

## Affirming the Life Erotic: Yoshida Hanbei's *Kōshoku kinmō zui* (1686)

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As Japan's first encyclopedia of sex, *Kōshoku kinmō zui* drew on the long history of East Asian sex education to deliver not only a technical guide to activities in the bedroom but also pointers on how to manage intimate relationships, and a wealth of other information pertaining to various aspects of *kōshoku* (eros, lust, sex). Illustrated and probably also written by Floating World artist Yoshida Hanbei (act. late 17th century), the book overcame the limitations of earlier publications, such as guides to the pleasure quarters, health manuals and purely erotic books, to present a comprehensive view of sexual life. This article examines the wider social context of peace and prosperity that supported Hanbei's ambitious effort to encompass the range of sexual experience in a single volume, then traces the characteristics of previous works related to sex, and provides a detailed survey of the contents of Hanbei's book. The discussion offers *Kōshoku kinmō zui* as important evidence for understanding sexual experience in Japan during the first part of the Edo period.

**Keywords:** Edo period, eroticism, Kamigata, *kōshoku*, sex education, sex manuals, *shunga*, Yoshida Hanbei

*Shunga* was a staple of the publishing industry probably by around the middle decades of the seventeenth century. Yet compilations of lusty pictures and narratives, along with health manuals and guides to the brothel district, gave only a partial view of the character of sexual life. It was Yoshida Hanbei 吉田半兵衛 (act. late 17th century), an established artist of the Floating World in Kyoto, who met the need for a more comprehensive and accessible introduction to the life erotic with his playfully titled *Kōshoku kinmō zui* 好色訓蒙図彙 (Erotic Collection of Pictures to Enlighten the Young; 1686). Intended nonetheless for an adult audience, the book was a pioneering effort that exercised at least a century-long impact on early modern Japanese erotic life, returning again and again in the form of pirated editions and later printings well into the eighteenth century. Here we will explore the book's context and contents in order to discover what *kōshoku* 好色 (eros, lust, sex) may have meant for the artist and his contemporaries.<sup>1</sup>

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1 The complete text is transcribed in Yoshida Hanbei 1968. Expurgated illustrations reproduced in Yoshida Hanbei 1979b. Complete book (text and illustrations) reproduced in Yoshida Hanbei 1998.

### Celebrating the World of Erotic Attraction

The Kyoto-Osaka (Kamigata) region in the first decades of the seventeenth century had borne the brunt of the struggle between the forces of Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 and those of the Toyotomi 豊臣 family. Almost as soon as Ieyasu's decisive Summer Campaign of 1615 had ended, however, the rebuilding began—literal rebuilding in the case of Osaka Castle and economic rebuilding in the case, for example, of the region's leading merchants, who profited from collecting rice-tax levies on the shogunate's behalf and investing in the commercial shipping lines that circled the Japanese archipelago. Civil rejuvenation is evident from population figures. In 1610 the population of Osaka stood at around 200,000 but increased to around 360,000 by the end of the century.<sup>2</sup> Kyoto's population may have doubled to around 400,000 over the same decades.<sup>3</sup> The sheer number of published books adds to the picture of recovery. In Kyoto between 1659 and 1685, the number of commercially published titles seems to have expanded more than fourfold, from 1,366 to 5,934.<sup>4</sup> Osaka's publishing industry developed somewhat later, starting in the 1670s with comic poetry (*haikai* 俳諧) anthologies, but then it gathered momentum with Ihara Saikaku's 井原西鶴 (1642–1693) tales of erotic obsession, the first collection being *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* 好色一代男 (A Libertine All His Days; 1682), followed by other collections in a similar vein.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps these examples are enough to suggest that, despite disruptions at the beginning of the period, the people of seventeenth century Kyoto and Osaka were fruitful and multiplied.

The phenomenon of urban growth begins to explain the concurrent production of erotic illustrated books and related materials. In part these works served to arouse an interest in the licensed and unlicensed brothel districts, as well as to redirect pent-up sexual energies into forms of solitary release.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, the preface to *Kasen makura* 歌仙枕 (Pillow of the Immortal Poets; 1683), a collection of erotically illustrated parodies of the Thirty-six Immortal Poets, plainly states that the book “may give comfort on bleak nights spent alone.”<sup>7</sup> Yet, many of the earliest erotic publications also emerged from and contributed to the broader environment of material well-being, satisfaction in being alive, and enthusiastic coupling.

That at any rate seems a recurring theme of the prefaces to erotic illustrated works published from the mid- to late seventeenth century. The author of *Genji kyasha makura* 源氏華奢枕 (Genji's Elegant Pillow; 1676) observed, for example, “As a sign that we have entered an age of abundance, with the common people flourishing, the leaves on Mount Tatsuta hanging in stillness, and naught to disturb the night, there is no one high or low who disregards the way [of love].”<sup>8</sup> And, as though civil strife were hardly even a memory and pairing-off the day's highest aspiration, the author of *Makura byōbu* 枕屏風 (Pillow Screen; 1669) asked, “When were the seeds of love first planted? They have been spreading far and wide ever since the male deity and female deity first appeared in the world.... [T]he cat mewing for its mate in the dark of night, the eagle fluttering its wings in anticipation, and

2 Totman 1993, p. 153.

3 Matsumoto 1993, pp. 21–23.

4 Asano 1993, p. 206.

5 Tajihi 1993, pp. 231–33. Saikaku's book is available in English translation; see ref. Ihara Saikaku 1963.

6 Screech 1999, p. 7.

7 *Hitori nuru yo no sabisiki ni wa nagusamu koto to arinan* ひとりぬる夜のさびしきにはなぐさむことと有なん. *Kasen makura*, preface. Also illustrated in Izzard 2008, no. 16, p. 40.

8 *Genji kyasha makura*, preface. Also illustrated in Izzard 2008, no. 13, p. 34.

the evergreen needles on the twinned pine trees have provided the example for generations.”<sup>9</sup> Similarly the preface to *Hana no kogakure* 花の小がくれ (Neath the Shade of Flowers; second-half 1680s), illustrated by the prolific Floating World artist Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣 (1618–1694) in Edo, contrasted the distant past, when “men and women engaged in intercourse in order to ensure descendants,” with the “extravagant” present in which sex was simply a component of “the pursuit of pleasure.”<sup>10</sup> Moronobu’s illustrations present a series of couples making love, each accompanied by a short narrative. In one, a woman accuses a man of being a beast, so he takes her from behind, doggy-style (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Hishikawa Moronobu. Man embracing a woman from behind, from *Hana no kogakure*. Second-half 1680s. International Research Center for Japanese Studies.

The early link (at least in the popular imagination) between peace, eros, and conjugal relations is exemplified by *Danjo aishō wagō no en* 男女相性和娛縁 (Harmonious Compatibility between Men and Women; late 1670s). This book, again illustrated by Moronobu, takes the form of a fortune teller’s guide to matching personality types through the Chinese Five Phases 五行 (*wuxing*; Jp. *gogyō*) system in which each phase (wood, fire,

<sup>9</sup> *Makura byōbu*, preface. Also illustrated in Izzard 2008, no. 6, p. 19.

<sup>10</sup> Hishikawa Moronobu 2002a, p. 7.

earth, metal, and water) represented a certain combination of personality traits. The system's presumed romantic outcome appears properly displayed across the first three pages, which depict samurai retainers and footmen bearing a bridal trousseau to the groom's residence, a happy scene that primes the viewer's imagination for the illustrations that follow, each explicitly erotic. Under the heading "Man of Wood, Woman of Fire," for instance, Moronobu showed a well-to-do young couple in close embrace, while an older couple makes love in an adjacent room (Figure 2). The pairing is defined as "highly auspicious," but the text assures the reader, "One needn't be overly concerned with the compatibility or incompatibility of dispositions."<sup>11</sup>



Figure 2. Hishikawa Moronobu. "Man of Wood, Woman of Fire," from *Danjo aishō wagō no en*. Late 1670s. International Research Center for Japanese Studies.

### Published Sex Education in the Early Edo Period

Surveying Moronobu's and other early artists' idealized visions of sex, one retains the impression that, across Japan, military victory brought the realm to order, order brought peace, and peace spurred the growth of erotic wants along with venues for their satisfaction—a condition that today might be described as peace with benefits. Moronobu's erotic books and those designed by his contemporaries were probably widely available through the pleasure quarters and as covertly presented wedding gifts, but a reader had to look further for concrete information on sexual experience. What actually went on in the bedroom?

<sup>11</sup> Hishikawa Moronobu 2002b, p. 9.

What was involved in sexual health? How were the emotional aspects of a sexual relationship developed? A full two generations of early Edo period publishers appear to have left the individual to pursue these topics largely through informal communications with family and friends, or else through circulated manuscripts.

Health manuals might seem a likely additional source of guidance but they maintained a stringent attitude toward sex. Perhaps the most frequently reproduced manual at the time was *Enju satsuyō* 延寿撮要 (Long Life Compendium; first published 1599). The “Bōji-hen” 房事篇 (Bedroom Activities) section locates sexual relations squarely within the context of marriage and procreation, then laments the trend toward sex as amusement (*yūkyō* 遊興), prescribes how often a man should ejaculate, recommends abstaining from sex under a litany of health, meteorological, and calendrical conditions, and concludes with an outline of when a woman may become pregnant.<sup>12</sup> A preliminary sampling of early Edo period medical references suggests that, in published form, the medical profession was not much more revealing.<sup>13</sup> Among specialized handbooks, options for treating a range of sexual health problems (scabs, lice, genital conditions, etc.) seem first to have appeared rather late in *Shinkan kokon geka chōhōki* 新刊古今外科重宝記 (Old and New Valued Writings on Surgery, Newly Published; 1746).<sup>14</sup> This relative silence may be explained by a need partly to safeguard professional knowledge and perhaps also to discourage inexperienced home-treatment. Educational references had to take the lead in disseminating aspects of this knowledge. *Nan'nyo omiyage chōhōki* 男女御土産重宝記 (Gift of Valued Writings for Men and Women; 1700) included twenty brief articles describing ailments that might afflict female sexual organs and their remedies.<sup>15</sup>

Popular guidance on pregnancy seems to have first appeared only in *Onna chōhōki* 女重宝記 (Valued Writings for Women; 1692), which dedicated an entire chapter to the subject amid others advising on etiquette, make-up, and women's education. Here in eighteen short articles the reader could learn the basics of detecting pregnancy, posture during pregnancy, healthful and harmful foods during pregnancy, things to have ready when giving birth, healthcare after childbirth, caring for a newborn, and so on.<sup>16</sup> But even in this case, sex remained no more than an implied preamble to the discussion. The boys' counterpart to this book, *Nan chōhōki* 男重宝記 (Valued Writings for Men; 1693), preserved a high-minded attitude, focusing on philosophical learning, ceremonial events, accomplishments such as tea ceremony and flower arranging, writing letters and petitions, and even the fine points of communicating with visitors from the continent. The subject of sex was not broached, as though men should be trained to handle public affairs, while domestic affairs of any sort (including sex, children, and health) were to be handled by women (whether mother, wife, midwife, mistress or courtesan).

A few seventeenth-century treatises did address certain aspects of sexual experience. For example, in *Denpu monogatari* 田夫物語 (A Bumpkin's Tale; c. late 1630s–early 1640s), the eponymous bumpkin debates with an “ostentatious fellow” (*kasha mono* 華奢者) over whether male–female or male–male love is the better course. Rather than arguing from the

12 *Enju satsuyō* 1927, pp. 260–63.

13 Examples from *Ihō yakuhō* 2006.

14 *Shinkan kokon geka chōhōki* 2006, pp. 23, 40–41, and 74–75.

15 Mitamura 1974, p. 350.

16 Mitamura 1974, p. 349.

present, both sides marshal ancient precedents to support their case, inducting the reader into the lore of continental and Japanese sexual history, until the bumpkin's contention that women are trustworthy and marriage an aspect of filial piety brings the discussion to a close. This is considered the first of many Edo period books that debated the merits of a passion for men vs. a passion for women (*nanshoku nyoshoku yūretsu ron* 男色女色優劣論).<sup>17</sup>

Several decades later *Takitsuke gusa* たきつけ草 (Kindling; 1677) defined a key strategy for managing love in the Shimabara brothel district of Kyoto. In this treatise, a young man and an old man are returning from a night in the pleasure quarters. The young man confesses disappointment that when he is smitten with a courtesan, he experiences a wholehearted passion, while the courtesan holds herself aloof, no more accessible than the moon, leaving him to suffer the brooding pain of a one-sided love. The old man replies that any resentment a man might experience in such a situation results from shallow feeling. Whether in the game of love his opponent (*teki* 敵) ignores him or treats him cruelly, a man should be single-minded in his devotion. A reckless passion for a courtesan, he warns, will necessarily involve suffering and resentment, but the suffering can be avoided if, in pursuing love, one follows a basic principle: "Believe that a courtesan belongs to you alone" (*keisei o wagamono to omou* 傾城をわが物と思う). With that sophisticated self-deception, or "sleight of heart" (*mayoi no kokoro* まよいの心) as the old man calls it, a man can enjoy his time with a courtesan and have no residual concerns when they part, as though their encounter had been a dream. This approach empowers the man in circumstances where his "opponent" (the term is used three times to indicate a courtesan) might otherwise take advantage of his obsession, drain him of savings, and sever their relationship without notice. Forearmed with this "supreme knowledge of how it's done" (*mujō no wakashiri* 無上のわけしり), a man should find the pleasure quarters truly a pleasure, and the old man concludes by outlining the journey to and from the brothel district, savoring the memory of each step along the way.<sup>18</sup> The old man's strategy was evidently considered to have universal relevance, for the text was republished in Edo under the title *Kyara tsutsumi* 伽羅包 (The Incense Wrapper; 1681), with only minor revisions to accommodate the change in location to Yoshiwara.<sup>19</sup>

### Hanbei's *Kōshoku kinmō zui*

The prevalence of these didactic publications may suggest a shift in the base of authority for knowledge away from that of family or clan and toward the new authority of the text, which offered expanding opportunities for independent self-discovery. Yoshida Hanbei took full advantage of this circumstance, compiling a book that drew together the loose strands of sexual celebration, lore, and advice into a single publication that addressed not just life in the pleasure quarters but the sexual world at large. The title declared the scope of the project, for it evoked one of the most popular encyclopedias of the day, *Kinmō zui* 訓蒙図彙 (Collection of Pictures to Enlighten the Young; 1666), an illustrated vocabulary compiled by the Confucian scholar Nakamura Tekisai 中村惕齋 (1629–1702) to introduce young people to words from the Chinese classics and their modern equivalents. Hanbei

17 Kishi 1974, pp. 21–29; Ōsawa 1994, pp. 19–21.

18 *Kyara tsutsumi*, pp. 147–56.

19 Ishigami 2010, p. 429.

played on the title of this familiar children's reference to introduce a book intended solely for an adult audience.

In this connection, it may be noted that Confucian scholarship was a regular target of satirical fun during the Edo period. For example, one short humorous verse (*senryū* 川柳) observed, perhaps not merely humorously, that the classic diary and miscellany *Makura no sōshi* 枕草子 (The Pillow Book; completed 1002 A.D.) commanded a higher price in the book market than the Four Books of Neo-Confucianism, as though readers of the time were so consumed by sex that having the word “pillow” (*makura* 枕) in the title was enough to make a book desirable.<sup>20</sup> Another verse imagined someone hurriedly concealing *shunga* beneath a copy of the *Analects* when startled by the sound of approaching footsteps.<sup>21</sup> Somewhat later, in his lightly didactic *Ehon ike no kokoro* 絵本池の心 (The Depths of the Pond; 1739), Kyoto artist Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信 (1671–1750) depicted a Confucian scholar and three pupils ending a study session with a card game for cash stakes (Figure 3). The four



Figure 3. Nishikawa Sukenobu. Confucian scholars gambling, from *Ehon ike no kokoro*. 1739. Collection of the British Museum.

20 *Shisho yori molMakura zōshi galtakai nari* 四書よりも枕草子が高い也。Collected in Hanasaki 2003, p. 48.

21 *Asbi oto galsuru to Rongo nolshita e iri* 足音がすると論語の下へ入。Collected in Hanasaki 2003, p. 120.

men appear surrounded by well-known commentaries on the Five Confucian Classics and two major neo-Confucian treatises. Inscribed above them is a *kyōka* 狂歌, or comic verse in classical verse form:

“How terribly sad/to utter words expounding/the Confucian way/and in that very moment/to behave like a wastrel.”

*Michi o toki/monji o kuchi ni/iinagara/murinaru koto olsuru zo kanashiki*  
道を説き文字を口にいいながら無理なることをするぞかなしき

As if to stress the gap between saying and doing and to underscore that he especially should know better, the Confucian scholar is shown dealing the next hand, with a pile of cash by his side, perhaps the night's big winner.<sup>22</sup>

In contrast, while Hanbei adapted the title and general format of Tekisai's book, he avoided further reference to it in order to engage with sex as an independent and legitimate topic of discussion. The approach comes through in the first words of his preface which, although perhaps a parodic blend of creation myths, nevertheless manage to suggest that sexuality is inherent in the universe itself: “Long, long ago, way in the beginning, when the heavens came into being and separated from the earth, arising and drifting in their midst were two incipient forces known as yang and yin which slept together, and so they are called husband and wife, or papa and mama.” Soon afterward, “desire and the self became intimate” (*i to ware to ga showake* 意と吾とが諸分), giving rise to the many facets of sexual life: secrecy and regret, elegance and ambition, suffering and emotion, the tramp and the prim lady. Sex and coupling are likewise identified as nature's moving force in all seasons: “the pheasant searching for food in the spring field hearkens to the cry of its mate, and summer dragonflies sail through the air together wing on wing,” while “the deer follows the flute in autumn, and paired mandarin ducks shake off the frost and sleep afloat as the pond freezes over.”

Human beings enter the cosmic picture with a description of a passionate relationship, which Hanbei enlivened with comparisons to nature and aspects of modern fashion. Nourished by the memory of his mistress's “adorable hairpin,” a man of the world (*tōri mono* 通者) pledges that his love “will last as long as the dangling ends of an *obi* tied Kichiya-style (*Kichiya musubi* 吉弥むすび), that his feelings are as deep as a woven straw hat (*suge gasa* 菅笠),” the latter being a type of hat worn by visitors to the pleasure quarters who wished to travel incognito. The man bares his soul in a mountain of letters, charming the woman's heart “as changeable as the cherry blossoms on Mt. Takama.” When the opportunity opens before them “like a painted *yūzen* 由禅 fan,” the couple meets to make love, and when they part, “their heartfelt words multiply like the dots on a sample of wrinkled crêpe.” As others had associated peacetime with sexual generation, so Hanbei commented, “The people of our settled realm are in a state ecstasy.”<sup>23</sup> The book thus begins by exemplifying the close relationship noted earlier between a flourishing material culture, sex and pleasure in life.

Rather than tying himself to Tekisai's knowledge system—covering the universe, the earth, dwellings, people, the body, clothing, treasures, four categories of objects organized

22 Nishikawa Sukenobu 1998, p. 86.

23 Yoshida Hanbei 1968, pp. 51–52.



on Confucian principles (those useful for the scholar, warrior, farmer and craftsman), then animals, fowl, sea creatures, insects, grains, fruit, trees, and small plants—Hanbei structured his book in line with his preface. It begins with brief sections on the universe (featuring the Tanabata 七夕 lovers) and the animal kingdom, and then it focuses on people, starting with the daimyo, the proper wife, the daughter and the mistress, and continuing on to the rich man, different levels of courtesans and other people found in the pleasure quarters, then to illustrations of behavior driven by passion, and finally to scenes of two maidservants “in the prime of youth” (*wakazakari* 若ざかり) experimenting with a dildo (*tomogui* 合姪, “mutual lust”) and of a man masturbating (*senzuri* 挿). The section concludes with short essays on “Beauty and Ugliness” (*bi aku ron* 美悪論), “Ugly Women” (*akunyo no sō* 悪女相) and “Making Love” (*heki ron* へきろん) with detailed discussion of changes in a woman’s body during sex.

Then follows a section of illustrations about the human body, and here especially the difference with Tekisai’s book is striking. Tekisai had approached the human body through diagrams of parts of the head and face, connective tissues and the torso and extremities, followed by a diagram showing how the internal organs literally stack up.<sup>24</sup> His body section concluded with an illustration of a fetus developing in the womb, including mention of the differentiation of the sexes during the third month. But perhaps because he intended the book as a reference for children, Tekisai left one aspect of the body notably undescribed: the reproductive organs. In contrast, Hanbei playfully concentrated on just two topics: the shapes of female and male genitalia, and popular hairstyles, which may be considered to represent, respectively, the most private and the most public targets of physical attraction.

After an essay on male-male intercourse, and another discussing the shapes of male and female sexual organs, Hanbei provided illustrations of “Paraphernalia” (*kizai* 器財), which range from ordinary things found in a woman’s bedroom or dressing room (mirror stand, make-up jars, clothing, etc.), to sex toys (such as strap-on dildos), to a grocery section, which illustrates some of the foodstuffs recommended to restore energy after lovemaking: burdock root, yams, eggs, loach, and eels.<sup>25</sup> The book then ends with a three-part coda. Part one is a passage taken from *Gensō tora no maki* 玄宗虎巻 (Xuanzong’s Tiger Scroll; so far not identified), which provides an overview of what happens between a man and a woman in the bedroom, from foreplay to orgasm.

Part two is the “Wet World of Loving Women” (*Nyodō nurekai* 女道濡界), a series of eighteen (six more than the standard twelve) illustrations of couples of all ranks and ages engaged in making love, with each scene accompanied by a humorous caption. They start with a courtier and court lady “royally getting it on” (*miyarikuri* 御やりくり) in a decorated mansion, and end with a low-ranking patrolman embracing a street walker in the corner of a guard house. In between, a young calligraphy teacher discovers that his lovely student “feels suddenly inspired without instruction” (*shishō irazu ni tsui ni deki gokoro* 師匠いらずについに出来ごころ). And here a Buddhist priest coupling with a parishioner is “Daikoku’s mallet pounding away sin” (*bonnō kudaku Daikoku no tsuchi* ぼんのうくたく大こくの槌), while a shrine maiden and Shinto priest celebrate “a practice that the gods have

24 The diagram derived from a similar illustration in the oldest known Chinese medical text, *Huangdi neijing* 黄帝内经 (Jp. *Kōtei daikēi*; The Yellow Emperor’s Classic of Anatomy). At the time this was the most often reproduced diagram of the interior of the body (Screech 1997, figure caption, p. 135).

25 My thanks to C. Andrew Gerstle for explaining the significance of these foods.

not forbidden” (*kami no isamuru michi nara naku ni* 神のいさむる道ならなくに) (Figure 4). Hanbei’s “wet world” echoes the book’s preface not only in representing sex as a universal passion, but also in pairing like with like. Social boundaries are maintained, resulting in a sense of orderly disorder, such that sex appears rowdy without turning revolutionary.



Figure 4. Yoshida Hanbei. Buddhist priest and parishioner (right), shrine priest and shrine maiden (left), from *Kōshoku kinmō zui*. 1686. International Research Center for Japanese Studies.

Part three of the coda is a list of “Occasions When Not to Engage in Lovemaking” (*Waketate majiki hi no koto* 分たてまじき日の事):

On cold days, on hot days; during a typhoon, heavy rain, thunder, a rainbow, an earthquake, a solar eclipse, or a lunar eclipse; on the 1st, 15th, 23rd, or 28th days of the 8th month; on *kanoē-saru* 庚申 (elder brother-metal monkey) or *kinōe-ne* 甲子 (elder brother-wood rat) days; on all *hinoe* 丙 and *hinoto* 丁 (elder and younger brother fire) days; when the zodiac sign for the day is the same as that for your birth year; at a change of seasons; after a heavy meal; after heavy drinking; after urinating; during menstruation; around shrines and temples; around cemeteries; beneath the moon, sun or stars; and not near the portraits of sages and wise men, or books, or sutras or where there are Buddhas; otherwise you will incur the wrath of the gods and demons.<sup>26</sup>

26 Yoshida Hanbei 1968, pp. 121–22.

This advice is actually borrowed from the last part of *Enju satsuyō*.<sup>27</sup> It is not certain whether, having condensed and reorganized the original material to address conditions of time, person, and place, Hanbei essentially followed his model in appending this list, whether perhaps succumbing to the influence of superstition, he included the warnings, as it were, just in case, or whether given the illustrations that immediately precede this passage, and the way advice is offered throughout the book, he aimed to explode inhibitions about sex through caricature and exaggeration. The link with *Enju satsuyō* raises the possibility that other passages in the book were borrowed from outside sources, but this point requires further research.

Returning to consider the “People” (*jinrin* 人倫) section more closely, each illustrated figure is accompanied by a set of remarks that demonstrate Hanbei’s wide purview in considering topics that might pertain to eroticism. One example, perhaps taken from a pamphlet on brothel etiquette, is “Pillow Talk/Whispering” (*Mutsugoto/Sasamegoto* 密言/私言) (Figure 5):



Figure 5. Yoshida Hanbei. “Mutsugoto/Sasamegoto” from *Kōshoku kinmō zui*. 1686. International Research Center for Japanese Studies.

27 Ishigami 2009.

Talking together in hushed voices as a couple is an expression of true feeling, even if your partner doesn't understand at all or only understands more or less what you are saying. To share small hurts or pressing matters without reserve is an established part of knowing how it's done. If you keep your feelings to yourself, and lock smoldering thoughts away beneath an icy exterior, the other person only wonders what's on your mind. Not confessing your real thoughts is the sign of a churlish spirit. It can begin to weigh on the other person, particularly when accompanied by deliberate amorous advances and forced meetings night after night. Like teasing an affectionate cat or administering eye drops from one story up, it's just heartless—heartless and incredibly boorish.<sup>28</sup>

The entry titled, “Big Spender” (*Daijin* 大臣), captures the energy of a night in the pleasure quarters (Figure 6):



Figure 6. Yoshida Hanbei. “Daijin” from *Kōshoku kinmō zui*. 1686. International Research Center for Japanese Studies.

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28 Yoshida Hanbei 1968, pp. 96–97.

It needs no explaining that the big spender brings Yoshiwara to the height of glory. Those accompanying the courtesan glance outside the door of the brothel and give a polite nod to say, “We’re leaving.” Then the procession heads for the teahouse, with men and women staring down from above. Some go before the courtesan and hold the curtains aside for her arrival, only to find that inside the teahouse is a topsy-turvy zoo. The employees seem to have completely lost their heads as they race around to get ready for the upcoming banquet. They must be expecting a really big spender, someone just rolling in money. Even if he’s the lowest of the low, they call him a jolly fellow, a likable fellow. He arrives and on the spur of the moment starts handing out tips left and right. Money is spread around like dew across an autumn field. To him, gold coins are so many pebbles, small parcels of land like so many grains of sand. High-ranking courtesans trail after him, their dream-catch, spinning around like pinwheels in the breeze to satisfy his every whim.<sup>29</sup>

Hanbei had been designing illustrations for published scripts to puppet dramas (*jōruri bon* 浄瑠璃本) and guides to famous places (*meishoki* 名所記) since the early 1670s, so when it came to producing *Kōshoku kinmō zui* he must have been familiar with the style, methods and stock characters of popular fiction and instruction.<sup>30</sup> Even so, the direct inspiration behind his vivid language almost certainly must have been Ihara Saikaku.<sup>31</sup> So far no direct quotations are known, but the humor, precise imagery and taut phrasing closely follow the descriptive methods that Saikaku employed. It is probably no coincidence that the same year Hanbei published *Kōshoku kinmō zui*, he also designed the illustrations for three Saikaku collections: *Kōshoku ichidai onna* 好色一代女 (A Strumpet All Her Days; 1686), *Kōshoku gonin onna* 好色五人女 (Five Strumpets; 1686), and *Honchō nijū fukō* 本朝二十不孝 (Twenty Unfilial Children of Japan; 1686). Of course, the word *kōshoku* in the title of Hanbei’s book itself reflects Saikaku’s popularity and influence. In certain respects, Hanbei’s book works as a companion to Saikaku’s writings, or a guide to his world.

Whatever the source (or sources) of their inspiration, Hanbei’s commentaries remain indelibly informative. Their effectiveness becomes clear if one compares his treatment of certain topics with that given the same topics in *Shikidō ōkagami* 色道大鏡 (Great Mirror of the Way of Love; completed c. 1688), a methodical compendium of notes and observations about the pleasure quarters collected over several decades by Fujimoto Kizan 藤本箕山 (1628–1704). For example, in considering *furo onna* 風呂女 (bathhouse women), Kizan delivered a historical overview of bathhouses in recent years, explaining how in Edo they had once offered beautiful and elegant women and “grew more prosperous by the day,” until Yoshiwara in 1653 had this competition banned; more recently Edo’s bathhouses had revived but they were “lonely places without a single prostitute.” Kyoto in the early 1660s had boasted four exceptional beauties, Satsu 佐津 being singled out for special praise. Correcting an evidently widespread technical misconception, he noted that whether or not a bathhouse woman stood on a board during washing depended on bathhouse policy, not the quality of the establishment. “For better or worse,” he next remarked, Kyoto’s bathhouse women joined their customers for a drink following washing. Then after a dig at the

29 Yoshida Hanbei 1968, pp. 63–64.

30 Mizutani 1973, p. 132.

31 Thanks (again) to C. Andrew Gerstle for mentioning Saikaku’s relevance to this discussion.

quality of Osaka's bathhouse women ("lower than teahouse women, nothing pleasurable about them"), he rather tepidly concluded, "There are stories to be told about parties with bathhouse women, procedures for dealing with them, and other gossip, but I will forgo the details."<sup>32</sup> Now here (without precisely matching the illustration) is Hanbei on the same subject (Figure 7):



Figure 7. Yoshida Hanbei. "Yuna/Furoya mono/Saru" from *Kōshoku kinmō zui*. 1686. International Research Center for Japanese Studies.

The bathhouse woman (*furoya mono* 風呂屋者) wears a purple or light yellow cotton robe with a black collar, and a tortoise shell hairpin. Her sleeves are rolled up in ample rolls around her shoulders, and her skirts are hiked. She's a straight-backed, noisy chatterbox, never without a tobacco pipe, tossing back drinks as easily as tossing beans during Setsubun 節分, and singing popular songs at a high pitch. She can't be completely unfamiliar with that *michiyuki* 道行 tune from *Yotsugi Soga* 世継曾我, but has to sing

32 Fujimoto 2006, p. 458.

it in her own way at the top of her lungs. The regular entrance fee is 7 *monme* 匁, but if you splurge the extra 2 *monme*, then like a *hanya* 半夜 courtesan [in Shimabara], she'll do whatever you want. It takes all sorts to make a world.<sup>33</sup>

Pithy and colorful, Hanbei's stereotype brings the reader into the steamy thick of things. The portrait is exactly contemporary, in that for example *Yotsugi Soga* (The Soga Brothers Inherit the Realm; 1683) was a puppet drama by Chikamatsu Monzaemon 近松門左衛門 (1653–1725) which had recently become a popular hit. This kind of topical detail supports the impression that Hanbei had his finger on the pulse of erotic life during the early Edo period.

Yoshida Hanbei's *Kōshoku kinnō zui* has been called an “encyclopedia erotica.”<sup>34</sup> It is certainly encyclopedic, but it covers much more ground than the term erotica usually implies, as by turns it describes and celebrates many different aspects of sexual experience, from physical appearance to personal relationships, suggesting that all pertain to *kōshoku*. Perhaps this comprehensive approach accounts for the book's success, which can be seen in *Kōshoku kai awase* 好色具合 (Erotic Shell-game; 1687), Hanbei's less explicit sequel; in *Kōshoku tabi makura* 好色旅枕 (Erotic Travel Pillow; 1687), a pirated and expanded edition published in Edo with new illustrations by Moronobu; and in subsequent editions of the book itself published at least until around the 1770s.<sup>35</sup> With *Kōshoku kinnō zui*, Hanbei overcame the limitations of earlier volumes on the subject, and in the joyful spirit of his prosperous day, affirmed the life erotic in its polymorphous diversity.

33 Yoshida Hanbei 1968, pp. 67–68.

34 Lane 1979, p. 4.

35 The illustrations to *Kōshoku kai awase* are reproduced in Yoshida Hanbei 1979a. Hayashi 1983 includes a complete transcription of *Kōshoku tabi makura*. A Meiwa 明和 (1764–1772)–An'ei 安永 (1772–1781) period edition of *Kōshoku kinnō zui* is known with the title, *Kinnō kōshoku zui* 訓蒙好色図彙 (Enlightening the Young through a Collection of Erotic Pictures), collection Tenri Toshokan.

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