼう）、戯作（げさく）号は南陀伽紫蘭（なんだかしらん）、また左筆ゆえ尚左堂とも号した。北尾重政（しげまさ）の門人
71	天明二年 1782	人松嶋	吉原細見(春)		朋誠堂喜三二(序)		
72	天明二年 1782	謬字改正　実語教童子教	往来物				
73	天明二年 1782	年中用文至宝蔵	往来物				。
74	天明二年 1782	用文章	往来物				
75	天明二年 1782	饒の貢	吉原細見（秋）		朋誠序		
76	天明二年 1782	青楼夜のにしき	吉原灯篭番付				
77	天明二年 1782	海士	観世流謡本				再板
78	天明二年 1782	唐舩	観世流謡本				再板
79	天明二年 1782	鞍馬天狗	観世流謡本				再板
80	天明二年 1782	経政	観世流謡本				再板
81	天明二年 1782	猩々	観世流謡本				再板
82	天明二年 1782	高砂	観世流謡本				再板
83	天明二年 1782	田村	観世流謡本				再板
84	天明二年 1782	八島	観世流謡本				鶴屋喜右衛門板から
85	天明二年 1782	大江山	観世流謡本				鶴屋喜右衛門板から
86	天明二年 1782	龍田	観世流謡本				鶴屋喜右衛門板から
87	天明二年 1782	養老	観世流謡本				鶴屋喜右衛門板から
88	天明二年 1782	是界	観世流謡本				西村屋与八・岡田屋嘉七・和泉屋市兵衛相板から
89	天明二年 1782	雲林院	観世流謡本				西村屋与八・岡田屋嘉七・和泉屋市兵衛相板から
90	天明二年 1782	栢莚狂句集	俳諧		八文舎自笑	五雲	版元は、八文字屋八左衛門で、蔦重は売り捌き
91	天明三年 1783	吉原細見五葉松	吉原細見(春)		朋誠堂（序）、四		天明三年九月に通油町に移転

					方山人（跋）		
92	天明三年 1783	廓(竹冠に愚）費字尽（さとのばかむらむだしつくし）	黄表紙		恋川春町	恋川春町	
93	天明三年 1783	浦島が帰郷　八島の入水　うらしまがききょうやしまのじゅすい　さるかにとをいむかしばなし	黄表紙		恋川春町	恋川春町	
94	天明三年 1783	昔時通神　当時通神　三太郎天井廻　いにしへのかよふかみいまのよのつうのかみ　さんたろうてんじょうめぐり	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	北尾重政	
95	天明三年 1783	大通天皇　野暮新王　誤歟大和功だいつうてんわうやぼしんわう　あやまつたかひのもとのいさをし	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	北尾重政	
96	天明三年 1783	長生見度記ながいきみたひき	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	恋川春町	
97	天明三年 1783	右通慥而嘘多雁取帳みぎのとをりたしかにうそしっかりがんとりてう	黄表紙		志水燕十	喜多川歌麿	
98	天明三年 1783	模聞雅話ももんがわ	黄表紙		志水燕十	未詳	
99	天明三年 1783	源平総勘定	黄表紙		四方赤良	喜多川歌麿	大田南畝＝本名、覃（たん）。別号、蜀山人（しょくさんじん）、四方赤良（よものあから）、寝惚（ねぼけ）先生など。
100	天明三年 1783	寿塩商婚礼	黄表紙		四方赤良	北尾政美	
101	天明三年 1783	柳港訛事さとなまり	洒落本	四日市　上総屋利兵衛通油町　鶴屋喜右衛門	朋誠堂喜三二	恋川春町	
102	天明三年 1783	滸都洒美撰ことしゃみせん	洒落本		志水燕十		四方山人、朱楽菅江、喜三二、序。朱楽菅江の本名山崎景貫。字（あざな）は道父、号准南堂（わいなんどう）

103	天明三年 1783	通神孔釈三教色さんきょうしき	洒落本		唐来参和	喜多川歌麿	唐来参和、志水燕十、序。唐来参和の姓は加藤、通称を和泉（いずみ）屋源蔵といい、別に伊豆亭、質草少々（しちぐさのしょうしょう）と号した。某高家の家臣だったが、天明（てんめい）（1781〜89）初年に町人となり、江戸本所松井町の娼家（しょうか）和泉屋の入り婿となった。
104	天明三年 1783	契情手管智恵鏡	洒落本		雲楽山人	未詳	雲楽山人＝本姓は朝倉。通称は源之助。本名は長坂高景。幕臣。書院番士などをつとめる。
105	天明三年 1783	通詩選笑知	狂詩集	後印本に和泉屋吉兵衛板、播磨屋勝五郎板、文会堂山田佐助板。	四方赤良		朱楽菅江序
106	天明三年 1783	柳糸恋苧環やなぎのいとこひのおだまき	豊本正本		豊本豊前太夫直伝	未詳	
107	天明三年 1783	浜のきさこ	袖珍本　狂歌作法書	刊記　京二條通新町東エ入　武村嘉兵衛・大坂心斎橋南一町目 敦賀屋九兵衛・江戸日本橋南三丁目　前川六左衛門・同新吉原大門口　蔦屋重三郎	元木網		四方赤良序。元木阿弥、元木網＝本姓金子のち渡辺。通称大野屋喜三郎。別号網破損針金。湯屋を業とした。妻も狂歌師で智恵内子（ちえのないし）。
108	天明三年 1783	本朝千時文ほんてうせんじもん	往来物				
109	天明三年 1783	吉原細見五葉松	吉原細見(秋)		朋誠堂喜三二序		四方山人跋　朱楽菅江巻末に細見祝言狂歌。
110	天明三年 1783	童宝子諷揃千秋集	小謡本	刊記　耕書堂　江戸通油町　蔦屋重三郎・同新吉原大門口蔦屋徳三郎			
111	天明三年 1783	燈篭番附青樓夜のにしき	吉原燈篭番附			喜多川歌麿	
112	天明三年 1783	貞永御成敗式目	往来物				
113	天明三年 1783	女教平成珠文庫ぢよきょうへいせいたまぶんこ	往来物				

114	天明三年 1783	花雛案内京内詣くはらくあんないきよううちまふで	往来物				
115	天明三年 1783	本朝文則庭訓往来	往来物				
116	天明四年 1784	吉原細見五葉松	吉原細見(春)		朋誠堂序		四方山人跋
117	天明四年 1784	夫は本歌是は狂哥　万歳載集著微来歴まんざいしうちょよびらいれき	黄表紙		恋川春町	恋川春町	
118	天明四年 1784	太平記万八講釈	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	北尾重政	
119	天明四年 1784	従夫以来記それからいらいき	黄表紙		竹杖為軽		竹杖為軽＝森羅万象（まんぞう）・築地善交・蘭学（らんがく）者森島中良もりしま ちゅうりょうの戯号。戯作では平賀源内に師事。
120	天明四年 1784	大千世界墻の外かきねのそと	黄表紙		唐来参名	北尾重政	
121	天明四年 1784	亀遊書双帋きゆふかきさうし	黄表紙		蓬莱山人亀遊	喜多川歌麿	
122	天明四年 1784	梶原細見二度の賭	黄表紙		四方赤良	喜多川歌麿	
123	天明四年 1784	漢国無躰　此奴和日本からむらい　こいつはにつほん	黄表紙		四方赤良	北尾政美	
124	天明四年 1784	化物二世物語	黄表紙		志水燕十		天明三年の模聞雅話の改題再摺本
125	天明四年 1784	君大判秘蔵小判八重山吹色都やえやまふきいろのみやこ	黄表紙			北尾政美	
126	天明四年 1784	後編栗の元　太の根	歳旦狂歌集		宿屋飯盛か？	喜多川歌麿	江戸後期の狂歌師、国学者。狂名、宿屋飯盛（やどやのめしもり）＝いしかわ - まさもち〔いしかは - 〕（石川雅望）浮世絵師石川豊信の子。家は代々宿屋。狂歌を頭光（つむりひかる）、四方赤良（よものあから）に学んで一家をなし、狂歌四天王の一人と呼ばれた。
127	天明四年 1784	年始御礼帳	歳旦狂歌集			歌麿門人千代女	四方赤良序。山の手連中心

128	天明四年 1784	早来恵方道さあござれゑほうみち	歳旦狂歌集		節藁仲貫編ふしはらのなかぬき編	北尾政美	節藁仲貫＝讃岐(さぬき)高松藩士で,江戸小石川にすむ。四方(よも)側の社中。姓は吉田。通称は十五郎。号は節原中貫とも。
129	天明四年 1784	金平子供遊	歳旦狂歌集			千代女	四方赤人序
130	天明四年 1784	彙軌本紀	洒落本		島田金谷		島田金谷＝狂号は腹唐秋人(はらからの-あきんど)。戯作名は島田金谷(かなや)。中井董堂なかい-とうどう。名は敬義(たかよし)。書家,狂歌師,戯作(げさく)者。大田南畝(なんぽ)門下として狂詩集「本丁文酔(ほんちょうもんずい)」をあらわす。狂歌は大屋裏住(おおやの-うらずみ)門下で本町連に属した。洒落「狂訓彙軌本紀(いきほんぎ)」がある。
131	天明四年 1784	艶玉百人一首千載艸ゑんぎょくひゃくにんいつしうちとせくさ	和歌・絵本(往来物)				天保頃、尾張永楽屋東四郎より再販
132	天明四年 1784	花蝶百人一首くはてうひゃくにんいっしゅ	和歌・絵本(往来物)			未詳	天保七年永楽屋東四郎より再板
133	天明四年 1784	道外百人一首	狂歌・絵本				
134	天明四年 1784	狂歌狂文　老莱子	狂歌・狂文		四方赤良		宿屋飯盛　跋
136	天明四年 1784	通詩選	狂歌集		四方赤良		和泉屋吉兵衛、椀屋喜兵衛、播磨屋勝五郎に求板、再印。
137	天明四年 1784	吉原傾城　新美人合自筆鏡	特大折本絵本			北尾政演	四方山人序　朱楽菅江跋
138	天明四年 1784	通俗画図勢勇談	絵本・読本		志水燕十	鳥山石燕	華川山人序
139	天明四年 1784	静世政勅武家諸法度	往来物			藤原守信	後、小林新兵衛に求板、再印
140	天明四年 1784	用文章	往来物				序朋誠堂、跋四方山人
141	天明四年 1784	吉原細見五葉松	吉原細見(仮宅入)				
142	天明四年 1784	きの国や小はる紙屋治兵衛　道行野辺の	豊本正本		桜田治助	喜多川歌麿	
143	天明四年 1784	道行情の水上	豊本正本		豊本斎宮太夫直伝	喜多川歌麿	

144	天明四年 1784	五手舩	吉原細見(秋)				序文祁　跋四方山人
145	天明四年 1784	いたみ諸白	狂歌集				序四方赤良、朱楽菅江
146	天明四年 1784	実語教童子教	往来物				
147	天明四年 1784	古湊道中記	道中記			喜多川歌麿	序南畝
148	天明五年 1785	新吉原細見	吉原細見(春)				序竹門隠士（ちくもんいんし）、跋四方山人
149	天明五年 1785	大通箱入之疳癪	黄表紙		恋川春町	恋川春町	
150	天明五年 1785	蛸入道佃沖	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	喜多川歌麿	
151	天明五年 1785	向嶋佐々木久物	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	喜多川行麿	
152	天明五年 1785	御手料理御知而巳　大悲千禄本	黄表紙		芝全交	北尾政演	芝全交＝本名山本藤十郎。別に司馬全交、司馬交などとも号した。江戸の商家の生まれで、のち水戸藩の大蔵流狂言師山本藤七の養子となり、その業を継いだ。
153	天明五年 1785	千崎早野殻鉄砲桃灯具羅せんざきはやの　からてつぽうちやうちんぐら	黄表紙		竹杖為軽	北尾政演	序四方赤良
154	天明五年 1785	嘘皮初音皷	黄表紙		桜川杜芳	喜多川千代女	岸田杜芳きしだとほう＝通称は豊治郎。狂号は言葉綾知(ことばの-あやち)。戯作者名は別に桜川杜芳。狂歌は万象亭(まんぞうてい)(桂川甫粲(ほさん))の連に属し,狂文を得意とした。江戸芝神明前にすむ表具師。
155	天明五年 1785	涎繰当字清書よだれくりあてじのきよがき	黄表紙		鹿都部真顔	北尾政美	しかつべの-まがお＝姓は北川。通称は嘉兵衛。江戸数寄屋橋門外で汁粉屋をいとなみ,恋川好町(すきまち)の名で戯作(げさく)をかく。のち四方赤良(よもの-あから)(大田南畝(なんぽ))にまなび,四方真顔の名で狂歌の判者となる。
156	天明五年 1785	四牒半飛板兮茶人よてうはんとんだちゃじん			恋川好町		
157	天明五年 1785	梅花おりは乞目（ひこめ）	黄表紙		恋川好町		
158	天明五年 1785	昔々噺問屋	黄表紙		恋川好町		北尾政美

159	天明五年 1785	雙紙五牒夢	黄表紙		唐来参名		
160	天明五年 1785	頼光邪魔入	黄表紙		唐来参名	北尾政美	
161	天明五年 1785	天地人三階図絵	黄表紙		山東京伝		
162	天明五年 1785	侠中侠悪言鮫骨きやんちゆのきやんあくたいのけうこつ	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾政演	
163	天明五年 1785	八被般若角文字かつきはんにやのつのもじ	黄表紙	すきやかし/白凰堂　蔦屋重三郎板	山東京伝	北尾政演	
164	天明五年 1785	新義経細見蝦夷	黄表紙		万象亭	北尾政演	
165	天明五年 1785	爺山芝刈婆川洗濯　鬼巌大通話ぢぢはやまへしばかりに　ばばはかはへせんたくに　おにがいわやだいつうばなし	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	喜多川行麿	
166	天明五年 1785	江戸生艶気樺焼	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾政演	
167	天明五年 1785	順廻能名代家莫切自根金生木まはりのよいなだいのいへ　きるなのねからかねのなるき	黄表紙		唐来参和	喜多川千代女	序和光同人
168	天明五年 1785	袖から袖へ手を入てしつと引〆廿二人　書集芥の川々」かきあつめあくたのかはかは	黄表紙		唐来参和	道麿	
169	天明五年 1785	あのこどこの子長者の飯食ままくはふ	黄表紙		恋川好町	喜多川歌麿	
170	天明五年 1785	元利安売鋸商内ぐはんりやすりのこぎりあきない	黄表紙		恋川好町	喜多川千代女	
171	天明五年 1785	其由来光徳寺門	黄表紙		四谷牛後	鳥文斎英之	鳥文斎英之＝細田時行の長男で家禄五百石取りの旗本から浮世絵師となった。姓は細田。名は時富。通称は弥三郎。歌麿のライバル。作者による入銀か。
172	天明五年 1785	息子部屋	洒落本		山東京伝	北尾政演	
173	天明五年 1785	和唐珍解	洒落本		唐来参和		序四方赤良

174	天明五年 1785	故混馬鹿集	狂歌撰集	京都書林武村嘉兵衛、大坂敦賀屋九兵衛、江戸前川六左衛門、蔦屋重三郎板	朱楽菅江		跋四方山人、当初は前川六左衛門から狂言鶯蛙集として刊行予定。後、大坂の扇屋利助に板木が流れる。
175	天明五年 1785	四方春興　夷歌連中双六　よもｓひゅんけうゑびすうたれんちゅすごろく	歳旦狂歌集		四方赤良	喜多川歌麿	
176	天明五年 1785	通将棋	遊戯				序天窓の撫丸
177	天明五年 1785	山道高彦歳旦摺物	狂歌・摺物		山道高彦		山道高彦＝田安家の家臣。元木網(もとの-もくあみ)の社中に属し,小石川連をおこした。大田南畝(なんぽ)らと交遊があった。姓は山口。通称は彦三郎。別号に馬蘭亭,巴蘭亭
178	天明五年 1785	文宝古状揃万歳鑑	往来物				
179	天明五年 1785	専玉古状揃貨蔵たからぐら	往来物				
180	天明五年 1785	利得商売往来	往来物				
181	天明五年 1785	童訓古状揃宝鑑	往来物	鶴屋喜右衛門、蔦屋重三郎合刻		北尾重政風	
182	天明五年 1785	年中用文至宝蔵	往来物				天明二年の「年中用文至宝蔵」と同内容
183	天明五年 1785	万用手形鑑	往来物				「年中用文至宝蔵」の後半部分の単独刊行。
184	天明五年 1785	御江戸往来泰平楽	往来物	御江戸本町筋通油町南側　蔦屋重三郎/同所北側　鶴屋喜右衛門			天保四年六月、鶴屋喜右衛門単独版として再刻再刊される。
185	天明五年 1785	泰平江戸往来	往来物	御江戸本町筋通油町南側　蔦屋重三郎/同所北側　鶴屋喜右衛門			「御江戸往来泰平楽」の改題本。

186	天明五年 1785	狂歌あまの川	狂歌撰集		古瀬勝雄・飛塵馬蹄編		古瀬勝雄＝本名は松本保固。通称は亀三郎。字(あざな)は伯厚。画号は花朗斎。田安家の家臣。飛塵馬蹄＝とぶちりのばてい。田安家の家臣。姓は咲山。通称は六郎右衛門。唐衣橘洲＝本名小島恭従、通称源之助、別号酔竹園。幕臣。酔竹側（すいちくがわ）。
187	天明五年 1785	青楼夜のにしき	吉原燈篭番付				
188	天明五年 1785	十才子明月詩集	狂歌集		宿屋飯盛編 四方赤良批点。腹唐秋人校者。	宿屋飯盛	四方赤良序 腹唐秋人＝はらからのあきんど。＝中井董堂 なかい-とうどう＝島田金谷(かなや)。
189	天明五年 1785	狂歌百鬼夜狂	狂歌集		平秩東作 百ものがたりの記		四方赤良序、唐衣橘洲跋 平秩東作へずつ-とうさく＝江戸中期の狂歌師・戯作者。本名、立松懐之。通称、稲毛屋金右衛門。別号東蒙（とうもう）・嘉穂庵。江戸内藤新宿で煙草(たばこ)屋をいとなむ。
190	天明五年 1785	実語教童子教	往来物				
191	天明五年 1785	雪矯竹振袖源氏ゆきもつたけふりそでげんじ	歌舞伎絵本番付			北尾政美	
192	天明五年 1785	古今いろは評林	劇書	東都　つたや重三郎 浪花　いづみや卯兵衛 平安　八もんじや八左衛門　板元	八問舎自笑		
193	天明六年 1786	新吉原細見	吉原細見(春)		朋誠堂喜三二序		
194	天明六年 1786	上州七小町じやうしうなこまち	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	北尾政美	
195	天明六年 1786	新建立忠臣蔵天道大福帳	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	北尾政美	
196	天明六年 1786	手練偽なし	黄表紙		四方赤良	北尾政美	
197	天明六年 1786	明矣七変目景清	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾政演	
198	天明六年 1786	江戸春一夜千両	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾政演	
199	天明六年 1786	喜三二夢物語去程扨其後さるほどにさてもそののち	黄表紙		唐来参和	北尾政美	

200	天明六年 1786	通言武者揃	黄表紙		芝全交	北尾重政	序四方山人
201	天明六年 1786	鳩八幡豆兼徳利	黄表紙		恋川好町	恋川好町	
202	天明六年 1786	持来糠長目	黄表紙		恋川好町	北尾政美	
203	天明六年 1786	仮名手本混曽我かなでほんかきませそが	黄表紙		万象亭		
204	天明六年 1786	新作落咄わらふ門	咄本		清遊軒編	北尾政美	
205	天明六年 1786	新作落咄夷可美えびすがみ	咄本		莞津喜笑顔編	北尾政美	
206	天明六年 1786	新作落咄笑袋	咄本			北尾政美	
207	天明六年 1786	新作落咄笑南枝わらひなんし	咄本			北尾政美	
208	天明六年 1786	新作落咄わらひ男	咄本		うき世伊之助	北尾政美	
209	天明六年 1786	客衆肝照子	洒落本		山東京伝	北尾政演	天明五年の『息子部屋』広告にこの本の広告が、白凰堂　耕書堂合板、とあるが、白凰堂がこの本に関与した形跡なし。
210	天明六年 1786	小紋新法	滑稽本	天保六年に坂井屋嘉吉から覆刻板	山東京伝	北尾政演	
211	天明六年 1786	狂歌新玉集	歳旦狂歌集		四方赤良		
212	天明六年 1786	狂歌福神双六	一枚摺　狂歌・双六				
213	天明六年 1786	俳優風わざをきぶり	狂歌集		朱楽菅江・唐衣橘洲・四方赤良	頭光	つむりのひかり＝日本橋亀井町の町代を勤め、本名岸宇右衛門、画名文笑、号桑楊庵（そうようあん）。文笑は、一筆斎文調の門人。四方赤良門人。伯楽（はくらく・ばくろう）連。
214	天明六年 1786	天明新○五十人一首　吾妻曲狂歌文庫	絵本・狂歌		序編・宿屋飯盛	北尾政演	
215	天明六年 1786	絵本江戸爵えどすずめ	絵本(狂歌入り)	寛政九年、他狂歌絵本と共に大坂明石家伊八へ求板され、和泉屋源八へ、京屋浅次郎へと移動。	蔦唐丸編	喜多川歌麿	朱楽菅江序
216	天明六年 1786	絵本八十宇治川	狂歌絵本	板木移動は江戸すずめと同様。	蔦唐丸か？	北尾重政	四方山人印

217	天明六年 1786	絵本吾妻袂あづまからげ	狂歌絵本	板木移動同上。	蔦唐丸	北尾重政	唐衣橘洲序
218	天明六年 1786	宝珠庭訓往来如意文庫	往来物	後、永楽屋東四郎が求板。		北尾重政	
219	天明六年 1786	慶子画譜けいしぐはふ	絵本	東都　つたや重三郎 浪花　いづみや卯兵衛 平安　八もんじや八左衛門　板元。蔦重は江戸売り捌きと考える。	八文舎自笑	中村富十郎	八文舎自笑＝八文字屋自笑(3 代)
220	天明六年 1786	天明大雑書延命袋	往来物・雑書		耕書堂主人誌		
221	天明六年 1786	東海木曾両道中記	道中記　中本				
222	天明六年 1786	東海木曾両道中記	道中記　小本				
223	天明六年 1786	木曾道中記	道中記				
224	天明六年 1786	寿貌すがほ	めりやす正本		山東京伝		
225	天明六年 1786	几董蘭更蓼太俳諧摺物	俳諧・摺物				
226	天明六年 1786	まつの・・・	漢詩・和歌・狂歌・俳諧等		橘千蔭序		橘千蔭＝加藤 千蔭（かとう ちかげ、享保 20 年 3 月 9 日（1735 年 4 月 1 日） - 文化 5 年 9 月 2 日（1808 年 10 月 21 日））は、江戸時代中期から後期にかけての国学者・歌人・書家。
227	天明六年 1786	七月大改　吉原細見	吉原細見(秋)		朋誠堂喜三二序		
228	天明六年 1786	男女一代八卦	占				
229	天明七年 1787	吉原細見	吉原細見(春)		四方山人序		
230	天明七年 1787	亀山人家妖きさんじんいへのばけもの	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	北尾重政	
231	天明七年 1787	三筋緯客気植田	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾政演	
232	天明七年 1787	自笑請合本八文字正札附息質	黄表紙		唐来三和	北尾政美	
233	天明七年 1787	芝全交知恵之程	黄表紙		芝全交	北尾政演	
234	天明七年 1787	面向不背御年玉	黄表紙		万象亭	式上亭柳郊	
235	天明七年 1787	日本一痴鑑	黄表紙		恋川好町	北尾政美	
236	天明七年 1787	嶋台眼正月	黄表紙		社楽斎万里	北尾政演	

237	天明七年 1787	唐来三和名剣徳	黄表紙		柳原向	鳥文斎栄之	柳原向 やなぎわら-むこう　天明(1781-89)のころの狂歌壇のひとり。江戸下谷三味線堀にすみ,伯楽側の判者となった。別号に楊柳亭,春風堂。
238	天明七年 1787	総籬	洒落本		山東京伝	山東鶏告	
239	天明七年 1787	初衣抄	洒落本		山東京伝	北尾政演	
240	天明七年 1787	千里同風	歳旦狂歌集		四方赤人編		
241	天明七年 1787	狂歌才蔵集	狂歌撰集		四方赤良序		後、永楽屋東四郎に求板される
242	天明七年 1787	百人一首古今狂歌袋	絵本狂歌		宿屋飯盛編	北尾政演	
243	天明七年 1787	絵本詞の花	絵本（狂歌入り）		蔦屋重三郎編	喜多川歌麿	寛政九年、他の狂歌絵本等とともに大坂明石屋伊八に求板され後に和泉屋源七、京屋朝治郎に。
244	天明七年 1787	狂歌芋の葉	狂歌集		四方赤良		
245	天明七年 1787	通詩選諺解	狂歌集		四方赤人		和泉屋金右衛門に求板され、のちに山田佐助、万屋忠蔵、播磨屋勝五郎に。
246	天明七年 1787	絵本武者鞋	絵本			北尾重政	宿屋飯盛序。後、永楽屋東四郎に求板される大坂河内屋茂兵衛に求板。
247	天明七年 1787	おもしろや戯場の濫觴	滑稽本				
248	天明七年 1787	こよみ便覧	暦書	日華軒	劉卜子門人太玄斎		後、駿河屋重五郎求板。
249	天明七年 1787	野夫鑑	洒落本		東湖山人	喜多川歌麿	東湖＝大典顕常（だいてん けんじょう）
250	天明七年 1787	新吉原細見	吉原細見（秋）		朋誠堂喜三二序		
251	天明七年 1787	麦生子祝賀集	俳諧・狂歌		歌麿編	鳥山石柳女・歌麿、鳥山石燕	
252	天明八年 1788	新吉原細見	吉原細見（春）		朋誠堂喜三二序		天明七年 1787 秋と同板。年記を変えただけ。
253	天明八年 1788	悦贔屓蝦夷押領	黄表紙		恋川春町	北尾政美	
254	天明八年 1788	文武二道万石通	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	喜多川行麿	
255	天明八年 1788	扇蟹眼笠蝙蝠狂言末広栄	黄表紙		山東京伝	喜多川歌麿	

256	天明八年 1788	将門秀郷　時代世話二挺鼓	黄表紙		山東京伝	喜多川行麿	
257	天明八年 1788	吉野家酒楽	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾政美	
258	天明八年 1788	首尾松見越松雪女廓八朔	黄表紙		山東唐洲	喜多川歌麿	
259	天明八年 1788	模文画今怪談	黄表紙		坂田の何某、唐来三和編	鳥文斎栄之	
260	天明八年 1788	吉原やうし	洒落本		山東京伝		
261	天明八年 1788	傾城	洒落本		山東京伝		
262	天明八年 1788	曽我糠袋	洒落本		山東唐洲	喜多川歌麿	
263	天明八年 1788	独楽新話	咄本		虎渓山人序		
264	天明八年 1788	鸚鵡杯	歳旦狂歌集		朱楽菅江撰		
265	天明八年 1788	狂歌　すきや風呂	歳旦狂歌集		鹿都部真顔編		
266	天明八年 1788	画本　虫撰	狂歌絵本		宿屋飯盛撰	喜多川歌麿	後、西村屋与八に求板。
267	天明八年 1788	四方のあか	狂文集	京西村平八、大坂柏原屋清右衛門、名古屋風月堂孫助、江戸西村源六、江戸蔦屋重三郎	四方赤良朔、宿屋飯盛序		
268	天明八年 1788	鶉衣	俳文集	西村源六と相板が推測される。	半掃庵也有（尾陽也有）		後、永楽屋東四郎に求板。
269	天明八年 1788	利得算法記	算術	志水燕十			文政十年、広嶋屋定次郎と相板で改題のうえ、再販。
270	天明八年 1788	龍田詣	往来物				文化六年再板
271	天明八年 1788	新吉原細見	吉原細見（秋）		朋誠堂喜三二序		天明七年秋と同板
272	天明八年 1788	戯歌　月之奈賀免	狂歌集		奇々羅金鶏撰		
273	天明年間	狂歌類題　網雑魚	狂歌集		奇々羅金鶏		
274	天明年間	人形浄瑠璃絵本番附	浄瑠璃絵本番附			喜多川歌麿	
275	天明九年・寛政元年 1789	鸚鵡返文武二道	黄表紙		恋川春町	北尾政美	
276	天明九年・寛政元年 1789	飛脚屋忠兵衛仮宅居梅川	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾政美	

277	天明九年・寛政元年1789	早道節用守	黄表紙		山東京伝	未詳	寛政五年に再擦
278	天明九年・寛政元年1789	淀屋宝物東都名物　嗚呼奇々羅金鶏	黄表紙		山東京伝	喜多川歌麿	咄本として寛政二年再摺
279	天明九年・寛政元年1789	冠言葉七目えと記	黄表紙		唐来三和	喜多川歌麿	
280	天明九年・寛政元年1789	天下一面鏡梅鉢	黄表紙		唐来三和	栄松斎長喜	絶板に処せられる。
281	天明九年・寛政元年1789	落咄　御臍の煮花	咄本（黄表紙仕立て）		莞津喜笑顔		天明6年の大木の生限、と夷可美、を黄表紙仕立てで。
282	天明九年・寛政元年1789	落咄　炉開噺口切	咄本（黄表紙仕立て）		うき世伊之助	喜多川歌麿	天明6年のわらひ男と、天明四年太のねの黄表紙仕立て。
283	天明九年・寛政元年1789	落咄　樽酒聞上手	咄本（黄表紙仕立て）			千代女	天明四年の金平子供遊の改板
284	天明九年・寛政元年1789	青楼和談　新造図彙	洒落本		山東京伝	山東京伝	
285	天明九年・寛政元年1789	○謌夷	狂歌本		宿屋飯盛編	喜多川歌麿	
286	天明九年・寛政元年1789	絵本　譬喩節	絵本（狂歌入り）		頭光序	喜多川歌麿	寛政九年大坂明石屋伊八板後印本あり。和泉屋源七、文政元年には京屋浅治郎へ。
287	天明九年・寛政元年1789	歴代武将通鑑	絵本			北尾重政	
288	天明九年・寛政元年1789	鶉衣　後篇	俳文集	京西村平八、大坂柏原屋清右衛門、名古屋風月堂孫助、江戸西村源六、江戸蔦屋重三郎	也有		後、永楽屋東四郎に求板。
289	天明九年・寛政元年1789	梅川忠兵衛　艶容垣根雪	富本正本		瀬川如皐・増山金八	喜多川歌麿	
290	天明九年・寛政元年1789	暦日諺解	暦書		柳精子		後、西村弥兵衛に求板。さらに須原屋茂兵衛。

291	天明九年・寛政元年 1789	貞永規定　御成敗式目	往来物				和泉屋市兵衛に求板。天保六年再摺
292	天明九年・寛政元年 1789	百姓今川准状	往来物				天明二年の再板。文化九年に鶴屋喜右衛門が求板
293	天明九年・寛政元年 1789	潮干のつと	絵入狂歌本			喜多川歌麿	
294	天明九年・寛政元年 1789	新吉原細見	吉原細見（秋）		朋誠堂喜三二序		
295	天明九年・寛政元年 1789	狂月坊	絵入狂歌本			喜多川歌麿	
296	天明九年・寛政元年 1789	楓柵芥川菊隠狐川　花色香嬬娘	富本正本		桜田治助	喜多川歌麿	
297	寛政二年 1790	新吉原細見	吉原細見（春）		山東京伝序		
298	寛政二年 1790	太平記吾妻鑑玉磨青砥銭	黄表紙		山東京伝	喜多川歌麿	
299	寛政二年 1790	地獄一面　照子浄頗梨	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾政演	
300	寛政二年 1790	雄長老寿話	黄表紙		紀定丸	喜多川歌麿	
301	寛政二年 1790	即席耳学問	黄表紙		市場通笑	未詳	市場寧一。表具師
302	寛政二年 1790	忠孝遊仕事	黄表紙		市場通笑	喜多川歌麿	
303	寛政二年 1790	本樹真猿浮気噺	黄表紙		蔦唐丸	未詳	
304	寛政二年 1790	福種笑角松	咄本		山東京伝	喜多川歌麿	寛政元年の嗚呼奇々羅金鶏を黄表紙仕立ての咄本に。
305	寛政二年 1790	傾城買四十八手	洒落本		山東京伝	山東京伝	
306	寛政二年 1790	小紋雅話	洒落本		山東京伝	山東京伝	天明四年白堂「小紋栽」の増補改題本。
307	寛政二年 1790	絵本吾妻遊	狂歌絵本		奇々羅金鶏	喜多川歌麿	寛政 9 年大坂和泉屋源七に求板。
308	寛政二年 1790	駿河舞	狂歌絵本		奇々羅金鶏撰	喜多川歌麿	寛政 9 年大坂京屋浅治郎求板。
309	寛政二年 1790	銀世界	絵入狂歌本		宿屋飯盛撰	喜多川歌麿	
310	寛政二年 1790	絵本武将記録	絵本		蔦屋重三郎編	北尾重政	和泉屋源七へ板木移動。

311	寛政二年 1790	通俗醒世恒限	通俗本	京武村嘉兵衛、大坂河内屋喜兵衛、名古屋風月堂孫助、江戸西村源六、江戸蔦屋重三郎	宿屋飯盛		山城屋忠兵衛求板、中村屋孝蔵、伊勢屋忠右衛門求板。
312	寛政二年 1790	狂歌初心抄	狂歌作法書		唐衣橘洲		永楽屋東四郎板あり。
313	寛政二年 1790	古状揃	往来物				
314	寛政二年 1790	普賢像	絵入狂歌本		頭光撰	喜多川歌麿	
315	寛政二年 1790	新吉原細見	吉原細見（秋）		山東京伝		
316	寛政二年 1790	絵本あまの川	絵本（狂歌入り）		宿屋飯盛	未詳	和泉屋源七寛政九年求板。
317	寛政二年 1790	新撰銭譜	銭譜	大坂渋川清右衛門、江戸西村源六、江戸蔦屋重三郎			
318	寛政二年 1790	彩雲堂蔵和泉目録	銭譜	大坂渋川清右衛門、江戸西村源六、江戸蔦屋重三郎	朽木昌綱		上記と同板。献上用の特装本か。
319	寛政二年 1790	欄学階梯	蘭学書	大坂渋川清右衛門、江戸西村源六、江戸蔦屋重三郎	大槻玄沢		初刊は松本善兵衛が売弘
320	寛政二年 1790	恋癖仮妻菊	富本正本		瀬川如皐		
321	寛政三年 1791	吉原細見	吉原細見（春）		山東京伝序		
322	寛政三年 1791	箱入娘面屋人魚	黄表紙		山東京伝	未詳	
323	寛政三年 1791	盧生夢魂其前日	黄表紙		山東京伝	未詳	
324	寛政三年 1791	悪魂後篇　人間一生胸算用	黄表紙		山東京伝	山東京伝	
325	寛政三年 1791	世上洒落見絵図	黄表紙		山東京伝	山東京伝	明治擦に鹿田屋板有り。
326	寛政三年 1791	仕懸文庫	洒落本		山東京伝	山東京伝	
327	寛政三年 1791	娼妓絹籠	洒落本		山東京伝		
328	寛政三年 1791	せいろうひるのせかい錦之裏	洒落本		山東京伝	山東京伝	

329	寛政三年 1791	一雅話三笑	咄本		感和亭鬼武		本名は前野曼七（まえのまんしち、前野曼助とする説もあり）。剣術「神道無念流」の使い手であり、もともとは一橋家の勘定方幕臣であったが、武士をやめ隠居の身となる。山東京伝門下。
330	寛政三年 1791	狂歌新玉集	歳旦狂歌集		鹿都部真顔		
331	寛政三年 1791	絵本福寿草	絵本（狂歌入り）		寝語軒美隣	北尾重政	
332	寛政三年 1791	狂歌部領使	狂歌集		頭光編		
333	寛政三年 1791	百千鳥蝶羽根書	豊本正本		瀬川如皐	勝川春朗	
334	寛政三年 1791	百千鳥　前編	狂歌入絵本			喜多川歌麿	
335	寛政三年 1791	百千鳥　後篇	狂歌入絵本			喜多川歌麿	
336	寛政三年 1791	夷曲丹青帳	狂歌入絵本		奇々羅金鶏	喜多川歌麿	
337	寛政三年 1791	文笑奇判	咄本	名古屋永楽屋東四郎、江戸蔦重	森々山人		
338	寛政三年 1791	褄からげ跣振袖	豊本正本		瀬川如皐	勝川春朗	
339	寛政三年 1791	おはん長右衛門桂川連理柵	豊本正本		瀬川如皐	勝川春朗	
340	寛政三年 1791	細工業雛出来秋	豊本正本		豊本斎宮太夫直伝	勝川春朗	
341	寛政三年 1791	女夫合愛相槌	豊本正本		瀬川如皐	勝川春朗	
342	寛政三年 1791～寛政四年 1792	江戸生艶気蒲焼	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾政演	天明 5 年の再摺本
343	寛政三年 1791～寛政四年 1792	江戸春一夜千両	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾政演	天明 6 年の再印本
344	寛政三年 1791～寛政四年 1792	三筋緯客気植田	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾政演	天明 7 年の再印本
345	寛政三年 1791～寛政四年 1792	扇蟹眼笠蝙蝠狂言末広栄	黄表紙		山東京伝	喜多川歌麿	天明 8 年の再印本
346	寛政三年 1791～寛政四年	時代世話二挺鼓	黄表紙		山東京伝	喜多川歌麿	天明 8 年の再印本

	1792						
347	寛政三年 1791～寛政四年 1792	指面草			山東京伝	北尾政演	天明 6 年鶴屋喜右衛門板の求板再印本。
348	寛政三年 1791～寛政四年 1792	古契三娼	洒落本		山東京伝	北尾政演	天明 7 年鶴屋喜右衛門板の求板再印本。
349	寛政三年 1791～寛政四年 1792	夜半の茶漬	洒落本		山東鶏告・山東唐洲	山東京伝	天明 7 年鶴屋喜右衛門板の求板再印本。
350	寛政三年 1791～寛政四年 1792	田舎芝居	洒落本		万象亭		天明 7 年鶴屋喜右衛門板の求板再印本。
351	寛政四年 1792	吉原細見	吉原細見（春）			山東京伝	
352	寛政四年 1792	昔々桃太郎発端話説	黄表紙		山東京伝	勝川春朗	
353	寛政四年 1792	実語教幼稚講釈	黄表紙		山東京伝	勝川春朗	
354	寛政四年 1792	梁山一歩談	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾重政	
355	寛政四年 1792	天剛垂楊柳	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾重政	
356	寛政四年 1792	富貴樽	咄本		曼鬼武		前野曼七（まえのまんしち）
357	寛政四年 1792	小室節浜村千鳥	豊本正本		瀬川如皐	未詳	
358	寛政四年 1792	万載　改補御江都絵図	江戸絵図	蔦重・鶴屋喜右衛門			
359	寛政四年 1792	吉原細見	吉原細見（秋）		山東京伝序		
360	寛政四年 1792	ゆうきかひふり	書道	京須原屋平左衛門、大坂河内屋喜兵衛、名古屋風月堂孫助、江戸蔦重	加藤千蔭		後、西村宗七、さらに須原屋佐助に求板され再摺。加藤千蔭は、歌人で江戸町奉行の与力であった父・枝直の後をついで吟味役となったが、寛政の改革にあたり、1788 年（天明 8 年）町奉行与力を辞し、学芸に専念した。

361	寛政四年 1792	つの文字	俳諧	名古屋永楽屋東四郎、蔦重は売弘	未足斎六林		1709－1791　江戸時代中期の国学者,俳人。堀田恒山 ほった-こうざん。尾張(おわり)名古屋藩士。天野信景(さだかげ),松平君山(くんざん)にまなぶ。俳諧(はいかい),狂歌にも通じ横井也有(やゆう)、大田南畝(なんぽ)と親交があった。
362	寛政四年 1792	雌鼓はおたつ雄鼓は源九郎　紅葉造山伏	富本正本		瀬川如皐	未詳	
363	寛政五年 1793	吉原細見	吉原細見（春）		山東京伝序		
364	寛政五年 1793	貧富両道中記	黄表紙		山東京伝	勝川春朗	
365	寛政五年 1793	四人詰南片傀儡	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾重政	
366	寛政五年 1793	先開梅赤本	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾重政	
367	寛政五年 1793	花之笑七福参詣	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾重政	
368	寛政五年 1793	宿昔語筆操	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾政美	
369	寛政五年 1793	小人国ここめ桜	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾重政	
370	寛政五年 1793	堪忍袋緒〆善玉	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾重政	
371	寛政五年 1793	再会親子銭独楽	黄表紙		唐来三和	北尾政美	
372	寛政五年 1793	人唯一心命	黄表紙		唐来三和	北尾重政	
373	寛政五年 1793	江戸生浮気蒲焼	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾政演	天明 5 年の江戸生艶気蒲焼の改題再印
374	寛政五年 1793	早道節用守	黄表紙		山東京伝	未詳	寛政元年の同題刊本の再印本。
375	寛政五年 1793	三筋緯客気植田	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾政演	天明 7 年の同題刊本の再印本。
376	寛政五年 1793	衿建米	咄本		曲亭馬琴	北尾政美	天明 6 年黄表紙、手練偽なし、の書入れを削除し、そこに落咄を哺乳した 5 丁に 3 丁分増補し咄話に。
377	寛政五年 1793	梅之笑	咄本		村瓢子（校者は馬琴）		寛政 4 年の富貴樽前半の増補改題再摺本。瓢亭百成　ひょうてい ひゃくなり
378	寛政五年 1793	華ゑくほ	咄本		鬼武（校者馬琴）		寛政 4 年の富貴樽後半の増補改題再摺本。
379	寛政五年 1793	松魚智慧袋	滑稽本		山東京伝	山東京伝	

380	寛政五年 1793	どうれ百人一首	歳旦狂歌集・絵本		鹿都部真顔	北尾政演	
381	寛政五年 1793	花帖	歳旦狂歌集		頭光	堤等琳・窪俊満・鈴木鄰松	
382	寛政五年 1793	狂歌上段集	狂歌撰集		頭光		
383	寛政五年 1793	歌枕道中双六	狂歌・双六		頭光	栄松斎長喜	
384	寛政五年 1793	新曲かくら獅子	豊本正本		中村重助	未詳	
385	寛政五年 1793	名酒盛色の中汲み	豊本正本		瀬川如皐	勝川春朗	
386	寛政五年 1793	女用文章千代寿	往来物			北尾重政筆耕	
387	寛政五年 1793	新吉原細見	吉原細見（秋）				
388	寛政五年 1793	通廓全盛遊番附	吉原俄番付				
389	寛政五年 1793	釜斯幾	仏書	江戸蔦重、名古屋風月孫助、名古屋永楽屋東四郎（蔦重は売弘）	烏有道人		
390	寛政五年 1793	八部祓	神道書				
391	寛政五年 1793	正信偈	仏書				寛政 2 年他書肆蔵板の江戸売弘
392	寛政五年 1793	花見雪品者	富本正本		瀬川如皐		
393	寛政六年 1794	新吉原細見	吉原細見（春）		山東京伝序		
394	寛政六年 1794	忠臣蔵前世幕無	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾重政	
395	寛政六年 1794	根無草草筆わかばへ	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾重政	
396	寛政六年 1794	金々先生造化夢	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾重政	
397	寛政六年 1794	福寿海无量品玉	黄表紙		曲亭馬琴	未詳	
398	寛政六年 1794	金々先生栄華夢	黄表紙		恋川春町	恋川春町	安永 4 年鱗形屋孫兵衛板の修改再印本
399	寛政六年 1794	高慢斎行脚日記	黄表紙		恋川春町	恋川春町	安永 5 年鱗形屋孫兵衛板の修改再印本
400	寛政六年 1794	三幅対紫曽我	黄表紙		恋川春町	恋川春町	安永 7 年鱗形屋孫兵衛板の修改再印本
401	寛政六年 1794	親敵打腹鼓	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	恋川春町	安永 6 年鱗形屋孫兵衛板の修改再印本
402	寛政六年 1794	鼻峰高慢男	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	恋川春町	安永 6 年鱗形屋孫兵衛板の修改再印本
403	寛政六年 1794	長生見度記	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	恋川春町	天明 3 年蔦重板の再印本
404	寛政六年 1794	太平記万八講釈	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	北尾重政	天明 4 年蔦重板の再印本

405	寛政六年 1794	天道大福帳	黄表紙		朋誠堂喜三二	北尾政美	天明 6 年蔦重板の再印本
406	寛政六年 1794	夫従以来記	黄表紙		竹杖為軽	喜多川歌麿	天明 4 年蔦重版従夫以来記の再印本
407	寛政六年 1794	落はなし	咄本		蔦重	北尾政美	天明 3 年此奴和日本下巻を落咄に改印し、それに落咄を３丁あわせた。
408	寛政六年 1794	落はなし	咄本		恒斎序	北尾政演	天明７年嶋台眼正月下巻を落咄に改刻し、それに落咄を３丁あわせた。
409	寛政六年 1794	落はなし	絵入り咄本		恒斎	北尾政演	天明７年嶋台眼正月上巻を落咄に改刻し、それに落咄を３丁あわせた。
410	寛政六年 1794	初役金烏帽子魚	芝居		山東京伝	十返舎一九	
411	寛政六年 1794	絵兄弟	絵本・滑稽本		山東京伝	山東京伝	
412	寛政六年 1794	春の色	歳旦狂歌集		頭光	堤等琳・喜多川歌麿・窪俊満・北尾重政	伯楽（ばくろう）側の歳旦狂歌集
413	寛政六年 1794	紅梅百人一首	往来物				後、山崎や清七に求板
414	寛政六年 1794	小謡百二十番	小謡本				以前の再板
415	寛政六年 1794	新古今狂歌集	狂歌撰集		元木網撰		
416	寛政六年 1794	真面目物かたり			新倉松陰	瀧川	新倉松陰は加藤千蔭
417	寛政六年 1794	略解千字文	漢文・註釈	京須原屋平左衛門、大坂河内屋喜兵衛、名古屋風月堂孫助、江戸蔦重	石川雅望		後、名古屋永楽屋東四郎に求板。
418	寛政六年 1794	鶏鐘筐衣々	富本正本		松井由輔	未詳	
419	寛政六年 1794	翰用文林万載龜鑑	往来物				
420	寛政六年 1794	智学古状揃大成	往来物				以前の再板
421	寛政六年 1794	万手形案文	往来物	江戸鶴屋喜右衛門、蔦重、大坂河内屋英助、大坂河内屋太助			
422	寛政六年 1794	文字〇	漢語学書	大坂河内屋喜兵衛、江戸蔦重、名古屋永楽屋東四郎（蔦重は江戸売弘）	石天基		

423	寛政六年 1794	劉向列仙伝	漢籍	大坂河内屋喜兵衛、江戸蔦重、名古屋永楽屋東四郎（蔦重は江戸売弘）	岡田挺之		
424	寛政六年 1794	孝経鄭註	漢籍	大坂河内屋喜兵衛、江戸蔦重、名古屋永楽屋東四郎（蔦重は江戸売弘）	岡田挺之		
425	寛政六年 1794	落久保物語			賀茂真淵		出板願いは出すが、出板されず、頓挫か？
426	寛政七年 1795	新吉原細見	吉原細見（春）				
427	寛政七年 1795	善悪邪正大勘定		唐来三和	北尾重政		
428	寛政七年 1795	心学時計草	黄表紙	十返舎一九	十返舎一九		
429	寛政七年 1795	新鋳小判みみたぶ	黄表紙	十返舎一九	十返舎一九		
430	寛政七年 1795	盛遠夢浮橋	黄表紙	未詳	未詳		鱗形屋からの求板。
431	寛政七年 1795	鞍馬天狗礫	黄表紙				黒本か青本の求板再印本。
432	寛政七年 1795	七夕祭由来	黄表紙				黒本か青本の求板再印本。
433	寛政七年 1795	渋谷金王出世桜	黄表紙				黒本か青本の求板再印本。
434	寛政七年 1795	伊吹童子	黄表紙			鳥居清満	黒本か青本の求板再印本。
435	寛政七年 1795	浮世匕加減	黄表紙				黒本か青本の求板再印本。
436	寛政七年 1795	寛仁民秩父	黄表紙				黒本か青本の求板再印本。
437	寛政七年 1795	かうとくじ	咄本				天明 5 年の其由来光徳寺門の上巻を落咄に改刻しそれに落咄を 3 丁あわせる。
438	寛政七年 1795	落咄人来鳥	咄本（草双紙仕立て）		唐来三和	北尾政演	天明元年の一流万金談上巻を、絵を残して落咄に改刻し、それに落咄 3 丁をあわせる。
439	寛政七年 1795	落咄百囀	咄本		唐来三和		天明 5 年の天地人三階図絵の書入れ部分を落咄に改め、それに落咄 3 丁を加える。

440	寛政七年 1795	四方の巴流	歳旦狂歌集		鹿都部真顔編	洞秀美敬、東牛斎蘭香、狩野休円、秀山敬順、鈴木鄰松、養意惟伝、惠斎政美、養宋紫山、山東京伝、渡辺玄対。	寛政五年に鹿都部真顔の歳旦狂歌集が発行されている。
441	寛政七年 1795	春の色	歳旦狂歌集		頭光	堤等琳、窪俊満、鈴木鄰松、尚峰	寛政 6 年に引き続き同題で発行された桑揚庵一（頭光）派の歳旦集
442	寛政七年 1795	絵本名所江戸桜	絵本			北尾重政	再印は、享和 3 年。その後大坂に板木が流れる。河内屋茂兵衛、河内屋菊次郎。
443	寛政七年 1795	絵本松のしらべ	絵本彩色摺			勝川春章	安永頃刊行された板木利用。再印は、享和 3 年。その後大坂に板木が流れる。河内屋茂兵衛、河内屋菊次郎。
444	寛政七年 1795	冬蓑廓水仙	豊本正本		並木五瓶、松井由輔、	喜多川歌麿	
445	寛政七年 1795	一角纂考	博物学	京林伊兵衛、江戸須原屋伊八、蔦重、大坂木村兼葭堂板。蔦重は売弘。	木村兼葭堂		
446	寛政七年 1795	桃柳娘雛形	富本正本		並木五瓶		
447	寛政七年 1795	花ぐはし	狂歌集		鹿都部真顔	北尾重政	
448	寛政七年 1795	続江戸往来	往来物				文政年間森屋治兵衛に求板、再板。
449	寛政七年 1795	万物名数往来	往来物				文政年間森屋治兵衛に求板、再板。
450	寛政七年 1795	元政上人宋草庵記	往来物				
451	寛政七年 1795	二妙集	狂歌集		唐衣橘洲編	北尾重政	

452	寛政七年 1795	校正古銭鑑大成	銭譜	大坂渋川清右衛門、江戸西村源六、蔦重	中村伝兵衛	未詳	
453	寛政七年 1795	八朔白無垢	豊本正本		並木五瓶	栄松斎長喜	
454	寛政七年 1795	手まくら	和学書	名古屋永楽屋東四郎、蔦重は江戸売弘	本居宣長		
455	寛政七年 1795	道話聞書	心学書	大坂扇屋利介、江戸売弘蔦重	中沢道二		
456	寛政七年 1795	新吉原細見	吉原細見（秋）				
457	寛政七年 1795	吉原仁和嘉番組	吉原俄番附				
458	寛政七年 1795	色上戸しゅえん車	豊本正本		松井由輔	栄松斎長喜	
459	寛政七年 1795	分量考	貨幣	大坂渋川清右衛門、江戸西村源六、蔦重	朽木昌綱		
460	寛政七年 1795	玉勝間	和学・考証随筆	宇恵松蔵板、蔦重、伊勢伊豆田屋瀬三郎、名古屋柏屋平助、名古屋藤屋儀助、名古屋藤屋吉兵衛。	本居信長		
461	寛政七年 1795	絵本許の色	俳諧絵本		一陽井素外	北尾重政	安永 4 年須原屋市兵衛館絵本世都の時、の求板・改題本。寛政 12 年までに、大和田安兵衛の求板となる。谷素外。江戸中・後期の俳人。本姓,池田氏。他号に烏朴,瀾城など。大坂鰻谷の商家に生まれ,壮年のころ江戸に下り神田お玉ケ池に住む。俳諧は初め涼袋(建部綾足)門であったが,不正の故をもって破門される。

462	寛政七年 1795	絵本玉池水	俳諧絵本		一陽井素外	清線館蘆朝	寛政 5 年須原屋市兵衛館、絵本世吉の物競、の求板・改題本。寛政 12 年までに、大和田安兵衛の求板となる。水野蘆朝（ろちょう）。姓は水野、名を元敬または元敏、後に元休と称した。通称は小十郎。1450 石取りの旗本の家に生まれた武士であった。浅草鳥越町に住み、自宅を「清線館」と名付けていた。北尾重政に浮世絵を学び、谷素外について俳諧を学んでいる。
463	寛政七年 1795	絵本花異葉	俳諧絵本		雪中庵完来編	北尾重政	天明 8 年西村源六刊、絵本琵琶海、の求板・改題本。寛政 12 年までに、大和田安兵衛の求板となる。はっとりらんせつ 【服部嵐雪】（1654～1707） 江戸前・中期の俳人。別号を嵐亭治助・雪中庵など。芭蕉門古参の高弟。
464	寛政八年 1796	新吉原細見	吉原細見（春）				
465	寛政八年 1796	諺下司話説	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾重政	
466	寛政八年 1796	人心鏡写絵	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾重政	
467	寛政八年 1796	四遍摺心学草帋	黄表紙		曲亭馬琴	北尾重政	
468	寛政八年 1796	化物小遣帳	黄表紙		十返舎一九	十返舎一九	
469	寛政八年 1796	年中行状記	黄表紙		十返舎一九	十返舎一九	
470	寛政八年 1796	怪談筆始	黄表紙		十返舎一九	十返舎一九	
471	寛政八年 1796	昔語狐嫁入	黄表紙		誂々堂景則	北尾重政	
472	寛政八年 1796	花闘戦梅魁	黄表紙				
473	寛政八年 1796	兵夫酒〇栄	黄表紙				
474	寛政八年 1796	星兜八声凱	黄表紙				
475	寛政八年 1796	則考紙	黄表紙		山東京伝		

476	寛政八年 1796	高尾舩字文	読本		曲亭馬琴	栄松斎長喜	国貞画の再板本あり。
477	寛政八年 1796	四方の巴流	歳旦狂歌集	耕書堂、秋長堂（狂歌師秋長堂物梁のこと）	鹿戸部真顔	有耳亭常恒、洞秀美敬、東牛斎蘭香、狩野休円、秀山敬順、鈴木鄰松、養意惟伝、蕙斎正美、松意茂博、加藤千蔭、山東京伝	
478	寛政八年 1796	百さへつり	歳旦狂歌集		御巴人亭光(頭光のこと）	尚峰、堤等琳、雲峰、窪満俊	
479	寛政八年 1796	狂歌立春抄	歳旦狂歌集		元木網撰		
480	寛政八年 1796	絵本多能志美種	俳諧絵本		一陽井素外	清線館蘆朝	
481	寛政八年 1796	狂歌かひあはせ	狂歌集	京菱屋孫兵衛、江戸蔦重、大坂河内屋太助、紀州若山帯屋伊兵衛、	巴水亭貞三		巴水亭は光縁斎／貞柏と得閑斎繁雅のこと、和歌山の人か。
482	寛政八年 1796	江戸続八百韻	俳書		酒井抱一		
483	寛政八年 1796	菊花嬢仇夢	富本正本		河竹文治	未詳	
484	寛政八年 1796	新吉原細見	吉原細見(秋）				序に　珂理しるす、とあり。
485	寛政八年 1796	出雲国造神寿後釈	和学	江戸蔦重、名古屋永楽屋東四郎、川村正雄蔵板。	本居宣長		一冊本に、蔦重部分削除の永楽屋一冊本あり。
486	寛政八年 1796	金撰狂歌集	狂歌集		銭屋金埒	北尾政美	ぜにやの-きんらち。江戸数寄屋橋外で両替商をいとなむ。天明期の狂歌四天王のひとり。元木網(もとの-もくあみ)門下,のち鹿都部真顔(しかつべの-まがお)とスキヤ連をむすぶ。文化 4 年 12 月 4 日死去。57 歳。姓は馬場。通称は大坂屋甚兵衛。

487	寛政八年 1796	古今前句集　初編	雑俳書				花屋久次郎が求板し、享和元年に柳多留拾遺、と改題再摺
488	寛政八年 1796	箒穂録	随筆	江戸蔦重、名古屋永楽屋東四郎(蔦重は売弘)	岡田挺之		
489	寛政八年 1796	彼此合符	随筆	江戸蔦重、名古屋永楽屋東四郎(蔦重は売弘)	岡田挺之		
490	寛政八年 1796	物数称謂	随筆	江戸蔦重、名古屋永楽屋東四郎(蔦重は売弘)	岡田挺之		
491	寛政八年 1796	常語藪	辞書	名古屋永楽屋東四郎(蔦重は売弘)	岡田挺之		
492	寛政八年 1796	万葉集略解第一～第五	和学書・注釈	江戸蔦重、名古屋永楽屋東四郎(蔦重は売弘)。加藤千蔭蔵板。	加藤千蔭		
493	寛政八年 1796	弄銭奇鑑	銭譜	大坂渋川清右衛門、江戸西村源六、江戸蔦重。福知山侯蔵板本の江戸売弘。	朽木昌綱		
494	寛政九年 1797	丁巳春吉原細見記	吉原細見(春)				序に　珂理しるす、とあり。
495	寛政九年 1797	和荘兵衛後日話	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾重政	
496	寛政九年 1797	虚生実草紙	黄表紙		山東京伝	北尾重政	
497	寛政九年 1797	竜宮苦界玉手箱	黄表紙		曲亭馬琴	北尾重政	
498	寛政九年 1797	北国巡礼唄方便	黄表紙		曲亭馬琴	北尾重政	
499	寛政九年 1797	楠正成軍慮智輪	黄表紙		曲亭馬琴	北尾重政	
500	寛政九年 1797	彦山権現誓助剣	黄表紙		傀儡子（馬琴)	北尾重政	
501	寛政九年 1797	武者合天狗俳諧	黄表紙		曲亭馬琴	北尾重政	
502	寛政九年 1797	身体開帳略縁起	黄表紙		蔦唐丸	北尾重政	

503	寛政九年 1797	絵本二十四孝	絵本		石川雅望	茂木寛	
504	寛政九年 1797	柳の絲	歳旦狂歌集		浅草市人	堤等琳、鈴木鄰松、鳥文斎栄之、北尾重政、葛飾北斎	
505	寛政九年 1797	古今前句集　二編	雑俳書				花屋久次郎が求板し、享和元年に柳多留拾遺、と改題再摺
506	寛政九年 1797	古今前句集　三篇	雑俳書				花屋久次郎が求板し、享和元年に柳多留拾遺、と改題再摺
507	寛政九年 1797	孝経平仮名附	往来物		石川雅望		文化六年三月再板
508	寛政九年 1797	役者勇兵揃	役者評判記	大坂綿屋喜兵衛、大坂播磨屋善助、京吉田新兵衛、江戸蔦屋重三郎			
509	寛政九年 1797	春栄百人一首姫鏡	往来物				天保 8 年再板　和泉屋市兵衛
510	寛政九年 1797	友なし猿	家集(狂歌・発句・随筆)		五代目市川団十郎	三升	後、伊勢屋吉蔵求板
511	寛政九年 1797	天闘歌集	狂歌集		頭光	仁義道守、喜多川歌麿	文化九年までに、大坂書商に板木を売却。
512	寛政九年 1797	女今川	往来物	江戸西村源六、江戸近江屋新八、江戸蔦重		北尾政美	
513	寛政九年 1797	百人一首	往来物	江戸西村源六、江戸近江屋新八、江戸蔦重		北尾正美	
514	寛政九年 1797	新吉原細見	吉原細見(秋)		曲亭馬琴序		
515	寛政九年 1797	宮参結神籬	富本正本		松井由輔	未詳	
516	寛政九年 1797	菊閨妹背狐	豊本正本		並木五瓶	子興	
517	寛政九年 1797	孝経小解		大坂荒木佐兵衛、江戸山崎金兵衛江戸西村源六。	熊沢了海		初代蔦屋重三郎 1797 年 5 月 6 日没

APPENDIX B

Tsutaya Jūzaburō the First's Collaboration Works (1774 – 1797)

from *Tsutajū shuppan shomoku*

1774～1797	合板数	出板数	書肆名	ジャンル	
安永 3 年 1774 年	2	3	鱗形屋	吉原細見	小売取次
			鱗形屋	吉原細見	小売取次
安政 4 年 1775 年	1	3	鱗形屋	吉原細見	小売取次
安政 5 年 1776 年	2	4	上総屋利兵衛	読本	
			山崎金兵衛	絵本・俳諧	
安政 6 年 1777 年	0	7			
安政 7 年 1778 年	1	6	村山源兵衛	富本正本	
安政 8 年 1779 年	0	8			
安政 9 年 1780 年	0	17			
安政 10 年天明元年 1781 年	0	18			
天明 2 年 1782 年	0	26			
天明 3 年 1783 年	3	24	上総屋利兵衛	洒落本	
			京武村嘉兵衛、大坂敦賀屋久兵衛、江戸前川六左衛門。	袖珍本、狂歌作法書	
			江戸蔦屋徳三郎	小謡本	
天明 4 年 1784 年	0	31			
天明 5 年 1785 年	6	44	すきやかし（白鳳堂）	黄表紙	
			京武村嘉兵衛、大坂敦賀屋久兵衛、江戸前川六左衛門。	狂歌撰集	
			鶴屋喜右衛門	往来物	
			鶴屋喜右衛門	往来物	
			鶴屋喜右衛門	往来物	
			大坂いづみや卯兵衛、京八もんじや八兵衛板元	劇書	
天明 6 年 1786 年	1	36	大坂いづみや卯兵衛、京八もんじや八兵衛板元	絵本	蔦重売弘
天明 7 年 1787 年	1	23	日華軒	暦書	
天明 8 年 1788 年	2	21	京西村平八、大坂柏原清右衛門、名古屋清風堂孫助、江戸西村源六	狂文集	

			江戸西村源六	俳文集	
天明年間	0	2			
天明 9 年・寛政元年 1789 年	1	22	京西村平八、大坂柏原清右衛門、名古屋清風堂孫助、江戸西村源六	俳文集	
寛政 2 年 1790 年	4	24	京武村嘉兵衛、大坂河内屋喜兵衛、名古屋風月堂孫助、江戸西村源六	通俗本	
			大坂渋川清右衛門、江戸西村源六	銭譜	
			大坂渋川清右衛門、江戸西村源六	銭譜	
			大坂渋川清右衛門、江戸西村源六	蘭学書	
寛政 3 年 1791 年	1	21	名古屋永楽屋東四郎	咄本	
寛政三年 1791 年～寛政 4 年 1792 年	0	9			
寛政 4 年 1792 年	3	12	江戸鶴屋喜右衛門	江戸絵図	
			京須原屋平左衛門、大坂河内屋喜兵衛、名古屋風月堂孫助	書道	
			名古屋永楽屋東四郎	俳諧	蔦重売弘
寛政 5 年 1793 年	1	30	名古屋風月堂孫助、永楽屋東四郎	仏書	蔦重売弘
寛政 6 年 1794 年	5	33	京須原屋平左衛門、大坂河内屋喜兵衛、名古屋風月堂孫助	漢文・注釈	
			江戸鶴屋喜右衛門、大坂河内屋英助、大坂河内屋太助	往来物	
			大坂河内屋喜兵衛、名古屋永楽屋東四郎	漢語学書	蔦重売弘
			大坂河内屋喜兵衛、名古屋永楽屋東四郎	漢籍	蔦重売弘
			大坂河内屋喜兵衛、名古屋永楽屋東四郎	漢籍	蔦重売弘
寛政 7 年 1795 年	6	38	京林伊兵衛、江戸須原屋伊八、大坂木村兼霞堂。	博物学	蔦重売弘
			大坂渋川清右衛門、江戸西村源六	銭譜	
			名古屋永楽屋東四郎	和学書	蔦重売弘
			大坂扇屋利介	心学書	蔦重売弘
			大坂渋川清右衛門、江戸西村源六	貨幣	
			宇恵松蔵板、伊勢伊豆田屋瀬三郎、名古屋柏屋平助、名古屋藤屋儀助、名古屋藤屋吉兵衛	和学・考証随筆	蔦重売弘
寛政八年 1796 年	9	30	秋長堂（個人・秋長堂物梁のこと）	歳旦狂歌集	
			京菱屋孫兵衛、大坂河内屋太助、紀州若山帯屋伊兵衛	狂歌集	
			名古屋永楽屋東四郎、川村正雄蔵版	和学	
			名古屋永楽屋東四郎	随筆	蔦重売弘
			名古屋永楽屋東四郎	随筆	蔦重売弘
			名古屋永楽屋東四郎	随筆	蔦重売弘
			名古屋永楽屋東四郎	辞書	蔦重売弘
			加藤千蔭蔵板。名古屋永楽屋東四郎	和学書・注釈	
			福知山侯蔵板。大坂渋川清右衛門、江戸西村源六	銭譜	蔦重売弘

寛政九年 1797 年	4	24	大坂綿屋喜兵衛、大坂播磨屋善助、京吉田新兵衛	役者評判記	
			江戸西村源六、江戸近江屋新八	往来物	
			江戸西村源六、江戸近江屋新八	往来物	
			大坂荒木佐兵衛、江戸山崎金兵衛、江戸西村源六		
	53	**516**			

10.27%

APPENDIX C

Publishers Collaborating with Tsutaya Jūzaburō the First (1774 – 1797)

from *Tsutajū shuppan shomoku*

1774～1797 書肆名 Publishers		相板書肆	Genre ジャンルと年	Note
13	永楽屋東四郎	名古屋	寛政 3 年咄本	
			寛政 4 年俳諧	蔦重売弘
			寛政 5 年仏書	蔦重売弘
			寛政 6 年漢語学書	蔦重売弘
			寛政 6 年漢籍	蔦重売弘
			寛政 6 年漢籍	蔦重売弘
			寛政 7 年和学書	蔦重売弘
			寛政 8 年和学(本居宣長）	
			寛政 8 年随筆	蔦重売弘
			寛政 8 年随筆	蔦重売弘
			寛政 8 年随筆	蔦重売弘
			寛政 8 年辞書	蔦重売弘
			寛政 8 年和学書・注釈　(加藤千蔭蔵板）	
11	西村源六	江戸	天明 8 年狂文集	
			天明 9 年(寛政元年）狂文集	
			寛政 2 年通俗本	
			寛政 2 年銭譜	
			寛政 2 年銭譜	
			寛政 2 年蘭学書	
			寛政 7 年貨幣	
			寛政 8 年銭譜（福地山侯蔵板）	蔦重売弘
			寛政 9 年往来物	
			寛政 9 年往来物	
			寛政 9 年ジャンル未詳	
6	風月堂孫助	名古屋	天明 8 年狂文集	
			天明 9 年(寛政元年）狂文集	
			寛政 2 年通俗本	
			寛政 4 年書道	蔦重売弘
			寛政 5 年仏書	蔦重売弘
			寛政 6 年漢文・注釈	
6	河内屋喜兵衛	大坂	寛政 2 年通俗本	
			寛政 4 年書道	
			寛政 6 年漢文・注釈	
			寛政 6 年漢語学書	蔦重売弘

			寛政 6 年漢籍	蔦重売弘
			寛政 6 年漢籍	蔦重売弘
5	渋川清右衛門	大坂	寛政 2 年銭譜	
			寛政 2 年銭譜	
			寛政 2 年蘭学書	
			寛政 7 年貨幣	
			寛政 8 年銭譜(福知山侯蔵板）	蔦重売弘
5	鶴屋喜右衛門	江戸	天明 5 年往来物	
			天明 5 年往来物	
			天明 5 年往来物	
			寛政 4 年江戸絵図	
			寛政 6 年往来物	
3	武村嘉兵衛	京	天明 3 年狂歌作法書	
			天明 5 年狂歌撰集	
			寛政 2 年通俗本	
3	鱗形屋孫兵衛	江戸	安永 3 年吉原細見	蔦重小売
			安永 3 年吉原細見	蔦重小売
			安永 4 年吉原細見	蔦重小売
2	上総屋利兵衛	江戸	安永 4 年読本	
			天明 3 年洒落本	
2	山崎金兵衛	江戸	安永 4 年読本	
			寛政九年ジャンル未詳	
2	敦賀屋久兵衛	大坂	天明 3 年狂歌作法書	
			天明 5 年狂歌撰集	
2	前川六左衛門	江戸	天明 3 年狂歌作法書	
			天明 5 年狂歌撰集	
2	いづみや卯兵衛	大坂	天明 5 年劇書	
			天明 6 年絵本	蔦重売弘
2	八文字屋八兵衛	京	天明 5 年劇書	
			天明 6 年絵本	蔦重売弘
2	西村平八	京	天明 8 年狂文集	
			天明 9 年(寛政元年）狂文集	
2	須原屋平左衛門	京	寛政 4 年書道	
			寛政 6 年漢文・注釈	
2	河内屋太助	大坂	寛政 6 年往来物	
			寛政 8 年狂歌集	
2	近江屋新八	江戸	寛政 9 年往来物	
			寛政 9 年往来物	
1	蔦屋徳三郎	江戸	天明 3 年小謡本	
1	白鳳堂	江戸	天明 5 年黄表紙	
1	村山源兵衛	江戸	安永 7 年豊本正本	
1	日華軒		天明 7 年暦書	
1	柏原清右衛門	大坂	天明 8 年狂文集	
1	河内屋英助	大坂	寛政 6 年往来物	
1	林伊兵衛	京	寛政 7 年博物学	蔦重売弘

1	須原屋伊八	江戸	寛政 7 年博物学	蔦重売弘
1	木村兼霞堂	大坂	寛政 7 年博物学	蔦重売弘
1	扇屋利介	大坂	寛政 7 年心学書	蔦重売弘
1	秋長堂		寛政 8 年歳旦狂歌集	
1	菱屋孫兵衛	京	寛政 8 年狂歌集	
1	帯屋伊兵衛	若山	寛政 8 年狂歌集	
1	綿屋喜兵衛	大坂	寛政 9 年役者評判記	
1	播磨屋善助	大坂	寛政 9 年役者評判記	
1	吉田新兵衛	京	寛政 9 年役者評判記	
1	荒木佐兵衛	大坂	寛政 9 年ジャンル未詳	
1	伊豆田屋瀬三郎	伊勢	寛政 7 年和学・考証随筆　(宇恵松蔵板)	蔦重売弘
1	柏屋平助	名古屋	寛政 7 年和学・考証随筆　(宇恵松蔵板)	蔦重売弘
1	藤屋儀助	名古屋	寛政 7 年和学・考証随筆　(宇恵松蔵板)	蔦重売弘
1	藤屋吉兵衛	名古屋	寛政 7 年和学・考証随筆　(宇恵松蔵板)	蔦重売弘

APPENDIX D

Genre and Publishers Collaborating with Tsutaya Jūzaburō (1798 – 1843)

from *Tsutajū shuppan shomoku*

1798～1843

	合板数	出板数	書肆名	ジャンル	
寛政 10 年 1798	0	16			
寛政 11 年 1799 年	4	15	鶴屋喜右衛門	読本	
			名古屋永楽屋東四郎	随筆	
			江戸前川六左衛門、大坂河内屋喜兵衛、大坂秋田谷市兵衛、京都風月堂荘左衛門、京都橘屋治兵衛、名古屋風月孫助	俳書	江戸売弘
			大坂藤屋徳兵衛、名古屋永楽屋東四郎、京都伊勢屋喜兵衛、京都吉田屋新兵衛	滑稽本	吉田屋の江戸売弘
寛政 12 年 1800 年	2	13	京都須原屋平左衛門、大坂河内屋喜兵衛、名古屋風月堂孫助、江戸大和田安兵衛	狂歌作法書	
			江戸西村源六、江戸鶴屋喜右衛門	暦術	
寛政年間	1	12	若山帯屋伊兵衛	義太夫節抜本	
寛政 13 享和元年 1801 年	3	11	京都銭屋長兵衛、江戸伊勢屋治助、大坂播磨や五兵衛	黄表紙	絵本東土産
			江戸西村源六、江戸竹川藤兵衛、江戸石渡利助、江戸西宮弥兵衛	狂歌作法書	
			江戸鶴屋喜右衛門	読本	
享和 2 年 1802 年	5	18	江戸翫月堂堀野屋甚兵衛	劇書	
			江戸須原屋伊八、江戸須原屋茂兵衛、江戸西村源六	絵本	画本東都遊
			京都銭屋長兵衛、江戸伊勢屋治助、大坂播磨屋五兵衛	黄表紙集冊	絵本東土産
			江戸西村源六郎、江戸西村宗七郎	算術	
			名古屋永楽屋東四郎	教訓書	江戸売弘
享和 3 年 1803 年	8	19	江戸浜松屋幸助	歌舞伎	
			芝山館蔵、京都伏見屋藤右衛門、京都勝山治右衛門、大坂河内屋太助、名古屋永楽屋東四郎、製本江戸若林清兵衛	絵本	狩野探幽

			京鉛屋安兵衛、経吉田屋新兵衛、大坂播磨屋五兵衛、	黄表紙	江戸売弘
			江戸万屋太治右衛門蔵、売弘京都鉛屋安兵衛、大坂河内屋太助、名古屋永楽屋東四郎、江戸石渡利助	狂歌本	江戸売弘
			大坂柏原屋清右衛門、名古屋永楽屋東四郎、	俳諧	
			大坂扇屋利助、江戸今津屋辰三郎	教訓書	江戸売弘
			江戸鶴屋喜右衛門、江戸西村源六	暦術	
			大坂綿屋喜兵衛、大坂伊勢屋喜兵衛、大坂和泉屋吉兵衛	黄表紙集冊	鱗形屋と蔦屋の黄表紙
享和4年 1804年	4	20	京鉛屋安兵衛、経吉田屋新兵衛、大坂播磨屋五兵衛、	黄表紙	
			名古屋永楽屋東四郎、大坂河内屋太助	紀行随筆	
			江戸西村源六	俳諧作法書	
			江戸浜松屋幸助板元	読本	
文化2年 1805年	4	14	大坂敦賀屋久兵衛、京梶川七郎兵衛、江戸鶴屋喜右衛門、名古屋永楽屋東四郎	通俗本	江戸売弘か
			大坂河内屋太助蔵板、名古屋永楽屋東四郎、京著屋（めどきや）儀兵衛、大坂播磨屋五兵衛、	読本	江戸売弘
			大坂勝尾太六兵衛、江戸西村源六、江戸西村新六、江戸石渡利助、江戸西宮弥兵衛	狂歌作法書	
			大坂柏原屋清右衛門、大坂大野木市兵衛、京鉛屋安兵衛、名古屋永楽屋東四郎、	早速千字文	
文化3年 1806年	2	7	京菱屋治兵衛、京吉田屋新兵衛、大坂藤屋弥兵衛、名古屋菱屋金兵衛	俳文集	うつら衣
			京菱屋善助、大坂河内屋太助、名古屋永楽屋東四郎、江戸万屋太治右衛門、江戸万屋太助	狂歌集	
文化4年 1807年	1	7	江戸万屋太治右衛門	狂歌集	
文化5年 1808年	4	19	江戸田辺屋太兵衛、江戸伊勢屋忠右衛門、	読本	
			名古屋永楽屋東四郎、大坂河内屋太助	狂歌・紀行	
			江戸中村屋善蔵	読本	
			江戸瑞玉堂大和田安兵衛蔵版、江戸蛍雪堂三河屋宗兵衛、江戸宇田	読本	

			閣儀兵衛		
文化 6 年 1809 年	0	13			
文化 7 年 1810 年	2	12	江戸万屋太次右衛門	狂歌撰集	
			名古屋永楽屋東四郎	往来物	
文化 8 年 1811 年	5	11	江戸浜松屋幸助	合巻	
			大坂柏原屋清右衛門、大坂敦賀屋九兵衛、京菊屋喜兵衛、京菊屋七郎兵衛、京河内屋茂兵衛、名古屋永楽屋東四郎	往来物	永楽屋蔵板か
			大坂柏原清右衛門、大坂敦賀屋九兵衛、京菊屋七郎兵衛、京河内屋茂兵衛、名古屋永楽屋東四郎	往来物	
			大坂柏原清右衛門、大坂敦賀屋九兵衛、京菊屋七郎兵衛、京河内屋茂兵衛、名古屋永楽屋東四郎	往来物	永楽屋蔵板か
			大坂柏原清右衛門、大坂敦賀屋九兵衛、京菊屋七郎兵衛、京河内屋茂兵衛、名古屋永楽屋東四郎	往来物	永楽屋蔵板か
文化 9 年 1812 年	2	13	京出雲寺文治郎、大坂敦賀屋九兵衛、江戸前川六左衛門、名古屋永楽屋東四郎	和学	
			江戸西村源六、江戸鶴屋金助	俳諧作法書	
文化 10 年 1813 年	0	7			
文化 11 年 1814 年	3	8	鶴屋金助	合巻	横山町に移転。さらに小伝馬町 3 丁目に移転。
			江戸越前屋吉兵衛、江戸山崎平八蔵版	滑稽本	
			江戸越前屋吉兵衛、江戸山崎平八蔵版	滑稽本	
文化 12 年 1815 年	0	4			
文化 13 年 1816 年	0	2			
文化 14 年 1817 年	1	4	江戸出雲寺和泉掾、升屋五郎兵衛、江戸西村源六、江戸鶴屋喜右衛門、江戸和泉屋市兵衛、江戸丸谷丈右衛門	絵図	

文化年間	1	3	江戸丸屋文右衛門、江戸鶴屋金助、大坂塩屋長兵衛、江戸丁子屋平兵衛	書目	
文化 15 年・文政元年 1818 年	0	6			
文政 2 年 1819 年	1	4	名古屋永楽屋東四郎、大坂河内屋太助江戸丁子屋平兵衛、江戸江見屋吉右衛門蔵板	名鑑	
文政 3 年 1820 年	1	6	江戸江見屋吉右衛門蔵板	名鑑	
文政 4 年 1821 年	1	5	江戸鶴屋金助、江戸河内屋太郎兵衛、江戸江見屋吉右衛門、江戸石井理吉	名鑑	
文政 5 年 1822 年	1	3	大坂河内屋太助、名古屋永楽屋東四郎、江戸丁子屋平兵衛、江戸榎本平吉、江戸鶴屋金助	読本	
文政 6 年 1823 年	4	7	江戸鶴屋平蔵、江戸中村屋幸蔵	読本	
			江戸秩父屋市十郎、江戸森屋治兵衛、江戸岩戸屋喜三郎、江戸西村与八、江戸西村屋文三郎、江戸伊藤与兵衛、江戸竹内屋政右衛門、江戸鶴屋金助、江戸鶴屋喜右衛門、日光売弘遠藤喜八、京都売弘植村藤右衛門、大坂売弘河内屋茂兵衛	名鑑	
			江戸鶴屋金助、江戸越前屋長次郎、江戸西村屋与八、江戸大嶋屋伝右衛門、江戸丁子屋平兵衛、大嶋屋と丁子屋合板	滑稽本	
			江戸越前屋吉兵衛、江戸榎本平吉、江戸鶴屋金助、江戸丁子屋平兵衛、江戸伊勢屋忠右衛門、江戸大島屋伝右衛門、江戸西村屋与八	読本	
文政 7 年 1824 年	2	5	江戸鶴屋喜右衛門、江戸鶴屋金助、江戸山田佐助	絵本	
			江戸森屋治兵衛、江戸西村屋与八、江戸鶴屋喜右衛門、江戸江崎屋吉兵衛、江戸蔦屋吉蔵、江戸大坂屋秀八	絵本	
文政 8 年 1825 年	1	4	京都伏見屋半三郎、大坂河内屋茂兵衛、江戸大坂屋茂吉、江戸丁子屋平兵衛、江戸越前谷長次郎	読本	江戸売弘
文政 9 年 1826 年	0	3			
文政 10 年 1827 年	4	7	大坂渋川清右衛門、江戸西村源六、江戸和泉屋金右衛門	銭譜	

			江戸須原屋茂兵衛、江戸前川六左衛門、前川弥兵衛板	道中記	
			江戸広嶋屋定次郎板	算術	
			江戸和泉屋市兵衛	花道	
文政 11 年 1828 年	0	7			
文政 12 年 1829 年	1	5	江戸西村与八、大坂屋秀八、鶴屋喜右衛門、川口正蔵、江崎屋吉兵衛	合巻	
文政年間	7	21	西村屋与八、越前屋長次郎	人情本	
			鶴屋金助	絵図	
			総州屋与兵衛	義太夫節抜本	
			総州屋与兵衛	義太夫節抜本	
			総州屋与兵衛	義太夫節抜本	
			総州屋与兵衛、浜松屋幸助	義太夫節抜本	
			総州屋与兵衛	義太夫節抜本	
文政 13 年・天保元年 1830 年	1	4	鶴屋喜右衛門	合巻	
天保 2 年 1831 年	1	5	山城屋佐兵衛、西村屋与八板	往来物	西村の売弘
天保 3 年 1832 年	0	3			
天保 4 年 1833 年	0	2			2 代目 5 月に没。秋か冬、浅草観音地内に移転
天保 5 年 1834 年	0	3			
天保 6 年 1835 年	2	6	江戸坂井屋嘉吉板	滑稽本	
			江戸柴屋文七	読本	
天保 7 年 1836 年	0	2			
天保 8 年 1837 年	1	2	江戸伊勢屋三次郎	細見(秋)	この年、の 12 月、三代没。浅草並木道へ春

					から夏にかけ、移転。冬までに細見株を手放す。
天保 9 年 1838 年	2	3	江戸岡田屋嘉七、和泉屋市兵衛板	往来物	市兵衛の売弘
			江戸岡田屋嘉七、和泉屋市兵衛板	往来物	
天保 10 年 1839 年	0	0			
天保 11 年 1840 年	0	0			
天保 12 年 1841 年	0	2			
天保 13 年 1842 年	0	0			
天保 14 年 1843 年	4	4	江戸西村屋与八、江戸鶴屋喜右衛門	名鑑	
			江戸鶴屋喜右衛門	名鑑	
			江戸西村屋与八、江戸鶴屋喜右衛門	名鑑	
			江戸鶴屋喜右衛門	名鑑	
天保年間	0	1			
刊年不明	1	24	江戸大黒屋平吉	絵図	
	87	**392**			

22.19%

APPENDIX E

Tsuruya Kiemon's publications, listed in *Eiri yomihon gedai kagami*

鶴屋喜右衛門（Tsuruya Kiemon） in 出像稗本（ゑいりよみほん）外題鑑（げだいかがみ）貸本屋丁子屋平兵衛板行　文化末年頃刊 *Eiri yomihon gedai kagami*, published by Chōjiya

	鶴屋喜右衛門数 Tsuruya Kiemon	全体数 Total published number	題名 Title	作者 Author	画 Illustration	相板（相板名なしは鶴屋喜右衛門のみ） Collaboration (blank means it was published from Tsuruya Kiemon)
寛政 11 年 1799 年	1	1	忠臣水滸伝前編	山東京伝	北尾重政	蔦屋重三郎
享和元年 1881 年	1	1	忠臣水滸伝後篇	山東京伝	北尾重政	蔦屋重三郎
享和 3 年 1803 年	1	3	復讐安積糠	山東京伝	北尾重政	
享和 4 年 1804 年	1	3	優曇華物語	山東京伝	喜多武清	
文化 2 年 1805 年	2	7	稚枝鳩	曲亭馬琴	一陽斎豊国	
			櫻姫全伝曙草紙	山東京伝	一陽斎豊国	
文化 3 年 1806 年	2	9	四天王剰（しょう）盗異録	曲亭馬琴	一陽斎豊国	
			善知安形忠義伝前編	山東京伝	一陽斎豊国	
文化 4 年 1807 年	3	8	隅田川梅柳新書	曲亭馬琴	葛飾北斎	
			新累解脱物語	曲亭馬琴	葛飾北斎	京菱屋孫兵衛、京鉛屋安兵衛、大坂河内屋太助（板元）
			梅之與兵衛物語梅花氷裂	山東京伝	一陽斎豊国	鶴屋金助
文化 5 年 1808 年	4	23	括頭巾縮緬帋衣	曲亭馬琴	歌川豊広	住吉屋政五郎（板

						元）
			松浦佐用媛石魂録	曲亭馬琴	歌川豊広	鶴屋金助(板元）
			頼豪阿闍梨恠鼠伝	曲亭馬琴	葛飾北斎	
			頼豪阿闍梨恠鼠伝後篇	曲亭馬琴	葛飾北斎	
文化 6 年 1809 年	1	19	浅間嶽面影草紙	柳亭種彦	蘭斎北崇	篠屋徳兵衛、山崎平八（板元）
文化 7 年 1810 年	1	11	流転数回阿古義物語	式亭三馬	歌川豊国	鶴屋金助(板元）
文化 8 年 1811 年	0	4				
文化 9 年 1812 年	0	7				
文化 10 年 1813 年	0	4				
文化 11 年 1814 年	0	2				
文化 12 年 1815 年	0	5				
文化 13 年 1816 年	0	3				
文化 14 年 1817 年	0	1				
	17	**111**				

APPENDIX F

Publishers commissioned Toyokuni the First

早稲田の古典籍より
From Waseda Kotenseki
Books and *Ukiyo-e*

1	西村屋与八 Nishimuraya Yohachi	26
2	鶴屋喜右衛門 Tsuruya Kiemon	24
3	和泉屋市兵衛 Izumiya Ichibē	16
4	丸屋甚八 Maruya Jinpachi	11
5	蔦屋重三郎 Tsutaya Jūzaburō	8
6	上総屋利兵衛 Kazusaya Rihē	7
7	西宮新六 Nishimiya Shinroku	7
8	伊賀屋勘右衛門 Igaya Kan'emon	6
9	榎本屋吉兵衛 Enomotoya Kichibē	5
10	丁子屋平兵衛 Chōjiya Heibē	3
11	大坂屋半蔵 Ōsakaya Hanzō	2
12	河内屋茂兵衛 Kawachiya Mohē (Ōsaka)	2
13	鶴屋金助 Tsuruya Kinsuke	2
14	今利屋辰藏　Imariya Tatsuzō	2
15	江見屋吉右衛門 Emiya Kichiemon	2
16	山本平吉 Yamamoto Heikichi	2
17	山口屋藤兵衛 Yamaguchiya Tōbē	2
18	播磨屋五兵衛 Harimaya Gohē	1
19	丸屋文右衛門 Maruya Bun'emon	1
20	永楽屋東四郎 Eirakuya Tōshirō (Nagoya)	1
21	平林庄五郎 Hirabayashi Shōgorō (Nagoya)	1
22	山本栄久 Yamamoto Hidehisa	1
23	大黒屋平吉 Daikokuya Heikichi	1
		133

APPENDIX G

Publishers commissioned Kunisada the First

早稲田の古典籍より
From Waseda Kotenseki

Books and *Ukiyo-e*		**Vol.**
1	鶴屋喜右衛門　Tsuruya Kiemon	44
2	山本平吉 Yamamoto Heikichi	28
3	蔦屋吉蔵 Tsutaya Kichizō	27
4	和泉屋市兵衛 Izumiya Ichibē	26
5	森屋治兵衛 Moriya Jihē	26
6	西村屋与八 Nishimuraya Yohachi	25
7	山口屋藤兵衛 Yamaguchiya Tōbē	24
8	恵比須屋庄七 Ebisuya Shōshichi	18
9	藤岡屋慶次郎 Fujiokaya Keijirō	16
10	丸屋甚八 Maruya Jinpachi	15
11	加賀屋吉右衛門 Kagaya Kichiemon	13
12	丸屋文右衛門 Maruya Bun'emon	10
13	林屋庄五郎 Hayashiya Shōgorō	8
14	辻岡屋文助 Tsujiokaya Bunsuke	7
15	辻屋安兵衛 Tsujiya Yasubē	7
16	川口屋宇兵衛 Kawaguchiya Ubē	7
17	相卜 Aiboku	6
18	木屋宗次郎 Kiya Sōjirō	6
19	山田屋（南伝馬町）Yamadaya (Minamidenma-machi)	6
20	伊藤屋与兵衛 Itōya Yohē	6
21	大黒屋金之助 Daikokuya Kin'nosuke	5
22	角金 Kadokin	5
23	鶴屋金助 Tsuruya Kinsuke	5

24	西宮新六 Nishimiya Shinroku	5
25	永楽屋東四郎 Eirakuya Tōshirō (Nagoya)	4
26	遠州屋彦兵衛 Enshūya Hikobē	4
27	伊勢屋兼吉 Iseya Kenkichi	4
28	辻岡屋亀吉 Tsujiokaya Kamekichi	4
29	佐野屋喜兵衛 Sanoya Kihē	4
30	岩戸屋喜三郎 Iwatoya Kizaburō	4
31	岩戸屋喜三郎 Iwatoya Kizaburō	4
32	三河屋鉄五郎 Mikawaya Tetsugorō	3
33	沢久次郎 Sawa Hisajirō	3
34	若狭屋与市 Wakasaya Yoichi	3
35	山崎屋清七 Yamazakiya Seishichi	3
36	太田屋佐吉 Ōtaya Sakichi	3
37	浜田屋徳兵衛 Hamadaya Tokubē	2
38	平新 Hirashin	2
39	平野屋(万町） Hiranoya (Yorozu-machi)	2
40	須原屋伊八 Suharaya Ihachi	2
41	大坂屋半蔵 Ōsakaya Hanzō	2
42	河内屋源七 Kawachiya Genshichi	2
43	村田次郎兵衛 Murata Jirōbē	2
44	蔦屋重三郎 Tsutaya Jūzaburō	2
45	今利屋辰藏 Imariya Tatsuzō	2
46	河内屋茂兵衛 Kawachiya Mohē (Ōsaka)	2
47	山田屋庄次郎 Yamadaya Shōjirō	1
48	魚屋栄吉 Uoya Eikichi	1
49	上州屋金蔵 Jōshūya Kinzō	1
50	伊場屋仙三郎 Ibaya Senzaburō	1

51	井筒屋庄吉 Izutsuya Shōkichi	1
52	丁子屋平兵衛 Chōjiya Heibē	1
53	上州屋重蔵・重七 Jōshūya Jūzō Jūshichi	1
54	広岡屋 Hirookaya	1
55	万屋彦太郎 Yorozuya Hikotarō	1
56	加島屋清吉 Kashimaya Seikichi (Ōsaka)	1
57	西村屋源六 Nishimuraya Genroku	1
58	松屋菊次郎 Matsuya Kikujirō	1
59	近江屋権九郎 Ōmiya Gonkurō	1
60	竹内孫八 Takeuchi Magohachi	1
61	大黒屋平吉 Daikokuya Heikichi	1
62	天津 Tentsu	1
63	丸徳 Marutoku	1
64	紙屋徳八 Kamiya Tokuhachi	1
65	平井文助 Hirai Bunsuke (Wakayama)	1
66	長谷川新兵衛 Hasegawa Shinbē	1
67	山本栄久堂 Yamamoto Eikyūdō	1
68	光文堂 Kōbundō	1
69	松栄堂 Shōeidō	1
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APPENDIX H

Publishers commissioned Toyokuni, Kunisada, Kuniyoshi and Hiroshige

	Based on Ritsumeikan Art Research Center Database, last day accessed, December 25, 2014.					
	Ukiyo-e		Toyokuni Ⅰ. 初代豊国	Toyokuni 3rd＝Kunisada 三代豊国＝国貞	Kuniyoshi 国芳	Hiroshige Ⅰ. 初代広重.
1	Ebiya　海老屋	129	0	28	61	5
2	Ebiya　海老屋林之助 Rin'nosuke	127	0	38	52	5
3	Uoya Eikichi 魚屋栄吉	414	0	240	0	52
4	Hiranoya 平野屋	263	12	226	0	36
5	Hiranoya 平野屋新蔵 Shinzō	234	0	217	0	36
6	Yamamotoya 山本屋	322	25	186	48	1
7	Yamamotoya 山本屋平吉 Heikichi	208	25	109	38	1
8	Yamamotoya 山本屋久兵衛 Kyūbē	41	0	38	3	0
9	Matsumuraya 松村屋	51	14	18	0	0
10	Matsumuraya 松村屋辰右衛門 Tatsuemon	32	13	18	0	0
11	Wakasaya 若狭屋	171	0	101	2	10
12	Wakasaya 若狭屋与市 Yoichi	109	0	93	0	0
13	Nishimuraya 西村屋	292	40	107	0	2
14	Nishimuraya 西村屋与八	148	29	11	0	1
15	Moritaya 森田屋	9	0	9	0	0
16	Yorozuya 万屋	48	0	10	0	0
17	Sōshūya 総州屋	19	0	3	0	0
18	Takeuchi 竹内屋	14	0	13	0	1
19	Nishimiyaya 西宮屋	10	0	6	0	0
20	Kadohon'ya Kinjirō 角本屋金次郎	45	0	16	28	0
21	Yamamotoya 山本屋	55	2	44	3	0
22	Yamamotoya 山本屋平吉 Heikichi	14	2	12	0	0
23	Kazusaya 上総屋	39	0	5	33	0
24	Kawaguchiya 川口屋	83	0	51	13	3
25	Kawaguchiya 川口屋正蔵 Shōzō	31	0	12	12	3

26	Kawaguchiya 川口屋卯兵衛 Ubē	39	0	31	1	0
27	Gusokuya 具足屋	178	0	17	4	0
28	Ōmiya 近江屋	65	0	30	0	0
29	Enshūya 遠州屋	177	0	59	72	2
30	Enshūya 遠州屋又兵衛 Matabē	71	0	14	51	2
31	Enshūya 遠州屋彦兵衛 Hikobē	106	0	45	21	0
32	Ibaya 伊場屋	462	1	103	227	88
33	Ibaya 伊場屋仙三郎 Senzaburō	407	1	95	192	84
34	Ibaya 伊場屋久兵衛 Kyūbē	17	0	0	13	4
35	Ezakiya 江崎屋	81	5	46	3	0
36	Ezakiya 江崎屋吉兵衛 Kichibē	22	5	8	3	0
37	Ezakiya 江崎屋辰蔵 Tatsuzō	19	0	9	0	0
38	Jōshūya 上州屋	124	0	55	24	3
39	Jōshūya 上州屋金蔵 Kinzō	72	0	41	18	1
40	Jōshūya 上州屋重蔵 Jūzō	23	0	8	2	0
41	Kagaya 加賀屋	144	0	73	30	0
42	Sanoya 佐野屋	520	2	447	32	38
43	Sanoya 佐野屋喜兵衛 Yoshibē	513	2	379	25	38
44	Sanoya 佐野屋富五郎 Tomigorō	4	0	0	0	0
45	Tsutaya 蔦屋	953	2	495	25	153
46	Tsutaya 蔦屋重三郎 Jūzaburō	11	2	0	0	0
47	Tsutaya 蔦屋吉蔵 Kichizō	699	0	377	16	153
48	Tsutaya 蔦屋梅次郎 Umejirō	6	0	1	3	0
49	Aritaya 有田屋清右衛門 Kiyoemon	70	0	28	29	9
50	Ningyōya 人形屋	14	0	5	4	0
51	Igaya 伊賀屋	17	0	3	0	0
52	Iseya 伊勢屋	537	2	329	263	2
53	Iseya 伊勢屋市兵衛 Ichibē	127	0	3	123	0
54	Iseya 伊勢屋芳 Yoshi	59	0	48	1	0
55	Iseya 伊勢屋兼吉 Kenkichi	214	0	154	0	2
56	Iseya 伊勢屋利兵衛 Rihē	45	0	12	1	0
57	Iseya 伊勢屋忠介 Chūsuke	26	0	23	3	0

58	Maruya 丸屋	315	6	149	5	65
59	Maruya 丸屋久四郎 Kyūshirō	73	0	73	0	57
60	Maruya 丸屋甚八 Jinpachi	97	2	43	4	5
61	Maruya 丸屋文右衛門 Bun'emon	12	4	2	0	0
62	Maruya 丸屋清次郎 Seijirō	23	0	23	0	0
63	Moriya 森屋治兵衛 Jihē	159	6	124	0	0
64	Yamaguchiya 山口屋	320	23	143	45	2
65	Izumiya 和泉屋	244	11	114	17	15
66	Tsuruya 鶴屋	163	24	8	4	1
67	Tsuruya 鶴屋金助 Kinsuke	56	24	1	0	0
68	Yamashiroya 山城屋	96	4	38	3	1
69	Yamashiroya 山城屋藤右衛門 Fujiemon	14	4	8	0	0
70	Yamashiroya 山城屋甚兵衛 Jinbē	26	0	3	0	1
71	Omiya 近江屋	65	0	30	0	0
72	Omiya 近江屋平八 Heihachi	65	0	18	0	0
73	Omiya 近江屋久次郎 Hisajirō	29	0	11	0	0
	Number of commissioned groups	-	17	35	23	20
	NOTE: #59 is Collaboration works.		Toyokuni Ⅰ. 初代豊国.	Toyokuni Ⅲ＝Kunisada Ⅰ. 三代豊国＝国貞.	Kuniyoshi 国芳	Hiroshige Ⅰ. 初代広重.

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