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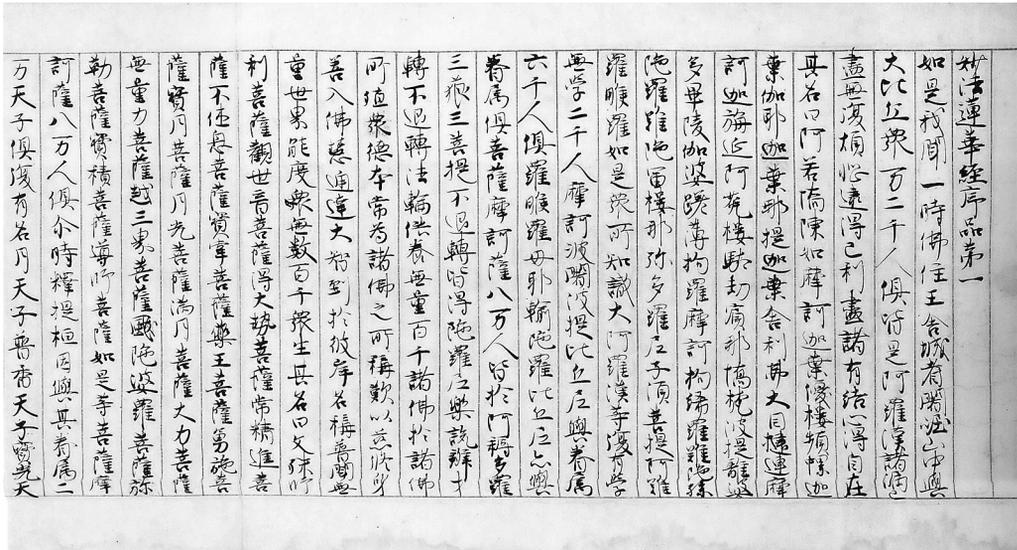
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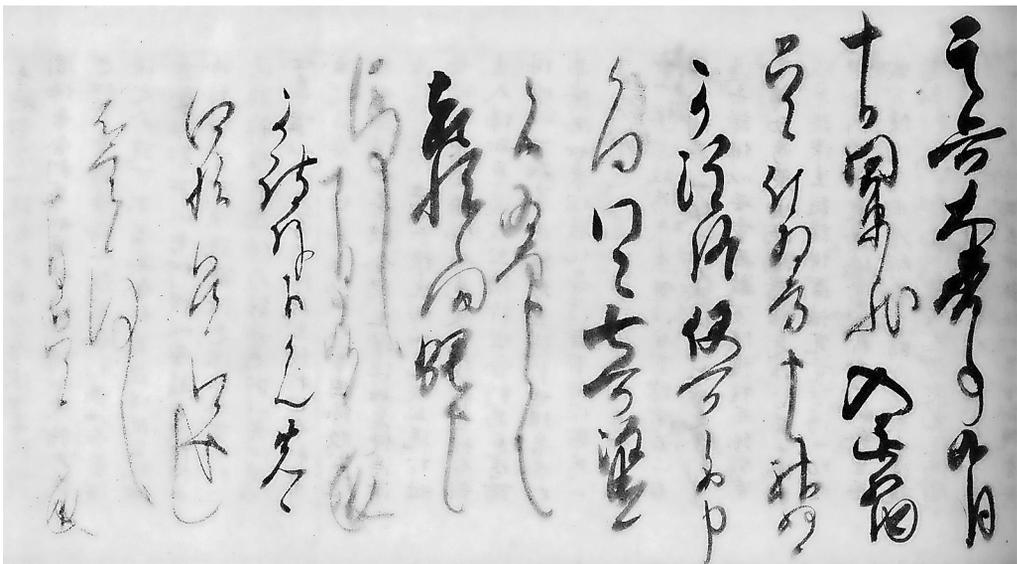
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1a. Manuscript text of a *shōsoku-gyo* copy of the *Hokekyō* (Lotus Sutra), vol. 1, commissioned by Emperor Fushimi (1265–1317) and copied in 1304 onto the back of letters written by his father Emperor Gofukakusa (1243–1304). Exemplar held in the Myoren-ji Temple.



1b. Manuscript letter written by Emperor Gofukakusa, on the back of which is a *shōsoku-gyo* copy of the *Hokekyō* (Lotus Sutra).

Letting the Copy Out of the Window

A History of Copying Texts in Japan

HIROKI KIKUCHI

In 1906 a young scholar named Asakawa Kan'ichi (1873–1948), who was the first professor of Japanese studies at Yale University, returned to Japan from the United States. During his one-and-a-half year stay in Japan, he collected many historical documents and books in cooperation with scholars in the Historiographical Institute (Shiryō Hensanjo) at the University of Tokyo.¹ Today, his acquisitions are shelved in the Sterling Memorial Library at Yale University and in the Library of Congress. One of the characteristics of what he collected is that it includes a number of hand-copied texts. Before the micro-camera for the production of microfilm and microfiche came to be commonly used in the 1950s, hand-copied texts were still indispensable for historiography in Japan, which has a long history of copying texts. The country holds what is nearly the world's oldest extant printed sutra, yet printing was not as prominent as handwriting in the medieval period. And though print culture had gradually developed throughout the early modern period, hand copies were still being produced even in the modern period.

The copying of texts by hand and the significance of this practice in Japan are phenomena that explain the existence of hand-copied texts in the Asakawa collection. Especially considering how Buddhist texts and diary records (*kokiroku*) were copied in the medieval period, one can see that the interest in hand-copied texts drifted in response to social change.² The *Sanemikyō-ki* (Diary of [Senior Noble] Sanemi) copying project in the Edo (1603–1867) period will be an informative case on this point.³ In the modern period, hand-copied texts were still produced for academic research at places like the Historiographical Institute, and the institute's historiography project and its connections with American scholar-

ship provide clear examples of the continued importance of the hand copying of Japanese documents.

MANUSCRIPTS IN BUDDHISM

In the eighth century Empress Shōtoku (718–770) had one million copies of dhāranī (Buddhist incantations) printed and put into small wooden pagodas.⁴ This is almost the world's oldest extant printed material for which we are able to confirm the production date. However, print culture was not always dominant afterwards. Around the same time, in the eighth century, a great number of sutras were copied by hand in the sutra-copying institution (*shakyōjo*).⁵ In 740 Empress Kōmyō (701–760), the mother of Empress Shōtoku, commissioned a copy of the entire Buddhist canon (*issaikyō*) by hand.⁶ At that time, technological limitation may have been one of the reasons for making a hand copy, since it might have been more difficult to produce various kinds of woodblock prints than to simply write out a copy by hand.

However, another reason for copying sutras by hand was that the act was thought to accrue Buddhist virtue. For example, Empress Kōmyō started her copying project in memory of her parents. In the medieval period the most famous case of sutras copied for the attainment of merit is *Heike nōkyō* (Sutra Dedicated by the Taira Clan) housed in the Itsukushima shrine in the Hiroshima prefecture.⁷ *Heike nōkyō* is mainly comprised in the *Lotus Sutra*, which was donated by the Taira clan (also known as Heike). Each chapter was copied onto a scroll by a member of the family, a copying style called *ipponkyō kuyō*. Though the virtue of copying sutras is originally preached in Mahayana sutras, the teachings do not necessarily emphasize hand copying. But in Japan the virtue of copying sutras by hand was sometimes thought to be superior to that of printing sutras. By participating in a sutra copying project, each person was able to develop his or her own merit. Furthermore, when a sutra copying project was done in memory of a deceased person, sutras were usually copied onto the back of written texts such as letters, manuscripts, and drafts originally written by the deceased person.⁸ The most important point in this case was to copy sutras onto the back of actual writings of the person memorialized since this was thought to establish a strong connection between a sutra and that person's personality, or even his or her spirit. Thus, hand copies and handwriting had a religious significance in medieval Japan. (See figure 1.)

Moreover, Buddhist commentaries as well were usually copied by hand.

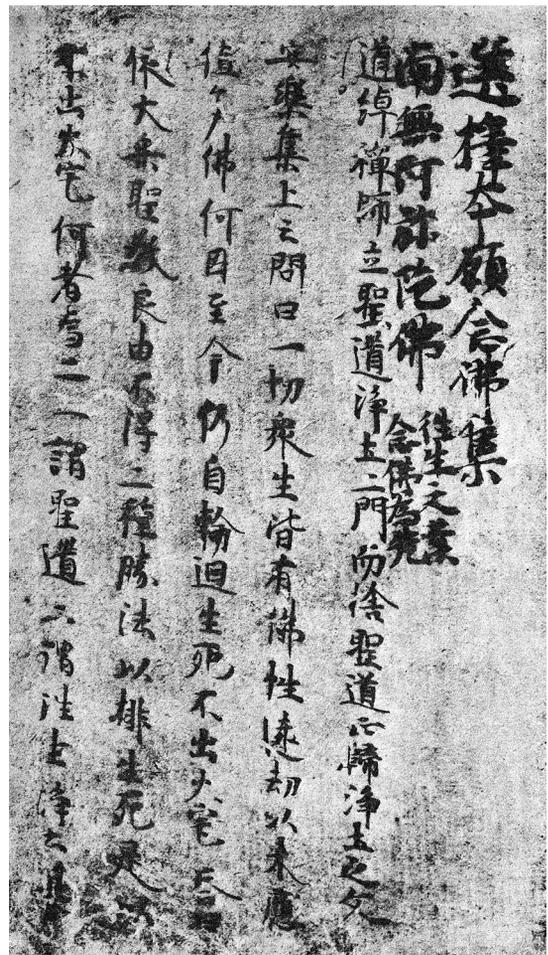
In the early eleventh century, *Ōjōyōshū* (Selection on Rebirth [in Pure Land]) written by Genshin (942–1017), strongly influenced the establishment of Pure Land Buddhism in Japan. Although the oldest *Ōjōyōshū* manuscript copy extant today was produced by hand in 996, while Genshin was still alive and only eleven years after he had completed the text, it was about two hundred years later, in 1171, that the oldest extant printed copy was produced.⁹ Even though it was reprinted in 1210 and 1253, these printed exemplars are rare today. Thus, in spite of the fact that *Ōjōyōshū* was widely influential, monks at the time did not tend to mass-produce it by printing. (See figure 2.)

This brings up the question of why this text was not printed soon after the completion. On this point one can consider the case of *Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū* (Selection on the Choice of the Original Vow of Amida Buddha), a famous commentary for Pure Land Buddhism written by Hōnenbō Genkū



2. *Ōjōyōshū* (Selection of Rebirth in Pure Land), version printed in the Kenchō period (1249–1255). Exemplar in the library of Ryūkoku University.

(1133–1212). Though it was printed soon after Genkū's death, he never intended it for the public use. *Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū* was originally dedicated to Kujō Kanezane (1149–1207).¹⁰ Hōnen asked Kanezane never to show it to others because Hōnen was afraid there would be those who would misunderstand his ideas; he permitted only a small number of disciples to copy *Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū*.¹¹ When Hōnen condoned a copy, he wrote the title in his own hand in order to reveal that his discourse was properly “handed down” with his religious emotion or sacred faith for Amida Buddha (Amida Nyorai).¹² Therefore, it is clear that in the medieval period, Buddhist monks tended to use hand copying as way to limit the number of disciples who would have access to their writing. (See figure 3.)



3. Opening section of the oldest known copy of *Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū* (Selection on the Choice of the Original Vow of Amida Buddha) with the title written in the hand of Hōnenbō Genkū (1133–1212). Exemplar in the collection of the Rozan-ji Temple.

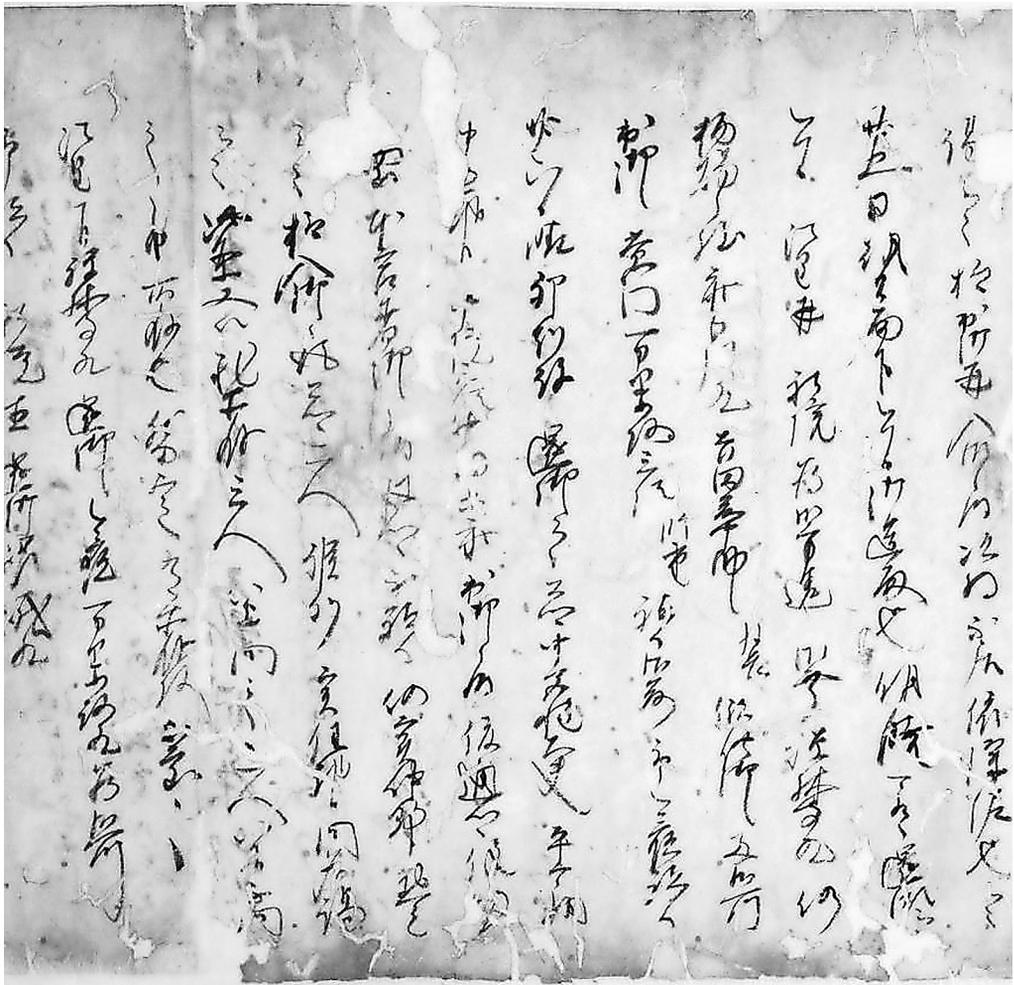
COPYING DIARY RECORDS IN THE ARISTOCRACY

After the tenth century, when the official systems of both state and court were changed fundamentally, diary records (*kokiroku*) appeared. Although the reason for this has been debated among scholars, Matsuzono Hitoshi, having examined different scholarly interpretations, claims that diary records in the early period were kept in order to establish authorized manuals for court rituals as practiced by emperors and the high aristocracy. Matsuzono assumes that the earliest diary records including those of emperors' were open in the court. The aristocracy usually checked these diary records in order to confirm precedents or quote them to ritual manuals.¹³ However, paralleling the development of court ritual in the Heian period (794–1185), the aristocratic clans established their own manners or customs and precedents. Diary records were helpful not only for themselves but also for their descendants, and these texts were exchanged within the limited lineages. For aristocrats in this period, behaving appropriately, in accord with precedents, during rituals was a very significant tool for maintaining political status. By using their own family diaries, they could protect their political status and even criticize manners of other houses. Therefore, it is more likely that diary records were never intended for public consumption. They were shared and copied by hand within a specific and exclusive lineage.

The effort to establish the ritual standards of a house developed into a kind of academic research. As a result, private libraries (*bunko*) were established in aristocratic and warrior houses. Though these libraries were open to the clan members and few other people, aristocrats tried to make connections with other lineages so that they could copy texts that they themselves did not possess. In the early Edo period, Emperor Gomizuno'o (1596–1680) and subsequent emperors worked on a collection project under the Tokugawa shogunate (1603–1868), which resulted in the establishment of the Kinri Bunko during the seventeenth century.¹⁴ A great number of diaries, ritual commentaries, and manuals, which were generally not open to the public, were collected from many aristocratic clans in the form of handwritten copies. In contrast to medieval collection practices, not all the titles in Kinri Bunko were necessarily collected for a particular reason. Though browsing works in the Kinri Bunko was still strongly restricted, the establishment of this library gave access to diary records and other texts of the aristocratic houses to a wider group of people. In the early modern period most

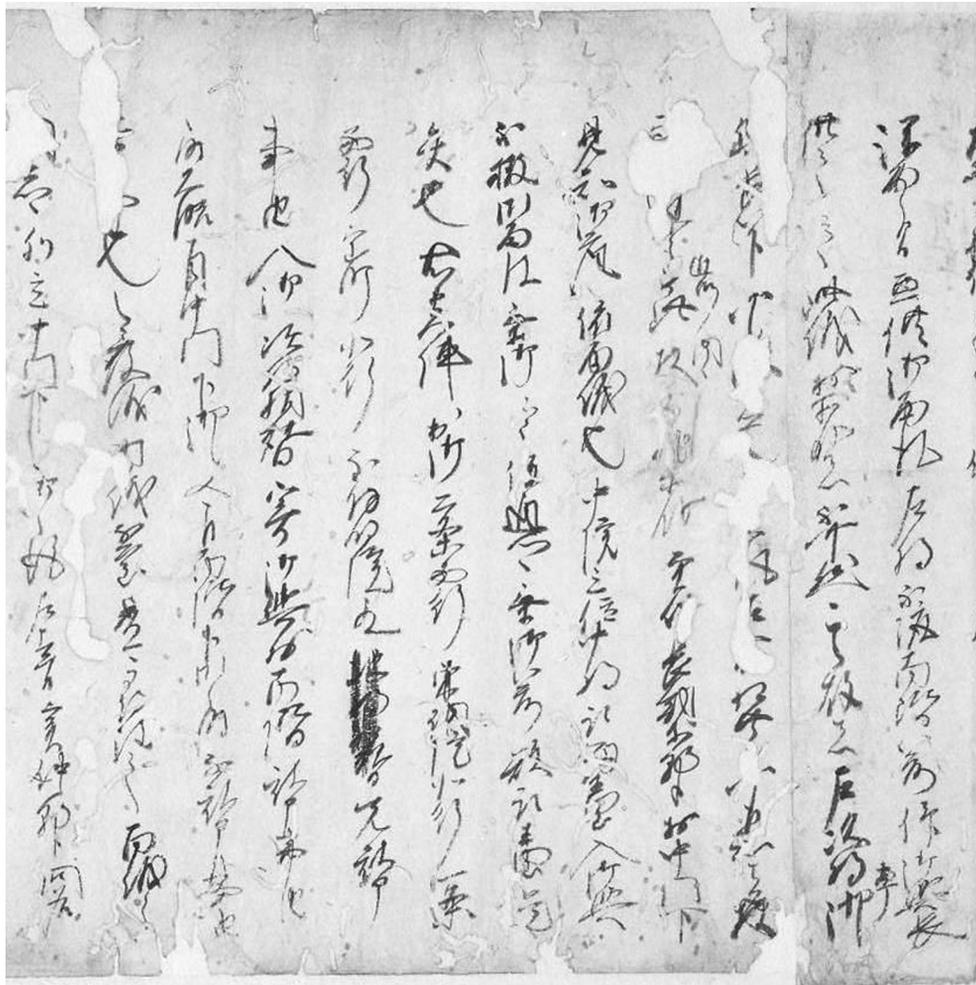
houses in the aristocracy also tried to establish their own libraries. As an example of this trend, we can examine the case of the *Sanemikyō-ki*.¹⁵ (See figure 4.)

Sanemikyō-ki is a diary record, that was kept by Sanjō Sanemi (1264–ca. 1325) between 1283–1310. After Sanemi's death, his manuscripts (*jihitsu-bon*) were left to his descendants and preserved by Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1454–1537), who established a very substantial private library in his house in Kyoto.¹⁶ In the early eighteenth century the Sanjōnishi Bunko had been left to Sanjōnishi Kinfuku (1697–1745), who was still a young boy. In the same period, Maeda Tsunanori



4. Fragment of the original manuscript of *Sanemikyō-ki*, for the twenty-fourth day of the second month of 1292. Exemplar in the collection of the Historiographical Institute, the

(1643–1724), who was the lord (*daimyō*) of the Kaga domain, showed strong interest in all kinds of old documents and writings, and his collection project extended to the Sanjōnishi Bunko. Tsunanori supported Kinfuku financially and his daughter married Kinfuku; at the same time Tsunanori started researching the Sanjōnishi Bunko, made title lists, and copied several texts by hand. Later, in exchange for the access he was granted, Tsunanori offered to repair deteriorating rare books. In the process of Tsunanori's research, one of his largest discoveries in the Sanjōnishi Bunko was *Sanemikyō-ki* manuscripts, numbering about sev-



University of Tokyo. Photograph from the collection of the Historiographical Institute. Compare with a traced copy of the same text shown in figure 6 below.

enty scrolls. At first members of the Sanjōnishi family could not even determine whose diary record these manuscripts were. Tsunanori borrowed them, identified them as *Sanemikyō-ki*, compiled a list of these manuscript scrolls, and repaired damaged scrolls. The list he made attracted many aristocrats to the texts because only a very small part of the copy of *Sanemikyō-ki* had been known previously. As an adult Kinfuku became interested in his ancestor's diary record and copied a part of *Sanemikyō-ki*, which was gradually recopied and spread among other aristocratic houses. (See figure 5.)

About one hundred years later, in the early nineteenth century, a remarkable project to copy the *Sanemikyō-ki* was begun in the Tebori-Sanjō family. This family was the main branch of the Kan'in clan, under which the Sanjōnishi family also fell. Although the Tebori-Sanjō already possessed a recopied version of Kinfuku's *Sanemikyō-ki* copy, the set was still incomplete. Tebori-Sanjō Saneoki (1756–1823) borrowed the remaining sixteen scrolls of *Sanemikyō-ki* manuscripts directly from the Sanjōnishi. Under Saneoki's management, his son Kimiosa (1774–1840) and grandson Sanetsumu (1802–1859) were engaged in the copy work. Hino Suke-naru (1780–1846) also cooperated with the Tebori-Sanjō's copying project. Later Sukenaru introduced Kuze Michiaya (1782–1850) into the work as well. Thus, the copy in the Tebori-Sanjō was carried out as a group project. (See figure 6.)

Furthermore, at this time, the Tebori-Sanjō copied not only the text, but also the whole style of manuscripts, which included the exact shape of each letter with its calligraphic character and even drew the shape of the worm-eaten holes found in the paper of the original. Such a copy style is called *eisha* (traced copy). Since Sanjō Sanemi was not known as an excellent calligrapher, the exact copy would be of no use as a calligraphic sample. If the main goal were to research court ritual, only the text of *Sanemikyō-ki* without the calligraphic imitation would have been sufficient. Why, then, did Saneoki make an *eisha* copy of *Sanemikyō-ki*. (Compare figures 4 and 6.) Here we can confirm that, in the early modern period, the main point of research for diary records had drifted into philological (*shoshi-gaku*) issues in the aristocracy. The word “philology” or “philological” might not seem to be appropriate for use in this essay since in Western scholarship this concept has come to imply the study of classical texts and translation. However, in this essay these words will be used as the translation of *shoshi-gaku*, which has been developed as *komonjo-gaku* (diploma study or paleography) or *shiryō-gaku* (historiography), all of which imply careful consideration of the material aspects of manuscripts and their transmission or function. In Japanese scholarship this

field is not only appreciated as the basis for the writing of history, but it is also anticipated that it will develop into an independent field of study.

Before the Tebori-Sanjō copying project started, another copy of *Sanemikyō-ki* had been completed by Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kin'nori (1774–1880). Though this copy has not been found, it is supposed that it was produced as an *eisha* copy as well, because some parts of Tebori-Sanjō's second version, which was copied from Kin'nori's copy, have kept the style of the traced copy. Aristocrats who were interested in diary records very much appreciated Tebori-Sanjō's and Ōgimachi-Sanjō's *eisha*-style versions. For example, Takatsukasa Masahiro (1761–1849) borrowed these *eisha* versions soon after their completion.¹⁷

The common admonition among the aristocracy was, “don't let [the copy] out of the window” (*Sōgai ni idasu bekarazu*), which means that a text should be kept within a collection, out of sight, and thus maintained for use in a certain house exclusively. Nevertheless, despite the prohibition against giving a copy to other families and lineages, once a set of copies was produced from an original, it was in turn recopied by many other houses in order to build their own libraries for research on ritual and for other purposes. For example, Kajūji Tsuneitsu (1748–1805) recopied the Ōgimachi-Sanjō version because Tsuneitsu was Kin'nori's father-in-law. In spite of the fact that Kin'nori asked Tsuneitsu never to show the copy to others, Tsuneitsu secretly showed this copy to the Takatsukasa family, as mentioned above. Later, the Tebori-Sanjō also borrowed the Ōgimachi-Sanjō copy and made another version. It is not difficult to assume that Hino Sukenaru, who cooperated with the Tebori-Sanjō's copying project, mediated between the Ōgimachi-Sanjō and the Tebori-Sanjō because Sukenaru's wife and Kin'nori's wife were sisters and both were Tsuneitsu's daughters. Thus, Sukenaru not only gave advantage to the Tebori-Sanjō, but also benefitted from association with that clan. Sukenaru is thought to have introduced the Tebori-Sanjō version to the Yanagiwara family because Sukenaru's mother came from the Yanagiwara.¹⁸ Thanks to Sukenaru's cooperation, the Yanagiwara, by gathering material from the various versions, was able to complete one of the best copies of *Sanemikyō-ki*.

Thus while interest in texts such as *Sanemikyō-ki* increased more and more over time, diary records were not published in printed form in the premodern era.¹⁹ Though many were produced in the Edo period, they were always copied by hand through connections to relatives and other relationships in accord with the constraints of the traditional precedent of “not letting the copy out of the window.”²⁰

HAND-COPIED TEXTS IN MODERN SCHOLARSHIP—
HISTORIOGRAPHICAL INSTITUTE AND ASAKAWA KAN'ICHI

While the number of published books increased more and more during the Edo period, diary records were published only after the end of the traditional aristocracy system with the collapse of Tokugawa shogunate. The establishment of the modern state changed all the court ritual absolutely. It was not necessary for each aristocratic house to individually record or research court ritual, and thus there was little need to continue to keep diary records secret.

At the same time academic interest in history was increasing partly under Western influence. The effort to describe general Japanese history had started during the Edo period, which saw the completion in 1798 of *Zokushigushō* (Rush Selection of the Sequel Historiography) by Yanagiwara Motomitsu (1746–1800) and in 1812 of *Gunsho Ruijū* (Collection of Mass Volumes) by Hanawa Hoki'ichi (1746–1821), though opportunities to access historical resources were not afforded equally to all scholars.²¹ In 1869 the Emperor Meiji (1852–1912) ordered Sanjō Sanetomi (1837–1891) to undertake as a national project an official historiography, as a continuation of *Rikkokushi* (Six National Histories).²² After several organizational changes in the government, this historiography project (*shiryō hensan jigyō*) became classified as an academic project and was placed in the Imperial University.²³

Academic interest in diary records and other historical documents (*komonjo*) also had been gradually increasing. A number of academic research projects were begun in 1873 in order to complete the historiography project at Mito and other remarkable private libraries (*bunko*).²⁴ After 1885 this research developed into a search for unknown documents possessed by regional houses or temples all over Japan because it was thought that the historiography project would be incomplete if the research were limited to well-known documents in eminent private libraries.²⁵ Many lists, catalogues, and hand copies were shelved in the Historiographical Institute for the reference. Based on these copies, in 1901 the Historiographical Institute started publishing two series: *Dai-Nihon shiryō* (Chronological Source Books of Japanese History) and *Dai-Nihon komonjo* (Old Documents of Japan). Also about the same time, some diary records were published. For example, publication began in 1897 of *Bunka daigaku shishi sōsho* (Historiographical Series of the College of Humanities), which included several titles of diary records. *Gyokuyō* (Leaves of Jade) and *Meigetsu-ki* (Record of the Bright Moon), both of which are basic diary records for the research of medieval Japan, were published

in 1906 and 1911, respectively. Scholars from the Historiographical Institute were involved to a large extent in these publication projects.²⁶

After these first publications the document project continued to develop in the Historiographical Institute. Before photographic reproductions of manuscripts began to be made in the early twentieth century in the Historiographical Institute, all the historical documents were copied by hand.²⁷ These copies can be categorized in two groups—*eisha* and *tōsha*. As I mentioned before, *eisha* is a precise copy, motivated by philological interest, of the original traced by skillful calligraphers. On the other hand, *tōsha* (transcribed copy) is simply the copy of the content of a text and was usually produced by copyists (*shajisei*). The section of copyists of the Historiographical Institute was composed of many kinds of people, some of whom eventually became professors.²⁸ They had engaged not only in copying texts, but also in helping scholars write manuscripts until 1946 when the section of copyists was officially abolished.²⁹ As the large-scale research of the document project began in 1887, a great number of hand copies were accumulated in the Historiographical Institute library in cooperation with copyists.³⁰ Before 1887 the Historiographical Institute already possessed five thousand *tōsha* and two thousand five hundred titles of *eisha*. The total of these copies increased to twice that in the next decade. By the 1940s the total number of *tōsha* had increased to over twenty-two thousand items, and by the 1960s *eisha* numbered up to eleven thousand titles. Finally the Historiographical Institute stopped producing *tōsha* because of ease of photographic reproduction, but the institute has continued to produce *eisha* for historiographical study (*shiryō-gaku*).

Some may argue that a photographic reproduction is certainly an effective way to capture all of the physical features of a document—the style of the calligraphy, the wear on the document, the holes in the paper, etc. However, in some important ways, the human eye is superior to today's photographic technology. For example, a well-trained calligrapher very carefully observes the light and dark shading of the ink of the original document, which can be of crucial significance for the interpretation of the manuscript. And, when characters are written on both sides of the paper, ink will have soaked through to the opposite side. Photographic reproductions of such a manuscript are often difficult to read because the two layers of text blur into one. In the process of hand copying the calligrapher carefully distinguishes the text on the one side from that on the reverse side. (For a good example of the visual confusion that results in photographic reproductions of documents written on both sides of thin paper, see figure 7.)

心知院新被燒破者因累年積弊
 亂於國聖福寺住持以...
 宣示年中... 住持... 日... 廢... 燈... 是...
 白雅園地之產微薄... 祖塔荒廢... 燈... 是...
 為住持志... 官... 助神... 逆...
 達勝之... 領上... 白... 守其議... 其...
 太守以寺之在州內... 法... 林... 用... 和... 為... 地... 王...
 大... 上... 四... 推... 不... 轉... 由... 是... 其... 淺... 益... 堅... 外... 太... 守... 法... 令...
 事... 備... 及... 年... 世... 評... 及... 許... 太守... 請... 即... 或... 違... 吳... 台... 護...

collection of the main library of the University of Tokyo and fragments, among them this document, are in the collection of the Historiographical Institute. Photograph from the collection of the Historiographical Institute.

In 1906 soon after the start of publication at the Historiographical Institute, Asakawa Kan'ichi came to Japan with a plan to collect Japanese documents in order to develop Japanese studies in the United States.³¹ The materials that Asakawa collected eventually were divided and kept in two libraries, the East Asian section at the Sterling Memorial Library of Yale University and at the Library of Congress.³² Through the collection project Asakawa established a scholarly friendship with Mikami Sanji (1865–1939), who had been the director of the Historiographical Institute between 1899 and 1919, and with other scholars in the Historiographical Institute.³³ Mikami helped Asakawa greatly with his collection project. The bulk of Asakawa's collection was hand copies since he avoided bringing valuable rare books out of Japan. Therefore, the goal of this collection project was not to establish a rare book library, but rather to make historical documents available for academic research in the United States. Fortunately, in the early twentieth century when he worked on the collection project, a number of copyists were engaged in copying historical documents in the Historiographical Institute. Though I have not yet researched the entire collection at Yale University, I assume that copyists in the Historiographical Institute produced several of the hand copies that Asakawa brought to the United States.³⁴

For example, in 1890 the Historiographical Institute copyists handcopied *Rokuon nichiroku* (Daily Record of Rokuon [Temple]), a diary that Keijo Shūrin (1440–1518) and other Zen abbots at the Rokuon-in Temple in Kyoto kept between 1487–1651.³⁵ (See figure 7.) In 1903 supplementary research results were added to the copy. Though this copy was in *tōsha* style, that is, copied for the contents of the text rather than being an exact copy of the original, the researcher used red ink to record in detail the condition of the diary and the results of philological investigation. (See figure 8.) Since the Rokuon-in Temple had been the head of the official hierarchical Zen system in the Muromachi period (1393–1573), *Rokuon nichiroku* was regarded as one of the most significant and basic historical documents. In 1905, two years after the additional research, the University of Tokyo Library, through the good offices of Miura Hiroyuki (1871–1931), who was a professor at the Historiographical Institute at that time, purchased the *Rokuon nichiroku* manuscripts. It was the next year that Asakawa came back to Japan to gather materials for the collection project. Because Miura and Asakawa were close colleagues, Asakawa is thought to have recognized the significance of *Rokuon nichiroku*.³⁶ In fact, *Rokuon nichiroku* in the Asakawa Collection at Yale was a precise hand copy done at the Historiographical Institute, including the

philological investigation in red ink and the copier's or researcher's signature and red seal.³⁷ Today, these two copies—i.e. the copy in the Yale University Collection and the one in the Historical Institute—are by far the most valuable ones. Tragically, in 1923 all of the 157 volumes of *Rokuon Nichiroku* manuscripts preserved in the University of Tokyo Library were destroyed by fire with the collapse of the buildings in the Kantō earthquake. However, five volumes and some fragments, which fortunately had been borrowed by the Historiographical Institute for research use, escaped that conflagration.³⁸ Because no photographic records remain of *Rokuon nichiroku* manuscripts, these two copies are the only ones that give us visual evidence of the appearance and the content of the original with philological information. Later, when *Rokuon nichiroku* was published in a typeset edition, the Historiographical Institute's copy was used as an original text.³⁹

In this way the Historiographical Institute helped Asakawa's collection project by offering high-quality hand copies to him. In exchange, Asakawa also helped the Historiographical Institute add titles to its document project. For example, today in the Historiographical Institute library, one can find copies of three historical documents that were formerly owned by Asakawa. In 1907 when Asakawa was in Japan building his collection, two of the documents in question were copied by the Historiographical Institute.⁴⁰ One is *Jōge kokyō sojō* [a petition (compiled in 1818 by ward leaders of) the old Kyoto area], which was a *tōsha* style copy.⁴¹ (See figure 9.) It may have been the original that was donated to the Sterling Memorial Library at Yale University later as a part of *Kyōto komonjo* (Old Documents of Kyoto), but I have not yet been able to inspect the acquisition records to confirm this.⁴² The other is *Asakawa monjo* (Documents of Asakawa [Kan'ichi]), which was an *eisha* style copy of *Shimogyō-chū deiri no chō* (Account Book of Income and Expenditures of Lower Kyoto Township).⁴³ The original is now lost, though the copy made with a fountain pen is included in the Asakawa collection.⁴⁴ Asakawa might have had the original of the text in his possession and made this copy for the Yale library in his own hand. During his two-year stay in Japan between 1907 and 1909, and even a couple of years after his return to the United States, he was affiliated with the Historiographical Institute as a junior faculty member.⁴⁵ In 1917 Asakawa returned to Japan again for the last time and worked mainly on his own personal projects. In 1918 the Historiographical Institute made an *eisha* copy of *Ōi monjo* (Documents of Ōi), the original of which was owned by Asakawa.⁴⁶

Later Asakawa suggested to Yale Japanese alumni that they purchase Japan

工部

廿五日晴天之前雨大降予醉表故不知連得辰刻止即
 川出帶五更者為位上故。予。自南壽寺。佩經者。之
 由冕首座告來。經然。予。天者。欲進一盤。不成。故。已刻。之
 席。某。庵。進。為。予。不知。之。勿。也。持。系。街。字。幸。都。冷。面。
 予。酒。進。之。僧。名。德。多。座。上。之。外。者。又。淨。口。德。多。座。者
 善。佛。心。中。有。上。之。為。如。家。故。予。推。獎。尤。厚。分。急。ハ。ク。前
 予。大。座。佛。之。傍。之。予。進。之。予。上。急。之。二。盤。砂。之。頃。刻。去
 若。連。予。大。飲。之。念。佛。亦。來。以上。廿。四。人。予。之。次。中。過。亦。來
 予。睡。中。故。不知。布。就。如。室。同。師。來。同。師。故。之。不知。所

8. Inscribed copy of 1890 with additions made in 1903 of Rokuon nichiroku, vol. 13, for the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month, year uncertain, but assumed to be either 1597 or 1598. Upper

〇高野下
六月十六日
未刻
六月十六日
六月十七日
六月十八日
六月十九日
六月二十日
六月二十一日
六月二十二日
六月二十三日
六月二十四日
六月二十五日
六月二十六日
六月二十七日
六月二十八日
六月二十九日
六月三十日

高野下 未刻 南深口ノ南ニ來訪持系尺干矣見
首座曰尺ノ量遠里少野ノ事ナリ年官ニ事ナリ能者
人足進故也此宿寺ノ時所根湯根少野ノ事ナリ
頃刻細遠里少野ノ事ナリ來訪持系尺干矣及夕
陽各能者也
一盞進シ去成在座淨土ノ中房アリ
土海一胆茶ヲ切賜シ傳者竟善也酒進シ右放卷
時ニ先儀ノ節也年者故頃刻而テテ承普座安雅也
方丈乃淨更ニ我句御而ニ事ナリ酌シ御而御大工
日三ハ力量ノ誘臨高岳ノ中ノ長尾ノ所ニ被遠里少野

margin notes on the right comment note the condition of the text.
Exemplar in the collection of the Historiographical Institute. Photograph
from the collection of the Historiographical Institute.

幸甚幸甚の他撥用を勿令新令に任じ給ふ共後年
に於て詮議を不办せしむるに及ばば願上り同
友の力に任じ上下古案に照し町代を一因に任じ願
文等より受取候

上古京

立賣親八町代惣介

玉町代若水徳右衛門

文政元年癸亥十二月

年寄 深正序 京

尾町代若水徳右衛門

年寄 九多 徳右衛門

9. Jōge kokyō sojō, twentieth-century inscribed copy, showing the end of the text of the petition, followed by the date of the entry (the twelfth month of 1818) and the signatures of

因之て夫成而邦市中と其大に京東倉の名を
時備て 中城之に親有仕合事毎の行年若年
之段に中教免と成り熱強を中官在り成り
古格に後市中一統安業仕合上承續之任と重
之親有仕合事毎の旦又古を町代夫町中と親
之に遠い連所分と仕向り流 所用向り事
中福不之屋更と相成り所仕所と年寄在り
市中中一統是と 中福通息符お出前我低
次不次少不仕終之者重と今所仕向り物と上
者不件之町代世給仕向不仕親方と仕

the leaders of each area of Kyoto City. Exemplar in the collection of the Historiographical Institute. Photograph from the collection of the Historiographical Institute.

有他人之妨多一子孫之中致競辱之
輩若米之時者可為不孝人之上者為公
方之御沙汰可被慶罪科俟仍為後隆
寄附之狀如件

應永十八年十月十七日

治部共浦滿弘

10. *Nanhō-in monjo*, twentieth-century traced copy, third sheet of the scroll, showing a document of a commendation written by Akamatsu Mitsuhiro (fl. ca. early fifteenth century), dated the seventeenth day of the

寄進

嵯峨南芳庵播磨國佐用

庄之内本位田郷事

合

四至 傍示
注又別紙右之

右當郷者滿弘為重代本領當知行

無相遠之地也雖然依有志趣限永代

所令寄附當庵也 尽未來際更不可

tenth month of the eighteenth year of the Ōei period (1411). Exemplar in the collection of the Historiographical Institute. Photograph from the collection of the Historiographical Institute.

documents in order to enhance the Yale Japanese collection. In 1934 Asakawa donated his huge collection to the Sterling Memorial Library at Yale University.⁴⁷ Throughout this project, copying projects and exchanges continued between Asakawa and the Historiographical Institute. Three photographic reproductions of historical documents included in the Yale Association of Japan Collection, were made for the Historiographical Institute—*Tōdai-ji monjo* (Documents of Tōdai-ji Temple), *Kōfukuji kaisho-mokudai saisai hikitsuke* (Miscellaneous Record of the Meeting Hall by the Proxy in Kōfukuji Temple), and *Nishi-kamogō kenchi-chō* (Book of Land Inspection for Western Kamo Township), compiled in 1586 and 1589.⁴⁸ The production date of these reproductions was 1933, and the photographs were taken as rectigraphs (*rekuchi gurafu*), the photograph system used until the early 1940s in the Historiographical Institute.⁴⁹ It is assumed that these documents were copied at the Historiographical Institute before the institute shipped the originals to the United States. Kuroita Katsumi (1874–1946), who had been also Asakawa's colleague at the Historiographical Institute, cooperated with Asakawa in the Yale Association of Japan Collection project. Also the Historiographical Institute now has an *eisha* titled *Kuroita Katsumi-shi shozō monjo* (Documents in the Possession of Kuroita Katsumi), which is the copy of *Nanhō-in monjo* (Documents of Nanhō-in Temple) that Kuroita possessed at that time.⁵⁰ Since the original of *Nanhō-in monjo* is now shelved in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University, it is possible that Kuroita donated the original of the text to Yale Association of Japan Collection after making the *eisha* copy at the Historiographical Institute. (For the traced copy, see figure 10.)

CONCLUSION

This essay has described aspects of the history of copying texts in Japan by examining several typical cases in each period—medieval, Edo, and modern. In spite of the fact that printing technology had been available since the eighth century, the tradition of hand copying developed throughout the medieval period. In the Edo period, particularly after the eighteenth century when printing culture progressed rapidly, the tradition of hand copying persisted. Thus, continuing prominence of this tradition should be discussed not only in relation to technological developments in printing, but also in light of value placed on communicating specific cultural information in Japan. The copying of diary records based on exclusive exchange within limited groups of aristocrats may have come partly from Bud-

dhist traditions (particularly in the esoteric or Zen Buddhism), where Buddhist teachings were handed down from the master to the disciple personally. Buddhist clergy were obliged to spread the teachings among many people, and in fact since the Song dynasty, the complete Buddhist canon was periodically published in China. During that time in Japan hand copying was regarded as religious practice and therefore the preferred method for transmitting texts. The emphasis on hand copies can be considered one of the distinguishing characteristics of Japanese culture vis-à-vis other East Asian textual traditions.

From the perspective of the dissemination of information in modern society, the tradition of hand copying texts might be regarded as unusual and even limiting, but it is also true that the tradition of hand copying supported modern Japanese scholarship in the field of historiography in a special way. As is evident in the case of the Historiographical Institute, hand-copying activities helped Japanese scholars develop fields such as *shiryō-gaku* (philological study) and organize hand copiers, who enabled Japanese scholars to collect and research a large number of historical documents. These activities also definitely influenced Japanese studies in the United States. The Asakawa collection at Yale University and at the Library of Congress, composed largely of hand copies, is regarded as equal to collections of hand-copied texts in the largest scale libraries in Japan.⁵¹

TABLE 1
COPIES OF SANJŌ SANEMI'S (1264–ca. 1325) SANEMIKYŌ-KI

COPY NUMBER	WHO MADE THE COPY	COMMENTS	VERSION COPIED	DATE OF COPYING PROJECT	TYPE OF COPY	WHERE COPY IS LOCATED
Original	Sanjō Sanemi (1264–ca. 1325)	—	His own original manuscript	1283–1310	original (<i>jihitsubon</i>)	Takeda Foundation; Maeda Foundation; Waseda University; Imperial Household Agency; Historiographical Institute
—	Sanjōnishi clan (branch of Kan'in clan): Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1454–1537, heir); Sanjōnishi Kinfuku (1697–1745, heir)	Successfully inherited from their ancestors	Inherited Sanjō Sanemi's manuscript	—	—	—
—	Maeda Tsunanori (1643–1724; Sanjōnishi Kinfuku's father-in-law)	Identified the Sanemikyōki in Sanjōnishi Kinfuku's library; repaired damaged scrolls; made copies of some works in Sanjō-nishi's library	—	—	—	—
#1	Sanjōnishi Kinfuku (1697–1745; heir)	—	His own ancestor's original	Early 17th century	transcribed copy (<i>tōshū</i>)	National Institute of Japanese Literature
#2	Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kin'nori (1774–1800)	Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kinnori (wife is a daughter of Kajūji Tsunetsu's)	—	Late 18th century	traced copy (<i>eishū</i>)	undiscovered
#3	Tebori-Sanjō clan (branch of Kannin clan)	—	Incomplete copy of Sanjōnishi Kinfuku's copy	Early 19th century	traced copy	[Ise] Shrine Library

COPY NUMBER	WHO MADE THE COPY	COMMENTS	VERSION COPIED	DATE OF COPYING PROJECT	TYPE OF COPY	WHERE COPY IS LOCATED
#4	Tebori-Sanjō Saneoki (1756–1823, father) Tebori-Sanjō Kimiosa (1774–1840, son) Tebori-Sanjō Sanetsumu (1802–1859, grandson) w/ Hino Sukenaru (1780–1846) and w/ Kuze Michiaya (1782–1850)	Hino Sukenaru (mother is a Yanagiwara; wife is a daughter of Kajūji Tsuneitsu's)	Group project to copy 16 missing scrolls from Sanjōnishi Kinfuku's copy	Early 19th century	traced copy	[lse] Shrine Library
#5	Takatsukasa Masahiro (1761–1849)	Got copy from Kajūji Tsuneitsu	Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kinnori's copy and Tebori-Sanjō clan's group copy	Early 19th century	partly traced copy	Imperial Household Agency
#6	Kajūji Tsuneitsu (1748–1805, Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kinnori's father-in-law)	—	Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kinnori's version	Early 19th century?	—	undiscovered
#7	Yanagiwara clan	Got copy from Hino Sukenaru. Yanagiwara Motomitsu (1746–1800) adopted Sukenaru's sister. Motomitsu's sister is Sukenaru's mother. Sukenaru's cousin Yanagiwara Naomitsu (1772–1812) married Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kin'ori's sister.	Tebori-Sanjō's two versions Sanjō-nishi Kinfuku's	Early 19th century	transcribed copy	Imperial Household Agency
#8	Tebori-Sanjō second version	—	Sorjō Sanemi's original Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kinnori's Sanjō-nishi Kinfuku's	Middle 19th century	traced copy transcribed copy	[lse] Shrine Library

NOTES

1. The Historiographical Institute has experienced many organizational changes and changes to its name since the early Meiji period (1868–1912). In this essay I will uniformly refer to this organization as the “Historiographical Institute” as the translation for the name in Japanese name “Shiryō hensanjo.”
2. In Japanese scholarship, diaries kept by aristocrats are generally called *kokiroku*, which will be translated “diary record” in this essay.
3. In 1991 the Historiographical Institute began publishing the text of *Sanemikyō-ki* by Sanjō Sanemi (1264–ca. 1325) as number 20 of the series Dai-Nihon kokiroku (Old Diaries of Japan) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1952–).
4. This is the famous *Hyakumantō darani* (Dhāranī in One Million Stupas). In memory of the people who died in the civil war along with Emi no Oshikatsu (706–764), Empress Shōtoku dedicated these one million stupas containing printed *dhāranī* to the ten great temples. See *Hyakumantō darani* (Dhāranī in One Million Stupas) in Hōryūji Shōwa shizaichō henshū i’inkai, ed., *Hōryūji no shihō* (Treasures of the Hōryū Temple), vol. 5 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1991).
5. In the eighth century, in addition to the imperially sponsored sutra-copying projects, imperial princes and the great temples also undertook such copying projects, which were carried out, however, for relatively personal purposes or limited use.
6. See Sakaehara Towao, ed., *Nara jidai no shakyo to daiiri* (Sutra-Copying and Imperial Palace in the Nara Period) (Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 2000). See also Yamashita Yumi, “Nihon kodai-kokka ni okeru issaikyō to taigai ishiki” (Buddhist Canon and the International Consciousness in the Ancient State of Japan), *Rekisho Hyōron* 586 (1999), pp. 31–44.
7. For more on *Heike nōkyō*, see Komatsu Shigemi, *Heike nōkyō no kenkyū* (Research on Sutra Dedicated by the Taira Clan) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1976).
8. They are called *shōsoku-gyō* (sutra of letters [of a deceased person]). For example, in 1304 when Emperor Fushimi (1265–1317) copied the *Lotus Sutra* in memory of his father, Emperor Gofukakusa (1243–1304), he copied it onto the back of 170 letters written by Emperor Gofukakusa. See Bunkachō ed., *Kokuhō jūyō bunkazai taizen* (Major Collection of National Treasures and Important Cultural Properties), vol. 7 (Tokyo: Mainichi shinbunsha, 1997), pp. 650–651.
9. See Hayami Tasuku, *Genshin* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1988), p. 118.
10. Ōhashi Shunnō, “Kujō Kanezane no negai wo irete” (Accepting the Wish of Kujō Kanezane), *Honen* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1998), chap. 7.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 174–179.
12. See *Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū*, Rozanji version. This, the oldest extant version of this work, is preserved in the Rozanji Temple in Kyoto. For a published edition of this Rozanji version, see *Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū*, Ishi’i Kyōdō, ed., *Shōwa-shinshū Hōnen shōnin zenshū* (New Shōwa Period Edition of the Complete Collected Works of Sage Hōnen) (Tokyo: Jōdoshūmusho, 1955).

See also Tōdō Yūhan, comp., *Senchakushū taikan* (General Survey of *Senchakushū*) (Tokyo: Sankibō busshorin, 1975); and Shinran (1173–1263), “Keshindo-kan kōjo” (Postface to the Volume of the Land of Manifested Buddha) of *Kyōgyōshinshō* (Selection of Verifi-

- cation of [Pure Land] Through Teachings and Practices), in *Teihon Shinran shōnin zenshū* (Definitive Edition of the Complete Works of the Sage Shinran), ed. Shinran shōnin zenshū kankōkai, vol. 1 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1970).
13. Matsuzono Hitoshi, “Ōchō-nikki hassei ni kansuru ichishiron” (A Tentative Essay on the Birth of Dynastic Diary Records), in his *Ōchō-nikki ron* (Theory of Dynastic Diary Records) (Tokyo: Hōsei daigaku shuppankyoku, 2006).
 14. See Tajima Isao, “Kinsei kugebunko no hensen to zōshomokuroku” (Changes in the Aristocratic Libraries and Their Catalogues in the Early Modern Period), in *Kinri kugebunko kenkyū* (Research on the Imperial and Aristocratic Libraries), ed. Tajima Isao, vol. 1 (Kyoto: shibunkaku shuppan, 2003), pp. 15–49.
 15. For more on the copying of *Sanemikyō-ki*, see Kikuchi Hiroki, “Sanemikyō-ki’ shahon no keisei to kugebunko” (The Development of Copies of *Sanemikyō-ki* and Aristocratic Libraries), *Kinri kuge bunkokenyū*, ed. Tajima Isao, pp. 221–245.
 16. See Kikuchi Hiroki, “Sanemikyō-ki’ no denrai kōsei ni kansuru ichikōsatsu” (A Consideration on the Transmission and the Construction of *Sanemikyō-ki*), *Tōkyō daigaku Shiryō hensanjo kenkyū kiyō*, vol. 10 (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo, 2000), pp. 19–38.
- On Sanjōnishi Sanetaka’s biography, see Haga Kōshirō, *Sanjōnishi Sanetaka* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1959). For additional research on Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, see Miyakawa Yōko, *Sanjōnishi Sanetaka to kotengaku* (Sanjōnishi Sanetaka and Classical Studies) (Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 1995).
17. The Takatsukasa Bunko is also one of the most remarkable private libraries in the early modern period. See Nakamura Kazunori, “Takatsukasa-ke bunko no shoshiteki kenkyū” (A Philological Study of Takatsukasa Library), *Shoryōbu kiyō* (Bulletin of the Department of Imperial Books and Mausoleum of the Imperial Household Agency), 44 (Tokyo: Kunaichō shoryōbu, 1992), pp. 33–51.
 18. Basically the Hino and the Yanagiwara belonged to the same clan and had a strong connection with each other. For example, Sukenaru’s uncle, Yanagiwara Motomitsu (1746–1800) adopted Sukenaru’s sister. In addition, Motomitsu’s son, i.e. Sukenaru’s cousin, Yanagiwara Naomitsu (1772–1812), let his son marry Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kin’noru’s daughter.
 19. Though quite a few diary records were published in Hanawa Hoki’ichi (1746–1821), comp., *Gunsho ruijū* (Collection of Mass Volumes), 29 vols., and in Ōta Tōshirō, comp., *Zoku gunsho ruijū* (Successive Collection of Mass Volumes), 37 vols. (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1923–1933), they are all extracts related to particular events. For example, “Shōan san’nen daijōe ki” (Record of the Enthronement Ceremony in 1301), a section of *Sanemikyō-ki*, is contained in *Gunsho ruijū*, vol. 17; and *Sanemikyō chūnagon haiga ki* (Record of Sanemi’s Reception of Appointment as Middle Counselor), another section of *Sanemikyō-ki*, is contained in *Zoku Gunsho ruijū*, vol. 11.
- When the *Gunsho ruijū* was published for the first time in the Edo period through woodblock printing, it was edited into 530 volumes and the *Zoku gunsho ruijū* into 993 volumes. In the modern period in the production of the moveable-type edition, the volumes were reorganized and compiled into 29 volumes and 37 volumes, respectively. My reference here is to the modern, moveable-type edition.
20. Matsuzawa Yoshiyuki claims that the service for the nobility, such as the Konoe family and other regent (*sekke*) families by their subordinates (*kerai*), was significant in the society

- of the aristocracy. As compensation of the service, the regents allowed their subordinate families to access diary records that were in the possession of the regents. See Matsuzawa Yoshiyuki, “Kinsei no kerai ni tsuite” (On Subordinate Households in the Modern Period), *Nihonshi kenkyū* (*Journal of Japanese History*) 387 (1994), pp. 34–37.
21. Yanagiwara Motomitsu, *Zokushi gushō*, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Kokushi taikai kankōkai, 1930–1931).
 22. The *Six National Histories*, compiled from the eighth through the tenth centuries, present Japanese history chronologically from the mythical age to the late ninth century. Although the emperor’s order for the writing of the continuation of this work was aspirational, he did not have any concrete program for completion of the project attached to it. Sanjō Sanetomi, who was prime minister at that time, was designated “honorary” president of the Bureau of Historiography. Scholars made many attempts to gain a clear conceptualization of the project and the system by which they would carry out the research and writing. In 1891 the project, under the title *Dai-Nihon hen’nenshi* (Chronological History of Great Japan), was fully underway. However, in 1893 political treason forced the project members to cease their work, leaving the writing of this history uncompleted. Finally the writing was carried out as an academic project that resulted in the publication of *Dai-Nihon shiryō* (Chronological Source Books of Japanese History).
 23. The Imperial University was the forerunner of the University of Tokyo. Through a few more organizational changes, the Historiographical Institute carried out the project.
 24. Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628–1700) established the historiographical institution called Shōkōkan, including a *bunko*, at Mito in order to continue work on the *Dai-Nihon-shi*, which was completed in 1906 in 397 volumes.
 25. Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo, comp., *Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjoshi shiryōshū* (Historical Materials on the History of the Historiographical Institute, University of Tokyo) (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 2001), p. 555.
 26. For example, *Meigetsu-ki* by Fujiwara no Teika (1162–1241), which was kept between 1180–1235, was published by Kokusho kankōkai in Tokyo in 1911. Editors for the project were Sakamoto Hirotarō (1880–1946), Wada Hidematsu (1865–1937), and Yashiro Kuniji (1873–1924). At that time all of them were affiliated with the Historiographical Institute and engaged in writing *Dai-Nihon shiryō*, section 4, which covers the years from 1185–1221. It is clear that they published *Meigetsu-ki* in connection with their project at the Historiographical Institute. *Gyokuyō* by Kujō Kanazane (1149–1207), which was kept between 1164 and 1200, also was published by Kokusho kankōkai in 1906–1907.
 27. *Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjoshi shiryōshū*, pp. 741–743.
 28. For example, Tanaka Yoshinari (1860–1919), who became a professor of medieval Japanese history, started his career as a copyist in 1874. *Ibid.*, p. 363.
 29. See “Shokuin-roku” (Record of Public Officials), sec. 2, ch. 3 in *Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjoshi shiryōshū*.
 30. *Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjoshi shiryōshū*, p. 555.
 31. For Asakawa’s biography, see Abe Yoshio, *Saigo no “Nipponjin”: Asakawa Kan’ichi no shōgai* (The Last “Japanese”: The Life of Asakawa Kan’ichi) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1983). On his activities with respect to collecting Japanese materials, see Kaneko Hideo, “Yale daigaku toshokan to Asakawa Kan’ichi” (Yale University Library and Asakawa Kan’ichi),”

- Chōsa kenkyū hōkoku*, vol. 11 (Tokyo: Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan bunken shiryōbu, 1990), pp. 35–40.
32. Most of the Asakawa collection at Yale University is now housed in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library as rare books, while quite a few titles are still shelved in the Sterling Memorial Library. For the latest Asakawa Collection list at Yale University, see “Yale daigaku-zō Nihon monjo korekushon mokuroku” (Catalogue of the Collection of Japanese Documents at Yale University), *Chōsa kenkyū hōkoku*, vol. 11, pp. 41–93.
On the Asakawa Collection at the Library of Congress, see Beikoku gikai toshokan-zō Nihon kotenseki mokuroku kankōkai, ed., *Beikoku gikai toshokan zō Nihon kotenseki mokuroku* (Catalog of Japanese Rare Books in the Library of Congress) (Tokyo: Yagi shoten, 2003).
 33. See Abe Yoshio, *Saigo no “Nipponjin,”* pp. 96–100, and Kaneko Hideo, *Yale daigaku toshokan to Asakawa Kan’ichi*, p. 36.
 34. I thank Professor Edward Kamens, Professor of Japanese Literature, Yale University; Professor Suzuki Takatsune, University of Niigata; and Ellen Hammond, Curator of the East Asian Library at Yale, for facilitating my research of the Asakawa collection at Yale University.
 35. One of copyists was Fujisono Ken’i (dates unknown), who was a copyist from 1875 to 1882. See “Shokuin-roku” in *Tōkyō daigaku Shiryō hensanjoshi shiryōshū*, pp. 364–370.
 36. Abe Yoshio, *Saigo no “Nipponjin,”* p. 96. See also Asakawa’s letter no. 121 in Asakawa Kan’ichi shokan henshū iinkai, comp., *Asakawa Kan’ichi shokanshū* (Collected Letters Written by Kan’ichi Asakawa) (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku shuppanbu, 1990).
 37. The copy is shelved in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University, call number B1-1-1~10.
 38. In this greatest of natural disasters in the history of modern Japan, most of the building on the main campus of Tokyo University collapsed. Miraculously the main building of the Historiographical Institute and a few small stacks buildings belonging to the Historiographical Institute stood firm. These buildings, designated as a National Important Cultural Properties, now stand preserved in a new location next to the Botanical Garden of the University of Tokyo in Koishikawa and serve as an annex to the university’s museum.
 39. For the typeset edition, see *Rokuon nichiroku*, ed. Tsuji Zen’nosuke, et al., 6 vols. (Tokyo: Taiyōsha, 1934–1937). Tsuji was the director of the Historiographical Institute at that time.
 40. The Historiographical Institute hired an extra copyist named Honda Zenhei (dates unknown) to reproduce historical documents that Asakawa possessed. See “Shokuin-roku,” *Tōkyō daigaku Shiryō hensanjoshi shiryōshū*, under 1907, p. 381. The title of this document contained in the original is *Osorenagara sumishōmon no koto* (Deed of the Solution [Issued] Respectfully). This document is preserved as the eleventh group, which used to be preserved by the Lower [Old] Kyoto township. See Asao Naohiro, “Asakawa Kan’ichi to Shimogyō-monjo,” *Nihonshi kenkyū*, 241 (1982), pp. 86–92. This document, divided into fifteen sections, includes books, hand scrolls, and individual documents on paper and includes records from 1636 to 1850. However, the majority of the materials in *Kyōto komonjo* were manufactured during the course of the case surrounding the inspection of ward leaders in 1818. *Kyōto komonjo* is preserved in Beinecke Library at Yale, under call number 2.17.1–15, per the listing in *Chōsa kenkyū hōkoku*, first cited in note 32 above.

41. The Historiographical Institute call number for *Jōge kokyō sojō* is 2071.62-51.
42. *Kyōto komonjo*, Beinecke Library, 2.17.1~7.
43. *Asakawa monjo*, Historiographical Institute call number, 3071.36-106. It is assumed that Asakawa Kan'ichi purchased this document though I have not been able to confirm the date of his acquisition. This document actually includes only one title, *Shimogyō-chū deiri no chō*. The original, which is now lost, was compiled on the eighteenth day of the sixth month in 1573 and copied by the Historical Institute in the sixth month of 1907.
44. Beinecke Library call number, D164. It may be that the original document also is included in *Kyōto komonjo*, but confirmation must wait an opportunity for me to continue my research in the Yale collection.
45. See "Shokuin-roku" between 1918 and 1921, *Tōkyō daigaku Shiryō hensanjoshi shiryōshū*, pp. 388-390. (Cited first in note 25 above.) For Asakawa's second stay in Japan, see Abe Yoshio, *Saigo no "Nipponjin,"* pp. 101-110.
46. *Ōi monjo* is a group of fourteen titles written in the late sixteenth century that are assumed to have once been in the possession of the Ōi family in Kai province (now Yamanashi prefecture). The Historiographical Institute call number for this is 3071.36-101. The original is now lost, and no copy is included in the Asakawa collections, either at Yale or in the Library of Congress.
47. See the Yale website for a description of the size of the Asakawa Collection, www.eastasianstudies.research.yale.edu/asakawa.html. Other Japanese scholars are currently continuing to do research on topics related to the materials that Asakawa donated to Yale University and to the Library of Congress. The results of this work will be published at some date in the future.
48. Respectively, Beinecke Library call numbers, 2.1, 2.3 and 2.5; and *Yale daigaku shozō monjo*. Historiographical Institute call number, 6800-100. All three of these titles are compiled together in one copy book. *Tōdai-ji monjo* (Documents of Tōdai-ji Temple), formerly in the possession of the Tōdai-ji temple, includes several titles covering 1055-1372, which are bound together in a hand-scroll format. This title in the collection at Yale is mounted as a folding screen, "*byōbu*."
49. In the first decade of the twentieth century the Rectigraph Company developed the first camera-based photocopying machine. The rectigraph used sensitized paper to produce white on black images of documents that could be rephotographed to produce black on white images. The Haloid Company, which acquired Rectigraph in the mid-1930s, continued to produce its copiers until the early 1960s and eventually expanded its operations becoming the Xerox Corporation. Editorial thanks goes to Yasuko Makino, Japanese bibliographer at Princeton University's East Asian Collection for her assistance in identifying sources on rectigraph copying machines.
50. *Kuroita Katsumi-shi shozō monjo* in the collection of the Historiographical Institute, call number, 3071.36-139, was copied in 1927. The original is in the Beinecke Library at Yale. The Nanhō-in Temple, which was a part of the Tenryū-ji Temple in Kyoto, originally held this document, now bound as a hand scroll, comprising seven titles written between the late fourteenth century and the early fifteenth century.
51. For this opinion, see Abe Yoshio, *Saigo no "Nipponjin,"* p. 99. See also, Komine Kazuaki, "The Asakawa Purchase of Japanese Books at the Library of Congress," paper presented in session 188 at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, New York, 2003.

GLOSSARY

- Akamatsu Mitsuhiro 赤松満弘
 Amida Nyorai 阿弥陀如来
 Asakawa Kan'ichi 朝河貫一
Asakawa monjo 朝河文書
 Bunka daigaku shishi sōsho 文科大学史
 誌叢書
 bunko 文庫
 byōbu 屏風
 daimyō 大名
Dai-Nihon hen'nen-shi 大日本編年史
Dai-Nihon shiryō 大日本史料
Dai-Nihon-shi 大日本史
Dai-Nihon komonjo 大日本古文書
 darani (dhāranī) 陀羅尼
 Edo 江戸
 eisha 影写
 Emi no Oshikatsu 惠美押勝
 Fujisono Ken'i 藤園賢意
 Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家
 Fushimi 伏見
 Genshin 源信
 Gofukakusa 後深草
 Gomizuno'o 後水尾
Gunsho ruijū 群書類従
Gyokuyō 玉葉
 Hanawa Hoki'ichi 塙保己一
 Heian 平安
 Heike 平家
Heike nōkyō 平家納経
 Hino 日野
 Hino Sukenaru 日野資愛
 Hiroshima 広島
 Honda Zenhei 本田善平
 Hōnenbō Genkū 法然房源空
 Hōryū-ji 法隆寺
Hyakumantō darani 百万塔陀羅尼
 ipponkyō kuyō 一品経供養
 Ise 伊勢
 issaikyō 一切経
 Itsukushima 巖島
 jihitsu-bon 自筆本
 jikyōsha 持経者
Jōge kokyō sojō 上下古京訴状
 Kaga 加賀
 Kai 甲斐
 Kajūji Tsuneitsu 歡修寺経逸
 Kan'in 閑院
 Kantō 関東
 Keijo Shūrin 景徐周麟
 kemari 蹴鞠
 Kenchō-ji 建長寺
 kerai 家礼
 Keshindo-kan kōjo 化身土卷後序
 Kikuchi, Hiroki 菊地大樹
 Kimiosa 公修
 Kinnori 公則
 Kinri Bunko 禁裏文庫
 Koishikawa 小石川
Kōfukuji kaisho-mokudai saisai hikitsuke
 興福寺会所目代濟濟引付
 kokiroku 古記録
 Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan
 国文学研資料館
 komonjo 古文書

- komonjo-gaku 古文書学
 Kōmyō 光明
 Konoe 近衛
 Kujō Kanazane 九条兼実
 Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美
Kuroita Katsumi-shi shozō monjo
 黒板勝美氏所蔵文書
 Kuze Michiaya 久世通理
Kyōgyōshinsō 教行信証
Kyōto komonjo 京都古文書
 Maeda Tsunanori 前田綱紀
 Matsuzawa Yoshiyuki 松澤克行
 Matsuzono Hitoshi 松蘭斎
Meigetsu-ki 明月記
 Meiji 明治
 Meiji Tennō 明治天皇
 Mikami Sanji 三上参次
 Mito 水戸
 Miura Hiroyuki 三浦周行
 Motomitsu 紀光
 Muromachi 室町
 Myōren-ji 妙蓮寺
 Nanhō-in 南芳院
Nanhō-in monjo 南芳院文書
Nishi-kamogō kenchi-chō 西賀茂郷検地帳
 Ōei 応永
 Ōgimachi-Sanjō 正親町三条
 Ōgimachi-Sanjō Kin'nori
 正親町三条公則
 Ōi 大井
 Ōi monjo 大井文書
 Ōjōyōshū 往生要集
Osorenagara sumishōmon no koto
 乍恐濟証文之事
 Ōta Tōshirō 太田藤四郎
 rekuchi gurafu レクチグラフ
Rikkokushi 六国史
 Rokuon-in 鹿苑院
Rokuon nichiroku 鹿苑日録
Rozan-ji 廬山寺
 Ryūkoku daigaku 龍谷大学
 Sakamoto Hirotarō 坂本広太郎
Saneimikyō chūnagon haiga ki
 実躬卿中納言拝賀記
Sanemikyō-ki 実躬卿記
 Sanetsumu 実万
 Sanjō Sanemi 三条実躬
 Sanjō Sanetomi 三条実美
 Sanjōnishi Bunko 三条西文庫
 Sanjōnishi Kinfuku 三条西公福
 Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆
 sekke 撰家
Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū
 選擇本願念佛集
 shakyōjo 写経所
Shimogyō-chū deiri no chō
 下京中出入之帳
 Shinran 親鸞
 shiryō hensan jigyo 史料編纂事業
 Shiryō hensanjo 史料編纂所
 shiryō-gaku 史料学
 Shōan sannen dajjōe ki
 正安三年大嘗会記
 Shōkōkan 彰考館
 Shokuin-roku 職員録
 shoshi-gaku 書誌学
 shōsoku-gyō 消息経
 Shōtoku 称徳

Sōgai ni idasu bekarazu

窓外に出だすべからず

Taira 平

Takatsukasa 鷹司

Takatsukasa Bunko 鷹司文庫

Takatsukasa Masahiro 鷹司政熙

Takeda 武田

Tanaka Yoshinari 田中義成

Tebori-Sanjō 転法輪三条

Tebori-Sanjō Saneoki 転法輪三条実起

Tenryū-ji 天龍寺

Tōdai-ji 東大寺

Tōdai-ji monjo 東大寺文書

Tokugawa 徳川

Tokugawa Mitsukuni 徳川光圀

tōsha 謄写

Tsuji Zen'nosuke 辻善之助

Wada Hidematsu 和田英松

Yamanashi 山梨

Yanagiwara 柳原

Yanagiwara Motomitsu 柳原紀光

Yanagiwara Naomitsu 柳原均光

Yashiro Kuniji 八代国治

Zen 禅

Zoku gunsho ruijū 続群書類従

Zokushigushō 続史愚抄

Zuikai Shūhō 瑞溪周鳳