

## The Introduction of Japanese Manuscripts about Sword-guards (Tsuba) to Europe in the Early 20th Century

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**[Slide 1].** We are interested in how early Japanese books (wakosho, 和古書) contributed to the development of Japanese studies in Europe. I am a retired pensioner at present, but I was a Japanese studies librarian, so I am particularly interested in this subject. Also, I am studying about Henri Joly who was an expert of “tsuba” and published its reproduction copy of “tsuba” manuscript, “Toban Shinpin Zukan” (刀盤神品図鑑) in 1912. So today, I would like to talk about this topic focusing on the introduction of Japanese book-formed manuscripts about “tsuba” to Europe in the early 20th Century. I would like to take up the case of two manuscripts, “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑) and “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜). “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑) is held at the National Library of Sweden in Stockholm as a part of “Nordenskiöld Collection” and “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) is held at the Danish Design Museum in Copenhagen as a part of the “Hugo Halberstadt Collection”.

**[Slide 2].** The outline of my presentation will be as follows. At first, I would like to talk about “Japonisme” very briefly. Next, I will refer to various titles of those two manuscripts and the author and the estimated year of original writing. As for “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜), I would like to focus on the manuscript scribe (書写者) and the year of copying (書写年). Then, I will talk about the provenance of both manuscripts. Lastly I will report about Henri Joly’s enterprise to publish the reproduction copy of “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑) and its English translation and also his article about the same issue.

**[Slide 3].** The timeline of my presentation is to start from 1879 and to finish in 1913.

**[Slide 4].** As part of the “Japonisme” craze, a lot of works of Japanese art were collected in Europe in the late 19th century. Of course, the most important items were “Ukiyoe-Prints”(浮世絵版画). Others were “Swords Guards” “Tsuba”(鐔) in Japanese,

“Netsuke”(根付), etc. “Tsuba”(鐔) is belongs to “Sword Fittings” “Tosogu”(刀装具) in Japanese and “Netsuke”(根付) is belongs to “Sagemono”(提物) in Japanese.

**[Slide 5].** Generally speaking, modern studies on “Tsuba”(鐔) started only from the beginning of the 20th century. In Japan, “Tokenkai”(刀剣会), the Association of Japanese Swords was established in 1899 and its journal “Tokenkai Shi”(刀剣会誌) started to be published from 1900 onward. The pioneer of modern “tsuba” studies was “Akiyama Kyusaku”(秋山久作). He published a lot of articles on “tsuba” for “Tokenkai Shi”(刀剣会誌). One of Akiyama’s pupils was “Wada Tsunashiro”(和田維四郎). Wada(和田) was a very prominent mineralogist and bibliographer. His book “Honpo Soken Kinko Ryakushi”(本邦装剣金工略誌) is the fruit of modern studies on “tsuba” in Japan.

In Europe, mainly in Germany, we could see the achievements of studies on “tsuba”, such as “Hara Shinkichi”(原震吉)’s “Die Meister der Japanischen Schwertzieraten” in 1902 and Gustav Jacoby’s and Alexander Georg Moslé’s works.

A lot of “tsuba” and other Sword Fittings were exported to the West like “Ukiyoe Prints” and we would like to know what portions of those items are overseas, I mean outside Japan. One estimate of 1916 indicated that 90 percent were in foreign countries, outside Japan. Only 10 percent of “tsuba” and other Sword Fittings were in Japan.

**[Slide 6].** Apart from “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑) and “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜), we could list a lot of “wakosho”(和古書) on “tsuba”, such as “Manpo Zensho”(万宝全書) in 1694, “Soken Kisho”(装剣奇賞) in 1781, “Kinko Kantei Hiketsu”(金工鑑定秘訣) in 1820, etc. However, “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑) in other title “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) is said to be the earliest book on “tsuba” and also it is said to be an indispensable masterpiece for studies on “tsuba”.

**[Slide 7].** “Matsumiya Kanzan”(松宮観山)’s manuscript has got various titles, such as “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑), “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜), “Toban Shokan Koketsu”(刀盤賞鑑口訣), “Toban Zukan”(刀盤図鑑), “Toban Zufu”(刀盤図譜), etc. The copy of

“Nordenskiöld Collection” is called “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑). The copy of “Hugo Halberstadt Collection” is called “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜). Also, “Bijutsu Token Shuppan”(美術刀剣出版) published “Toban Shokan Koketsu – Tsuba Kenkyu no Tebiki to Kansho”(刀盤賞鑑口訣— 鐔研究の手引と鑑賞) in 1967, which is based on the copy of Shibata Mitsuo Collection. “Toban Shokan Koketsu – Tsuba Kenkyu no Tebiki to Kansho”(刀盤賞鑑口訣— 鐔研究の手引と鑑賞) contains reproduced original manuscript and also cursive script was converted into type. Markus Sesko published German translation of “Toban Shokan Koketsu”(刀盤賞鑑口訣) in 2010 based on “Toban Shokan Koketsu – Tsuba Kenkyu no Tebiki to Kansho”(刀盤賞鑑口訣— 鐔研究の手引と鑑賞) of Bijutsu Token Shuppan (美術刀剣出版).

**[Slide 8].** This slide shows various titles of the manuscript in libraries, museums, archives, etc. in Japan.

**[Slide 9].** In this slide, I would like to illustrate the structure of the manuscript and why there are variations of titles in this manuscript. The manuscript consists of two parts, a text part and illustrations of “tsuba”. The portion of the text is small and most parts of the manuscript are illustrations of “tsuba”. The text part is titled “Toban Shokan Koketsu”(刀盤賞鑑口訣) which could be a kind of “Naidai”(内題). So some manuscripts are titled “Toban Shokan Koketsu”(刀盤賞鑑口訣). There are titles at the beginning of the illustrations of “tsuba”, such as “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑), “Toban Zufu”(刀盤図譜), “Toban Zukan”(刀盤図鑑), etc. or no titles. There is also another type of title at the beginning of the “Tsuba” illustrations. Usually it is called “Zoku Ipposhu, Ichi no San”(続一步集 一之三), etc. “Zoku Ipposhu”(続一步集) is a kind of series title.

**[Slide 10].** “Iwase Bunko”(岩瀬文庫) in Nishio City(西尾市) is a famous library of “wakosho”(和古書), early Japanese books. There is a book-formed manuscript which is titled “Zoku Ipposhu sho”(続一步集鈔), formerly called “Zoku Ipposhu”(続一步集). This book provides us of interesting and important information about the time of writing of “Toban Zukan”(刀盤図鑑) and supplementary works of “Zoku Ipposhu”(続一步集).

**[Slide 11].** According to “Iwase Bunko”(岩瀬文庫)’s “Zoku Ipposhu Sho”(続一步集鈔), we could understand the following things. “Matsumiya Kanzan”(松宮觀山) titled his work “Zoku Ipposhu”(続一步集), a kind of series of books after “Hojo Ujinaga”(北条氏長)’s “Ipposhu”(一步集). “Hojo Ujinaga”(北条氏長) founded “Hojo-ryu Heigaku”(北条流兵学), “Hojo School Military Science” and “Matsumiya Kanzan”(松宮觀山) was a pupil of “Hojo Ujisuke”(北条氏如), a son of “Hojo Ujinaga”(北条氏長).

“Volume One” of “Zoku Ipposhu”(続一步集) deals with sword matters and “Supplementary Volume 3”--- “Fukan 3”(附卷 3) is “Toban Zukan”(刀盤図鑑). The author of “Toban Zukan”(刀盤図鑑) is “Matsumiya Shunjo”(松宮俊仍), that means “Matsumiya Kanzan”(松宮觀山). “Shunjo”(俊仍) is another name of “Kanzan”(觀山). The year of writing is “1753”(宝曆 3 年), strictly speaking “Before 1753”, Before “Horeki San-nen”(宝曆 3 年). As for the year of writing, “1753”(宝曆 3 年), “Wada Tsunashiro”(和田維四郎)’s “Honpo Soken Kinko Ryakushi”(本邦装剣金工略史) also described it as the Year of Writing of “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜). But Wada’s book does not mention the reason and its source about the Year of Writing of “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜).

**[Slide 12].** “Tokyo National Museum”(東京国立博物館) holds “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜). In this “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜), there are two “Shikigo”(識語) or “Okugaki”(奥書), namely two texts. One is at the end of “Jobun”(序文, Preface), the other at the end of the manuscript. According to “Jobun”(序文), “Zatsuzatsu Shodo”(雑々書堂) wrote “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) in March of the Year Tiger (“寅”年, 弥生). According to the “Okugaki”(奥書) at the end of the manuscript, “Tako Sanenari”(多湖実成) wrote “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) in March 1866 (慶応二寅年三月). “Tako Sanenari”(多湖実成) could be called “Tachibana no Sanenari”(橘実成). Combining the two texts, now we can understand that “Tako Sanenari”(多湖実成), his pen name was “Zatsuzatsu Shodo”(雑々書堂), wrote or copied “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) in March 1866 (慶応 2 年 3 月). Two texts are important to combine “Zatsuzatsu Shodo”(雑々書堂) and “Tako Sanenari”(多湖実成). Also, from other sources, such as “Zoshoin”(蔵書印),

ownership stamps of “Tako Sanenari”(多湖実成)’s collections, we can know that “Zatsuzatsu Shodo”(雑々書堂) was his pen name.

As for “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜), there are two problems. One is that there is no information about the author, namely “Matsumiya Kanzan”(松宮観山). The second problem is that only Tokyo National Museum’s copy contains “Tako Sanenari”(多湖実成)’s “Okugaki”(奥書). But, other “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) copies including “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) in Copenhagen do not contain “Tako Sanenari”(多湖実成)’s “Okugaki”(奥書). Probably, “Tokyo National Museum”(東京国立博物館)’s copy of “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) could be the original copy of “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) written by “Tako Sanenari”(多湖実成).

**[Slide 13].** “Mori Ogai”(森鷗外), a famous novelist was the head of the “Imperial Museum”(皇室博物館), now it is called “Tokyo National Museum”. “Mori Ogai”(森鷗外) catalogued “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) and he referred to “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜)’s two “Shikigo”(識語) or “Okugaki”(奥書). However, he did not even consider the original author at all, in this case, “Matsumiya Kanzan”(松宮観山). Even today, according to the catalogue of Tokyo National Museum, the author of “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) is “Tako Sanenari”(多湖実成), not “Matsumiya Kanzan”(松宮観山).

**[Slide 14].** Apart from “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) of Tokyo National Museum, all other copies of “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) or similar titles do not carry the information about “Tako Sanenari”(多湖実成). So researchers, scholars and collectors who studied “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) could get the information about “Zatsuzatsu Shodo”(雑々書堂) and “March and the Year Tiger”(寅, 弥生), but not about “Tako Sanenari”(多湖実成). Therefore, they speculated about both the author and the year of writing of “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜). Some of them, such as “Matsudaira Yorihiro”(松平頼平) speculated that “Zatsuzatsu Shodo”(雑々書堂) was “Matsumiya Kanzan”(松宮観山)’s pen name and that “the Year of the Tiger” was “1746, 延享3年”. “Matsudaira Yorihiro”(松平頼平) is a well-known expert of Japanese swords and also a collector of “wakosho”(和古書) on Japanese swords and sword guards too.

Following “Matsudaira Yorihiro”(松平頼平)’s theory, some Japanese researchers thought that “Zatsuzatsu Shodo”(雑々書堂) was “Matsumiya Kanzan”(松宮観山)’s pen name.

**[Slide 15].** Returning to “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑), I can outline the history of “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑) briefly. It was acquired in 1879 and catalogued in 1883. “Kuwabara Yojiro”(桑原羊次郎), an expert of sword fittings studied it in Stockholm in 1911. Then, in 1912, Herni Joly published the reproduction of “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑) with an English translation and also published an article about “Toban Shinpin Zukan”. In 1933, “Kawaguchi Noboru”(川口陟), an expert of Japanese swords and sword guards acquired the microfilm of “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑) from Sweden. In 1980, J. S. Edgren published “Catalogue of the Nordenskiöld Collection” and “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑) is included in this catalogue.

**[Slide 16].** “Kawaguchi Noboru”(川口陟) who received a microfilm of “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑) from Stockholm in 1933 and claimed that “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑) of Swedish National Library was the original copy of “Matsumiya Kanzan”(松宮観山), it was “Matsumiya Kanzan”(松宮観山)’s “Jihitsubon”(自筆本). Comparing “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑) and “Shinto Meisho Bassui”(新刀名匠抜粹) at “Seikado Bunko”(静嘉堂文庫) which is “Matsumiya Kanzan”(松宮観山)’s “Jihitsubon”(自筆本), “Kawaguchi”(川口) claimed that their writings were very similar and that both were written by “Matsumiya Kanzan”(松宮観山). However, “Kawaguchi Noboru”(川口陟) pointed out that “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑) lacked “Jibatsu”(自跋), “Matsumiya Kanzan”(松宮観山)’own script which was included in “Shinto Meisho Bassui”(新刀名匠抜粹) at “Seikado Bunko”(静嘉堂文庫). I have introduced “Kawaguchi Noboru”(川口陟)’s theory about “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑). However, I am not sure whether he is right or not.

**[Slide 17].** As for “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑), Henri Joly focused on the arabic numeral “1783” which was written on the cover, actually on the “Daisen”(題簽), title slip. He thought “the year of 1783”(天明3年) was the copying year of this manuscript. I think

it was added to the “Daisen” (題簽) by a Japanese when Nordenskiöld purchased it in Japan. So probably it was added in the Meiji period.

**[Slide 18].** As for “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) at the Design Museum in Copenhagen, there is “Zatsuzatsu Shodo”(雜々書堂)’s “post script”(識語) at the end of the “Jobun”(序文), which is the text of “Toban Shokan Koketsu”(刀盤賞鑒口訣). However, this “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) copy does not include the postscript of “Tako Sanenari”(多湖実成), so researchers who studied this “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) could not identify who was “Zatsuzatsu Shodo”(雜々書堂). This “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) contains the information about “March, the Year of the Tiger”.

**[Slide 19].** As for the provenance of “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) at the Design Museum in Copenhagen, at first, “Hara Shinkichi”(原震吉) of the Hamburg Art and Crafts Museum acquired it in Japan in 1906 or 1907. Then, Justus Brinkmann reported it in the 1908 annual report of the Hamburg Art and Craft Museum which was published in 1909. Probably the original copy of “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) was owned by Gustav Jacoby and the Museum owned its copy. Probably after Gustav Jacoby had died, Hugo Halberstadt possessed “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) and then it was donated to the Danish Museum of Art and Design as part of the Hugo Halberstadt Collection and then, the Danish Museum of Art and Design changed its name to the Danish Design Museum in 2011. In this slide, you can see Gustav Jacoby’s “Ex Libris”(藏書票) on the “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜).

**[Slide 20].** Georges de Tressan (1877-1914) was an important researcher about “tsuba” as well as Henri Joly in London. Both were French and both used “wakosho”(和古書) on “tsuba”(鐔). Tressan published seven important articles on “tsuba”, five on French journal, two on German journal. As for “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜), Gustav Jacoby contacted to Tressan as well as Henri Joly in 1910. Tressan referred to “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) in his article which was published in 1912 and he reported that the Hamburg Museum and Gustav Jacoby owned “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜). Also Tressan mentioned that Hamburg Museum, Gustave Jacoby and Tressan himself possessed copies of “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) in his article which was published in

1913. Tressan copied “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) by himself borrowing it from Gustav Jacoby in Berlin.

**[Slide 21].** “Akiyama Kyusaku” (秋山久作) referred to “Toban Zufu”(刀盤図譜) in three articles which appeared on the “Tokenkai Shi”(刀剣会誌). In 1902, Akiyama mentioned that the author of “Toban Zufu”(刀盤図譜) was “Matsumiya Kanzan”(松宮観山). However, in his article which was published in 1908, he wrote the following points. “Zatsuzatsu Shodo”(雑々書堂) wrote “Toban Zufu”(刀盤図譜) in March of the Year Tiger. Also, he indicated that “Zatsuzatsu Shodo”(雑々書堂) might be “Matsumiya Kanzan”(松宮観山).

**[Slide 22].** After borrowing “Toban Shinpin Zukan” (刀盤神品図鑑) from Stockholm, Henri Joly published the reproduction copy of “Toban Shinpin Zukan” (刀盤神品図鑑) with an English translation. The “Photoprinting Company” in London printed twelve copies in 1912. There is a kind of translator’s or publisher’s note in the reproduced “Toban Shinpin Zukan” (刀盤神品図鑑). It was written in English. There are a couple of points in Henri Joly’s note. Henri Joly speculated that the manuscript was written during “Kyoho 享保” period because the preface contains a word of “享保頃” (Kyoho-goro). “Inada Hogitaro” (稲田賀太郎), a Japanese art dealer who was staying in London at that time helped Henri Joly read though the preface which is titled “Toban Shokan Koketsu”(刀盤賞鑑口訣).

**[Slide 23].** Henri Joly’s article, ‘Note sur le manuscrit “Toban Shinpin Zukan” was published in “Bulletin de la Société franco-japonaise de Paris” in December 1912. In his article, Henri Joly talked several issues about “Toban Shinpin Zukan” (刀盤神品図鑑). Henri Joly studied both “Toban Shinpin Zukan” (刀盤神品図鑑) of Nordenskiöld Collection and “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) of Gustave Jacoby. Henri Joly went to Berlin to study Jacoby’s “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜). Also he pointed out Akiyama Kyusaku’s confusion about the author of “Toban Zufu”(刀盤図譜).



Then, Henri Joly discussed about the arabic numeral 1781 which was added to the cover. He thought that “the year of 1781”, “Tenmei 3-nen”(天明 3 年) could be the year of copying of this manuscript comparing the contents of similar early “Wakosho” on “Tsuba”, such as “Manpo Zensho”(万宝全書) and “Soken Kisho”(装剣奇賞). Also, Henri Joly talked about famous masters of “Tsuba”, such as “Kaneie”(金家) and “Nobuie”(信家). There are no “Kaneie”(金家)’s Tsuba in “Toban Shinpin Zukan” (刀盤神品図鑑). There are a couple of “Nobuie”(信家)’s Tsuba in “Toban Shinpin Zukan” (刀盤神品図鑑), but they are not well-known masterpieces.

Henri Joly’s article contains French translation of ‘Toban Shokan Koketsu’(刀盤賞鑑口訣) which is the preface of “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑).

**[Slide 24].** At the last slide, I would summarise my presentation.

- ◆ It is surprising that Henri Joly reproduced “Toban Shinpin Zukan” (刀盤神品図鑑) in London as early as 1912.
- ◆ Henri Joly studied both “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑) and “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) which were available in Europe in the early 20th Century.
- ◆ Henri Joly referred to both Japanese and European literature about “tsuba”.
- ◆ However, the research situation about “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑) and “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) seemed to be confusing at that time in Japan. Therefore, it can be understood that Henri Joly could not grasp the full situation about “Toban Shinpin Zukan”(刀盤神品図鑑) and “Tobanfu”(刀盤譜) in the way we can today.
- ◆ After Henri Joly’s article was published in December 1912, “Wada Tsunashiro”(和田維四郎)’s “Honpo Soken Kinko Ryakushi”(本邦装剣金工略史) was published in 1913. After “Wada Tsunashiro”(和田維四郎)’s “Honpo Soken Kinko Ryakushi”(本邦装剣金工略史) had been published, Georges de Tressan published his last article about “tsuba” in April 1914 which is based on Wada’s “Honpo Soken Kinko Ryakushi”(本邦装剣金工略史).

Thank you.

