

# Longing for the Refinement of the Heian Court during the Edo Period: Development of Printed Books with *Kasen-e*

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## 【Abstract】

People of the Edo Period (1603–1868) longed for the refinement of the Heian court and had it deeply rooted on their minds. This study will research this longing in the publications of printed books with *kasen-e*. Moreover, by examining the transition and characteristics of these works, various aspects of the inheritance of tradition and innovation will be added to the history of early modern publishing culture.

First, a chronological table of printed books with *kasen-e* published in the Edo period will be presented, in order to get an overall view (it is geared to the woodblock-printed books, and as a general rule, this excludes the variants of *hyakunin isshu* and the variants of *sanjūrokkasen*, and *ōraimonō*). The chronological table lists a total of 88 titles, starting with *sagabon Sanjūrokkasen* (published around Keichō era, *tokuōhon*, 1 volume), and ending with *Teika sen kin'yōshō* (published in Ansei 3/1856, *ōhon*, 1 volume). And then, each of the following categories will be examined: A: book size, B: publisher, C: book cover, D: artist, and E: multi-colored print to grasp the overall characteristics and trends. In particular, the following six artists will be focused on: (D-1) HISHIKAWA Moronobu, (D-2) NISHIKAWA Sukenobu, (D-3) HASEGAWA Mitsunobu, (D-4) KATSUKAWA Shunshō, (D-5) TOSA Mitsusada, and (D-6) KITA Busei. The characteristics of each representative work will be analyzed. Based on those results, the entire situation in the Edo period will be surveyed and various aspects of the tradition and innovation of *kasen-e* illustrated in printed books will come into light.

\*This study is a translated version of KANSAKU Ken'ichi's "Edo no ōchōbi: Kasen-e iri kanpon no tenkai." In *Kinsei wakashi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2013).

【日本語要旨】

本稿では、江戸の人びとの心底にしかと揺曳していた王朝美へのあこがれを歌仙絵入刊本に訊ね、その変遷や特質を窺うことで、歌仙絵における伝統の継承と革新の種々相を近世出版文化史上に跡づける。

具体的には、まず全体像を見渡すために、江戸時代における歌仙絵入刊本の年表を提示する（整版を対象とし、異種百人一首や異種三十六歌仙、往来物は原則として除外）。嵯峨本の『三十六歌仙』（〔慶長〕刊・特大1冊）を筆頭に、幕末の『定家撰錦葉抄』（安政3年刊・大1冊）まで、全88点。これを、A書型／B版元／C表紙／D絵師／E多色摺の各項目ごとに探って、全体の特徴と傾向を掴む。特にD絵師では、（ア）菱川師宣、（イ）西川祐信、（ウ）長谷川光信、（エ）勝川春章、（オ）土佐光貞、（カ）喜多武清、都合6人を取り上げて、それぞれの代表的作品に即して特徴を析出する。その上で、江戸期全体を改めて俯瞰し、刊本における歌仙絵の伝統と革新の諸相を引き出した。

本稿は、神作研一「江戸の王朝美—歌仙絵入刊本の展開—」（『近世和歌史の研究』所収、角川学芸出版、2013）を英訳したものである。

## Introduction

Whether black-and-white or multi-colored, the elegant and gorgeous portraits of the immortal poets (*kasen* 歌仙) with their poetry (*waka* 和歌) invite the viewer into the distant world of the refinement of the Heian Court. The portrait of *kasen* is called *kasen-e* (歌仙絵<sup>1</sup>). At the time, to the average reader, if the various books about thirty-six immortal poets (*Sanjūrokkasen* 三十六歌仙) or One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets (*Hyakunin isshu* 百人一首) had only contained *waka* text, it would have been somewhat tasteless. For this reason, it is thought that each of the printed books containing *kasen-e* was highly prized and loved. In the first place, it is said that *Ogura hyakunin isshu* 小倉百人一首 (hereinafter abbreviated as *Hyakunin isshu*) originally contained *kasen-e* (*Seiashō* 井蛙抄 and *Tōden gyōhitsu* 榻鳴暁筆). However, the only surviving *Hyakunin isshu kasen-e* during the Muromachi period (1336–1573) are fragments, and there are no complete works.

What kind and how many printed books with *kasen-e* were published in the Edo period? And what are their characteristics and trends? This study will allow the reader to see the rich world of the printed books with *kasen-e* published in the Edo period.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> As *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典 (2nd edition) lists *Kōshoku fumi denju* 好色文伝授 (1688) of *ukiyo-zōshi* 浮世草子 as an example of the use of the word *kasen-e*, any old examples of the word prior to the Edo period can not be found (In contrast, the word *kasen* appears in *Meigō ōrai* 明衡往来, published around 11th century.) The use of technical terms is an issue that cannot be overlooked when considering the history of study, and I will continue to strive to find the origin of these terms.

<sup>2</sup> MORI Tōru 森暢. “Hyakunin isshu-e.” 百人一首絵 In *Kasen-e / Hyakunin isshu-e* 歌仙絵・百人一首絵 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1981. First published in *Bessatsu Taiyō Aizō-ban Hyakunin isshu* 別冊太陽愛蔵版百人一首, Heibonsha 1974). YOSHIDA Kōichi 吉田幸一. “Hyakunin

## 1. Chronological Table of Printed Books with *Kasen-e* in the Early Modern Period

First of all, a chronological table of the publication of printed books with *kasen-e* is presented to give a general overview (excluding illustrated books with ordinary images that are not *kasen-e*). There are two types of *Hyakunin isshu* in *sagabon* 嵯峨本 in the old movable type books (*kokatsuji-ban* 古活字版), but both of them do not have *kasen-e*, so they were excluded. Even if they are woodblock-printed books, the variants of *Hyakunin isshu* (*ishu Hyakunin isshu* 異種百人一首) and educational books (*ōraimono* 往来物) were basically excluded (some variants such as *Shin*

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*isshu no e: Kasen-e hanpon to ukiyo-e.*” 百人一首の絵—歌仙絵版本と浮世絵— In *Bessatsu Taiyō 84 Hyakunin isshu II* 別冊太陽 84 百人一首 II (Tokyo: Heibonsha, January 1994). These two articles fragmentally focus on this area, but not sufficiently. There are other articles that have discussed this issue individually, but any prior article that addresses it comprehensively has not been found. ARIYOSHI Tamotsu 有吉保. “Hyakunin isshu eiri chūshakubon ni tsuite: Shinshutsu shiryō *Sanryakushō* o chūshin ni.” 百人一首絵入注釈本について—新出資料「三略抄」を中心に—*Chōsa kenkyū hōkoku* 調査研究報告 Vol. 9 (Tokyo: Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan bunken shiryōbu, March 1988). FUJITA Yōji 藤田洋治. “Kasen eshō to onna kasen eshō: *Ise monogatari kaisei* shosai sakuin no honkoku / kaidai.” 歌仙絵抄と女歌仙絵抄—『伊勢物語 改成』所載作品の翻刻・解題—*Tokyo seitoku tanki daigaku kiyō* 東京成徳短期大学紀要 Vol. 38 (March 2005). ARIYOSHI’s article covers the general situation of illustrated *Hyakunin isshu* in the early Edo period, and FUJITA’s article covers the trend of *kasen eshō* in the Genroku era. Both are noteworthy. On the other hand, there is ICHIKO Natsuo’s 市古夏生 “Eiribun no ryūkō.” 絵入り本の流行 In *Kinsei shoki bungaku to shuppan bunka* 近世初期文学と出版文化 (Tokyo: Wakakusa shobō, 1998), which pursues the state of the illustrated books in the early Edo period based on *kanazōshi* 仮名草子. Although there are only a few references to *kasho*, this has many implications for thinking about the atmosphere at the time of illustrated books in general. SUZUKI Ken’ichi’s 鈴木健一 “Joron waka to kaiga ga deau toki.” 序論和歌と絵画が<sup>4</sup>出逢う時 In *Waka o hiraku* Vol. 3 *Waka no zuzōgaku* 和歌をひらく 第三卷 和歌の図像学 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2006), which comprehensively addresses the relationship between *waka* and images, is also full of suggestions, lightly discussing a wide range of issues. The most recent research on *sanjūrokkasen* is SHINDŌ Kyōzō’s 新藤協三 *Sanjūrokkasen sōkō* 三十六歌仙叢考 (Tokyo: Shintensha, 2004), and for research on female poets, there is ŌBUSHI Harumi’s 大伏春美 *Nyōbō sanjūrokkasen utaawase no kenkyū* 女房三十六歌仙歌合の研究 (Tokyo: Shintensha, 1997).

*hyakunin isshu* 新百人一首 and *Buke hyakunin isshu* 武家百人一首 were included as exceptions, while *ōraimono*, which contains many small *kasen-e*, were generally excluded.) *Sanjūrokkasen* was included because the woodblock-printed *sagabon* version has *kasen-e* in it. However, there are many variants of *Sanjūrokkasen* (*ishu Sanjūrokkasen* 異種三十六歌仙) that were omitted. The chronological table is based on the data which has been actually seen and is intended to be concise, and the following four books were referred to in preparing it.

UENO Yōzō 上野洋三, ed. “Kinsei kasho kankō nenpyō: Kan’ei–Genbun.” 近世歌書刊行年表—寛永～元文— In *Genroku wakashi no kiso kōchiku* 元禄和歌史の基礎構築 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2003)

SUZUKI Jun 鈴木淳, ed. *Kinsei kōki kasho shuppan nenpyō no sakusei*. 近世後期歌書出版年表の作成 (Kakenhi kenkyū seika hōkokusho: Ippan kenkyū [C], 1992)

YUZAWA Ken’nosuke 湯澤賢之助, ed. *Kinsei shuppan hyakunin isshu shomoku shūsei*. 近世出版百人一首書目集成 (Tokyo: Shintensha, 1994)

YOSHIKAI Naoto 吉海直人, ed. “Hyakunin isshu nenpyō.” 百人一首年表 In *Nihon shoshigaku taikai* 日本書誌学大系 (Tokyo: Seishōdō shoten, 1997)

The chronology includes serial number, book title (based on the original title slip), editor/author name, artist name, book size, number of volume, colophon, and note. In order to find out how books were distributed, books without publication records were actually researched and the year of publication was estimated and actively listed on this chronological table.

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**慶長年中** (1596 - 1615)

- 1 〔三十六歌仙〕 (光悦本) 伝本阿弥光悦書、伝土佐光茂画 特大1冊  
無刊記  
\* 嵯峨本 (整版)。色変り料紙ノ本ト楮紙ノ本、二種アリ。

**寛永年中** (1624 - 44)

- 2 三十六歌仙 (素庵本) 伝角倉素庵書 大1冊  
無刊記  
3 百人一首 (素庵本) 伝角倉素庵書 大1冊  
無刊記  
4 百人一首 大1帖  
無刊記  
\* 列帖装、鳥ノ子胡粉引キ料紙。

**寛永16年** (1639) **己卯**

- 5 小倉山百人一首 大1冊  
寛永拾六己卯正月開板

**明暦3年** (1657) **丁酉**

- 6 新百人一首 中院通村公御筆、足利義尚撰、中院通村書 大2冊  
于時明暦第三天丁酉臘月中旬ノ谷岡七左衛門板行

**明暦4年** (1658) **戊戌**

- 7 女哥仙 大1冊  
明暦四戌天林鐘吉日 野田弥兵衛尉板行

**万治3年** (1660) **庚子**

- 8 〈万宝ノ頭書〉百人一首大成 大合1冊  
万治三年庚子仲夏ノ寺町山田三郎兵衛板行

**寛文元年** (1661) **辛丑**

- 9 釈教三十六哥仙 栄海撰、加藤磐斎跋 半1冊  
寛文元辛丑年五月中旬 高田弥兵衛彫刊  
\* 10ノ『歌仙七種』所収本トハ別版。

- 10 〔歌仙七種〕 半7冊  
寛文元辛丑曆季秋 林和泉掾板行

\* 謠仙・中古謠仙・新謠仙・新女謠仙・続女謠仙・職人謠仙 (光広選)・釈教謠仙 (栄海撰) カラ成ル。

**寛文2年** (1662) **壬寅**

- 11 〔三十六歌仙〕 大1冊  
 寛文二壬寅孟秋日<sup>(アキマツ)</sup> 重朝刊
- 12 〔三十六歌仙〕 大1冊  
 寛文二年壬寅仲秋上旬開板
- 寛文6年** (1666) **丙午**
- 13 武家百人一首 榑原忠次撰 大2冊  
 寛文六丙午歲初冬吉辰ノ下御壺ノ前谷岡七左衛門板行
- 寛文12年** (1672) **壬子**
- 14 〈注入ノ顯図〉武家百人一首 榑原忠次撰、菱川師宣画、東月南周書 大1冊  
 寛文十二壬子歲孟春吉日ノ鶴屋喜右衛門板  
 \* 13 ノ『武家百人一首』トハ別版。
- 寛文年中** (1661 - 73)
- 15 〈絵ノ入〉女哥仙 大1冊  
 無刊記
- 16 百人一首 横1冊  
 無刊記
- 17 百人首 (柱刻題) 大1冊  
 京一条通浄福寺前東へ入町板木屋治右衛門板
- 延宝元年** (1673) **癸丑**
- 18 〈頭書ノ絵抄〉百人一首 大1冊  
 延宝元癸丑歲陽月吉日ノ山本理兵衛開板  
 \* 未見。『大英図書館蔵日本古版本集成マイクロフィッシュ版』(本の友社、1996)ニヨル。
- 延宝2年** (1674) **甲寅**
- 19 〈頭書ノ絵抄〉哥仙 大1冊  
 延宝二甲寅年素秋吉日ノ黒川四郎兵衛梓行  
 \* 内題「首書絵歌仙抄」。
- 延宝3年** (1675) **乙卯**
- 20 百人一首像讚抄 小2冊  
 延宝三乙卯歲二月吉辰ノ洛下 書林堂山本道久開板  
 \* 22 ノ『百人一首像讚抄』トハ絵モ書型モ異ナル別版。
- 延宝5年** (1677) **丁巳**
- 21 武林哥仙 鍋島直能編 大1冊  
 \* 無刊記。延宝五年成。
- 延宝6年** (1678) **戊午**

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- 22 〈賢容／絵入／哥之／顕図〉百人一首像讚抄〈伝記／系譜〉 菱川師宣画 大3冊  
延宝六年午正月吉辰日／大伝馬町参町目／鱗形屋新板
- 延宝7年** (1679) **己未**
- 23 〈新撰／絵抄〉百人一首〈序題〉 菱川師宣画 大1冊  
延宝七年未十月吉日／大坂上町／書林荻氏板行  
\* 22ノ改題本(別版)。
- 延宝8年** (1680) **庚申**
- 24 小倉山百人一首 菱川師宣画 大1冊  
延宝八庚申年初夏／通油町本問屋開板
- 25 〈伝記／系図／歌之／絵入〉増補百人一首絵抄 井上秋扇著 大3冊  
延宝八庚申歳六月吉辰／繩手三条下ル町新五間町西側堺屋庄兵衛板行  
\* 寛文13年刊『百人一首基箭抄』ノ絵入改題修訂本。内題「百人一首増補絵抄」。
- 延宝9年** (1681) **辛酉**
- 26 百人一首季吟抄 杉村治兵衛画 大1冊  
延宝九辛酉歳初夏吉祥月／板本<sup>(マダ)</sup> 油町藪田清兵衛開板  
\* 未見。有吉保「百人一首絵入注釈本について一新出資料「三略抄」を中心に一」(『調査研究報告』9号、1988・3)、「絵入百人一首の三種」(『語文(日本大学)』137号、2010・6)ニヨル。
- 延宝年中** (1673 - 81)
- 27 〈絵／抄〉女歌仙 大1冊  
\* 刊記欠。『古典籍展観大入礼会目録』(2009年11月)所載。
- 天和2年** (1682) **壬戌**
- 28 〈新撰／顕図〉女歌仙新抄 菱川師宣画 大1冊  
天和二壬戌歳正月吉日山形屋
- 天和3年** (1683) **癸亥**
- 29 〈系図／伝記〉哥仙金玉抄 坂内山雲子著 大2冊  
天和三歳五月吉辰／金屋半右衛門〈板／行〉
- 30 百人一首像讚抄 菱川師宣画 大3冊  
天和三年亥ノ七月吉辰／大伝馬町参町目／鱗形屋新板
- 貞享元年** (1684) **甲子**
- 31 哥仙金玉抄〈系図／伝記〉 坂内山雲子著 中3冊  
貞享元年甲子七月日 松会開刊  
\* 29トハ絵モ書型モ異ナル別版。刊記ヲ「貞享七月日 松会開刊」ニ改メタ後印本モアリ。
- 貞享5年** (1688) **戊辰**



- 32 〈名歌／図入〉女百人一首 女筆 居初都音書、画モ同人カ 大2冊  
貞享五辰三月吉日／江戸西村半兵衛／京万屋庄兵衛
- 33 女哥仙鈔 特小1冊  
貞享五辰歳林鐘日／洛陽銅駝坊書肆（板／行）
- 元禄2年（1689） 己巳**
- 34 女哥仙絵抄 特小1冊  
元禄二巳歳正月日／岡氏開板  
\* 33ノ後印。
- 元禄3年（1690） 庚午**
- 35 歌僊 本阿弥光悦 本阿弥光悦書 1冊  
元禄三稔中穉日／浪速書林 安井弥兵衛藏  
\* 未見。『日本書古書目録』80号（臨川書店、2001年1月）ニヨル。
- 36 〈絵入／新板〉歌仙 大1冊  
長田七良兵衛  
\* 未見。
- 元禄5年（1692） 壬申**
- 37 〈新／編〉百人一首抄 大1冊  
元禄五年申四月吉辰／四条坊門通東洞院東エ入町水田甚左衛門板行
- 38 百人一首像讀抄 菱川師宣画 大1冊  
元禄五歳申初秋吉旦／朋林軒開板  
\* 松会版アリ。
- 39 御家百人一首 草田子〔苗村文伯〕注、画モ丈伯カ 大1冊  
皇都書林／寺町通松原上ル町菊屋七郎兵衛  
\* 後印。原刊本ハ河内屋茂兵衛トノ相合版ノ由（『百人一首年表』）。
- 元禄6年（1693） 癸酉**
- 40 〈頭書／絵抄〉歌仙（見返し題） 大1冊  
元禄六癸酉年仲春吉辰／心齋橋筋／<sup>(アキマツ)</sup>書肆梓行  
\* 19トハ別版。
- 41 〈頭／書〉百人一首絵抄 苗村松軒著、吉田半兵衛画 大1冊  
江戸万屋清兵衛 本屋平兵衛 京都菊屋七郎兵衛  
\* 未見。水谷不倒『古版小説挿画史』ニヨル。
- 元禄7年（1694） 甲戌**
- 42 〈光／悦〉哥仙大和抄 伝本阿弥光悦書 大2冊  
元禄甲戌孟春吉旦／武江呉服町二丁目書肆／伊勢屋孫三郎梓

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- 43 尊円親王小倉百人一首 尊円親王書 1冊  
 \*未見。『百人一首年表』ニヨル。
- 元禄8年 (1695) 乙亥**
- 44 〈風/流〉姿絵百人一首 菱川師宣画 半3冊  
 元禄八曆乙亥四月吉辰/大伝馬式丁目木下甚右衛門板
- 元禄9年 (1696) 丙子**
- 45 〈光/悦〉歌仙大和抄 本阿弥光悦書 大2冊  
 元禄九丙子歳卯月吉祥日/江戸橋中通川瀬石町山口屋/須藤権兵衛開版
- 46 新百人一首 足利義尚撰、中院通村書 大2冊  
 元禄九丙子歳五月鬼宿日/武陽書肆息障軒中川栄政梓
- 元禄10年 (1697) 丁丑**
- 47 〈新板/絵入〉百人一首諸抄大成 北村季吟著 半4冊  
 元禄十年丑初夏吉日  
 \*『百人一首拾穂抄』(天和元年奥刊)ノ改題絵入本。
- 48 伊勢物語大成〈百人一首絵抄/三十六人哥仙/六哥仙并二評〉 苗村松軒 大3冊  
 元禄十歳丑五月吉祥日/洛陽書堂吉田三郎兵衛/浅見吉兵衛/山口茂兵衛
- 元禄13年 (1700) 庚辰**
- 49 万葉百人一首 中川常樹編 大2冊  
 元禄十三庚辰年/六月吉旦/京二条通/〈桔梗屋/上柳〉甚次郎板行
- 元禄16年 (1703) 癸未**
- 50 武家百人一首 榊原忠次撰 大1冊  
 元禄十六歳六月上旬 林正五郎板
- 宝永4年 (1707) 丁亥**
- 51 百人一首諸抄大成 北村季吟著 半4冊  
 宝永四丁亥初夏吉日/川勝五郎右衛門
- 宝永5年 (1708) 戊子**
- 52 百人一首 大1冊  
 宝永五歳/戊子正月吉日/書林/大坂心齋橋筋順慶町柏原屋清右衛門/同与一郎  
 \*上段ニ『女大学』『三十六人哥仙』等ヲ、中段ニ『伊勢物語』ヲ載セル。
- 53 〈増補/改正〉基箭百人一首絵抄綱目 大1冊  
 宝永五戊子歳臘月吉日/撰陽書林/門本町橋詰丁/平野氏喜治梓  
 \*『百人一首像讚抄』ノ混態系統本。
- 正徳4年 (1714) 甲午**
- 54 歌仙拾穂抄 絵入 半3冊

正徳四甲午歳孟春穀旦

**享保6年** (1721) **辛丑**

- 55 百人一首基箭抄 井上秋扇著 大3冊  
享保六年辛丑更衣／大坂順慶町五丁目書林柏原屋与左衛門版

**享保年中** (1716 - 36)

- 56 三十六歌仙 特小1冊  
\*無刊記。  
57 百人一首像讚抄 小2冊  
書肆 大坂上本町三丁目／毛馬屋八郎右衛門版  
\*無年紀。20ノ後印本。

**延享3年** (1746) **丙寅**

- 58 百人一首像讚抄 小2冊  
延享三丙寅年九月吉辰／京堺屋仁兵衛／堺屋儀兵衛  
\*20ノ後修本。

**延享5年** (1748) **戊辰**

- 59 〈頭／書〉百人一首絵抄 吉田半兵衛画 大1冊  
大坂北田清左衛門版  
\*未見。『百人一首年表』ニヨル。

**寛延3年** (1750) **庚午**

- 60 基箭百人一首抄 大3冊  
寛延三庚午年三月／浪花書肆 心齋橋吳服町／岡田三郎右衛門  
\*『百人一首像讚抄』ノ混態系統本。山本長兵衛等三肆版モアリ。

**宝曆4年** (1754) **甲戌**

- 61 小倉百人一首 (見返し題) 特小1冊  
宝曆四甲戌年閏二月吉辰／京書林建仁寺町四条下ル丁加賀屋中西卯兵衛求版  
\*本書ハ求版本、原刊本ハ未見。

**宝曆5年** (1755) **乙亥**

- 62 团扇百人一首大成 長谷川光信画 半1冊  
宝曆五歳乙亥正月吉日／大坂書林／天神橋筋伏見両替町糸屋市兵衛版

**宝曆6年** (1756) **丙子**

- 63 〈絵／入〉歌仙拾穂抄 半3冊  
宝曆六年／江戸藤木久市

**宝曆10年** (1760) **庚辰**

- 64 基箭百人一首抄 大3冊

Longing for the Refinement of the Heian Court during the Edo Period (KANSAKU Ken'ichi)

寛延三庚午年三月／宝暦十庚辰九月吉日求／版／京三条通寺町／田中屋半兵衛

\*『百人一首像讀抄』ノ混態系統本。広文館白木屋半右衛門版モアリ。

**宝暦14年** (1764) **甲申**

65 〈頭／書〉百人一首万葉注解 中川常樹編 大2冊

宝暦十四甲申正月／誓願寺通柳馬場西江入町／京都書林 万屋九兵衛求板

**明和3年** (1766) **丙戌**

66 〈万宝／頭書〉百人一首大成 大1冊

京山田三郎兵衛板

**安永4年** (1775) **乙未**

67 錦百人一首あづま織 勝川春章画、書モ春章カ 大1冊

安永四乙未孟春／書林／江都本石町十軒店植村藤三郎／同小石川伝通院前雁金屋義助

\*多色摺。猿山流書〔猿山周之力〕ノ後修本アリ。

**安永10年** (1781) **辛丑**

68 花陽百人一首大成 正之編、伝西川祐信画、金原潜龍子書 大1冊

安永十年辛丑正月吉日／京都書林／二条通麩屋町東江入町山本長兵衛／三条通寺町東江入町正本屋吉兵衛／寺町通高辻下ル町菱屋治兵衛／寺町通松原上ル町菊屋七郎兵衛／合梓

\*特装本（緞子表紙・前後見返し金地）。扉ニ彩色画アリ。

**天明元年** (1781) **辛丑**

69 百人一首万葉 中川常樹編 大1冊

天明元年／京都池田屋片岡仲三郎板

**天明9年** (1789) **己酉**

70 三十六歌仙 勝川春章画、猿山周之書 大1冊

于時天明九年己酉孟春／京寺町通松原下ル勝村治右衛門／大坂順慶町五丁目渋川与左衛門／江戸本石町十軒店山崎金兵衛

\*多色摺。

**寛政9年** (1797) **丁巳**

71 集外歌仙 後西天皇撰、安田貞雄編、緑毛齋栄保〔猪原典繁〕画、芝江鈞叟書 半1冊

寛政九丁巳正月吉旦／東都万屋太治右衛門版

\*多色摺。

72 〈絵／抄〉女歌仙 大1冊

寛政九年丁巳三月癸刻／皇都教業坊書肆 吉田新兵衛

\*未見。大伏春美『女房三十六人歌合の研究』（新典社、1997）所載ノ影印ニヨル。『青裳堂古書目録』（1997年1月）ニモ登載。27ノ後印。

**文化2年** (1805) **乙丑**

73 百人一首基箭抄 井上秋扇著 大2冊

享保六年辛丑春開板／文化弍季<sup>(一〇二)</sup> 丙 丑冬求板／大坂書肆 心齋橋通河内屋嘉兵衛／同増田屋源兵衛

**文化4年** (1807) **丁卯**

- 74 百人一首図会 田山敬儀著 大3冊  
文化四年丁卯八月／皇都 灰方文林舎藏板

**文化5年** (1808) **戊辰**

- 75 百人一首 土佐光貞画、芝山持豊書 特大1冊  
文化五年辰初秋刻成／皇都書肆脇坂仙治郎／吉田新兵衛  
\*多色摺。鳳寿齋藏板。石井行宣書ノ後修本アリ。

**文化7年** (1810) **庚午**

- 76 歌仙絵抄 山本正臣編、喜多武清画、信夫槐軒書 大1冊  
無刊記  
\*多色摺。編者跋(文化7年)。

**文化10年** (1813) **癸酉**

- 77 定家撰錦葉抄 石田玉山画 大1冊  
文化十年／浪華米田清右衛門  
\*多色摺。

**文化13年** (1816) **丙子**

- 78 百人一首歌仙絵(帙題) 蹄齋〔葛飾〕北馬画、酒井市郎右衛門書 折1帖  
文化十三丙子年正月刻成／江戸書林 浅草新寺町慶元堂和泉屋庄次郎発兌

**文政5年** (1822) **壬午**

- 79 百人一首図会 田山敬儀著 大3冊  
文政五壬午歳春三月／江戸書林／須原屋茂兵衛／浪華書林／鳥飼市右衛門／佐々井次郎右衛門  
／奥田弥輔／田中太右衛門／多田勘兵衛

**文政7年** (1824) **甲申**

- 80 百人一首図会 田山敬儀著 大3冊  
文政七甲申年二月補刻／江都／日本橋南壹丁目須原屋茂兵衛／大坂／心齋橋通安堂寺町秋田屋太右衛門

**文政10年** (1827) **丁亥**

- 81 百人一首 土佐光貞画、石井行宣書 特大1冊  
文政十年／皇都書肆脇坂仙治郎／吉田新兵衛  
\*多色摺。

**文政13年** (1830) **庚寅**

- 82 百人一首 土佐光貞画、石井行宣書 特大1冊  
文政十三年／皇都書肆脇坂仙治郎／吉田新兵衛

Longing for the Refinement of the Heian Court during the Edo Period (KANSAKU Ken'ichi)

\* 多色摺。

**文政年中** (1818 - 30)

- 83 百人一首 歙形蕙齋 (北尾政美) 画 半1冊  
孟竹軒板

\* 未見。『百人一首年表』ニヨル。多色摺ト墨印ノ二種アル由。

**天保6年** (1835) **乙未**

- 84 定家撰錦葉抄 石田玉山画 大1冊

\* 未見。多色摺。

**天保9年** (1838) **戊戌**

- 85 〈姦ノ入〉尊円百人一首 小島岳亭画、小川玉水亭書 大1冊  
天保九年ノ京都中野五郎左衛門ノ遊佐新右衛門板

**嘉永4年** (1851) **辛亥**

- 86 女百人一首 横1冊

嘉永四年ノ江戸芝神明前岡田屋嘉七ノ京橋五郎兵衛町仲屋徳兵衛

\* 多色摺。

**嘉永7年** (1854) **甲寅**

- 87 歌仙部類抄 女房部 橋本直香著、高島千春等画 大2冊  
無刊記

\* 薰園蔵板。

**安政3年** (1856) **丙辰**

- 88 定家撰錦葉抄 石田玉山画 大1冊

\* 未見。多色摺。

## 2. Characteristics and Trends

There are a total of 88 works in the chronology (12 of which are multi-colored prints). Consequently, each item in A: book size, B: publisher, C: book cover, D: artist, and E: multi-colored print will be examined to look for overall trends.

### A: Book Size

Even today, the size of a book such as *kikuban* 菊判, *shirokuban* 四六判, *shinsho* 新書, and *bunkobon* 文庫本 naturally defines (or is linked to) its contents. And it is the same with printed books published in the Edo period. So it is not good to underestimate the size of books. In the case of printed books with *kasen-e*, the first to be published was 1 *Sanjūrokkasen (kōetsubon* 光悦本<sup>3</sup>) of the *sagabon* version which is an extra large book (*tokuōhon* 特大本, roughly 30 cm or more in length x 21 cm or more in width) measuring 35.3 cm in length and 25.1 cm in width (newly acquired by The National Institute of Japanese Literature 国文学研究資料館, others are included in Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫 [3Bb4] and so on.) It is a truly imposing book with a rich and decorative calligraphy in the style of HON'AMI Kōetsu 本阿弥光悦<sup>4</sup> (1558–1637), accompanied by large *kasen-e (agedatami* 上畳).

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<sup>3</sup> In the following, when citing illustrated books with *kasen-e*, the serial numbers and book titles in the chronological table ( [ ] and *tsunogaki* 角書 are deleted as appropriate) are used.

<sup>4</sup> HAYASHI Susumu 林進. “Tenri toshokan shozō no sagabon *Sanjūrokkasen* utaawase: sono ikyobon to honbun hanshita no hissha ni tsuite.” 天理図書館所蔵の嵯峨本『三十六人歌合』—その依拠本と本文版下の筆者について—*Biblia* ビブリア Vol. 127 (May 2007). HAYASHI proposes a new theory that the *waka* text of *sagabon Sanjūrokkasen* (Tenri Central Library Collection) is based on *Hyakunin isshu / Shunzei sanjūrokkasen* 百人一首・俊成三十六人歌合 (in the possession of the SUMINOKURA family, in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum) transcribed by SUMINOKURA Soan 角倉素庵 (1571–1632).



2 三十六歌仙 (素庵本)



1 三十六歌仙 (光悦本)  
(国文学研究資料館蔵)



16 百人一首 (跡見学園女子大学図書館蔵)

\* 『百人一首展図録』(跡見学園短期大学図書館編刊、1990) より転載



After the publication of **2 *Sanjūrokkasen*** (*soanbon* 素庵本, private collection), which is estimated to have been published during the Kan'ei era (1624–1644), the publication of large books (*ōhon* 大本, roughly 24 to 28 cm in length and 17 to 19 cm in width) continued for a while. Sometimes, half paper book (*hanshibon* 半紙本, roughly 21 to 23 cm in length and 15 to 16 cm width) such as **9 *Shakkyō sanjūrokkasen*** 釈教三十六哥仙 (published in Kanbun 1/1661) and **10 *Kasen shichishu*** 歌仙七種 (published in Kanbun 1/1661, in the collection of the National Institute of Japanese Literature), were published. However, the standard size throughout the Edo period was *ōhon*, as expected. This can be said to be a manifestation of its dignity as a book about *waka* (*kasho* 歌書) with illustrations.

One of the most interesting things is that each of the following book sizes can be found; two horizontal books (*yokohon* 横本) such as **16 *Hyakunin isshu*** (published around the Kanbun era [1661–1673]) and **86 *Onna hyakunin isshu*** 女百人一首 (Kaei 4/1851), four extra small books (*tokukohon* 特小本) such as **33 *Onna kasenshō*** 女哥仙鈔 (Jōkyō 5/1688), **34 *Onna kasen eshō*** 女哥仙繪抄 (Genroku 2/1689), **56 *Sanjūrokkasen*** (Kyōhō era [1716–1736]) and **61 *Ogura hyakunin isshu*** (Hōreki 4/1754), and one accordion book (*orihon* 折本) such as **78 *Hyakunin isshu kasen-e*** 百人一首歌仙繪.

**16 *Hyakunin isshu***, published around the Kanbun era, is in the style of *otogizōshi* 御伽草子, 15.8 cm in length and 22.7 cm in width, and is the only surviving copy in the collection of the Atomi University Library 跡見学園女子大学図書館. **33 *Onna kasenshō*** is *tokukohon* and is a very lovely size (10.2 cm in length and 7.3 cm width). This is a solitary copy (private collection), but there are a later impression (*kōinbon* 後印本) printed in Genroku 2/1689 (Kinjō Gakuin University Library Collection 金城学院大学図書館) and another *kōinbon* without colophon (owned by YANAGISAWA Masaki 柳沢昌紀). These *tokukohon* are unique and outstanding because there is not a

single book among printed books of *kasho*<sup>5</sup> in the early Edo period that has been identified as *tokukohon* before these books (Later, an illustrated *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草 was published in Genroku 6/1693 which is two-volume *tokukohon*.) The colophon only lists the location as *Dōdabō shoshi* 銅駝坊書肆, so the publisher is unknown (The first thing that comes to mind when thinking of *Dōdabō* is MURAKAMI Kanbee 村上勘兵衛 at Heiraku-ji 平楽寺 Temple, but there is no proof of that.) Slightly later in time, **56 *Sanjūrokkasen*** is even smaller, 7.7 cm in length and 5.7 cm width (solitary copy, private collection). **61 *Ogura hyakunin isshu*** is 8.0 cm in length and 5.1 cm width. The other two are so adorable that they could be called miniature books (*mamehon* 豆本). Usually, most of these *mamehon Hyakunin isshu* do not have publication information, and they are thought to have been produced as part of the card game (*karuta* カルタ), so this kind of *mamehon Hyakunin isshu* with publication information is relatively rare. This book reads *kyūhan* 求版, so the woodblocks were sold to another publisher. It is assumed that the first impression was published around the Kyōhō era, the same time as **56 *Sanjūrokkasen***. **78 *Hyakunin isshu kasen-e*** published in Bunka 13/1816, is a small type of *orihon* and 16.7 cm in length and 7.5 cm in width (collection of the National Institute of Japanese Literature). Since the original title is not known, the title was adopted from the title written on the book cover.

It should also be noted that in the late Edo period, *tokuōhon* such as **75 *Hyakunin isshu*** published in Bunka 5/1808 appeared (According to the first impression in the private collection, this is 30.2 cm in length and 21.7 cm in width. There is also *tokuōhon* **85 *Son'en hyakunin isshu*** 尊円百人一首 [It is mentioned in *Hyakunin isshu nenpyō*, but it has not been examined for this study yet].) In fact, this book is a vivid,

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<sup>5</sup> In this section, the scope of *kasho* is loosely defined to include narratives, annotations, travelogues, and essays, as appropriate.

multi-colored printing with large *kasen-e*, and it has a luxurious decoration that gives it a solid and exceptional appearance. It deserves to be the most preeminent of all the books with *kasen-e* published in the Edo period.

B: Publisher—publications made in *kamigata* (*kamigataban* 上方版) and made in Edo (*edoban* 江戸版) \**Kamigata* refers to present-day Kyoto and Osaka.

Four early publications, **1 *Sanjūrokkasen* (*kōetsubon*)**, **2 *Sanjūrokkasen* (*soanbon*)**, **3 *Hyakunin isshu* (*soanbon*)**, and **4 *Hyakunin isshu***, do not have any publication information. The first book for which there is publication information is **5 *Ogurayama Hyakunin isshu*** 小倉山百人一首, whose publication record just reads *published in January of Kan'ei 16/1639, year of tsuchinotō*, but the publisher's name is not included (solitary copy in Kanbara Collection at the Kagawa University Library 香川大学附属図書館神原文庫). These are all thought to be published in Kyoto (*kyōban* 京版<sup>6</sup>). Incidentally, **4 *Hyakunin isshu*** in the collection of the Atomi University Library, is a solitary copy (Although there is HAYASHI Tadamasa's 林忠正 collector seal [square and red characters], is this seal a fake?<sup>7</sup>) This is similar to **5 *Ogurayama Hyakunin isshu***, the difference being with or without the reading characters (*furigana* ふりがな), and it seems that it was printed with the same woodblocks and that only the illustration part was newly engraved. (It is almost like the same image, with only slight differences in the faces.)

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<sup>6</sup> *Kyōban* refers to books produced and published in Kyoto. This is often used to indicate the superiority of a publication over one published elsewhere (SUZUKI Toshiyuki 鈴木俊幸. “Kyōban.” 京版 In *Nihon kotenseki shoshigaku jiten* 日本古典籍書誌学辞典 [Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten]).

<sup>7</sup> Based on NAKANO Mitsutoshi's 中野三敏 “Kindai zōshoinfu.” first volume 近代蔵書印譜初編 In *Nihon shoshigaku taikai* 日本書誌学大系 (Tokyo: Seishōdō shoten, 1984).



4 百人一首 (跡見学園女子大学図書館蔵) \*前掲図録より転載



5 小倉山百人一首 (香川大学附属図書館神原文庫蔵)

The first woodblock-printed book with *kasen-e* that included the year of publication and the name of the publisher in the colophon is **6 *Shin hyakunin isshu***, and it was published in Meireki 3/1657 by TANIOKA Shichizaemon 谷岡七左衛門 (This is also *kyōban*.) This is *ishu Hyakunin isshu*, chosen by ASHIKAGA Yoshihisa 足利義尚 (1465–1489) and modeled after the *Hyakunin isshu* chosen by FUJIWARA no Teika 藤原定家 (1162–1241). ASHIKAGA Yoshihisa chose one *waka* each from one hundred poets including the Emperor MONMU 文武天皇 (683–707) to Emperor HANAZONO 花園天皇 (1297–1348), who were not included in Teika’s *Hyakunin isshu*. The original title slip reads, *Nakano-in Michimura kō onhitsu* 中院通村公御筆, as transcribed by NAKANO-in Michimura (1588–1653). The calligraphic style is noteworthy for its neatness and serenity as the NAKANO-in style which is inherited from the Sesonji style 世尊寺流. The publisher, TANIOKA Shichizaemon, was located in Shimogoryo-mae, Kyoto, and published **13 *Buke hyakunin isshu*** in Kanbun 6/1666 and many other *kasho* from the Jōō (1652–1655) to the Kanbun era. This is followed by **7 *Onna kasen*** 女哥仙 published by NODA Yahyōenōjō 野田弥兵衛尉. According to *Kaitei zōho kinsei shorin hanmoto sōran* 改訂増補近世書林版元総覧, since NODA Yahyōenōjō of Edo did not start business until the Genroku era (1688–1704), this NODA Yahyōenōjō is presumed to be TACHIBANAYA Yahee 橘屋弥兵衛 (NODA-shi 野田氏) located in Kyō teramachi nijō sagaru. The next **8 *Hyakunin isshu taisei***<sup>8</sup> 百人一首大成 was published by YAMADA Saburōbee 山田三郎兵衛 from Kyō teramachi. TAKADA Yahee 高田弥兵衛, who published **9 *Shakkyō sanjūrokkasen***, and HAYASHI Izuminojō 林和泉掾 (Izumoji shōhakudō 出雲寺松栢堂), who published **10 *Kasen shichishu***, are also Kyoto-based publishers. This study concludes that the overwhelming majority of early printed books with *kasen-e* are *kyōban*. It is an expected conclusion, but one that needs to be emphasized again.

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<sup>8</sup> ARIYOSHI Tamotsu. *Eiinbon Hyakunin isshu taisei* 影印本百人一首大成 (Tokyo: Shintensha, 1994). The photocopies and transliterations are included in ARIYOSHI’s book (The original is in the Atomi University Library).

Under these circumstances, it is important to note that in Kanbun 12/1672, **14** *Buke Hyakunin isshu* was published by TSURUYA Kiemon 鶴屋喜右衛門. This TSURUYA is considered to be an Edo branch of TSURUYA in Kyoto (Edo Ōdenmachō sanchō-me), and thus this book is the first *edoban*<sup>9</sup> of printed book with *kasen-e* (The original title slip on the left shoulder of the front cover reads *Chūiri kenzu Buke hyakunin isshu zen* <注入／顕図> 武家百人一首 全 and is in a decorative frame called *sumitori komochi* 隅とり子持ち.) This is *ishu Hyakunin isshu* selected by SAKAKIBARA Tadatsugu 榊原忠次 (1605–1665), modeled after *Hyakunin isshu* selected by Teika, with one *waka* for each of the 100 warriors, from Tsunemotoō 経基王 (?–961) to ASHIKAGA Yoshitaka 足利義尊 (1413–ca. 1442). The original was published with *kasen-e* in Kyoto in Kanbun 6/1666 (the publisher was TANIOKA Shichizaemon), and its *kōinbon* was published in Genroku 16/1703 (**50** *Buke hyakunin isshu*). However, this book published in Kanbun 12/1672 is a different edition and is noteworthy for its *kasen-e* by HISHIKAWA Moronobu 菱川師宣 (?–1694). The style of *kasen-e*, which is still in the study stage, is said to be similar to that of **3** *Hyakunin isshu* (*soanbon*), but this book, which is clearly labeled as *Artist: Hishikawa Kichibei* 絵師菱川吉兵衛 in the back, is also the first picture book<sup>10</sup> with Moronobu's name on

<sup>9</sup> The term *edoban* generally refers to books published in Edo (city), but it especially refers to books published in Edo through the Genroku era (ICHIKO Natsuo. “Edoban.” 江戸版 In *Nihon kotenseki shoshigaku jiten*). Not only for *kasho*, but also for the entire *edoban*, refer to the three articles by KASHIWAZAKI Junko 柏崎順子—“Edoban kō.” 江戸版考 *Hitotsubashi ronsō* —橋論叢 Vol. 134-4 (October 2005), “Edoban kō sono 2.” 江戸版考其二 *Jinbun/Shizen kenkyū* first issue 人文・自然研究創刊号 (Hitotsubashi University, March 2007), and “Edoban kō sono 3.” 江戸版考其三 *Jinbun/Shizen kenkyū* Vol. 4 (Hitotsubashi University, March 2010). In addition, the latest noteworthy achievement is YANAGISAWA Masaki's “*Buke gunkan to Kokon gunkan: Korō ikusa monogatari* no edoban kankō jijō.” 『武家軍鑑』と『古今軍鑑』—『古老軍物語』の江戸版刊行事情 *Chūkyō daigaku bungakubu kiyō* 中京大学文学部紀要 Vol. 44-2 (March 2010) and “Edoban *Ukiyo banashi* no shuppan to sonogo.” 江戸版『浮世ばなし』の出版とその後 *Tōkai kinsei* 東海近世 Vol. 20 (July 2012).

<sup>10</sup> MIZUTANI Futō 水谷不倒. *Kohan shōsetsu sashiga shi*. 古版小説挿画史 (Tokyo:

it, and should not be overlooked. It should also be noted once again that Moronobu's illustration work started from traditional *kasen-e*.

In the Enpō era (1673–1681), the works published in Ozaka (*ōzakaban* 大坂版) finally appeared. It is **18 *Tōsho / Eshō Hyakunin issu*** <頭書／絵抄> 百人一首 published in Enpō 1/1673 by YAMAMOTO Rihee 山本理兵衛 (YAMAMOTO Rihee is identified in Kyoto and Ozaka at the time, but this is thought to be an Ozaka publisher.<sup>11</sup>) The only surviving copy is in the British Library 大英図書館, which was Kaempfer's former collection.

In the following year, Enpō 2/1674, **19 *Tōsho / Eshō Kasen*** <頭書／絵抄> 哥仙 was published by KUROKAWA Shirōbee 黒川四郎兵衛 in Shirokanechō and it is *edoban*. In Enpō 6/1678, *edoban* **22 *Hyakunin issu zōsanshō*** 百人一首像讚抄 was also published by Urokogata-ya 鱗形屋, Ōdenmachō 3-chōme. This is the first publication of *kasho* by this publisher, who produced many works by HISHIKAWA Moronobu (Urokogata-ya only had a trade name, not a full name.) Also, at the end of the colophon of this book, it reads *Bushū kōjō no kagu yamato eshi: Hishikawa Kichibee Moronobu* 武州江城之下久大和絵師／菱川吉兵衛師宣, so this was the first printed book<sup>12</sup> to clearly mention the name “Moronobu.” (All signatures prior to

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Ōokayama shoten, 1935). URUSHIYAMA Matashirō. “Ehon nenpyō.” total of six volumes 絵本年表全六卷 In *Nihon shoshigaku taikai* (Tokyo: Seishōdō shoten, 1983-1988). MATSUDAIRA Susumu 松平進. “Moronobu Sukenobu ehon shoshi.” 師宣祐信絵本書誌 In *Nihon shoshigaku taikai* (Tokyo: Seishōdō shoten, 1988).

<sup>11</sup> Based on SHIOMURA Kō's 塩村耕 “Genroku matsunen izen no ozaka hanmoto to shuppanbutsu ichiran.” 元禄末年以前の大坂版元と出版物一覧 In *Kohan Osaka annaiki shūsei* 古版大阪案内集成 (Osaka: Izumi shoin, 1999).

<sup>12</sup> ASANO Shūgō 浅野秀剛. *Hishikawa Moronobu to ukiyo-e no reimei*. 菱川師宣と浮世絵の黎明 (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 2008) p. 29.

this were HISHIKAWA Kichibee.) This is an excellent work with text that includes some of HOSOKAWA Yūsai's 細川幽齋 (1534–1610) annotations from *Hyakunin issshu shō* 百人一首抄, and possesses added elegant illustrations by HISHIKAWA Moronobu (Yūsai's *Hyakunin issshu shō* has several versions including the one published by SUGITA Ryōan Gen'yo 杉田良庵玄与 in Kan'ei 8/1631.) Although it is well known, there are relatively few existing copies (*denpon* 伝本) of the original published in Enpō 6/1678 (Prior to this, another edition with different illustrations was published by YAMAMOTO Michihisa 山本道久 in Kyoto in Enpō 3/1675.) However, since there are a wide variety of *kōinbon* and later editions with newly curved woodblocks (*kaikokubon* 改刻本), they will be introduced in the next paragraph.<sup>13</sup>

First of all, a new edition with the new woodblocks (*shinkokubon* 新刻本) was published by Shorin OGI-shi 書林荻氏 at Ozaka uemachi (Ogino [Hon'ya] Hachirōbee on the Shianbashi Bridge) in Enpō 7/1679, with a new title, *Shinsen / eshō Hyakunin issshu* <新撰／絵抄> 百人一首 (23 *Shinsen / eshō Hyakunin issshu*, *ōhon*, one volume). Four of the books actually seen for this study (owned by the Atomi University Library, Kitō Collection at the Kansai University 関西大学図書館鬼洞文庫, the Toyo University Library 東洋大学図書館, and Private Collection), had changed covers, and the original title slips are unknown. At first glance, these books may appear to be a reproduction of the original (*kabusebori* かぶせ彫り), but they are *kaikokubon* which were cleverly made. The length from the first letter to the last letter

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<sup>13</sup> It is described in KANSAKU Ken'ichi's 神作研一 “Kasho no kan/in/shū: *Hyakunin issshu zōsanshō* no baai.” 歌書の刊・印・修—『百人一首像讀抄』の場合 In *Shūka to image edo no hanpon / ichimai zuri ni miru yume* 詩歌とイメージ 江戸の版本・一枚摺にみる夢 supervised by NAKANO Mitsutoshi and edited by KŌNO Minobu 河野実 (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2013). It is also mentioned in KANSAKU's “Kanki kasho no kan/in/shū.” 刊記 歌書の刊・印・修 In *Kotenseki kenkyū gaidansu* 古典籍研究ガイドンス edited by Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2012).





(*jikō* 字高) throughout the entire volume is shorter than the original (about 1 cm at maximum). The title in the preface was changed to *Shinsen eshō hyakunin isshu Jo* 新撰繪抄百人一首序, *furigana* increased or decreased, and at the end of the colophon, the words *Bushū kōjō no kagu yamato eshi: Hishikawa Kichibee Moronobu* 武州江城之下久大和繪師／菱川吉兵衛師宣 and others below in the original were removed and replaced with *Enpō 7 Hitsuji 10-gatsu kichijitsu / Ōzaka uemachi/ Shorin Ogino-shi hankō* 延宝7年未十月吉日／大坂上町／書林荻氏板行. In this way, they carefully concealed the fact that this book was imitating the original published by Urokogata-ya that Moronobu had illustrated. Normally, *edoban* is characterized by many reprints of the *kamigataban*.<sup>14</sup> However, it is rare for the *edoban* to be the first, and for the *ōzakaban* to be a new edition of *edoban* like this book. It is thought that the publisher tried to take advantage of the popularity of Moronobu, but it seems that it did not spread as widely as they had hoped, and there are few *denpon*. Then, in Tenna 3/1683, **30** *Hyakunin isshu zōsanshō* was published from the same Edo publisher, Urokogata-ya as the original publication. This is not *kōinbon*, but was made by Urokogata-ya who carved new woodblocks (It is said that the original woodblocks were lost in a fire in Edo in Tenna 2/1682.) *Jikō* has been shrunk in all the volumes, and *kasen-e* and the picture depicting the meaning of the poem (*kai-e* 歌意繪) are slightly smaller, and the number of *furigana* has been increased or decreased. Published by Hōrinken 朋林軒 (location unknown) in the Genroku 5/1692, this is also *shinkokubon*. *Jikō* in this edition is even shorter than the Tenna 3/1683 edition, and the *furigana* have been increased or decreased. In more recent years, in Meiji 16/1883, the MIURA

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<sup>14</sup> SHIOMURA Kō. “Furoku Kinsei zenki edo no shuppankai ni tsuite: Tsuketari, Genroku matsunen izen no edo hanmoto to shuppanbutsu ichiran.” 付録 近世前期江戸の出版界について —付、元禄末年以前の江戸版元と出版物一覧— In *Kinsei zenki bungaku kenkyū: denki/shoshi/shuppan* 近世前期文学研究—伝記・書誌・出版— (Tokyo: Wakakusa shobō, 2004). Refer to SHIOMURA’s “Kinsei bungaku to Moronobu ehon.” 近世文学と師宣絵本 *In Kokubungaku* 国文学 Vol. 41-4 (Tokyo: Gakutōsha, March 1996).

Gensuke 三浦源助 version was published in Gifu Prefecture.

Incidentally, *Hyakunin isshu zōsanshō* has a group of pirated editions (which has been named *kontai keitō* 混態系統) that have a jumble of styles. The preface, written by KITAMURA Kigin 北村季吟 (1624–1705) in September of Kanbun 12/1672, and *Hyakunin isshu zōho eshō hanrei* 百人一首増補絵抄凡例 were added to the books in this group, and the title was also changed. The first of these, **53 *Kisen hyakunin isshu eshō kōmoku*** 基箭百人一首絵抄綱目 published in Hōei 5/1708, is a reproduction of **23 *Shinsen eshō hyakunin isshu*** with some revisions. **60 *Kisen hyakunin isshu shō*** 基箭百人一首抄, published in Kan’ei 3/1626, and **64 *Kisen hyakunin isshu shō***, published in Hōreki 10/1760, are later prints with repaired blocks (*kōshūbon* 後修本) of **53 *Kisen hyakunin isshu eshō kōmoku***.

Furthermore, **57 *Hyakunin isshu zōsanshō***, which appeared around the time of the Kyōhō era, is a small book (*kohon* 小本) and *kōinbon* of the one published in Enpō 3/1675. And it is *kōshūbon* of *kohon* published by SAKAIYA Jinbee 堺屋仁兵衛 and Gihee 儀兵衛 in Enkyō 3/1746 under the system of the collaborative publishing by multiple publishers (*aiiban* 相合版). *Zōsanshō* and Moronobu’s illustration work will be discussed later in the section of “D: Artist”.

There are only three books produced by two publishers in Edo and Kyoto (*nitoban* 二都版), namely, **32 *Onna hyakunin isshu***, published in Jōkyō 5/1688, **39 *Oie hyakunin isshu*** 後家百人一首, published in Genroku 5/1692, and **41 *Tōsho Hyakunin isshu eshō*** <頭／書> 百人一首絵抄, published in Genroku 6/1693. The book produced by three publishers in Edo, Kyoto and Ozaka (*santoban* 三都版) is not

available until **70 *Sanjūrokkasen*** published in Tenmei 9/1789.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, it must be reaffirmed that woodblock-printed books with *kasen-e* were generally published by a single publisher, and that *kyōban* was the most common among them.

C: Cover

**29 *Kasen kingyokushō*** 哥仙金玉抄, written by BANNAI San'unshi 坂内山雲子<sup>16</sup> (c. 1644-c. 1711) and published in Tenna 3/1683, is an annotation on *waka* written by *sanjūrokkasen*. This is *kyōban* by KANAYA Han'emon 金谷半右衛門. The first *waka* is *Honobono to / akashi no ura no / asagiri ni / shimagakureyuku / fune oshizo omou* ほのぼのとあかしのうらのあさ霧に鳴がくれ行船おしぞ思ふ by KAKINOMOTO no Hitomaro 柿本人丸 (birth and death dates unknown) and the last *waka* is *Akikaze no / fuku ni tsukete mo / towanu kana / ogi no ha naraba / oto wa shitemashi* 秋風の吹につけてもとはぬかなおぎの葉ならば音はしてまし by NAKATSUKASA 中務 (birth and death dates unknown). In this book, *sanjūrokkasen* are divided into left and right sections like a poetry contest (*utaawase* 歌合), the representative *waka* are written in each line with variations of height and width, and the characters are scattered in the middle row. The remaining four *waka* are arranged in the upper row as *kakikae uta* かきかえ哥. In addition, there is a short biography of the poet in the upper row, and *kasen-e* and *kai-e* are positioned on the left and right

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<sup>15</sup> As for *nitoban* and *santoban*, refer to ICHIKO Natsuo's "Nitoban/santoban no hassei to sono imi: Saikakubon ni sokushite." 二都板・三都板の発生とその意味—西鶴本に即して In *Kinsei shoki bungaku to shuppan bunka* (Tokyo: Wakakusa shobō, 1998).

<sup>16</sup> Refer to SHIOMURA Kō's "Zokugakusha San'unshi, Sakauchi Naoyori no den ni tsuite." 俗学者山雲子、坂内直頼の伝について In *Kinsei zenki bungaku kenkyū: denki/shoshi/shuppan* (Tokyo: Wakakusa shobō, 2004) and "Saikaku dōjidai noinja sakka San'unshi no aratani hanmei shita chojutsu." 西鶴同時代の隠者作家山雲子の新たに判明した著述 *Nihon kosho tsūshin* 日本古書通信 Vol. 74-10 (October 2009).



29 舟仙金玉抄



23 新撰絵抄百人一首



22 百人一首像讚抄

sides of the lower row of the page. On the backside of the page, there is an annotation. The book is neatly organized with one *waka* per page (back and front), but it is a little disappointing that it is not a double-page spread. It should be noted that both *kasen-e* and *kai-e* are the same illustrations that were originally included in *Hyakunin isshu zōsanshō* published in Enpō 6/1678. They were used again in *Zōho Hyakunin isshu eshō* 増補百人一首絵抄 published in Enpō 8/1680, and then were used in this book (Those illustrations were appropriated, diverted, and modified.)<sup>17</sup>

There are a total of 10 *denpon* in the Iwase Bunko Library in Nishio City 西尾市 岩瀬文庫 and other collections, so they are not particularly rare. However, one of them which is a first impression (two-*maki*, two volumes) with the original cover, *raimon tsunagiji makiryū* 雷文繫地卷籠, in the possession of a second hand bookstore is notable. The original title slip with the words *Keizu / denki Kasen kingyokushō Jō (Ge)* <系図／伝記> 哥仙金玉抄 上 (下) written in *shishūsōhen* 四周双辺 style on the left shoulder of the front cover, is still intact in full. Some books in private collections (two books combined into one, but the original cover is used) and books in the National Diet Library 国立国会図書館 also have this cover. As is well known, this

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<sup>17</sup> TANO Shinji 田野慎二. “*Kasen kingyokushō* no sashie: Hyakunin isshu-e ri-yō no jittai.” 『歌仙金玉抄』の挿絵 — 「百人一首絵」利用の実態 — *Hiroshima kokusai daigaku iryō fukushi gakka kiyō* 広島国際大学医療福祉学科紀要 Vol. 3 (March 2007). It seems that it was *matsueban* 松会版 that had the greatest impact on the later generations. *Matsueban* is a different edition with a different size, and unlike the first impression, it had one *waka* per page spread. The *waka* text is the same as the first impression, but *kasen-e* and *kai-e* are different. Many of *kai-e* in *Kasen yamatoshō* 歌仙大和抄 published in Genroku 7/1694 are similar to those in *matsueban*. *Kai-e* of *Kasen shūsuishō* 歌仙拾穂抄 published in Shōtoku 4/1714 was printed with newly curved woodblocks based on *kai-e* of *matsueban*. Furthermore, there are traces of its use as a reference material for *ukiyo-e Mitate sanjūrokkasen* 見立三十六歌撰 published in Kaei 5/1852. See YAMASHITA Noriko's 山下則子 “Yakusha-e *Mitate sanjūrokkasen* ni tsuite: Bungaku to kabuki kara.” 役者絵『見立三十六歌撰』について—文学と歌舞伎から— *Kabuki kenkyū to hiyō* 歌舞伎 研究と批評 Vol. 49 (Kabuki gakkai, December 2012) for more on this.

*raimon tsunagiji makiryū* cover is the most famous among the covers of printed books,<sup>18</sup> and it became popular in Edo around the Kanbun era, and eventually began to be used in *kamigata* in the Tenna (1681–1684) and Jōkyō era (1684–1688). The publisher, KANAYA Han’emon (KOSAJI Munesada 小佐治宗貞), is a Kyoto-based publisher with the store name Seibundō 整文堂, so the use of this cover should be noted as an early example at *kamigata*.

#### D: Artists

In this chapter, the six artists such as HISHIKAWA Moronobu, NISHIKAWA Sukenobu 西川祐信 (1671–1750), HASEGAWA Mitsunobu 長谷川光信 (birth and death dates unknown), KATSUKAWA Shunshō 勝川春章 (1726–1792), TOSA Mitsusada 土佐光貞 (1738–1806), and KITA Busei 喜多武清 (1776–1856) will be focused on.<sup>19</sup>

#### D-1 HISHIKAWA Moronobu

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<sup>18</sup> NAKANO Mitsutoshi. “Makiryūmonbyōshi.” 卷竜文表紙 In *Edo no hanpon* 江戸の板本 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1995). KIMURA Miyogo 木村三四吾. “Matsunoha kō.” 『松の葉』考 In *Kimura Miyogo chosakushū* Vol. 3 木村三四吾著作集第三卷 (Tokyo: Yagi shoten, 1998). KAWAGUCHI Gen 川口元. “Hyōshi zuhan / daiji kaisetsu.” 表紙図版・題字解説 *Tōkai kinsei first issue* 東海近世創刊号 (March 1988). MORI Shirō’s 母利司朗 latest article, “Genroku izen no ōzakaban ōraimono.” 元禄以前の大坂版往来物 *Tōkai kinsei* Vol. 18 (May 2009).

<sup>19</sup> For biographical information such as births and deaths, I referred to dictionaries and encyclopedias such as *Nihon koten bungaku daijiten* 日本古典文学大辞典, *Kokusho jinmei jiten* 国書人名辞典, *Kokushi daijiten* 国史大辞典, *Genshoku ukiyo-e daihyakka jiten* 原色浮世絵大百科事典, and so on. When necessary, I referred to research books like ASANO’s publication in footnote 12 and the exhibition catalogues such as *Hishikawa Moronobu* (Chiba City Museum of Art, 2000).

Born with the last name FUJIWARA 藤原, and commonly known as Kichibee, he gained the artist name (*gō*号) Yūchiku 友竹. His year of birth unknown, he died on June 4, Genroku 7/1694, at the age of 64 or 65. He was born in Hota village, Heguri county, Awa province. After coming to Edo, he learned painting and made his debut as an illustrator for printed books in the Kanbun era (As mentioned above, the earliest work with his name is **14 *Buke hyakunin isshu*** published in Kanbun 12/1672.) He collaborated with publishers to produce many picture books and illustrated books, and also published one-sheet prints, which opened the door to the development of ukiyo-e 浮世絵. The total number of participation in the publication with *kasen-e* is five, **14 *Buke hyakunin isshu***, **22 *Hyakunin isshu zōsanshō*** (same for **23,30,38**), **24 *Ogurayama hyakunin isshu***, **28 *Onna kasen shinshō*** 女歌仙新抄, and **44 *Sugata-e hyakunin isshu*** 姿絵百人一首.

**22 *Hyakunin isshu zōsanshō*** is *edoban*, published in Enpō 6/1678 by Urokogata-ya, and is a composition full of creativity. The text is at the top of the page, and the illustrations are at the bottom. In other words, a page is divided into two sections: the upper section contains a biography, a family tree, and an annotation in small characters (sometimes the annotation gets too long and continues on to the next page, in which case the next page is just one section), while the lower section is further divided into left and right sections, with *waka* and *kasen-e* on the right and *kai-e* on the left. First of all, the composition of the page itself is innovative. In addition, *waka* and *kasen-e* are surrounded by the frame named *jūkaku* 重郭 (*komochi waku* 子持ち枠) and the upper corners of the left and right sides are decorated frames of *sumitori komochi*. It reminds one of *karuta*. The left *kai-e* is more compact than the right *kasen-e*, with the frame height reduced by about two centimeters (again, using *sumitori komochi* decorative frame). The balance between the rather large *kasen-e* with its elegant expression and *kai-e* with its gentle touch is exquisite. This style, in which not only *kasen-e* but also newer *kai-e* are designed together, is known from *Hyakunin isshu* painting album by



Kanō Tan'yū 狩野探幽 (1602–1674), and also in *Kōrin karuta* 光琳かるた. However, the use of this style in the printed books seems to have been an original idea by Moronobu (At the end of the colophon, it is clearly stated that *the heart of the poem leads to the picture* 歌之心ヲ絵ニ道引, and also *Kenyō eiri Uta no kenzu* 賢容／絵入／哥之／顯図 is written on the original title slip as a title prefix [*tsunogaki* 角書]). Moronobu had already attempted this style in **14 Buke hyakunin isshu** published in Kanbun 12/1672. This style of *kasen-e* + *kai-e* is now called the Moronobu style.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> In the case of *kai-e* only, *Hyakunin isshu kenzu* 百人一首顯図 (which states *Uta no kokoro o e ni shirusu* 歌ノ心ヲ絵ニ記ス) included in the two book catalogs *Wakan shoseki mokuroku* 和漢書籍目録 published around Kanbun 6/1666 and *Zōho shoseki mokuroku* 増補書籍目録 published in Kanbun 10/1670, dating before Kanbun 12/1672 of *Buke hyakunin isshu*, seem to be the earliest. However, their existence is unknown. Refer to YOSHIKAI Naoto's *Hyakunin isshu eno shōtai* 百人一首への招待 (Tokyo: Chikuma shinsho, 1998), which is instruction by FUJISHIMA Aya 藤島綾. In addition, TANO Shinji's presentation on "Hanpon sashie no seisaku hōhō: *Onono Komachi kashū* (mukanki/eiri) *Hyakunin isshu zōsanshō* (Enpō 6 nen kan) no baai." 版本挿絵の制作方法—『小野小町家集』(無刊記・絵入)・『百人一首像讚抄』(延宝六年刊)の場合一—in the core project *Ōchō bungaku no rifu to keishō* 王朝文学の流布と継承 by the National Institute of Japanese Literature at Hiroshima University (December 2007, not present for) also addresses this issue. Around the time of this presentation, it was already summarized in several papers as follows. (1) "Hitomaro-ka Kaizu no ten'yō: *Hyakunin isshu zōsanshō* kara *Kasen kingyokushō* e." 人丸歌「歌意図」の転用—『百人一首像讚抄』から『歌仙金玉抄』へ— *Kodai chūsei kokubungaku* 古代中世国文学 Vol. 23 (March 2007), (2) "*Kasen kingyokushō* no sashie: *Hyakunin isshu-e* ri'yō no jittai." *Hiroshima kokusai daigaku iryō fukushi gakka kiyō* Vol. 3 (March 2007), (3) "*Hyakunin isshu zōho eshō* no chūshaku: *Kisenshō* karano kaitei ni chūmoku shite." 『百人一首増補絵抄』の注釈—「基箭抄」からの改訂に注目して—*Kodai chūsei kokubungaku* Vol. 24 (March 2008) etc. There are many important issues to point out in these articles, such as clarifying for the first time the fact that Moronobu's *Hyakunin isshu* illustrations were used for *Kasen kingyokushō* via illustrated *Kisenshō* 基箭抄. Refer to YOSHIDA Kōichi's "Hyakunin isshu tameiebon/Son'en shinnōbon kō." 百人一首為家本・尊円親王本考 In *Koten shūei* 古典聚英 8 (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1999) and KANSAKU's article in footnote 13 for the issues surrounding *Zōsanshō*'s various editions and their impact to posterity. Also refer to KATŌ Tsugunao's 加藤次直 "Sashie kara yomu hyakunin isshu: *Hyakunin isshu zōsanshō* no sashie no rinri to imi." 挿絵から「読む」百人一首—『百人一首像讚抄』の挿絵の倫理と意味—*Sōgō kyōiku center kiyō* 総合教育センター紀要 Vol. 25 (Tōkai daigaku, March 2005).

For more information on Moronobu's characteristic decorative frames, please refer to IRIGUCHI Atsushi's 入口敦 excellent paper<sup>21</sup> that was recently published.

Speaking of the relationship with *Zōsanshō*, **25 *Zōho hyakunin isshu eshō*** should be mentioned now. This book is a different version of *Hyakunin isshu kisenshō* 百人一首基箭抄, published in Kanbun 13/1673, with a different title and contents and added illustrations, and was published by SAKAIYA Shōbee 堺屋庄兵衛 in Kyoto in Enpō 8/1680. The author, INOUE Shūsen 井上秋扇 (birth and death dates unknown), was born in Mino-Gifu and is known as a haiku poet, a disciple of KITAMURA Kigin. In fact, his biography and activities related to *waka* are still unclear, and he is one of the scholars of classic Japanese literature and culture (*wagakusha* 和学者) in the early Edo period who needs to be researched in the future. The annotation is similar to Yūsai's *Hyakunin issushūshō*, but the illustrations are appropriated from *Zōsanshō* without permission.<sup>22</sup> The similar illustrations are newly carved instead of *kabusebori* (*kōinbon* published in Kyōhō 6/1721 by KASHIWABARAYA Yozaemon 柏原屋与左衛門 in Osaka is also the same as **25 *Zōho hyakunin isshu eshō***.) This is another example of the influence of the illustrations by Moronobu in *Zōsanshō*.

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<sup>21</sup> IRIGUCHI Atsushi. "Moronobu no kumo: Kazari waku shōkō." 師宣の雲—飾り枠小考— *International Symposium Nihon bungaku no sōzōbutsu: shoseki/shahon/emaki* 国際シンポジウム『日本文学の創造物—書籍・写本・絵巻—』SUZUKI Jun, and Melissa McCormick Lead eds. (edited and published by the National Institute for the Humanities and the National Institute of Japanese Literature, 2009).

<sup>22</sup> TANAKA Sōsaku 田中宗作. "Hyakunin isshu kochū no eiri hanpon ni tsuite: Zōsanshō to Kisenshō (Zōho eshō) to o taishō tosite." 百人一首古注の絵入板本について—像讚抄と基箭抄 (増補絵抄) とを対象として—In *Hyakunin isshu kochū no kenkyū* 百人一首古注の研究 (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1966). KATAGIRI Yōichi 片桐洋一. "Hyakunin isshu to Moronobu no Zōsanshō." 「百人一首」と師宣の「像讚抄」In *Hanpon bunko* 版本文庫 Vol. 9 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1975). NOMURA Takatsugu 野村貴次. *Kiginbon eno michinori* 季吟本への道のり (Tokyo: Shintensha, 1983). See also YOSHIDA Kōichi's book and TANO Shinji's article (3) in footnote 20.

**24 *Ogurayama hyakunin isshu***, published by Hondon-ya 本問屋 in Enpō 8/1680, is also *edoban*. In contrast to *Zōsanshō*, which has much content including biographies, annotations, and *kai-e*; this book is simple, containing only *waka* and *kasen-e* on one page. The illustrations are large and imposing, and their power is unparalleled compared to other printed books with *kasen-e*. It is likely that readers of the time were greatly shocked by this large *kasen-e*. There are only a few *denpon*. Only the ones in the collection of the National Institute of Japanese Literature, National Diet Library and the Print Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France フランス国立図書館 館版画部 are known.

**28 *Onna kasen shinshō***<sup>23</sup>, published by Yamagata-ya 山形屋 in Tenna 2/1682, is also *edoban*. It lists 36 female poets (*nyōbō* 女房), including ONO no Komachi 小野小町 (birth and death dates unknown). A page is divided into three sections, with *kai-e* on the upper section, and a large *kasen-e* on the lower section. The annotations are limited to about five lines in small characters on the right side of *kasen-e*. In terms of space, it is clear that the illustrations are the main focus, and the text is subdued, making the book look more like a picture book than an illustrated book. There are only a few *denpon*. Only the ones in the collection of the Tenri Central Library 天理図書館, University of Tsukuba Library 筑波大学附属図書館 and a second hand bookstore.

**44 *Sugata-e hyakunin isshu*** is *edoban*, published by KINOSHITA Jin'emon 木下甚右衛門 in Genroku 8/1695. Moronobu died a year before this, in Genroku 7/1694, so this is his last work.<sup>24</sup> In this book, *kai-e* is stylishly depicted, inspired by *Kyūsoku*

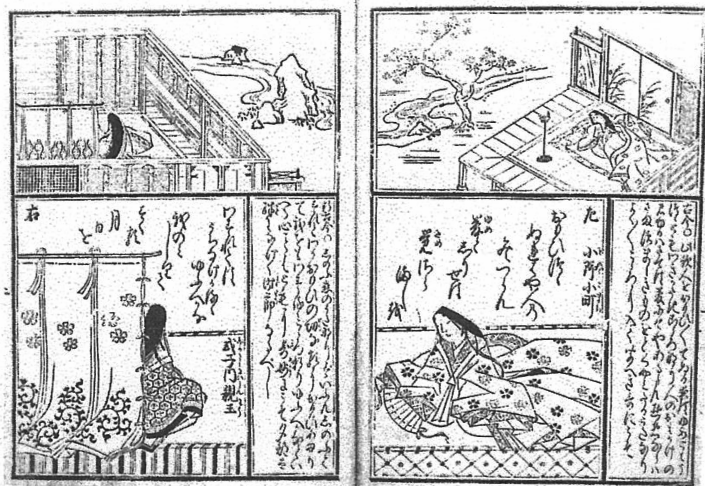
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<sup>23</sup> MATSUDAIRA Susumu, ed. “Moronobu Masanobu ehonshū.” 師宣政信絵本集 In *Tenri toshokan zenpon sōsho washo no bu* 天理図書館善本叢書 and 書之部 67 (Tokyo: Yagi shoten, 1983) includes photocopies (The original is in the collection of the Tenri Central Library.)

<sup>24</sup> This is not included in MATSUDAIRA Susumu’s “Moronobu Sukenobu ehon shoshi.” In *Nihon shoshigaku taikai* (Tokyo: Seishōdō shoten, 1988).



24 小倉山百人一首 (国文学研究資料館蔵)



28 女歌仙新抄 (古書肆蔵)

*kasen* 休息歌仙 by NONOGUCHI Ryūho 野々口立圃 (1595–1669). The upper part of the page has text, and the lower part has illustrations, but the majority of the page is taken up by *kai-e* (genre pictures). The figure of a person with movement is extremely graceful, and Moronobu demonstrates his mature techniques during his later period. This shows the artistic flavor as a picture book. Although it is difficult to regard this as a printed book with *kasen-e*, it has been purposely added to the chronology because it is recognized to be related to *Kyūsoku kasen*.

## D-2 NISHIKAWA Sukenobu

Sukenobu was a leading authority on *kamigata* ukiyo-e, and commonly known as Ukyō 右京. His *gō* were Tansei 丹青, Bunkadō 文華堂, and Jitokusō 自得叟. In his later years, he was called Saiō 西翁. He was born in Kyoto in Kanbun 11/1671 (fourth son of NISHIKAWA Sukeharu 西川祐春 [birth and death dates unknown], a country samurai from Ōmi Imazu) and died on July 19, Kan'en 3/1750, at the age of 80. He learned painting from KANŌ Einō 狩野永納 (1631–1697), and from around Genroku 12/1699, he teamed up with his friend, HACHIMONJIYA Jishō 八文字屋自笑 (?–1745), and created actors' reputation books (*yakusha hyōbanki* 役者評判記) and *ukiyozōshi* 浮世草子. He much work on kimono pattern books (*hiinagatabon* 雛形本), too. He later became a picture book artist and created more than 60 picture books, nearly half of which are classic literature picture books. One of his representative works, *Ehon ogurayama* 繪本小倉山 (published in Kan'en 2/1749), is a simple explanation of 40 *waka* from the Emperor TENJI 天智天皇 (626–671) to TAIRA no Kanemori 平兼盛 (?–990) for women and children. This one does not have any *kasen-e*, but it is a wonderful work with illustrations in fashionable style.

**68 *Kayō hyakunin issbu taisei*** 花陽百人一首大成 is an excellent work of educational picture books for women. It was published on January of An'ei 10/1781



68 花陽百人一首大成



62 団扇百人一首大成 (跡見学園女子大学図書館蔵) \* 前掲図録より転載

(the name of era was changed to Tenmei on April 2nd), about 30 years after Sukenobu's death, by *aiiban* including KIKUYA Shichirōbee 菊屋七郎兵衛 in Kyoto. In the colophon, it reads *Gazu Nishikawa Sukenobu* 画図 西川祐信, and the preface written by Kakō 可耕 (birth and death dates unknown) reads, *Ogura no sansō shikishi no waka wa hisakata no kumo no ue yori shizu no me no warawa mademo zushi manabinureba utagokoro o satoshi yasukarashimen to Nishikawa Sukenobu e ni arawashi* (the rest is omitted) 小倉の山莊色紙の和哥は、久かたの雲のうへより賤の女のわらはまでも誦し学びぬれば、哥ごゝろをさとしやすからしめむと西川祐信絵に顕し(後略), and proudly proclaimed that this was a picture book illustrated by Sukenobu (*sukenobu ehon* 祐信絵本). It was transcribed by KINBARA Senryūshi 金原潜龍子, whose biography is unknown. The annotations are simple and didactic in tone. It hesitated to identify this as illustrated by Sukenobu,<sup>25</sup> but the graceful and plump curves of the figures have the taste of a *Sukenobu ehon*. The occasional genre paintings are also skillfully done, and although they are printed in only black ink, they are beautifully done. There are few *denpon*. It can be found in the Kanbara Collection at the Kagawa University Library, Kansai University Library 関西大学図書館, the Richard Lane Collection at the Honolulu Museum of Art ホノルル美術館リチャード・レインコレクション, and the collection of URUSHIYAMA Matashirō 漆山又四郎 (not yet examined for this study). There is also a book with a decorative cover in a private collection, formerly owned by the MINAMI-MITSUI family 南三井家, which is in a superb state of preservation.

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<sup>25</sup> Same as footnote 24. KITAGAWA Hiroko's 北川博子 presentation "*Kayō hyakunin isshu taisei shōkō tsuketari*, Kansai daigaku toshokan shozō Nishikawa Sukenobu eiri hanpon ni tsuite." 『花陽百人一首大成』小考 付・関西大学図書館所蔵西川祐信絵入版本について at the 5<sup>th</sup> *Eiribon workshop* 第五回絵入本ワークショップ at Kansai University on December 9, 2012 (not present at) is taking the position that this is illustrated by Sukenobu and other members of the studio.

D-3 HASEGAWA Mitsunobu

Commonly known as Shōzō 庄藏, his *gō* were Ryūsuikei 柳翠軒 and Shōsuikei 松翠軒. His biography is unknown. He was born in Ozaka and may have been a disciple of NISHIKAWA Sukenobu. He designed many ukiyo-e and left many picture books, but his detailed achievements are unknown. His first work is *Kaō ise monogatari* 花王伊勢物語 published in Kyōhō 6/1721 and his last work is *Ehon hatsuyogusa* 絵本初代草 published in Hōreki 11/1761.

**62 *Dansen hyakunin isshu taisei*** 団扇百人一首大成 was published by ITOYA Ichibee 糸屋市兵衛 in Ozaka in the Hōreki 5/1755. The original title slip has *furigana*, *Dansen hyakunin isshu taisei* and at the end of the book it reads *Gazu Hasegawa Mitsunobu* 画図 長谷川光信.<sup>26</sup> On the first page, there is a double-page spread with an illustration of Altair (*kengyū* 牽牛) and Vega (*shokujo* 織女), and *waka* related only to the Star Festival (*tanabata uta zukushi* 七夕歌尽くし). There are two *hyakunin isshu* on a page, *kasen-e* and *kai-e* are inserted into the shape of a round fan (*uchiwagata* うちわ型) and in the shape of a folding fan (*sensugata* 扇子型), and *waka* is scattered above the pictures. The unique composition of having *uchiwagata* and *sensugata* on one page vertically may have been inspired by Moronobu's *Uchiwa ezukushi* 団扇絵づくし published in Tenna 4/1684 (it also reminds me of *Ōgi no sōshi* 扇の草子.) There are few *denpon*. Three were seen in the Atomi University Library, the Toyo University Library, and the Kaga Collection in the Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library 東京都立中央図書館加賀文庫 (later impression by NISHIKIYA Kihee 錦屋喜兵衛 in Ozaka).

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<sup>26</sup> KAGURAOKA Yōko's 神楽岡幼子 "Hasegawa Mitsunobu no ehon to sashiebon." 長谷川光信の絵本と挿絵本 *Kokubungaku (Kansai daigaku)* 国文学 (関西大学) Vol. 68 (Kansai University, December 1991) does not include this work.



#### D-4 KATSUKAWA Shunshō

Born with the last name FUJIWARA 藤原, his first name was Masateru 正輝, his adult name (*azana* 字) was Senjin 千尋, his nicknames were Yōsuke 要助 and Yūsuke 祐助, and his *gō* were Ririn 李林 and Rokurokuan 六々庵. His name as a haiku poet was Gifu 宜富. He was born in Kyōhō 11/1726, and died on December 8, Kansei 4/1792, at the age of 67. It is not known where he was born, and it is said that he was either born in Edo or *kamigata* and later moved to Edo. He lived in Ningyōchō and later in Tadokorochō. Shunshō was a disciple of KATSUKAWA Shunsui 勝川春水 (birth and death dates unknown), and apparently also studied with KŌ Sūkoku 高高谷 (1730–1804) and mastered the HANABUSA Ichchō 英一蝶 (1652–1724) style of rough sketches. He created many actor prints (*yakusha-e* 役者絵), and also left many picture books. His pupils were KATSUKAWA Shunkō I 初代勝川春好 (1743–1812) and KATSUKAWA Shun'ei 勝川春英 (1762–1819) and others.

**67 *Nishiki hyakunin isshu azumaori*** 錦百人一首あづま織 is a picture book of *hyakunin isshu*. It was published as *aitaban* by UEMURA Tōsaborō 植村藤三郎 and KARIGANEYA Gisuke 雁金屋義助 in Edo, on January of An'ei 4/1775, when Shunshō was 49 years old. All the illustrations are printed in multiple colors, and there is one *waka* per page, for a total of 100 *waka*, along with *kasen-e*. This is a magnificent work, just like the title of the book, beautiful silk textiles (*nishiki ori* 錦織, also meaning multi-colored ukiyo-e [*nishiki-e* 錦絵] which were popular at the time). The pictures have a soft color tone that is typical of the early multi-color prints of the mid-Edo period, and have a nice touch. Those who opened this book are first struck by the beauty of the colors, and then by the originality of *kasen-e*. *Kasen-e* in this book are distinctly different from the various *kasen-e* that had been published up to that point. The portrayal of the poets is dynamic and their expressions are lively. The female poet's standing posture is even sensual (many standing postures are featured in

this book). Why was Shunshō able to depict such creative *kasen-e*? The unique portrayal of the figure may be similar to the multi-colored illustrations in the illustrated haiku book *Wakana* わかな (published in Hōreki 6/1756) by KATSUMA Ryūsui 勝間龍水 (1697–1773). As Shunshō is said to have mastered the rough sketch of the HANABUSA Ichchō style, it is possible that he may have been inspired by illustrated haiku books.

This book was well received for a long time until the Meiji period (1868-1912), and various editions were published. There is a black-and-white version, as the next line of the publication information reads, *Both multi-colored and black-and-white prints were done* (collection of the National Institute of Japanese Literature, etc.) In exchange for the loss of colors, the novelty of the composition leaves a more vivid impression.

Since this is a picture book, it is natural to focus on the images, but it is important to note that there are actually two types of calligraphy for *waka*.<sup>27</sup> One of them is a rather gentle calligraphy in fine characters, which is the original, and the other is a flowing calligraphy style with bold and unrestrained brush strokes, which is *kōshūbon*. In the former, there is no description of the transcriber of *waka* in the book, but since the person who wrote *waka* and the preface seems to be the same person, it is assumed that Shunshō himself wrote *waka*. Because the calligraphy is quiet, *waka* and

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<sup>27</sup> YOSHIKAI Naoto. “*Nishiki hyakunin isschu azuma ori shuppan no keii.*” 『錦百人一首あづま織』出版の経緯 *Shoshigaku geppō* 書誌学月報 Vol. 57 (Tokyo: Seishōdō shoten, April 1996). And ---. “*Nishiki hyakunin isschu azuma ori shimatsuki.*” 『錦百人一首あづま織』始末記 *Dōshisha joshidaigaku sōgō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 同志社女子大学総合文化研究所紀要 Vol. 22 (March 2005). IWATA Hideyuki 岩田秀行. “*Katsukawa Shunshō ga Nishiki hyakunin isschu azuma ori no shinshutsu shohanbon.*” 勝川春章画『錦百人一首あづま織』の新出初版本 *Atomi gakuen joshidaigaku tanki daigakubu toshokan hō* 跡見学園女子大学短期大学部図書館報 Vol. 45 (October 2006). Refer to the above articles.



67 錦百人一首あつま織 (左 猿山周之書カ/右 勝川春章書カ)



70 三十六歌仙 (猿山周之書)



わかな (勝間龍水画)  
(早稲田大学図書館雲英文庫蔵)

illustrations are well balanced, which is a trick that gives the illustrations a sense of presence. Incidentally, there are two versions of this original: the first impression is *aiiban* by UEMURA Tōzaburō and KARIGANEYA Gisuke, and the second impression is a solo publication by KARIGANEYA Gisuke.

According to the newly added preface by WATANABE Hiroshi 渡辺寛 (who is described as “a student of Sayama” at the end of the preface, but his biography is unknown), the bold and unrestrained style of the calligraphy was transcribed by Teacher SAYAMA (SAYAMA *sensei* 猿山先生). The reason why the preface does not say anything about who this SAYAMA *sensei* is, is probably because it was obvious to the students. Despite the fact that only the last name SAYAMA is written in the preface, the reason why conventional catalogs have listed the transcriber of this book as SAYAMA Shūshi/Chikayuki 猿山周之 (birth and death dates unknown) is probably based on the fact that the Meiji edition without publication information (its original title slip is *Nishiki hyakunin issbu* 錦百人一首 and published by Kinkaidō 金花堂, owned by the National Institute of Japanese Literature) clearly states *Sayama Shūshi/Chikayuki okina sho* 猿山周之翁書 on the other side of the front cover (*mikaeshi* 見返し). Considering the fact that **70 *Sanjūrokkasen***, a new picture book in multiple colors, illustrated by KATSUKAWA Shunshō and transcribed by SAYAMA Shūshi/Chikayuki, was published in Tenmei 9/1789 (the name of the era was changed to Kansei on January 25), 14 years after the publication of **67 *Nishiki hyakunin issbu azumaori***, it seems natural to assume that the transcriber of this book is SAYAMA Shūshi/Chikayuki. However, for now, it will just be defined as “transcribed by style of SAYAMA school (may be SAYAMA Shūshi/Chikayuki)”. And future research will focus on the status of the SAYAMA school at the time and the activities of the SAYAMA Shūkyō/Chikaaki 猿山周暁 (?–1792, founder of the SAYAMA school) and Shūshi/Chikayuki brothers as transcribers. Incidentally, there are three types of this *kōshūbon*. The first impression is a solo publication by KARIGANEYA Gisuke, the

next impression is *aiiban* by KARIGANEYA Seikichi 雁金屋清吉 and KARIGANEYA Gisuke; this is the widest spread version of *Nishiki Hyakunin isshu azumaori*, and then the *kōshūbon* published in Meiji period by Shōzandō 松山堂 in Tokyo. The colors of the Meiji version have changed so much that there are no longer any vestiges of the first impression. Furthermore, *kasen-e* is used in *Shinsen hyakunin isshu* 新撰百人一首 (edited by NISHIMURA Shigeki 西村茂樹 [1828–1902] and transcribed by TADA Shin'ai 多田親愛 [1840–1905]) published in Meiji 16/1883.

**70 *Sanjūrokkasen*** is also a picture book with multi-colored printing. It was published on January of Tenmei 9/1789 (the name of the era was changed to Kansei on January 25), when Shunshō was 63 years old, as *santoban* of KATSUMURA Jiemon 勝村治右衛門 in Kyoto, SHIBUKAWA Yozaemon 渋川与左衛門 in Ozaka, and YAMAZAKI Kinbee 山崎金兵衛 in Edo. SAYAMA Shūshi wrote the preface. Next, there is *kasen-e* of FUJIWARA no Kintō 藤原公任 (966–1041), the selector of the *sanjūrokkasen*, followed by a preface by KATSUKAWA Shunshō (the title in his preface is *Kasen kumoi no hana* 譚仙雲井花.) It is a lavish composition, with *kasen-e* on one page, and *waka* scattered all over the next page, for a total of 36 *waka*. As with **67 *Nishiki hyakunin isshu azumaori***, it is a very beautiful work. There are few *denpon* such as the Kaga Collection in the Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library, Tōyō Bunko, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston ボストン美術館, etc. There is also a Meiji version of the book with a flamboyant color tone.

#### D-5 TOSA Mitsusada

Born with the last name FUJIWARA 藤原, his *azana* was Shikyō 士享, and his *gō* was Teiran 廷蘭. He was born on July 9, Genbun 3/1738, and died on February 4, Bunka 3/1806 (according to one theory, April 6) at the age of 69. He was the second son of TOSA Mitsuyoshi 土佐光芳 (1700–1772), and his official rank was *Jūshijū*

*Tosa no Kami* 従四位上土佐守. As the head of the TOSA family of court painters (*edokoro azukari* 画所預), he worked to pass on the classical style of Japanese painting (*yamato-e* 大和絵), while also creating genre paintings such as pictures of women from the pleasure quarters (*yūjo-zu* 遊女図). Only one illustration for a book, **75 *Hyakunin isshu*** (published in Bunka 5/1808), is known.

According to the original first impression of the book in a private collection, **75 *Hyakunin isshu*** is *tokuōhon*, measuring 30.2 cm in length and 21.7 cm in width. It is a gorgeous book with very rich and elaborate coloring. In Bunka 5/1808, it was published in Kyoto as *aiiban* between WAKISAKA Senjirō 脇坂千治郎 and YOSHIDA Shinbee 吉田新兵衛. Hōjusai 鳳寿斎 (details not known) owned the woodblocks. The back page at the end of the text reads *Edokoro azukari Jūshijō Tosa no Kami Fujiwara Mitsuhide* 画所預従四位上土佐守藤原光貞 (seal engraved *Mitsusada no In* 光貞之印), followed by the word *Migi Hyakunin isshu Gedai Kazan'in Aitokukyō onhitsu Waka Shibayama Mochitoyokyō onhitsu Zuzō Tosa Mitsusada Ason ga* 右百人一首／外題 花山院愛德卿御筆／和歌 柴山持豊卿御筆／図像 土佐光貞朝臣画 in the colophon. TOSA Mitsusada's illustrations are elegant and moderate because he was a court painter, paying attention to the period details of the costumes. Although it is difficult to find softness in the facial expressions of the figures, it creates a noble atmosphere. This is a rare book that has the most grace among the various printed books with *kasen-e*, and the colors are not light, but very rich and elaborate.

In fact, there are two types in this book with different styles of transcribing for the *waka* text, same as *Nishiki hyakunin isshu azumaori*. One is a specially bound book transcribed by SHIBAYAMA Mochitoyo 芝山持豊 (1742–1815), a nobleman, and this



75 百人一首 (左 石井行宣書/右 芝山持豊書)



39 御家百人一首 (跡見学園女子大学図書館蔵) \*前掲図録より転載



76 歌仙絵抄

is the original,<sup>28</sup> and the other is *kōshūbon* transcribed by IWAI Yukinobu 石井行宣 (1762–1838), also a nobleman. The former has some shortcomings, such as the misplacement of *waka* between GONCHŪNAGON Atsutada 権中納言敦忠(906–943, 43rd poem) and CHŪNAGON Asatada 中納言朝忠 (910–966, 44th poem), but they have been revised in the latter. It was the latter that spread widely, and there are *kōshūbon* published in Bunsei 10/1827 and Bunsei 13/1830, as well as some Meiji edition without any publication information (in the Meiji edition, the color tone has changed considerably and is overly tinted.) On the other hand, the former has only few *denpon*, and only the books in the Atomi University Library, the Toyo University Library, and private collections are known.

#### D-6 KITA Busei

Busei's *azana* was Shishin 子慎, he was commonly known as Einosuke 栄之助, and his *gō* were Kaan 可庵, Goseidō 五清堂 and Ichiryūsai 一柳齋. He was born in An'ei 5/1776, and died on December 20, Ansei 3/1856, at the age of 81. He was born in Edo and lived in Hacchōbori, Takeshima. He was a student of TANI Bunchō 谷文晁 (1763–1840), who later became a famous painter. It is said that he also was inspired by the painting style of KANŌ Tan'yū. He often illustrated for *yomihon* 読本 in the style of Chinese paintings (*kara-e* 唐絵), including *Udonge monogatari* 優曇華物語 (published in Bunka 1/1804), however, he worked only one printed book of *kasho*, **76 *Kasen eshō*** 歌仙絵抄 (published in Bunka 7/1810).

**76 *Kasen eshō***<sup>29</sup> has the year of Bunka 7/1810 written in its epilogue (no

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<sup>28</sup> KANSAKU Kōichi 神作光一 ed. *Hyakunin isshu* 百人一首 (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1991) has color photocopies of the original work.

<sup>29</sup> SHINDŌ's book in footnote 2, listed before, has the transliteration (*kasen-e* is omitted.)



colophon). YAMAMOTO Masaomi 山本正臣 (1754–1823) edited, KITA Busei illustrated, and SHINOBU Kaiken 信夫槐軒 (1766–1833) transcribed *waka*. The writing is on the top and the illustrations are on the bottom. Each page is divided into three sections: the upper section contains a short biography of the poet and a brief annotation, the middle section contains a scattering of *waka*, and the lower section contains multi-colored *kasen-e* (the background is lightly blurred, and there is no border between the middle and bottom rows.) In an explanatory note by the editor written in the first part of the book, he wrote about his attachment to *Kasen futabashō* 歌仙二葉抄 edited by SOBAYAMA Haruyuki 俎山春幸 (birth and death dates unknown) and published in Jōkyō 4/1687. It was also written that KITA Busei’s illustrations were done in the classic style of the old TOSA School (*kozu* 古図). As if to prove it, each *kasen-e* has an atmosphere of ancient elegance, and is combined with the beautiful multi-colored printing, which creates a graceful appearance. Was KITA Busei based on the style of *kozu* or TOSA School paintings? In addition to the book in the National Diet Library, there are more than 10 *denpon*.

#### E: Multi-colored Print

The excellent black-and-white printing by HISHIKAWA Moronobu and his colleagues is hard to ignore, but the beauty of the colored version, especially the multi-colored print, is superior. There are 12 multi-colored versions of printed books with *kasen-e*. This is the result of counting the later impressions as well, so the eight books will be organized by title and listed below.

**67** *Nishiki hyakunin issu azumaori* published in An’ei 4/1775, illustrated by KATSUKAWA Shunshō, transcribed by Shunshō, too?

**70** *Sanjūrokkasen* published in Tenmei 9/1789, illustrated by KATSUKAWA

Longing for the Refinement of the Heian Court during the Edo Period (KANSAKU Ken'ichi)

Shunshō, transcribed by SAYAMA Shūshi.

- 71 *Shūgai kasen* 集外歌仙 published in Kansei 9/1797, selected by the Emperor GOSAI 後西天皇 (1637–1685), edited by YASUDA Sadao 安田貞雄 (birth and death dates unknown), illustrated by IHARA Norishige 猪原典繁 (birth and death dates unknown), and transcribed by SHIBA Kōchōsō 芝江釣叟 (birth and death dates unknown).
- 75 *Hyakunin isshu* published in Bunka 5/1808, illustrated by TOSA Mitsusada and transcribed by SHIBAYAMA Mochitoyo.
- 76 *Kasen eshō* published in Bunka 7/1810 (written in the postscript), edited by YAMAMOTO Masaomi, illustrated by KITA Busei and transcribed by SHINOBU Kaiken.
- 77 *Teika sen kin'yōshō* 定家撰錦葉抄 published in Bunka 10/1813 and illustrated by ISHIDA Gyokuzan 石田玉山 (?–ca. 1812).
- 83 *Hyakunin isshu* published around Bunsei era (1818–1830) and illustrated by KUWAGATA Keisai 鋏形蕙斎 (KITAO Masayoshi 北尾政美 [1764–1824]).
- 86 *Onna hyakunin isshu* published in Kaei 4/1851.

The first multi-colored printed book is 67 *Nishiki hyakunin isshu azumaori*, published in An'ei 4/1775. It is generally believed that the first full-fledged multi-colored prints in Japan was done in Meiwa 2/1765, when SUZUKI Harunobu 鈴木春信 (ca. 1725–1770) produced picture calendar (*egoyomi* 絵暦). Therefore, the publication of *Nishiki hyakunin isshu azumaori* was created right in the middle of the

era of multi-colored printing. Looking at haiku books (*haisho* 俳書),<sup>30</sup> multi-color printing was already used for illustrations in the Jōkyō era (1684–1688), well before Meiwa 2/1765 (The cover of *Sode ōgi* 袖扇子 published in Kyōhō 10/1725 and *Chichi no on* 父の恩 published in Kyōhō 15/1730 to commemorate ICHIKAWA Danjūrō I 初世市川團十郎 [1660–1704].) There are many other *haisho* with similar multi-colored illustrations, such as *Hana donguri* 花団栗 published in Kan'en 4/1751 and *Sono kiku* その菊 published in Kan'en 2/1749, but there are no *kasho* with such multi-colored illustrations before *Nishiki hyakunin isshu azumaori*.

On the other hand, after the middle of the Edo period, a large number of *ōraimono* were published, in both black-and-white and multi-colored print. In this study, in order to avoid unnecessarily increasing the number of records and blurring the purpose of the research, the chronological table does not, as a rule, include *ōraimono*. However, the exception to this rule is 77 *Teika sen kin'yōshō* (published in Bunka 10/1813, also known as *Kin'yōshō*), which is a genuine *ōraimono*, and thanks to the skill of the artist ISHIDA Gyokuzan, the entire book has an atmosphere of *nishiki-e*. An artist from Ozaka, ISHIDA Gyokuzan's year of birth and death is unknown, but he is believed to have died in Bunka 9/1812. If so, is this his last work? There are only few *denpon*, books in the Atomi University Library and private collection, etc. There are other versions of this book: *kōshūbon* published in Tenpō 6/1835 and Ansei 3/1856, and a Meiji version (with the external title [*gedai* 外題] *Kin'yō hyakunin isshu* 錦葉百人一首 published by Hakubunkan 博文館 in Meiji 36/1903).

In this chapter, each of the printed books with *kasen-e* was examined through five

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<sup>30</sup> Refer to “Haiga / Ebaisho.” 俳画・絵俳書 In *Color-ban Bashō, Buson, Issa no sekai* カラー版芭蕉・蕪村、一茶の世界 supervised by KIRA Suelo 雲英末雄 (Tokyo: Bijutsu shuppansha, 2007).

categories: book size, publisher, book cover, artist, and multi-colored print, and each characteristic was identified and discussed. In the next chapter, how *kasen-e* has been inherited or created will be reviewed from a larger perspective. Their similarity and universality will be captured.

### 3. Transition of *Kasen-e*—Succession and Innovation

*Kasen-e* was originally a picture of a poet's figure illustrated in the style of *utaawase*. It originated from *Hitomaro eigu* 人麻呂影供 that is a poetry festival in which KAKINOMOTO no Hitomaro 柿本人麻呂 (birth and death dates unknown) is celebrated as a poet saint (*kasei* 歌聖) and *waka* was offered, and flourished from the end of the Heian period (794–1185).<sup>31</sup> Particularly famous are *Sanjūrokkasen-e* 三十六歌仙絵 based on *Sanjūrokunin sen* 三十六人撰 selected by FUJIWARA no Kintō. There are many types of this *kasen-e* in existence. For example, the oldest surviving *satakebon* 佐竹本 (fragment, but originally two volumes), which is said to have been illustrated by FUJIWARA Nobusane 藤原信実 (birth and death dates unknown), *agedatamibon* 上置本 (fragment) which was made in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, almost the same time as *satakebon*, and *narikanebon* 業兼本 (fragment) which is slightly more simplified than *satakebon*, etc. The depiction of facial expressions is based on the technique of likeness picture (*nise-e* 似絵), and various expressions can be seen in each poet, but the figures wearing a formal costume, from the Emperor to the court nobles (*sokutai* 束帯), are somewhat typified. The finest of these books is

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<sup>31</sup> The following overview of *kasen-e* is largely based on the three books by MORI Tōru—*Utaawase-e no kenkyū: Kasen-e* 歌合絵の研究 歌仙絵 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1970), *Kasen sanjūrokkasen-e* 歌仙三十六歌仙絵 (Tokyo: Tokyo bijutsu seinenkai, 1972) and *Kasen-e / Hyakunin isshu-e* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1981). I also referred to the section of “*Kasen-e*” included in *Nihon koten bungaku daijiten* and *Waka daijiten* 和歌大辞典, and “*Kasen-e no sekai: Narikanebon zuyō no seiritsu to tenkai o chūshin ni.*” 歌仙絵の世界—業兼本図様の成立と展開を中心に— by KATAGIRI Yayoi 片桐弥生 in footnote 2 *Waka no zuzōgaku*.

*satakebon*, but the most widely distributed is *narikanebon* lineage. Both the KANŌ and TOSA schools based their paintings on *kasen-e* of this *narikanebon*. *Kasen-e* of **1 Sanjūrokkasen** in *sagabon* is presumed to have been illustrated by TOSA Mitsumochi 土佐光茂 (birth and death dates unknown) of the TOSA School, and formed the basis for the subsequent *kasen-e* published in the Edo period. From a broader perspective, most of *kasen-e* in books published in the Edo period can be considered to belong to the *narikanebon* lineage. The research of *kasen-e* in *kōetsubon* will be left to *Kōetsu sanjūrokkasen kō* 光悦三十六歌仙考<sup>32</sup> by SUZUKI Jun, and the following paragraphs explain the transition in *kasen-e* in later publications.

In general, *kasen-e* came to be regarded as a traditional subject of painting with the restoration of the TOSA family as court painters in the Edo period. Therefore the universality and similarity of the paintings were the proof that they were legitimate *kasen-e*. Frankly speaking, the resemblance to *kozu* (most of them are *narikanebon* lineage, and the specific model is the TOSA School's *kasen-e*) was an important condition for them to have genuine brilliance as *kasen-e*. As a result, in the early Edo period, especially among printed books, there was only a little room for the creation of new *kasen-e*. The first was *sagabon Sanjūrokkasen*, followed by *soanbon* (**2 Sanjūrokkasen**, **3 Hyakunin isshu**), which inspired the technique of *sagabon Sanjūrokkasen*. From this point onward, *kasen-e* of *Sanjūrokkasen* and *Hyakunin isshu* influenced each other, but it was *kasen-e* of **3 Hyakunin isshu** (*soanbon*, hereinafter abbreviated as *soanbon hyakunin isshu*) that had the greatest impact on later generations. *Kasen-e* in **4 Hyakunin isshu** published during the Kan'ei era without colophon (without *furigana*) and **5 Ogurayama hyakunin isshu** published in Kan'ei

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<sup>32</sup> This is included in the catalogue of the special exhibition *Edo no kasen-e: ehon ni miru ōchōbi no hen'yō to sōi*. 江戸の歌仙絵—絵本にみる王朝美の変容と創意— at the National Institute of Japanese Literature (edited and published by the National Institute for the Humanities and the National Institute of Japanese Literature, Project leader: SUZUKI Jun, December 2009).

16/1639 (with *furigana*) were faithfully inherited from *kasen-e* in *soanbon hyakunin isshu*. **8 Hyakunin isshu taisei** and **11 Sanjūrokkasen** have minor differences in appearance of figures, but their composition also follows *soanbon hyakunin isshu*. The same characteristics can be seen in *kasen-e* of *Hyakunin isshu* in **48 Ise monogatari taisei** 伊勢物語大成 published in Genroku 10/1697. However, **16 Hyakunin isshu** and **17 Hyakunin isshu**, which were probably published around the Kanbun era (both of which are only existing in the collection of the Atomi University Library), have different *kasen-e* than *soanbon hyakunin isshu*.

Another major trend in the popularity of *kasen-e* of *soanbon hyakunin isshu* in the early Edo period was *kasen-e* illustrated by HISHIKAWA Moronobu in **22 Hyakunin isshu zōsanshō**. As already mentioned, after the publication of *Zōsanshō* in Enpō 6/1678, many *kaikokubon* and later impressions were published, and books were published in which the illustrations were appropriated without permission more than once. Behind this popularity, of course, there was the innovative concept of “*kasen-e* + *kai-e*”. Accordingly, with the appearance of *Zōsanshō* illustrated by Moronobu, published in Enpō 6/1678, the long-running popularity of *kasen-e* of *soanbon hyakunin isshu* from the Kan’ei era seems to have finally slowed down. Incidentally, it was pointed out early on that *Zōsanshō*’s *kasen-e* had a very deep relationship with *soanbon hyakunin isshu*, and that it was arranged based on books that existed around the same time as or were influenced by *soanbon*.<sup>33</sup> *Zōsanshō* has some *kasen-e* that are clearly different from *soanbon hyakunin isshu*, such as the Emperor JITŌ 持統天皇 (645–702) and SARUMARU Dayū 猿丸大夫 (birth and death dates unknown), but Moronobu’s *kasen-e* in *Zōsanshō*, from a larger perspective, should be considered as part of the tradition of *kasen-e*.

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<sup>33</sup> Page 21 of KATAGIRI’s book in footnote 22.

On the other hand, in the middle of the Edo period, **67 Nishiki hyakunin isshu azumaori** appeared with innovative *kasen-e* that were clearly different from the previous *kasen-e*.<sup>34</sup> These *kasen-e* are new and dynamic with many standing figures. They are something that had never been seen before, at least not in printed books. The inheritance of tradition by Moronobu and innovation by Shunshō—the popularity of *Azumaori* continued far into the Meiji period.

In Kyoto in the late Edo period, a luxurious edition of **75 Hyakunin isshu**, an extremely colorful book, was published in Bunka 5/1808. *Kasen-e* by TOSA Mitsusada of *edokoro azukari* is of high quality, with careful attention paid to the historical research of the costumes. In order to maintain its reputation, it must have been carefully designed according to *kozu* handed down from the TOSA family. There are many differences from *kasen-e* of *soanbon hyakunin isshu*. Although both are multicolored, this is the opposite of Shunshō's *Azumaori*. However, this book was also well received and went through many editions until the Meiji period.

In addition, here are two unique one-shot items.

**32 Onna hyakunin isshu (nitoban)** is *ishu Hyakunin isshu* published in Jōkyō 5/1688, containing 100 *waka* by female poets from Princess SOTOORI 衣通姫 (birth and death dates unknown), to SOMEDONO no Kisaki 染殿后 (828–900). The flowing style of the calligraphy by the female transcriber ISOME Tsuna 居初つな is beautiful

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<sup>34</sup> If one wants to call a completely new creation of *kasen-e* “innovation,” I have to mention *Kyūsoku kasen-e* by NONOGUCHI Ryūho in the early Edo period. It is also necessary to include **44 Sugata-e Hyakunin isshu** with *kasen-e* that Moronobu designed in the up-to-date style based on *kyūsoku kasen*. For more information on aspects of portraits in *haikai*, refer to ITŌ Yoshitaka's 伊藤善隆 “Haijin shōzōgashū no tenkai: kasen-e no hensō.” 俳人肖像画集の展開 —歌仙絵の変奏— in the catalog mentioned in footnote 32.

and pleasing. Her biography is unknown, and she is known only to have transcribed several *ōraimono*, including *Onna kyōkun bunshō* 女教訓文章 (published in Genroku 7/1694). Recently, ISHIKAWA Tōru 石川透 revealed that Tsuna was actively involved in the production (transcript and painting) of *nara ehon* 奈良絵本.<sup>35</sup> Considering the characteristics of Tsuna's painting style, such as the fact that the faces of the figures look feminine and that she often drew verandas, it is highly likely that the artist of this book is also Tsuna.

**39 *Oie hyakunin isshu*** is published by KIKUYA Shichirōbee in Kyoto. The year of publication is not listed in the colophon, but the preface reads various events based on Genroku 5/1692. According to *Hyakunin isshu nenpyō*, there are editions without illustrations, but the one seen in the Atomi University Library was a printed book with *kasen-e*. This is a unique composition in which the text of *waka* and *kasen-e* are surrounded by a circle of pictures related to *waka*. Sōdenshi 草田子, who wrote the annotations, is the *kanazōshi* 仮名草子 author NAMURA Jōhaku 苗村丈伯 (1674–1748), who is already known for his books that explain the classics in an easy-to-understand manner, such as *Tsurezuregusa eshō* 徒然草絵抄 (published in Genroku 4/1691) and *Ise monogatari eshō* 伊勢物語絵抄 (published in Genroku 6/1693). The method of annotating the classics by using his own illustrations that Jōhaku attempted<sup>36</sup> in these two books is the same as in **39 *Oie hyakunin isshu***. For this reason, it is quite

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<sup>35</sup> Refer to ISHIKAWA Tōru's "Isome Tsuna to Asai Ryōi" 居初つなと浅井了意 and "Nara ehon / emaki no seisakusha Isome Tsuna" 奈良絵本・絵巻の制作者、居初つな both included in *Nara ehon / emaki no tenkai* 奈良絵本・絵巻の展開 (Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 2009). I follow ISHIKAWA's opinion that the signature, *Shippitsu Isome-shi musume Tsune* 執筆居初氏女都音, written in this book, is another name for Isome Tsuna ("Isome Tsuna no betsumei" 居初つなの別名 *Koten shiryō kenkyū* 古典資料研究 Vol. 19 [Koten shiryō kenkyūkai, June 2009]).

<sup>36</sup> ICHIKO Natsuo. "Namura Jōhaku ni kansuru shomondai." 苗村丈伯に関する諸問題 in footnote 15.



natural to assume that these unique illustrations were done by Jōhaku himself.

Lastly, the books depicted various *kasen* will be focused on.

**10 *Kasen shichishu*** is a collection of *kasen* published by HAYASHI Izuminojō in Kanbun 1/1661 (*hanshibon*, seven volumes). It consists of seven books: *Kasen* 謠仙, *Chūko kasen* 中古謠仙, *Shin kasen* 新謠仙, *Shin onna kasen* 新女謠仙, *Zoku onna kasen* 続女謠仙, *Shokunin kasen* 職人謠仙 selected by KARASUMA Mitsuhiro 烏丸光広 (1579–1638), and *Shakkyō kasen* 釈教謠仙. If one looks at it from a broader perspective, one can see that various collections of *kasho* were published one after another;<sup>37</sup> starting with *Kasen kashū* 哥仙家集 published in Shōhō 4/1647 by NAKANO Dōya 中野道也 (*ōhon*, 15 volumes) and *Nijūichi-dai shū* 二十一代集 published in Shōhō 4/1647 by YOSHIDA Shirōemonjō 吉田四郎右衛門尉 (*ōhon*, 56 volumes), and continuing to *Hyakushu burui* 百種部類 published in Genroku 13/1700 by Izumo-ji Izuminojō 出雲寺和泉掾 (*hanshibon*, 62 volumes), and *Waka kogo shinpishō* 和歌古語深秘抄 published in Genroku 15/1702 by Izumo-ji Izuminojō, edited by ETŌ Kazuo 恵藤一雄 ([1648–1704], *hanshibon*, 10 volumes). **10 *Kasen shichishu*** does not specify the editor, and it is assumed that the publisher is involved. In a time when it was popular to be able to read many different books at once, as in the case of the many collections of *kasho* published, this collection of *kasen* was also published.

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<sup>37</sup> The view of the Genroku era as “The Age of collections of *Kasen*” is mentioned in KANSAKU Ken’ichi’s “Kasho no hensen: Edo zenki o chūshin ni.” 歌書の変遷 —江戸前期を中心に— In *Kinsei wakashi no kenkyū* 近世和歌史の研究 (Tokyo: Kadokawa gakugei shuppan, 2013) and “Transition of Kasho: Focusing on the Early Edo Period.” *Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan kiyō* 国文学研究資料館紀要 Vol. 46 (March 2020).

## **Conclusion**

In this study, the overall picture of the illustrated printed books with *kasen-e* in the Edo period was reviewed, and their various characteristics were clarified in detail. Each *kasen-e* had its own striking charm, such as the power of the ink using black-and-white prints and the splendor of the multi-colored prints. Consequently, various aspects of the tradition and innovation of *kasen-e* were able to be confirmed.

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank Professor TAKANO Yuji at Kinjo Gakuin University and MINAMI Kiyoe, Research Associate at the Honolulu Museum of Art for their help with the preparation of this English paper.

This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research C (KANSAKU Ken'ichi [rep], Number 19K00340) and B (KANSAKU Ken'ichi [rep], Number 18KK0011).