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ARTICLES

MARIO TALAMO

Tōkaidōchū hizakurige: Popular Work, or Fruit of a Well-Planned Commercial Strategy? An Inquiry from a Sociological Perspective

Abstract

The *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* is one of the most renowned and celebrated works of the entire Edo period; it was composed by Jippensha Ikku (1765–1831) and delivered by Murataya Jirōbee from the second year of Kyōwa (1802) to the sixth of Bunka (1809). It was so successful that it constituted the main source of income for both the publisher and the author. That kind of popularity could have hardly been achieved without a well-planned editorial strategy. During the publication the work changed; it is therefore possible to outline an evolution within Ikku's masterpiece which goes straight from the first volume to the eighth and last installment.

My aim is to analyze those changes by connecting them with society and the sales strategies of the publishing sector. I intend to outline the ways in which the author and the publisher arranged their work in order to enlarge the readership and address their production to a specific audience. It is my intention to examine the original edition of the *Hizakurige* and its reprint, which was published during the second year of Bunkyū (1862).

「前略」御存知の通、なんでも人の懐をあてにする、
そこが金じやと、版許の欲心房がひとつ穴の狐「後略」

As everybody knows, the publisher is extremely greedy, just like me, and he always says that we should look at the people's heart, since it's there that they hide money.[1]

The Edo period (1600–1867) is renowned as the phase of Japanese history during which the publishing machine reached full capacity and every single publisher, aiming to gain in fame and popularity, resorted to many devices and strategies to achieve them.

This paper aims to analyze the eight-year-long publication of the *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* by Jippensha Ikku, and to highlight the existence of sales strategies and commercial plans

[1] Jippensha Ikku, *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* (Shank's mare), VI, Vol. 1, Introduction, p. 4, verso. The text adopted as reference is a copy of the original edition, held in Waseda University Library, published from the second year of Kyōwa (1802) to the sixth of Bunka (1809) by Eiyūdō (Murataya Jirōbee) in Edo; format: *chūhon*.

whose sole intention was to meet with the readers' approval. The paper also examines the reprint, which was issued more than fifty years later, during the second year of Bunkyū[2] (1862). It is my intention to address the new layout of the masterpiece and the ways in which publishers revitalized and put on the market a production that gained much more popularity than the rest of the literary products of the same period.

The epigraph above is from a passage in the introduction to the sixth chapter, published during the fourth year of Bunka (1807); it clearly shows how important money was for the publisher, who was always ready to urge his collaborators to be aware of people's tastes and, therefore, to publish works that the audience would certainly appreciate and buy.

The *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige*

The *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* (東海道中膝栗毛) is recognized as Ikku's masterpiece; it was published between the second year of Kyōwa (1802) and the sixth of Bunka (1809) by Murataya Jirōbee. It was so successful commercially that audience demand[3] compelled the writer to continue its adventures for another twelve years, with a sequel entitled *Zoku hizakurige*, which was released from the seventh year of Bunka to the fourth of Bunsei (1810–21). Originally, Ikku's intention was to write about a short trip to Hakone in one single volume, but the work rapidly gained in popularity, so both the author and the publisher decided to prolong the narration until Yaji and Kita – the main characters – reached Ōsaka, passing by Nara, in five volumes. The author, in the introduction to the third volume, tells the readers that his work *yo ni okonawarer*u, became popular, therefore, in agreement with the publisher, he decided to continue the narration:

> The fourth volume goes from Maizaka to Yokkaichi, while the fifth is about the journey to Ise: it will describe the brothels in Furuichi and the wonderful panoramas in Ainoyama; then, passing through Nara, we will reach Ōsaka, where the entire work is going to finish.[4]

[2] The entire Japanese history is divided into many periods or eras; they changed each time the Emperor died and a new one took power.

[3] The author wrote more than once in his prefaces about how popular his work became and how blessed he had been. When Ikku issued the first volume of the *Zoku hizakurige*, in the seventh year of Bunka (1810), he stated the following message in the preface: "Although last year I said that this *Hizakurige* would have finished with the eighth volume, the publisher suggested I write a new installment on the trip to the Konpira Sanctuary […] He also said that the literary world has never seen a work as much popular and with as many volumes as mine; moreover, he told me that I should know how fortunate and blessed I am, therefore, although unwillingly, he suggested I write a new chapter as there may be a good chance for me to earn more money […]". Every time the author published a new installment, he lost no opportunity to show his gratitude to the readers for the extraordinary popularity gained by his work; for instance, we read in the preface of the eighth and last chapter that "[…] the *Hizakurige*, from the first volume onward, has always been well received […]". But the main comments on its fortune are on the first four chapters, where we even read that the author had to release chapter number three as fast as he could, so he had no time to proofread the volumes (Vol. 3, Preface); the next installment registered an interesting and personal opinion which clearly show the popularity of the *Hizakurige*: "The great Confucian masters, when they published works, rarely reached the second installment, and the fact that my *Hizakurige* is already at the fourth stage, when barely three years has passed (since the beginning), together with its great success, should be registered in the annals".

[4] Jippensha Ikku, *Tōkaidōchū…*, III, Vol. 1, *hanrei*, p. 4, verso.

At the end of the fifth volume, the publisher revealed the outcome of an additional part, composed of three chapters, in which the two protagonists would go to Kyōto and Ōsaka, and then continue along the Kisokaido. For what reason did a work that was supposed to finish at its first volume continue for a further seven editions? The answer is simple: both Murataya and Ikku realized how rich they could become if the *Hizakurige* were to continue; they thus decided to prolong the work for economic reasons only.

In order to outline the ways in which the publisher and the author arranged and changed their work according to the audience's tastes, the current analysis is based on an examination of the format of the volumes, the cover, the frontispiece, and all those aspects that Gerard Genette defined as 'paratextual'[5], as these would be very helpful to identify the group of

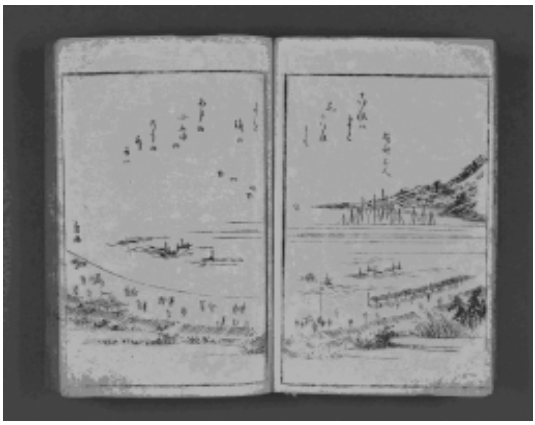

Illustration 1. View from Shinagawa executed by Ikku. The inscription *'jiga'* is on the left side

readers they addressed. Subsequently, I will focus on content and see how this changed in relation to new publication demands.

As mentioned above, the first volume of the *Hizakurige* was issued with no fear of prosecution, as it only wanted to impress readers positively, in order to get them to buy the author's next publications for Murataya.[6] It was a low budget product, lacking in any kind of decorative element, without frontispiece or professional-executed illustrations.In order to keep total expenses low, Ikku decided[7] to self-illustrate (see illustration 1) all the *sashie*

[5] Gerard Genette, *Soglie. I dintorni del testo* [Paratexts. Thresholds of Interpretation], Torino: Einaudi, 1989.

[6] See Nakayama Hisao, 'Tōkaidōchū hizakurige no sashie ni tsuite 1' [About the illustrations of the *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* Vol. 1], *Tōyō*, Vol. 40, No. 7, 2003, pp. 25–35. See also Nakayama Hisao, '*Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* no sashie ni tsuite 2' [About the illustrations of the *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* Vol. 2], *Bungaku ronsō*, Vol. 79, 2005 (2), pp. 136–150, and Nakayama Hisao, 'Tōkaidōchū hizakurige no sashie ni tsuite 3' [About the illustrations of the *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* Vol. 3], *Bungaku ronsō*, Vol. 80, 2006 (2), pp. 69–82.

[7] Ibidem.

(illustrations) of the first volume.[8] However, the work rapidly gained readers' appreciation and earned more than ten *ryō*, as registered in Kyokutei Bakin's[9] diary; therefore Ikku and Murataya decided to go for another installment.

The second chapter still does not show any new elements: we see no frontispiece and, as in the previous volume, the illustrations were entirely drawn by Ikku. We can state that the first two volumes of the *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* were published as an experiment to test readers' receptivity, and that they were basically a low-cost publication. They also share the same title, *Ukiyodōchū hizakurige*, quite different from the designation that we currently use, which clearly demonstrates that the author and the publisher did not really intend the work to continue. When the third volume was released during the first year of Bunka (1804), the old title was replaced with the better-known *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* and, for the first time, (see illustration 2) a frontispiece was included – representing sunrise in the city of Hamamatsu and displaying a style too refined to be considered the creation of the author. From the third chapter onward, the work changed, and the author and the publisher gradually turned it into a vehicle for attracting greater readership, trying to keep more readers entertained at the same time.

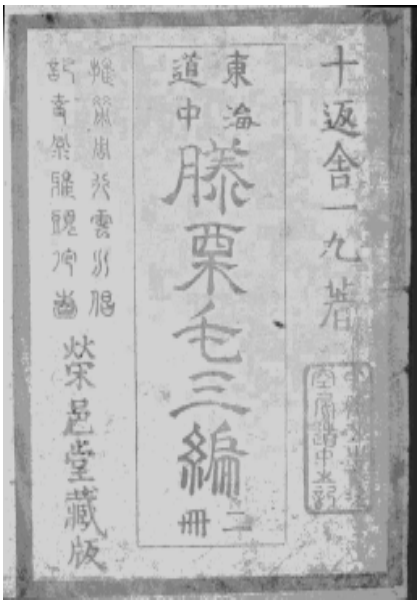

Illustration 2 & 3: frontispiece (left) and *mikaeshi* (right) from the third chapter

[8] All the illustrations of the first chapter display two little characters which demonstrate that they were the product of Ikku's versatile talent: they bear the inscription *jiga* 自画, which means "made by myself".

[9] Kyokutei Bakin (1767–1848) was the most prolific writer of the late nineteenth century; in his career he wrote more than five hundred books, whose contents span from vendetta stories to religious and doctrinal texts.

At the beginning of the third volume we read the following comments:

> The first and the second chapters became unexpectedly popular, so my contentment was unexpectedly great; therefore, at the specific request of the publisher, I prepared the third chapter, which I now offer to all those who share with me the same passion and interests.[10]

Ikku's words are particularly significant as they demonstrate the great popularity gained by his masterpiece; he also specifies his intention of introducing new elements in the work:

> I am actually planning somewhat to change my work.[11]

The third chapter reflects the author's decision to modify the *Hizakurige*: he introduces the first frontispiece – *kuchie* 口絵 in Japanese – which, unfortunately, shows the signature of an unknown artist named Fujiya (豊事也). We realize that the *Hizakurige*– which was originally created as a low-cost production, with no fear of prosecution – gradually evolved into a creative device to gain money and popularity. From this chapter onward, in addition to the afore-mentioned frontispiece, the author adds a new device, the *mikaeshi* (見返し), a decorated paper which was generally stuck on the back of the cover.[12] It is very simple, (see illustration 3) as it reproduces only the title of the work, the author's name and the printer's pseudonym, but it is nevertheless noteworthy, as the third chapter is the first installment to present this new element. The fourth volume shows a simpler *mikaeshi*, with the title of the work in sole position, but it has a stark peculiarity that attracts our attention: *Hizakurige* is written in white letters on a black background.

The third chapter can be considered the first of the turning points in Ikku and Murataya's strategy; besides showing new elements, such as the *mikaeshi* and the frontispiece, it presents many old features which are partly renewed: the title and illustration, for example. The *sashie* from the first two volumes showed the inscription '*jiga*', which was an expression of the strategy developed by Ikku and Murataya, who wanted the readers to consider every single illustration as a product of Ikku's versatile talent.[13] However, these characters no longer appear from the third chapter onward. In addition, the volume shows a frontispiece which, although it clearly exhibits a style too refined to be a writer's creation, has no signature. Gradually the *Hizakurige* evolved into a professional production, relinquishing the 'do it yourself' strategy in order to give a professional image – which would be even more enhanced in the next chapters.

The first volume in which we notice substantial changes is the fifth. Its frontispiece draws on the work of the professional artist Toyokuni[14], one of the foremost painters of the time. (See illustration 4) It represents three *hamaguri* (clam) – a specialty product of Kuwana,

[10] Jippensha Ikku, *Tōkaidōchū*…, III, Vol. 1, Introduction, p. 2, recto.

[11] Ibid., p. 4, verso.

[12] Nakano Mitsutoshi, *Shoshigaku dangi Edo no hanpon* [Monologue on bibliography: printed books in Edo], Iwanami Shoten, Tōkyō, 1995.

[13] Nakayama Hisao, 'Tōkaidōchū hizakurige no sashie ni tsuite 1', pp. 25–35.

[14] Utagawa Toyokuni (1769–1825) was a painter renowned for his portraits of actors. During his life, he had many disciples and established the famous Utagawa school.

in Mie prefecture – on a pine branch, celebrated with verses composed by Ikku.[15] However, Toyokuni's contribution was not the first contribution from a professional artist: the third chapter also has a frontispiece which was far too refined to be considered the work of Ikku's pictorial skill. Unfortunately, the latter does not bear any signature and we cannot clearly state whether or not it was made by a professional painter. The three characters that constituted the name of the supposed author, Fujiya (豊事也), can also be read as '*Toyo no koto nari'* 豊ノ事也, 'made by Toyokuni', thus proving a noteworthy and eminent authorship. Hence, the frontispiece from the fifth chapter, while not the first professional illustration, was the first that bore a signature. Why did Ikku and Murataya decide to introduce the first signed illustrations?

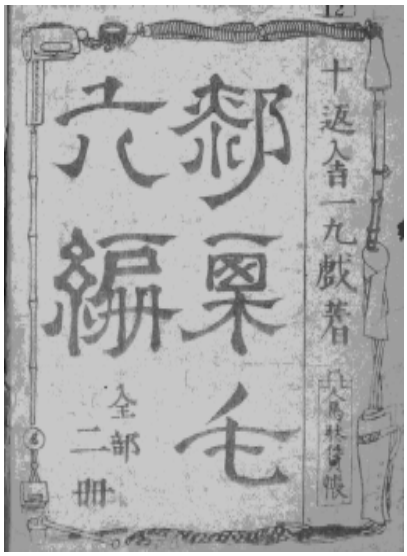

Illustration 4 & 5. Frontispiece from the fifth volume (left) & *mikaeshi* from the sixth chapter (right)

By comparing the colophons – *okuzuke* (奥付) in Japanese – of the fourth and the fifth chapters, we soon notice a slight difference in the space where the publishers' names and addresses were registered; in the first case we only see Murataya Jirōbee from Tōriaburachō in Edo, while in the second we read four different names: apart from Murataya, we have another publisher from the same area, Tsuruya Kiemon; and two others from Ōsaka, Kawachiya Taisuke and Nishimura Genroku. This increase in the number of printers is evidence that the *Hizakurige* was being published and sold in Kansai[16], in addition to Edo. The fifth volume marked its debut in a new area whose readers were considered more refined and cultured than their counterpart from Edo. It seems apparent that the production changes described above were attempts to attract new readers.

[15] This illustration shows another important peculiarity: for the first time it used two colors, pink for clams and green for the pine needles. This was the first time a frontispiece was decorated with two colors; previously, no one had ever used this expedient to attract the readers' curiosity. The frontispiece from the sixth chapter also employs the same technique.

Ikku and Murataya were no longer addressing their low-budget product to a less critical readership, such as the people in Edo, but to many new potential readers, far more refined and expert in literature, due to the long and eminent literary tradition of the city of Kyōto. Hence, they changed their original plan by introducing new elements that might attract new readers and communicate to them that the *Hizakurige* was no longer a low-budget product from Edo, a city of warriors and merchants, but an attractive production that deserved to be read as suitable material for their literary high standards.[17]

In the fifth chapter we also read Ikku's official presentation to his new readers; in the second part, page eleven verso, a man comes up to Yaji and Kita asking about their place of origin. Once he realizes that they came from Edo, the man asks for an official presentation.

> "My name is Jippensha Ikku," said Yaji, and the man answered, "That's a very celebrated name. Are you really Jippensha Ikku? I'm very glad to meet you. My name is Kabocha no Gomajiru. Are you going to Ise on this journey?"
> "Yes," replied Yaji. "I came here especially to gain information for the *Hizakurige*."
> "Oh dear me, that's an extremely famous book," said Gomajiru.[18]

The passage marks the beginning of a famous *entr'acte* in which Yaji pretends to be Ikku and Kita passes himself off as an unconvincing *hizōdeshi* (秘蔵弟子), a pupil whose name is Ippensha Nanryō. As demonstrated above, the fifth volume of the *Hizakurige* made its debut in a new area, whose readers were largely unaware of Jippensha Ikku and of the popularity that he might have gained in a different part of Japan; we can reasonably read the passage as the author's official presentation to a new audience. Ikku decided to introduce himself and to show the readers in Kansai the popularity that his masterpiece enjoyed in the rest of the country, and Gomajiru's answer seems to be particularly meaningful.

According to Kyokutei Bakin, a real *Hizakurige* boom exploded around the fifth year of Bunka (1808) and its popularity greatly increased, just like the number of writers who drew inspiration and who imitated the original work. In the section of the *Sakusha burui* dedicated to the writers of *chūhon*[19] he stated:

> Immediately after the publication of a work entitled *Hizakurige*, from the fifth, sixth year of Bunka onward, (Jippensha Ikku) met with the readers' predilections and became extremely popular.[20]

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[16] The region of the cities of Kyōto and Ōsaka, also known as Kamigata.

[17] Edo was considered a city of warriors and merchants as it was the capital of the military government, and therefore full of warriors and merchants, with no aristocracy living there, as they were all in Kyōto.

[18] Thomas Satchell, *Shanks mare*, Tokyo: Chronicle Tuttle, 1960, p. 193. Only the first part of the dialogue is from Satchell's translation. The last two cues did not correspond to the original meaning, so I decided to suggest my own version.

[19] Literally "middle-size book", whose page had the same size as a Mino sheet folded in two parts (19 × 13 cm).

[20] Kyokutei Bakin (edited by Kimura Miyogo), *Kinseimono no hon Edosakushaburui* [Classification of Writers and Books from the Edo Period], Tokyo: Yagishoten, 1988 (page number unidentified by the author).

The sixth volume, besides showing a *mikaeshi* completely different from the previous one, (see illustration 5) with green writing in a frame composed of tools generally used by calligraphers, presents a frontispiece drawn by Toyokuni, representing two plum branches on two bundles of camphor sticks, decorated with a poem composed by Ikku. This is not the only professional illustration of the volume, as Katsukawa Shuntei[21] embellished the next *sashie* by drawing a group of three men pulling a boat out of the Yodogawa river. This involvement of professional artists demonstrated the author and publisher's attempts to attract readers from Kansai.

The seventh book also shows a signed frontispiece, drawn by Shuntei, representing two geisha in the vicinity of the willow tree at the entrance of the Shimabara, the red-light district in Kyōto. However, this chapter introduces a new type of *mikaeshi*, (see illustration 6) in blue-colored paper with a reproduction of a *Kameyama bakemono*, a toy sold in Asakusa. Similarly, we see colored paper in the last chapter, but this time it is green, (see illustration 7) with several illustrations of shells by Shuntei. It also shows a double frontispiece signed by Yoshimaro and Shikimaro, brothers and members of the Kitagawa school.

Illustration 6 & 7. *Mikaeshi* from the seventh (left) and the eighth chapters (right)

Thus, we can see how the *Hizakurige* evolved in response to the transformation of the readership. The graphic apparatus became a perfect addendum to attract new readers and to please the old ones; this strategy to enlarge the readership included the gradual involvement of professional painters. The eighth and last chapter even has an official illustrator: at the end of the seventh volume, Murataya wrote a message to promote and disclose the outcome of the new installment. We read:

> *Hizakurige*, eighth chapter, by Jippensha Ikku; illustration by Katsukawa Shuntei.[22]

[21] (1770–1820) Painter, Katsukawa Shunshō's disciple and Ikku's close collaborator. Particularly renowned for his portraits of kabuki actors.

[22] Jippensha Ikku, *Tōkaidōchū*…, VII, Vol. 2, Colophon, p. 68, verso.

This short passage illustrates the clear relinquishment of low-cost production and, at the same time, the successful achievement of a professionalized process.

Gasan

Besides being strongly influenced by readers' tastes and by their growing numbers, the *Hizakurige* gradually turned into a means of promotion and support. *Gasan*[23] (画賛), verses created as decoration for pictures, followed exactly the same evolution as the work. Their number increased volume after volume: the first chapter presented only a limited number of those verses, and their authors were all members of Ikku's entourage, rather than his followers. The second volume is not embellished by any verse, which reappeared only in the third chapter. Here we have another illustration of the strategy adopted by Murataya and Ikku, who turned a work initially born as a low-cost product into a professional production. The third installment, which we defined as the first turning point in the publisher's commercial plan, presents an increase in the total number of *gasan* – three – but, it is only in the fifth chapter that we see a considerable increase. The verses pass from a total amount of eight, in chapter four, to twenty, spanning three sections, *jōkan*, *chūkan* and *gekan*, respectively the first, second and third parts. A further difference concerns their authors: while previously they were all members of Ikku's entourage, the poets of the fifth volume are all unknown and, except for three, they are definitely not Ikku's disciples.[24]

Next to each name the author carefully registered its geographic origin, so that we can classify three groups – the poets from Owari, the friends from Mikawa, and Ikku's fellows from Suruga.[25] The members of the first group had a special status; they were numerically greater and preceded the other two in importance. Within them, a leading position was taken by the man of letters called Kinometei Dengaku, whose real name was Kamiya Takasuke, and who worked as a doctor in Owari. Although he was not one of the mainstream literates, he was quite well-known in Edo, and Kyokutei Bakin wrote a short passage about his literary activity in his *Sakusha burui*:

> Doctor from Nagoya, Owari, whose real name was Kamiya Takasuke. He particularly enjoyed humor and wittiness and, as he was a gifted writer, during the first year of Kyōwa composed a *kusazōshi*[26] in three volumes entitled *Chōchingurayami no nanayaku*. He handed his creation over to Bakin and next spring – the first day of the second year of Kyōwa – it was released by Tsuruya.[27]

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[23] 画賛 *gasan* celebratory poems.

[24] Many authors of the Edo period had as many disciples. Followers and disciples shared one or more Chinese characters from the name of their master: for example, Jippensha Ikku's disciples were Tōteisha Ichiga, Tōshōtei Ippu, etc.; their names clearly show a resemblance to their master's pseudonym.

[25] Owari, Mikawa and Suruga were three important cities.

[26] A literary genre that was particularly famous during the Edo period for its popular and humorous contents. According to the color of covers we can point out several groups: *akahon*, red covers, intended for children, *kurohon* and *aohon*, respectively, black and blue covers, designated for an adult audience, and, finally *kibyōshi*, yellow covers, whose witty tone and frivolous contents were very popular during the entire era.

[27] Bakin, *Kinseimono*…, Tokyo: Yagishoten, 1988.

According to Tanahashi Masahiro[28], Ikku met Dengaku during a poem race and, delighted by his skill, asked him to collect verses to adapt in his *Hizakurige*. It is indeed clear how celebratory verses from the fifth chapter were intended to introduce and promote poems composed by amateur circles from cities and villages along the Tōkaidō. Ikku and Murataya started selling celebratory verses, as shown in a recently found letter written by Ikku to Dengaku; it dates back to the 21st day of the first month of the third year of Bunka (1806) and reports the following message:

> I held in due consideration all of your names.[29]

And more importantly:

> Before my departure, I received your parting gift; I felt blessed and honored and it is extremely hard for me to express my sincere gratitude and my regards.[30]

We realize that the author has received a *senbetsu*[31] (餞別) (parting gift), so we understand that his aim of introducing and publishing verses by amateurs was due to a perfectly planned commercial strategy. As stated above, Ikku and Murataya decided to sell the opportunity to enter the *Hizakurige* – a production extremely popular at the time – to the highest bidder, as shown by the letter and by the payment.

Illustration 8. *Sashie* from the sixth chapter drawn by Katsukawa Shuntei (see p. 6) & *gasan* by Senshūan Sandarabocchi

[28] Tanahashi Masahiro, 'Gesakusha retsuden (12) Jippensha Ikku – Ikku no tegami' [Biographies of Writers (12) Jippensha Ikku – A letter from Ikku], *Nihonkosho tsūshin*, Vol. 945, No. 4, 2008, pp. 15–16.

[29] Ibidem.

[30] Ibidem.

[31] 餞別 *senbetsu* parting gift. Parting gifts were quite common in Japan for travelers. Upon leaving their friend's house, they usually got an amount of money with which they could easily return home without fear of running out of money. In Ikku's case, as stated by the letter and many other diary excerpts, he received a great amount of money, almost five *ryō*, during a trip to the city of Matsumoto, and this clearly shows that those who paid the money for the parting gift were definitely trying to buy the author's sympathy.

The tendency towards professional collaborations is even more remarkable in the last three volumes. A constantly increasing number of professional poets and well-known men of letters made contributions in verses: the sixth chapter, for example, begins with a poem composed by Senshūan Sandarabocchi[32] (see illustration 8), the leader of the Kanda school. As years passed, both Ikku and Murataya realized how important *gasan* were: as shown above, they sold most of the celebratory verses in the fifth chapter to three groups of amateurs in exchange for money, and this is also noticeable in the last three volumes. *Gasan* were a useful and precious advertising instrument, and the poets who had the honor of composing those verses, besides taking advantage of the *Hizakurige*'s popularity, were quite sure that even those who did not buy a copy of the volume would have read their compositions and praised their skill, which meant a sure and immediate promotion in terms of popularity.

In addition to many famous poets, from the sixth book onward, the already large group of versifiers grew richer, due to many new entries: the above-mentioned volume presents several other contributions by local artists, such as Ichibasai from Suruga and Tōsaku of the Hamanoya – the owner of the most famous brothel of the Yoshiwara, the red-light district in Edo. (See illustration 9) Apart from the local poets, whose verses were introduced in exchange for money, we have Mantei Onitake (also known as Kanwatei Onitake), one of the author's closest friends, who made his first appearance in the seventh book, first part, page sixteen recto, with a short quotation: "There was a mix of dialects from all over the country, but I decided to omit their description – obsolete by this time – as Kanwatei already did it in his *Kyūkanchō*".[33] His real walk-on happened in the sixth volume, with many half-hidden citations

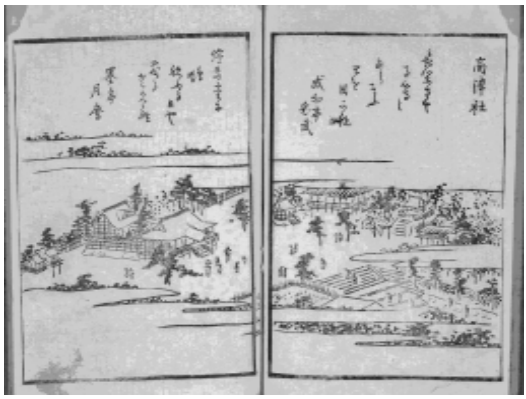

Illustration 9. *Gasan* composed by Tsukimaro (left) & Kanwatei Onitake (right)

[32] Former known as Akamatsu Masanobu, Senshūan studied *kyōka* (comic poetry) with the great Karakoromo Kisshū while working as a laborer. He became a leading member of the Senshū school and died during the eleventh year of Bunka (1814) at the age of eighty-four.

[33] A work composed by Mantei Onitake in three volumes, which is nowadays considered his masterpiece. Published from the second to the sixth year of Bunka (1805–1809), its plot closely resembled the *Hizakurige*. Like Ikku's masterpiece, Onitake's *Kyūkanchō* also describes a couple of ribald travelers who go on a short journey and, just like the protagonist of the *Hizakurige*, they get

from his masterpiece, but he was always present in the last three chapters due to *gasan*, quotations and, more importantly, the *sashie* drawn in imitation of his masterpiece.

It is then clear how the *gasan* constituted not only a clever device to present activities of local literary circles, but were also an ingenious instrument to promote and support the author's entourage, such as Onitake, or also Tsukimaro, a painter whose poems appear in the eighth chapter.[34]

The reprint[35]

The second part of the current study on the commercialization of the *Tokaidōchū hizakurige* concerns its reprint, which dated from the second year of Bunkyū (1862) and which was the sole attempt to put on the market of the Edo period, for the second time, a work whose popularity had not decreased despite a fifty-year interval since its first publication. It consists of ten chapters, two more than the original, and its three publishers – Yamashiroya from Edo, Hishiya from Kyōto and Kawachiya from Ōsaka – resorted to many expedients to turn the novel into a reliable travel guide: first of all, (see illustration 10) they introduced distance indicators – perhaps the cleverest idea of the *saihan* (再販) (reprint)[36] – with which they indicated the distance between two stations and then divided the text into many paragraphs, making the reading easier.

The reprint also used replacements and omissions for places which had ceased to exist since the time of the first publication. By updating the names of places and of restaurants, the three publishers endeavored to make their creation as accurate as possible, and by

Illustration 10. (Left page) the rectangle which follows the title is a distance indicator 'from Hakone to Mishima, 3 *ri* and 28 *chō*', from the second chapter, volume 1

in trouble while traveling to the countryside. Onitake's protagonists are from the northern part of Japan (Ōshū) and they became famous for the bad manners and rudeness they show while visiting Edo.

[34] Many scholars think that *gasan* signed by painters, such as Tsukimaro, were designated to mark the origin of the illustrations they executed personally.

[35] The text adopted as reference is a copy of the reprint of *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige*, held in Waseda University Library, printed during the second year of Bunkyū (1862), by Yamashiroya in Edo, Kawachiya in Ōsaka and Hishiya in Kyōto; format: *chūhon*.

[36] After the Meiji Restoration (1867), many reprints of the *Hizakurige* were issued and they all adopted the clever expedient of distance indicators.

rearranging the original material and creating thematic sections, they divided the work into four different travel guides. The first comprised the initial four volumes and described the travel along the Tōkaidō road; the second included the fifth and the sixth volumes and it dealt with the pilgrimage to Ise Shrine. The last two sections contained the two chapters dedicated to the journey in Kyōto and in Ōsaka respectively. This justified the new arrangement of contents and the increase of two volumes over the original amount.

Furthermore, by increasing the amount of *furigana*[37] and turning most of the words in *kanji* into *hiragana*, the printers made the new *Hizakurige* easier to read. The number of words with *furigana* at their right side – which were designed to enable correct pronunciation – was greatly increased. Apart from the total amount of place-names, we notice that also the easy-to-read Chinese characters have *furigana* at their side[38], which should have made the work comprehensible for everyone, including less proficient readers. Through the rote repetition of the above-mentioned devices, the Bunkyū reprint became infinitely more accessible, and therefore able to increase its readership and disseminate its contents to a wider audience.

The transformation into a perfect guide would not have been complete without a new decorative apparatus, so every *sashie* was changed. With great precision the printers tried to make the illustrations suitable as a travel guide, without overlooking the real key to success: the adventures of the two protagonists. The original work presented a wide variety of pictures in which we only see famous panoramas and temples without any trace of individuals and, more importantly, of the two protagonists[39]; on the contrary, almost every *sashie* of the reprints introduced places, famous temples and unforgettable panoramas, but always put the two characters at its center. In the new approach we see no more pictures imitating the old travel guides, but only new representations trying to combine the comic *entr'actes* and boost the advertising aspect. This tendency is particularly noticeable in the last two sections, (see illustration 11) in which we notice an increasing number of illustrations with titles such as '*Sumiyoshi odori no kei*' 住吉踊乃景, '*Tenmangū jinjanai no kei*' 天満宮神社内乃景 and '*Kitano tenjin no kei*' 北野天神乃景[40], in perfect *annaiki* (guidebook) style.

The Bunkyū reprint, unlike the original, never cut out Yaji and Kita from the *sashie*, and the reason why is to be found in their great popularity. During the time span between the

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[37] *Furigana* were letters designed to correct pronunciation, written at the right side of every Chinese character.

[38] For example *kyō*, today, or also *ima*, now.

[39] Ikku and Murataya also decided to introduce illustrations drawn on the model of the travel guide. The fifth volume presents only one *sashie*, which drew inspiration from a work titled *Isesangū meishozue* – a guide for travelers to Ise Shrine – but this tendency is even stronger in the last three chapters, in which we notice an almost exclusive use of copied illustrations. The sixth and seventh books, which are set in Kyōto, drew inspiration from the *Miyako meishozue*, while the last volume, about Ōsaka, was based on the *Settsu meishozue*. The reason why Ikku's pictorial skill was omitted is to be found partly in the author's fear of being accused of superficiality by the exigent Kansai readers, as he did not know the city of Kyōto in detail, and partly in the decision to turn the work into a practical service for the readers.

[40] Respectively, an illustration of a Sumiyoshi dance, an illustration of the inner part of Tenmangū Shrine, and an illustration of Kitano Sanctuary.

Illustration 11. Example of illustration with title 'Kyoto, illustration of the inner part of the Pavilion of the Great Buddha'

original edition and the reprint, many works that closely resembled the *Hizakurige* were issued. These all shared something with the original – not only the pattern of the journey but, more often, the two protagonists. According to Ōzaki Kyūya, the number of the so-called *hizakurige mono* – works that imitated Ikku's masterpiece – greatly increased; at the beginning they were mostly *sharebon*[41], but soon works that imitated even the two protagonists' names were published. This is the case with the *Nagoya kenbutsu* from the twelfth year of Bunka (1815), or the *Hizasuriki* from the fourth year of Bunka (1807), which was published in Kyōto and set in Ōsaka. During the tenth year of Bunka (1813) the *Tennōji mairi* was published, and a few years later, during the An'ei period (1854–60), Kanagaki Rōbun[42] composed the *Nikkōdōchū hizakurige* and the *Kōshūdōchū hizakurige*. The above-listed productions had Yaji and Kita as their main characters but, in the meantime, productions with protagonists who bore different names were also published – the *Inaka mizu* (1808) and the *Kokkei arima kikō* (1813), among others. We estimate that, during the fifty years between the two editions of the *Hizakurige*, more than twenty works with Yaji and Kita as main characters were printed, while the number of productions whose protagonists' name differed reached thirty.[43]

As stated above, every *sashie* was rearranged with new contents and a new style, less elaborate than the original. The entire amount of renewed illustrations showed a strong

[41] This genre was extremely popular during the second part of the eighteenth century, and often provided a sexually explicit setting, such as brothels, and two protagonists. One of them was younger and, by following his older friend who acted like a man of the world, *tsūjin* in Japanese, he was supposed to learn how to pick up women. In the end, the young protagonist showed himself to be far more expert than the older. *Sharebon* were famous for their witty tone and for the comic interaction between the two protagonists.

[42] A writer and journalist of the late Edo period; his first literary contributions were quite unsuccessful, but he suddenly became famous thanks to the publication of a work titled *Seiyōdōchū hizakurige* (Shank's mare to the western sea), which was based on Ikku's masterpiece (1829–1894).

[43] Ōzaki Kyūya, *Edoshōsetsu kenkyū* [Essays on the Novel during the Edo Period], Kōdōkaku, Tokyo, 1953.

tendency: unlike the original, they constantly try to present the scenes in their comical aspect. Ikku's original pictures used to illustrate the immediately foregoing instant in every *entr'acte*, perhaps in an attempt to excite the readers' curiosity and to increase the sense of tension. Many scholars have studied the Bunkyū reprint only superficially, and they all point out how its illustrated section is not comparable to the original. However, this study suggests that there is a connection between many pictures of the *saihan* and some of the most renowned pictorial works of the time, such as Utagawa Hiroshige's[44] *Dōchūhizakurige* and *Hizakurige dōchūsuzume*, both painted and published during the Tenpō era (1830–44).

Illustration 12. New arrangement of the *hamaguri* by Toyokuni

Although deemed less valuable in comparison, the new pictorial embellishment reveals the influence of many famous works of the time, such as Hiroshige's masterpieces. Several illustrations can be considered 'of value', and the printers try to highlight them in many ways. This is the case with the *hamaguri* by Toyokuni (see illustration 12) – originally the frontispiece of the fifth chapter – rearranged in a less expensive version for the reprint and decorated with a brand new poem. The new *Hizakurige*, besides paying homage to many famous productions of the time, shows many *sashie* drawn in imitation of models from the original version, whose popularity was evident even after five decades. Apart from the afore-mentioned *hamaguri*, we can also see that the first book of the reprint adapted an illustration from the original first volume – the picture was unique as it contained all the scenes from the chapter in one *sashie*, whose author was probably Kitagawa Shikimaro. He used Yaji's *nagaya* (row house)[45] as setting, with each room serving as a stage for the main episodes of the narration, with a style that closely resembled our time's comic strips.[46]

[44] Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858) was a famous *ukiyo* painter, a disciple of Utagawa Toyohiro; he became famous for his poetic and colorful views and panoramas, but he was also renowned for the so-called *kachōga*, illustrations of flowers, trees, birds, and insects. His masterpiece is entitled 'The fifty-three views of Tōkaidō'.

[45] Nagaya, or a row house, was a line of narrow houses with only one floor in which many families lived.

[46] The original picture introduced many short dialogues between the characters in every episode/room, and the reprint rearranged them all without even changing a single word.

As stated above, to put the new *Hizakurige* on the market, the publishers tried to rearrange illustrations – updating the subjects – and made the contents easy to read for everyone. In addition, most of the volumes lack any decorative element, such as the *mikaeshi*, the *jo* and the *batsu* (introduction and conclusion respectively) or the useful *hanrei*, legend. We saw how important these elements were at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the original edition was published, and how their production could be connected to sales strategies and commercial plans; the reprint, issued more than fifty years later, did not give any space to these important devices, as shown by their total absence. This, in addition to the new arrangement of the *sashie*, was one of the most common ways of promoting writings to less proficient readers. Works lacking in many of the decorative elements – which were the main reason for their high price – were sent almost daily to the countryside, where people usually could not afford to buy finely decorated books.

Conclusion

After our comparison of the only two manuscript editions of the *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* we possess today, and in light of the results of the survey, we can safely draw some conclusions. The original edition of the *Hizakurige* changed together with its readers, going from a low-budget, amateur production to a creation in which the effort and the contributions of professionals were essential in order to enlarge its readership and, at the same time, to promote the author's entourage and close collaborators. The best strategy to pursuit these goals appeared to Ikku and Murataya to require the involvement of professional painters, poets and men of letters, whose contributions would have certainly embellished the work, as the graphic section had a pre-eminent role in attracting people.

This study, however, demonstrates that the new arrangement of the simpler and cheaper reprint better served the publishers' aim of increasing demand and reaching readers in rural areas. The difference in terms of price between a non-decorated book and its adorned counterpart could be substantial: a *fukuroiri gōkan*, a series of volumes bound together with a decorative sack, for example, cost one-hundred and ten *mon*, while a simpler version without the ornamental sack cost only eighty-eight *mon.*[47] It was then obvious that a book with little or no decorative element was cheaper and could thus attract a wider range of readers.

[47] Sato Satoru, '[Kane no waraji] no henshū to Moriya Jibee' [Moriya Jibee and the Publication of 'Kano no waraji'] *Shoshigaku geppō*, Vol. 50, No. 2, 1993, pp. 1–11.

Notes on Contributors

DAVID A D E B A H R, Ludwig Maximilians University, Munich

OLGA B A R B A S I E W I C Z, Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

ILDIKÓ F A R K A S, Eastern Cultures Institute (Japanese Department) of the Károli Gáspár University of the Hungarian Reformed Church, Budapest

KIE K A W A D A, Independent Researcher from Japan

FRAUKE K E M P K A, Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg

BEATA K O W A L C Z Y K, Institute of Sociology, University of Warsaw

NICOLAS L E V I, Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

MARTA L U T Y-M I C H A L A K, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski University in Warsaw

TOMASZ O L E J N I C Z A K, Kozminski University in Warsaw

PAWEŁ P A S I E R B I A K, Faculty of Economics, Maria Curie-Sklodowska University, Lublin

MARIO T A L A M O, University of Naples „the Oriental"

IOAN T R I F U, Lyons Institute of East Asian Studies

TINE W A L R AV E N S, Ghent University

LARISA Z A B R O V S K A I A, Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the People of the Far East, FEB RAS, Vladivostok