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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this essay is to trace the changes in the notion of history in late nineteenth-century Japan and to provide an overview of the various texts compiled in accordance with these new, changing ideas. As a result of the introduction of contemporary Western ideas of historiography in the late nineteenth century, the Japanese went about inventing comprehensive histories that covered the whole of the Japanese past, from ancient times to contemporary days. These histories, which were unlike any that had been written during the Edo period, covered a range of fields and included histories of society and Japanese literature. This essay will look at both of these two types of history: the genre-specific histories as well as the comprehensive histories that covered a range of social phenomena.

Also about this time, the imperial universities established “Studies of National History” (*kokushigaku*) as a course of study, and high schools and middle schools started including “National History” (*kokushi*) in their curricula. The traditional notion of “the study of letters” (*bungaku*), which incorporated writings in Chinese orthography, such as the Confucian classics, historical studies, and Chinese-style poetry, was divided into its component elements, and a new field of “Eastern History” (*tōyō shigaku*), centering on Chinese history, was established.

The ideas of positivism and social Darwinism, which made their way into Japan at this time, exercised a great influence on Japanese understandings of history. In the early Meiji period, the government undertook the compilation of the *Koji ruien* (*Classified Collection of Old Documents*), which selected numerous historical documents and organized them to form an encyclopedia-like collection of articles. Likewise, in the private realm, there was a boom in the number of monographs and textbooks that provided comprehensive overviews of Japanese history. Generally, these works expressed a pride in the long-standing traditions of Japan, and like the Imperial Rescript on Education, they tended to put the imperial household in a privileged position at the center of these traditions.

The foundations of the Japanese consciousness of history were laid during the period from the late nineteenth century through World War II, partly as the result of a spate of publications for a general public that brought together a number of famous scenes from Japanese history, especially tales of loyal retainers and faithful women. The following sections will examine the introduction of modern, Western European ideas of history, the invention of “histories of Japanese literature” and “national histories,” and the editing and publication of historical texts during this formative period.

1. THE INFLUX OF THE MODERN CONSCIOUSNESS OF HISTORY

A. The Modern Consciousness of History and Its “Receptors”

From the late Edo period to the Meiji period, Japanese scholars of Western studies encountered the late nineteenth century European “era of historical studies,” in which the study of history rose to a high tide. Traditionally, in both Japan and China, “history” (Jp. *rekishi*, Ch. *lìshǐ*) was one considered just one category within the “study of letters” (Jp. *bungaku*, Ch. *wénxué*). The study of letters consisted primarily of the two fields of study that the Chinese had called “poetry” (*shī*, Jp. *shi*) and “letters” (*wén*, Jp. *bun*), and it was the latter that contained historical records along with Confucian studies. Having learned about methods of writing history from China, the Japanese continued to write official histories (*seishi*) in *kanbun*. Sometimes this *kanbun* took the form of pure, unadulterated classical Chinese but at other times, it consisted of classical Chinese modified to fit the Japanese language.

Fusō ryakki (*Outline of Japan*), written in the late Heian period by Kōen, a monk at Mount Hiei, and *Jinnō shōtō ki* (*Chronicle of the Direct Descent of Divine Sovereigns*, 1339), written by Kitabatake Chikafusa, are two examples of comprehensive histories that focus on the imperial household. The latter was written with the express purpose of tracing the imperial line from Amaterasu Ōmikami, the Sun Goddess, onward in order to prove that the imperial line had remained unbroken throughout history. One difference between the “official histories” of Japan and China was that the Japanese histories sometimes discussed Buddhism. This was because since the era of Prince Shōtoku (574–622), who played an active role in encouraging the spread of Buddhism, the imperial family maintained a respect for Buddhism, though the intensity and types of Buddhism changed over time. In addition, histories of the Japanese aristocracy were recorded in both the style inherited from China known as *kidentai* and in tale-like narrative formats. (In 1918, Haga Yaichi called the latter “historical tales” [*rekishi monogatari*].¹) Later in the medieval period, the history of the warrior families were written in a form of

Japanese that incorporated lexical elements from Chinese (*wakan konkō bun*), a form in which the common people could enjoy them.

In the Edo period, the Hayashi family, as employees of the shogunate and adherents of Confucianism, compiled the *Honchō tsugan* (*Comprehensive History of Our Kingdom*, 310 vols.). This expansive work covered material from the semi-mythical first ruler of Japan, Emperor Jimmu, all the way through the mid-seventeenth century. In the domain of Mito, the compilation of *Dai Nihon shi* (*The History of Great Japan*) was undertaken. Covering the period from the reign of the semi-mythical Emperor Jimmu through the reunification of the Northern and Southern Courts, the work consists of hundreds of volumes. Due to the massive scale of the project, it was finally completed in 1906, approximately three centuries after work on the project had started. The mid-Edo-period scholar and poet Arai Hakuseki examined the processes through which warriors established their authority in Japan and the various dynamics involved when power changed hands. About the same time, one finds other works of historical analysis and criticism that proceed from the point of view of the warrior class. *Nihon gaishi* (*An Unofficial History of Japan*, 1826, 22 vols.) by Rai San'yō (1780-1832) was one such work. San'yō, the son of a scholar from Aki Domain, was placed under house arrest for three years for the crime of running away from his lord. During this period, he took excerpts and quotes from numerous historical documents and used them to compile this comprehensive history, which became a favorite among the members of the anti-shogunal movement. Through the end of the Edo period, this work was a great bestseller.

Also in the Edo period, one finds writers who compiled the history of various subjects, such as Emura Hokkai who wrote *Nihon shishi* (*A History of Japanese Verse*, 1771, 5 vols.), a comprehensive commentary on the history of poetry in Chinese from ancient times to the time of writing. The result of this interest in the history of various subjects was the construction of a rich world of historical essays on subjects ranging from the origin of the words *mono* ("thing") and *koto* ("act") to observations on the customs of the commoners. In short, by the time that the modern Western notion of history reached Japan, the Japanese already had in place an interrelated complex of several types of histories in different forms. It was this complex which became the foundation for the construction of later notions of history after the Meiji Restoration.²

From the late Edo period to the Meiji period, Japanese scholars of Western studies encountered the late-nineteenth-century European "era of historical studies," in which the study of history had swelled to a high tide. In Europe, there was a move to separate "histories" from "stories." The trend is particularly visible in the English language, where the words "history" and "story," though sharing the same etymological root, have moved in entirely different directions: the former implying pure fact, the latter

implying fiction. This trend toward separating fact from fiction also manifested itself in the positivism of August Comte (1798-1857), an idea which permeated nineteenth-century European historiography. Positivism refers to the ideology that insisted on using historical proof in examining history. In the search for the best policies to govern society and help move society forward, a positivist approach to economic and social history took on special importance.

Hyakugaku renkan (System of the Sciences), a collection of lectures compiled by students of Nishi Amane (1829-1897), who had studied at Leiden University in Holland and later returned to Japan to teach, reveals clear traces of European notions about history. In *System of the Sciences*, Nishi mentions the following methods of recording history in Europe: biography, chronologies of events, chronologies comparing the development of various nations, romances, fables, and mythology. To a contemporary Western reader, this system of classification would not have appeared particularly strange. Nishi also notes that in Sima Qian's *Records of the Historian*, all of these elements are present. On one hand, Nishi's lectures suggest that the Japanese were already well equipped to take in the European notion that the "story" represented one category within the larger rubric of "history," but on the other hand, Nishi, who had been influenced by Comte's positivism, suggested that one should limit "history" to only those facts that have a degree of certainty about them.

We should not overlook parallel structure of European and Japanese systems of categorization. Just as the European notions of "humanities" or "belles-lettres," contained "history" and "story" as subcategories, the Japanese "study of letters" (*bungaku*) contained "history" (*rekishi*) as a subcategory. It appears that because China had traditionally placed a low value on fabricated works, there was significant resistance in China to placing romances, novels, and plays under the umbrella of "literature." In Japan however, it was somewhat easier to accept the Western idea that the language arts, which relied upon fiction to a significant extent, should be included under the umbrella of the humanities. This was partially due to changes during the Edo period in the social and literary value placed upon fictional fabrications. Also, the universal Western rubric "humanities" could be introduced into Japan as an expansion of the Confucian Universalism that had started with Ogyū Sorai. His School of Ancient Rhetoric studied Confucianism shared by both China and Japan and thus represented an ideology that emphasized the broad study of human life and ethics.

B. Taguchi Teiken's *Nihon kaika shōshi (A Brief History of Japanese Civilization)*

The "era of historical studies" in Europe was grounded in a strong ethos of

state-building and nationalism. It placed special emphasis on economic and social history, and it used bibliographic research in examining diplomatic and other documents to ascertain the true state of the country. Also, it drew upon the theories of biological and social evolution in order to advance theories about levels of development.

The existence of Shinto philosophy and the National Learning of Motoori Norinaga helped smooth the way for the introduction of European ideas of history. Shinto philosophy and National Learning had provided Japan with a nationalism that distinguished Japanese culture from traditional Chinese culture, and thus Japan already had in place something akin to the Western European state-nationalism. After the Meiji Restoration, however, the nationalism of these schools of thought underwent a transformation as Japan looked westward to Europe and America. Specifically, issues of national identity were restructured around the dichotomous opposition of “West” versus “East,” whereas before China had been the defining Other.

Also serving as receptors helping to smooth the introduction of European notions of history—particularly positivism, which provided approaches to deal with real issues facing government and society—were the secularism of the Edo period, the techniques of bibliographical analysis from Qing-dynasty China, and the existence of a world of historical essays. Also, because Christianity had little presence in Japan to oppose the ideas of social or biological evolution, the Japanese were able to accept these new theories from the West with little difficulty. With the help of various writers who helped disseminate these ideas in their own work, the theories of biological evolution and social Darwinism percolated throughout Japanese society during the Meiji period. In turn, the latter helped establish the idea that countries are locked in an international competition for survival, placing constant pressure upon one another.

Among the books most frequently read by scholars of Western learning at that time were François Guizot’s *Histoire de la Civilisation en Europe* (1828-30), Hippolyte Taine’s *Les Origines de la France Contemporaine* (1876), and Henry Thomas Buckle’s *History of Civilization in England* (1857). The latter work was strongly influenced by the work of August Comte. Taguchi Teiken’s six-volume *Nihon kaika shōshi* (*A Brief History of Japanese Civilization*, 1877-1882) followed in the footsteps of these works, describing the historical development of Japan from ancient times onward in both material and spiritual terms. Taguchi Teiken is also known as the translator of Adam Smith’s *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) and Herbert Spencer’s *Principles of Sociology* (1876-96), which took him into the fields of economics and social Darwinism. Taking his intellectual direction from these European works, Taguchi created the first comprehensive history of Japan that covered industry, social trends, and intellectual products from ancient times to the time of writing. Taguchi

also wrote the five-volume *Shina kaika shōshi* (*A Brief History of Chinese Civilization*, 1883-88). In both *A Brief History of Japanese Civilization* and *A Brief History of Chinese Civilization*, positivism and the idea of progressive development are the key notions that allow Taguchi to take a generalized look across the whole of history. This brings us to the important role of that the theory of evolution played in reformulating notions of history in the Meiji period.

C. The Influx of the Theory of Evolution

Because Christianity and Creationism had little presence in Japan, the writings of Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) on social evolution and of Charles Darwin (1809-82) on biological evolution were widely read in Japan in their English originals.³ Throughout the Meiji period, the theory of evolution spread widely in various different forms throughout society. At the forefront of the dissemination of the Spencerian theory of social Darwinism was Katō Hiroyuki (1836-1916). In his *Jinken shin setsu* (*A New Theory of Human Rights*, 1882), he left behind the theory of the natural rights of man, which he thought owed too much to Christianity and was therefore an outdated ideology. Instead, Katō expounded the theory that the emperor, who was the focal point of both the emperor system and ancestor worship, served as savior of the weak. In expressing this idea, Katō borrows freely from the work of T. H. Huxley (1825-95), who had discussed the possibility of salvation from the life-and-death struggles that ensue as a result of living in a state of nature. According to Katō, ancestor worship was not a religion but a system of ethics, and the emperor system was at the center of this ethical system. Katō argued that since Japan had been working to save the weak since ancient times, the country had developed “superior traditions.” Nonetheless, Katō did not take a totalitarian position that would have negated the pursuit of individualistic profit and have thus eliminated all differences between strong and weak. For this reason, we cannot say that Katō merely refashioned into modern guise the Mito school ideology that had spread among members of the warrior class during the late Edo period.⁴ The twilight of the Edo period had seen a rise in the ideology of Fujita Yūkoku (1774-1826) and his son Fujita Tōko (1806-55), who had espoused the ideology of “revering the emperor and expelling the barbarians” (*sonnōjōi*). Hand in hand with this ideology was the notion that Japan was the “land of the gods” (*shinshū*) and that the nation of Japan had been created under the absolute authority of the emperor and imperial household. Katō, by comparison, did not go this far. Rather, this type of ideology came about only when the theory of national polity (*kokutairon*) was reinterpreted in the light of the modern idea of evolution.

Regardless of what one thinks about Katō and his ideological successors, it is probably safe to say that if there had been no modern reinterpretation of the Restoration theory of the national polity, the ideology that led to the promulgation of the Meiji constitution would probably never taken root among Meiji intellectuals. This period saw an influx of modern Western European thought, and following the West's example, the Japanese went about creating new "traditions" and "histories" one after another; Katō's *New Theory of Human Rights* is merely one example of this phenomenon.⁵ Katō's assertion that Japan had invented "superior traditions," better than those of Europe, is particularly revealing. Katō would later exert great influence over the world of education from several posts, including the presidency of the Imperial University.

2. THE INVENTION OF "HISTORY OF LITERATURE" AND "NATIONAL HISTORY"

A. The "Invention of History"

Two of the salient themes of European state-nationalism were a respect for the early, primitive culture of one's own nation and a pride in one's traditional language. The Edo-period school of "National Learning" had already given birth to both of these sentiments. This school of thought argued that Japan should take pride in its ancient traditions, which had endured far longer than any traditions in Europe. National Learning, however, dealt primarily with the world of Japanese script (*wabun*). Try as it might, National Learning could not deny that most of the intellectual products of the Japanese until that point were written in *kanbun*. During the mid-Meiji period, the Japanese decided to use the word *bungaku* as the translation for one particular meaning of the word "literature." Traditionally, *bungaku* had meant *kanbun* poetry or *kanbun* scholarship on ethics, politics, and history, whereas the European meaning of "literature" referred to the humanities: intellectual writings and a selection of the literary arts. In other words, the particular sense of the word "literature" for which the Japanese word *bungaku* became the accepted translation was not the broad sense of the word meaning *all* writings, nor in the narrow sense meaning superior examples of the language arts; instead, it referred to something in the middle. In order to create a "history of Japanese literature" (*Nihon bungaku shi*) based on a European notion of literature, it was necessary to incorporate *kanbun*—both in its pure classical Chinese form and in the forms modified to fit the Japanese language.

Fukuchi Ōchi provides one example of the reverence that the Japanese at that time had for *kanbun* writings. Fukuchi, who traveled to Europe three times as a transla-

tor beginning the late Edo period, wrote in his 1875 “Nihon bungaku no fushin o tanzu” (“Lamenting the Stagnation of Japanese Letters”), “There is no history written in language that the ordinary Japanese can read.”⁶ In other words, history had not yet been written in the vernacular language of the Japanese masses. Nonetheless, Fukuchi Ōchi was unshakable in his faith that the cultivation of the Japanese people had come about thanks to texts written in Chinese. Clearly, he believed that the study of *kanbun* texts was as important to Japan as the study of Greek and Latin texts was to Europe. Because numerous people felt this way and because official documents of the Meiji government were written in *kanbun*, a working knowledge of *kanbun* was a *sine qua non* for advancement in Meiji society. As a result, *kanbun* went through a period of revival in Meiji Japan.

Given this situation, it is not surprising that when Japanese scholars went about creating “history of Japanese literature,” they included works not just in the Japanese vernacular but also *kanbun* texts such as the *Record of Ancient Matters*, *Chronicles of Japan*, and *Fudoki* (*Records of Wind and Earth*) as well as texts in modified Japanese *kanbun*, such as the works known as “historical books” (*rekishisho*) and “local gazettes” (*jishi*). About 1890, the year that the new imperial constitution went into effect, one finds editors beginning to compile numerous histories of Japanese literature, most written with the pre-collegiate student in mind. Inevitably in the first volume, they discuss the *Record of Ancient Matters*, *Chronicles of Japan*, and *Records of Wind and Earth*. Even today, the situation is the same. The decision to include such works would perhaps not be unlike including Latin works by English writers in a “history of English literature.” In short, the editors were creating a new type of “literary history” that had not existed in Japan until that point and that deviated from the common understanding of the term in Europe.

Even though China had come into contact with Western European ideas before Japan, it was in Japan that the first history of Chinese literature was written. This was due to several reasons. Because the Chinese did not place much value upon fabrications, there was a strong antipathy among the Chinese to include fiction within the realm of “literature.” In Japan, the situation differed somewhat. Over the course of the Edo period, the Japanese antipathy toward fictional fabrications had started to break down. Moreover, because the individual genres, such as poetry, novels, plays, and so on, had started to crystallize, it was relatively easy for the Japanese to accept modern, Western European notions of literature and genre. Also, National Learning had provided Japan with a nationalism that placed Japanese culture opposite the traditional culture of China, and thus Japan already had in place something akin to Western European state-nationalism.

B. The Government Compilation of the *Koji Ruien* (*Classified Collection of Old Documents*)

Even before editors started compiling histories of Japanese literature for pre-college students around 1890, the Japanese government already had a history of the humanities in the works. The project began when David Murray (1830-1905), an advisor hired by the Japanese Ministry of Education, recommended that the Ministry put together the work that eventually became the *Nihon kyōiku shi ryaku* (*Outline of the History of Japanese Education*). Murray had recommended that this project be completed for the 1876 Philadelphia World's Fair, but it was not completed in time; instead, it was finished the following year, in 1877. The goal of this work was to bring together a history of calligraphy, reading, composition—all the elements of reading and writing as pertaining to “the study of Japanese and Chinese letters” (*Nihon oyobi Shina bungaku*). In this case, “the study of letters” was understood as consisting of history, philosophy, poetry, and fiction. The traditional notion of *bungaku*, which had consisted of the world of *kanbun*, had expanded to include the domain of items written in *wabun*, Japanese script. The domain of *bungaku* also included the visual arts, medicine, pharmacotherapy, and history. The compilers' notes indicate that they understood the conventional notion of *bungaku* as no more than “useless poetry,” but they were interpreting the term far more widely to include an extensive range of studies. This may have been due to Murray's urging that Japan make science the country's first priority.

Sakakibara Yoshino (1832-81), who was in charge of the third section “*Bungei gairyaku*” (“An Outline of Scholarship”) of the *Outline of the History of Japanese Education*, also compiled *Bungei ruisan* (*A Classified Collection of Scholarship*) in 1879. (The term *bungei* had been used in Chinese from ancient times to refer to scholarship in general. It was interchangeable with the term *geibun*.) This collection was divided into four sections, namely *Ji* (Letters), *Bun* (Writings), *Gaku* (Studies), and *Bungu* (Items Used for Writing), and it contained a balance of scholarship in both Chinese and Japanese. The scholar Yanagida Izumi has surmised that this project started earlier than the *Outline of the History of Japanese Education*, but under Murray's guidance, the *Outline* was completed first.⁷ Nishimura Shigeki (1828-1902), who was the Secretary General of the Ministry of Education at the time, wrote the preface to *A Classified Collection of Scholarship*. It seems likely that Nishimura was the driving force behind the compilation of such works.

Even more ambitious a project than *A Classified Collection of Scholarship* was the compilation of *Koji ruien* (*Classified Collection of Old Documents*), which sought to classify the entire canon of classic texts. The project began in 1879 with a proposal from

Nishimura Shigeki and was completed in 1914. The preface explains that without bibliographic sources, it is impossible to “observe the basis of the vicissitudes” of Japanese history or to “see the changes in systems and products of civilization.” “Desiring to know the individual causes of a wide spectrum of things and phenomena from across society,” the editors felt it necessary to compile the collection. The preface also notes that China had various collections called *ruijū* (Ch. *lèijù*), just as the West had encyclopedias. Japan too had various collections, but since each tended to lean toward a specific field, there was no one collection that covered all fields. It was to compensate for this lack that the editors undertook the project of compiling the *Classified Collection of Old Documents*. At the very root of the project is an apparent concern for history and the goal of sorting out bibliographic sources for all fields. To put it differently, the editors were interested in the “sciences” and “history” as interpreted in the Western sense of the terms. The classification scheme originally consisted of forty items, but by 1900, the editors had condensed these to thirty items. At this time, the editors also began adding small items such as a category on Christianity. (See Appendix 1.)

C. The Establishment of “Studies of National History” at the Imperial University

In the early Meiji period, history was merely one section in the “study of letters” (*bungaku*), which, more or less, contained all of the humanities. The middle of the Meiji period, however, saw an increasing degree of separation between the study of history and *bungaku*, which was being pared down to mean “language arts” or “literature.” Nowhere is this clearer than in the reorganization of university curricula. Let us examine the position accorded the study of history during the adjustments to the modern Japanese university system.

The first curricular design for a university system can be found in the 1870 University Rules (*Daigaku kisoku*) drawn up by the government. The schema consists of five subjects: ethics (consisting of Shinto and Confucian teachings), law, natural science, medicine, and the liberal arts. This system was apparently designed with the structure of nineteenth-century European, especially German, universities in mind. Such universities generally contained departments of theology, law, medicine, and philosophy. Within the liberal arts department of the Japanese university were to be three subjects: *kidengaku* (about which more will be said in a moment), *bunshōgaku* (the study of composition and rhetoric), and *seirigaku* (consisting of both philosophy and psychology). Before this, in the liberal arts section of Daigaku Nankō, an early institution of higher education, classes on the histories of individual countries were taught. It is clear that what the University Rules were trying to accomplish was the reorganization of these histories under a single

umbrella, and it used the word *kidengaku* as a translation of the word “history.” (The character *ki* comes from the compound *honki*, “descriptions of sovereigns’ reigns” and *den* from *retsuden*, “biographies of great men,” whereas *gaku* means “study.”) Despite all of this, the plan laid out in the University Rules never materialized, because soon after the University Rules were laid out, the entire system of education was overhauled significantly.

In 1872, Daigaku Nankō dropped the word *daigaku* “university” from its name to become simply Nankō. It had a number of area studies programs such as English studies, French studies, and German studies, each of which taught the history of the country that was its area of focus. For instance, English studies taught a class on the history of Britain, using an English history text written in England as the basis of its lectures. In 1873, Nankō was reorganized into Kaisei Gakkō. Under the new system, it consisted of a school of law, school of science, school of engineering, school of the arts, and a school of mining. The schools of the arts and mining were dissolved in 1875, but in 1877, a number of programs were added, including literature, Neo-Confucianism, and history (*shigaku*).

In 1877, Kansei Gakkō and the Tokyo Medical University were placed under one administrative umbrella to form Tokyo University. It was comprised of four departments: the departments of jurisprudence (*hō*), natural sciences (*ri*), medicine (*i*), and letters (*bun*). The Department of Letters (sometimes misleadingly translated as “Literature Department”) consisted of two courses of study: one teaching history (*shigaku*), philosophy, and political science, and the other teaching Chinese and Japanese studies. The former track focused on Western studies, and the history courses taught the history of the Western world. In 1881, however, the history courses disappeared temporarily from lack of enrollment. Within the Chinese and Japanese studies track were *wabungaku* (the study of Japanese letters) and *kanbungaku* (the study of *kanbun* letters), but history was not given any special courses. As discussed above, the traditional notion of the study of letters (*bungaku*) centered on Confucian studies and history inherited from China. Here, one finds for the first time in the university system a field called *wabungaku*. The required reading for this field consisted of all the same works in the required reading lists of Imperial Studies in the Ethics track of Daigaku Honkō (another of the former incarnations of Tokyo University): *The Record of Ancient Matters*, *The Chronicles of Japan*, *Man’yōshū* (*The Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*), *Kogo shūi* (*Gleanings from Ancient Stories*), *Norito* (*Ritual Shinto Prayers*), and *Senmyō* (*Imperial Proclamations*), and so on. The required reading also took some of the required reading titles from the liberal arts, namely historical tales such as the *Great Mirror*, *Increasing Mirror*, and *New Mirror*, plus other texts such as *The Tale of Genji* and *Makura no sōshi* (*The Pillow Book*

of *Sei Shōnagon*). All works enjoyed by the masses from the Middle Ages through the early modern period were excluded, and therefore, the contents of the field of *wabun-gaku* corresponded to what would have been called “polite literature” in Western Europe. Interestingly, early Meiji scholars of Western studies such as Taguchi Ukichi and Fukuchi Ōchi placed high value on the works read by the populace during the Edo period. Clearly however, the universities took a different approach. In 1894, the publishing house Hakubunkan published the *Saikaku zenshū* (*Complete Works of Ihara Saikaku*) with annotations by Ozaki Kōyō and Watanabe Otowa, but it was banned for fear of “disturbing public morals.” Clearly, Saikaku could not be taught.

In 1886 came the Imperial University Order (*Teikoku daigaku rei*), and the institution was reorganized into colleges of law, medical science, natural science, engineering science, and liberal arts. The liberal arts college began with four tracks of study (philosophy, Japanese letters, Chinese letters, and linguistics), but the school added a new track in history (*shigaku*) in 1887. A year later in 1888, a course in Japanese history was added to the history track, and in 1889, a new track called “national history” (*kokushi*) was established. In this way, the system divided the study of Japanese history and Japanese language arts of Japan, turning *rekishi* and *bungaku* into separate fields. Nonetheless, as mentioned above, histories of Japanese literature at that time and even now contain mythological works and local gazettes written in *kanbun*.

What about the study of the Chinese classics? As mentioned above, the Meiji government used *kanbun* with reading guides (*yomikudashi*) for public documents. Along with English, knowledge of *kanbun* was essential for success in Meiji society. *Kanbun* was a subject on the entrance examination for the Imperial University, which since 1879 had required students to write their theses in English or *kanbun*. (Tokyo University changed its name to Imperial University in 1886 along with the Imperial University Order. When Kyoto Imperial University was founded in 1897, its name changed to Tokyo Imperial University. This name stuck until 1947 when the name reverted to Tokyo University with the abolishment of the imperial university system by the occupying Allied forces.) In the 1880s, the study of *kanbun* swelled considerably. Also, there was a rising trend for political commentators in the Meiji period to use precedents and stories from the historical narratives of the Chinese classics in writing editorials on whether a particular policy was right or wrong. To draw upon European history for the same purpose would have violated tradition.

The university system changed many more times. In 1904, a revolution took place in the Tokyo Imperial University College of the Liberal Arts. The college was reorganized into three tracks of study, namely philosophy, literature, and history, and under the latter, an area of study called “Eastern History” (*tōyō shigaku*) was created. At the

same time that history was separated from what had been called “*kanbun* studies,” the university also created an area within the literature track called “Chinese literature” (*Shina bungaku*). In short, the university system dismantled the traditional notion of *bun-gaku* by breaking it into different, separate areas. This trend was carried into the *kanbun* courses of middle schools and high schools. Students continued to study *kanbun* historical narratives with literary, artistic value—works such as the *Records of the Historian*—along with classical Chinese poetry. Also until World War II, the textbooks for first-year middle-school students customarily included *kanbun* texts written by Japanese such as Arai Hakuseki and Rai San’yō.

The fever for classical *kanbun* studies appears to have subsided sometime after the Sino-Japanese War. In the political and ideological writings after the war, one sees little of the tendency to quote stories from history.

3. THE COMPILATION OF HISTORICAL TEXTS AND THE PUBLISHING INDUSTRY

A. Taxonomy of Non-Governmental Publications

Of interest in the history of publications related to historiography is the *Kyōeki Kashihon Sha shoseki wakan shobunrui mokuroku* (*Kyōeki Book Rental Company Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Works*) produced in May 1887. *Kyōeki* was a modern book lender that is believed to have catered especially to the intelligentsia and students. At the time it published its catalogue, it had established offices in Mita, located in the Shiba Ward of Tokyo; before then, it had carried out work without any fixed offices. Unlike older book rental businesses in which individuals carried books around the cities and lent them for a fee, this “new style” company used modern means such as the postal service to distribute books to its fee-paying customers. The *Kyōeki* catalogue consists of 1,871 titles, which were divided into four sections: *washo* (books in Japanese, 332 titles), *kansho* (books in pure Chinese or *kanbun* modified to fit the Japanese language, 379 titles), *yakusho* (translations and new writings having to do with knowledge from the West, 716 titles, plus novels and other type-set publications, 334 titles, forming 1160 titles altogether), and *eisho* (English books, 722 titles). (For a list of works having to do with history, see Appendix 2.)

The catalog makes it clear that by that point, books printed from woodblocks and books printed from Western-style movable type were circulating alongside one another. Also, we see that the classics were divided into two categories by orthographic style, with writings in Chinese and Japanese occupying different sections of the catalogue. The

large number of texts in Chinese no doubt had to do with the fact that *kanbun* studies were at a peak around 1880, but of course, not all of these *kanbun* texts had to do with the history of China. In the *kansho* section of the catalogue, we see a mixture of texts on both Chinese and Japanese history. Historiographic materials in the new Western-influenced style were included under the rubric *yakusho*, telling us that the idea of history had still not been systematically incorporated into Japanese thought.

For another look at what sorts of non-governmental publications on history were being produced, let's examine the kinds of publications released by Hakubunkan, a publishing house which, thanks to its magazines and educational publications, was a vital force in the publishing industry at that time. Below is a list of Hakubunkan publications related to history. They are divided into multi-volume sets and single volume works.⁸

Multi-volume sets

- 1889 *Bankoku rekishi zensho (Collected Works on World History)*, 12 vols.
 1891 *Katei kyōiku rekishi tokuhon (Household Education: Readers in History)*, 12 vols.
 1892 *Tokugawa jūgo-dai shi (History of Fifteen Generations of the Tokugawa)*, 12 vols.
 1892 *Shinsen Nihon gaishi (New Unofficial History of Japan)*, 12 vols.
 By Ochiai Naobumi and Ikebe Gishō (Konakamura Kiyomori)
 1893 *Nihon rekishi hyōrin (Collected Essays on Japanese History)*, 5 vols.
 By Hagino Yoshiyuki
 1894 *Bankoku senshi (History of the Wars of the World)*, 12 vols.
 1896 *Nihon rekishi dan (Stories from Japanese History)*, 24 vols.
 By Ōwada Takeki

Monographs

- 1890 *Shinsen dai Nihon teikoku shi (New History of the Greater Japanese Empire)*
 By Matsui Hakuken (Kōkichi)
 1891 *Bankoku rekishi mondō taizen (Collection of Questions and Answers about the History of the World)*
 1891 *Chūtō kyōiku Nihon rekishi (jōge) (Intermediate Education: Japanese History in Two Volumes)*
 By Hagino Yoshiyuki
 1892 *Shotō Nihon rekishi (Elementary Japanese History)*
 By Imaizumi Sadasuke
 1892 *Nihon teikoku rekishi (History of the Japanese Empire)*

- By Hata Masajirō
- 1892 *Chūtō kyōiku bankoku rekishi (Intermediate Education: History of the World)*
By Nakahara Teishichi
- 1892 *Kōtō shōgaku Nihon rekishi (Upper-Level Elementary School Japanese History)*
By Masada Ushin
- 1892 *Nihon rekishi sugoroku (Japanese History Dice Games)*
By Ochiai Naobumi and Konakamura Gishō
- 1893 *Chūtō kyōiku Shina shi (Intermediate Education: Chinese History)*
By Fujita Hisamichi
- 1895 *Shina kinsei shi (Early Modern Chinese History)*
By Kumada Nenoshirō
- 1895 *Shinsen Nihon shō rekishi (New Short Japanese History)*
By Masada Ushin
- 1897 *Honchō tsugan (A Comprehensive History of Our Kingdom, Reprinted Edition of the “Official History” of the Tokugawa Bakufu)*
By Hayashi Michiharu and Hayashi Harunari
- 1897 *Shinsen Nihon gaishi (New Unofficial History of Japan)*
By Ochiai Naobumi and Ikebe Gishō (Konakamura Kiyomori)
- 1897 *Chūtō kyōiku seiyō rekishi (Intermediate Education: Western History)*
By Kidera Ryūjirō
- 1897 *Teikoku shi ryaku (Outline of the History of the Empire)*
By Ariga Nagao
- 1898 *Nihon rekishi yōkai (Essentials of Japanese History)*
By Hagino Yoshiyuki
- 1899 *Dai Nihon tsūshi jō ge (Comprehensive History of Greater Japan in Two Volumes)*
By Hagino Yoshiyuki

This list makes it clear that in the 1890s, Hakubunkan was publishing comprehensive histories of Japan, China, and the world, as well as typeset versions of Edo period histories such as *A Comprehensive History of Our Kingdom*, which had only been available in editions printed from woodblocks carved with cursive, brushstroke-like script. A new era in historical studies had arrived; history was now being broken down into the sub-fields of national history (*kokushi*), Eastern history (*tōyō shi*), and Western history (*seiyō shi*), and publishers were organizing the classics and publishing them in movable type.

The publications listed above were geared toward a student readership. Let us shift gears for a moment and look at the names of the chapters in one of the multi-volume works listed above, Hakubunkan's 1891 *Household Education: Readers in History* edited by Ochiai Naobumi and Konakamura Gishō. (See Appendix 3.)

Volume 1

The Dew of Nobono (About Yamatotakeru no Mikoto, the legendary hero of ancient Japan)

The Storm at Susono (About the Soga Brothers, Sukenari and Tokimune, who take revenge on the murderer of their father in the late twelfth century)

Volume 2

Sengakuji Temple (About the forty-seven loyal retainers who take revenge on behalf of their master, who had been forced to commit suicide during the Edo period)

Nyoirin-dō Hall (About Kusunoki Masatsura, a warrior in the period of Northern and Southern Courts who followed the advice of his father, Kusunoki Masashige, and fought on behalf of the Southern Court)

Volume 3

Snow at Komatsu (About Taira no Shigemori, a warrior and aristocrat during the Genpei wars of the twelfth century)

Kikaigashima (About Shunkan, priest during the late Heian period who joined the retired emperor Go-Shirakawa in a plot against the Heike clan and was exiled to Kikaigashima as a result)

Volume 4

The Monument to Love in Toba (About Kesa Gozen, the lady in the late Heian period who was loved by Endō Moritō; in a jealous rage, he attempted to kill her husband, but found out that the person he attacked was actually her in disguise)

Tsurugaoka (About Shizuka Gozen, the Kamakura period consort of Minamoto no Yoshitsune, who after being taken from her partner by Minamoto no Yoritomo, was forced to dance in front of him yet managed to show her love for Yoshitsune through her performance)

Fountain of Blood in the Castle (About Hosokawa Gracia, the virtuous and loyal wife of Hosokawa Tadaoki during the Warring States period; she was killed rather than be taken hostage by her husband's enemy)

Volume 5

Flute of Young Leaves (About Taira no Atsumori, an aristocrat who perished in the Genpei Wars and who is featured in a famous scene in *The Tale of the Heike*)

Storm in the Forest (About Mori Ranmaru, the lover of Oda Nobunaga during the Warring States period)

Young Grass at Hino (About Hino Suketomo's son Kumawakamaru; Hino Suketomo had plotted with the Emperor Go-Daigo against the shogunate and, as a result, was sent into exile where he was killed; Kumawakamaru tried to take revenge on this father's behalf)

Volume 6

Oracle of Usa (About Wake no Kiyomaro, the court official of the late eighth century who spoke out against Yugenō Dōkyō, who had proclaimed that the god Hachiman had declared that he was to rule)

Clothes from the Emperor (About Sugawara no Michizane, the scholar, poet, and political figure of the Heian period)

Volume 7

Waves Around the Ship (About the Empress Jingū, the legendary non-reigning empress of the late fourth and early fifth centuries)

The Earthen Prison (About the Emperor Go-Daigo's son Prince Morinaga, who fought against Ashikaga Tadayoshi on his father's behalf and was eventually imprisoned and killed as a result)

Volume 8

The Chrysanthemum-filled Stream (About Kusunoki Masashige, the fourteenth century warrior who fought against the Ashikaga forces on behalf of the Emperor Go-Daigo)

The Wind Over Korea (About Katō Kiyomasa, a daimyo under Toyotomi Hideyoshi in the Warring States period who, following Hideyoshi's orders, led the attack on the mainland)

Volume 9

The Gate of Nakoso (About Hachiman Tarō or Minamoto no Yoshiie, the strong, late Heian period warrior who demonstrated exemplary loyalty and excelled in both learning and the martial arts)

Uji River / Yashima no ura (Two Stories about Sasaki Shirō Takatsuna and Nasu no Yoichi, two figures known for their loyalty and military exploits in the Genpei Wars)

Volume 10

The Moon Over Kan Castle (About Kitabatake Chikafusa, the scholar and political figure of the period of the Northern and Southern Courts)

The Snow of Koshiji (About Nitta Yoshisada, the warrior of the late Kamakura and Muromachi periods who demonstrated exemplary loyalty to his lord)

Volume 11

Trip to Hear the Insects (About Fujiwara Morokawa, who served the Southern Court loy-

ally during the period of the Northern and Southern Courts)

The Cherry Blossoms at Angū (About Kojima Takanori, who likened himself to a loyal warrior from China in a poem he wrote in Chinese style on a debarked section of a cherry tree)

Volume 12

Shikimusai (About Hayashi Shihei, the military strategist and loyalist to the emperor during the Tokugawa period who was criticized when he argued for the importance of naval defences for the country)

The Emperor's Voice (About Takayama Hikokurō, the mid-Edo period loyalist to the emperor)

Household Education: Readers in History consists of a digest focusing on biographical stories about people who appeared in a wide variety of historical texts, beginning with the eight century *Nihon shoki* (*Chronicles of Japan*). In it, historical episodes and anecdotes are presented in an entertaining narrative form. From a modern point of view, these tales are far from what is now considered pure historiography, in which fact and fiction are rigorously separated.

At the beginning of the first volume of *Household Education: Readers in History* is the 1891 Imperial Rescript on Education, and each subsequent volume contains a number of anecdotes about the importance of loyalty and faithfulness. Out of the seven volumes, containing twenty-seven stories in all, a large number deal with faithful subordinates fighting for the Emperor Go-Daigo against the Hōjō clan during the Kamakura period; for example, Kusunoki Masashige (?-1336) is the earliest of these loyal subordinates to appear in this collection. The praise for the loyalty of the warriors supporting the Southern Court is reminiscent of *The History of Great Japan*, and reflects the reorganization of values during the Meiji period, when the emperor was nominally placed at the head of politics and the country as a whole. Also, the collection of stories closes with the story of Takayama Hikokurō (1747-93), a mid-Edo period loyalist to the throne who attempted to spread his virulently pro-imperial stance despite pressure from the Tokugawa authorities.

A number of women make appearances in this collection. The fourth volume contains stories about Kesa Gozen, Shizu Gozen, and Hosokawa Gracia, all women who displayed exemplary steadfastness and virtue. Interestingly, the collection does not include any stories about Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616), the first shogun of the Edo period; likewise, Shōtoku Taishi (574?-622), the prince who was widely revered by the general populace as the founder of Japanese Buddhism, also makes no appearance in its pages. Sugawara no Michizane (845-903), the nationalist who did away with Japanese

envoys to China, however, does make an appearance. Taira no Shigemori (1138-1179) too makes an appearance but only in the role of Minamoto no Yoritomo's enemy. The collection does not draw upon Oze Hoan's *Taikōki* (*Chronicle of Toyotomi Hideyoshi*), even though the latter was greatly loved by the common people in the late Edo period and even though Hideyoshi was an important figure in the sixteenth century unification of Japan. By contrast, Hayashi Shihei (1738-93), the military strategist and imperial loyalist who was censured by the shogunate when he argued that the country should build naval defenses, does make an appearance within this collection. This indicates that in collecting these stories, the editors were intent upon writing history in a fashion that would inspire a feeling of loyalty to the imperial household—a feeling particularly appropriate for an era in which the emperor was nominally placed at the center of the nation. In fact, the editor's intent to down play the emphasis on Buddhism and warrior authority while reformulating history with the imperial household at the center is as clear in these stories as many of Meiji period biographies of the great figures of history. Nonetheless, there is a discrepancy between the intent to reformulate history in this fashion and the modern ideology of the imperial household, which was inherited from the Northern Court. These contradictory elements are only weakly linked together, as were Shintoism and Japanese style Confucianism (which tended to emphasize loyalty more than its Chinese counterpart) or constitutionalism and a brand of emperor worship that treated the sovereign as a living god.

As a whole, this collection is grounded in the spirit of the moral compass laid forth for the Japanese citizens by the Imperial Rescript, which had emphasized worship of the emperor and Japanese-style Confucianism. *Household Education: Readers in History* presented in a traditional, historical-narrative style a number of famous scenes from history that illustrated these morals. Clearly, the purpose of the collection was to encourage the development of a system of morals centering on loyalty and steadfastness among the citizens of Japan. This kind of work, unifying historical and moral education, appears to have been especially common in Japan.

4. CONCLUSION

As discussed above, Japanese scholars compiled a number of comprehensive histories that told the history of Japan from the mythical first emperor onward. The result was the birth of a view of history that saw it as one, long connected flow. For that reason, new official histories were created with new sections when there were changes in authority. From the eleventh-century *Eiga monogatari* (*A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*) onward, official histories of the aristocracy were written in a tale-like style that included

elements of fabrication. *Heike monogatari* (*The Tale of the Heike*) and *Taiheiki* (*Chronicle of the Great Peace*), both histories of warrior clans, were frequently retold and reread by the common people. A large number of apocryphal stories containing historiographic elements were appended to these histories or borrowed from these histories to take on a new life of their own. Throughout the Edo period, these and other histories were divided and reformulated in various ways to dramatize them and give them morals. The result was a high tide of storybooks, public retellings, and artistic renditions of stories from these histories, many of which were supplemented with fabricated elements. It was through these reformulations and retellings that the majority of the common people learned history.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century in Japan, there were a number of changes in Japanese historiography and in the very notion of history itself. Of course, these changes took as their starting point the culture of the Edo period. As the Western idea of positivism and Western-style historiography penetrated Japanese scholarship, new ways of studying and writing about history emerged, changing the ways the Japanese thought about history. The following is a summary of eight salient characteristics of the new historiography and new views of history.

- (1) As we saw with Taguchi Teiken's *A Brief History of Japanese Civilization*, there was the creation of a new type of comprehensive history that included studies of industry and society.
- (2) These histories contained a teleological notion of the development of history derived from the Darwinian theory of evolution, and they tended to place an especially strong emphasis on the struggle for survival between countries.
- (3) There was the formation of "histories of the study of letters" (*bungaku shi*) that covered both *wabun* and *kanbun* (which included both pure classical Chinese and Chinese modified to fit the Japanese language). These "histories of the studies of letters" consisted of a history of the humanities, and they included "history" (*rekishi*) as an increasingly distinct sub-field.
- (4) With time, national history (*kokushi*) established itself as an independent field outside of "the study of letters" (*bungaku*), which was re-interpreted in a new, reductive fashion as meaning something close to the English word "literature." A German-style emphasis on the positivist study of bibliographical sources permeated the study of history.
- (5) Japanese history and Eastern history were erected as counterparts to the history of the Western world, thus creating an intellectual framework in which these histories stood in distinction to one another. One function of this was to establish what might be called an ideology of Asianism in which that Japan

- was seen as one part of an Asia that stood in opposition to the Western world.
- (6) As part of its plans to establish new texts, the government proceeded with the compilation of the *Classified Collection of Old Documents*, creating a comprehensive collection of old historical records. Also in line with the moral direction laid out by government in the new imperial constitution and the Imperial Rescript on Education, new middle school texts and other histories were written that placed the imperial household at the center of a long, proud historical tradition.
 - (7) A large number of books were fashioned out of the episodes that had previously formed the basis for tales, kabuki plays, and the like. These texts, which contained a strong moral message emphasizing loyalty, patriotism, steadfastness, and virtue, spread far and wide among the people and served as a means of instilling a certain set of moral values.
 - (8) Though this paper has not provided explicit examples, there was a tendency to interpret the significance of current happenings as the outcome of certain historical events; therefore progress in the present led historians and intellectuals to reinterpret the past with increasing frequency.⁹

Translated by Jeffrey Angles

NOTES

- 1 The common theory about the origin of the term *rekishi monogatari* is that Haga Yaichi was the first to use it in its modern sense in 1918, but Matsumoto Haruhisa has pushed back this date, pointing to a work by a 1905 work by Hayashi Moritarō that uses the term. See Konishi Jinichi, *A History of Japanese Literature: Vol. 2: The Early Middle Ages*, trans. Aileen Gatten, ed. Earl Miner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 368, note 186.
- 2 This essay, especially the sections dealing with the vicissitudes in the concept of literature in Japan, is built upon the arguments in Suzuki Sadami, *Nihon no "bungaku" gainen* (Tokyo: Sakuhin Sha, 1998).
- 3 See *Kyōeki Kashihon Sha shoseki mokuroku*, rev. ed (1887), 10. Also see Ishikawa Chiyomatsu's introduction of Darwin's *The Origin of Species* in *Dōbutsu shinka ron* (1883). The first translation of *The Origin of Species* was Tachibana Senzaburō's *Seibutsu shigen* in 1896.
- 4 See Suzuki Sadami, "Meiji Nihon ni okeru shinkaron juyō: Sono mondai gun no keisei o megutte." In Itō Shuntarō, ed., *Nihon no kagaku to bunmei* (Dōsei Sha,

- 2000) and Suzuki Sadami, “Shinkaron juyō shi no wakugumi no kentō: gaksai-teki kumikae ni mukete,” *Heisei 9-nendo shinpojiumu: 20-seiki no seimei kagaku to seimeikan*, ed. Omoto Keiichi (Sōgō Kenkyū Daigakuin Daigaku, 2000).
- 5 The idea of invention of tradition is based upon Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- 6 Fukuchi Ōchi, *Fukuchi Ōchi shū*, in *Meiji bungaku zenshū* 11 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1966), p. 342.
- 7 Yanagida Izumi, *Meiji shoki no bungaku shisō*, Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Shunjū Sha, 1965), pp. 325-6.
- 8 Based upon “Hakubunkan shuppan nenpyō,” in Tsuboya Zenshirō, *Hakubunkan gojū-nen shi* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1937).
- 9 See the discussion of Kume Kunitake’s work in Suzuki Sadami, “The Modern Reformulation of Historiography and the Notion of History,” paper presented at the symposium “The Making of Historiography through the Meiji Period,” organized by the International Research Center for Japanese Studies and The Center for Japanese Studies of the University of Hawai‘i at Manoa, November 8-12, 2000.

Appendix 1

Classification System of the 1879 *Koji ruien* (Classified Collection of Old Documents)

舟車部	泉貨部	産業部	親戚部	樂舞部	封祿部	神祇部	天部
食物部	布帛部	積教部	人品部	武技部	法律部	帝王部	歲時部
動物部	冠服部	靈異部	姓名部	兵事部	外交部	朝儀部	地部
植物部	器用部	遊戲部	人事部	形体部	文学部	官爵部	水火部
金石部	称量部	居処部	礼式部	性情部	方技部	政治部	祥災部

Note: There are forty sections in this edition.

Classification System of the 1906 *Koji ruien* (Classified Collection of Old Documents)

器用部	姓名部	礼式部	称量部	官位部	天部
遊戯部	産業部	楽舞部	外交部	封祿部	歳時部
動物部	冠服部	方技部	兵事部	政治部	地部
植物部	食物部	宗教部	武技部	法律部	神祇部
金石部	居処部	人事部	文学部	泉貨部	帝王部

Note: There are thirty sections in this edition.

Appendix 2

List of Books Having to Do with History in *Kyōeki Kashihon Sha shoseki wakansho bunrui mokuroku*, May 1887

和文書門		正史		雜史	
共益貸本社書籍和漢書分類目錄					
和文書門					
正史之部					
書名	著者姓名	冊數	定價	見料	
古史徵	平田篤胤撰	一	二〇〇〇	各一五	
神皇正統記	北畠親房撰	六	七五〇	各一〇	
新編皇朝史畧	佐橋重恭撰	二	二〇〇〇	各一〇	
日本新史	關機撰	一	一七五〇	各一〇	
歷史通覽	井上淑蔭撰	五	七五〇	各一〇	
校本扶桑畧記	史籍集覽本	九	一五〇〇	各一〇	
神皇正統錄		二	三〇〇	各一〇	
十三代要畧		二	三〇〇	各一〇	
史鑑		一	一五〇〇	各一〇	
一代要記		一	一五〇〇	各一〇	
神明鏡		二	三〇〇	各一〇	
宇多天皇實記		二	三〇〇	各一〇	
乙號特別以上之部					
古事記傳	本居宣長撰	四	七五〇〇	各一五	
古史傳	平田篤胤撰	二	七五〇〇	各一五	
雜史之部					
書名	著者姓名	冊數	定價	見料	
水鏡	史籍集覽本	二	三〇〇〇	各一〇	
大鏡		五	七五〇	各一〇	
增鏡		四	六〇〇	各一〇	
校本榮花物語		一	二五〇〇	各一〇	
續世繼		六	一、二〇〇	各一〇	
月之行方		二	三〇〇	各一〇	
池の漢曆		四	六〇〇	各一〇	
參考源平盛衰記		四	六〇〇	各一〇	
櫻雲記		一	二〇〇	各一〇	
南山巡狩錄		一	二〇〇	各一〇	
南方記傳		一	二、六〇〇	各一〇	
重編應仁記		二	三〇〇	各一〇	
織田軍記		一	一五〇〇	各一〇	
大關記		一	一五〇〇	各一〇	
改正三河後風土記		一	一、六〇〇	各一〇	
校本鎌倉大草紙		二	三、五〇〇	各一〇	
關八州古戰錄		二	三、〇〇〇	各一〇	
北條五代記		九	一、五〇〇	各一〇	
		五	七五〇	各一〇	

北條九代記	史籍集覽本	二	三〇〇	三〇	賤岳合戰記	史籍集覽本	一	二〇〇	二〇
雲州軍話	全	一	二〇〇	二〇	惟任退治記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇
安西軍策	全	四	六〇〇	四五	細川忠興軍功記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇
淺井三代記	全	五	八〇〇	五〇	脇坂記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇
朝倉始末記	全	四	六〇〇	四五	一柳家記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇
菊地傳記	全	二	三〇〇	三〇	大和記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇
歷代鎮西要畧	全	一一	一六〇〇	各一〇	今川記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇
肥陽軍記	全	二	三〇〇	三〇	深澤城矢文	全	一	二〇〇	二〇
豐薩軍記	全	六	一〇〇〇	各一〇	里見九代記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇
南海治亂記	全	一一	一五〇〇	各一〇	土氣古城再興傳來記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇
奥羽永慶軍記	全	一五	二五〇〇	各一〇	常陽四戰記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇
將門純友東西軍記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇	大塔軍記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇
秦衡征伐物語	全	一	二〇〇	一〇	兼山記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇
承久兵亂記	全	二	三〇〇	三〇	壽齋記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇
永享記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇	新田老談記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇
嘉吉物語	全	一	二〇〇	二〇	松陰私記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇
細川勝元記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇	唐澤老談記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇
細川大心院記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇	那須記	全	二	三〇〇	三〇
豐内記	全	二	三〇〇	三〇	丹州三家物語	全	一	二〇〇	二〇
佐久間軍記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇	備前文明亂記	全	一	二〇〇	二〇

南文書門

雜史

三

備中兵亂記	史籍集覽本	全	二〇〇	二〇					
高橋紹運記	全	二〇〇	二〇						
宗像軍記	全	三〇〇	三〇						
島津家譜	全	二〇〇	二〇						
諸寺塔供養記	全	二〇〇	二〇						
三人法師	全	二〇〇	二〇						
足利季世記	全	一〇〇	二〇						
杉隣夜話	全	三〇〇	三〇						
川中嶋五度合戰次第全	全	二〇〇	二〇						
毛利元就記	全	二〇〇	二〇						
老翁物語	全	二〇〇	二〇						
太閤素生記	全	二〇〇	二〇						
南蠻寺興廢記	全	二〇〇	二〇						
飛州軍覽記	全	二〇〇	二〇						
利家夜話	全	二〇〇	二〇						
會津陳物語	全	二〇〇	二〇						
氏鄉記	全	三〇〇	三〇						
福島大夫殿御事	全	二〇〇	二〇						
加澤平次左衛門覺書全	全	二〇〇	二〇						
愚管抄	全	七五〇	五〇						
東鑑脫漏	史籍集覽本	全	二〇〇	一					
島津家本東鑑纂	全	二〇〇	二〇						
細々要記	全	三〇〇	三〇						
興福寺英俊法印記	全	二〇〇	二〇						
朝鮮陣古文	全	二〇〇	二〇						
山門三井確執記	全	二〇〇	二〇						
田樂法師由來之事	全	二〇〇	二〇						
介壽筆談	全	二〇〇	二〇						
廢絶録	全	二〇〇	二〇						
續武將感狀記	全	三〇〇	三〇						
武邊叢書	全	一〇二〇〇	各一〇						
原城紀事	全	八一五〇〇	各一〇						
玉音抄	全	二〇〇	二〇						
落葉集追加	全	三〇〇	三〇						
後見草	全	二〇〇	二〇						
中外經緯傳	全	一〇〇〇	五〇						
安西法師傳	全	二〇〇	二〇						
史料叢書	全	一四二四〇〇	各一〇						
老人雜話	全	二〇〇	二〇						
備前老人物語	全	二〇〇	二〇						

政和方書門

雜史

		史		傳記		傳記之部	
		冊數	定價	冊數	定價	冊數	定價
渡邊幸庵對話	史籍集覽本	一	二〇〇	神功皇后御傳記	著者姓名	冊數	定價
慶長見聞集	全	五	七五〇	神功皇后御傳記	矢野玄道著	二	三〇〇
著舊得聞	全	一	二〇〇	倭家奇人傳	蓬蘆音口著	三	四〇〇
姓序考	全	一	二〇〇	續倭家奇人傳	全	三	四〇〇
春日山日記	全	九	一五〇〇	和漢孝義錄	鈴木重義編	三	四〇〇
上杉畧譜	全	一	二〇〇	以貫小傳	史籍集覽本	一	二〇〇
浪合記	全	一	二〇〇	叔山大師傳	全	一	二〇〇
底倉記	全	一	二〇〇	附大僧正空海和上傳	全	一	二〇〇
鎌倉九代后記	全	一	二〇〇	赤穂義士傳	山崎美成校	五	五〇〇
赤縣太古傳	平田篤胤撰	三	五〇〇	集美錄	伊藤道保撰	一四	一〇〇〇
讀史餘論	新井君美撰	六	九〇〇	筑紫遺愛集	八編五冊輯	五	一〇〇〇
武將感狀記	淡庵子編	五	七五〇	百家琦行傳	川田剛著	一	一五〇
續武將感狀記	栗原柳菴撰	五	七五〇	楠氏考			
常山紀談	湯淺元輔撰	一〇	一五〇〇				
全	全	五	七五〇				
參考保元物語	今井弘濟校	九	一〇〇〇				
全 平治物語	全	六	八〇〇				
平家物語	史籍集覽本	一	二〇〇				
加藤清正記	全	二	一五〇〇				
細川政元記	全	一	二〇〇				

共益貸本社書籍和漢書分類目錄

漢文書門

正史之部

書名	著者姓名	冊數	定價	見料
古事記	村山忠順標註	三	七五〇	四五
皇朝史畧	青山延子撰	八	一二〇〇	各一〇
續皇朝史畧	全	四	七〇〇	四〇
國史畧	巖垣松苗撰	五	一〇〇〇	五〇
日本政記	賴襄撰	八	一二五〇	各一〇
標註國史纂論	山縣禎撰	一〇	一〇〇〇	各一〇
日本通史	藤澤南岳撰	一六	二五〇〇	各一〇
國史綱鑑	馬杉鑿撰	一〇	一〇〇〇	各一〇
國史畧二編	菊地純撰	五	一〇〇〇	五〇
國史畧三編	全	五	一〇〇〇	五〇
續國史畧	松山寬得撰	五	八〇〇	五〇
續日本政記	近藤餅城撰	六	八五〇	各一〇
大日本編年史	小西惟中撰	二〇	二五〇〇	各一〇
國史評林	羽山尚德撰	八	一〇〇〇	各一〇
五代史	宋歐陽脩等撰	一五	二五〇〇	各一五
大越史記全書	全	一〇	二五〇〇	各一五

增補元明史略

通鑑摩挲

網鑑精采

十八史略

清鑑易知錄

舊事本紀

慶弘紀聞

日本書記通證

標記本朝通鑑

大日本史

大日本野史

國史紀事本末

漢書評林

後漢書

唐書

資治通鑑

宗元通鑑

日本書紀

書名	著者姓名	冊數	定價	見料
增補元明史略	後藤芝山編	四	六〇〇	四〇
通鑑摩挲	增田貢校點	一五	二二五〇	各一〇
網鑑精采	明陽向高撰	二〇	三〇〇〇	各一〇
十八史略	村山緯撰	七	一二〇〇	各一〇
清鑑易知錄	源熙矩編	八	一二五〇	各一〇
舊事本紀	源熙矩編	五	五〇〇	七五
慶弘紀聞	源熙矩編	五	七五〇	五〇
日本書記通證	乙號特別以上之部 谷川士清撰	二三	三五〇〇	各一五
標記本朝通鑑	林恕撰	八四	一二〇〇	各一〇
大日本史	德川光國撰	〇〇	一五五〇〇	各二〇
大日本野史	飯田忠彥撰	〇〇	一三五〇〇	各二〇
國史紀事本末	青山延光撰	二〇	五〇〇〇	各一五
漢書評林	漢班固撰	五〇	七〇〇〇	各一五
後漢書	劉宋范曄撰	六〇	七五〇〇	各一五
唐書	歐陽修撰	八二	一二五〇〇	各一五
資治通鑑	伊勢板	一六	五〇〇	各二〇
宗元通鑑	陳仁錫撰	四八	二〇〇〇	各一五
日本書紀	丙號特別以上之部 舍主親王撰	一五	二五〇〇	各一五

漢文書門

正史

續日本紀	菅原真等撰	二〇	三〇〇〇	各二五	南木誌	山利實撰	五	七五〇	五〇
續日本紀考證	村尾元融撰	一二	二〇〇〇	各一五	日本外史	賴廣撰	二二	一三五〇	各一〇
日本后記	藤原冬嗣等撰	〇	一五〇〇	各一五	校刻日本外史	賴廣撰	一二	一五〇〇	各一〇
續日本后記	藤原具房等撰	〇	一五〇〇	各一五	鄰交徵書	伊藤松撰	六一	一〇〇〇	各一〇
文德實錄	藤原基經等撰	三	一〇〇〇	各一五	烈祖成績	安積覺撰	二〇	三〇〇〇	各一五
三代實錄	藤原時平等撰	三	四五〇〇	各一五	逸史	中井積善撰	一三	一三〇〇	各一〇
史記評林	司馬遷撰	三〇	三七五〇	各一五	日本外史補	岡田僑撰	五	七五〇	五〇
三國志	晉陳壽撰	四〇	五〇〇〇	各一五	史論	安積信撰	二	三〇〇〇	三〇
普書	唐太宗撰	一九	四〇〇〇	各一五	讀史論略	岡千俣撰	一	二〇〇〇	二〇
隋書	唐魏徵等撰	三〇	四〇〇〇	各一五	尊攘紀事	全	四	一〇〇〇	八〇
南史	唐季延壽撰	二〇	四〇〇〇	各一五	尊攘紀事補遺	鈴木貞次郎撰	二	五〇〇〇	四〇
北史	全	三〇	五五〇〇	各一五	江戶政記	李晚芳著	六	六〇〇〇	各一〇
資治通鑑	鳳文館出版	七〇	六〇〇〇	各一五	讀史管見	青木可榮著	五	六〇〇〇	各一〇
歷史綱鑑補	吳乘權楚材撰	三九	五〇〇〇	各一五	江戶外史	馬杉繫著	一〇	一〇〇〇	各一〇
綱鑑易知錄	全	六	六〇〇〇	各一五	讀日本外史	千葉玄之校	五	七五〇〇	各一〇
明鑑易知錄	全	七	一五〇〇	各一五	國語	秦鼎校	六	七五〇〇	各一〇
書	雜史之部				國語定本	唐吳競撰	一〇	八〇〇〇	各一〇
標註通語	著者姓名	冊數	定價	見料	貞觀政要	馬杉繫撰	一三	一三〇〇	各一〇
錄倉史	中井履軒撰	三	五〇〇	三五	二十二史言行略		六	一〇〇〇	各一〇
	小川弘撰	二〇	一〇〇〇	各一〇	周清外史		一	三〇〇〇	各一〇

三十

漢文書門

雜史

政書

傳記

東韓事略	甘雨亭叢書	一	二〇〇	二〇	
帝王譜略國朝紀	伊藤長胤著 甘雨亭叢書	一	一〇〇	二〇	
澹泊史論	安積覺著 甘雨亭叢書	二	三〇〇	三〇	
戰國策正解	甘雨亭叢書	一三一	一五〇〇	各一五	
昭代記	監谷世弘撰	一〇	一二〇〇	各一〇	
大八洲記		七	一〇〇〇	各一〇	
萬國通典	岡本監輔著	六	八〇〇	各一〇	
日本袖史	藤澤南岳撰	三	五〇〇	三〇	
北山抄	源中央撰	九	一三〇〇	各一〇	
日本王代一覽	林恕撰	六	九〇〇	各一〇	
征韓偉略	川口長孺撰	五	七五〇	五〇	
二十二史劄記		六	一七五〇	各二〇	
史籍年表	訥菴居士撰	一	五〇〇	二五	
元寇紀略	曾根晴雲著	二	三〇〇	二〇	
法越交兵記	丙號特別以上之部	一	一二〇〇	八〇	
東都事略	宋王備撰	二〇	三〇〇〇	各一五	
明朝紀事本末	清谷應泰撰	三〇	四〇〇〇	各一五	
傳記之部	著者姓名	冊數	定價	見料	
赤穂四十七士傳	青山延光撰	二	三〇〇	三〇	
先哲叢談	原善撰	五	一〇〇〇	五〇	
先哲叢談後篇	東條耕撰	四	一〇〇〇	四〇	
名臣言行錄	張采受先生評	六	八〇〇	各一〇	
列仙全傳	李攀龍撰	九	一〇〇〇	各一〇	
赤穂義人錄	甘雨亭叢書	三	四五〇	三五	
足利利軍傳		一	二〇〇	二〇	
烈士報讐錄	全	一	二〇〇	二〇	
近世先哲叢談	松村探著	二	三〇〇	三〇	
續近世先哲叢談	全	二	三〇〇	三〇	
本朝烈女傳	墨澤弘忠編	一〇	一〇〇〇	各一〇	
劉向烈女傳	松本萬年註	三	五〇〇	三五	
貳臣傳		八	八〇〇	各一〇	
愛國偉績	小笠原勝修撰	三	三〇〇	三五	
續愛國偉績	全	三	三〇〇	三五	
王陽明出身靖亂錄	明黒十慈齊編	三	五〇〇	三〇	
赤穂義人錄補正	國枝惟熙撰	二	三〇〇	二〇	
近古史談	大槻盤溪著	二	三〇〇	二〇	
近世佳人傳	睡花山史著	四	四〇〇	四〇	
秀鄉事實考	野中準述	一	一五〇	二〇	

二十三

經商門

商業及銀行書

歷史

書名	著者姓名	冊數	定價	見料
文明東漸史	藤田茂吉編	一	一二〇〇	八〇
英國文明史	十居光華合譯	一	一〇〇〇	七五
印度征略史	末廣重恭譯	一	三六〇	三〇
印度顛覆史	山田良作譯	一	三〇〇	三〇
英國革命史	佐藤覺四郎譯	一	三〇〇	三〇
具氏佛國史	文部省出版	二	各五〇〇	各四〇
日本文明史	北川廉太輯	一	三〇〇	二五
支那開化小史	田口卯吉著	四	各二五	各二
日本文明史	室山充美	一	二五〇	二〇
白露智利戰爭記	福非安舒譯	一	七五〇	四〇
日本新聞歷史	小洋木郎選	一	二五〇	二五
改正英史	大島貞益譯	一	五〇〇	二五
日本近代紀事	澤邊修次郎編	一	五〇〇	四〇
佛國革命史	川津祐之譯	四	各五〇〇	各四〇
大日本發見錄	河原英吉譯	一	三〇〇	二五
魯西亞國史	千葉文爾譯	一	六〇〇	三五
泰西革命史鑑	久松義典纂	二	八〇〇	各五〇
大英近代史	曾田覺三郎譯	二	各六〇〇	各三〇
須因頓氏萬國史	植田登譯	一	一二〇〇	一〇〇
佛朗西遺物相續史	ホアソナード フェアスケ譯	一	三五〇	三〇
德川世記	飯田宇宙著	一	九〇〇	七〇
巴來萬國史	杉山耕平譯	二	各五〇〇	各三五
革命法蘭西二世紀事	中江篤助編	一	各八〇〇	六〇
明治前記	鈴木大編	一	一〇〇〇	七五
明治中要	修史官編	一	二五〇〇	一〇〇
泰西史鑑	西村茂樹訣	二三	各五〇〇	各一〇

日本開化小史	田口卯吉著	六一〇〇	各一五	開化起源史	井出傳太郎著	九〇〇	一八〇
日耳曼國史	大學南校藏版一〇	八〇〇	各一〇	羅馬史略	大隈文彦譯	一〇	八〇〇
法蘭西志	高橋二郎抄譯	三	四〇〇	國史案	木村正辭編輯	二	八〇〇
普法戰記	陸軍文庫藏	七	一〇〇〇	足利十五代記	小本範郎編	一	七五〇
近世事情	山田俊博著	一三	一三〇〇	通俗日本外史	青木東江著	一	一〇〇〇
希臘史略	文部省刊行	九	八〇〇	近世史略	山口義著	九	一〇〇〇
萬國通史	文部省刊行	九	八〇〇	萬國新史下篇	箕作麟祥著	六	一七五〇
巴來萬國史	文部省刊行	四	七五〇	萬國史畧	西村茂樹譯	一	一五〇〇
太東史略	琢堂野史編	五	五〇〇	萬國史畧	田尻稻次郎譯	五	一五五〇
支那古文學歷史	末松謙澄著	二	四〇〇	近世紀聞	染崎延芳先生著	一	一〇〇〇
英佛百年戰記	河津祐之譯	四	五〇〇	百科全書太古史	柴田承桂著	一	一〇〇〇
日本文明史略	物業高見著	一	一〇〇	全中古史	松浦謙吉著	一	八〇〇
歌羅巴文明史	永峯秀樹譯	一四	二〇〇〇	日月曼征畧史	越川文之助譯	一	八〇〇
各國英智史略	關吉孝譯	四	四〇〇	演戲史	磯橋敬史述	一	四〇〇
萬國新史	箕作麟祥輯	一二	二〇〇〇		乙號特別以上之部		
法普戰爭史畧	渡六之助輯	八	一〇〇〇	泰西通鑑	輿論社出版	二七	一五〇〇
實事譚	兎屋出版	八	各四〇〇	北海道志	開拓使編	二五	三〇〇〇
實々事譚	全	一	七九〇		丙號特別以上之部		
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四十三

嘉永明治年間錄

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丙號特別以上之部

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傳記

Appendix 3

Imperial Rescript on Education, from *Katei kyōiku rekishi tokuhon* (Hakubunkan, 1891)

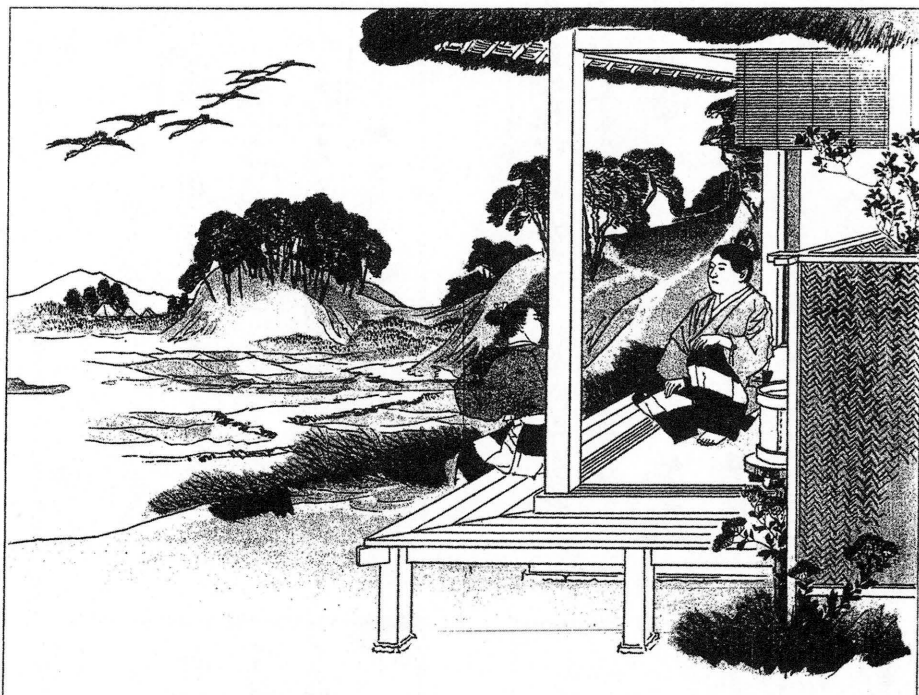
に友と夫婦相和し朋友相信し恭儉已むを指し
 博愛衆人及び一學を修むを勉むを以て
 智能を啓發し徳を成就し進んで公益を廣む世
 務を開き常に國憲を重し國法に遵ひ一旦優
 柔の心は義勇公を奉り以て天壤無窮の皇運
 を扶翼す夫れ是れ我が國に獨り朕も忠良臣民

勅語
 朕惟ふに我れ皇祖皇宗國を肇し
 徳を樹つるを深厚なり我れ臣民
 孝に億兆心を一して世々朕の美を
 嗣源亦實に此れ存る爾也民父母の孝に兄弟

學を庶幾ふ
 明治二十三年十月三十日
 御名 御璽

又以て爾祖先代遺風を顕彰せ
 るるは是れ
 斯の道に實に我れ皇祖皇宗の遺訓ありて
 子孫臣民俱に遵守し奉り所之を古今通
 一謬らば之を中外に施すは悖るは朕爾臣民
 も修むを奉り服膺し咸其徳とす小也

The Soga Brothers: illustration in *Katei kyōiku rekishi tokuhon* (Hakubunkan, 1891)



圖のる見を雁飛弟兄我曾

Yamatotakeru no Mikoto: illustration in *Katei kyōiku rekishi tokuhon* (Hakubunkan, 1891)

