

# Image and Text to Educate the Nation: Reinterpreting the Woodblock Print Series *Pictorial Record of Products of Great Japan*

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## Abstract

This paper investigates how the relationship between the two visual systems of ‘text’ and ‘image’ was intrinsic to the didactic potency of the Japanese woodblock print series *Pictorial Record of Products of Great Japan* (*Dai Nippon bussan zue* 大日本物産図会) (1877). A collaborative project between the publisher Ōkura Magobei 大倉孫兵衛 (1843-1921) and the print artist Utagawa Hiroshige III 三代歌川広重 (1842-1894), this print series of 118 prints has mainly been interpreted in the context of the First National Industrial Exhibition of 1877 as it was displayed and sold at this exhibition. This paper, in contrast, re-examines this print series within the context of the rise of modern education in Japan in the 1870s—a time when the Japanese state assigned woodblock prints a clear didactic function.

## Introduction

In August 1877 the collaboration between the woodblock print publisher Ōkura Magobei 大倉孫兵衛 (1843-1921) and the print artist Utagawa Hiroshige III 三代歌川広重 (1842-1894) resulted in the publication of the woodblock print series *Pictorial Record of Products of Great Japan* (*Dai Nippon bussan zue* 大日本物産図会; henceforth *Pictorial Record*).<sup>1</sup> To date 118

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1 Japanese names are written in the traditional and autonomous usage, with family name

prints have been identified covering the topography of 59 Japanese provinces, their local specialty products and production processes—although it is believed that originally the series consisted of no less than 150 prints (Asano 2002). Previous studies have analysed this labour-intensive print series against the backdrop of the first National Industrial Exhibition (Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai 内国勸業博覧会) organized in Tokyo from August to November 1877, as it was displayed and sold at this exhibition (Asano 2002; Furuya 2017; Hashizume 2013; Iwakiri 2008; Sugawara 2006). This paper, in contrast, seeks to assess the print series in its wider context of production, namely the rise of modern education in Japan in the 1870s, as the Ministry of Education employed the popular print medium to support the spread of education, particularly home education. Japanese woodblock prints—known under its Japanese equivalent as *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵—could take on this task because the prints were a highly commercial art form that mass-produced printed images in a full range of colours and relied upon the vibrant print industry for their wide distribution. Indeed, traditional woodblock printing was the main technology for transferring imagery and text onto paper, with the woodblock print industry flourishing from circa 1650 until 1900 primarily in Tokyo. By re-examining Hiroshige III's print series in the above context, this paper aims to offer a fresh perspective on the intention, production, and reception of the print series as well as seeks to investigate how the context of modern education can give new meaning to the relationship between text and image in Japanese woodblock prints.

### **Woodblock prints as an educational tool for the nation**

The modern school system in Japan originated in the promulgation of the Fundamental Code of Education (Gakusei 学制) in 1872. In order to support

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preceding the given name, and Japanese names and terms are transliterated according to the Hepburn system. Macrons have been provided to preserve long vowels in Japanese for all but anglicized words and place-names. Similarly, Japanese terms (and other foreign-language terms) are italicized except for those that have entered the English language. Any translation in this paper is by the author.

the framework of modern education, the Ministry of Education endeavoured to produce textbooks and teaching tools for usage in schools as well as for home education. In order to do this, the ministry looked towards Western nations and ordered mainly American textbooks and other visual educational tools, such as wallcharts and graphs, to translate into Japanese. Despite the ministry relying on Western practices of education to ensure uniform literacy within families and communities, it refrained from using Western-style printing in favour of Japanese traditional woodblock printing to produce these textbooks and other visual teaching materials. With woodblock printing, it was not only easier to include reading marks and textual glosses for the convenience of Japanese readers but also more practical to incorporate images alongside text as the whole page was carved as one block, allowing greater flexibility than Western-style moveable type. By making use of woodblock printing, the ministry also followed in the footsteps of the Tokugawa shogunate which had relied on domestic printing technique as well as on a network of commercial publishers to distribute and sell copies of official publications during the Edo period (1603-1868) (Kornicki 1998: 143-149). Although the modern Western-style printing techniques, such as lithography and copperplate printing, were gaining a strong foothold in the Meiji period (1868-1912) to transfer imagery and text—contributing to the national push toward ‘civilization and enlightenment’ (*bunmei kaika* 文明開化)—woodblock printing continued to dominate the market of commercial single sheet colour prints and books until the 1880s (Iwakiri 2006: 322-323; Kornicki 1998: 141, 165-166).<sup>2</sup> At this time, Western-style reprographic media performed a different practical function for the Japanese state as the Government Printing Bureau established within the Ministry of Finance employed these techniques to produce bank notes, revenue and postage stamps, and share certificates. Above all, the adoption of Western-style printing techniques was principally due to the contributions of foreign government advisors such as the Italian artist and engraver Edoardo Chiosonne (1838-1898), who was hired by the Ministry of Finance in 1875

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2 Newspapers and magazines, in contrast, rapidly turned to Western-style printing.

(Iwakiri 2009: 100; Kornicki 1998: 168; Mashino 1998: 181).<sup>3</sup>

Thus, to advance the spread of education the Ministry of Education made use of the traditional woodblock printing technique. Since the production process and development of textbooks was in a trial and error state in the early 1870s (Inoue 2013; Passin 1967), woodblock printing was especially employed as an educational tool for the nation to produce other visual teaching materials such as wall charts and woodblock prints—the former to aid teachers at school and the latter for education at home and as preparatory material for textbooks. In particular, the ministry announced on 7 October 1873 that didactic woodblock prints were being produced and distributed with the intention “of saving the education of young children in households” (Administrative order no. 125 of the Ministry of Education in Monbushō 1871-1885: 230).<sup>4</sup> In so doing, the ministry capitalized on the single sheet woodblock print as the most popular and inexpensive way to provide educational information through images and text. Since the latter half of the Edo period, woodblock prints had been widely accepted by the public as the main form of entertainment, both for the enjoyment of the images and of the information they provided (Aoyama 2019: 28). Moreover, woodblock prints inherently demonstrated a didactic potential through their co-dependency of text and image. This co-dependency has a long history in Japan that can be traced back to the emergence of illustrated narrative scrolls (*emaki-mono* 絵巻物) in the twelfth century. Following the rapid commercialization of woodblock printing in the seventeenth century, more and more pictures were incorporated into written texts and more and more writing into visual texts (Formanek and Linhart 2005: 12). Hence, woodblock prints became an archetype of the Japanese visual arts that incorporated text and image and because of their pronounced didactic nature, they easily took up the role of distributing information. In

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3 For an in-depth discussion of the development and application of Western reprographic media in Japan see Iwakiri (2009: 79-154) and Mashino (1998).

4 Although the discussion of textbooks and wall charts produced by the Ministry of Education is an interesting area that requires further investigation, it is beyond the scope of this paper.

general two ‘formulae’ for the interplay between text and image emerged: on the one hand, the text was placed around the figures or the compositional elements of the illustration (fig. 1 and fig. 7) and on the other hand the text was placed in a dedicated cartouche (fig. 2 and fig. 6). The function of explanatory inscriptions accompanying the vast majority of woodblock prints have so far been interpreted as contributing to their self-educational potential as well as to the considerable high literacy among the common people (Coats 2006; Dwinger 2020; Iwakiri 2009; Sugawara 2009; Witkam 2017). Yet, relatively little is known about their potential contribution to the spread of education during the Meiji period.<sup>5</sup>

### Woodblock print series produced by the Ministry of Education

In total the Ministry of Education produced three woodblock print series: *Oshiegusa* 教草 (34 prints; 1872-1876), *Full-colour Woodblock Prints Published by the Ministry of Education* (*Monbushō hakkō nishiki-e* 文部省発行 錦絵) (104 prints; 1873-1881) and *Pictures of Natural History* (*Hakubutsu-zu* 博物図) (25 prints; 1872-1879).<sup>6</sup> The *Oshiegusa* series instructed children on Japanese traditional industries—ranging from honey, rice and lacquer to cotton, silk and tofu—and their production processes, whereas the *Pictures of Natural History* disseminated knowledge of various birds, fish, reptiles, amphibians and mammals as well as included the Japanese, Chinese, English and Latin appellation of the animal in question. The prints belonging to the series

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<sup>5</sup> In general little research has been done on Japanese prints as an educational tool for the nation. Among the canonical studies on Meiji-period prints are those by Meech-Pekarik (1986) and Iwakiri (2009), but they fail to consider the prints in the context of modern education and to mention the prints produced by the Ministry of Education.

<sup>6</sup> The term *oshiegusa* was often employed in titles of various *ōraimono* 往来物 or teaching materials from the late Heian to early Meiji period (Higuchi 1977: 76). For colour reproductions of the *Oshiegusa* see Murase et al. (2017: 88-89 cat. no. 67-1~3); for colour reproductions of *Full-colour Woodblock Prints Published by the Ministry of Education* see also Murase et al. (2017: 78-87 cat. no. 61-66.5); and for colour reproductions of *Pictures of Natural History* see Tamagawa Daigaku Kyōiku Hakubutsukan (2018: 7 cat. no. 190, 194).

*Full-colour Woodblock Prints Published by the Ministry of Education* informed about various crafts (fig. 1), introduced biographies of foreigners and their inventions (fig. 3), and evaluated moral order whereas other prints were to be cut out and assembled into three-dimensional sculptures made from paper.

To these three print series the two visual systems of text and image were crucial to perform their didactic function, although varying degrees of their co-dependency can be detected. In the case of the prints evaluating moral order, no text except for the print title accompanied the illustration, suggesting that the image was sufficient to convey the print's didactic intention. This, however, changed when it came to the prints that were part of the series *Oshie-gusa* and *Pictures of Natural History*, as well as for the prints of the series *Full-colour Woodblock Prints Published by the Ministry of Education* which narrated about the lives and inventions of Westerners (fig. 3) or explained mathematical principles and the labour of various craftsmen (fig. 1), for example. Here, text next to the image was essential to educate young children about domestic products and their production processes as well as to meticulously explain new and foreign concepts such as physical principles and those of mass, volume and length along with the various tools required to measure them. As both image and text supported the information they were providing, it can be said that the Ministry of Education considered both image and text to be essential to woodblock prints fulfilling their goal as an educational tool for the nation.

The Ministry of Education also promoted woodblock prints as an educational tool for the nation to the general public by calling on commercial print publishers to contribute to the spread of home education as it allowed free reprinting of government-produced didactic material such as wall charts and textbooks. This was first announced in November 1874 and widely promoted and distributed via newspapers in the same month, as well as repeated in another administrative order in June 1875 (Report no. 29 of the Ministry of Education quoted in Inoue 2011: 16; administrative order no. 9 of the Ministry of Education in Kanpōkyoku 1889: 1648; Meiji Nyūsu Jiten Henshū Iinkai and Mainichi Komyunikēshonzu Shuppanbu 1983: 155). In other words, the commercial print industry was expected to contribute to the national goal of

educating the nation and advancing the implementation of educational policies, simultaneously ensuring that government-approved didactic material was distributed to a mass audience. As a result, commercial print publishers reissued wall charts on mathematics, vocabulary, geometric shapes and colour as single sheet prints (fig. 4).<sup>7</sup>

### **The reception of the *Pictorial Record* at the 1877 exhibition**

From August to November 1877 the state organized the first National Industrial Exhibition in Tokyo. The Ministry of Education exhibited its woodblock-printed didactic material, such as textbooks, wall charts and woodblock prints, which were listed as representative items of ‘utensils for education’ in the department of manufactured goods, promoting the didactic function of woodblock prints (Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai Jimukyoku n.d. 1: frame 27; n.d. 4: frame 5). Commercial print publishers also submitted woodblock prints to this exhibition, including the print series *Pictorial Record*. The exhibition catalogue listed Ōkura Magobei, its publisher, as the exhibitor. Ōkura taking on a key position in the promotion of the print series is self-explanatory: publishers of commercial prints pre-financed everything from the labour fees for the design, block carving and printing to the material costs for the woodblocks, the ink and the paper and were also in charge of promoting the prints, which here extended beyond the confinements of the bookshop to the exhibition hall. Although the *Pictorial Record* became part of the corpus of exhibition art, the prints were nevertheless listed in the department of manufactured goods and more specifically in the class of ‘furniture and objects of general use in construction and dwelling’. In other words, the state did not consider the commercial prints as examples of fine art, although this department included a specific class for engraving and other graphic arts, but as manufactured goods—similar to the government-produced educational material.

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7 An in-depth discussion of the response of commercial print publishers to the permission of free reprinting is beyond the scope of this paper, but is considered in the author’s doctoral dissertation *Japanese Woodblock Prints and the Meiji State: Production, Intention, and Reception in the Prints of Tsukioka Yoshitoshi and Utagawa Hiroshige III* (2021).

Previous studies have mainly analysed the *Pictorial Record* against the backdrop of the 1877 exhibition and as an advocate of the national goal of encouragement of industry and manufacturing (*shokusan kōgyō* 殖産興業) since the exhibition was organized to serve the abovementioned national goal (Asano 2002; Furuya 2017; Hashizume 2013; Iwakiri 2008; Sugawara 2006).<sup>8</sup> Considering that the print series explained and illustrated various Japanese products with its dedication to the deep study of domestic products, it can indeed be surmised that the series embodied the aims of the state to encourage industry as well as resembling the outline of the *Oshiegusa* series. However, just as the *Oshiegusa* series was inexplicitly tied to the aims of the Ministry of Education—as it was produced under its auspices—the *Pictorial Record* was also created to simultaneously educate the general public on local specialty products of Japanese provinces, an aspect of the print series which has received relatively little attention.

In spite of the *Pictorial Record* being displayed in the class of objects for general use instead of that of educational tools, which was dominated by exhibits of the Ministry of Education, the state did consider the prints to be didactically potent. The publisher Ōkura was namely awarded a certificate of merit for his display of woodblock prints, whereas the examiners' commentary translates as: "We observe that the picture album of products is beneficial to broaden the knowledge of children" (Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai Jimukyoku 1877: 119). The picture album to which the examiners are referring is Hiroshige III's *Pictorial Record*—the only album among Ōkura's exhibits with this particular subject matter. Hence, Ōkura won the award because of the series' didactic potency. This particular attention to the government-promoted function of woodblock prints can be explained by the government-official Machida Hisanari 町田久成 (1838-1897) overseeing the group of examiners in charge of commenting on the exhibits, as he was directly involved in the production of the *Oshiegusa* series and in the ministry's display of govern-

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<sup>8</sup> This policy was a catalyst for the art administration of the Meiji era and acted as a driving force behind the definition of art, the participation in world's fairs and also the organization of domestic exhibitions (Norota 2015; Satō 1995, 2011; Terry 2021).



ment-produced educational material at the 1876 world's fair in Philadelphia (Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai Jimukyoku 1877: 97-98).

### **The role of text and image in the didactic potency of the *Pictorial Record***

Although the reception of print series confirms that the Japanese state considered it to be an educational tool to advance the spread of education, it is more difficult to clearly establish the series' didactic intentions because contemporary documents concerning its production details do not exist. Nevertheless, certain factors demonstrate that the series was intended and produced as a didactic print series, for which the relationship between the two visual systems of text and image was instrumental.

To start with, the format of the print series suggests that its reading experience was intended to be different from other commercial woodblock prints. The 118 prints were namely pasted together and folded alternately, like an accordion, into folded books (*orihon* 折本) with prints on both the recto and verso side of the paper. Although the prints are not listed in the exhibition catalogue as a folded book, an advertisement of Ōkura's shop of 1885 confirms that the print series was sold as a six-volume set of accordion-style books (fig. 5). The title of the print series was subsequently printed on the cover of the folded books, alerting the reader that the prints built on a long tradition of 'zue' 図会, a term that had been primarily used by illustrated woodblock-printed books as early as 1712.<sup>9</sup> The majority of books employing this term were guidebooks containing illustrations and descriptions of famous places in Japan, mainly of Kyoto and Tokyo. For the print series, Ōkura and Hiroshige III also resorted to such guidebooks as both the illustrations and narrative text drew from illustrated guidebooks such as *Illustrated Famous Products of the Mountains and Seas of Japan* (*Nihon sankai meibutsu zue* 日本山海名物図会) (1754) and *Illustrated Local Specialties of the Mountains and Seas of Japan*

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9 For an overview of such illustrated guidebooks see Shirahata (2005: 206-209).

(*Nihon sankai meisan zue* 日本山海名産図会) (1799), among others.<sup>10</sup> By referencing such canonical works Ōkura and Hiroshige III demonstrated the interrelationship between different texts and images by intentionally continuing an established line of tradition. The textual and pictorial practice of copying and transplanting should not be interpreted here as lacking ‘originality’ or ‘inventiveness’ as this was a widespread and accepted practice at the time. In particular, the value of a work could even enhance when references to a certain authority were made, whereas it also demonstrates Ōkura’s and Hiroshige III’s knowledge of, and accessibility to, certain influential guidebooks (Davis 2016: 6; Ehmcke 2005: 111; Kameda-Madar 2014: 709).

The *Pictorial Record* nevertheless differed from these illustrated guidebooks not only by its format, as the prints could be folded and unfolded compactly, and by its usage of colour, as the guidebooks were printed in black-and-white, but also because of its relationship between text and image. The guidebooks either alternated between the narrative text and image or ran both visual systems parallel to one another and separated the narrative text from the illustration by a vertical line—whereas occasionally both visual strategies were employed in one work. The *Pictorial Record*, in contrast, placed the narrative text in a dedicated cartouche which was designed as a scroll (fig. 2 and fig. 6). By doing so, the prints were linked to a long tradition of illustrated narrative scrolls combining painted illustrations with calligraphy, intentionally engaging the established practices of ‘viewing’ and ‘reading’ by using a format within another format—two formats which inherently demonstrate a close interconnection between text and image.

It must be stressed, however, that for the *Pictorial Record* text and image neither functioned as casual decoration or that one took on a supportive role, since they formed an inseparable unity. This is evident in Hiroshige III incorporating the picture scroll for the narrative text in his preparatory drawings, confirming that the series was indeed designed with both text and illustration

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10 For a detailed account of the relation between these guidebooks—and other source materials—and the print series see Moriya and Tsukuba Daigaku Daigakuin (2017).

in mind to perform an equally important role in educating the viewer on the local products of various Japanese provinces.<sup>11</sup> By employing a designated cartouche, the *Pictorial Record* had to present its narrative text more densely and focused than illustrated guidebooks. The narrative text of Aki province (fig. 6), for example, educated its reader as follows:

The Itsukushima Myōjin-Shrine in Aki Province is one of three most scenic spots in Japan with its architecture and view from the shrine being a sight to behold. Above all, the Great Sutra Library, that was founded by order of the Chancellor of the Realm and Imperial Regent Toyotomi Hideyoshi, holds the girders with two ken length [3.64 meters], the beams with almost ten ken and five shaku length [19.71 meters], the rafters with eight shaku width [2.42 meters] and the balustrade furnished in all directions. It is commonly referred to as the Senjōjiki. The really beautiful toothpicks with five colors, that are sold in the shrine facing the sea with the most superb view, are well-known local specialty of the island. Moreover, thousands of monkeys and deer are playing here, who got used to people and beg them for mochi rice cakes.

The explanatory text not only educated about the famous local product, notably toothpicks that were sold in the main hall of the Itsukushima shrine, but also narrated about other elements present in the illustration, such as the monkeys and deer begging for treats, as well as about elements absent from the illustration, such as the Great Sutra Library. In addition, the *Pictorial Record* increased its readability, in contrast to the guidebook (fig. 7), by refraining from composing its text with solely Chinese characters and by replacing the Chinese characters for toothpicks written on the market stall with its phonetic variants (fig. 6). Altogether, the educational information on the province and its famous local product demonstrate that both the visual systems of text and image were integral to the prints performing their didactic role.

Although it can be argued that the *Pictorial Record* was merely an inform-

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11 These preparatory drawings are included in Rijksmuseum and Rappard-Boon (1990: 10).

ative print series, it nevertheless differed from other woodblock prints dedicated to disseminating information. There were two such distinctive woodblock prints genres, notably *kawaraban* 瓦版 and newspaper *nishiki-e* (*shinbun nishiki-e* 新聞錦絵). *Kawaraban* were published during the Edo period to inform their readers about sensational news, for which illustrations were an absolute necessity to accompany the text (Linhart 2005a: 248), whereas newspaper *nishiki-e* presented news as pictures and were published regularly between 1874 and 1878 with the illustration taking up to four-fifths of the sheet (Linhart 2005b: 354-355). Both were disseminating current news or events, mainly sensational, and placed the text around the main compositional elements of the illustration or in a simple rectangle-shaped box. Similarly, the *Pictorial Record* employed text and illustration to convey its message, however, this was not to disseminate information to its buyers on current or sensational news but to educate about Japanese provinces, their famous local products and other relevant information. As such, the *Pictorial Record* is reminiscent of the government-issued didactic prints and textbooks in its approach. Yet, the *Oshiegunsa* or textbooks on national topography, such as *Outline of Geographic Locations in Japan* (*Nihon chishi ryaku* 日本地誌略; 1874, 3 vols.), were unrestricted by their format to achieve their didactic intention as the *Oshiegunsa* measured 35 by 55 centimetres and the textbooks dedicated an average of 2 to 5 pages to each province. The *Pictorial Record*, in contrast, only measured 18.8 by 24.2 centimetres and restricted its discussion of each province to a designated scroll within the image. Nevertheless, the print series exploited its format to its full didactic potential by relying on various source materials and by achieving a symbiosis between the narrative text and illustration conveying the same didactic information. Hence, the *Pictorial Record* can be viewed as a stepping stone to government-issued didactic prints and textbooks which had more volume and space to educate their readers.

## Conclusion

For Ōkura, the exhibition and positive reception of the *Pictorial Record* as well as the recognition and marketability of didactic prints influenced his activities as a publisher. He increased, for example, his production of educational works—such as picture albums (*gafu* 画譜), folded books and diction-

aries—and promoted these works at domestic exhibitions (Iwakiri 2008; Satō 2008; Sekine 2010; Terry 2021). In addition, he joined ten other commercial print publishers in establishing the Picture Book and Nishiki-e Business Association (Jihon Nishiki-e Eigyo Kumiai 地本錦絵営業組合) in April 1881. According to its purpose statement, this association intended “to encourage the civilization of the nation and to make it a principle to educate [the nation/the people]” (Iwakiri 2008: 23, 2009: 24). Hence, commercial print publishers such as Ōkura were not only well aware of the educational policies of the Ministry of Education but were also eager to adapt their commercial strategies to shifting social, economic and political conditions in order to produce works attuned to state policies, to which end the two visual systems of text and image played a crucial role. This is also evident in Ōkura avoiding topics sensitive to the Japanese state, such as the Satsuma province, which was excluded from the series due to its involvement in the ongoing Satsuma Rebellion (Seinan Sensō 西南戦争; 29 January–24 September 1877).

With the state assigning woodblock prints a clear didactic function in the 1870s, this paper offered an alternative perspective of the print series *Pictorial Record of Products of Great Japan* and exposed how the context of modern education can give new meaning to the relationship between text and image in Japanese woodblock prints by revealing how the visual systems of text and image contributed to the didactic intention of both commercial and government-issued woodblock prints. This reinterpretation confirmed the results of previous studies that woodblock prints had a clear self-educational potential as well as provide evidence that the prints were employed as an educational tool for the nation at a time when the framework for modern education was established, in which the two visual systems of text and image played a crucial role.

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Fig. 1. Utagawa Kuniteru II 二代歌川国輝 (1830-1874). *Pictures Explaining the Necessities of Life (Food, Cloth, and Shelter) Among Family Businesses to Children (Isbokujū no uchi kashoku yo etoki no zu 衣食住之内家職幼絵解の図)*: Blacksmith [Kajiya 鍛冶屋] from the series *Full-colour Woodblock Prints Published by the Ministry of Education (Monbushō hakkō nishiki-e 文部省発行錦絵)*, date unknown; published by the Ministry of Education. Ōban single sheet woodblock print, 35.5 x 24.5 cm. Photograph © National Diet Library Digital Collections.



Fig. 2. Utagawa Hiroshige III 三代歌川広重 (1842-1894). *Tokyo, Production of Nishiki-e (Tōkyō nishiki-e seizō no zu 東京錦絵製造之図)* from the series *Pictorial Record of Products of Great Japan (Dai Nippon bussan zue 大日本物産図會)*, August 1877; published by Yorozyu Magobei 万屋孫兵衛. Chūban single sheet woodblock print, 18.8 x 24.2 cm. Photograph © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 3. Artist unknown. *Pictures of Inventors of Western Machines: James Watt* [*Seiyō kikai batsumeika zu: Uatsuto 西洋器械発明家図: 瓦德*], from the series *Full-colour Woodblock Prints Published by the Ministry of Education* (*Monbushō hakkō nishiki-e 文部省発行錦絵*), date unknown; published by the Ministry of Education. *Oban* single sheet woodblock print, 33.7 x 24.1 cm. Photograph © Metropolitan Museum of Art.

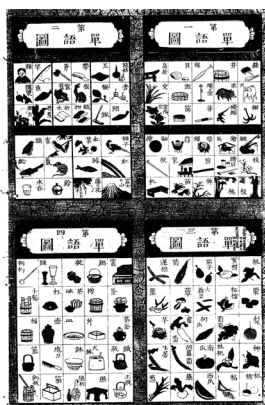
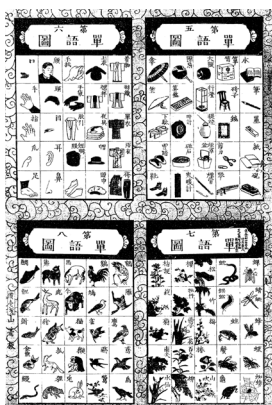


Fig. 4. Word Charts No. 1 to 4 and 5 to 8 reissued on separate *oban*-sized single sheet woodblock prints and mounted into an album. Published by Yamashiroya Jinbei 山城屋甚兵衛, date unknown. Photograph © National Diet Library Digital Collections.

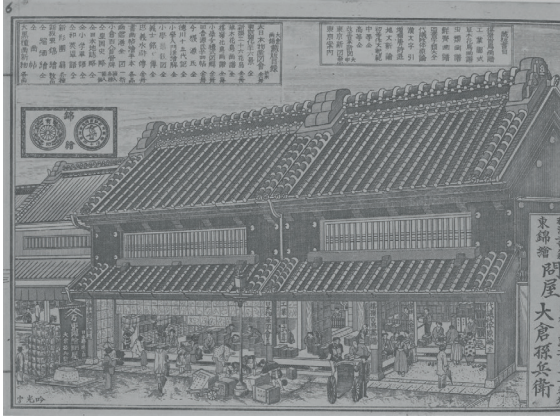


Fig. 5. An advertisement of Ōkura's shop from 1885, which is listed as 'Ōkura Magobei – Wholesale Store of Japanese-Chinese Books and Nishiki-e from Tokyo' (*Wakan shosecki azuma nishiki-e monya Ōkura Magobei* 和漢書籍東錦絵問屋大倉孫兵衛). Included in Fukamachi Genjiō 深満池源次郎, ed. *Pictures of an Extensive Reading of Commerce and Business in Tokyo* (*Tōkyō shōkō hakurane* 東京商工博覧絵, vol. 1, 1885: 3. Woodblock-printed illustrated book, 11 x 16.7 cm. Photograph © gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Fig. 6. Utagawa Hiroshige III 三代歌川広重 (1842–1894). *Aki Province, Selling Toothpicks at Itsukushima* (*Aki no kuni Itsukushima yōji o iku zu* 安芸国厳島楊枝ヲ鬻図) from the series *Pictorial Record of Products of Great Japan* (*Dai Nippon bussan zue* 大日本物産図会), 10 August 1877; published by Yorozya Magobei 万屋孫兵衛. *Chuban* single sheet woodblock print, 18.8 x 24.2 cm. Photograph © National Diet Library Digital Collections.



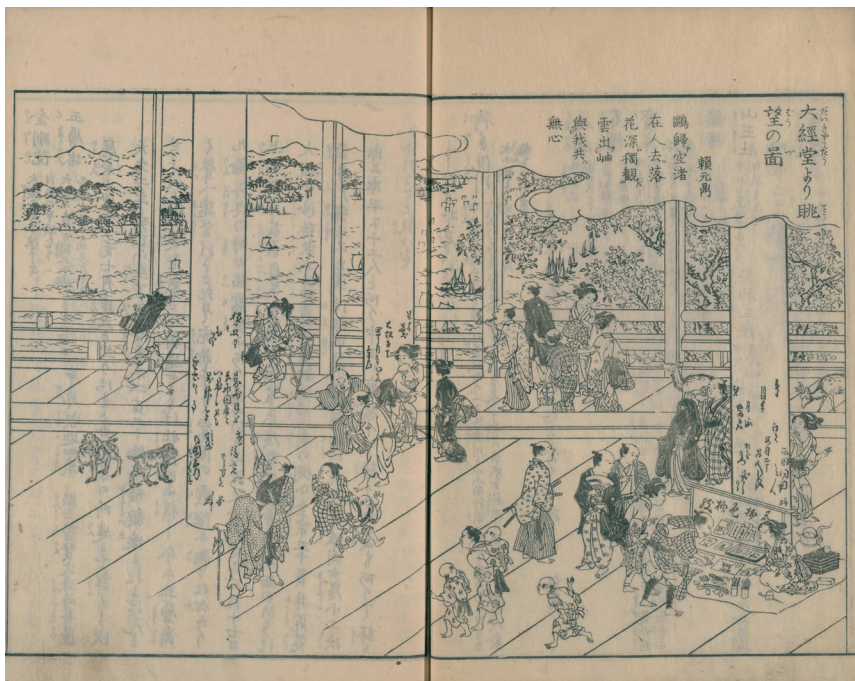


Fig. 7. Okada Kiyoshi 岡田清 (ed.), Yamano Shunpōsai 山野峻峯斎 (illustrations). *Pictorial Record of Itsukushima in Aki Province (Geishū Itsukushima zue 芸州厳島図会)*, vol. 2, 1842; published by Yonamiya Ihei 世並屋伊兵衛. Illustrated book, 26.2 x 18.5 cm. Photograph © National Diet Library Digital Collections.

