

## Fūgetsudō Magosuke and the Business of Books in Eighteenth-Century Nagoya

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During the eighteenth century, the Fūgetsudō was one of the most commercially successful booksellers in Nagoya and the Tōkai region at large, in no small part because of its nodal position between important publishing houses in Kyoto and local cultural elites. While its most lucrative trade appears to have been in high-market scholarly works, the firm long prided itself on its inventory of *haikai* poetry collections, which reputedly drew Matsuo Bashō himself to visit the shop in Jōkyō 4 (1687) and made the Fūgetsudō into a cultural epicenter for local Bashō-school poets for over a century thereafter.

This paper examines how the Fūgetsudō's market position as a purveyor of *haisho* played a key role in its development from a retailer and financier of jointly published books in its early days to an independent publisher by the early Kansei period (1789–1801). A collection of over ninety letters addressed to a wealthy merchant family of Bashō-school poets in Narumi between Meiwa 8 (1771) and 9 (1772) attests to how actively the Fūgetsudō sought to cultivate a customer base, particularly among the local network of *haikai* poets. Moreover, close collaboration with its parent firm in Kyoto, along with smaller, dedicated publishers of poetry like Tachibanaya Jihee and Maruya Zenroku, can be seen to have leveraged the Fūgetsudō technologically, towards becoming the premiere venue in Nagoya for publishing poets like Yokoi Yayū (1702–1783) and Katō Kyōtai (1732–1792). Thus we may argue that the history of the Fūgetsudō was in many ways shaped by its longstanding association with Bashō school poets.

Keywords: haikai, haisho, Bashō, Fūgetsudō, Nagoya, publishing

### Bashō Visits the Fūgetsudō

In the twelfth month of Jōkyō 4 (1687), Matsuo Bashō visited the shop of Fūgetsudō Magosuke, a bookseller located just a few blocks south of Nagoya Castle. The Fūgetsudō may or may not have been the first very bookseller to set up shop in Nagoya—this is still a matter of some debate—but suffice to say that it was, at least in the 1680s, a rarity in a castle town that had virtually no commercial book trade to speak of, a retailer of used books that specialized in high-market offerings in neo-Confucian scholarship, history, and poetry. This inventory reflected the high cultural aspirations of its proprietor, Hasegawa Kanematsu a.k.a. Magosuke (d. 1723), who we find characterized in multiple contemporary sources as a man of refined literary tastes. Magosuke originally hailed from neighboring Mino Province, and then after years of apprenticeship at the Fūgetsudō, the famed Kyoto bookseller, he returned to Mino and eventually opened his own shop in Nagoya. His former employer had given him permission to fly the Fūgetsudō banner from the eaves of his new storefront, facing the bustling Honchō Avenue from the southeast corner of

Kyōmachi.

This is where Bashō enters the picture. A brief colophon to a poem in *Oi no kobumi* 笈の小文 (1687) describes how Bashō tarried for a long time at the shop, until a mounting snowstorm compelled him to hasten to his next stop. He wrote an inscription for his host, which still survives today, and basically that is where the story ends. Except that in Nagoya, at least, that's not where the story ended. Bashō's visit became a topic of extensive commemoration in the local literature for many decades thereafter, and the central trope in any narrative of the Fūgetsudō's history.

I open this paper by briefly examining two illustrations of this scene, since it highlights a central theme—the importance of Bashō to the reputation and competitive positioning of the Fūgetsudō within the local marketplace. The first comes from *Owari meiyō zue* 尾張名陽図絵 (ca. 1716–1736).<sup>1</sup> It depicts Bashō as he bids farewell to the proprietor with a poem and heads off into a driving snowstorm. The poem reads:

*So I take my leave—and then a tumble, distracted by the sight of snow*  
いざ行む雪見にころぶ所まで<sup>2</sup>

The illustration refrains from translating the humor of the poem literally, if it was ever intended that way at all, for we find Bashō still securely on his feet as he steps out from under the sheltering eaves and into the swirling confusion of white. Behind him, the Fūgetsudō storefront is full of suggestive details. Arrayed on the tatami are some books, presumably the source of discussion between Bashō and Magosuke as they warmed themselves by the brazier, and along the back wall is a *hako-kaidan* with a small but neatly curated inventory. The bright and open storefront implies, as Hashiguchi Kōnosuke has suggested in his analysis of booksellers in early modern Japan, a fortunate and flourishing enterprise.<sup>3</sup> But perhaps a modest one, for the sign box out front announces that the Fūgetsudō is plying the secondary market as a *Buyer and Seller of Old Books*.

Now when we turn to a much later illustration, included in *Kōka* 1 (1844)'s *Owari meisho zue* 尾張名所図絵,<sup>4</sup> we can see that, aside from the composition being canted to a frontal view, there are a number of key details that highlight the Fūgetsudō's prosperity. For one, there are other customers in the shop, perusing books along a wall of bookshelves that themselves indicate a much larger inventory than the previous illustration. There is a hired clerk, tending the brazier behind Magosuke. And where once the side of the *hako kanban* had read *Buyer and Seller of Old Books*, it is now blank. Indeed, by this time the Fūgetsudō was no longer merely a purveyor of old books, but a retailer in new imprints, a booklender, and as I shall detail below, a publisher. In fact, the Fūgetsudō published the very book in which this second illustration appears, which arguably makes the changes to the visual portrayal of its storefront intentional and significant. Taken together, they attest to how dramatically the Fūgetsudō grew between the 1720s and 1840s—even

1 A full digitized version of later redaction can be viewed at the National Diet Library Digital Collection (<https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1144237>). The image discussed here can be found on screen 15.

2 Matsuo Bashō, *Oi no kobumi*, in Imoto Noichi, Hisatomi Testuo, Muramatsu Tomotsugu, Horikiri Minoru, eds. *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* SNBZ, Vol. 71 (1997), p. 50

3 Hashiguchi Kōnosuke, *Edo no hon'ya to hon-zukuri: zoku wahon nyūmon* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2011), 21–23.

4 A full digitized version can be viewed at the Aichi Prefectural Library Digital Collection (<https://websv.aichi-pref-library.jp/wahon/pdf/1103264357-001.pdf>). The image discussed here can be found on page 46 of the PDF scan of Volume 1.

if, for all intents and purposes, the scene is supposed to be set at the time of Bashō's visit in 1687. For it was during these intervening years that the Fūgetsudō parlayed its reputation as a retailer of high-market imprints to become a key outlet connecting the major publishing houses in Kyoto with the cultural elites of Nagoya. This maneuver eventually won it business with the newly formed domain academy in the 1780s, as a purveyor of textbooks, and put it at the forefront of a movement to form an independent booksellers guild in Nagoya in the 1790s. But as these local accounts of the Fūgetsudō's history attest, its association with Bashō continued to form to a key component of its identity, especially during the Bashō revival of the late 1700s.

### Early Book Publishing (1764–1778)

For three decades, between its founding in the Jōkyō period (1684–1688) until Shōtoku 4 (1714), Fūgetsudō Magosuke was exclusively a retailer of books, not a publisher. Then in Shōtoku 4 (1714), the firm published what is generally regarded as the earliest title by a Nagoya bookseller—*Shushi seiza setsu* 朱氏静坐説 (*Zhuxi's Lectures on Quiet Sitting*). Prior to this, only eleven printed books had ever borne the names of Nagoya booksellers, the earliest dating to 1688. However, what made the Fūgetsudō imprint unique was that it was the first to be printed independently of publishing houses in Kyoto. Other Nagoya booksellers had entrusted the practical aspects of production to their partnering firms in Kyoto, while underwriting production costs in return for local retailing rights. This much is evident from the back matter of books themselves, where we find in all cases but one the name of Kyoto publisher Nagata Chōhee figuring prominently at the top of the masthead.

There are a number of practical reasons why small-scale operations in Nagoya would have partnered with firms in Kyoto and not taken the independent route. First, despite ready access to a booming paper industry in Mino, Nagoya booksellers lacked access to a readily deployable labor force of scribes, illustrators, woodblock carvers and other craftsmen for commercial projects. In fact, this continued to be an issue well into the early nineteenth century, as many block carving jobs were outsourced to craftsmen in Ise, and galley calligraphers regularly needed to be recruited from low-ranking samurai on lean stipends. It is only in a botanical work published in Bunsei 11 (1828) that we have any indication of a carver and printer based in Nagoya. Moreover, there were too few booksellers in Nagoya at the turn of the eighteenth century (less than a dozen, by most estimates) to form a financially viable publishing association, or at least one capable of underwriting more than a handful of independent offerings. Around Jōkyō 2 (1685), booksellers in Kyoto and Edo had banded together to form stock-holding associations, or *kō*, that enabled them to pool resources for publication projects and regulate prices in the local markets. These were precursors to the formalized *hon'ya nakama* guilds that were established in Kyoto in Kyōhō 1 (1716), Osaka in Kyōhō 8 (1723), and Edo in Kyōhō 10 (1725). However, there is no evidence of such cooperatives existing in Nagoya until Kansei 6 (1794), when local booksellers, with the permission of the Owari daimyō, petitioned to form their own guild. Thus, for nearly eighty years after the formation of the Kyoto booksellers guild, the Nagoya book market fell under the jurisdiction of Kyoto. Any bookseller who sought to print an original title needed to do so in conjunction with a Kyoto publishing house—not merely as a matter of financial practicality, but also as a way of ensuring that

Graph 1. Fūgetsudō Magosuke Imprints, 1764–1778.

Date	Title	Genre	Partner	Date	Title	Genre	Partner
1764	和韓医話	医学	錢屋七郎兵衛	1772	詞草小苑	語学	梅屋宗五郎
1766	蘿葉集	俳諧	橘屋治兵衛	1773	片おり	俳諧	
1767	姑射文庫	俳諧	橘屋治兵衛	1773	陸宣公集釈義	注釈	風月堂莊左衛門
1769	蘿葉後集	俳諧	橘屋治兵衛	1773	遊方草	紀行	風月堂莊左衛門
1769	新川集	漢詩	風月堂莊左衛門	1773	牧山遺稿	漢詩	風月堂莊左衛門
1769	志おり集	俳諧		1774	尚書去病	漢学	丸屋市兵衛
1769	狂歌教鳥	狂歌	丸屋善六	1775	本草正為	本草	風月堂莊左衛門
1769	幣箒集	俳諧	丸屋善六	1777	からふくべ	俳諧	
1769	七種花	俳諧	丸屋善六	1777	孝女曾与伝	伝記	風月堂莊左衛門
1770	豎並集	俳諧	橘屋治兵衛	1777	清音楼詩鈔	漢詩	
1770	新川先生夢遊	漢詩	風月堂莊左衛門	1778	史記律書歷書	漢学	風月堂莊左衛門
1771	秋の日	俳諧	橘屋治兵衛	1778	本草正正為刊誤	本草	風月堂莊左衛門

their works underwent the review of official censors, as required by the Kyōhō Reforms.

A review of the Fūgetsudō's catalogue after the publication of *Zhuxi's Lectures on Quiet Sitting* in Shōtoku 4 (1714) reveals how this took effect. Between Meiwa 2 (1764) and An'ei 8 (1778), the Fūgetsudō published twenty-four titles, or roughly two per year (see graph 1). All but two of these were published in conjunction with Kyoto publishing houses, with the lone exceptions being a pair of *haikai* collections by local poets, including *Shiori hagi* 志おり萩 (*Bookmark Bush Clover*, 1770) by Katō Kyōtai (1732–1792). In fact, *haisho* comprise a significant portion of the Fūgetsudō's catalogue during these years, with ten of twenty-four titles classified in this genre. This was especially true between 1766 and 1771, when it partnered with Kyoto booksellers Tachibanaya Jihee and Maruya Zenroku to put out eight titles in five years. These include collections by Kyotai, a leading figure in the Bashō revival in Nagoya, and Yokoi Yayū (1702–1783), the famed *haibun* stylist who studied under Muto Hajaku, a disciple of Bashō. Book historian Kishi Masahiro has argued that the Fūgetsudō was central to the Bashō revival movement in Nagoya during these years, because it afforded a venue for publishing collections by local poets—whose views on poetic composition, it should be noted, regularly clashed with those of Yosa Buson, Takai Kitō and other major figures in the movement. In fact, the movement in Nagoya is thought to have begun with a visit by Inoue Shiro (1742–1802) and other poets to the storefront of the Fūgetsudō where the poetic inscription by Bashō was being displayed to the public. As the firm diversified into other genres like Chinese poetry and materia medica, it increasingly turned to its parent firm in Kyoto. Between 1764 and 1778, it published nine titles with Fūgetsudō Shozaemon. Interestingly, none of these were *haisho*.

### Correspondence with Shimosato

Before turning to the Fūgetsudō's later publishing activities, I would like to turn next to a brief examination of the firm's business practices developed during the 1770s, especially as regards the

acquisition, sale and delivery of books. Fortunately, a cache of material exists for reconstructing these basic business practices—namely, a collection of ninety-five letters addressed by the Fūgetsudō to Shimosato Senzō 下郷千蔵 (1742–1790) between Meiwa 8 (1771) and 9 (1772).<sup>5</sup> Before delving into the letters and the various services and transactions they detail, it is important to note that Shimosato Senzō was like a platinum card member of the Fūgetsudō, an elite patron who was probably accorded special treatment not enjoyed by the common run of customers. He hailed from a family of wealthy landowners in Narumi, a Tōkaidō post town on the southeastern outskirts of Nagoya. Here his family had made their fortune in farming and sake brewing, and had served in many important local administrative positions. They also had a longstanding history of association with the Bashō school, going back to Senzō's great-great grandfather Shimosato Chisoku, who had hosted Matsuo Bashō twice at his home in Narumi and who was the first person in Japan to erect a memorial to Bashō after his death. The family's association with the Fūgetsudō may have extended back nearly as long, since we find a sizable collection of *haisho* in the Shimosato family library, several of which were acquired by Senzō during the period of his extant correspondence with the proprietor of the shop, between 1771 and 1772.

Turning to the letters themselves, which are transactional in nature, we can ascertain that Shimosato—unlike Bashō—rarely if ever visited the Fūgetsudō in person. Instead, the shop appears to have sent out clerks at regular intervals to deliver notices, receipts, and of course, books. There is nothing unusual about this per se—clerks typically delivered books to the homes of their clients, be it for purchase or rental. But what is unusual is the high frequency of these visits, especially notable considering that it would have taken about half a day to walk bundles of books from downtown Nagoya to the Shimosato estate in Narumi. In a further sign of just how assiduously the Fūgetsudō courted his client's business, roughly half of the letters announce the delivery of books that Shimosato never even requested—that is to say, newly acquired titles that the Fūgetsudō had hand selected for his perusal, with a view towards trying to encourage a sale. And by no means was this a negligible volume of books—over the course of forty-six deliveries, made some five to seven days apart, the Fūgetsudō sent an astounding 133 titles, typically in batches of three to five titles totaling about twenty fascicles. In an extreme example of this preemptive approach to anticipating his client's tastes, we find that on one day in the fourth month of Meiwa 9 (1772), the Fūgetsudō sent *Jibun ruishu*, an encyclopedic work spanning one hundred volumes and priced at three ryo, three bun in gold. While it is difficult to come to an exact count of just how many of these books Shimosato actually bought, the letters indicate that he returned at least sixty-one titles without purchasing them, in addition to three *furoshiki*-wrapped bundles containing an indeterminate number of books. Even if we estimate that Shimosato purchased less than a third of the books the Fūgetsudō sent, this would still mean that he bought, on average, at least one book per delivery.

We have not even begun to address the books that Shimosato ordered, which number over forty four during the same ten-month period. Here the letters depict a more complex series of transactions, many of which detail the routes that the Fūgetsudō needed to ply the local and regional book markets in order to fill Shimosato's orders. Thirteen letters describe how the Fūgetsudō sought to acquire out of stock titles from local booksellers first, and only when they

5 See Nagatomo Chiyoji and Ota Masahiro, *Shimosato Senzo ate Fugetsu Magosuke Shokan* 下郷千蔵宛風月孫助書簡 (Nagoya: Nagoya City Board of Education, 1978).

were unavailable locally how they sought to acquire from Kyoto booksellers—typically through its parent firm, Fūgetsudō Shōzaemon. These transactions indicate that there was already a degree of cooperation between the Nagoya booksellers two decades prior to the formation of the guild; and that the Fūgetsudō played an intermediary role between customers and other booksellers, perhaps because it was one of the few firms at the time that could deliver books beyond the borders of the castle town.

Nagatomo Chiyoji and Ota Masahirō have already provided complete transcriptions of all ninety-five letters, along with a critical introduction and indexing of their content by topic, so I will not go into too much further detail about them here.<sup>6</sup> Rather, I would like to highlight some of the services referenced in these letters, since they give a more complete picture of the Fūgetsudō and its dealings with customers. In addition to the acquisition and delivery of new and used books, the firm also produced *shahon* scribal copies of books on demand (two examples from the letters), handled repair of damaged books, provided a book rental service, and detailed pricing information prior to purchase. During the ten-month period covered in these letters, Shimosato Senzō availed himself of each and every one of these services.

### Later Book Publishing (1779–1845)

Lastly, I would like to examine very briefly the later years of the Fūgetsudō's publishing activities, with particular focus on the years leading up to and following the formation of the Nagoya booksellers guild in 1794. Interestingly, despite the requirement of Nagoya booksellers to partner with firms in Kyoto prior to the formation of the guild, we find the Fūgetsudō return to independent publishing around Tenmei 5 (1785).

For the next decade between 1785 and Kansei 7 (1795), for example, the Fūgetsudō published twelve titles, all independently. How was this possible? Here it is important to provide a little historical background. In Tenmei 3 (1783), Tokugawa Munechika (1733–1800) the ninth Owari daimyo, founded the Meirindō domainal academy and, by dint of his own authority, permitted local booksellers to publish scholarly works for its students. In many ways, this initial circumvention of the Kyoto guild protocols laid the groundwork for the Fūgetsudō and other Nagoya booksellers to petition to form their own independent guild.

Following the formation of the guild, the Fūgetsudō published a total of forty-one titles. Twenty nine of these were produced individually or in collaboration with booksellers based in Nagoya, such as Eirakuya Tōshirō and Matsuya Zenbei. In only five cases did it partner with Fūgetsudō Shōzaemon—a sign, perhaps of its growing independence from its parent firm.

Prior studies—including that of Nagatomo Chiyoji and Ota Masahiro—all characterize the commercial success of the Fūgetsudō as having been contingent upon the patronage of the Meirindō academy, given how many of its imprints were scholarly works that formed the curriculum of local samurai at the time. While the Meirindō was undoubtedly an important client, it is also important to examine how the Fūgetsudō sought to develop a customer base outside throughout the Nagoya castle town and surrounding Tōkai region. For even a cursory examination of its catalogue reveals

<sup>6</sup> The reader is referred to Nagatomo Chiyoji and Ota Masahiro, *Shimosato Senzo ate Fugetsu Magosuke Shokan* 下郷千蔵宛風月孫助書簡 (Nagoya: Nagoya City Board of Education, 1978).

that it published a number of titles besides scholarly textbooks, most notably collections of *haikai* poetry. And when we search extant books, rental books, letters and other materials, we find that the Fūgetsudō positioned itself competitively vis-à-vis other Nagoya booksellers in terms of pricing and services.

### Conclusion

Prior to the formation of the Nagoya booksellers' guild, the Fūgetsudō played a key role in the intellectual life of the castle town by liaising between local cultural elites and publishing houses in Kyoto. In addition to acquiring inventory for sale, the firm also published books jointly with Kyoto booksellers, especially in conjunction with its parent firm, with Fūgetsudō Shōzaemon. By and large, these were academic books in the fields of Chinese studies and materia medica. However, one significant way in which the Fūgetsudō distinguished itself from its parent firm was in the publication of *haikai* poetry collections. Ever since a visit by Matsuo Bashō to the shop in 1687, the Fūgetsudō became a cultural epicenter for local Bashō-school poets for well over a century, as well as a venue for borrowing and acquiring the most recent publications in Bashō-school *haikai*. In positioning itself to meet the needs of this local clientele, the Fūgetsudō published jointly with a range of other firms, and eventually, after the formation of the Nagoya guild, published independently.

In this paper, I have discussed how the Fūgetsudō's market position as a purveyor of *haisho* played a key role in its development from a retailer and financier of jointly published books in its early days to an independent publisher by the early Kansei period (1789–1801). A collection of over ninety letters addressed to a wealthy merchant family of Bashō-school poets in Narumi between Meiwa 8 (1771) and 9 (1772) attests to how actively the Fūgetsudō sought to cultivate a customer base, particularly among the local network of *haikai* poets. Moreover, close collaboration with its parent firm in Kyoto, along with smaller, dedicated publishers of poetry like Tachibanaya Jihee and Maruya Zenroku, can be seen to have leveraged the Fūgetsudō technologically, towards becoming the premiere venue in Nagoya for publishing poets like Yokoi Yayū (1702–1783) and Katō Kyōtai (1732–1792). Thus we may argue that the history of the Fūgetsudō was in many ways shaped by its longstanding association with Bashō school poets.

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