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Japanese Manuscripts and Woodblock Prints from Premodern Era: Reading Versions of Mujū’s Shōzaishū (A Collection of Sacred Assets)

Abstract

Reading of Japanese written materials from premodern era in their original form of manuscripts, woodblock prints or movable-type prints requires learning not only classical Japanese, but also different shapes and forms of kana, syllabic alphabet. A lot of practice is also needed, since kana used in that era consisted of many more characters than today, and, naturally, handwriting and styles of writing of each person differed as much as they do today. In this article I want to introduce very shortly Japanese manuscripts and prints, and then describe some of their peculiarities using as an example copies of the Shōzaishū (A Collection of Sacred Assets, 1299), by Mujū (1226–1312), a Japanese Zen Buddhist monk.

Keywords: Japan, calligraphy, manuscript, woodblock, print, xylographic print, Mujū, Japanese Buddhism

Japan has very rich and long tradition of copying and transmitting hand-written books. Woodblock printing was in use in Japan as early as the 8th century, although only later it became the main technique of reproducing books. In this article I want to introduce shortly the tradition of hand-copying, and then describe some of the peculiarities of the woodblock prints, using as an example copies of works of Mujū (1226–1312), Japanese Zen Buddhist monk, abbot of Chōboji temple (now in Mie prefecture).

The oldest Japanese manuscripts preserved until today are copies of Buddhist sutras and commentaries to Buddhist texts. Traditionally Hokke gisho (Annotated Commentary to the Lotus), a commentary to the Lotus Sutra, was ascribed to prince Shōtoku (574–622) and the extant manuscript of the text was considered to be penned by the prince himself, which would make it the oldest extant Japanese manuscript, from the beginning of the
7th century. Today both the text and the copy are thought to be later, but still they may have been written in the 7th century.

Other old manuscripts are official or private diaries, historical treatises, long stories called monogatari (popular from the 10th century onwards), collections of anecdotes, collections of poetry etc. Let us take as an example Kokin wakashū, or A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern, which was compiled in 905 by the order of emperor Daigo, and thus it was called an imperial anthology (chokusenshū). The oldest known now manuscript of this collection, as it is often the case, was traditionally ascribed to the principal compiler, Ki no Tsurayuki (872–945). Today it is considered to be approximately two centuries later and probably was written in the beginning of the 11th century. The manuscript is called Kōyagire, since it was preserved on Kōya Mountain (Wakayama prefecture), and only pieces (gire or kire) are extant. As the oldest example of Kokin wakashū, it is an important cultural asset and it is also admired as one of the most beautiful examples of Heian period kana calligraphy.

As it can be seen on the photography of the beginning of the 1st scroll (Image 1), the characters are graceful, natural and unaffected. The places where the scribe dipped the brush in ink are clearly visible and most of them are not in the beginning of lines, because such repeating would be considered monotonous and lacking in artistic value. The characters were written with a small brush and often two, three or four of them were written in one movement, one line. For example, in the third line from the right, there are four kana character written without breaking the line: fu-ru-to-shi (furu toshi, a passing year). Often there were breaks between seperate words, but the breaks in line could also happen not between the words, but in the middle of a word. This can be seen in the first line on the left: these are the words dai shirazu (subject unknown), written
as: *tai shirasu*, without marking the voicing of the first and last syllables, but the breaks in line are as follows: *ta ishira su*.

Writing of two or more characters without break is commonly seen in *kana*, but *kanji* ideograms could also to some extent be written in this way. Here, for example (Image 2), it is *sōjō Henjō*, a name and a title of a Buddhist monk and a poet, written with four *kanji*, and the last two of them, the name Henjō, is written in one movement. Student of Japanese manuscripts, in order to read them, must be conscious of this freedom of joining or breaking the words.

![Image 2. Kanji characters for a name of the poet, sōjō Henjō, Kōyagire: the third and fourth are written in one movement.](Image 2. Kanji characters for a name of the poet, sōjō Henjō, Kōyagire: the third and fourth are written in one movement.1 Photo by Anna Zalewska)

Above examples were from Kōyagire, a piece of manuscript from the mountain Kōya, and they are considered to be an especially beautiful specimen of *kana* calligraphy. To this day they are used in Japan as a *tehon*, a copybook, for the amateurs of calligraphy and I also practiced calligraphy copying the reprinted copy of this manuscript.

**Woodblock prints and old movable-type prints in Japan**

Described above method of continuous writing is quite natural for manual writing, but harder to adopt in print. Although up to the Edo period (1603–1868) the main method of transmitting text was hand copying, woodblock printing had been already known as early as the 8th century: the oldest known examples are copies of invocations (Jap. *darani*, from Sanskrit *dhāranī*), printed between 764 and 770 in order to be placed inside pagodas. Later, woodblock printing technique was used to produce mostly Buddhist or

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1 Iijima Inetarō (ed.): pages unnumbered.
Chinese classical texts and only in the Edo period woodblock printing of non-Buddhist, popular prose appeared and then flourished.

The movable print technique was introduced from China to Japan quite early and also Jesuit missionaries used European movable print in Japan in the end of the 16th century, but continuous writing of kanji and kana may be one of the reasons that although the movable print was known, practically up to the second half of the 19th century most of the Japanese prints were xylographic or woodblock prints. This means that the whole text of one page was cut in a single wooden block, which subsequently was used to produce many copies. Another reason for the popularity of woodblock printing may be the large amount of basic characters: there were two syllabic alphabets, today known as katakana and hiragana (about fifty characters in each today, but even more in the one we call now hiragana in pre-modern times) and a few thousands of kanji ideograms. Moreover, many ideograms consist of ten, twenty or more strokes and because of this, it would have been very difficult to produce small size movable types. To some kanji ideograms a reading would be added, if the character was considered difficult to recognize or read. The reading was put in small characters, usually katakana, on the right side; rarely also on the left side of the character another reading was added, but this usually served as a hint, an additional information, not a reading to be used in the text in question. Because of these and other reasons, it seems that it would have been easier and more practical to make a wooden block with the text of whole pages to be used for printing.

Nevertheless, the movable types were also used for printing of Japanese texts: the oldest are so called kokatsuji ban, old movable-type editions, produced in the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries, mostly Chinese and Japanese classics, but among them there were also Buddhist texts. One example of these is the so-called Keichō jūnen kokatsuji bon (old movable-type edition from the 10th year of Keichō era, i.e. 1605) of Shasekishū, or Collection of Sand and Pebbles, the 13th century book of Buddhist setsuwa (anecdote) stories, written by Mujū, mentioned in the beginning. In this collection he united his enthusiasm for literature, poetry and story-telling with an effort to explain Buddhist truths through the simple, funny, sometimes vulgar stories; in most of the stories there are also quite long commentary parts, with citations from Buddhist sutras and treatises.

According to the modern reprint edition, it was originally published in five volumes, each containing two chapters (or scrolls). The text is mostly in Japanese, though heavily sinicized, with some passages from sutras cited in original Chinese. The Japanese parts are written in kanji and katakana; katakana is used not only for particles and conjugational endings, but also for whole words like verbs, nouns and adjectives. Two varieties of types were used in printing: smaller and bigger. Smaller ones appear mostly, though irregularly, in the conjugational endings and particles, whereas bigger were used for the rest of the words. A furigana (readings for kanji characters, added on the right side, in kana) is scarce.

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Mujū lived in the times of great religious leaders of the 13th century: Dōgen,5 Shinran,6 Nichiren.7 Today he is remembered mostly as the author of the Shasekishū, which is one of the best known Buddhist setsuwa collections in Japan, although it gained recognition only some time after Mujū’s death. Simple, sometimes vulgar anecdotes collected by Mujū became widely read and were also used as parables in sermons; it is probably the later popularity of the collection that gained Mujū the honorary name and title of Daien Kokushi, Daien the Teacher of the Country, given to him by the emperor Gonara in 1546.

5 Dōgen (1200–1253), also Dōgen Kigen, Japanese Buddhist monk, founder of Sōtō Zen school in Japan, also poet, writer, author of Shōbōgenzō (Treasure of the True Dharma Eye).
6 Shinran (1173–1262), Japanese Buddhist leader, a disciple of Hōnen (1133–1212)) and founder of Jōdo shinshū (True Pure Land school) of Buddhism.
7 Nichiren (1222–1282) Japanese Buddhist leader, radical reformer and founder of Nichirenshū (Nichiren school), also called Hokkeshū (Lotus school), because of his devotion to the Lotus Sutra teachings.
Manuscripts and woodblock edition of the *Shōzaishū*

Mujū is also the author of the *Shōzaishū*, or *A Collection of Sacred Assets*, a Buddhist treatise in three volumes, conceived by him as a textbook for young monks, written in 1299. While the earlier *Shasekishū* exists today in many copies and versions of the text (actually, the number of different versions is quite exceptionally large, even for the Japanese classical literature), today we know only three copies of the *Shōzaishū* and neither of them is written in Mujū’s own hand: there are two manuscripts, copied in the 15th and 16th centuries, more than one hundred and fifty years after it was composed, and one woodblock print edition, from 1643. Today one copy of the woodblock print belongs to the Kyoto University Library and while I studied there I borrowed it and photographed. The colophon in the end of the 3rd volume says:

*Nijō Teramachi*  
*Kan’ei nijū shōshū*  
*Noda Yahee kaihan.*

This means that the book was published by Noda Yahee’s bookshop, which was located in Kyoto, at the corner of Second Alley and Teramachi street, in the 20th year of Kan’ei era, i.e. 1643.

Probably there were two lines of transmission: one manuscript, now in possession of the Library of Tenri University (in Tenri, Japan), and the woodblock print which are both supposed to belong to one line, whereas the other manuscript, preserved in the Library of Tōhoku University (in Sendai, Japan), belongs to another. This determination is based, among others, on textual resemblances between the woodblock print version and the Tenri version and there are also resemblances in the general shape of the text.

Firstly, the Tenri version and the woodblock print begin with a table of contents, which is not present in the Tōhoku version, which begins directly with the text of the first chapter. The subsequent points on the list are indicated with a *kanji* character one, used like a dash in Western typography. The points indicated by dashes are not chapters, they are subpoints inside the chapters. Chapters are indicated with titles and after two introductory chapters, with numbers, from one to ten.

The copyist of the Tenri version was even more considerate and made the structure of the text even more visible for the reader: the subsequent numbers of chapters are indicated with small circles, and subpoints have not only dashes in the beginning, but also short diagonal lines beside the dashes.
Secondly, as regards the resemblances between the Tenri and the woodblock versions, each has a colophon. In Japanese manuscripts of poetry collections or monogatari stories, like the famous Genji monogatari (The Tale of Genji, beginning of the 11th century), usually there are no colophons. This may be a reflection of the character of these manuscripts and these genres of literature: especially the monogatari were considered light pastimes, not serious works, stories told as a light entertainment. The amateurs of these stories often copied them by themselves, for their own use; the name of the scribe and the circumstances of the act of copying were not important and were not written down.

It is different with the texts of Buddhist treatises or commentaries, like the Shōzaishū: they usually have colophons, although if the text consists of many volumes – three, seven or more, often there were volumes without a colophon. Every volume of the Tōhoku University version has a colophon added by the author, Mujū himself; in the first and third volumes there are even two entries by Mujū, one written supposedly when he was seventy four and finished writing the text, and the second one, added when he made corrections after few years. This is one of the reasons we recognize the Tōhoku version as a tensakubon, a corrected (tensaku means adding and erasing) version of the text.

Let us have a look at the colophon in the volume I, Tōhoku version (Image 6). After the title, the Shōzaishū (title of a whole work is often given not only in the beginning, but also at the very end of each scroll of the text), the first volume, there are two entries by Mujū, both starting with the dates: the 7th year of Einin era (1299) and the 1st year of Enkyō era (1308), and each entry is signed with Mujū’s name. Here we can learn not
only when the text was written, because both entries have much more personal character. The first one (1299) says (1st and 2nd lines after the title):

I wrote this while I was ill, for my beginners brethren in (Buddhist) Law. Since I could not hold a brush myself, I made use of somebody else’s hand (literally, somebody else’s brush – i.e., he asked somebody to write for him).

In the second entry, on the left, Mujū was already eighty three years old. The colophon says he added, erased or corrected some parts of the text. He was ill again and it was very cold then (it was December), but his will to share the learning was not small, so he took the brush himself and wiping his old eyes he tried to encourage his ill heart.

In the Tōhoku version, volume III, after the colophon written by Mujū there is an entry by a much later copyist, a monk from the same temple, “a grandson in Buddhist law”, from the year 1492, who added also Mujū’s yuige or a death verse, a poem composed on the verge of death.

A foam, floating on the sea
Eighty seven years
The wind rests
The waves calm down
Complete calmness
As it was in the old days.

He threw away the brush and entered Nirvana.
After this there are also entries from the years 1586 and 1755, added with different hands, by other persons who copied the text later. All these colophons I have just cited, were found only in the Tōhoku version, not in two other ones.

In the Tenri version and the woodblock print there are no colophons in the volume I, but in the second volume in both versions there is a colophon added by the copyist, praising Mujū as an enlightened teacher, master of exoteric and esoteric Buddhism and hasshū kengaku – a scholar well-versed in the teachings of eight schools. And in the third volume of both versions there are colophons added apparently by Mujū himself, saying that he corrected the text in 1306 while he was ill, and considers this version a seishobon, a clean copy, or a copy ready for showing to the readers.

There is here no space enough to cite all the colophons, but I would like to mention one more important suggestion that can be found in some of them. In the second volume of the Tōhoku version, in the colophon Mujū calls himself kongō busshi – a diamond child of the Buddha. This was a title given in Shingon school of esoteric Buddhism to those who took part in an initiation ritual of kanjō (sprinkling with water on the head). Although Mujū was a Rinzai Zen monk and an abbot of a Rinzai temple, as it was mentioned above, he studied also teachings of other Buddhist schools. The Tōhoku manuscript belongs to the tensakubon (a corrected, later copy) line of transmission, and kongō busshi signature can be found only in this version. Here we find also the latest information about Mujū working on the text of the Shōzaishū, the fourth month of 1311, which was also the latest date of any of his literary activities. Apart from this passage, the kongō busshi signature is to be found only in his last work, a setsuwa collection entitled Zōtanshū (A Collection of Casual Digressions, 1304–1305). The earlier colophons of the Shōzaishū and other texts were signed by Mujū as shamon, (Sanskrit śramana), or ringe no hinshi, a poor man living at the edge of a forest. Ringe, edge of a forest, was an appellation used for big Zen temples placed not in Kyoto or Kamakura, but in the provinces, and ringe no hinshi clearly indicates a Zen school follower. Using kongō busshi appellation Mujū identifies himself also as an adept of esoteric Buddhism. In the text of Tōhoku version the ideas of esoteric Buddhism are more accented than in the Tenri version, and the kongō busshi signature emphasizes the importance of these ideas for Mujū in the last years of his life.

So far I discussed the resemblances and differences in three versions of the Shōzaishū, A Collection of Sacred Assets, mostly in the colophons. Now let us have a look at some peculiarities of the manuscripts and woodblock prints which we can observe in these three versions.
This is the first page of the first volume (Image 7), after the table of contents, of the woodblock edition. The text is written mostly in Japanese, but the citations from Buddhist sutras are often in Chinese, with markings showing the Japanese order of the words on the left side, below a character. Such markings can be found sometimes also in sentences most probably written by Mujū himself, not only in citations. As we can learn from a colophon in the third volume of the Tōhoku version, these markings were added for the first time by an abbot of Chōboji temple, Eirin, and it is not often that such information is supplied:

It is the 5th year of Hōreki era (1755), year of Wood Pig. Four hundred and forty four years have passed and his grandson in Law, trying to repay for the teachings, made cinnabar markings, added guiding marks for the Chinese text, inserted missing characters et caetera.

There are markings not only on the left side of the characters. Some of the kanji characters apparently were supposed to be difficult, so the reading was added on the right, alongside the character. An example can be seen in the second line from the right, which is the first line of the main text (the first line from the right contains the title, the Shōzaishū): the eighth character from the top consists of 16 strokes and probably was not commonly used. On the right side a reading tomogara (‘people, fellows’) is added;
we can find it also in both manuscripts. On the same page there are at least three more readings added in this way, both kun (Japanese) and on (Sino-Japanese), and subsequently there are some readings added on more than half of the pages. Today we might expect that the readings should be added to rare and difficult Buddhist terminology or the titles of sutras, but in this Shōzaishū edition most of the readings are not Buddhist terms.

In the same second line of the first page, below, there are words written in smaller characters, in two lines, to be read in the usual Japanese order: first the right line of two characters, than the left. In the line above there is a citation from Jōmyōkyō (Vimalakīrti sūtra), that even the fellows whose minds are defiled, have, literally, ‘seeds of Buddha in themselves’, i.e., have the possibility of attaining the buddhahood. The smaller words in two lines are an explanation: Kashō no go nari – ‘These are the words of Kāśyapa’. This is clearly copied from the manuscript, because in both manuscripts we can find the same tomogara reading and the explanation about Kāśyapa, although in the Tōhoku version it is a little longer: Kashō sonja no go nari – ‘These are the words of Kāśyapa the wise’.

Also in the third line we can find the same device, smaller characters written in two lines: Kikon bosatsu no go nari – ‘These [are] the words of Kikon bodhisattva’. What is interesting here is the word bosatsu (bodhisattva), usually written in two characters, both with kusakanmuri (grass top) element in the upper part. In the Buddhist texts the word bodhisattva appears very often, but the second character has 17 strokes and is quite complicated. It is no wonder then that this word is sometimes abbreviated: instead of two characters some copyists wrote one, combining parts of two kanji. On the Image 9 it is the one on upper left. I marked it here with a question mark, because there are no such medieval, abbreviated characters in the standard computer font.
This abbreviated version of two kanji for bosatsu is something peculiar that a scholar of Japanese manuscripts has to learn from reading texts and comparing them with other versions. Although it is rather not to be found in dictionaries, it happens to be discussed in the most important Japanese treatise about calligraphy, Jubokushō (Teachings about Calligraphy), from the middle of the 14th century. While comparing Japanese and Chinese art of writing in chapter 18, Japan’s superiority to China in the art of calligraphy, the author, prince Son’en, mentions recent popularity of Song dynasty (960–1279) calligraphy in Japan and condemns it for using many variant and unsuitable forms. As examples of those forms the abbreviations are given, such as writing two characters for bosatsu or two characters for bodhi (Japanese bodai) as one, and the student of calligraphy is advised to use them with caution. Writing of the so-called awaseji, combined characters, is mentioned also in an earlier Japanese treatise on calligraphy, Saiyōshō (Notes on Generations of Talent, 1177), although it is not criticized there so overtly.

In the Shōzaishū we can see exactly the same abbreviation for bosatsu in the Tenri version as in the woodblock edition, whereas in the Tōhoku version there is no abbreviation and the word bosatsu is written with regular kanji characters.

This method of inserting short explanation in two lines which I described above is used on the first page of the Shōzaishū woodblock and the Tenri version three times, but later – almost nowhere else, as if the scribe forgot about it.

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9 Zalewska 2015: 142.
We saw before that the readings of difficult characters could be added on the right side of those characters. In some places in the woodblock edition we can find even more examples: here I marked again a quite complicated character, with reading den added on the right side. This is how this character should be read in this passage: hajimete den o izuru ni wa – ‘in order to leave the bonds for the first time…’. But it seems that to the editor of this woodblock version the kanji looked still difficult, so he added one more reading on the left side. This is a Japanese verb reading, matowaru, ‘to stick, to coil around something, to bind’. The Sino-Japanese reading den could be insufficient, but the readers certainly should know the verb; the reading matowaru here serves only as an explanation. It reminds of modern function that can be found in Kindle or other e-book readers – when one touches the word, a definition appears.

Readings added on the right side of a character can be found also in different places in both manuscripts, although mostly in the first volume; later the readings become scarce. The second reading, added on the left side, like matowaru which I mentioned above, are present only in the woodblock edition, not in the manuscripts. I think that it shows the amount of care the editors put in preparing this edition of the Shōzaishū, although again – the closer to the beginning the more of such explanations are added.

One more method was used first by copyists of the manuscripts and later also by the editors of the woodblock prints: it was adding markings for some types of words, called shubiki – crossed with cinnabar (cinnabar or brown ink was used). There were commonly accepted rules about the markings and we can see them observed also in the manuscripts and the woodblock edition of the Shōzaishū. One of the rules was to cross with two straight lines all sorts of titles mentioned in the text: sutras, treatises, collections etc. The copyist of the Tenri manuscript was so thorough that he crossed also the title of the Shōzaishū itself, written in the first line, but the Tōhoku version copyist apparently did not consider it necessary. In this way not only full titles were crossed, but even their shortened versions and words like kyō, sutra, in kyō ni iwaku – ‘the sutra says’.

Another method which was used was crossing personal names with one line, through the middle of the word, and many examples of this practice can be found in the Shōzaishū,
including the names of bodhisattvas, buddhas and deities as well as real worldly men. Words like all the buddhas or all the bodhisattvas are not crossed, probably because they were not used as personal names. Next category of markings is geographical names, crossed through the right side of characters. Examples of these are scarce in the Shōzaishū and names like Miidera (name of a temple) or Nanto (the Southern Capital) may be mentioned. In the Tōhoku version one more type of markings was used, viz. for the names of eras, for example Hōen era (1135–1141), crossed with two lines through the left side of characters.

The copyist of the Tenri version used one more method of helping the reader: titles of the texts are not only crossed, but also marked with a diagonal stroke, placed on the right side of the first word of the title. The same marking is used also to point out the place where the chapters and subchapters begin, mostly in volume I. In the end of volume III there is, a quite unexpected in a Buddhist treatise, addition: 31 tanka poems composed by Mujū himself. Some of the poems start in the middle of the line, but all are marked in the same way, with diagonal stroke on the right side, which is useful instruction for the reader.

Not only the manuscripts written in different handwriting, but also the prints and woodblock prints, which one would expect to be much easier to read, present many difficulties to us due to the presence of abbreviated forms, special characters, etc. In this article I attempted to show and explain some of these, with a hope that it might be useful to scholars and students. I think that the examples of the elements of the woodblock edition also could help us to understand why it was easier or why it was more practical to use woodblock technique, since it made it easily possible to add a variety of different elements: readings of characters, markings of the order of words, abbreviated forms, markings showing titles and names, markings for the beginning of chapters and others. I attempted to show some rules consciously applied by the copyists and editors, and also that which is sometimes not fully consciously applied, but still visible in their manuscripts and prints.

Bibliography

Mujū, Shōzaishū, manuscript, property of Tenri University (photocopy).
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