Loss and Legacy: Textual Attrition and Kyokutei Bakin's "Principles of Evaluation and Synopses of the Early Works of Chosakudō"

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"I have grown old and lost my memory. Now I only know the names of my works (*kyūsaku*) from thirty and forty years ago. There is little else that I remember. It is for this reason that when I had my daughter-in-law read them to me on a full spring day this year, these works (*tasaku*) struck my ears with a fresh feeling—like they belong to a writer departed from this world."[1] With these words, Kyokutei Bakin (1767-1848) opened one of the final literary projects of his life, a manuscript evaluating his earliest yomihon, called "Principles of Evaluation and Synopses of the Early Works of Chosakudō" ("Chosakudō kyūsaku ryaku hihyō tekiyō") in the final years of the Tenpō era (1830-44).[2] The translation of the last line is clumsy, because Bakin uses a sinological compound word, *tasaku* 他作, that embodies an authorial presence alienated from the writer. The works (*saku*) are from another person (*ta*), and, to emphasize the point, he decorates this noun with the phrase "gone from this world." In essence, the works are indistinguishable from their creator, and both—to Bakin—belong to a distant past.

Though Bakin has a penchant for hyperbolic language, the tone of loss in his words is unmistakeable. As he notes, his eyesight has failed him over the years and he has to rely on his daughter-in-law Omichi for reading and writing, undoubtedly contributing to a sense of frustration over his engagement with these early works. Also, his manuscript "Principles and Synopses" comes at the end of a decades-long literary project, his magnum opus *Chronicles of the Eight Dog Warriors* (*Nansō Satomi Hakkenden*) (1814-1844), which itself ends with a reflection on the meaning of that particular work in defining his own authorial identity. In the final prefaces of the *Chronicles of the Eight Dog Warriors*, Bakin complains of the avaricious demands of the publishing world and contrasts these conditions with a more elegiac vision of the literary scene during the Bunka and Bunsei eras (1804-1838). "Principles and Synopses" may also be thought of in context of the losses of both his son Sōhaku to illness and his own personal library when he sought to secure his grandson's future after that death. In essence, it functions like a memento mori of his own existence as a reader, as a writer, and as a father.

This essay considers how two strains of loss are among the contributing factors for the formation of "Principles and Synopses" in the final years of Bakin's life. Furthermore, I will connect these strains of personal loss to a broader concept of textual attrition, or, the loss of a book's form, both in content and materiality, on the literary market due to either alteration or extinction. For the first strain of loss for Bakin, the sale of his own personal library confronts Bakin with the degenerated state of his literary oeuvre in the book markets of Edo and beyond. Textual attrition requires him to rely on broader networks for reacquiring his works, yet even these resources reveal the difficulty of acquiring good quality works. The process of evaluating texts for

[1] Kamiya Katsuhiro and Hayakawa Yumi, eds., *Bakin no jisaku hihyō—Sekisui hakabutsu kanzō" Chosakudō kyūsakuryaku jihyō tekiyō"*—. 馬琴の自作批評ー石水博物館蔵 『著作堂旧作略批評摘要』— (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 2010), 135.
[2] Hereafter to be abbreviated as "Principles and Synopses."

quality, however, gives Bakin the opportunity to closely reflect on the works that appear in "Principles and Synopses." The second strain of loss for Bakin is his inability to maintain control over how his works are advertised and reprinted. The material presentation of his works greatly concerned him, as he saw the quality of that materiality as a representation of his own literary merits for readers. Yet, time, politics, and the tastes of publishers for profit are factors that contend against his standards for quality in the reprints of his works. In "Principles and Synopses," this loss of authorial control is largely figured around the presence of Tamenaga Shunsui. This essay seeks to see "Principles and Synopses" as a means for Bakin to regain some stability over the literary legacy that he would leave behind in the face of literary markets undergoing perpetual change.

"Principles of Evaluation and Synopses of the Early Works of Chosakudō"

The central object of this essay's focus is the aforementioned "Principles of Evaluation and Synopses of the Early Works of Chosakudō" that is ascribed to the writer Kyokutei Bakin, but its discovery and material form show broader circuits of flow that complicate our understanding of this manuscript's origins. While this essay is largely concerned with how different forms of attrition and threats to Bakin's literary works contributed to the creation of "Principles of Evaluation and Synopses," I will begin here with a basic description of the object and its state of discovery for the reader's sake.

"Principles of Evaluation and Synopses" is the recent discovery in 2010 of Kamiya Katsuhiro, who chanced upon it while perusing the library stacks of the Mie Prefectural Museum in Tsu, Mie Prefecture in preparation for a curated event on theater culture of the Edo period (1600-1868). The manuscript is split into two different volumes that each uses different formats of sheets, one a lined stationary for drafting and the other a collection of blank *mino* paper. The difference between these sheets raises the possibility that the manuscript is a reproduction from another master draft or copy. The first volume bears the name "Keisō" within the middle margin, which is the personal name of Ozu Keisō, a well-known literary associate of Bakin.[3] In his scholarly apparatus to a bound photocopied reproduction and modern-typeface transliteration of the manuscript, Kamiya identifies that the manuscript is in the handwriting of Bakin's daughter-in-law Omichi, suggesting that it was a gift sent to Keisō.[4] Though this is the sole extant copy of the manuscript, there is strong evidence that other members of Bakin's epistolary network, including, Kimura Mokurō and Tonomura Jōsai, had their own versions.[5] How and when the copies were made out is unclear, and there is the possibility of inconsistencies between the different

[3] Ozu Keisō (1804-1858) was a member of wealthy merchant household that ran shops in Kyōto, Osaka, and Edo. Keisō was a literary name (he also used Hisatari) and his personal name was first Yasukichi and then Shinzō. At the age of 14, Keisō studied under Motoori Haruniwa, the oldest son of Motoori Norinaga. When Haruniwa died in 1828, Keisō took over some of his scholarly pursuits. His correspondence with Bakin dates from 1829. He lived in the Matsuzaka domain of Ise province.

[4] Kamiya and Hayakawa, CKJT, 8.

[5] Tonomura Jōsai (1779-1847), also known as Yasumori, was a *kokugaku* (national learning) scholar and a poet. He studied under the *kokugaku* scholar Motoori Norinaga until the latter's death. Along with Keisō, Jōsai maintained a close correspondence with Bakin. Jōsai clearly valued that relationship and kept Bakin's letters as a personal treasure—the majority of the extant letters attributed to Bakin come from Tonomura's collection. He lived in the Matsuzaka domain of Ise province.

manuscripts. The document opens new questions about the role of the epistolary network in Bakin's writing.

"Principles of Evaluation and Synopses" is devoted to a close examination of the publishing histories and content of the yomihon novels Bakin wrote between 1803 and 1813. Yomihon is the name given to a genre of popular historical narrative that blends Classical Chinese and Japanese sources with more contemporary popular sources, and contains elaborate material presentations. The books contained within the first volume, in the order of appearance, are:

1. *Legend of the Ghostly Rat of Bishop Raigō* (*Raigō ajari kaisoden* 1808)
2. *A Stormy Night Moon through a Break in the Clouds* (*Kumo no taema amayo no tsuki* 1807)
3. *Strange Fate of a Bush Warbler Alighting Cherry Blossoms* (*Itozakura shunchō kien* 1812)
4. *The Real True Story of Shun and Denbei* (*Shunden jitsujitsuki* 1808)
5. *New Book of Plums and Willows by the Sumidagawa* (*Sumidagawa bairyū shinsho* 1806)
6. *Fabrications of Bei and Bei* (*Beibei kyodan* 1813)
7. *New Tale of the Salvation of Kasane* (*Shin Kasane gedatsu monogatari* 1807)
8. *Strange Tale of Hachijō: Three Layers of Old Clothes (Mino furuginu Hachijō kidan* 1813)
9. *Island Adventures of Monk Shunkan* (*Shunkan sōzu shima monogatari* 1804)
10. *Strange Account of the Four Deva Kings of Quelling Brigands* (*Shitennō tōzoku iroku* 1807)
11. *Aoto Fujitsuna's Casebook of Mysteries* (*Aoto Fujitsuna mōryoan* 1811)
12. *Pigeon on a Sapling Branch: A Strange Tale of Vengeance* (*Kataki kidan wake no hato* 1803)
13. *Tale of One Night in the Three Kingdoms* (*Sangoku ichiya monogatari* 1806).

The books contained within the second volume, in the order of appearance, are:

1. *Strange Fates of Moonlight on Ice* (*Geppyō kien* 1803)
2. *Echos of Words Set in Stone* (*Sekigen ikyō* 1803)
3. *Tale of Rewarding Virtue in a Secular World* (*Kanzen Tsuneyo monogatari* 1804)
4. *Snow in the Garden: Annotated* (*Tōchū sono no yuki* 1805)
5. *Hooded in Crêpe Paper* (*Kukuri zukin chirimen kamiko* 1807).[6]

All of these works are *hanshibon*-format yomihon, though Bakin published three *chūbon*-format yomihon in 1805 and 1806.[7] The works are also standalone volumes, and none of Bakin's

[6] All but one of these works have been published as modern *honkoku* versions. See Tokuda Takeshi and Suzuki Saburō, ed. *Bakin chūhen yomihon shūsei*, 18 vols. Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1996.

[7] There were several different standardized print formats used by book publishers during the Tokugawa period. *Hanshibon* (半紙本) books measured roughly 35 cm x 26 cm. *Chūbon* (中本) measured roughly 18 cm x 13 cm. Different genres, and thus publishers, specialized in each format, and thereby the size of the book came to carry a nuance of its economic and aesthetic value. With qualification, *hanshibon* were considered more serious and *Chūbon* more frivolous.

serialized works, like *Rare Tale of a Crescent Moon* (*Chinsetsu Yumi harizuki*) (1807-1811), are included or referenced. The latest of the works to be evaluated, *The Fabrications of Bei and Bei* and *The Strange Tales of Hachijō*, are published a year before Bakin began the serialization of the *Chronicles of the Eight Dog Warriors*, possibly suggesting that Bakin felt a distinction between his literary career as a writer of shorter works and the later period as a writer of serialized works.

The evaluations, as suggested by the manuscript title, "Principles of Evaluation and Synopses," focus on paraphrasing the narratives of the stories while assessing the literary quality of the works. Each evaluation begins with a circle that uses shading to express the value of the work, where the shaded parts represent sections he deemed inferior. The evaluations give the key features of the novels, including, the relationships of the characters; elements of the plot; details of the bibliographic history of the novels; and, applications of Bakin's "seven rules of the historical novel."[8] The greatest difference between the evaluations of the first volume and those found in the second volume is length—those in the second volume are substantively longer. The first volume ends with the suggestion that these evaluations run according to the order in which Bakin composed them. "The self-evaluations of thirteen or fourteen titles given above will be taken as the first volume. I will compile additional self-evaluations into a second volume when my amanuensis has the time to read them to me."[9] Bakin's epistolary correspondences, however, complicate this vision of the order in which he worked. In one of his letters, Bakin writes that a self-evaluation of *Hooded in Crêpe Paper* (the final entry of the second volume) has inspired him to undertake self-evaluations of his earliest works.[10]

What first inspired Bakin to visit his literary past? If *Hooded in Crêpe Paper* is the starting point, then "Principles and Synopses" is an outgrowth of a continuous dialogue centered around Bakin's anxiety over the integrity of his works and the loss of his own aesthetic control. This is consistent with the other works of the second volume, which are described as having problematic publication histories or having become scarce on the literary market. For example, Bakin writes in his letters that some of these works, like *Strange Fates of Moonlight on Ice*, *Tale of One Night in the Three Kingdoms*, and *The Tale of Rewarding Virtue in a Secular World*, were difficult to acquire as full or undamaged copies, necessitating that he cannibalize several different copies to make a worthwhile version for his own library. The evaluations of other works, like *Hooded in Crêpe Paper* and *Snow in the Garden*, belabor the interferences of shifty publishers and interlopers. "Principles of Evaluation and Synopses" may, therefore, be considered an effort by Bakin to secure his literary legacy for posterity.

Losing a Library

While not the sole catalyst for the formation of "Principles and Synopses," the sale of Bakin's personal library and his subsequent efforts to regain copies of these works show how his works survived on the literary markets during the Tenpō era (1830-1844). The need to raise funds for his grandson's investiture into the samurai bureaucracy forces Bakin to sell off his collection

[8] These are seven rules governing the historical novel that Bakin elaborated upon in his final volume of *Hakkenden*. For elaborations on each of the rules, see Hamada, 1975; Hattori, 1985; Tokuda, 1996; and Tokumaru, 2000.
[9] Kamiya and Hayakawa, CKJT, 164.
[10] Takizawa Bakin, Shibata Mitsuhiko, and Kanda Masayuki, *Bakin Shokan Shūsei,* vol 5 (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 2004), 280.

of books, including the copies of his own yomihon. Afterwards, Bakin begins to rebuild a collection of those yomihon, but he is confronted by the scarcity and poor condition of his works on the local markets. To bolster his effort, he relies on his epistolary network and local contacts to find superior quality volumes. "Principles and Synopses" bears evidence of the labors by Bakin and his epistolary network to reconstitute the loss of his original library.

The loss of Bakin's library began with a family tragedy and a crisis of succession. In 1835, Bakin lost his first son, Sōhaku, to an illness, thus making Sōhaku's son and Bakin's sole grandson, Tarō, the only candidate for inheriting the headship of the Takizawa household. The death of Sōhaku mirrored Bakin's own experiences of childhood. Bakin's father Takizawa Kōzō held a minor samurai rank within the bureaucracy of the Yoshii domain, ruled by Matsudaira Nobunori. He was attached to the domain's Edo mansion, but died in 1775 when Bakin was nine-years-old. Since the duty of succeeding Kōzō as head of the house fell to Bakin's older brothers Kōshi and Rabun, Bakin was free to pursue aspirations other than those expected of the eldest male child. Unfortunately, both of the elder brothers died while young, placing the onus on Bakin. The death of the father also strained the Takizawa household stipend, forcing them to renounce their social status of samurai to make a living as commoners.[11]

Throughout his later life Bakin held hopes for regaining the Takizawa family's past status as samurai. However, as a commoner who derived his family's finances from the labor of writing, he did not possess tangible assets, like a store or business, to pass down to his son. Therefore, he invested his personal connections and financial resources into purchasing a position within a domain's local Edo bureaucracy for Sōhaku, since such a position would allow the Takizawa family to enjoy a certain level of prestige and financial stability. The death of Sōhaku quashed those hopes. Bakin's solution was to reinvest in finding his infant grandson, Tarō, a suitable position. He elected to secure Tarō's future by bribing government officials for a low ranking post to inherit when Tarō came of age. The bribe required money that Bakin did not have.

In order to raise funds for purchasing the post, Bakin engaged in a campaign of fundraising.[12] A banquet was putatively held to celebrate his seventieth birthday, but in reality functioned to solicit contributions from his acquaintances. The preparations for this party began in June of 1836 when he first extended personal invitations to guests. These invitations included bestowing signed fans and silk kerchiefs with designs by Utagawa Kunisada and Utagawa Kuninao. Though scheduled for the ninth day of September, Bakin had to delay the party until the 24th. In the meantime, he commissioned a large number of food entrées, barrels of spirits, and different party favors to be handed out to the guests. The guests, in turn, reciprocated by offering gifts of money to the Bakin household. The party was held at the restaurant Manpachirō in Yanagibashi, Edo, where the leading literati, artists, writers, publishers, and many other key figures of the publishing world came to be entertained. His letters after the event carefully noted the distinguished guests by the category of their occupation: writer, poet, publisher, and so forth.[13]

[11] Bakin's family history is discussed in Zolbrod, Leon. *Takizawa Bakin*. (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc.), 1967.
[12] A description of the party is found in Zolbrod, Leon, *Takizawa Bakin*, 120-122.
[13] Takizawa Bakin, Shibata Mitsuhiko, and Kanda Masayuki, BBS4, 238-246.

In addition to the banquet, Bakin sold off his valuable possessions, including his cherished collection of Chinese and Japanese books. The sale of his books can be split into several major transactions: a first batch of books to local Edo publishers at the end of September, of 1836; a second batch to Keisō in October; a third batch to the ruling family of the Chōshū domain (modern day Yamaguchi prefecture) in November; a fourth batch to Mokurō and the brother of the manager of the residence in which he lived, a man by the name of Sugiura Kiyotarō, in the following year; and, several large parcels of books to Mokurō and the samurai family of the Chōshū domain in the middle of 1837. The majority of the books sold were classics from China and Japan, but he shows the greatest anguish over the sale of his own novels to Hayashi Udayū, who had been introduced to Bakin by Mokurō. Udayū is the older brother of Fujiura, a woman in the service of Sōteiin, the wife of Mōri Norifusa, the lord of the Chōshū domain. Bakin's distress over the sale is evident in a package of letters sent to Udayū in November of 1836. The contents of these letters include a description of the party, a receipt of sale for the books, and an addendum addressing his feelings.[14] From the contents of the addendum, it appears that Bakin knew of Udayū's unsuccessful visits to local publishers searching for works on behalf of his lord's wife. He sympathizes with Udayū, "as for my old works from the Kansei era, no matter how many times I ask publishers, I cannot get even a single one in my hand."[15] Yet, he also shows a reluctance to part with those works from his library, describing them as more valuable than the volumes of the other writers in his collection. It is only with great reservation that he is willing to yield them to Hayashi through the offices of Azabu (Mokurō). A list of the books given to Udayū and the prices placed for each is included on another sheet of paper. These include fifteen *hanshi-bon* works at one *kan* a volume for most and two *kan* a volume for those with woodblocks lost to fire. There are also nine *chūbon* format works, each priced at two *kabu,* or one *ryō* and three *kabu* in all. There are five additional non-literary books on this list as well, with ranging prices and conditions. The total price comes out to eight *ryō*, one *mon*, one *kabu*, and twenty-four *monme*.[16] Ten of the books reviewed in "Principles and Synopses" are part of the parcel sent for the reading pleasure of the lord's wife.

Almost immediately after the sales of his library, Bakin begins a concerted effort to rebuild his library. A letter to Jōsai, dated December 14, 1840, gives a clearer picture of the challenges he faced on the local Edo book markets.[17] There are five books that have been particularly troublesome to reacquire: *Tale of One Night in the Three Kingdoms, The Real True Story of Shun and Denbei, The Illustrated Water Margin, Strange Fates of Moonlight on Ice,* and *The Strange Fate of a Bush Warbler Alighting on Cherry Blossoms*. Though he no longer needed *Tale of One Night in the Three Kingdoms,* he writes that he is still searching for a better copy of *The Real True Story of Shun and Denbei.* The copy he currently possesses is rendered 'unusable' due to a number of places where someone attempted to color over the illustration. The volumes he finds of *The Real True Story of Shun and Denbei* and *The Illustrated Water Margin* on the local markets are incomplete or severely damaged in sections, but he purchases them all the same. "These dirty and damaged books are just like my ruined books, but I thought why not grab them and match up the good parts?"[18] Bakin ends the letter by mentioning how he has placed orders with local lending libraries (*kashihon'ya*) and used book shops, extending a standing order that had been previously

[14] Takizawa Bakin, Shibata Mitsuhiko, and Kanda Masayuki, BBS4, 247.
[15] Takizawa Bakin, Shibata Mitsuhiko, and Kanda Masayuki, BBS4, 247.
[16] Takizawa Bakin, Shibata Mitsuhiko, and Kanda Masayuki, BBS4, 249-251.
[17] Takizawa Bakin, Shibata Mitsuhiko, and Kanda Masayuki, BBS5, 236-239.
[18] Takizawa Bakin, Shibata Mitsuhiko, and Kanda Masayuki, BBS5, 236-239.

placed with the publisher Chōjiya. A similar scene of reconstructing books can be seen with *The Moon through a Break in the Clouds on a Stormy Night.* In a letter dated May 20, 1837, Bakin states that some of the pages of the book have fallen out of the binding and that he requested his daughter-in-law go to a lending library and copy out those missing pages.[19] He notes that the book in his possession is from many years ago and that the pages being copied out come from a revised edition.

Other letters also show how the epistolary network helped the search for yomihon in the markets outside of Edo, like those of Matsuzaka domain in Ise.[20] In his complaints about the unacceptable amount of writing in *The Real True Story of Shun and Denbei,* Bakin asks Jōsai to acquire a second half of the book in Ise and send it as a parcel to Edo. The remaining first half can be sold to recoup some of the expense.[21] Similarly, Bakin requests Keisō to keep an eye out for editions of *Strange Fates of Moonlight on Ice* and *The Moon through a Break in the Clouds on a Stormy Night.* There appear to have been only no undamaged first editions in Edo—only reprints. Also, Keisō is to acquire any newly printed copies of *Strange Account of the Four Deva Kings of Quelling Brigands* that he comes across.[22]

Censorship during the Tenpō era

In reassembling his library, Bakin confronts how his earliest works have survived in the Tenpō era (1830-44) book markets. There are many ways for books within those markets to suffer attrition or alteration, either through consumption or reproduction. The loss of woodblocks from fires or overuse necessitated the periodic re-carving of woodblocks for reprinting, which invariably changed the content and material presentation of the books. Austerity edicts of the Tokugawa bakufu aimed at instilling economic stability constrained publishers from overly embellishing their publications with decorations and illustration. Also, the collaborative nature of publishing and shifts in publishing strategies created new markets for reprinting older works in different formats. Publishers further capitalize on their investments by periodically reissuing reprints of older works disguised with new titles and illustrations.

Another threat facing books during the final years of Bakin's literary career was the forced and voluntary self-censorship of the bookseller guilds. The central government of the Tokugawa bakufu and the individual governments of the *han* domains preferred to control information indirectly by granting publishing rights to bookseller guilds that would police their own members. Publishers within the guilds would submit their proposed publications to guild officials that would, in turn, consult with city magistrates over the nature of their publications. Different formats and genres fell under the purview of different publisher groups that saw greater or lower levels of oversight based on the perception of the book's value in relation to the nature of its content. For example, though yomihon were recognized as fanciful pleasure reading purportedly for "women and children," since they melded classical Chinese and Japanese literature into more forthrightly didactic narratives and they used the *hanshi-bon* format that had close associations with informational texts, the yomihon genre was published by the more stringently supervised *kabu*

[19] Takizawa Bakin, Shibata Mitsuhiko, and Kanda Masayuki, BBS4, 335.
[20] This suggests a different level of attrition for books that exist outside of the capital center.
[21] Takizawa Bakin, Shibata Mitsuhiko, and Kanda Masayuki, BB5, 236-242.
[22] Takizawa Bakin, Shibata Mitsuhiko, and Kanda Masayuki BB5, 284.

nakama booksellers guilds of Osaka and Edo. Types of pleasure reading that were more obviously humorous and published in the cheaper formats, like *ninjōbon* and *kusazōshi*, were handled by *jihon toiya* publishing groups that enjoyed more freedom.

Though the political authorities of the Tokugawa governance system allowed booksellers a level of flexibility through self-policing, occasional moments of crisis brought about more direct interventions by the authorities against publishers and their publications. The general concerns for censorship surrounded books that dealt with Christianity, the political history of the Tokugawa family or other daimyō, critical observations of contemporary society and the ruling elites, and overly salacious materials. In general, direct censorship in the form of confiscation of materials and the halting of publication of books was rarely applied. In the case of the *kabu nakama* booksellers guild that specialized in yomihon, *Illustrated Record of the Regent* (*Ehon Taikō ki*) came under government censorship in 1804, leading to the confiscation of the woodblocks and the cessation of its public circulation. Initially published in 1797, *Illustrated Record of the Regent* was unfettered in its circulation, but only became problematic when external events made its historic narrative of the Toyotomi family, the rulers of Japan before Tokugawa Ieyasu consolidated his own power, objectionable to the authorities.[23] Closer to Bakin's own experience, the economic and social crises of the late 18th century led to a series of reforms from 1787 until 1793 called the Kansei Reforms. Part of these reforms included a clamp down on "frivolous writing" and unorthodox teaching in literature with severe warnings to the most popular writers of the day. One of these writers, Santō Kyōden suffered fifty days of confinement while his publisher Tsutaya Jūzaburō had half of his wealth confiscated for offenses ostensibly found in three of Kyōden's humorous *sharebon* in 1791. In reality, however, the censored books were rather benign, and the act of punishment was a broader message to the publishing world as part of the general social engineering of the 1790s.[24] Curiously, Kyōden's confinement and psychic trauma from the episode allowed the unpublished Bakin to collaborate with Kyōden on several publications. The impact on production of the Kansei Reforms did not last long, however, as popular publishing rapidly expanded during the cultural renaissance of the Bunka and Bunsei eras (1804-1830), during the earlier half of which the books evaluated in "Principles and Synopses" were initially published.

The situation of censorship and disarray for publishing had substantively worsened in the years immediately prior to the composition of the copy of "Principles and Synopses" possessed by Keisō. The first volume of Keisō's copy ends with the date of March 26th of the 15th year of the Tenpō era.[25] Due to increasing and economic instability in the second half of the Tenpō era, another series of reforms was issued by the senior councilor Mizuno Tadakuni starting in January of 1842 and extending to 1843. Included in the reforms were specific edicts aimed at the smaller popular printer organizations (*shomotsu toiya)* and the larger trans-regional bookseller guilds (*kabu nakama*) that were designed to stabilize the economy and to discourage perceived immorality in the public informational sphere. Alongside many of the other trade guilds, the Tenpō reforms disbanded the *shomotsu toiya* and *kabu nakama* for bookmakers. The loss of the internal policing and registering that these organizations provided threw the publishing world into chaos. From July of 1842, the Bakufu took direct control over the inspection of the whole publishing

[23]Davis, 282-293.
[24] Kornicki, 156-165.
[25] This date correlates to May 13, 1844 on the Gregorian calendar.

world, which had a severe impact on illustrated fiction (*kusazōshi*), colored woodblock prints (*nishikie*), and sentimental contemporary fiction (*ninjōbon*).[26]

By a curious quirk of fate, Bakin's decades-long *Chronicles of the Eight Dog Warriors* ended in 1842, when the Tenpō Reforms were launched. Yet, he still saw the threat posed by these measures against the works of popular writers. Perhaps even more popular than *Chronicles of the Eight Dog Warriors*, Ryūtei Tanehiko's serialized illustrated novel *The Imposter Murasaki's Country Bumpkin Genji* (*Nise Murasaki Inaka Genji*) had its publication interrupted because of the elaborate colored designs of the binding pouches and some of the shading techniques of the interior illustrations. The subsequent serialization of the novel lost some of the visual glamor that helped define its popularity. As shown in Bakin's correspondences over rebuilding his library, the material quality of his works greatly concerned him. *Chronicles of the Eight Dog Warriors* used many of the visual techniques that were problematic Tanehiko's *The Imposter Murasaki's Country Bumpkin Genji*, and these edicts at promoting austerity by proscribing lavish forms of bookmaking could influence the reprinting of Bakin's works.

A second concern of the Tenpō Reforms was to police public morals, which also posed a threat on popular literature. For Bakin, he closely observed the incident of censorship against Tamenaga Shunsui's *ninjōbon* for indecency. In the opening salvo of the reforms in January of 1842, Shunsui's *ninjōbon* were classified alongside publications like pornographic books (*shunpon*) as containing sexual descriptions and dialogue that were injurious to public morals and, like Kyōden before him, he was sentenced to fifty days in manacles. The censorship and punishment of Shunsui served as a testing ground that later informed more pronounced publishing restrictions released in June of the following year, which borrowed language from the Kyōhō Reforms (1716-1745) that banned sexually explicit content. Like Bakin, Shunsui was one of the leading popular writers of the day and the punishment of Shunsui and the confiscation of his blocks may have been designed to instill a chilling effect on the broader field of writers. Bakin, however, tended towards less sexual content in his works and his romantic scenes were unlikely to draw the ire of the authorities. Yet, Bakin was aware of Shunsui's associations with the advertising and reprinting of his own works, as will be discussed below, and Shunsui's reputation might have brought those works into the scrutiny of the authorities.

Bakin's Foil

His literary historiography projects of "Classifications of Edo Writers and their Works" (*Kinsei Edo mono no hon sakusha burui*) and "Principles of Evaluation and Synopses" take care to note dissatisfaction with the loss of control over his own works. Yet, the greatest sense of anxiety in "Principles of Evaluation and Synopses" is directed towards the threat of Shunsui against the integrity of Bakin's reputation. Though Shunsui is the only writer other than Bakin to be mentioned in "Principles of Evaluation and Synopses," he appears repeatedly in the entries for *The Tale of Rewarding Virtue in a Secular World*, *Strange Account of the Four Deva Kings of Quelling Brigands*, and *A Crêpe-Paper Hood Bound*. In the self-evaluation of *Strange Account of the Four Deva Kings of Quelling Brigands*, Bakin writes:

[26] Yoshida, 1-4.

> In the end, while it is a life biography of Yasusuke, it is about thieves and should not be called a biography. For this reason, I have titled the book "*Strange Account of the Four Deva Kings of Quelling Brigands*." The two kanji characters for "quelling brigands" is an essential point, and yet the entry in Shunsui's *Catalogue of Titles* (*Gedai kagaami*) only records it as *Four Deva Kings*. This is a matter of great regret.[27]

In a sense, these descriptions are a continuation of a long-running grudge held by Bakin against Shunsui, who he viewed as both competitor for defining the genre of yomihon and a semi-literate charlatan. That animus from Bakin towards Shunsui becomes a reoccurring strand of discourse in his epistolary exchanges. That discursive strand culminates into private manuscripts like "Principles of Evaluation and Synopses" and the public conclusion to the *Chronicles of the Eight Dog Warriors.*

Though Bakin seems to have developed a dislike for Shunsui earlier, the publication of *Catalogue of Titles: Enlarged* (*Zōho gedai kagami*) in 1838 started the dialogue between Bakin and his network. *Catalogue of Title: Enlarged*, differs from" Classifications of Edo Writers and their Works" a few ways. First, its aim is to promote sales, particularly those of the publisher Chōjiya Heibei. It also takes greater care to categorize and provide synopses of *hanshibon* books. The organization and compilation of *Catalogue of Title: Enlarged* is attributed to Okada Kinshū, the nom de plume of Chōjiya Heibei of the publishing house Bunkeidō; and Sasaki Sadataki, the real name of Tamenaga Shunsui, is listed as the "assistant compiler."[28] The opening preface is attributed to Sasaki:

> Here, the second generation master of the publishing house Bunkeidō has ordered the carving of a library and the publishing of bound volumes with devotion and sincerity. That which profits people searching for exceptionally rare and valuable books are inevitably copied or set out upon a woodblock and sent out to spread in the world. And so, he works industriously to sell books of illustrated historical fiction. [This catalog] contains not only the publications put out by this publisher, but does not overlook the new works of the three capitals. He uses judgment to refrain from the many desires, and in so doing, month after month increases the prosperity of all the land."[29]

In addition to this preface, Shunsui may have been responsible for the organization of the catalog and the précis found within some of the entries, though the extent of his involvement is unknown. Though the preface claims to have a broader geographic inclusivity, the selections of titles are largely limited to yomihon and *zuihitsu* of the Edo region. These works belong to Edo writers like Kyokutei Bakin, Tamenaga Shunsui, Santō Kyōden, Saeda Shigeru, Shikitei Sanba, Shinrōtei Shujin, Kanwatei Onitake, and Jippensha Ikku, among others.

[27] Kamiya and Hayakawa, CKJT, 152.
[28] Yokoyama Kuniharu, ed., *Tamenaga Shunsui-hen Zōho Gedai kagami*, (Tokyo: Izumi Shoin, 1985.) 155.
[29] Yokoyama Kuniharu, ed., *Tamenaga Shunsui-hen Zōho Gedai kagami*, 3-5.

The publication of *Catalogue of Title: Enlarged* prompted a series of exchanges between Bakin and his network that culminate into a manuscript called the "Criticism on the Catalogue of Novel Titles" ("Haishi gedai kagami hihyō") attributed to Mokurō.[30] This manuscript is structured as a *mondō*, a type of dialogue where a pupil poses a question and the master answers. In this case, Mokurō poses the questions and Bakin responds. Though the publication is attributed to Mokurō, it is more likely an amalgamation of dialogues between the two that are being reorganized by Mokurō into an easy-to-read narrative that is convenient for circulation, storage, and, perhaps, reproduction. In addition to the complaints against *Catalogue of Title: Enlarged*, there are commentaries on *Chronicles of the Eight Dog Warriors* and *The New Edition of the Plum and the Vase* (*Shinpen Kinpeibai*).

"Criticisms on the Catalogue of Novel Titles" opens with Mokurō railing against *Catalogue of Title: Enlarged*. He sets out specific themes, including, Shunsui's misattributions, the erroneous understanding of genre, and the odd organization. Bakin's response to Mokurō is essentially an overarching disavowal of Shunsui's authority to compile such a list. Bakin draws attention to the fact that Shunsui is primarily a writer of *chūbon* format books and mainly in the vein of humorous (*kokkei*) and sentimental (*ninjō*) fiction. Shunsui, Bakin continues, has no special knowledge of either Japanese histories or Chinese historical novels and is therefore ill-suited to comment on historically-themed fiction. His use of refined and vernacular language seems to be a sticking point—something of "laughable pretentiousness." Other complaints focus on the title of *Catalogue of Title: Enlarged* as being an unoriginal plagiarism of a previous publication by Bunkeidō; the organization of the work; the regard Shunsui has for Ishikawa Masamochi and *Tales of Hida* (*Hida monogatari*); and, the exclusion of particular books. The list goes on.[31]

The influence of *Catalogue of Title: Enlarged* on Bakin's rancor is visible in" Principles of Evaluation and Synopses." For example, the moon-like marks that visually rank each evaluation may have been deployed as a jab at Shunsui. Those marks range from 'generally flawless' (full white circle) to 'absolutely horrible' (full black circle), and the only two works to be awarded the full black circles are *Legend of the Ghostly Rat of Bishop Raigō* and *The Island Tales of Monk Shunkan.* The *Catalogue of Title: Enlarged* describes *The Island Tales of Monk Shunkan* as "Bakin's best" mid-length yomihon.

The description of *The Island Tales of Monk Shunkan* in *Catalogue of Title: Enlarged* is exceptional in its detailed synopsis and praise. Other entries for yomihon often contain only the title of the work, the number of volumes, and the names of the writer and illustrator. Only the entries for a few works—usually those to which Chōjiya holds the reprinting rights—possess a detailed evaluation or synopsis. Of those for the medium-length works by Bakin, *The Island Tales of Monk Shunkan* and *Storehouse of Old Tales* have the longest entries. The description of *The Island Tales of Monk Shunkan* in *Catalogue of Title: Enlarged* begins with a general description of the setting (*sekai*) as being the world of the *Tale of Heike* and explains Shunkan's participation in a conspiracy. He praises the scene of the conspiracy, with Shunkan's facing off against Ushiwakamaru in a hut at Shishigadani. "As for the episode of the enemy first facing Shunkan, who is hiding in a hut at Shishigadani, no other author past or present can match the fineness and

[30] Collected in *Bakin kenkyū shiryo shūsei*, edited by Hattori Hitoshi.
[31] Hattori Hitoshi, *Bakin kenkyū shiryō shūsei*, 347-350.

allure of the writing."[32] He goes on to say that the passage at "Shunkan ga Shima" is an incredible innovation (*shukō*) and that readers will not fail to perceive Bakin's machinations (*kikan*). Shunsui ends the evaluation with, "of course, among Master Bakin's illustrated military tales there are none that can be called stupid. Yet, if asked: 'of all his works which is the best? Why is it that this *The Island Tales of Monk Shunkan* is such a beautiful tale?' With the exception of his longer work *Chronicles of the Eight Dog Warriors*, this *The Island Tales of Monk Shunkan* is the absolute number one work from within his illustrated historical fiction."[33] Shunsui's praise for the work gushes over. His evaluation, however, may be colored by the publisher's rights to *The Island Tales of Monk Shunkan* and Shunsui's own invested interest in the work—a number of editions end with advertisements for one of Shunsui's own yomihon.

Shunsui's love of *Island Adventures of Monk Shunkan* may have helped Bakin set some of the criteria for his evaluations in "Principles and Synopses." The manuscript begins with an entry on *Legend of the Ghostly Rat of Bishop Raigō* and describes its perceived faults. Bakin's problems with *Legend of the Ghostly Rat of Bishop Raigō* are: the historical stories from which the setting and timeframe (*sekai*) of the work limited his freedom as a writer; the relation of the anecdotes to their original contexts in derived is *Tale of Heike* and the *Record of the Rise and Fall of the Genji and Heike* (*Genpei joisuiki*) make adaptation towards his preferred "rewarding good, punishing evil" (*kanzen chōaku*) moral framework unwieldy; the yomihon is too similar to popular theater; and the treatment of women is too cruel. The last of these faults can also be thought of in light of Bakin's growing contempt for the relationship of popular literature and theater; and, both the *Legend of the Ghostly Rat of Bishop Raigō* and *Island Adventures of Monk Shunkan* are endowed with characteristics from when Bakin wrote yomihon drawing influence from Edo's theatrical world. Whatever the reason, Bakin uses *Legend of the Ghostly Rat of Bishop Raigō* in "Principles and Synopses" as the bottom of a litmus test of quality, often comparing other works to it by saying "at least [the work] is not as bad as *Raigō*. A similar feeling of lingering resentment in Bakin's evaluation of *Island Adventures of Monk Shunkan*, which gives many of the same reasons for its inferiority:

> Afterwards, Kameo takes the name of Shirakawa Tankai and is employed by Shunkan and his wife, but he has no success and so kills the husband and wife. Having his previous evil deeds forgiven is something that should be found in a kabuki play or *jōruri* book, and it is the single worst book of mine—unsuitable to my writing that sought a correct form of morality.[34]

There is one cryptic remark that seems to beckon to a criticism that Bakin has heard from some quarter. "To add one final thought, the reason for the deaths of Matsu no Mae and Tsuru no Mae were to match the historical accounts. Even if it did not match the historical accounts, I should not have had the mother and daughter die."[35] Whether or not this comment is directed at Shunsui is not clear, since Tsuru no Mae's death is not discussed in the *Catalogue of Title: Enlarged* evaluation. However, "Principles of Evaluation and Synopses" is blunt that far from being Bakin's "number one book," it is, in fact, his "single worst."

[32] Yokoyama Kuniharu, ed., *Tamenaga Shunsui-hen Zōho Gedai kagami*, 54.
[33] Yokoyama Kuniharu, ed., *Tamenaga Shunsui-hen Zōho Gedai kagami*, 54.
[34] Kamiya and Hayakawa, CKJT, 150.
[35] Kamiya and Hayakawa, CKJT, 150.

Bakin's anxiety over *Hooded in Crêpe Paper*

Bakin's sensitivity over *Catalogue of Title: Enlarged* is connected to a larger fear over his literary legacy. Shunsui, because of his commercial successes and his connections with publishers, represented to Bakin a threat to the integrity of his own works. Even before the compilation of the *Catalogue of Title: Enlarged*, Bakin repeatedly complains of how Shunsui violated *Hooded in Crêpe Paper*. Also, Bakin is aware of how Shunsui piggybacks on the success of *Chronicles of the Eight Dog Warriors* by writing imitative novels. Finally, Bakin is acutely aware that ownership of a creative work lies in the hands of the publisher holding the woodblocks, not the writer.

The final entry of "Principles of Evaluation and Synopses" evaluates the bibliographic history and literary merits of *Hooded in Crêpe Paper*. The symbol for the entry looks like a half-moon; the beginning (right side) half of the books is shown as good and the final half (left side) as bad. The written explanation opens with a lengthy description of Bakin's dissatisfaction with alterations made to the book by the publisher and Shunsui. In particular, his annoyance is on the title being changed from *Hooded in Crêpe Paper* to *A Japanese Tale on the Wankyū and Matsuyama of the Quarter* (*Wankyū matsuyama ryūkō wasetsu*):

> The first printing was carved in January of 1808 and I hear that it was popular at the time. It is said that over a thousand books sold that year. Some seven or eight years later, when the original publisher Masagoro fell into ruin for one reason or another, his house burned in the great fire of Yotsuya and these woodblocks also turned to ashes. I have heard the rumor that Masagoro also passed away at some point. And so, at some time during the Bunsei period, a publisher called Osakaya Mokichi selfishly reprinted this work without informing the author. Charging Tamenaga Shunsui with the task, he renamed the work *Tale of Wankyū and Matsuyama* (*Wankyū Matsuyama monogatari*) and divided the three volumes into five. The illustrations (drawn by Toyohiro) are not based on the old woodblocks, but newly illustrated by Keisen, so there are many points that differ from the original woodblocks. Moreover, with the three volumes being split into five volumes, many of the illustrations that should be in the first volume are now in the second volume and do not match the main text. Mokichi requested all of this of Shunsui who willfully apportioned the text. Having had that reprint read to me, while in general there are not a lot of differences with the older print, there are some mistakes, additions, and omissions. Also, the title is *Tale of Wankyū and Matsuyama*, with *A Japanese Tale on the Wankyū and Matsuyama of the Quarter* written within each of the volumes. When I think of it, because people of the world would not know that the book was about Wankyū from the previous title, Mokichi must have had Shunsui come up with this drab title. This Wankyū is a bankrupt playboy and Matsuyama is a prostitute. Even if one is drafting a chance encounter between the two, their names should not appear in the book's title. It is for this reason that I titled the book *Hooded in*

> *Crêpe Paper,* which hints at the images associated with Wankyū in our world and thus has a refined undertone.[36]

This quote covers several of the key points that I will discuss below. First, Bakin is angry that he was not consulted when a publisher reprinted *Hooded in Crêpe Paper*. Bakin admits that he does not personally know the publisher and that the publisher had begun looking for access to Bakin's work without consulting him. After the sale, Osakaya Mokichi (an Edo publisher) asks Shunsui to rework the title and organization of the volumes. Bakin even notes later in the "Principles of Evaluation and Synopses" evaluation that "in the fourth fascicle of the reprint, Tamenaga Shunsui inserted childish captions to the illustrations, something I did not know about. When I had this read to me, I split my sides with laughter."[37] Finally, the woodblocks of the newly re-named and reorganized *A Japanese Tale on the Wankyū and Matsuyama of the Quarter* have fallen into the hands of the Osaka publisher Kawachiya Mohei.

Hooded in Crêpe Paper is not the first time that Shunsui altered one of Bakin's works without his permission. The first appearance of Shunsui's name in Bakin's correspondence describes how this unestablished writer had taken over a literary work that Bakin abandoned unfinished.[38] Bakin writes about a work he had been toying with called *"Legend of the Nine Bull Gang of Amako*" ("Amako kyūgyū no ichimo den") that he had been developing while planning *Chronicles of the Eight Dog Warriors.* This work has nine characters associated with bulls (as opposed to the eight characters associated with dogs in *Chronicles of the Eight Dog Warriors*), but he abandons the idea after deciding that dogs are closer to humans than cows and more intrinsically loyal. Yet, without permission, the publisher Chōjiya gives Bakin's uncompleted manuscript to Shunsui, who reworks the main text and changes the title to *Biography of the Warriors of Seven Provinces* (*Shichikokushi den*). This work rides on the coattails of *Chronicles of the Eight Dog Warriors*, though it ends with only the first "set" that introduces each of the nine cow warriors and is not serialized further.[39] The extent to which the episode with "*Legend of the Nine Bull Gang of Amako*" soured Bakin's attitude towards the young Shunsui is not clear, since Bakin does not revisit it in his other writing.

The episode of *Hooded in Crêpe Paper*, however, appears to have had a lasting effect on Bakin. In a preface to the middle volumes of the ninth set of the *Chronicles of the Eight Dog Warriors*, Bakin discusses the crafty nature of publishers.

> As for the full-sized books (*mono no hon*) and those illustrated chapbooks of mine called *gōkan*, I have heard that there are those who seek to buy the old woodblock rights (*itakabu*) and selfishly rework the illustrations, and with a change in the title, they pose them as new works, publishing them for profit. These are *Kanzen tsuneyo monogatari*, *Sangoku ichiya monogatari*, and *Bake kurabe ushimitsu no kane*, as I mentioned before in the preface to the previous set of this work. Recently, I have seen that the three volumes of *Hooded in*

[36] Kamiya and Hayakawa, CKJT, 207.
[37] Kamiya and Hayakawa, CKJT, 208.
[38] The aforementioned letter to Tonomura that is dated January 28th of the thirteenth year of the Bunsei era.
[39] "Shichikokushi den," Yomihon jiten. 155.

> *Crêpe Paper* have been copied, and the name changed to *Tale of Wankyū and Matsuyama*, with new illustrations added.[40]

The foreword goes on to say that readers unfamiliar with a work published thirty years ago will think 'ah this must be a new work!' Bakin does not like the new focuses on the titular character of Wankyū and Matsuyama. Bakin's Wankyū is a wanderer and his Matsuyama is a prostitute, and even though he is working from an established story, it still does not justify referencing the story in the title. The "stupid new look" is lamentable and fails to address the intent of the writer. Again, there is a strong sense Bakin's prejudice against the theatrical world being used for writing yomihon, since having *Wankyū and Matsuyama* in the title is suggestive of play titles.

The preface of the *Chronicles of the Eight Dog Warriors* uses the example of *Hooded in Crêpe Paper* to probe Bakin's literary career more thoroughly—inspired by how publishers change his works. This history starts with *Takao senjimon*, the "first of my *soshi monogatari*," that is so immature in its style that Bakin "cannot bear to look at it again."[41] Yet he has noticed that this work was recently republished, but with the prefatory illustrations redone. Though he notes that the recent edition admits itself to be a reprinting, he still suspects that renaming it is intended to deceive readers into thinking it is new. Bakin also is annoyed that he was not consulted by the publisher and given a chance to look at either the illustrations or the preface. The preface of this new reprint, with its assortment of stamps and newly-added bibliographic information, looks foreign and has errors in the usage of words. All of these things add up to a dissatisfying material presentation of his work—one that makes his writing and style seem dated. He is aware that many other works, even those by other writers, are receiving similar treatment by other publishers.

The broader subtext of Bakin's annoyance and worries in "Principles and Synopses" about the changes to his earliest works might have been a pressing worry about the legacy of his magnum opus *Chronicles of the Eight Dog Warriors*. At this point, Bakin was feeling the toll of time on his health while sensitive to how his life's labor will survive against unscrupulous agents of publishing. Bakin grew frustrated with losing control as his health failed. In a letter to Jōsai dated January 28, 1841, Bakin wrote about Shunsui's involvement in the publication of the 41st through 45th chapters of the 9th set of the *Chronicles of the Eight Dog Warriors*.[42] During the previous winter, the proofs of those chapters had been made and Bakin revised them three times. He then gave permission to the publisher to print and sell the story. There was a problem, however, in the division of the books, which resulted from the revision process. In previous fall, Bakin had been able to finish the manuscript in his own hand, though he could not see and there were several places too difficult to read (which Omichi helped with). He handed off those proofs to the copyist, but could not make the draft illustrations. With Omichi's help, he gave detailed descriptions of those to the illustrator Yanagawa Sadanobu, who Bakin felt lacked any real skill. Bakin eventually saw the completed proofs with the illustrations, which caused him fits since the illustrations did not match the main text and were of poor quality. He set about revising this final proof (*shahon surihon*), where he discovered a number of mistakes.

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[40] Takizawa Bakin and Hamada Keisuke, *Nansō Satomi Hakkenden.* Vol. 7. Shinchō Nihon Koten Shūsei. (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2004.) 22.
[41] Takizawa Bakin and Hamada Keisuke, *Nansō Satomi Hakkenden.* Vol. 7, 23.
[42] Takizawa Bakin, Shibata Mitsuhiko, and Kanda Masayuki, BBS5, 250-252.

Bakin links this experience to first using Omichi as an amanuensis. At first, he had to teach Omichi the characters and got permission from his publisher Chōjiya to send his proofs entirely in *hiragana*. Chōjiya then commissioned Shunsui to change the *hiragana* version into a *kanji* version.

> For the matter of changing the *kana* text into a *kanji* text, with words a little too reverent, like 'Shunsui is a great writer' and 'Since there is not even another person who can match his level of education it is easy to understand' he [Chōjiya] recommended [Shunsui].[43]

The decision upset Bakin, but he had no choice in the matter. He complained that Shunsui is only a writer of *chūbon* literature and therefore inexperienced with some of the more formal features of *hanshibon* literature.[44] Even Shunsui's *chūbon* literature was a problem, because "though it sells well from the Tōhoku region to Nagasaki, publishers have a hard time selling 200 volumes in Edo." In other words, Shunsui did not reflect the savviness of an Edo writer.[45] In essence, despite his best efforts, Shunsui had gained a position, however small, in the authorship of the seminal work of the yomihon genre, the *Chronicles of the Eight Dog Warriors.*

A Legacy Lives On

A key feature about the rich vision provided by Bakin of publication and the intricacies of textual change that occurred in Japan's literary marketplace is that it emerges from an extended discourse with his network of Mokurō, Keisō, Jōsai, Jōsui, and others. We see Bakin's voice because they valued it enough to preserve and promulgate it through exchanges of manuscripts. What is more difficult to see is how their voices filtered into Bakin's consciousness, and where the inspiration or questions they posed came out in publications like prefaces of *Chronicles of the Eight Dog Warriors*. It is clear, however, that their agency in both the sale of Bakin's original library and its reconstitution over the years pushed him towards the reminiscences found in "Principles and Synopses." There is one final legacy of Bakin's library and "Principles and Synopses" that lived on after his death on December 1st, 1848.

Bakin's daughter-in-law Omichi mentions the "Principles and Synopses" in the Takizawa household diary entry for February 13, 1846. "During the evening, Matsumura Gisuke came and returned the four booklets of the *Kingyoden* that he borrowed the other day. He requested the eight booklets of the second and third volumes, and he took those with a single volume of Chosakudō's self-evaluations."[46] In an entry for the 18th of that month, Omichi writes: "Matsumura sent his luggage man Yuhei to return the volume of a journal (*zakki*), the booklet of evaluations, and the second and third volume of *Biography of the Goldfish* (*Kingyoden*)."[47] This is the only mention of

[43] Takizawa Bakin, Shibata Mitsuhiko, and Kanda Masayuki, BBS5, 250.
[44] He uses *koji* [small print] instead of *hanshibon*, but the gist of the argument is that Shunsui cannot properly handle writing in *kanji* used in *hanshibon* works.
[45] His complaints that Shunsui is somewhat illiterate are repeated in when he discussed the publication of Shunsui's *yomihon Ehon Kanso gundan* in 1841.
[46] Takizawa Michi and Mitsuhiko Shibata, *Takizawa Michi-jo Nikki,* vol 2 (Tokyo-to Chūō-ku: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2012.), 100.
[47] Takizawa Michi and Mitsuhiko Shibata, *Takizawa Michi-jo Nikki,* vol 1, 100.

the "Principles and Synopses" in the diary kept by Omichi, but we see that Bakin's manuscript continued in circulation after Bakin's death in 1848.

The personal library that Bakin exerted such effort to rebuild also continued to circulate after Bakin's death. The dairy of the Takizawa household, kept by Omichi after Bakin's death, shows how that personal library continued to be accessed by acquaintances of the Takizawa family.[48] For example, the entry for the March 14, 1849, a person by the name of Iwai Masanosuke came to the Bakin household and returned two books: the first volume of Bakin's *Records of the Island Tour of Asahina* (*Asahina shima meguri no ki*) (5 booklets) and the jōruribon *Sankatsu Hanshichi* (6 booklets).[49] In exchange for returning these volumes, he borrowed the five volumes of *Strange Fates of Moonlight on Ice*. He returned *Strange Fates of Moonlight on Ice* within two days, only to borrow Bakin's *New Tale of the Salvation of Kasane*. On the 16th, Kimura Mokurō returned the 4 booklets of the 3rd volume of *Records of the Island Tour of Asahina* and borrowed the next volume. On the 17th, Masanosuke returns the *New Tale of the Salvation of Kasane* and takes out *Strange Account of the Four Deva Kings of Quelling Brigands*. Similar accounts of other borrowers, like Ōkubō Yano and Fushimi Iwagorō, appear repeatedly throughout the dairy.

These exchanges of books also suggest aspects of the practice of reading. The frequency and nature of the exchanges show that these acquaintances take a four or five booklet volume and return the book within a day or two, giving us an idea of how quickly they progressed through novels. We can also speculate from Kimura's picking up the 4th volume of *Records of the Island Tour of Asahina* right after reading the 3rd volume that he progressed through that work in a natural order. However, the fact that Kimura is in possession of the 3rd volume of *Records of the Island Tour of Asahina* when Masanosuke came to return the first volume may be evidence that Kimura began the book halfway through. If anything can be taken away from Bakin's journals and letters, it is that books are in continual circulation. Copies lent from house to house by the traveling lending libraries of Edo, or those of the reading salons of Osaka, undoubtedly wore away in places. Readers likely became accustomed to skipping entire passages, abandoning a work halfway through, or starting a work at the middle. Masanosuke, at least, seems content to put off *Records of the Island Tour of Asahina* for another day to enjoy *Strange Fates of Moonlight on Ice* in its stead.

Of course, borrowing books is only one aspect of these social visits. Many of the journal entries describe how Omichi spends an afternoon or stays up late conversing with her visitors. They, in turn, bring gifts, stationary, and small donations. Their frequency suggests intimacy with the Takizawa household and, perhaps, a sense of duty to the departed writer. When they leave, it is often with a book from Bakin's library in their hands.

This essay has examined how a recently discovered manuscript, "Principles of Evaluation and Synopses of the Early Works of Chosakudō," came into being in part as a response to a series of losses and perceived threats by Bakin through the later part of his life. The loss of his son necessitates that Bakin sell and then reacquire his personal library, a process that familiarized Bakin with the degraded state of his works on the literary markets. This discovery furthers a sense of loss over authorial control of his works, where Bakin sees figures like Tamenaga Shunsui and

[48] Omichi had begun keeping the diary updated years before Bakin had died, because of his failing eyesight.
[49] Takizawa Michi and Mitsuhiko Shibata, *Takizawa Michi-jo Nikki,* vol 1, 102.

others altering his works for their own ends. Finally, the period in which Bakin writes “Principles of Evaluation and Synopses” is a moment of increased scrutiny and censorship in the publishing world of Tokugawa period Japan. Censorship and the other threats of textual attrition are one form of motivation that leads Bakin to revisit his earliest works in the final years of his life.