

sections in the book directly parody the original.

My interest in Settei was initially sparked during explorations of the roots of the distinctive portrait style of the Osaka actor-print artist Ryûkôsai Jokei (active 1777–1809). Settei's depictions of the body, both in *shunga* and in non-*shunga* paintings and publications, were an influence, I believe, on Ryûkôsai; both artists also wrote that when drawing the human figure, one first imagined him or her naked, before drawing the clothes. Settei's (and Ryûkôsai's) relatively fleshy and realistically portrayed bodies were different from the popular Edo style of portraying women (*bijinga*) or Kabuki actors, particularly *onnagata*, by their contemporaries such as Suzuki Harunobu, Katsukawa Shunshô or Ippitsusai Bunchô. Settei's *shunga* books also have a fleshy warmth about them which is distinctive.

Texts Used

The text used for this edition was formerly in the Richard Lane Collection and is now in the collection of the Honolulu Academy of Art. I am grateful for permission to use this book for publication. It was printed originally only in black ink; this particular book has been coloured in by hand, a practice that was not unusual at the time for books published only in black ink. I hope that more works from the Lane collection, particularly those from Kyoto/Osaka publishers, will be made available in print. The cover, inside first page and the inside last page are missing from this edition. Pages from the facsimile edition, titled *Onna shimegawa kaeshi bumi zen*²³ have been included for reference. Photographs of *Onna imagawa oshie-bumi*, also included for reference, are from the Ôe Bunko collection of Tokyo Kasei Gakuin University. I am grateful for permission to use their book and for their co-operation with this project.

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²³ Katsiuka (*sic*) Settei, *Onna shimegawa kaeshi bumi zen*, edited and translated into German by Reiko Okada and Jonny Reiger, Zurich, Verlag Die Waage, 1988.

As the reader will see from the comparison of the original versus the *shunga* parody, great care and effort has been taken to parody the text and images in detail. The text of the original Imagawa admonitions is included as an appendix and the original poems that adorn the main illustrations have been transcribed and translated in footnotes. The title itself keeps the calligraphic style altering the letters so slightly that one hardly notices. The backdrop of the inside cover is also adapted, with just the addition of two pillows. The initial images of classrooms in both books set out their aim as educational works for youth. The list of edifying books for women (including the *Onna Imagawa* book itself) adorns the top column of the original, which has been altered in the parody, to become a list of rankings of female attributes. The gloss says that regardless of one's appearance, a woman can gain love and intimacy from her husband through a warm heart.

The list of twelve women's social stations is also mimicked. The original has an elegant *waka* classical poem adorning each graceful image²²⁾, while the parody shows the same women in different sexual positions. The first line of the parody 'admonitions' changes the original from an emphasis on a woman's 'propriety' (*tashinamu*) to 'A woman should never let herself become careless (*tashinamu*) and lose her charm (*iro o yashinau*).' The original follows standard Confucian ethics in proclaiming the importance of the five virtues of *jin* (benevolence/compassion), *gi* (righteousness/integrity), *rei* (propriety/decorum), *chi* (wisdom) and *shin* (fidelity/sincerity), proclaiming *jin* to be the most essential. The parody focuses on virtues closer to home: 'Compassion (*jin*), beauty (*bi*), love (*ai*), gentleness (*wa*) and a warm heart (*shin*) are the five principles all essential for a woman, but the most important is the way of love (*ai*).' The parody also changes the character for *jin* (compassion) to *jin* (the organ now called kidney, but traditionally one of five essential organs that controlled the lower body orifices), suggesting also a concrete aspect to abstract virtues.

Yin-Yang theory is used to explain the relationship between women and men both in the original and in the parody. The original basically says that yin (woman, earth) follows the will of yang (man, heaven), and the women, therefore, dutifully obeys, receiving the beneficence of the man. The parody follows the logic, but again makes it more concrete and intimate: 'Heaven and earth have their natural order. And so, the way of couples is also like heaven and earth, with the husband as heaven. The vulva, which must be respected and cared for, receives the blessings of her husband's penis and experiences pleasure in orgasms. Therefore, it is only natural that a woman dutifully respects her husband.'

In comparison to the more serious Confucian textbook, the parody is delightfully light on the one hand and has a down-to-earth practicality on the other. The fourteen large, double-page images of couples making love are all accompanied by a poem at the top and a gloss on the meaning of the verse. The poems are all parodies of famous verses by women in the original *Onna imagawa* together with a note on each poet. We see women and men in different situations throughout the year, and in different stages of relationships. The original poems are all love poems, but the original images are innocent and the scenes elegant, suggesting romantic fantasies for its women readers. Most other

²²⁾ These poems are transcribed in the appendix.

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book, parodying all aspects of the text and illustrations of the original work, long seen widely as a key text for women's education. The work is in the same style, the same large size (*ôhon*) and shape of the original. It is so close that at first glance it is difficult to tell them apart. The focus is not on blind obedience of women to their husbands and in-laws, as in the original *Great Learning*, but on how important it is for a woman to develop warm and sexually satisfying relations with her husband. The book is a manual for conjugal relations, presented with wit and relative seriousness.

Erect Precepts for Women is in the same rich vein as its more famous predecessor *Great Pleasures*. The year 1768 was also significant politically. In 1767 Tanuma Okitsugu (1719–88) became the Senior Counsellor (Soba Yōnin and then Rojū in 1772) and the most powerful figure in the government. His control of the reins of government lasted until 1786, during which the arts flourished under a relatively lax period of censorship and encouragement of individual initiative. Another *shunga* parody attributed to Settei, *Onna teikin gejo bunko* (Womanly Virtue and a Library on the Private Parts), is also thought to have been published around 1767–8²⁰.

Shunga Parody and Humour

A fundamental aspect of *shunga*, in general, has always been its sense of humour and playfulness. Within the *shunga* tradition, the three Settei books mentioned above are outstandingly sophisticated and detailed parodies of serious, Confucian-style textbooks for women, with care taken to parody both the text and the images. I think that we can argue confidently that these books were aimed at women as well as at men, and that they circulated widely through lending-library agents, who regularly visited the homes of clients. They are important texts for women's history and gender studies in general.

Another fundamental premise in these *shunga* parodies, one certainly not found overtly in the serious books for educating women, is that sex is supposed to be enjoyable between husband and wife, and that a woman can expect pleasure from her man. This is a radical, relatively subversive idea in relation to the many Confucian-inspired textbooks for women published during the Tokugawa era, and afterwards well into modern times. These *shunga* parodies of serious textbooks offer us an unusual window into the sexual lives of 18th century Japanese, even if it is, of course, within the realm of fiction. Timon Screech has argued that *shunga* were not manuals for sex²¹. These Osaka examples, I believe, are a strong counter to his argument. They are certainly detailed guides, within the context of parody and humour, to sexual relations and mores. Another Settei *shunga* book, *Bidô nichiya nyochōki: ensboku yume denju* (late 1760s), a parody of a popular medical text, is even more straightforwardly a sex education guide. The work *Tōsei minyō: Konrei hiji-bukuro* (A secret bag of tricks about marriage for everyone in modern times, c. 1770) is also a parody of the serious work for women *Tōsei minyō: Konrei kesbi-bukuro* (A bag of poppy seeds with information on marriage for everyone in modern times, 1750).

²⁰ This work is a parody of *Onna teikin gosho bunko* (A Courtly Library of Womanly Virtue, 1767), to which Settei himself contributed at least one illustration, which is signed.

²¹ Screech, *Sex and the Floating World*, pp. 34–6.

The original book used for this Zurich publication was previously in the collection of Julius Kurth (1870–1946), a German priest and private scholar who published books on Japanese art including *shunga* (and Egyptology) in the first half of the 20th century. Kurth began translating the Settei book but did not finish it. Unfortunately, I have not been able to determine the original book's whereabouts today. Some Settei *shunga* books are also in a Genoa collection¹⁶, and both Jack Hillier and Richard Lane published work on Settei's *shunga* books¹⁷.

Osaka Publishing and Government Censorship

From the early 18th century Osaka became a major publishing centre. These publishers pioneered a sub-genre that might be termed 'guidebooks on painting'¹⁸, and also issued many illustrated textbooks (*ôraimono*, *kyôkunsho*) for women and children, the most famous being *Onna daigaku takarabako*, first published in 1716, and republished (new blocks) thereafter with slight changes regularly into the late 19th century¹⁹. *Onna imagawa oshie-bumi* was a similar work in this genre.

The Kyôhō Reforms under the reign of Shogun Yoshimune (1684–1751, ruled from 1716), began in earnest in the 1720s, and directly affected the world of publishing. The Reforms established self-censorship of salacious material within the industry under the Bakufu government's supervision, and encouraged learning and study broadly among the populace. Yoshimune himself approved the charter of the Osaka academy Kaitokudô, which was given the authority to study all subjects, including political and social theory, and contemporary politics. Established officially in 1726, this academy was a symbol of Osaka as a serious centre of scholarship. It was within this context that Osaka began to publish more textbooks for self-improvement in all areas of life. The popular edition of *The Great Learning for Women* was emblematic of this development.

The Yoshimune reforms had, however, suppressed Kyoto and Osaka's well-established lively tradition of satire and parody, most evident in the writings of Ihara Saikaku and the *ukiyo-zôshi* (floating-world fiction) genre, which had flourished from the 1680s into the 1720s. If the dates 1751 or 1752 are correct for publication of *Great Pleasures for Women and their Treasure Boxes*, then it could be seen as an ironic tribute to Yoshimune at the time of his death in 1751. *Great Pleasures for Women* is a bold

¹⁶ See the catalogue, *Museo d'arte orientale E. Chiossone, Genova*, ed., Giuliano Frabetti, Roma, Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1993.

¹⁷ See note thirteen above. Jack Hillier, *The Art of the Japanese Book*, 2 vols., London, Published for Sotheby's Publications by Philip Wilson, 1987. In the journal, *Kinsei shomin bunka*, privately published from 1950–66, there are also two articles on Settei *shunga* books, *Onna dairaku takara-beki* (vol. 19) and *Onna teikin gejo bunko* (1768) (vol. 15).

¹⁸ Jack Hillier, *The Art of the Japanese Book*; Hida Kôzô, 'Ehon', in *Kinsei Osaka gadan*, ed. Osaka Shiritsubijutsukan, Dohosha, 1983, pp. 219–23.

¹⁹ Information on the world of women's education textbooks can be found in Martha C. Tocco, 'Norms and Texts for Women's Education in Tokugawa Japan' in Dorothy Ko et al, eds., *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and Japan*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2003 pp. 193–218. For detail on the history of publication of *Onna daigaku takarabako* see, Koizumi Yoshinaga, 'Onna daigaku to Kashiwaraya Sei'emon, *Edoki onna kô*, vol. 5, Sept., 1994, pp. 37–51 and Ichikawa Matsutarô, ed., *Onna daigaku shû*, Heibonsha, 1977; Ichikawa Matsutarô, *Ôraimono no seiritsu to tenkai*, Oshôdô Shuppan, 1988.

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Did Settei also write the text? We are not likely ever to be able to answer this question for certain. Collaboration was certainly the norm for illustrated books in general, with occasional cases of an individual doing both the text and images. We do know, however, that Settei had an interest in the history of sexuality and its representation in the Chinese and Japanese traditions. In some of his *shunga* painted hand scrolls he wrote a foreword about the history of *shunga* and listed texts he had consulted¹⁰. We also know that he was relatively scholarly and versed in classical Japanese culture, illustrating many books on classical subjects¹¹. Settei may not have been the sole author of the text but it is likely that he wrote some of it and was in charge of the overall book, including the text, because of the close integration of text and image.

Edo and Kyoto/Osaka *Shunga* Books

Many full-colour woodblock-printed books published in Edo from the late 18th century are relatively well known and collected around the world, and many representative works have recently been published in full-colour, complete editions¹². The extensive range of illustrated books (printed in black ink only), both *shunga* and otherwise, of the Kyoto artist Nishikawa Sukenobu (1671–1750) is increasingly recognized as important, particularly for its impact on later Edo-based ukiyo-e artists, but the works produced in Kyoto and Osaka are still relatively unknown¹³. This is beginning to change. The paintings of Settei have been regularly featured in recent *shunga* publications. Settei's most famous *shunga* book, *Onna dairaku takara-beki* (Great Pleasures for Women and their Treasure Boxes, c. 1752) is now available in a complete edition that includes the images and a transcription of the entire text, as well as selections from the famous original textbook for women, *Onna daigaku takara-bako* (The Treasure Chest of Great Learning for Women, first printed in 1716, reprinted 1751), which the *shunga* book parodies¹⁴. This publication of Settei's *shunga* book *Onna shimegawa oeshi-bumi* makes available a book now rare within or outside Japan.

Ironically in modern times Settei's *shunga* seem to have been more attractive for non-Japanese than for Japanese. My first encounter with *Onna shimegawa oeshi-bumi* was through a facsimile edition published in Zurich, Switzerland in 1988, a publication which seems to be almost unknown in Japan¹⁵.

¹⁰ Yamamoto, 'Tsukioka Settei shikiron: koten o meguru kaiga seisaku no saikentô' and *Bosuton bijutsukan: nikubitsu ukijyoe, bekkkan shunga meibinsen*, essay on Settei painting 'Inyo ensho zu' by Naitô Masato, pp. 143–45.

¹¹ Yamamoto, 'Tsukioka Settei shikiron: koten o meguru kaiga seisaku no saikentô'.

¹² *Edo meisaku enpon* 12 vols., Gakkensha, 1995–96, *Ukijyoe shunga meibin shûsei: teihon*, 27 vols., Kawade Shobô Shinsha, 1996–2000.

¹³ Two publications that have featured Osaka *shunga* are *Makeura-e: shinpen shoki hanga*, ed. Udô Yoshihiko, Tokyo, Gakken, 1995 (which contain works from the Richard Lane collection); and the journal (*Bessatsu Taiyô*) *Shunga: Edo no eshi yonjû hachinin*, Heibonsha, November 2006.

¹⁴ *Onna dairaku takara-beki, Onna daigaku takara-bako*, ed. Kôzu Shujin, Tokyo, Taihei Shoya, 1998.

¹⁵ Katsiuka (*sic*) Settei, *Onna shimegawa kaeshi (sic) bumi zen*, edited and translated into German by Reiko Okada and Jonny Reiger, Zurich, Verlag Die Waage, 1988.

The Parody: *Onna shimegawa oeshi-bumi* (Love Letters and a River of Erect Precepts for Women)

Onna shimegawa oeshi-bumi is based directly on *Onna imagawa oshie-bumi* (The Imagawa Admonitions for Women and Letters for Teaching), which was first published in the third month of 1768 in Osaka with text by Genkaidô (Chô Yûshôken) and illustrations by Kitao Sekkôsai. The title makes only slight changes in words to alter the meaning, in particular *oshie* (teaching) becoming *oeshi* (erection), and ‘Imagawa’ is changed to ‘Shimegawa’ (River of Admonitions), using a character for ‘shime’ that in cursive looks almost the same as that for ‘ima’⁷⁾. The ‘Imagawajô’ were precepts in the Imagawa family for the training of those in the household, initially formulated in *kanbun* (Chinese) by the scholarly samurai Imagawa Ryôshun (1326–1414), and later used as a the basis of textbooks for women published regularly from the late 17th century onwards⁸⁾.

The parody *Onna shimegawa oeshi-bumi* follows closely the page order of the 1768 edition of *Onna imagawa oshie-bumi*, included in this book for reference⁹⁾. Later editions of *Onna imagawa oshie-bumi* (1778 and thereafter) have a different order, putting the full-page images with classical poems before the text section in large print on ‘Imagawa Admonitions for Women’, and adding numbers to each page on the side instead of the inner spine at the bottom of the page as on the first edition, which had been ordered using the ‘i, ro, ha’ syllabary. The date 1768 or soon thereafter seems, therefore, likely for the publication of both the original and its parody. The book *Onna teikin gosho bunko* (A Courty Library of Womanly Virtue, illustrations by Settei and Shimokabe Shûsui) was published in 1767 in Kyoto, and its parody, *Onna teikin gejo bunko* (Womanly Virtue and a Library on the Private Parts, illustrated by Settei) is thought to have been published at around the same time. Therefore, the three most important lineages of popular textbooks for women during the Edo period, *Onna daigaku*, *Onna imagawa*, and *Onna teikin*, were each the object of parody by Settei and his Osaka publishers.

⁷⁾ The reading of ‘shime’ also suggests two other meanings: ‘shimeru’ (to ‘capture’ or ‘sleep’ with a woman) and ‘shimeru’ (wet), with its sexual connotations.

⁸⁾ Information on the various textbooks for women is found in *Nihon kyôkasbo taikai*, vol 15, *Ôraihen joshiyô*, ed. Ichikawa Matsutarô, Tokyo, Kôdansha, 1973. The book includes transcriptions of the main sections of several representative works, including *Onna daigaku takara-bako* and *Onna imagawa: jodô senyô*, and *Onna teikin gosho bunko*.

⁹⁾ The publication history of this book is not clear. The Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Daigaku (Ôe Bunko) *Onna imagawa oshie-bumi* edition photographed and used in this book has the date of third month, 1768. (I have not been able to locate another copy with the 1768 date.) It has been suggested that the order in this Kasei Gakuin edition has been altered. The cover (*daisen*) says ‘saihan kôsei’, meaning ‘a new edition with corrections’. The key difference from later editions is that the fourteen full-page images with poems have been spread throughout the book among the ‘Imagawa’ admonitions instead of being altogether at the beginning. The parody *Onna shimegawa oeshi-bumi* also mixes the images in among the text, following relatively closely the Kasei Gakuin edition. It is common for Edo-period textbooks, as in *Onna daigaku takara-bako* and *Onna teikin gosho bunko*, to have the most important precepts in large script at the beginning of the book in the lower two-thirds or more of the page, after an initial short section of elegant images with poems.

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have been at around the same time as the ‘original’ in order to capture audience interest. We can imagine itinerant lending-library agents (*kashi-bon'ya*) promoting both books as they made their rounds to homes, where women are thought to have been the primary clients who ordered books for the house. The Settei parody books usually are in exactly the same format and size as the original and mimic features such as calligraphy and layout. The publishers clearly aimed at causing confusion in the market over which book was which.

The Artist: Settei

Tsukioka Settei (Masanobu, Tange, 1726–86), originally from the Ômi area around Lake Biwa, trained under Takada Keihô (1674–1755) in the Kanô style and later developed his own school in Osaka. He was recognized during his lifetime as an important painter, receiving the prestigious artistic ranks of Hokkyô (1765) and Hôgen (1778)³. The patrons for his paintings were primarily the upper classes in the Osaka/Kyoto area. Among his works, his *shunga* erotic horizontal painted scrolls became widely famous from around the mid-1760s for having supernatural powers⁴. It was said during Settei's lifetime that if one had a Settei erotic scroll in the family storehouse, then it would be safe from fire⁵. The Edo book on ukiyo-e artists *Ukiyoe ruikô* also praised his *shunga* paintings as being *myô* (marvellous).

(Santô Kyôden) ‘A master of *shunga* paintings; and illustrated many books.’ (Keisai Eisen) ‘I have seen large painted hand *shunga* scrolls of Settei. His style is marvelous⁶.’

Over his career he also illustrated as many as forty books, several of which were *shunga*. His most active period of book publication is the mid-1750s–1771. *Onna shimegawa oeshi-bumi* (Love Letters and a River of Erect Precepts for Women, c. 1768) is thought to be one of Settei's representative *shunga* books.

³ Yamamoto Yukari, ‘Tsukioka Settei, Isoda Koryûsai nado e no sôji jonin ni tsuite: Omuro onki ni kansuru hôkoku’, *Ukiyoe geijutsu*, vol. 132, July 1999, pp. 17–25, and ‘Tsukioka Settei shiron: koten o meguru kaiga seisaku no saikentô’, *Bijutsushi*, vol. 155, October 2003, pp. 155–173.

⁴ Examples have been illustrated in several recent publications: *Bosuton bijutsukan: nikubitsu ukiyoe, bekkkan shunga meibinsen*, ed. Tsuji Nobuo, Tokyo, Kodansha, and Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2001; *Shunga: himetaru warai no sekai*, ed. Shirakura Yoshihiko and Hayakawa Monta, Tokyo, Yôsensha, 2003; *Shunga to nikubitsu ukiyoe*, ed. Kobayashi Tadashi and Shirakura Yoshihiko, Tokyo, Yôsensha, 2006 and C. Uhlenbeck and M. Winkel, *Japanese Erotic Fantasies: Sexual Imagery of the Edo Period*, Hotei Publishing, 2005.

⁵ Timon Screech has made a case that *shunga* were primarily for masturbation and has tried to debunk this myth of *shunga* as a talisman to ward off fire. However, it was certainly a myth with meaning at the time, no matter how it came about or if it was only one aspect of the uses of *shunga* (*Sex and the Floating World: Erotic Images in Japan 1700–1820*, London, Reaktion Books, 2003, p. 34). One of Settei's *shunga* painted hand scrolls has the note that it was ‘to ward off fire’; see Yoshida Teruji, ‘Shunshô higizu’ *Kikan ukiyoe*, vol. 33, 1968, p. 67. A key reference for this reputation of Settei's *shunga* is in a compilation on artists by Nakao Choken (d. 1821). *Kinsei itsujin gashi* (in *Nihon kaigaron taisei: teihon*, vol. 10, ed. Kimura Shigekazu, Tokyo, Perikansha, 1998, pp. 289–90). Choken is thought to have died at the age of 60. Tanaka Tatsuya, ‘Tsukioka Settei to sono monba’ in *Sukenobu, Settei, (Nikubitsu ukiyoe)*, vol. 9, Tokyo, Shûeisha, 1982, p. 138.

⁶ *Ukiyo-e ruikô*, ed. Nakada Katsunosuke, Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten, 1941, pp. 94–5.

Introduction

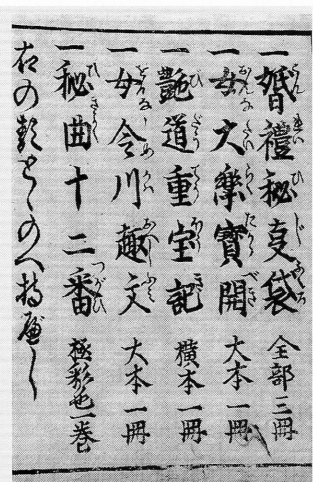
Tsukioka Settei and *Shunga* Erotic Books

The publication of erotic art books (*shunga*, *ebon*, *enpon*) in 18th and 19th century Japan was extensive by any standards and perhaps without parallel in world history to that time¹. This phenomenon developed in spite of the fact that there was government censorship from 1722 onward, virtually until the late 1980s, of erotic publications that exposed private body parts or that depicted sexual intercourse. For that reason, works after the mid-1720s do not contain the publisher, date, author or illustrator's details, although there are cases of secret pen names found in the books. Therefore, it is often difficult to determine the artist and exact date of a *shunga* book. There is one clear indication that a group of books were by Settei. The book *Tôsei minyô: Konrei hiji-bukuro* (A secret bag of tricks about marriage for everyone in modern times, c. 1770) contains a list of five erotic publications essential for lovemaking, all now considered to be by Settei, together with a picture of them (Illustrations nos. 1 and 2). On the front of one it says 'Tomio-shi ga' (Illustrations by Mr. Tomio). The same 'Tomio' characters are also found on the background screen in one of the scenes from *Onna shimegawa oeshi-bumi* (p. 27). More work needs to be done to determine if this was a sobriquet of Settei or not.

Several *shunga* books said to be by Settei are parodies of serious textbooks for women, the most famous being *Onna dairaku takara-beki* (Great Pleasures for Women and their Treasure Boxes, c. 1752), a parody of *Onna daigaku takara-bako* (The Treasure Chest of Great Learning for Women)². Since printing was by commercial publishers, it is thought that the issue of a parody would likely



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¹ Two books with lists of *shunga* books are: Hayashi Yoshikazu, *Hiban o motomete*, Tokyo, Yûkôsho, 1972, and the journal (*Bessatsu Taiyô*) *Shunga: Edo no eshi yonjû-bachinin*, Heibonsha, November 2006, which has the most extensive list to date.

² *Onna dairaku takara-beki*, *Onna daigaku takara-bako*, ed. Kôzu Shujin, Tokyo, Taihei Shoya, 1998.