

Wirtschaft und Technologie im alten Japan – Literaturhinweise und Exzerpte

Shively, Donald H., & McCullough, William H. (1999): „Introduction“; in: Dieselben (Hg.): *The Cambridge History of Japan, volume 2: Heian Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–19.

Seite 6: Bedeutung von Kyôto

Perhaps the greatest attribute of the Chinese state was its capital, an enormous walled city laid out in a symmetrical grid pattern dominated by the huge buildings of the imperial palace compound. The city plan was a most impressive symbolic representation of imperial grandeur. Kammu's new capital, Heian-kyô, following this model, was designed to make a powerful statement. True, it was overly ambitious and too costly, for it was never possible to fill out the complete grid. But while earlier capitals were all short-lived, Kyoto remained the imperial capital for more than a thousand years, from 794 to 1869. Until the seventeenth century it was the only real city in Japan.

Seite 7f.: Beginn von Heian-kyô: Verwaltung unter den Kaisern Kammu und Saga

In addition to building a new capital, Kammu may also have had in mind the T'ang example of mounting military campaigns to subjugate and absorb "barbarian" border areas. Since early Nara there had been numerous expeditions to subdue the ethnic people in the northeast. Kammu intensified the effort and by 804 finally met with success. However, the great expense of the expeditions together with the building of the new capital exhausted the treasury. Among measures of fiscal retrenchment taken by Kammu was to restrict the large number of imperial princes and princesses receiving government support under provisions of the statutory system. In 805, more than one hundred were reduced to noble status, a measure taken by several succeeding emperors. Some sons of highranking consorts were granted the clan name Minamoto, and a few imperial grandchildren were given such clan names as Taira, Ariwara, and others. Some of these imperial descendants found careers as court nobles and others joined the provincial gentry.

Kammu and his immediate successors attempted to make their administrations more effective by introducing several new offices. To check misappropriation of tax rice and other assets from the provincial account by an outgoing governor, a board of agents known as *kageyushi* was appointed

in Kammu's reign to audit a governor's accounts and the transfer of property to the incoming governor. Both parties were held accountable for discrepancies.

In 810, Emperor Saga established the *kurododokoro* (Chamberlains' Office), staffed by trusted men, to ensure confidentiality in the handling of important documents. Later it transmitted imperial edicts and supervised the imperial archives. In time it also came to handle the emperor's household affairs.

Also in Saga's time, in response to lawlessness in the capital and the surrounding region, a new police organization known as *kebiishi* ("Offenses Investigation Agents") gradually evolved. The functions of the Imperial Police included not only security matters and the arrest of miscreants but also the investigation, trial, sentencing, and imprisonment of criminals, thus replacing some of the duties of several existing offices. Later, branches were placed in some provinces and its *kebiishi* agents investigated land ownership, tax evasion, and other matters.

These new offices were established, one may conjecture, because the functions they served were not being performed satisfactorily by the existing *ritsuryō* offices. Or, in some instances, the emperor and his circle may have aimed to bring the functions in question under more immediate control. Many of the offices provided for by the statutory code were languishing, either because they were not considered essential or because the government had insufficient revenues to keep them in operation. By the end of the ninth century half of the central government's *ritsuryō* offices had been abandoned and the number of officials was much reduced.

Seite 8: Steuern in Form von Gütern und Frondiensten

The primary mission of the provincial government office and its subunits, the district offices, was to collect local products in the form of taxes and forward them to the capital. These products, including rice and other foodstuffs, were all of the goods and services needed to support officials of the central government and supply the specific needs of the capital and its elites: textiles, handicrafts, and local products such as salt, iron, paper mulberry, and many other goods.

Rice was collected not only by direct taxation, but also as rental on rice land lent out by the provincial government. Rice was also collected on seed rice lent to cultivators for planting in the spring. At the beginning, corvee and military service were also part of tax obligations.

Seite 9: Entwicklung des Steueraufkommens

In the attempt to ensure its income, the government set a revenue quota for each province, charging the governor with the responsibility of meeting the contracted amount. In effect this policy recognized the provincial government as a semiautonomous unit with tax obligations to the

central government. It was permitted to make certain changes in the tax system, adding new taxes or occasional levies, to meet its quota. This was a significant departure from the principle of the statutory code of a national, uniform tax system. (...) the modifications in the tax system, while abandoning provisions of the code, were changes that better met the capital's needs and, at the same time, were more efficient and better fitted the rural economy. The changes succeeded at length in stabilizing the government's income. However, the quotas were set using the tax base as it stood about the year 900. As a consequence(...), the central government did not benefit from the increase in agricultural output brought about by expansion of acreage and by higher yields produced by improvements in agricultural methods. Among the improvements were the introduction of an animal-drawn plow with moldboard, the use of draft animals, better fertilizer, and other innovations (...).

The system of allotting rice fields on the basis of census registration operated reasonably well in the Nara period, but reallocations came to a halt about 840. Scholars have suggested a variety of causes for the suspension of reallocation. (...) the primary reason was the shortage of land available for distribution. Population had increased by more than a million during Nara, creating a demand for allocations that the government could not meet.

Seite 10: Entstehung von *de facto* privatem Landbesitz durch Weitergabe des Steuerrechts (*shôen*)

Since early in the Nara period the government had encouraged the opening of new rice fields, and much land continued to be reclaimed. Because of the high cost of developing irrigated rice land, the government was obliged in 743, as an incentive, to grant developers permanent possession of reclaimed land, the source of many of the first *shôen* (estates). In the Heian period, however, *shôen* were created, in effect, when the central government ordered the transfer of tax payments on segments of land from the provincial government to a religious institution or a noble family in the capital. Subsequently there was an increase in the number of *shôen* established by commendation. Local magnates or land managers were often in conflict with provincial officials over land rights, management authority, and tax immunities. They tried to prevent the interference of provincial authorities by commending rights (*shiki*) to the land under their control to a Kyoto aristocrat or a major religious institution as „proprietor" (*ryoke*) while retaining hereditary rights of management and control of the cultivators. In return for a fee or a share of the *shôen*'s income, the *ryoke* sought to protect the rights claimed by the local manager. If the *ryoke* could not command enough influence at court to accomplish this task, he might make a further commendation to a member of the imperial family or one of the most powerful Fujiwara or to a great temple (*honke*). By late Heian, nearly half of the agricultural land had become *shôen* in this

way. This privatization of land, or rights to land, was carried out, for the most part, within the provisions of the statutory code and was usually well supported by documentation.

Luftbild eines shôen-Anwesens in Hiraizumi (Präfektur Iwate), in der Aufteilung der Flurstücke bewahrt aus dem 12. Jahrhundert: Präfektur Iwate (o.J.): „Honederamura Shoen Iseki (Historic Site, Ichinoseki City“; im Netz unter: <http://www2.pref.iwate.jp/~hp0907/english/syokai/honederamura.html> (6.12.2018)

McCullough, William H. (1999): „The capital and its society“; in: Shively/McCullough, a.a.O., Seiten 97–182.

Seite 162: Warenströme und Dienstleistungen im ritsuryô-System (ab 7. Jh)

Under the statutory system, all holders of rank and office received varying amounts of goods and services according to their particular ranks and offices. The system was complex in detail and underwent numerous modifications, but in outline there were three primary categories of payment. For the noble ranks and offices and for certain specialists (physicians, yin-yang experts, teachers at the Academy of Chinese learning, etc.), the tax revenues from specified amounts of land or from specified numbers of households were assigned to the holders of the ranks and offices. Those revenues consisted of handicraft items (especially cloth) as well as rice and other food products. A second type of payment, again for the noble and princely ranks only, consisted of specified numbers of household officials, servants, and guards, provided in part through the government's labor levies. Finally, all levels of officials received outright stipends paid from the government's treasuries in cloth, iron implements, salt, rice, other foods, and at times limited amounts of cash. (There were twelve small mintings of primarily copper coins in Japan, the last in 958; by the twelfth century, the chief currency was Chinese copper cash.)

The income received by great nobles and the leading princely personages was very large, supplemented sometimes by special grants of land from the emperor, by privately acquired landholdings, and, in the tenth century and after, also by commended shoen, the revenues from all of which would similarly have been in goods and services. The ordinary noble was also amply rewarded, receiving enough, it is thought, to support comfortably many or most of the families in his clan. The large incomes of the nobility and the princely houses were used in substantial part to employ the great numbers of servants, laborers, nurses, guards, estate managers, and so on, that high social position both required and made possible. The pay received by such dependents would, of course, have also usually been in goods.

Most of the early population of Heian therefore received many or most of the necessities of life directly in their incomes and not through commerce.

S. 163: Märkte in Kyôto während der frühen Heian-Zeit

Although the early economy of Heian functioned primarily on income in kind or in labor, not all needs could be met for all people through their incomes alone, and a certain amount of commerce was thus provided for at the East and West Markets. The only places in the capital where trading was permitted, the markets were closely supervised and regulated by a special organ of the city administration, the Market Office, which fixed prices, weights, and measurements, determined the types of goods to be sold in the markets, and controlled merchant access, only those merchants registered by the Market Office and living in the market area being permitted to trade there. The markets were periodic, but since they alternated with each other at half-monthly intervals, one or the other was always open for business.

Both markets, East and West, were subdivided into shop areas (*ichikura*), each of which was devoted to a single kind of merchandise. There was one and only one shop area for each kind of good offered in the market, and every area was required to display a sign indicating what was sold there. The number of shop areas and the types of goods sold at the time of the founding of the city are unknown, but a century later sixty-seven different kinds were provided for in official regulations. Some were common to the two markets and some were restricted to one or the other, so that, with duplications excluded, the total number of shop areas in both markets was eighty-four: fifty-one in the East and thirty-three in the West.

(*Das Märktesystem bricht schon nach wenigen Generationen zusammen und wird durch weniger regulierte Handelspraktiken ersetzt; vgl. ebenda ff.*)

Yamamura, Kozo (1990): „Introduction“, in: Derselbe (Hg.): *The Cambridge History of Japan, volume 3: Medieval Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Seite 2f.: Entstehung von Lehen („fiefs“) und Wandel der Besitzverhältnisse zugunsten des Kriegeradels

Paralleling the continuing rise of the warriors' power was the gradual transformation of the *shôen* (...) and public land into fiefs. *Shôen* were first created in the eighth century from privatized public land, and they had become, by the twelfth century, the principal source of private wealth and income for the emperor himself, nobles, and temples. (...) The establishment of the Kamakura bakufu signaled the beginning of more systematic incursion by warriors into *shôen*, as well as into the public land. The process of incursion was at first slow but gathered momentum during the thirteenth century. As a result, more and more of the income from the shoen and public land was captured by the warriors at the expense of the emperor, nobles, and temples, as well as the civil government. During the Muromachi period, there was a more systematic and thorough transformation of shoen and public land, shifting from these forms of landholding – the basis of the political and economic power of those supporting and benefiting from the civil authority – to

fiefs. In contrast with the Kamakura bakufu, the Muromachi bakufu adopted more measures to impose dues on a regional basis and more forcefully promoted the interests of the warrior class as a whole at the cost of the political and economic interests of the nonwarrior elites. In the second half of the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth, as the bakufu's power declined, the warriors in their capacity as regional and local powers were increasingly aggressive in depriving the civil elites of their remaining public land, shôen, and other sources of income. By the mid-sixteenth century, few shôen and little public land remained.

Seite 3f.: Arbeitsteilung, Handel, wachsender Wohlstand, Geldwirtschaft ab 12. Jh.

Aided by the steady growth of productivity and output in agriculture, the medieval period was one of growing commerce and continuing monetization of the economy. Market activities that first increased in the capital in the late twelfth century accelerated from the midthirteenth century. By the middle of the Muromachi period, markets became accessible to all villagers across the nation, and the specialization of occupations, which still was limited in the early Kamakura years, progressed substantially, thereby increasing the skill and efficiency of merchants and artisans. As commerce grew, so did cities, nodes of transportation, and economic institutions.

With the growth of commerce and monetization resulting from the rapid increase in the use of coins imported from China, the political and economic conflicts expected in an increasingly market-oriented society became more frequent by the fourteenth century. These included disputes between moneylenders and borrowers (many of whom were warriors), between recipients and payers of dues over the mix of in-kind and cash dues, and between guilds and their would-be competitors. These and many other conflicts often involved, directly or indirectly, the political and economic interests of the bakufu, the civil elite, and the warriors.

The lives of the cultivators, by far the majority of the population, also underwent several significant transformations. Their collective lot improved principally because of the greater agricultural productivity, which resulted from the rising use of double cropping and fertilizer and, most importantly, the more intensive cultivation of paddies over which cultivators enjoyed a slowly increasing degree of managerial freedom and ownership rights. Political developments and wars inevitably affected the cultivators' lives through ad hoc imposts, temporary dislocation, newly instituted levies, and other exactions. But by the Muromachi period, their ability to produce more and to benefit from market activities gradually helped them win political and social freedom at the village level, which in turn enabled them to govern their daily lives in matters such as the maintenance of law and order and irrigation. Through mutual aid and more effective collective actions demanding the reduction of dues and mitigation of other political and economic threats to their well-being, cultivators became better able to cope with hardships imposed by nature and by the ruling elites.

Ishii, Susumu (1990): „The decline of the Kamakura bakufu“, in Yamamura 1990, a.a.O., 128–174, translated by Jeffrey P. Mass and Hitomi Tonomura.

S.129: Wachsende Produktivität; mehr Handwerk, Handel, Geldwirtschaft ab dem 13. Jh.

... improved agricultural technology increased arable acreage, and the technique of double cropping - planting wheat after harvesting the rice - also enhanced productivity. The greater surplus in turn led to the diversification of agriculture, and as witnessed by the opening of periodic markets, commerce and trade likewise became more important. Simultaneously, peasants with free time or surplus means produced various handicrafts to be sold at market. A cash economy made advances as a large quantity of coins was imported from China, giving rise to financial middlemen and the practice of paying *shôen* taxes in cash.

Abbildungen von Münzen: Japan Mint (o.J.): „History of Japanese Coins“, im Netz unter: https://www.mint.go.jp/eng/kids-eng/eng_kids_history.html (6.12.2018)

S. 130: Verarmung und Wandel der Loyalitäten im Kriegeradel ab dem 13. Jh.

Already by the time of the invasions many *gokenin* (permanente Vasallen, A.O.) were impoverished, owing to the continued parcelization of landholding under the divided inheritance system, as well as to their involvement in the growing cash economy, which undermined their traditional economic base. Because the warriors were expected to bear the expenses of their military service, the invasions compounded their financial difficulties, and many ended up losing their lands, by either selling or pawning (*beleihen*, A.O.) them. The presence of a large number of landless *gokenin* thus posed a major problem to the bakufu.

To rescue the small and medium-sized *gokenin* houses in the last stages of collapse, the bakufu used a radical measure, ordering the cancellation of the *gokenin's* debts and the return of their pawned land at no cost. But this emergency relief measure saved the financially strained *gokenin* only temporarily, and many houses were subsumed by others - the *shugo* (Militärverwalter im Auftrag des Shôgun, A.O.), *miuchibito* (Vasallen der Hauptlinie des Hôjô-Clans, Regenten im Kamakura-Shogunat, A.O.), or even *akutô* warriors (herrenlose Ritter, A.O.) who acquired wealth through commerce, trade, or financial activities.

Each warrior house was being reorganized as well, adding to the dissatisfaction of the displaced family members. This transformation was characterized by two concurrent patterns. First, the divided inheritance gradually gave way to unitary inheritance, which granted the entire family holding to the head, to whom his siblings were then required to subordinate themselves. Second, the link between the family's main line (*honke*) and its branch lines (*bunke*) gradually weakened,

as the latter formed strong ties with other warrior houses in their geographical areas, becoming in the process more independent of their former blood relations.

Weiterführend:

Wakita, Haruko (1975): „Towards a Wider Perspective on Medieval Commerce“, *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring, 1975), pp. 321-345; im Netz unter: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/132129>

Wakita diskutiert mögliche Gründe für das geringe Ausmaß von Handel in der Heian-Zeit. Verließen sich die Besitzer von shôen lieber auf ihre eigenen Ressourcen zur Selbstversorgung. Oder waren sie dazu gezwungen, weil es noch kein entwickeltes Handelssystem gab? Wie sie darlegt, waren die Handelsströme auf Kyôto orientiert, weil dort die Besitzer der Shôen lebten. Sie skizziert außerdem den Wandel im Handwerk: Ursprünglich arbeiteten Handwerker ausschließlich im Rahmen von Frondiensten und wurden entlohnt, indem ihnen Reisfelder zur Selbstversorgung überlassen wurden. Ab der mittleren Kamakura-Zeit entstanden daneben vor allem in Kyôto Gilden von Handwerkern und Händlern, die Monopole verwalteten und Abgaben zahlten.

Shapinsky, Peter (2009): „Predators, Protectors, and Purveyors: Pirates and Commerce in Late Medieval Japan“, *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 64, No. 2 (Autumn, 2009), pp. 273-313; im Netz unter: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40539930>

Shapinsky untersucht die Rolle von Seeräubern im Binnenhandel im Ashikaga-Shogunat. Sie übten einen großen Einfluß aus, weil die Küstenschifffahrt den wichtigsten Transportweg bildete und weil das Shogunat zu schwach war, um lokale „warlords“ zu verfolgen. Shapinsky arbeitet lokale Chroniken für die Häfens Yugesima und Shiwaku auf den gleichnamigen Inseln in der Seto-Inlandsee auf und zeigt, daß diese „Seeräuber“ oft ihrerseits Herrschaft auf See ausübten und unter ihrer Aufsicht ein eigenständiges Wirtschaftsleben ermöglichten.

Hôryûji

Nishioka, Tarô (2016): „The Asuka period and wood“, in: Derselbe und Kohara, Jirô: *The Building of Hôryû-ji: Then Technique and Wood that made it possible*. Translated from the Japanese by Michael Brase. Tôkyô: Japan Publishing Industry Foundation for Culture, 1–66. Original unter dem Titel *Hôryû-ji no sasaeta ki*, Tôkyô: NHK Publishing 1978.

Seite 27f: Bauholz für den Hôryû-ji

Since around the time of the Kamakura period (...), some Japanese zelkova has been used in work on Hôryû-ji, but before that it was exclusively Japanese cypress or hinoki (*Chamaecyparis obtuse*). (...) the primitive tools of the time were probably a factor in using the straight-grained hinoki. (...) squared timber and boards were made by splitting felled trees with axes and wedges (Keil, A.O.). The final touches were applied with an adze (*chôna*; Breitbeil mit geschwungenem Griff, A.O.) and a long-bladed plane (*yariganna*; Hobel, A.O.). The hard, unevenly grained zelkova was not a favorite material. Cryptomeria (*sugi*), though straight-grained, was too soft, and was much inferior to hinoki in terms of both strength and longevity. (...)

The big, long thick pillars at Hôryû-ji were made from trees over 2,000 years old that had been split into quarters lengthwise down the middle. There is not a single large pillar still containing the pith or core of the tree (*shin*). Pillars retaining their core will later crack and warp, bending the building out of shape or, in the worst cases, destroying it entirely. Since the only tools available were those mentioned above, it is easy to imagine the difficulty of the work. But perhaps even more difficult was the job of transporting these huge trees from the forest where they had been felled to the construction site. The only way of doing this was to make use of slopes and rivers, in addition to sheer manpower. In that day and age there were no ropes or any other means of moving the trees. That is why the timber used at Hôryûji (...) had to be gotten at first from nearby locations...

Veranschaulichung für hinoki: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chamaecyparis_obtusa

Veranschaulichung für chôna: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xnVUuTurapE>

Veranschaulichung für yariganna: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_plane

Yamamoto Tadanao and Walter Edwards (1995): „Early Buddhist Temples in Japan: Roof-Tile Manufacture and the Social Basis of Temple Construction“, *World Archaeology*, Vol. 27, No. 2, Buddhist Archaeology (Oct., 1995), pp. 336-353; im Netz unter: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/125089>.

Seite 339: Der erste buddhistische Tempel in Japan - gebaut im 6. Jh. von Handwerkern mit Migrationshintergrund und mit importierten Technologien

Asukadera was built by the main branch of the Soga family as its *ujidera*, or clan temple: one founded at the initiative of a powerful clan in hopes of securing spiritual protection and material prosperity for its members through the virtuous acts of maintaining a temple and a Buddhist image. The actual construction was directed by immigrant clans, like the Yamato-no-aya and the Kura-tsukuri, and involved the participation of artisans, skilled in temple carpentry, metalworking, tile manufacture and painting, who were sent from Paekche along with Buddhist priests in 588. Temple construction was thus put in the charge of persons with continental ancestry, and the technology had to be wholly imported. This merely underscores the complete novelty, to the Japanese experience, of the concepts and construction techniques involved: a tile-roofed building supported by massive pillars, resting on base stones set into a podium made of hard-packed earth and faced with hewn stone.

Seite 341f.: Asukadera als Vorbild; Archäologie der Dachziegel

From archaeological evidence it appears that no less than forty temples had been established between the founding of Asukadera in 588 and Yamadadera in 641, the next major benchmark in temple construction. Nevertheless, apart from Asukadera, only Toyuradera and Ikarugadera had been completed to any significant degree (the image-hall, pagoda and lecture hall had been built at each); at most other temples, such as Komadera, Jôrinji, Hinokumadera, and the temple at Okuyama, only the image-hall had been built, with the pagoda and other structures not finished until the latter half of the seventh century. Almost nothing is recorded regarding the details of construction of these early temples – the identity of the founder for each, the temple's age and the backgrounds of the artisans who actually built it. The most appropriate archaeological materials for addressing questions are the roof tiles used by each temple for the initial construction. In particular, eave tiles have the special characteristic of bearing designs produced with a mold, so that, by focusing on the distributions of duplicate tiles (those made from the same mold) conjunction with changes in design and in techniques of manufacture, it may be possible clarify the dates of construction, the places of tile manufacture, and the backgrounds tile-making artisans.

By tracing the data on roof tiles and temple sites in the seventh century, a change can be observed from an initial phase in which a single temple had ten or more types of eave tiles, or a single building alone had several, through a second phase in which the tiles of an entire temple were of a single design, to a third in which several temples used tiles of a set of related styles. From this, a similar change may be deduced in the organization of tile production: initially coordinated by clan temples (which brought together tiles from widely dispersed production sites), shifting with the increase in the construction of state-supported temples towards a reliance on groups of kilns dedicated to supplying specific institutions, and leading to a process of further centralization that culminated with the construction of the Fujiwara capital in 694. At another level, these developments may be seen to reflect a broad historical shift whereby an alien religion, promoted by clans like the Soga in ways that were largely self-serving, was ultimately appropriated – through the construction of state-supported temples – into a centralized religious hierarchy in support of the monarchy.

(*Es folgen Beschreibungen der Funde aus den Ausgrabungen...*)

Abbildung: Weiner, James Blake (2017): „ A terracotta roof tile with lotus design. Japan, Asuka Period, 538-710 CE. From the ruins of Minamishigahaiji, Otsu-shi, Shiga. (Tokyo National Museum)“. In: AncientHistory Encyclopedia, im Netz unter: <https://www.ancient.eu/image/6506/asuka-period-roof-tile/> (6.12.2018)

Kojiki

Kamei-Dyche, Andrew T.: „The History of Books and Print Culture in Japan: The State of the Discipline“, *Book History*, Vol. 14 (2011), pp. 270-304; im Netz unter: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41306539>

Seite 172: Manuskripte als Standardmedium

The standard form of manuscripts was the scroll (*kansubon*), consisting of a length of cloth or joined sheets of paper, the latter having been introduced sometime during the Asuka period.

Seite 272f: Drucktechnologie ist verfügbar, aber Manuskripte bleiben dominant

The Nara period also witnessed the earliest Japanese printing, likely introduced via the Korean peninsula (...) At the command of Empress Shôtoku (reigned 764-770), a vast number of copies (...) of a *dharani* (Buddhist invocation) text were printed, with each put inside a miniature pagoda, and given to temples across the realm. While the form of printing that became dominant in later eras employed xylography, scholars have tended to assume that the *dharani* were printed

with metal plates because the texts do not show much evidence of the deterioration that would be expected from the repeated use of woodblocks. (...)

However, these printed texts were intended not to be read, but to be produced and sealed in their containers as an act of religious faith, as in China and Korea. (...) the technology (of Printing, A.O.) languished, monopolized almost entirely by Buddhist temples, and even they printed materials for their own use rather than for a broad audience. In the meantime, manuscripts remained the staple of the cultural and official world, and their production continued into the nineteenth century. This was not, contrary to one long-running argument, simply because manuscripts were far cheaper to produce than printed works. Rather, as Peter Kornicki has shown, it was primarily because manuscripts continued to meet a need, be it for artistic qualities, limiting access to a text, copying a borrowed printed text, or (perhaps most important) circumventing official censorship.

Zur Rolle von Manuskripten als Ausdruck verfeinerter Schriftkultur in der höfischen Gesellschaft der Heian-Zeit siehe auch: Kornicki, Peter (1998): *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, Honolulu: University of Hawai's Press, Seiten 99-104.